

The Museum of
Broadcast Communications

Encyclopedia of Radio

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VOLUME I

A-E

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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

Radio means many distinct things to different people. For some, radio primarily means the “golden age” of the 1920s through the 1940s when network radio headlined the only broadcast service and provided a variety of programs for all tastes. For such listeners, radio’s importance is in its programs and stars, its role as the on-the-spot recorder of history, and in its carriage of period politics, sports, and talk. (It is this period of old-time radio [OTR] that is hotly collectible—books, program premiums, recordings, magazines, and equipment of the era.) For others radio means the vibrant business of the early 21st century with huge and growing chains of stations under common ownership dependent on syndicated programs and heavy advertising. And for still others “radio” does not mean broadcasting at all, but instead refers to the transmission of voice and data, amateur or “ham” station operators, or even reception of music and talk programs on the internet. Each of these meanings, none mutually exclusive, illustrates part of radio’s pervasive role in society.

Indeed radio has become part of our daily background, there but “not there” for many if not most of us. As I write this, classical music is playing from the local public radio station, for I am one of those who work better with such soothing background. And you need not look farther than the nearest teenager listening with headphones (probably while talking on the phone, monitoring television or a video, and “doing homework” on a computer) to realize how omnipresent yet invisible radio can be. And notice how often you hear radio playing in the workplace, in your car, or through ever-present headphones on public transit—and at all hours.

While most present-day media commentary focuses on television (or, increasingly, the internet), such commentary, whether praise or censure, was first directed at radio, including the fear that violent or suspenseful programs would overly excite children’s imaginations, creating untold effects. Radio also established most elements of present-day electronic media industry structure. Much of what we both enjoy and bemoan today, in other words, was accomplished (or inflicted) by radio long before television arrived.

For example, that American broadcasting would depend on advertising was pretty much decided by the late 1920s, despite several concerted efforts (before and after passage of the benchmark 1934 Communications Act) to open up greater opportunities for other funding options. In turn, advertising support meant that American radio would be primarily a medium of entertainment (to attract the largest possible audience for that advertising) rather than the public or cultural service that developed in nations with other approaches to financial support. That national networks would dominate radio news and entertainment in the years before the coming of television (which would later and very quickly adopt the same pattern) was a fact by the early 1930s, with only minor modifications over the years. That government would have to selectively license broadcaster

access to limited spectrum space was obvious by the early 1920s; even so, that process became fully effective only in 1927. And that government would have little to do with American radio program content (though this has again varied over time) was made clear in the laws of 1927 and 1934, reinforced by numerous court decisions in the years to follow.

On the other hand, most other nations made quite different decisions on how best to implement the promise of radio broadcasting. Certainly best known and most copied is the British Broadcasting Corporation, whose decades of invaluable public service programming were instilled from the beginning by its legendary founding director-general, John Reith. Most other industrial nations, usually copied by their colonies, also adopted a no-advertising, public-service model of radio that relied on public monies or a receiver tax to support operations. These systems became showcases of literature, music, drama, and erudite conversation—but often carrying very little light entertainment comedy, popular music, or serial drama. By 1940, after two decades of radio broadcasting development, such systems largely dominated the world of broadcasting.

When commercial television began in the United States in the 1940s, the video medium was able to develop quickly (despite its higher costs for all concerned) because radio had already established the commercial structure of the industry, the relationship between government and broadcasters, and the wealth of program formats to exploit. Television added pictures and new generations of stars, but the heavy lifting of designing an electronic media system had already been accomplished by radio. When television developed elsewhere in the 1940s and 1950s, it mirrored the public-service model of national radio broadcasting systems, though often accepting advertising to alleviate the visual medium's higher costs.

Only relatively late in the 20th century did world radio and television systems come to more closely resemble the American model of commercial support and popular-appeal programming. The reasons for this trend were and remain many and varied, though economic pressures were at their core. Because of the growing dominance of American radio program and operational methods worldwide, this encyclopedia emphasizes U.S. radio practices even as it attempts to treat the emergence and development of radio throughout the world.

What Is Included Here

Given radio's long history, how can any one reference work, even one with more than 1,500 pages and in three volumes, include all of its many roles and meanings? What should be "in" and what must be left out? How much emphasis should be given to technology, economic factors, programs, key personnel, and organizations? How best to demonstrate the many national approaches to radio, often sharply different from practice in the United States?

What you hold in your hands represents our cooperative, compromise answer to such questions. Our approach is international in scope, though with a strong emphasis on the United States and a secondary emphasis on key English-speaking nations including Britain and Canada (volumes such as these could be assembled for many other countries). Other regional entries provide at least brief comparative comment on most other systems of and approaches to radio broadcasting. We have tried to provide an ideal "first-stop" reference source for most aspects of American and English-language radio broadcasting, with sufficient coverage of other radio broadcasting traditions to provide context. Our aim has been, within some established limits of space, to be as inclusive as possible.

There are perhaps more topical or subject (as opposed to people and program) entries in this work than appear in the companion three volumes on television published in 1997 (and under revision as this is written). Partly this reflects the interests of those editing and writing both reference works, but the difference is due as well to the fact that we have had far more time to consider radio—especially that so-called “golden age” before television—and its many roles within society. Some of what is described here has been history for a half century or more, plenty of time to develop a broad appreciation of what remains important.

. . . and What May Seem Not To Be

Our focus in these volumes is entirely on radio *broadcasting*; we do not cover other applications of the technology. Aside from occasional side references, you will find little here on radio defined more broadly: as, for example, the primary means of transmission for such services as telephone, television, data, and more recent mobile services.

Even within the realm of radio broadcasting, however, we have had to make numerous and often difficult choices on what to include and how. There is a growing number of reference books (among them several other encyclopedias—see the “reference shelf” listing that follows) about radio in the United States and elsewhere; the editors, in consultation with the advisers listed on page xxix, obviously did not wish merely to parallel such works. After the decision to limit our coverage to broadcasting, we agreed to focus substantially on the United States, which has both the oldest and the most extensive radio broadcasting service in the world. But that still left a host of choices to be made: who and what to include and what to leave out or mention only in passing. Our advisory board for this project was invaluable in helping to hone the focus of these volumes. Long discussions both face-to-face and by email helped to further define our direction.

A few examples suffice to illustrate the point. Should we list and discuss a famous comedian under his name or only within his program? It was easy enough to decide in the case of Fred Allen, Jack Benny, or Edgar Bergen where a man's name (there were far fewer women for much of the period covered here than is the case today) and program title were nearly one and the same, but proved harder with Eddie Cantor or Ed Wynn where program titles varied. We have adopted what seemed the most likely way a user would seek the information, and relied on extensive cross-referencing and our comprehensive index to cover other possibilities. Some types of radio personalities—sportscasters and news commentators, for example—reflect compromises where a few (e.g., Red Barber or Edward R. Murrow) receive their own entries and others (Daniel Schorr, for example) are more briefly covered in paragraphs within larger subject entries. Likewise with radio's many different formats: we have provided entries on the most important, but some minor or splinter formats are treated within larger rubrics. Readers are encouraged to consult the index to locate such treatment.

Despite our best efforts, however, we have without a doubt missed some favorites or given insufficient emphasis to others. We welcome comments—though with a bit of trepidation after nearly five years of effort by a lot of folks—and will keep track of suggestions of new topics (and authors) for possible future revisions.

Christopher H. Sterling
Washington, D.C.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

As was the case with the companion *Encyclopedia of Television* (1997), many people have helped make the three volumes of the *Encyclopedia of Radio* a viable project. I am grateful first of all to **Bruce DuMont**, the founder and president of the Museum of Broadcast Communications, for entrusting the overall editorial task to me. He was most persuasive when I expressed concern about the very scope of what he proposed.

In the actual process of designing and editing this project, Michael Keith and Paul Schellinger were absolutely indispensable. Michael C. Keith of Boston College served as our consulting editor and was my comrade in arms on this project, serving as consulting editor throughout, or as he put it, on call 24/7/365—and he was. Mike’s knowledge of all things radio is unsurpassed, and he constantly got us out of scrapes and errors and urged us on. When we needed an author or had to have an essay checked, he was there with useful input and suggestions. Mike and I co-authored several entries, and I learned more from him every time. This is a far better product for Michael’s devotion to it.

Paul Schellinger, the project’s final and most important editor at Fitzroy Dearborn, worked hard during the final two years or more to get the many pieces into final form, following up with authors, keeping the undersigned cool, and seeing the project through to completion. And he did it with grace and diplomacy—which was often required! Just keeping track of who was doing what—or for that matter, *not* doing what they had promised—was a huge undertaking. The project most certainly could not have been completed without Paul. And he never once had to throw himself on those bamboo bean poles under his second-story study window because of “just one more” edit or addition—though he got close.

Paul’s predecessor Steve LaRue was another steady rock for much of this multi-year process—and had a sense of humor to boot. He handled all the correspondence and record-keeping without which no such reference work can be assembled. Likewise Carol Burwash, Steve’s predecessor, worked with the undersigned to get the project initially designed and under way. You would not have these books in your hands without the steady efforts of these three Fitzroy Dearborn editors.

Dan Wingate, then an archivist with the MBC staff, played a central role in gathering the many photographs. This involved constant contacts with owners of photographs, obtaining permission to use the selected images and seeking photos we needed and could not find. We also appreciate the help of Chuck Howell and others at the Library of American Broadcasting who helped greatly with photographs and wrote several entries as well.

Our board of advisers was most helpful, especially at the opening stages of the project in 1998 as we first began to design what would be included, how long entries should be, and initial potential authors to contact. Taken as a group, the board had radio knowledge in depth and breadth, many having years of experience dating back to the golden age of

American network radio. Several members played special roles, helping to round up authors for specific categories of entries and then assisting in editing their work. Graham Mytton was invaluable as our man in London, gathering authors for virtually all of the British entries. Likewise, John D. Jackson assisted greatly with the English and French authors who contributed material on Canada. Ed Shane not only assisted as a board member but contributed several important entries himself—as did his spouse. And Ed came back several times offering to do more and to scare up authors—or lean on those who were late. Michele Hilmes was especially helpful in suggesting graduate students and other colleagues as contributors. Peter Orlik helped a great deal at the very beginning of the process, authoring the first entries that were used as samples for others. Horace Newcomb set a high standard to follow with his editorship of the *Encyclopedia of Television*—and helped to train the undersigned when I served on his editorial board.

Finally, we *all* owe thanks to the more than 240 individual authors who have written the 670 essays that make up this radio reference. They undertook all the original research, did the writing, and were generally a patient lot, accepting editorial suggestions and queries and working to tighten up their essays as we neared publication. They have waited a while to see their efforts in print, and I hope they are pleased.

Christopher H. Sterling
Washington, D.C.
September 2003

GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY: A RADIO REFERENCE SHELF

This listing supplements the many more specific “further reading” references appearing with individual entries. It covers those books, periodicals, and internet web sites that are broad in coverage and could be cited under many different entries. This is by no means a comprehensive listing (which would take a volume in itself), but rather points out some of the more useful reference works, monographs, and other sources relating to the history of radio, emphasizing recent titles. An asterisk (*) before a citation indicates an especially important title.

A. Books

1. *Bibliographies, Statistics*

- *Carothers, Diane Foxhill, *Radio Broadcasting from 1920 to 1990: An Annotated Bibliography*, New York: Garland, 1991. Some 1,700 items covering radio worldwide.
- Cooper, Isabella M., *Bibliography on Educational Broadcasting*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942 (reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1971). Much broader than its title suggests, this is especially useful for pre-war publications.
- Greenfield, Thomas Allen, *Radio: A Reference Guide*, Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood, 1989. Combines topically arranged narrative discussion of the literature, and chapter bibliographies.
- Kittross, John M., editor, *A Bibliography of Theses and Dissertations in Broadcasting, 1920-1973*, Washington, D.C.: Broadcast Education Association, 1973. Many citations concern radio. Includes both topical and key-word indexes.
- Radio Marketing Guide And Fact Book*, New York: Radio Advertising Bureau (annual). Statistics on radio's audience and advertising reach.
- Sterling, Christopher H., *Electronic Media: A Guide to Trends in Broadcasting and Newer Technologies, 1920-1983*, New York: Praeger, 1984. More than 100 historical time-series tables and explanatory text covering radio (and other services) into the early 1980s.
- Sterling, Christopher H., and George Shiers, *History of Telecommunications Technology: An Annotated Bibliography*, Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2000. Includes radio (chapter 9) and television and related topics—some 2,500 sources in all.
- UNESCO, *Statistics on Radio and Television, 1950-1960*, Paris: UNESCO “Statistical Reports and Studies No. 8,” 1963.

UNESCO, *Statistics on Radio and Television, 1960–1976*, Paris: UNESCO “Statistical Reports and Studies No. 23,” 1978.

UNESCO, *Latest Statistics on Radio and Television Broadcasting*. Paris: UNESCO “Statistical Reports and Studies No. 29,” 1987. Taken together, these three reports provide data on availability and use of radio transmitters, receivers, and programs, from 1950 into the 1980s.

2. Directories and Yearbooks

Anderton, J.T., *The Facilities of American Radio*, Cincinnati, Ohio: Duncan’s American Radio, 1997. FM coverage maps for 1,300 stations in top 100 markets.

Broadcasting and Cable Yearbook, New York: Cahners/Broadcasting, 1935– (annual). One of the industry’s standards, this includes a directory of all radio stations plus some statistics and listings of ancillary parts of the industry (networks, station reps, consultants).

Duncan’s Radio Market Guide, Cincinnati, Ohio: Duncan’s American Radio Inc. (annual). Offers a page or two on each Arbitron radio market with comparative social and business statistics, and information on operating radio stations in each.

Kneitel, Tom, *Radio Station Treasury: 1900–1946*, Commack, New York: CRB Research, 1986. Listings of stations in the U.S. and abroad for selected years—taken from contemporary sources.

M Street Radio Directory, Nashville, Tennessee: M Street Journal (annual). Sections include station listings by state and city of license, alphabetized call letters (both current and former), frequency, and market. Lists nearly 400 radio markets (including a list of the stations serving each market, and their formats and frequencies).

The Radio Power Book, New York: Billboard, 1995– (annual). One of six different Billboard directories, this includes information on major radio stations, specifically music stations, radio program syndicators, and on record labels plus Arbitron information from the top 100 markets.

Radio Yearbook, Chantilly, Virginia: BIA Financial Network (annual). Profiles all 261 Arbitron radio markets and some 10,000 stations, with full directory information on each station. Combines ratings and technical information. Includes metro, ownership, and key station contact information, listing of vendors and service providers.

R&R Directory: Ratings, Industry Directory and Program Supplier Guide, Los Angeles, California: Radio & Records (twice annually). Directory of all types of suppliers to radio stations—syndicated programs, equipment, services, etc.

3. Radio’s Technical Development

Aitken, Hugh G.J., *Syntony and Spark: The Origins of Radio*, New York: Wiley, 1976. Classic study of Clerk Maxwell, Hertz, and Marconi.

Aitken, Hugh G.J., *The Continuous Wave: Technology and American Radio, 1900–1932*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1985. Continues the story of wireless from previous book, focusing on American developments: Fessenden and the alternator, Elwell and the arc transmitter, de Forest and his Audion, radio and cables and the national interest, the development of RCA (three chapters), and the expansion of the business based on tube technology in the 1920s.

Coe, Lewis, *Wireless Radio: A Brief History*, Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 1996. Provides useful, concise survey of the work of many inventors, bringing the story up to date.

- Douglas, Alan, *Radio Manufacturers of the 1920s*, 3 vols., Vestal, New York: Vestal Press, 1988–89. Combines brief text with reprinted contemporary advertising.
- Dunlap, Orrin E. Jr., *Radio's 100 Men of Science*, New York: Harper, 1944. Useful mini-biographies of major inventors and engineers.
- Inglis, Andrew F., *Behind The Tube: A History of Broadcasting Technology and Business*, Boston: Focal Press, 1990. Includes chapters on both AM and FM broadcasting, placing the technology of both within the larger context of industry development.
- Leinwoll, Stanley, *From Spark to Satellite: A History of Radio Communication*, New York: Scribner, 1979. A wide-ranging popular history of radio into the 1970s, emphasizing the role of key inventors and developments in the expanding roles of the medium.
- *Lewis, Tom, *Empire of the Air: The Men Who Made Radio*, New York: HarperCollins, 1991. Well-written analysis of the lives, work and changing relationships of Armstrong, de Forest and Sarnoff, among others.
- *Maclaurin, W. Rupert, *Invention and Innovation in the Radio Industry*, New York: Macmillan, 1949 (reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1971). Thorough treatment with supporting data and much critical analysis of the process and nature of radio inventions. A study of struggles, litigation, progress, and failure of both individual inventors and industrial organizations. Includes chapters on FM and television.
- *McNicol, Donald, *Radio's Conquest of Space: The Experimental Rise in Radio Communication*, New York: Murray Hill Books, 1946 (reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1974). A technical but readable record of radio progress from the mid-19th century; one of the best surveys of inventive achievement—both readable and reliable.
- Mott, Robert L., *Radio Sound Effects: Who Did It, and How, in the Era of Live Broadcasting*, Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 1993. Written by a radio sound-effects authority, this unique history reviews the development of sound effects in radio drama and comedy programs.
- *Schiffer, Michael Brian, *The Portable Radio in American Life*, Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1991. Valuable survey from clunky tube receivers to modern transistor models.
- Shiers, George, editor, *The Development of Wireless to 1920*, New York: Arno Press, 1977. This anthology reprints 20 pioneering technical and historical papers tracing developments from the late 19th century, many by the inventors themselves including Fleming, de Forest, Fessenden, Marconi, Carl Braun, Armstrong, Elwell, and Alfred Goldsmith. Photos, diagrams, notes.

4. Histories of U.S. Radio Broadcasting

- *Archer, Gleason L., *History of Radio to 1926*, New York: American Historical Society, 1938 (reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1971). While largely concerned with business aspects, this includes considerable pre-broadcast technical background and context, especially patent and related corporate rivalries. Important as the first attempt at a scholarly history. Photos, notes, appendices, index.
- Archer, Gleason L., *Big Business and Radio*, New York: American Historical Company, 1939 (reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1971). Both continues previous book and fills in some of its holes, though retaining a strong RCA bias throughout. Valuable for its contemporary view of pre-war radio development.
- *Barnouw, Erik, *A History of Broadcasting in the United States*, 3 vols., New York: Oxford University Press, 1966–70. Classic and well-written narrative; the first two volumes take the story to 1953 and focus most on radio. These could have been cited as “further readings” in most of the American entries in the encyclopedia.

- Bergreen, Laurence, *Look Now, Pay Later: The Rise of Network Broadcasting*, Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1980. One of the few historical treatments of networks, covering both radio and television eras.
- Chase, Francis Jr., *Sound and Fury: An Informal History of Broadcasting*, New York: Harper, 1942. A well-written popular survey which emphasizes programming into the early World War II period.
- *Douglas, Susan J., *Inventing American Broadcasting, 1899-1922*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987. Readable yet scholarly analysis of the combination of technological innovation, institutional development, and both visions and business realities that led to the radio broadcasting business in the early 1920s. Chapters focus on Marconi as inventor-hero, the inventors' struggles for technical distinction, wireless telegraphy in the Navy, the ups and downs of wireless as a business, the important role of amateur operators prior to World War I, initial radio regulation, the rise of military and corporate control, and the social construction of broadcasting.
- Douglas, Susan J., *Listening In: Radio and the American Imagination*, New York: Times Books, 1999. More focused on programs and listener reactions than the author's earlier book.
- The First 50 Years of Broadcasting: The Running Story of The Fifth Estate*, Washington, D.C.: Broadcasting Publications, 1982. Based on articles that appeared in the industry weekly—one per year—thus providing something of an annotated chronology with a good deal of industry and regulatory emphasis.
- *Godfrey, Donald G., and Frederic A. Leigh, editors, *Historical Dictionary of American Radio*, Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1998. Very useful reference ranging over programs, people, organizations, and topics with dozens of contributors.
- *Halper, Donna L., *Invisible Stars: A Social History of Women in American Broadcasting*, Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2001. First attempt at an overall history of the many and varied roles of women in radio (and television), highlighting many forgotten pioneers.
- Hettinger, Herman S., *A Decade of Radio Advertising*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933 (reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1971). Standard treatment of the rise of radio advertising, focusing on network developments.
- Hilliard, Robert L., and Michael C. Keith, *The Broadcast Century: A Biography of American Broadcasting*, 3rd edition, Boston: Focal Press, 2001. An informal and illustrated history told in chronological fashion, with many contributed comments from important pioneering figures, and a useful chronological time-line.
- *Hilmes, Michele, *Radio Voices: American Broadcasting, 1922-1952*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997. Concentrating on what people heard rather than on the industry or technology, the author focuses on several key programs to illustrate the medium's appeal and success.
- Hilmes, Michele, *Only Connect: A Cultural History of Broadcasting in the United States*, Belmont, California: Wadsworth, 2002. Covers the whole period of radio and television focusing on the impact of those media.
- Hilmes, Michele, *Connections: A Broadcast History Reader*, Belmont, California: Wadsworth, 2003. Useful anthology of both contemporary and later research material on the whole range of American radio-television history.
- *Keith, Michael C., *Talking Radio: An Oral History of American Radio in the Television Age*, Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2000. Impressive editing job makes this readable despite about 100 contributors, and gets the reader close to decision-making in the radio business.
- Landry, Robert J., *This Fascinating Radio Business*, Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1946. Broad popular survey of the radio industry just before television entered the scene,

written by the editor of the *Variety* trade paper, and including numerous references to history and technical factors.

- *Lichty, Lawrence W., and Malachi C. Topping, editors, *American Broadcasting: A Source Book on the History of Radio and Television*, New York: Hastings House, 1975. Excellent anthology of articles, statistics, first-hand accounts.
- Mayes, Thorn L., *Wireless Communication in the United States: The Early Development of American Radio Operating Companies*, East Greenwich, Rhode Island: New England Wireless and Steam Museum, 1989. Sorts out the host of pre-World War I wireless companies in the U.S.
- Nachman, Gerald, *Raised on Radio*, New York: Pantheon, 1998. A delightful read combining considerable insight, wonderful nostalgia, and a fair bit of background information on key programs.
- *Smulyan, Susan, *Selling Radio: The Commercialization of American Broadcasting 1920-1934*, Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994. Scholarly study of the policy battles over commercial support of radio (and later television) argues that what resulted—today's commercial system—was by no means a sure thing in the early days.
- *Sterling, Christopher H., and John M. Kittross, *Stay Tuned: A History of American Broadcasting*, 3rd edition, Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2002. Standard history—the most comprehensive one-volume survey available—arranged by periods and then by topic. Extensive historical tables, technology glossary, and bibliography.
- Taylor, Glenhall, *Before Television: The Radio Years*, Cranbury, New Jersey: A.S. Barnes, 1979. Popular history of the radio business to the late 1940s.
- White, Llewellyn, *The American Radio*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947 (reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1971). Critical history that finds much wanting in the commercial radio business on the eve of television's introduction.

5. Pictorial Histories

- Henderson, Amy, *On the Air: Pioneers of American Broadcasting*, Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988. Photos and literate captions of industry leaders and key stars, based on exhibit at National Portrait Gallery.
- Rhodes, B. Eric., *Blast from the Past: A Pictorial History of Radio's First 75 Years*, West Palm Beach, Florida: Streamline, 1996. Impressive collection of several hundred photos tracing the rise of commercial radio.
- Settl, Irving, *A Pictorial History of Radio*, 2nd edition, New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1967. Emphasis on programs, both local and network.
- Slide, Anthony, *Great Radio Personalities in Historic Photographs*, New York: Dover, 1982. Just that, well over 100 of them, with useful captions.

6. The American Radio Industry

- Albarron, Alan B, and Gregory C. Pitts, *The Radio Broadcasting Industry*, Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 2000. Useful survey of the modern business and how it operates.
- Ditingo, Vincent M., *The Remaking of Radio*, Boston: Focal Press, 1994. Reviews the changing status of the radio business amidst growing competition, comparing and contrasting AM and FM and reviewing likely technology changes of the future.
- Fornatale, Peter, and Joshua E. Mills, *Radio in the Television Age*, Woodstock, New York: Overlook Press, 1980. Broad description of the industry after three decades of television competition.

- Frazier, Gross, and Kedlec, *Radio in 1985*, Washington, D.C.: National Association of Broadcasters, 1977. The changing economics of AM and FM radio.
- *Keith, Michael C., *The Radio Station*, 5th edition, Boston: Focal Press, 2000. All aspects of operating and programming the modern commercial station sales format, news, research, promotion, traffic and billing, production, engineering and consultants. A standard, this has appeared in several languages.
- McKinsey & Co., *Radio in Search of Excellence: Lessons From America's Best-run Radio Stations*, Washington, D.C.: National Association of Broadcasters, 1985. A dozen case studies of good practices.
- NAB Science and Technology Department, *Station Consolidation: A Technical Planning Guide for Radio Stations*, Washington, D.C.: National Association of Broadcasters, 1997. Primary focus on how best to combine technical facilities, with a good case study.
- Pease, Edward C., and Everette E. Dennis, editors, *Radio: The Forgotten Medium*, New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction, 1995. Twenty-two essays from *Media Studies Journal* provide a broad survey of radio today including both structure and content trends.
- Radio Inc., *The Radio Book: The Complete Station Operations Manual*, 3 vols., West Palm Beach, Florida: Radio Ink, nd. Covers management, programming and promotion, and sales and marketing.
- Reinsch, J. Leonard, and Elmo I. Ellis, *Radio Station Management*, 2nd edition, New York: Harper, 1960. A standard treatment by two long-time broadcasters, demonstrating the rapid changes in radio as television expanded.
- Shane, Ed, *Selling Electronic Media*, Boston: Focal Press, 1999. Focuses on the selling of air time and the marketing of radio and television stations—by a top industry consultant.
- Soley, Lawrence, *Free Radio*, Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1999. Full account of the emergence of micro radio and the issues confronting small stations.
- State of the Radio Industry*, Fairfax, Virginia: Broadcast Industry Analysis (annual). Focuses on the important trends, regulatory and technological impacts concerning revenue and finance, ownership, top radio ownership groups, and technical changes.

7. American Radio Programming

For specific people, programs, or formats, see references under relevant entries; included here are only those titles that range widely.

- Buxton, Frank, and Bill Owen, *The Big Broadcast, 1920–1950*, New York: Viking Press, 1972. A substantial revision of the authors' *Radio's Golden Age* (1966), this briefly lists and describes network programs.
- DeLong, Thomas A., *The Mighty Music Box*, Los Angeles: Amber Crest Books, 1980. A broad history of all types of music on the air from initial classical pioneers through the various formats of the so-called golden years (into the 1950s).
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- *Hilmes, Michele, and Jason Loviglio, editors, *Radio Reader: Essays in the Cultural History of Radio*, New York: Routledge, 2001. Excellent indicator of growing scholarly interest in radio past and present, offering 24 original essays.
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- MacDonald, J. Fred, *Don't Touch That Dial! Radio Programming in American Life, 1920-1960*, Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1979. A broad social history, focusing on network programs.
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8. *American Radio Journalism*

For particular radio journalists or programs, see relevant entries.

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- Brown, Robert J., *Manipulating The Ether: The Power of Broadcast Radio in Thirties America*, Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 1998. Covers Franklin Roosevelt, *War of the Worlds* and Father Coughlin.
- Charnley, Mitchell V., *News by Radio*, New York: Macmillan, 1948. Standard text with some history.
- Cloud, Stanley, and Lynne Olson, *The Murrow Boys: Pioneers on the Front Lines of Broadcast Journalism*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1996. Well-written assessment of the legendary CBS radio and then television news team from the 1940s to the 1980s.
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- *Beville, Hugh Malcolm, Jr., *Audience Ratings: Radio, Television, and Cable*, 2nd edition, Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1988. Best historical study of how methods and different audience research companies developed.
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- Lazarsfeld, Paul F., *Radio Research 1942–43*, New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1944. Two volumes of original research on different types of programs, edited by an academic and rising CBS official.
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11. American Regional and State Radio Histories

For specific station histories see relevant entries.

- Blanton, Parke, *Crystal Set to Satellite: The Story of California Broadcasting—the First Eighty Years*, Sacramento: California Broadcasters Association, 1987.
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- Schroeder, Richard, *Texas Signs On: The Early Days of Radio and Television*, College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1998. Illustrated history of the rise of radio and then television in the Lone Star state, relying heavily on interviews and original documents.

12. Radio Outside the United States

For radio broadcasting in specific countries or regions, see relevant entries.

- Avery, Robert K., *Public Service Broadcasting in a Multichannel Environment: The History and Survival of an Ideal*, New York: Longman, 1993. Useful survey (see also Tracey, below) of how such systems are under pressure in an increasingly commercial age.

- Batson, Lawrence D., *Radio Markets of the World*, 1930, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1930 (reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1971). Aimed at pioneering advertisers, this includes profiles of radio in many nations.
- Broadcasting Abroad*, New York: National Advisory Council on Radio in Education "Information Series No. 7," 1932, revised 1934. Useful snapshot of very early radio developments around the world.
- *Browne, Donald R., *International Radio Broadcasting: The Limits of the Limitless Medium*, New York: Praeger, 1982. The role of radio propaganda in international services—a standard history.
- Codding, George A., *Broadcasting Without Barriers*, Paris: Unesco, 1959. Technology and policy concerns.
- Emery, Walter B., *National and International Systems of Broadcasting*, East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1969. Profiles systems in a dozen nations—this was a pioneering historical and descriptive text effort.
- Hale, Julian, *Radio Power: Propaganda and International Broadcasting*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1975. Overall historical survey of radio's role in propaganda in war and peace.
- *Head, Sydney W., *World Broadcasting Systems: A Comparative Analysis*, Belmont, California: Wadsworth, 1985. Excellent analytic survey with much on radio.
- Hilliard, Robert, and Michael C. Keith, *Global Broadcasting Systems*, Boston: Focal Press, 1996. A survey of radio-television policy and structure worldwide.
- Huth, Arno, *Radio Today: The Present State of Broadcasting*, Geneva, Switzerland: Geneva Research Centre "Studies XII:6," July 1942 (reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1971). Wartime analysis of radio's status.
- *Katz, Elihu, and George Wedell, *Broadcasting in the Third World: Promise and Performance*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1977. The importance of radio in developing nations.
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- Shepherd, Frank M., *Technical Development of Broadcasting in Asia-Pacific, 1964–1984*, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: Asia Pacific Broadcasting Union, 1984. Includes overall trends and country-by-country assessment.
- Tracey, Michael, *The Decline and Fall of Public Service Broadcasting*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1998. With Avery (see above), this is a fine survey of how decades-old systems are being forced to change.
- *Unesco, *Press, Film, Radio*, Paris: Unesco, 1947–51 (7 vols; reprinted in three by Arno Press, New York, "International Propaganda and Communications," 1972). Information on most countries includes extensive historical background and immediate postwar status.
- Wedell, George, and Philip Crookes, et al., *Radio 2000: The Opportunities for Public and Private Radio Services in Europe*, London: John Libbey, 1991. Useful survey of developments in Europe through the 1980s.
- Woods, James, *History of International Broadcasting*, 2 vols., London: IEE, 1992 and 1999. Best history of the technology behind cross-border radio broadcasts from the 1920s into the 1990s, with much on both World War II and Cold War services, with considerable information on specific nations.

B. Periodicals

Included here are only titles focused on radio that were currently publishing as of 2003.

Airplay Monitor (1993–present, weekly). Published in four different versions by the music industry weekly *Billboard*, this is aimed at music stations and offers information on trends, music rotations, and the like. The different editions cover country, Top 40, rock, and urban formats.

BE Radio (1995–present, weekly). Covers television and radio technical topics and news, from the publishers of the monthly *Broadcast Engineering*.

Broadcasting & Cable (1931–present, weekly). The principal industry trade weekly that helps to place radio in context with television, cable, and newer services. Covers advertising, programming, regulation, and people in the business. Not as comprehensive after about 1995.

Duncan's American Radio (1976–present, quarterly and annual). Provides business information and data on radio stations in the form of market guides, directories, ratings analyses, and revenue reports.

Gavin (1958–present, weekly). Focuses on radio station formats, music research, music playlists, and artists.

Inside Radio (1975–present, weekly). Includes radio industry news, station sales, management changes, and stock quotations, plus commentary (and hyperbole) by publisher Jerry DelColliano.

Journal of Radio Studies (1991–present, biannual). Covers both history and current issues in scholarly journal format—the first and only one devoted to radio.

M St. Journal (1984–present, weekly). Offers FCC news and proceedings, station sales, format changes. (*M Street Daily* is also a daily fax doing basically the same thing as *Inside Radio* without the commentary. It adds a weekly page of sales tips and a weekly update from Washington and the FCC.)

R&R: Radio & Records (1971–present, weekly). Radio programmers' main trade publication includes music charts for specific formats, industry tip sheets and interviews, and parallels for music playlist comparisons.

Radio Business Report (1983–present, weekly). Emphasis is on management and marketing issues in commercial radio business.

Radio Ink (1985–present, bi-weekly). Sales and management oriented publication containing articles by industry people who offer insights, opinions, and analysis about trends in advertising and station operations.

Radio World Magazine (1977–present, bi-weekly). Intended for station engineers, technicians, and electronics manufacturers of audio products.

C. Selected Radio Web Sites

Websites are both useful—for what they offer; and maddening—they disappear too easily. As of Spring 2003, these are some of the more interesting sites, virtually all of which offer many further references.

1. General Reference and Link Sites

Library of American Broadcasting at the University of Maryland

<http://www.lib.umd.edu/LAB/>

One of the better academic archives of all types of material on radio and television.

Michael Keith's Broadcast Links

<http://www.michaelcketh.com/links.htm>

Extensive list, heavily focused on radio both here and abroad, including domestic and international stations, services, periodicals, and radio personalities and programs.

Museum of Broadcast Communications in Chicago

<http://www.museum.tv/index.shtml>

The sponsor of this encyclopedia, the Museum has extensive displays and listening areas, and houses the Radio Hall of Fame.

2. *History of Radio Technology Web Sites*

Antique Radio Page by D.J. Adamson

<http://members.aol.com/djadamson/arp.html>

Designed for those who collect old radios, this includes books, articles, links, classified ads and more.

The Broadcast Archive by Barry Mishkind

<http://www.olderadio.com/>

Includes equipment and programming sections and links, plus information about the FCC, old stations, and links to other archives and organizations.

United States Early Radio History by Thomas H. White

<http://earlyradiohistory.us/>

A wonderfully useful site which offers full copy of a variety of pre-1920 articles and documents plus the author's valuable own research on early radio station list publications, call-letter policies, and the like.

World of Wireless

<http://home.luna.nl/~arjan-muil/radio/history.html>

A Dutch site (in both English and Dutch), takes the story through World War II and includes details of the owners' own collection.

3. *"Old Radio" Program Web Sites*

Virtually any radio entertainment or news program is now the subject of a site or sites of its own—listed here are some more general "master" sites that link to a host of others.

Old Time Radio

<http://www.old-time.com/>

Includes many logs of program series, links to other sites, information on collecting programs.

Olde Time Radio

<http://www.olderadioradio.com/>

Allows one to listen to episodes of about a dozen old radio dramatic programs.

Radio Days

<http://www.otr.com/index.shtml>

Information on many old network radio programs (including some complete logs), OTR (old time radio) chat room and FAQs and more.

4. *Modern Radio Program Sites*

There are countless such sites today. What follows are some useful compendium sites allowing access to the many resources, including internet stations, by a variety of means.

Radio-Locator: Formerly MIT List of Radio Stations on the Internet by Theodric Young
<http://www.radio-locator.com/>

Allows user search by station call letters, format, city, state (or Canadian province), or nation. Including more than 5,000 stations and adding more weekly, this claims to be the most comprehensive such site available.

BRS Web Radio

<http://www.web-radio.com/>

Similar to the site above.

5. *International Radio Sites*

This is but a sample of useful English-language sites concerning radio broadcasting in nations other than the United States.

Asian-Pacific Broadcasting Union

<http://www.abu.org.my/main.htm>

Useful gateway to a variety of Asian broadcasting networks and systems, as well as regional broadcast information of all kinds.

Mike's Radio World: Live Radio on the Web by Mike Dean

<http://www.mikesradioworld.com/oceana.html>

Arranged by region of the country and then city. The author provides similar sites for New Zealand and some other nations as well.

British Broadcasting Corporation

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/>

Includes all aspects of the London-based but world-famous broadcaster, including the World Service.

Canadian Broadcasting Corporation

<http://cbc.radio-canada.ca/htmen/>

The English-language home-page for the Canadian CBC services, including history and other information.

Commonwealth Broadcasting Association

<http://www.cba.org.uk/>

Organization of public service radio and television broadcasters in the British Commonwealth, useful for a number of African nations especially.

The Offshore Radio Guide

<http://www.offshore-radio.de/>

Sub-titled "watery wireless websites," this includes all types of information on past and present pirate (offshore ship-based or artificial-island based) radio stations, with links to many of them.

Virgin Radio

<http://www.virginradio.co.uk/>

One of the many local commercial radio service providers in Britain.

United States Government International Radio Broadcasting

<http://www.ibb.gov/>.

The opening page for the International Broadcasting Bureau, which is the controlling body for the VOA, RFE, RL, Radio Free Asia, and Radio Marti. Provides gateways to each of the individual services.

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 Jack Mitchell
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 Matthew Murray
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 D'Arcy John Oaks
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 Cary O'Dell
 Robert M. Ogles
 Ryota Ono
 Peter B. Orlik
 Pierre-C. Pagé
 Brian T. Pauling
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 Douglas K. Penisten
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Ruth Bayard Smith
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David R. Spencer
David Spiceland
Laurie R. Squire
Michael Stamm
Christopher H. Sterling
Will Straw
Michael Streissguth

Mary Kay Switzer
Rick Sykes
Marlin R. Taylor
Matt Taylor
Herbert A. Terry
Richard Tiner
Regis Tucci
David E. Tucker
Don Rodney Vaughan
Mary Vipond
Randall Vogt
Ira Wagman
Andrew Walker
Peter Wallace
Jennifer Hyland Wang
Richard Ward
Mary Ann Watson
Brian West
Gilbert A. Williams
Sonja Williams
Wenmouth Williams, Jr.
Roger Wilmut
Stephen M. Winzenburg
Richard Wolff
Roosevelt "Rick" Wright, Jr.
Edgar B. Wycoff
Thimios Zaharopoulos

LIST OF ENTRIES

- Volume 1
- A.C. Nielsen Company
Adult Contemporary Format
Adventures in Good Music
Advertising
Advertising Agencies
Affirmative Action
Africa
Africa No. 1
African-Americans in Radio
Album-Oriented Rock Format
Aldrich Family
Alexanderson, E.F.W.
All India Radio
All News Format
All Night Radio
All Things Considered
Allen, Fred
Allen, Mel
Alternative Format
Amalgamated Broadcasting System
Ameche, Don
American Broadcasting Company
American Broadcasting Station in Europe
American Family Robinson
American Federation of Musicians
American Federation of Television and
Radio Artists
American School of the Air
American Society of Composers, Authors,
and Publishers
American Telephone and Telegraph
American Top 40
American Women in Radio and
Television
America's Town Meeting of the Air
Amos 'n' Andy
- AM Radio
Antenna
Arab World Radio
Arbitron
Archers
Armed Forces Radio Service
Armstrong, Edwin Howard
Asia
Association for Women in
Communications
Audience
Audience Research Methods
Audimeter
Audio Processing
Audio Streaming
Audiotape
Auditorium Testing
Australia
Australian Aboriginal Radio
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 WDIA
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 Wertheimer, Linda
 Westerns
 Westinghouse
 Westwood One
 WEVD
 WGI
 WGN
 WHA and Wisconsin Public Radio
 WHER
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 White, Wallace H.
 Williams, Bruce
 Williams, Jerry
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 WINS
 Wireless Acts of 1910 and 1912; Radio Acts of
 1912 and 1927
 Wire Recording
 WJR
 WLAC
 WLS

WLW	WSM
WMAQ	WTOP
WNBC	WWJ
WNEW	WWL
WNYC	WWVA
Wolfman Jack	WXYZ
Women in Radio	Wynn, Ed
WOR	
World Radiocommunication Conference	Yankee Network
World War II and U.S. Radio	<i>You Bet Your Life</i>
WQXR	<i>Your Hit Parade</i>
Wright, Early	<i>Yours Truly, Johnny Dollar</i>
WRR	
WSB	Zenith Radio Corporation

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A.C. Nielsen Company

Developing Radio Ratings

From 1942 to 1964, the A.C. Nielsen Company was a primary provider of U.S. radio ratings. The company pioneered the commercial use of mechanical and then electronic meter devices to automatically record which stations listeners were tuning their receivers to.

Origins

Arthur C. Nielsen (1897–1980) founded his marketing company in 1923 after serving briefly as a naval officer in World War I and working with two Chicago companies. With six employees and \$45,000 in capital from Nielsen's former fraternity brothers, the company specialized in performance surveys of industrial equipment. The company went bankrupt twice in its early years. A decade later, Nielsen expanded his service by launching a continuous market research service, the Nielsen Drug Index, to chart the retail flow of specific products. The Nielsen Food Index soon followed. Both were based on the same premise (which was later applied successfully to broadcast ratings): carefully develop a sample of stores and visit them periodically to measure unit sales through audits of purchase invoices and shelf stock. When projected regionally or nationally, these data provided a measure of sales that could be related directly to marketing efforts.

Nielsen entered the radio audience measurement business at the request of clients who found the food and drug indexes useful guides and desired the same assistance in purchasing radio advertising time. In 1936 Nielsen acquired the rights to a mechanical device developed by two Massachusetts Institute of Technology professors, Robert Elder and Louis Woodruff. The "Audimeter" made a graphic record on a filmstrip, providing a continuous record of radio receiver use—when it was on and to which station(s) it was tuned—over a month-long period. These early meters were both costly and cumbersome, especially as the tape had to be picked up by Nielsen personnel

before the tabulation of results could begin. The tapes were then shipped to a Chicago plant where they were "read" by specially designed machines. After modifications to the meter, their use was subject to intense experimentation for four years in several Midwestern states.

Radio Ratings

The Nielsen Radio Index (NRI) ratings service, based on the meter system, was introduced commercially in December 1942 in competition with the then-dominant "Hooperatings," which used telephone surveys of sample homes. A key advantage of the Nielsen meter was that its sample (initially just 800 homes in the east-central portion of the U.S.) was not restricted to telephone-owning homes; this was important at a time when upward of a third of homes in some areas lacked the instrument. By 1946 the NRI had expanded service to some 1,100 homes over most of the country. NRI also introduced an improved meter with a mailable tape (it provided measures over two weeks) to speed delivery of the resultant ratings and to render personal staff visits to Nielsen sample homes unnecessary. The streamlined process—which could measure four separate radio receivers—allowed expansion of meter-based ratings to both FM listening and television watching.

By early 1949, the NRI sample had expanded to cover virtually all of the country except for the Mountain time zone, which was especially expensive to serve. In early 1950 Nielsen purchased the Hooper national radio and fledgling television ratings services (Hooper continued local radio market ratings for several years). By this point, Nielsen's "methodology, financial position, organization and widespread industry acceptance rendered him nearly invincible" (Beville, 1988). A year later, the NRI sample was up to 1,500 homes—and its charges to advertisers and broadcasters had nearly doubled. But these were national (network) ratings, not local-market measurements.

The Nielsen Station Index (NSI) debuted in 1954 to measure household use of both radio and television on a local-market basis. This service was not audimeter based, but rather combined the use of traditional diaries (in which audience members recorded their listening time) with a "Recordimeter" device, which signaled with light flashes and a buzzer when listeners should make a diary entry and at the same time kept a rough measure of when the receiver was on. This crude meter helped to validate the diary information provided. And the diary could provide what no meter then could—demographic information on the gender and age of the person listening. In 1959 computers were first applied to Nielsen ratings processing and analysis. By the early 1960s, NSI was measuring radio listening in more than 200 markets. But its seeming market dominance would be short-lived, for, as Hugh Beville writes,

in 1962 Nielsen discontinued quarter-hour ratings because of declining radio listening levels and the rapidly increasing number of radio stations. This cost many client cancellations, which sparked the NSI decision to abandon radio. Not only was television seriously diminishing prime-time radio audiences, but the advent of automobile and portable receivers, plus many new independent stations, was rapidly changing basic radio listening patterns. In 1963 the local radio service was discontinued (Beville, 1988).

Contributing to the end of Nielsen radio ratings was a series of congressional hearings into the ratings for both radio and television. Nielsen became a central target in those hearings, in part because of methodological questions about some of the company's means of ratings data collection. Nielsen's system measured only home viewing, not portables. The out-of-home audience, as it became known, grew with the movement to the suburbs and the use of the automobile. In response to the changing radio audience, Nielsen created an Audimeter to be installed in automobiles. However, when his clients were unwilling to support the investment costs needed to upgrade, he decided to quit the radio business. The Nielsen Company decided to focus its investment efforts on the greater returns potential from television ratings. The end of Nielsen's radio services was a key factor leading to development of RADAR national radio ratings.

Later Years

After leaving the radio ratings business, Nielsen continued to develop its national television network and local-market ratings services. It introduced overnight ("instant") television meters in major markets in the early 1960s and slowly expanded the process to other cities and network ratings. In

1987 Nielsen introduced its still-controversial "people meter," which could measure TV receiver tuning as well as who was tuning in. With Arbitron's departure from television ratings in the late 1990s, Nielsen became the only source of both national and local-market television ratings.

When the elder Nielsen retired in 1976, A.C. Nielsen, Jr., became the company's leader. In 1984 he sold the firm to Dun and Bradstreet, which in 1998 split the marketing and media research aspects of the company. The latter was sold to Lucent Technology and then spun off to a new corporate owner, Cognizant Corporation, in mid-1998. At the end of 1999, Nielsen Media Research was purchased by a Dutch company, VNU NV.

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See also Arbitron; Audience Research Methods; Audimeter; Cooperative Analysis of Broadcasting; Hooperatings; RADAR

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Active Rock Format. *See Heavy Metal/Active Rock Format*

Adult Contemporary Format

Adult Contemporary (AC) music emphasizes a mixture of modern day (contemporary) and older popular hit singles.

The AC format has its origins in the arrival and eventual permanence of rock and roll as a music form in the United States during the late 1950s. According to Hyatt (1999), radio stations in the United States at that time wanted to keep airing current popular hits, a staple format that had already attracted listeners for decades. However, these stations did not want to play rock and roll and tried to find a way to keep the popular hits genre without having to play songs with a rock beat. Thus, they turned to popular songs that lacked the “heavy” sounds of rock and roll. These tunes became known by those in the radio industry as “easy listening” or “middle of the road.” Hyatt refers to Adult Contemporary as being synonymous with both terms.

Beginning in the 1960s, *Billboard* magazine created a new chart listing the top records considered easy listening and middle of the road, in addition to its pop, rhythm and blues, and country lists of popular songs. *Billboard* gave several names to this chart throughout the 1960s, which listed the top 20 (and during some years the top 15 to 25) singles. These names included “Easy Listening,” “Pop-Standard Singles,” and “Middle-Road Singles.” By 1965 the magazine had settled on “Easy Listening” to describe the chart. Artists listed on this chart included music industry veterans such as Dean Martin, Frank Sinatra, Nat King Cole, and Andy Williams. By the late 1960s, folk artists such as Peter, Paul, and Mary and Simon and Garfunkel had hits on the “Easy Listening” list. The chart also included instrumentals by Herb Alpert and the Tijuana Brass, film composer Henry Mancini, and Mason Williams during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Also during this period, Hyatt notes, “fewer people who considered themselves easy listening fans were requesting previous favorites like Frank Sinatra and Ed Ames.” More notably, crossover between the “Easy Listening” and “Pop” lists started to occur at this time, with artists such as the Carpenters and Bread releasing mellow, rock-type songs that were listed on both charts.

“Easy Listening” music grew in popularity; *Billboard* expanded the chart, lengthening the list from the top 40 singles to the top 50 in 1973. Keith (1987) points out that this genre

appealed to the same type of audience who listened to stations featuring soft and mellow rock music. Additionally, during the late 1970s, the number of soft and mellow rock listeners declined as the disco format grew in popularity and as the number of hit music stations increased: “It was out of this flux that the AC format emerged in earnest” (Keith, 1987). *Billboard* renamed the “Easy Listening” chart in 1979, when it became known as “Adult Contemporary.” During the next 14 years, the list’s length fluctuated between 40 and 50 hit singles of the genre. In 1996 the chart came to list the top 25 singles (Hyatt, 1999).

During the 1980s, the AC format became the nation’s most widespread, with its target audience encompassing the 25 to 49 age group, especially women, which made it appealing to advertisers as well. By the time of AC’s maturation, its audience base consisted of adults who had composed the teen listenership of Top 40 radio in the early 1970s. AC, also referred to as lite or soft rock, drew in the thirty-something listener by offering “popular, upbeat music without the harshness that often accompanies rock” (Keith, 1987). Typical artists with top AC hits during the 1980s included Lionel Richie, Billy Joel, Whitney Houston, and Phil Collins. Artists popular during the 1970s also hit the chart, such as Cher, Elton John, Barry Manilow, and Barbra Streisand.

Regarding the programming of the AC format, stations that employ the genre place greater emphasis on the music, thus minimizing disc jockey chatter. AC stations might describe themselves as “soft rockers” or as “hot, soft, lite, bright, mix or variety”; the phrase “continuous soft rock favorites of yesterday and today” serves as a common line in promotional spots (MacFarland, 1997). The music mix itself combines contemporary singles with hits from the past, though these generally do not include true “oldies.” Called “recurrents,” these older songs typically have just left the current chart and are usually between six months and two years old (Howard, Kievan, and Moore, 1994). Halper (1991) contends that AC music directors must keep up with the newest adult pop artists, such as those presented on VH1, the slightly more mature version of MTV, the cable music channel.

AC stations present chart toppers, both current and potential, and recurrents in blocks or sweeps, which can last as long

as 28 minutes of uninterrupted music. Announcers usually follow these sweeps with recaps of song titles and artists, and commercials are limited to four or five per cluster (MacFarland, 1997). AC stations also may feature contests, all-request hours, programs that feature hits from a particular decade, and lifestyle-oriented news. As with other music-oriented formats, news takes a secondary position, although it is usually presented during drive time. Some stations feature strong on-air personalities, especially in the morning, and an upbeat delivery style similar to the Contemporary Hits Radio and Top 40 formats.

By the mid-1990s, AC came in second to country as the most popular format in the United States, even though the number of stations featuring this format dropped between 1989 and 1994. Artists with hits on the *Billboard* AC chart during the 1990s included Mariah Carey, Michael Bolton, and previous hitmakers such as Elton John and Eric Clapton. AC hits of the late 1990s exemplified the soft/lite rock, “easy listening” sounds of early AC, a key characterization of this adult-oriented radio format, as embodied in the chart-topping singles of Canadian singer Celine Dion, who headed the list of all artists with songs spending the most weeks at number one on *Billboard*’s AC chart (65, 19 of which were with one song [Hyatt, 1999]).

ERIKA ENGSTROM

See also Contemporary Hit Radio Format/Top 40; Easy Listening/Beautiful Music Format; Middle of the Road Format; Soft Rock Format

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Adventures in Good Music

Classical Music Program

Created by Karl Haas in 1959, *Adventures in Good Music* is one of the longest running and most widely acclaimed classical music programs in radio broadcast history.

Adventures is syndicated in more than 200 U.S. cities. The U.S. Armed Forces network beams the program to U.S. bases on all continents, and 37 Australian Broadcasting Corporation stations broadcast the show. The program is translated into Spanish in Mexico City, causing the one-hour program to run an hour and a half. And in Germany, at the request of the South German Broadcasting Corporation (Suddeutscher Rundfunk), *Adventures* is available in German under a specially formatted, select series of presentations. The program is also recorded in French for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC).

Since 1970, Cleveland classical radio station WCLV has supervised syndication of *Adventures* through its subsidiary,

Seaway Productions. Each new syndicated program—recorded by producer and host Karl Haas in his New York studio—is transmitted via Seaway Productions to a domestic satellite that beams the program to stations across the United States. Elsewhere, stations receive the program on magnetic tape reels that are duplicated at WCLV and mailed in advance of program dates.

Karl Haas began his lifetime involvement with classical music at the age of six in his hometown, Speyer-on-the-Rhine, Germany, where he studied piano under the guidance of his mother. At the age of 12, he was performing in a piano trio with friends. As a young man, Haas studied music at Germany’s University of Heidelberg. At the onset of Nazi tyranny in the 1930s, Haas fled to Detroit, Michigan, where he studied at the famed Netzorg School of Music and commuted from

Detroit to New York to study with the legendary pianist Artur Schnabel.

Haas' radio career began in 1950 at Detroit station WWJ, where he was under contract to host a weekly preview of concerts performed by the Detroit Symphony. His program caught the attention of the CBC, which offered him the position of conducting a chamber orchestra and performing piano recitals for a weekly program. Based on the phenomenal popularity of his Canadian show, CBC requested that Haas incorporate a commentary about his music into the program. Following audiences' favorable response to his lively narratives, in 1959 Detroit radio station WJR hired Haas to develop his own daily one-hour music-plus-commentary program—and *Adventures in Good Music* was born.

The format of *Adventures* has remained nearly the same since its debut. Each program is fashioned around a central theme, punctuated and illustrated with musical selections and enhanced by knowledgeable and often witty commentary originated by Haas. One program may highlight the best of Bach, and yet another may challenge listeners to "Name the Composer" in a musical mystery teaser. Still other programs may seek to understand and explain the impact of humor in music or how music is relevant to current events.

In creating his *Adventures* calendar, Haas explores both the traditional and the unconventional. A sequence from a typical month commenced with a program honoring the anniversary of Chopin's birthday. By midweek, "In Every Sense of the Word" offered an exploration of the five senses and their musical equivalents. Haas scheduled a traditional St. Patrick's Day salute on March 17. Then, he finished off the month's menu with an unconventional study of "When in Rome . . ." featuring works by non-Italian composers based on Italian culture.

As an active performer on the recital concert tour circuit, Haas has held a series of biannual "live" *Adventures in Good Music* programs at New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art since 1977.

Adventures has twice been awarded the coveted George Peabody Award for excellence in broadcasting. Haas has received numerous awards in recognition of his outstanding contributions to radio and for furthering the appreciation of classical music. The French Government presented him with the Officer d'academie and Chevalier de l'ordre des arts et lettres awards. In Germany he received the prestigious First Class Order of Merit. In 1991 Haas was awarded the National Endowment for the Humanities' Charles Frankel Award. Additionally, Haas was honored with the National Telemedia Award and has received eight honorary doctorates. In March 1995 Haas was the first classical broadcaster to be nominated for induction into the Radio Hall of Fame in Chicago.

Continuing his broadcast effort to educate and entertain listeners to the joys of classical music, Haas authored the refer-



Karl Haas, *Adventures in Good Music*
Courtesy Karl Haas

ence book *Inside Music*. Also, in 1993 and 1994 he released three compact discs, *The Romantic Piano*, *Story of the Bells*, and *Song and Dance*, which marked a new venue for *Adventures in Good Music*.

ELIZABETH COX

See also Classical Music Format

Producer/Creator Karl Haas

Programming History

Syndicated by WCLV, Cleveland, Ohio 1959–

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Advertising

Advertising specifically refers to paid commercial announcements aired by a radio station. Although commercials may sometimes seem distracting to listeners, radio stations from the earliest days recognized that there had to be a way for a station to pay its operating expenses, and by the late 1920s radio stations in the United States had adopted commercial advertising.

Origins

Advertising on radio began amid controversy, as many public figures and some station operators initially felt the new medium should not depend on advertiser support. Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover and others believed radio should not be allowed to let advertising invade listeners' homes (although newspapers and magazines had been doing just that for decades). But as there was no other practical means of supporting operating costs, advertising on the air gradually attracted greater support.

The American Telephone and Telegraph (AT&T)-operated New York City station WEAJ is generally credited with selling the first radio advertisement (what the telephone company owner termed "toll broadcasting"), although other outlets may have made similar sales at about the same time. On 28 August 1922 the Queensboro Corporation spent \$100 for a 15-minute commercial message on WEAJ touting a new real estate venture. The same message was repeated for five days and again a month later, resulting in many apartment sales. But despite early sales to an oil company and American Express, paid advertising on the station caught on slowly, for too little was known about radio's sales potential.

The critical turning point came in 1927–28 when several trends combined to increase acceptance of radio as an advertising medium. Among them were the development of national networks (the National Broadcasting Company [NBC] published its first pamphlet touting radio advertising in early 1927); the reduction of interference (thanks to the Federal Radio Commission [FRC]); better and less-expensive radio receivers (which led to growing audiences); the first scientific audience research on radio; the recognition by pioneering advertisers of what radio could accomplish as a sales medium; the growing interest of advertising agencies (the first book on radio advertising was published in 1927); and the general acceptance by the public of advertising as the means to pay for entertainment programming.

Radio Advertising Expands

The Depression brought about an important change in radio advertising. Commercials became more direct, intent on getting listeners to commit to a purchase and focusing on prices.

Some program-length advertisements were accepted by stations hard-pressed to stay in business, as was barter advertising (exchange of station time for goods the station or its personnel could use). Advertising agencies began to develop expertise in radio, and station representative firms began to appear in the early 1930s. Radio's portion of all advertising grew from about two percent in 1928 to nearly 11 percent in 1932.

By the mid-1930s, advertising agencies were not only selling most of radio network time but were increasingly producing the programs themselves. This control continued into the early years of television. About 60 percent of all radio advertising was placed with networks (primarily NBC-Red and the Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]) and their owned stations, with the other 40 percent going to regional and local advertising on several hundred other stations. Daytime advertising focused on soap opera audiences, whereas evening or prime-time advertising helped to support the comedy, drama, and variety programs that attracted the largest audiences. Many advertiser names appeared in program titles to emphasize their support (and control). Most advertising revenue went to the most powerful stations in larger cities.

World War II brought great prosperity to radio as advertisers flocked to buy time when newspaper and magazine advertising was limited by paper rationing. Changes in tax laws served to encourage advertising expenditure of funds that would otherwise be taxed up to 90 percent. Such "ten-cent dollars" filled radio's coffers and led to sharp declines in sustaining (not advertiser-supported) program time. Many companies producing war goods advertised to keep their names before the public, and they often supported highbrow programming with limited (but important) audiences.

Radio's post-war years were marked by a shift away from network advertising (because of television competition) and a growth of "spot" campaigns, in which advertisers would buy time on key stations in selected markets. By 1952 local radio advertising reached half of the medium's total time sales. But far more stations were sharing the advertising pie, thus sharply increasing competition. Radio also became a more direct competitor with local newspapers. Despite these trends, overall radio advertising sales increased each year, and, perhaps ironically, helped to support the expansion of television.

FM radio was a minor player in advertising sales for its first several decades. Only in the 1960s did FM outlets begin to see success in their quest for advertisers, thanks to independent programming, stereo, and a growing audience interested in quality sound. One FM station in Los Angeles experimented with an all classified-ad format but quickly failed. By about 1980, FM became the largest radio medium in terms of listeners, and soon among advertisers as well.

Still, the overall growth in radio station numbers meant that many stations were barely surviving, and a substantial proportion actually lost money in many years. Competition among stations, and between radio and other media, became tighter. Listeners noted the gradual increase in time devoted to advertising messages, and “clutter” (multiple messages played consecutively) became an issue.

Types of Announcements

In addition to entertainment programming, radio stations generally air commercials, station promotional announcements (promos), non-revenue generating announcements intended to encourage further radio listening, and public service announcements (PSAs), which air in support of not-for-profit organizations (ranging from the American Red Cross to a local civic group). All four of these categories are generally referred to as *spots* and range up to 60 seconds in length each.

Commercials are played in blocks or sets sometimes consisting of six or more announcements at a time. Depending on spot lengths, a commercial break might consume five continuous minutes of airtime. More than \$19.5 billion was spent on radio advertising in the United States in 2002; about three-fourths of that total was spent on local advertising. When the advertising is sold effectively—based on the station’s listening audience and program approach—a listener may benefit by receiving worthwhile consumer information.

For the potential advertiser, a radio station is in the *ear leasing* business. Just as the radio station must build listener awareness of its programming, advertising clients need listener awareness of the goods or services they sell and, most importantly, the clients need customer traffic. The job of radio advertising is to provide the ears of listeners who will hear the ad buyer’s message and then visit the store or otherwise obtain the product or service advertised.

Sales Department

A sales manager or general sales manager supervises day-to-day station sales operations and helps make revenue projections for the station. The members of the sales staff are usually called account executives (AEs), although some stations may refer to them as marketing executives or marketing consultants.

It is the job of account executives to prospect for potential clients, develop client presentations, secure advertising buys, and service the account. Servicing includes ensuring that ads run when they should, updating ad copy as needed, and, in some smaller markets, collecting payment. Radio account executives are usually paid according to their sales performance. AEs may be paid a straight commission or a percentage of the sales dollars they generate. The latter compensation plan

carries a strong incentive for the salesperson to produce results, but it also means the AE has little financial security.

Another approach is to pay the account executive a “draw” against commission. The draw enables the AE to receive minimum compensation based on anticipated sales. Once this minimum is reached, additional compensation is paid through sales commissions. If the AE is paid a commission based on advertising sold—rather than advertising revenue collected from clients—and later has a client who defaults on a bill, the AE may have a “charge back” to the draw and commission. In other words, the account executive must return any income earned on ads that aired but were not paid for. For this reason, many stations pay account executives based on advertising revenue collected rather than advertising sold.

As with any electronic medium, the biggest problem stations face is inventory management. For any station, “inventory” refers to the number of commercials the station has available for sale. Advertising time is a perishable commodity. Any commercial inventory not sold is lost forever. There is no effective way for the station to store, save, or warehouse the unsold commercial inventory for use at a future time when demand is higher, nor can stations effectively place additional commercials in their broadcast schedule. Airing more spots may create a short-term revenue increase, but commercial clutter is cited by listeners as one of the biggest distractions to radio listening. A decline in audience will consequently lessen the station’s effectiveness in selling future advertising time.

The radio industry publication *Duncan’s American Radio* estimates that radio listening in 2000 was at its lowest level in 20 years. *The Wall Street Journal* cited reasons for decreased listening: a survey of 1,071 respondents by Edison Media Research found listener perceptions of increased ad clutter on many stations. Another study found commuters who owned a cell-phone reported less listening to the radio than a year earlier.

Benefits and Disadvantages of Radio Advertising

Radio advertising, when compared with television, cable, newspaper, or magazine advertising, offers the advertiser some unique advantages. Over the course of a typical week, nearly everyone listens at least briefly. Radio reaches more than three-fourths of all consumers each day and about 95 percent of all consumers during a typical week. That exceeds the number of newspaper readers and television viewers. The typical person spends about three hours listening to radio on an average weekday, almost always while doing something else (especially driving).

There are, of course, disadvantages to advertising on radio. It is virtually impossible to buy advertising on just one or two radio stations and still meet an advertiser’s marketing needs. The multitude of stations in most markets and their specialized

formats (and thus relatively narrow audiences) often mean an advertiser must purchase time on multiple stations in the same market. Radio is sometimes considered a “background” medium. Listeners often tune-out commercials or, even worse, tune to another station when commercials air. Where people listen to the radio—in cars for example—often makes it difficult for consumers to benefit from such information as telephone numbers, addresses, or other product attributes. When a station’s audience is perceived as being small, the client may think the ad buy will not be effective. When the station’s listening audience is large, a client may think an ad campaign involves overspending for uninterested listeners.

The first job of the sales staff is to help clients understand how effective radio is when compared with competing advertising media. The second and more difficult job is to sell advertising time on a specific station. Proliferation of radio stations and continued fragmentation of audiences has made it vital for stations to market a station brand to both listeners and advertisers. Advertisers are no longer buying based solely on a station’s audience. They are aware of the listener demographic profile and the station’s on-air presence, which includes announcers, music, and promotional events. Listener demographics refers to listener age range, gender, ethnicity, socioeconomic background, consumer spending patterns, and a host of other qualitative variables.

Any advertiser must be concerned with both the formal and the hidden costs of purchasing radio time. The most obvious expense is the stated cost of the time, expressed either as actual dollars charged or in terms of cost per thousand listeners. Hidden cost refers to the quality or nature of the audience an advertiser is buying. How closely does this audience match the advertiser’s customer profile? Significant deviation from those consumers whom the advertiser needs to reach probably indicates an inefficient advertising purchase.

Radio station owners and the Radio Advertising Bureau, an industry trade group, work to maintain radio’s position as a valuable ad source. Most radio station managers acknowledge that their biggest competitors are not other radio stations in the market playing the same music and attempting to attract the same listener group. The biggest competitors for radio station time sales are usually local newspapers and, to a lesser degree, television stations, billboards, or direct mail. By the turn of the century, radio advertising was accounting for about eight percent of all advertising expenditure—an increase from the medium’s low point from the 1950s into the 1980s, but far below radio’s network heyday of the mid-1940s.

Radio Advertising Clients

Radio stations generally sell advertising to three distinct groups of clients: local, regional (or “national spot”), and national. The percentage of clients in each category varies with

market size and the station’s ratings. Small market stations air primarily local ads. Successful stations in large markets command more regional and national advertising. Nearly 80 percent of all dollars spent purchasing radio time are for local advertising.

National advertisers are often involved in local ad sales through cooperative advertising programs. These allow local retailers to share the cost of radio time with a national firm. The national company provides an advertising allowance to the local retailer, usually determined by the dollar value of the inventory purchased from the national company. This advertising allowance can be used to buy ads to promote both the national brand and the local retailer. National manufacturers may also produce radio commercials that only need the local retailer’s name added as a “local tag” at the end of the ad.

Advertising Effectiveness

The effectiveness of radio advertising is gauged by measuring the reach and frequency of ad exposure. Reach refers to the number of different people who are exposed to the ad, whereas frequency refers to the number of times different people hear the ad. Even though virtually all of the population will listen to the radio at some point during the week, it will take multiple ads to ensure that all listener segments hear an ad. Also, radio ads probably won’t produce the degree of effectiveness the advertiser wants if consumers are exposed to the ad only one time.

The nature of radio use suggests that consumers are often engaged in other activities while they listen to radio. To create an impression in the consumer’s mind, repeated exposure to the message (frequency) is typically needed. To increase the likelihood that ads will cause the consumer to take action, frequent exposure to the message is desired. The advertiser might schedule multiple days of advertising with one or more ads per hour during a selected time period to increase frequency.

Radio advertising sales depend on quantitatively and qualitatively identifying the listeners to a particular station. Quantity is measured by radio ratings.

Research helps a radio station further quantify the listening audience—advertisers want to know how many people are listening and just who the listeners are, with respect to age, income, or gender. By collecting such listener demographic information, radio advertising effectiveness can be evaluated for specific audience segments, such as women 25 to 49 years of age.

Two of the most common calculations for comparing advertising effectiveness are “Gross Impressions” and “Cost Per Thousand” comparisons. Gross Impressions (GIs) measure the total number of people reached with a given commercial message. GIs are calculated by multiplying the AQH (average

quarter hour) persons estimate for the particular daypart by the number of spots to be run in the daypart. The number of listeners or AQH persons is the number of persons listening to the station in a 15-minute period.

Cost Per Thousand provides a way to compare the cost of reaching the targeted audience either on a single station or among multiple stations. Cost per Thousand determines the cost of reaching a thousand station listeners (sometimes referred to as "Listeners Per Dollar"; in some small markets, the calculation could be cost per hundred). The simplest way to calculate Cost per Thousand is to divide the cost of the ad by the number of listeners (in thousands) who are expected to hear the ad.

It is important also to consider listener demographics. A listener profile that better matches a product or service may justify paying a higher Cost per Thousand. Another method for calculating Cost per Thousand is to divide the total cost of the ad schedule by the total number of Gross Impressions. "Reverse Cost Per Thousand" enables an account executive to determine the maximum rate per spot that a competing station can charge to remain as cost-effective as his or her own station.

It is also helpful for account executives and advertisers to know a station's "exclusive cume listeners." Rather than count listeners multiple times during the day, this calculation allows the advertiser to see how many different people listen to the station during a day. A Contemporary Hits Radio format will usually have greater listener turnover and a higher cume because there are usually several stations in a market with this format or a complementary format, and listeners are prone to change stations frequently. On the other hand, the only station in a market will have a smaller exclusive audience or cume.

Optimum Effective Scheduling is a radio ad scheduling strategy that is based on audience turnover. Optimum Effective Scheduling proposes to improve the effectiveness of a client's ad schedule by calculating the number of spots a client should run. Optimum Effective Scheduling was developed by Steve Marx and Pierre Bouvard to balance the desire for ad frequency and reach while producing an effective commercial schedule. Marx and Bouvard use station turnover or *T/O* (cume audience divided by AQH) times a constant they created, 3.29, to determine the number of spots an advertiser should schedule each week (see Marx and Bouvard, 1993).

From the standpoint of generating ad revenue for the radio station, stations with low turnover are at a disadvantage when using Optimum Effective Scheduling. Their audience listens longer and thus fewer spots are needed to produce an effective schedule of reach and frequency. Assuming ad rates per thousand listeners are reasonably comparable, these stations must attract more clients to generate the same amount of ad revenue as the station with high listener turnover.

Advertising Rates

Radio station advertising rates were once typically printed out on a rate card. Most rate cards were valid for six months to a year. Cards listed the charges for either programs or spot advertisements at different times of the day (dayparts). The card might also specify a price discount as the client purchased more ads per day or per week. This rate card is sometimes referred to as a quantity card or quantity-discount rate card. The quantity card might be an effective way to reward loyal advertising clients but is a poor technique for managing valuable advertising inventory. The radio station, with a limited inventory of commercial time, is discounting the price of its product. The discount applies, no matter what the available advertising situation is like.

Increasingly replacing formal rate cards is the grid rate card system. Using an inventory tracking software package, the grid allows a radio station to track inventory available for sale. This might mean keeping track of the number of commercial minutes sold or the total number of commercial units (spots) available for sale. The inventory management system also enables the radio station to increase or decrease its ad rate in response to customer demand. When a radio station has sold nearly all the advertising it can effectively schedule, it should be able to charge more for remaining commercial units. A grid rate card enables the station to adjust advertising rates according to the amount of inventory remaining.

Once the station's sales department has established a record with clients of pricing inventory according to demand, account executives may be more effective in pre-selling advertising time, which should decrease the likelihood of lost ad inventory. When retailers place advertising orders earlier, the station can project revenue more effectively. The longer a client waits to buy commercials, the more likely the available supply of ad time will decrease and the price of the remaining time will increase.

Radio advertising continues to be an important business for station owners. Ownership consolidation has increased sales pressures for account executives, but it has also lessened direct competition by decreasing the number of station owners. Radio's biggest challenge will be to make sure programming and advertising remain relevant to users who have at their disposal a wider range of substitute products ranging from satellite delivery audio to downloaded and home-burned CDs or MP3 audio files.

GREGORY G. PITTS AND CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Advertising Agencies; Arbitron; Commercial Load; Demographics; Market; Promotion; Radio Advertising Bureau; Station Rep Firms; WEA

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Advertising Agencies

When radio broadcasting established itself in the United States and United Kingdom in the 1920s, advertising agencies were full-service organizations—planning complete advertising campaigns, producing advertising messages, and placing these messages in various media. In the United States, advertising agencies were initially reluctant to recommend radio advertising to their clients; in time, however, the agencies became supporters of radio advertising and, until the arrival of television, helped build the radio networks. In the United Kingdom, where until 1972 noncommercial radio broadcasting by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) was the rule, advertising agencies lobbied for commercial radio and worked with foreign and pirate radio stations on behalf of clients; however, once commercial radio arrived, UK agencies were slow to embrace it.

Resisting Radio Advertising

The rise of radio advertising in the United States was tentative and slow. Advertising first appeared in 1922 on station WEAF in the form of sponsored time. Other stations gradually accepted sponsored programs, but many broadcasters viewed advertising agencies as competitors and were hesitant to sell them time or allow sponsorships. Anti-advertising rhetoric

from listeners, critics, legislators, and regulators fueled opposition as well.

Surprisingly, advertisers and agencies distrusted the notion of radio advertising. Agencies doubted that radio advertisements would work, a sentiment shared by many advertisers. The advertising industry also believed listeners might resent radio sponsorship and, consequently, reject other forms of advertising by the same advertisers. This was of particular concern to print advertisers and their agencies.

For several years agencies warned their clients against using radio advertising. Advertisers had to produce programs themselves with assistance from station personnel. For example, in 1925 Clicquot, a soda manufacturer, worked directly with WEAF to create the *Clicquot Club Eskimos* music program because its agency did not believe in radio. There were, however, exceptions.

William H. Rankin of the Rankin advertising agency decided to test radio advertising before recommending it to clients. He bought time on WEAF for a talk about advertising but received only a small number of letters and phone calls in response. One, from a prospective client, Mineralava, led to a contract and more radio advertising. Rankin began recommending radio and another client, the Goodrich Company, sponsored a radio series.

Another early exception was the N.W. Ayer agency, which supervised *The Eveready Hour* in 1923. Ayer ensured that the show was professional and identified the sponsor in the name. The favorable attention it received attracted other sponsors to radio, with shows such as the *Bakelite Hour*, *The Victor Hour*, and *The Ray-O-Vac Twins*. These shows became models for later network programs.

Although opposition to radio advertising persisted into the mid-1920s, most advertising practitioners were beginning to consider its use. To win them over, the newly formed National Broadcasting Company (NBC) and Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) radio networks hired promoters to persuade those still skeptical about the effectiveness of radio advertising.

In 1928 NBC initiated a promotional campaign to educate and encourage adoption of radio advertising. The networks targeted leading advertisers and agencies with brochures highlighting radio success stories and emphasizing radio's ability to build brand awareness and stimulate dealer goodwill. The networks also offered financial incentives by paying agencies commissions even if they were not directly involved in a client-sponsored show.

NBC loaned its employees to leading agencies to help develop radio departments. N.W. Ayer started the first full-scale radio department in 1928 and others soon followed, employing personnel who migrated from radio. The promoters urged the networks to allow agencies to sell broadcast time and produce programs. In turn, agencies recognized how lucrative program development and production could be.

Accepting Radio Advertising

The promoters' efforts were successful. By the early 1930s agencies were selling time and handling nearly all sponsored network program development and production. Agencies had gained control of prime-time radio listening and achieved great prosperity, and their radio departments became centers of power.

Sponsored radio shows of the 1920s employed "indirect advertising," simple mentions of the program's underwriter with no product description or sales pitch. The networks supported this practice with policies against direct advertising. George Washington Hill, president of the American Tobacco Company, and Albert Lasker, head of the Lord and Thomas agency, pressured the networks to allow explicit advertising messages.

Although Lasker and Hill largely conformed to the indirect advertising requirements when they launched the *Lucky Strike Dance Orchestra* in 1928, Hill, who believed strongly in intrusive radio advertising with explicit product claims, aggressively pursued this goal by forcing the issue with network executives and supporting Lucky Strike with extravagant budgets. Lord and Thomas controlled a large share of NBC's business, so Lasker had leverage as well. By 1931 women were being sold

Lucky Strikes with mildness claims by opera and film stars and "slimming" messages suggesting that listeners smoke a Lucky Strike instead of eating something sweet.

The 1930s saw advertising agencies crafting selling environments for their clients in the form of elaborate comedy, variety, and dramatic series. Vaudeville came to radio as agencies began to use star talent. Young and Rubicam created *The Jack Benny Program* for General Foods' Jell-O. Lord and Thomas produced Bob Hope. J. Walter Thompson produced the *Kraft Music Hall* with Bing Crosby and *The Chase and Sanborn Hour* with Edgar Bergen and Charlie McCarthy.

After commercializing prime-time radio, the networks, with agency help, developed a daytime audience of women listeners. The networks developed 15-minute sponsored talks with recurring characters and continuing stories. Soap operas—melodramatic serials typically sponsored by manufacturers of household detergents and cleaners—were born. Most were produced by advertising agencies.

One agency, Blackett, Sample and Hummert, built a reputation for soap opera programming. Glen Sample adapted a 1920s newspaper serial into a radio show, *Betty and Bob*, sponsored by Gold Medal Flour. Sample also developed the long-running *Ma Perkins* for Procter and Gamble's Oxydol. In 1931 Frank and Anne Hummert created a daily NBC serial, *Just Plain Bill*, for Kolynos toothpaste. The Hummerts became highly prolific soap opera creators, developing nearly half the network soap operas introduced between 1932 and 1937. Soap operas were so successful that daytime radio advertising revenues doubled between 1935 and 1939.

Agencies and radio networks were determined to protect their financial success during the Depression. Indeed, their program decisions uniformly ignored economic and social problems. With the exception of *The March of Time*, produced for *Time* magazine by Batten, Barton, Durstine and Osborn, news was all but missing from sponsored programs. Radio's skilled entertainers kept Americans' minds off their despair.

The radio and advertising industries experienced continued prosperity during World War II. Agencies encouraged clients to maintain brand awareness, even if they had no products to sell, and radio benefited from such prestigious sponsorships as *General Motors' NBC Symphony Orchestra* as well as benefiting from paper shortages that limited newspaper ads. Both industries assisted the Office of War Information with insertions of war effort announcements, earning them favorable government treatment when their wartime revenues came under close scrutiny.

U.S. Postwar Changes

Envious of the power held by advertising agencies, the radio networks decided to regain control of programming. The agencies lost ground to independent producers, but the real threat to

radio came from the growing medium of network television. Advertisers and their agencies shifted the system of star-studded, sponsored programs to television. Young and Rubicam found that its programs moved so easily to television that from 1949 to 1950 half of the top 10 TV shows were its productions.

Within a decade, network radio serials and soap operas had all but disappeared, taking with them substantial ad revenue. Whereas in 1931 network advertising constituted 51 percent of total radio advertising revenues, by 1960 that had fallen to just 7 percent. Radio survived by serving local listeners with format programming and attracting local advertising.

U.S. agencies became producers of commercials and buyers of spot radio time. Despite periods of renewed interest in radio and a resurgence of radio networks, for national advertisers and their agencies radio was relegated to the role of support medium.

Lobbying for Commercial Radio in Britain

The BBC's license forbids it from broadcasting advertising or sponsored programs. Other than English-language radio broadcasts from foreign and pirate stations, commercial radio did not officially exist in the United Kingdom until 1972. Still, from the start of British radio, advertising agencies lobbied for commercial broadcasting, which held out the possibility of more advertising business. Advertising on the BBC and the creation of a parallel commercial radio system were repeatedly ruled out by successive government inquiries.

In 1923 the Sykes Committee on Broadcasting heard advertising agencies' arguments, but found that radio advertising would unfairly benefit large advertisers, negatively affect the advertising revenues of the press, and lower broadcast program standards. Over a decade later the Ullswater Committee (1935) reaffirmed the Sykes Committee's conclusions.

Long before commercial radio arrived in the United Kingdom, a well-organized radio advertising industry was promoting products to a large British audience through English-language programming on foreign stations. These broadcasts emanated from many stations, the most well known of which were Radio Luxembourg and Radio Normandie. English-language broadcasting experiments in continental Europe during the 1920s attracted British listeners and sponsors. In 1929 Radio Publicity Limited started organizing English-language programs for record, food, toothpaste, and cigarette manufacturers. A year later the entrepreneurial Captain Leonard Plugge founded the International Broadcasting Company (IBC), also to arrange commercial programs.

Sponsored shows were usually produced and recorded in Britain and shipped to continental stations for transmission. The IBC established itself as a production facility, and leading British advertising agencies such as J. Walter Thompson and the London Press Exchange handled their own program production.

By 1936 radio advertising expenditures exceeded £1 million, and dozens of major advertisers, such as Lever Brothers, MacLeans, Carters Liver Pills, and Cadbury Brothers, were on Radio Luxembourg and Radio Normandie. J. Walter Thompson's major clients, including Rowntree, Horlicks, Ponds, and Kraft, were also substantially engaged in radio advertising. Between 1936 and 1939 Ponds and Horlicks spent 20 percent and 33 percent of their total advertising budgets, respectively, on radio. Radio advertising was sufficiently established by 1938 that British manufacturers spent over £1.5 million. Agency Mather and Crowther Limited compiled *Facts and Figures of Commercial Broadcasting*, and J. Walter Thompson provided prospective clients with a promotional recording showcasing their radio expertise.

After World War II Radio Luxembourg resumed its service to British advertising agencies and their clients; however, television lured listeners and advertisers away from radio. In 1946 the Institute of Practitioners in Advertising (IPA), an advertising industry association, published *Broadcasting: A Study of the Case for and against Commercial Broadcasting under State Control in the United Kingdom*, which claimed that commercial broadcasting had value to advertisers and the public. The IPA's recommendation was not to dissolve or create competition for the BBC but to allow commercial broadcasting within the BBC's existing structure.

The IPA monograph became an important piece of evidence examined by the Beveridge Committee (1949), which considered the introduction of commercial broadcasting. The advertising lobby was active in providing evidence and scrutinizing that of others, with J. Walter Thompson, for instance, helping to prepare materials presented by major advertisers, including Horlicks, Unilever, and Rowntree. The Beveridge Committee decided against commercial broadcasting, but a minority report proposed a system of national and local commercial radio that would later become a reality.

In the mid-1960s pirate radio stations, broadcasting from old forts and ships anchored just outside British territorial waters, afforded advertising agencies and their clients another opportunity to circumvent the United Kingdom's no-commercial-radio policy. The success of these stations appears to have finally led to officially sanctioned commercial radio. Advertising agencies continued to lobby for commercial radio and helped win Conservative Party support for the 1972 introduction of commercial local radio. Even after commercial radio became a reality, agencies worked to influence BBC policy.

Agencies and British Commercial Radio

The IPA joined others in 1984 to question the noncommercial future of the BBC. Two large agencies, D'Arcy MacManus Masius and Saatchi and Saatchi, issued reports indicating that advertising would allow the BBC to meet its revenue needs

without raising the license fee paid by listeners. Polls indicated that the public was willing to accept this arrangement, but the Peacock Committee, which was considering the issue, rejected this option.

The BBC remains noncommercial and dependent on receiver license fees. Ironically, BBC Radio has established a commercial arm, Radio International, that allows sponsorship and advertising on the programming it markets for overseas consumption.

The 1972 Broadcasting Act established commercial Independent Local Radio in the United Kingdom, opening the door for agencies to offer radio copywriting and time-buying services; however, national advertisers and their agencies were slow to embrace commercial radio for several reasons, including incomplete geographic coverage, which precluded national reach; a lack of credible audience measurement; and restrictive advertising regulations.

In the nearly two decades that these barriers were being addressed, commercial radio struggled, developing a reputation as a "two percent medium," unable to attract more than two percent of British advertising revenues. By the early 1990s advertising time and sponsorship restrictions were lifted; coverage was essentially complete, with over 130 local broadcasters on air plus a new national station; and a new audience measurement system was in place. Nevertheless, agencies continued to ignore the medium or simply used it as a campaign extension.

A Radio Advertising Bureau marketing campaign targeting agencies and advertisers helped sell advertisers and their agencies on radio. Commercial radio started to shake its reputation in the mid-1990s when a number of blue-chip advertisers first used radio. Foote, Cone, and Belding and Ogilvy and Mather directed Lever Brothers' brands Surf and Radion, respectively, to the medium. J. Walter Thompson also encouraged Kellogg to test radio in London and Jaguar to launch a promotion for its XJ models.

The number of commercial radio services continued to grow, exceeding 250 by the close of the 1990s. Between 1992 and 2002, commercial radio revenue increased 395 percent and national radio buys were accounting for over 60 percent of radio advertising revenue. Radio was Britain's fastest-growing medium and its share of advertising revenues exceeded six percent.

RANDY JACOBS

See also Advertising; British Commercial Radio; British Pirate Radio; Radio Advertising Bureau; Radio Luxembourg; WEAF

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Affirmative Action

Diversity in Employment, Programs, and Ownership

Affirmative action mandates equal treatment for all people regardless of gender, age, religion, sexual orientation, etc. The need for programs to assure this equal treatment depends on the amount and nature of discrimination; they are solutions to identified problems of discrimination, not processes unto themselves (Hooks, 1987). Applied to radio broadcasting, affirmative action programs have been related to discrimination in: (1) employment, (2) program content, and (3) station ownership. The rationale for affirmative action in radio was based on the desire of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to achieve diversity of information, defined as having many voices express opinions on many issues. The Supreme Court affirmed this goal in *Red Lion v FCC* (Honig, 1984).

Employment

Federal concern about employment diversity was initiated in the 1968 *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*. The FCC, based on the public interest standard, responded with a statement about equal employment opportunity (47 CFR 73.2080, section b). The result was an examination of license renewals to determine whether the racial composition of a station's staff was similar to the demographic makeup of the community in which the station was licensed (zone of reasonableness). Short-term renewals, fines, and the threat of possible revocations could result from non-compliance. The FCC responded with a model Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) program in 1975 to eliminate race and gender discrimination. The Supreme Court affirmed the legality of such oversight by independent regulatory agencies in *NAACP v Federal Power Commission* (1976). The FCC was committed to programming fairness and accurate representation of minority group tastes and viewpoints (FCC, 1978).

Congress, in the Cable Television Consumer Protection and Competition Act of 1992, required the FCC to monitor employment statistics for women and minorities in the cable and broadcast industries. The FCC's first report found that from 1986 to 1993 the number of women in the national workforce increased by 1.1 percent, in the broadcast industry 2.8 percent, and 3.6 percent in upper-level positions. The number of minorities increased 2.1 percent in the national workforce, 2.2 percent in the broadcast industry, and 2.4 percent in upper-level positions (FCC, 1994).

The FCC's EEO policies were overturned in *Lutheran Church v FCC* (1998). Essentially, the court found that increasing staff diversity did not necessarily lead to diversity of

viewpoints in the marketplace because only a small number of station employees made programming decisions. The policy was also overbroad, much as the Supreme Court found in *Adarand v Peña* (1995). The court's response to the FCC's request for a rehearing indicated that its decision did not preclude any policies that encouraged "broad outreach" to a diverse applicant pool. The FCC has responded with a Notice of Proposed Rule Making (NPRM) suggesting that broadcasters, cable operators, and other multi-channel video programming distributors could send job announcements to recruitment organizations or to participate in job fairs, internships, etc. They could also devise their own recruitment process. Annual hiring reports would still be filed with the FCC. These rules were adopted two years later (FCC, 2000).

A portion of these rules were overturned in *DC/MD/DE Broadcasters Association v FCC* (2001). The commission responded with another NPRM suggesting that all media outlets "widely disseminate information about job openings to all segments of the community to ensure that all qualified applicants have sufficient opportunity to compete for jobs in the broadcast industry" (FCC, 2001). These rules were adopted in November 2002. What was once a requirement that media owners represent the diversity of their audiences with equal numbers of minorities on their staffs is now a program that requires them to widely distribute job opening information, attend job fairs, and offer scholarships. Statements by the commissioners decried their inability to be more forceful in this area, but stated that limitations by the courts have greatly diminished the force of regulation. Industry spokespersons were hesitant to support the new rules, saying that EEO has been over-regulated in the past (Greenberg, 2002).

Program Content

The public interest resulted in two rules requiring diversity in program content: ascertainment and the fairness doctrine. Ascertainment required stations to determine issues of public importance by surveying listeners and community leaders. The fairness doctrine required that these issues be addressed fairly. These rules, plus a decision by the Supreme Court that gave audiences the right to testify before the FCC, *United Church of Christ v FCC* (1966), resulted in increased minority participation in the 1970s until the FCC began deregulating radio in 1981 (FCC, 1981). Honig and Williams argued that deregulation was the result of a conservative FCC wishing to reduce the workload for radio stations coupled with the loss of influential groups pressuring the FCC about diversity.

Deregulation was necessary because the number of radio stations had increased from 583 in 1941 to 9,000 by the late 1980s, forcing stations to develop specialized formats to attract audiences; radio could no longer provide general services to all of its audiences. The result was the elimination of policy guidelines concerning non-entertainment programming, the ascertainment process, commercial time guidelines, and rigidly formatted program logs (FCC, 1981). The fairness doctrine was abolished in 1987. The concern for radio format changes ended in 1976 in response to the court decision in cases such as *Citizens Committee to Save WEFM v FCC* (FCC, 1976). Although the FCC was concerned with empowering broadcasters to select entertainment formats that offered the greatest commercial viability in their markets, the results of these policy decisions might have had an impact on programming oriented toward minority audiences.

The end of program content regulation for purposes of increasing diversity and the move away from numerical goals for employment after 1976 spelled the end of employment and program affirmative action policies. The FCC argued that none of these policies actually increased the diversity of information and turned to station ownership diversity as a solution.

Station Ownership

Diversity of station ownership was a goal of the FCC that assumed that who owned radio outlets would influence, if not determine, program diversity. The assumption was that increasing minority (women and ethnic minorities) owners would increase programming for such underserved audiences and thus serve the public interest. Further encouraging ownership diversity was a two-day meeting resulting from pressure from the National Black Media Coalition and the National Association of Black-Owned Broadcasters in 1977. The resulting FCC policy statement found that despite the fact that minorities comprised approximately 20 percent of the population, they controlled less than 1 percent of the over 8,500 radio stations. The FCC proposed two solutions to the lack of ownership diversity. First, tax certificates were offered to broadcasters who sold their stations to ownership teams that had a "significant minority interest." Tax certificates allowed sellers to defer capital gains taxes. Second, "distress sales" were authorized for licensees who were scheduled for revocation hearings before the FCC. The rationale was that broadcasters who would likely lose their licenses in such hearings could sell their properties at a reduced cost to minority ownership teams, producing at least some profit from the sale of the station. The market would benefit by increasing station ownership diversity. The government would also save money because costly hearings would be avoided (FCC, 1978). The result of these two solutions was the sale of 82 radio stations to minority owners between 1978 and 1982. Despite this increase, still

only 2 percent of broadcast stations were minority owned (Honig, 1984). Former FCC Chair Kennard decried the lack of stations owned by minorities because only 2.5 percent of all broadcast stations had minority owners in 1997 (McConnell, 1998).

The historical basis for ownership diversity can be found in the *Policy Statement on Comparative Broadcast Hearings* (FCC, 1965). Two criteria stipulated by the FCC as integral to deciding between competing applicants for station licenses were diversification of ownership and integration of ownership/management, defined as station owners living and being active in the communities for which the license was granted. Application of these factors to diversity of station ownership was affirmed in *Citizens Communications Center v FCC* (1974). Direct application to minority owners of broadcast stations was made in *TV 9 Inc. v FCC* (1973).

The FCC was in the process of re-examining its ownership diversity procedures in the late 1980s. As more Republican members of Congress took office, along with conservative Democrats appointed during the Reagan administration, the FCC began to question its proper role in this area. Nevertheless, Congress made clear in budget resolutions that the FCC was not to make any changes.

The Supreme Court affirmed both the enhancement credits (tax certificates) and distress sales as methods for increasing minority ownership. The court's decision was twofold. First, increasing broadcast diversity was an important government goal. Second, FCC policies of diversifying ownership were determined to be reasonable means of meeting these goals. A substantial amount of data supporting this conclusion was appended to the decision (*Metro v FCC*).

Similar reasoning was used to support incentives for women to own broadcast stations, but data analyzed by the Court of Appeals failed to meet the second part of the Supreme Court's decision in *Metro*: no link could be established between increasing female ownership of broadcast stations and the consequent increase in programming for women. Thus, the ownership preference was held to be unconstitutional (*Lamprecht v FCC*).

Americans for Radio Diversity reported that minority ownership was up to 3.1 percent before the enactment of the Telecommunications Act of 1996. The removal of many station ownership caps has led to massive radio consolidations, however, and minority ownership has declined to 2.8 percent (2000). The decline was due in part to sharply higher station prices, which was brought about by industry consolidation.

Recent Developments

The FCC, the broadcast industry, and Congress have recently been active in exploring ways to increase diversity of radio station ownership. Then FCC Chair Reed Hundt announced

a plan resulting from the standards set by the Supreme Court in *Adarand v Pena* to give preferences to women and minorities in its auction of personal communications services, originally reserved for small businesses (Jessel, 1995). More recently, FCC commissioners Kennard and Powell challenged the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) to develop solutions. The result was the Prism Fund, funded by mega-media owners such as CBS and Disney/ABC promising \$1 billion to assist minorities and women with the purchase of radio stations. The NAB has also been active, offering \$10 million to encourage station purchases by minorities and women (McConnell, 1999). Fox created a vice president of diversity to increase the number of minority actors and broadcast managers (Schlosser, 2000). Congress has also been concerned with affirmative action and station ownership. Senator John McCain (R-AZ) offered a bill to reinstate tax credits for selling media properties to minorities (Albiniak, 1999).

More recently, the Quetzal/Chase Capital Partners announced the first three investments in minority owned enterprises: Blue Chip Broadcasting, Hookt.com, and Urban Box Office Networks, Inc. (J.P. Morgan Partners, 2000)

WENMOUTH WILLIAMS, JR.

See also African-Americans in Radio; Black-Oriented Radio; Deregulation of Radio; Gay and Lesbian Radio; Hispanic Radio; Native American Radio; Ownership, Mergers, and Acquisitions; Red Lion Case; Stereotypes on Radio

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Africa

Radio is by far the dominant and most important mass medium in Africa. Its flexibility, low cost, and oral character meet Africa's situation very well. Yet radio is less developed in Africa than it is anywhere else. There are relatively few radio stations in each of Africa's 53 nations and fewer radio sets per head of population than anywhere else in the world.

Radio remains the top medium in terms of the number of people that it reaches. Even though television has shown considerable growth (especially in the 1990s) and despite a widespread liberalization of the press over the same period, radio still outstrips both television and the press in reaching most people on the continent. The main exceptions to this are in the far south, in South Africa, where television and the press are both very strong, and in the Arab north, where television is now the dominant medium. South of the Sahara and north of the Limpopo River, radio remains dominant at the start of the 21st century. The internet is developing fast, mainly in urban areas, but its growth is slowed considerably by the very low level of development of telephone systems.

There is much variation between African countries in access to and use of radio. The weekly reach of radio ranges from about 50 percent of adults in the poorer countries to virtually everyone in the more developed ones. But even in some poor countries the reach of radio can be very high. In Tanzania, for example, nearly nine out of ten adults listen to radio in an average week. High figures for radio use contrast sharply with those for India or Pakistan, for example, where less than half the population is reached by radio.

History

There have been three distinct phases in the development of radio since the first South African broadcasts in 1924. The first phase was the colonial or settler period, when radio was primarily a medium brought in to serve the settlers and the interests of the colonial powers. Later (and in many cases not until toward the end of colonial rule) the authorities gradually introduced radio services by and for indigenous people.

The entire continent, south of the Sahara, with the exception of Liberia and Ethiopia, had been colonized by the European powers—France, Britain, Spain, Belgium, Italy, Germany, and Portugal. (At the end of World War I, Germany lost all of its African colonies, and their administration was taken over by France, Britain, and Belgium.) The domestic broadcasting systems of all European powers were at this time state (not government necessarily) monopolies such as the British independent public service model of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) or the French government radio stations. The Portuguese permitted some private broadcasting by colonial settlers in their colonies, but the main picture was one of national state monopolies.

The earliest broadcasts on the continent were in South Africa. In Johannesburg, Cape Town, and Durban, three organizations—a private club, an advertising group, and a local authority—were granted licenses to broadcast. But they all soon incurred large debts and were taken over by an entrepreneur who, after some difficulty, moved the stations toward commercial viability. However, the government decided that a commercial solution would not provide the service that they sought. They looked instead at what had happened in Britain and invited John Reith, the BBC's first director-general, to come to South Africa in 1934 and help them devise a national public service form of broadcasting. The South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) was created in 1936 and maintained a monopoly on broadcasting there for the next 45 years.

The SABC departed from BBC's way of doing things very soon after its establishment. First, it was never far from political influence and control, both of which increased during the years of apartheid. Second, it soon began commercial services designed to make a profit to supplement license fee income for broadcasting. When neighboring Mozambique was a Portuguese colony, a successful commercial radio station there (Radio Lorenço-Marques) targeted South African audiences with popular music programs. To counter this the SABC began its own commercial service, Springbok Radio, in 1950. For most of this period, the SABC's programming was dictated by the needs and tastes of its white audiences. Until 1943, it

broadcast only in Afrikaans and English, and none of its programs were directed toward African audiences. Even then, broadcasts in African languages formed only a small part of the total output. Broadcasting for Africans was expanded in the 1960s when Radio Bantu was developed during apartheid to reinforce the apartheid ideology of the separation of the races.

Elsewhere in Africa, radio was also developed first to serve European interests—in 1927 in Kenya, in 1932 in Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), in 1933 in Mozambique, and in 1935 in the French Congo. The earliest radio in British West Africa was not broadcast by wireless transmission but via wired services—subscribers had loudspeakers (linked by wire to the radio station) installed in their homes to receive the service. This was how broadcasting began in Sierra Leone in 1934, Gold Coast (now Ghana) in 1935, and Nigeria in 1936. Unlike the wireless services in Britain's other colonies, these were created with native African listeners in mind. Then in 1936 the British colonial administration decided to develop radio broadcasting throughout its African colonies as a public service for indigenous people.

In Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia), World War II provided an impetus with major consequences for the development of radio in that territory. A small radio station was established principally with the objective of carrying news (in African languages) of the war's progress to the families of soldiers fighting with the British forces in Africa and Asia. Radio also developed rapidly in other parts of Africa due to the war. The free Belgian government, exiled from German-occupied Belgium, set up a shortwave station in Léopoldville (now Kinshasa) for broadcasts to Belgium. The Free French set up their own radio stations in Cameroon and French Congo, and the French Vichy government had its own station in Dakar, Senegal.

Postwar Developments

After the war, expansion of broadcasting in most of its African colonies became official British policy. This meant that radio services would be developed principally to educate and inform African listeners. Several experts from the BBC were sent to advise on developmental issues in broadcasting, and some of them stayed to play major roles in establishing services. Most notable among these was Tom Chalmers, a successful BBC radio producer who was involved in the development of radio in Nigeria, Nyasaland (now Malawi), Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia), and Tanganyika (now Tanzania). He was the first director-general of the Tanganyika Broadcasting Corporation. Chalmers and others tried hard to separate broadcasting from government along the lines of the BBC model. But despite the establishment of public corporations in several British territories (Ghana, Nigeria, Malawi, Zambia, Uganda, and Tang-

anyika, and others had broadcasting corporations modeled on the BBC), the stations were all closely supervised by their respective governments and had little real independence.

The French developed a different policy. Whereas in British territories the emphasis was on broadcasting in African languages to reach the widest possible audiences, nearly all broadcasting in French territories was in the French language. Radio broadcasting was also centralized and, to a large extent, originated in France through the *Société de Radio-Diffusion de la France d'Outre-Mer* (Society for Radio Transmission to French Overseas Territories) or SORAFOM. As the society's title suggests, the prevailing philosophy was that the French territories in Africa were actually an extension of France. A series of relay stations across French Equatorial and West Africa carried the same programs. It was not until the French territories were granted independence in 1960 that separate national radio broadcasters were established in Mali, Senegal, Ivory Coast, Niger, Chad, Gabon, and other locations.

By the 1960s (the decade in which most African colonies gained their independence), all territories had radio broadcasting services. In every country they were instruments of government in much the same way as the national armed forces or the police. Broadcasters were civil servants—if not always in name, certainly in their relationships to the rest of the state apparatus. Without exception the new African governments maintained for 30 more years the monopoly of radio broadcasting established by colonial authorities. During this second phase of African broadcasting, which lasted until nearly the end of the 20th century, all 53 African countries had national broadcasting services, mostly dominated by radio. Broadcasting headquarters were generally in the capital or main city of each nation; from there, one or more national radio services were transmitted to reach the whole country. A few local and regional services were developed in Nigeria and South Africa but not many in other areas. Radio in Nigeria developed along different lines than in other African nations, reflecting that country's ethnic divisions and unique federal character. Two parallel state systems of state radio developed, often in direct competition with each other. The federal government had its own broadcasting system, and each of Nigeria's several states had its own system, as well.

Radio broadcasting in much of sub-Saharan Africa still relies heavily on shortwave (the main means of transmission for many years) to reach widely scattered populations over large areas. This is a feature of broadcasting in Africa not often seen elsewhere in the world. In Ghana, for example, all radio transmission until the 1980s was via shortwave. This means of transmission is in many respects ideal for African circumstances, although it can suffer from interference and is subject to fading and distortion. Lack of sufficient resources and infrastructure have meant that developing networks of FM or AM relays usually has not been possible, so the only way to reach

an entire territory has been by shortwave. Outside of South Africa (where an FM network was quickly established in the 1960s) and the small island states, all African national broadcasters continued to use shortwave for their main national radio services at the beginning of the 21st century. So most radio receivers sold in Africa (except in South Africa) have shortwave bands on them, and virtually all radio owners outside of South Africa have ready access to international shortwave broadcasters such as the BBC, Voice of America (VOA), Radio France International, Radio Deutsche Welle, and Radio Netherlands. The South African international shortwave station, Channel Africa, is also very popular. Such international broadcasters have become popular for their African-language (Swahili, Hausa, Amharic, and Somali) transmissions and in the widely spoken languages of European origin (French, English, and Portuguese). Africa has the world's largest audiences for international shortwave radio broadcasts.

Shortwave coverage by Africa's national broadcasters is rather poor in many cases, and radio transmission remains underdeveloped on a national scale in many countries. The lack of financial resources, frequent breakdowns, power cuts, the scarcity of spare parts and other consequences of the general economic weakness in many African countries have weakened transmission capacity and performance.

Radio pluralism came late to Africa. Before 1987 there were only five or six privately owned radio stations on the entire continent—in Gambia, South Africa, Swaziland, and Liberia. In 1987 a trend to end state monopolies in almost every country began. In December, Horizon FM went on the air in Ouagadougou, the capital of Burkina Faso, launched by a local entrepreneur who announced rather defiantly that the station would have "lots of music, lots of commercials, lots of laughter, but absolutely no politics. People are tired of all that stuff." A week later the station was forced to close. The revolutionary government was clearly unhappy at this development, which it had not authorized. Horizon FM survived that early dispute and became one of several independent radio stations in Burkina Faso.

Competition

The arrival of Horizon FM was of historic significance in that it marked the beginning of the third phase of radio in Africa, one in which the national state radios continue but must compete for audiences with a growing number of independent radios. (The same trend is evident with television, which also was previously almost entirely a state monopoly.) There are important differences between state and independent radio on the continent. While the state radio services are mostly national in both reach and purpose, the new independent radio stations are mostly based in cities, and their coverage tends to be confined to the urban areas. They have also almost all been

FM stations, whereas the national broadcasting stations have relied and continue to rely on a mix of transmission methods—FM, AM medium wave, and shortwave. At the turn of the century there were more than 450 independent radio stations in Africa. Most of them are the result of limited deregulation, which has invited applications for the limited coverage offered by FM. Only five or six independent radio stations existed on the entire continent 20 years earlier.

Independent radio stations in Africa can be categorized into five types. There are fully commercial stations that seek to make a profit from the sale of airtime for advertising or sponsored programs. Religious radio stations (most, but not all, Christian) use radio to communicate their faith and beliefs; some of these may carry some advertising, but most are financially supported by their sponsoring organizations and some with support from outside. The third category, comprised of community radio stations, is probably the fastest growing sector. There has been strong support in some countries for the development of very local, generally low-powered FM stations broadcasting in a community's indigenous languages or dialects. These are often staffed by volunteer helpers, are run at very low cost, and are supported by outside agencies (various non-government organizations have supported some for developmental reasons). By the year 2000 there were more than 70 community radio stations in South Africa and about 100 in West Africa, several in rural areas.

The fourth and fifth categories each emerged as the result of political and ethnic or other conflicts. Factional radio stations (some referred to as "clandestines") are used to promote a particular faction in a conflict. Somalia, a country without a government for the last decade of the 20th century, has several such stations, each supporting one of the warlords who control different parts of the country. There are similar clandestines in Sudan and Ethiopia. Some of these operate from neighboring countries rather than from within their nations of origin, for obvious reasons. Occasionally they may even broadcast from further afield. The factional radio category also includes the so-called hate radio stations. The most notorious of these was the *Radio des Mille Collines* (Radio of a Thousand Hills) in Rwanda. Broadcasting from within Rwanda (and almost certainly with the government's approval if not its backing), it was widely held to be responsible for promoting ethnic hatred and killings during the 1994 genocide.

The fifth category, humanitarian radio stations, came as a counter to the influence of factional radio. The power of radio in Africa has led various aid and relief agencies, including the United Nations, to support the establishment of humanitarian radio stations that promote peace, harmony, and democracy. Such radio stations have operated in Rwanda, Somalia, Liberia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Central African Republic. One organization that has been prominent in supporting humanitarian radio has been the Fondation

Hirondelle (Swallow Foundation) in Switzerland. It has backed radio stations in areas of conflict for limited periods in countries such as Liberia, the Central African Republic, Somalia, and Rwanda.

Programs

Radio programming in Africa has suffered from the economic realities present there. It has been hampered to an even greater degree by the often heavy hand of government. Many broadcasters in state radio stations are government or civil servants, and the civil service does not lend itself to creativity, imagination, and entertainment. Much of the output of state radio stations has been dominated by government propaganda. In the early days of national independence there was a heavy emphasis on messages about nation building, with exhortations to hard work and discipline. Much of this was rather boring. A high proportion of news bulletins on radio featured heads of state visiting projects or speaking at events. Broadcasts would usually focus on what was said and who was there—sometimes remarkably uninteresting speeches would be carried in full on the radio. When the head of state visited several different projects and said more or less the same things at each appearance, subsequent broadcasts would repeat the same details. Other stories were similar—ministers and other state officials making speeches or announcements, visiting state institutions, opening schools or hospitals, and so on. Each event would be reported with the main focus on what the official said and little on any other aspect of the story.

But it would be wrong to categorize all African state radio in this way. Much of it has been entertaining and even innovative. Ad-lib or unscripted drama has often flourished, especially in Ghana, Nigeria, and Zambia; poetry and storytelling have become popular features in many countries. Local music is now a major part of the programming in many states with an emphasis on local talent in such countries as Mali, Senegal, Ghana, the two Congos, and Tanzania. Many of Africa's very successful popular music stars began their careers on radio. There have been radio stars since the early days, as the media thrive on more than mere news. Most of the time the media, radio especially, are used for entertainment. Although a cautious approach generally has been seen in news and news-related programs, this is not always the case in other creative areas.

African radio stations have been important patrons of music and, in some countries, of poetry and oral literature. In the 1970s many radio stations made regular program collection safaris into remote parts of the country to record songs, drama, poetry, and other indigenous material for later broadcast. However, in recent years these activities have been curbed by financial restrictions. Similarly, the studios of many national radio stations were once a focus for much new music, but this

happens less now, largely because many state-run radio stations have stopped most payments to artists.

African radio once played a major role in popular music and still does play a role, but mainly by playing commercial records. Many African musicians find that they do better financially by marketing their own cassettes through street sellers. But copyright laws are not widely used, and few African artists are members of rights societies. Financial pressures have also slowed the growth of (and sometimes even reduced the amount of) original indigenous drama and other spoken word programs on both radio and television. The economic weakness of many states has meant that talented artists had to stop working in state radio because they were not paid adequately (sometimes not at all). The growth of successful commercial radio may change this.

Private Stations

More freedom has generally been given to the printed press in Africa than to the radio industry. Independent newspapers have been permitted to operate in most African countries, and many of them have been permitted some degree of freedom to criticize, oppose, and challenge the existing political order. The same has not been true of radio. Many African governments have been slow and reluctant to change laws and allow private broadcasting stations. Those that have legislated for independent radio have in many cases imposed restrictions on the degree to which independent stations can report news.

The reluctance to allow private radio arises in part from fear of the power of the medium. It is known that radio reaches many more people in Africa than any other single medium. Government officials may be legitimately concerned about misuse of the medium by rival political, religious, or ethnic factions, particularly when they have a shaky hold on power or rule in countries lacking in infrastructure, with weak institutions of control, and where there may be several regional, ethnic, and linguistic divisions. It is significant that there has been much greater reluctance to grant freedom to radio than to other media.

In Ethiopia, new laws to permit private broadcasters were delayed by fears that private electronic media would be critical of the government, as the private press has been. In Kenya several applications to run private radio stations were delayed for several months in 1998 and 1999, probably due to similar fears. But a major press group in the country opened its first commercial radio in Nairobi in 1999, the first example outside South Africa of major commercial press involvement in radio in Africa. In Tanzania gentle pressure has been put on the private radio stations to carry national news from the state radio station; in Zambia, the few licensed independent radio stations are not permitted to make their own news bulletins. Even after several years under new laws permitting independent broad-

casts, there were still only one private commercial radio station and three private religious stations at the beginning of 2001, although the election of a new president at the end of that year led to change during 2002 and the emergence of several new independent broadcasters.

The development of independent radio should not be seen only in political terms, however. Its commercial and cultural impact and function are almost certainly of equal and perhaps greater significance. Music has always played a major part in African radio, but when the stations were almost entirely owned and paid for by the state, entertainment often took second place to other requirements. On many occasions radio schedules would be cleared for major political events. Speeches of political leaders and commentaries on national events would be given extensive coverage, with state political and administrative requirements taking precedence. With deregulation and the licensing of independent and particularly commercial stations, listeners are no longer compelled to listen to long and often tedious political broadcasts. At the same time, radio has become a much more attractive medium for advertisers, who can develop media campaigns in line with different stations' formats and content. The new and often very successful commercial stations have adopted musical policies that define their places in the market, just as their counterparts are free to do in Europe, the United States, and other parts of the world where the industry is not controlled by government. It is significant that in the African states once ruled by France, one of the most successful of the new commercial radio stations, *Radio Nostalgie*, is affiliated with a major French radio group of the same name. In 1999 it was reaching about 60 percent of all adults in Dakar, the capital of Senegal, and Abidjan, the capital of Ivory Coast.

In Ghana, the new commercial stations have been so successful that they have pushed the government's Ghana Broadcasting Corporation out of its place as one of the top eight stations in the country. Private, independent, commercial radio stations in Uganda and Nigeria, mostly broadcasting popular music, outstrip the state radio services in audience reach and share.

The reason for the success of many private stations is easy to understand. Competition from other domestic broadcasters was entirely absent in the broadcast media until their arrival, so program producers had never worried about attracting audiences or advertisers. Now this has changed in many countries (although not yet all), and there is lively competition for audiences. On the whole, radio in these countries has become livelier and more attractive. However, there has been a downside also. Whereas state radio put a strong emphasis on education and development, featuring many programs that promoted better health or provided other forms of education and improvement for the general population, competition for commercial revenue tends to push these programs out or to

marginalize them. Moreover, national and state radios have broadcast programs in local minority languages for many years, which is not usually a feature of commercial stations. Community stations may increase their use of local languages and dialects in response to this shift, however.

Radio's contribution to national education and development will probably continue to be of major importance. Many developmental agencies strongly favor the use of radio in campaigns for better health, as in the campaign against AIDS and such diseases as trachoma, malaria, tuberculosis, polio, and leprosy. In the past, many broadcasts of this type were worthy but very dull. In recent years, however, there has been a welcome growth in the imaginative and entertaining use of radio to encourage development in such areas. One of the best examples is the soap opera *Twende na Wakati* (Let Us Go with the Times) in Tanzania. This regular drama features the daily lives of ordinary people, and within its entertaining story line are messages about family planning, infant nutrition, other health issues, and the changing role of women. A regular program in Senegal, *Radio Gune Yi*, made entirely by and for children, promotes the rights of children and the equal rights of girls and boys.

Technology

Radio has played a major nation-building role in Africa. This arose from an interesting and very important historical coincidence. The invention (in 1948) and commercial development of the transistor (in the 1950s and 1960s) led to very large numbers of cheap battery-operated transistor radios coming into Africa at the same time that about 40 nation-states gained their independence in the 1960s. The transistor made radios portable and cheap, liberating them from reliance on a supply of electricity, which most African homes did not have at the time. Radio rapidly became the most widespread medium in Africa, and this had important consequences for Africa's cultural and political life. It was the medium by which many, if not most, Africans gained day-to-day knowledge of their new national and international status.

At the beginning of the 21st century, new technology has arrived in the form of direct broadcasting by satellite. WorldSpace, a company based in Washington, D.C. and headed by an Ethiopian, Noah Samara, launched the first digital radio service by satellite in 1999. The technology makes very good sense in a continent where the establishment of FM relays has been so difficult due to the costs involved and problems with maintenance and security. The WorldSpace service provides several high quality radio services that can be picked up with ease and clarity anywhere on the continent. The service is being used by some African and international radio stations, and it also offers some broadcasts of its own. The main question about the satellite service is whether it will establish itself

sufficiently to be commercially viable in the long term. Use of the system requires the purchase of special receivers that are currently too expensive for most African listeners. It is, however, an example of a new technology that seems to meet an African need. (It is also notable as one of the first technologies ever introduced in Africa before it became available to the rest of the world.)

Another new technology that may overtake WorldSpace is digital shortwave. The major international radio broadcasters (the BBC, VOA, Radio Deutsche Welle, and others) have joined together in a consortium, Digital Radio Mondiale, and have successfully developed a new means of shortwave transmission that employs digital coding, which vastly improves reception. If African radio stations take up this new technology (and already many are showing an active interest), it will revolutionize transmission in Africa, making high quality reception available throughout the continent.

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See also Africa No. 1; Arab World Radio; Developing Nations

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Africa No. 1

Africa's First Transnational Commercial Radio Station

Africa No. 1 is a private, commercial, French language radio station based in Libreville, Gabon, in Central Africa. When it was launched in 1981, Africa No. 1 was the first pan-African commercial radio station. Its main audience is in a swath of territory stretching from Congo in Central Africa to Senegal in the West. This area covers the territory of the former colonial French Equatorial Africa and today contains most of the French-speaking countries of the continent. However, with its powerful shortwave transmitters and satellite broadcasts, Africa No. 1 covers Africa, North America, the Middle East, and South America. The majority shareholders (60 percent) of Africa No. 1 are Africans, and the rest of the capital is split between a French government investment group, *Société de*

Financement de Radiodiffusion (SOFIRAD), and two French companies, Havas and Sofrea.

Africa No. 1 and the Realities of Broadcasting in Africa in the 1980s

When it started service, Africa No. 1 was a breath of fresh French air over the African continent for several reasons: it was not directly controlled by any government; it offered African listeners new, exciting music and cultural programming; and it broadcast uncensored, in-depth news and analyses of African and world issues. This was a dramatic departure from the boring, doctrinal, and paternalistic programming that was

broadcast on tightly controlled government radio and television stations in Africa. In effect, Africa No. 1 was the first African radio station to break with the tenets of African-style development communication—a series of African government policies that required all organs of the mass media, which were for the most part controlled by the governments, to disseminate information and messages that would help improve agricultural production, health, education, national security, and other vital areas.

When African countries gained independence in the late 1950s and early 1960s, their mass media policies originated from Western countries in general and from the United States in particular. As early as 1958, when most sub-Saharan African countries were still under colonial rule, the General Assembly of the United Nations called for the building of mass media facilities in countries that were in the process of economic and social development. This led to the United Nations' application, through its Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), of the concept of development communication.

As formulated in its early stages by Western experts, the development communication perspective postulated that developing countries did not have the resources to indulge in the luxury of the liberal, watchdog journalistic model of the Western countries. Therefore, the mass media were to concentrate on the task of disseminating information and messages that would help improve agricultural production, health, education, and national security. It was believed that strategic use of information would lead to nation building and provide a "climate" for national development. Most African politicians argued that in situations of poverty, where the bare necessities were absent, having mass media that concentrated on checking government action and criticizing it was a misuse of resources.

However, the consequence of this policy was that most governments, often one-party regimes, soon had a monopoly on information dissemination. In the name of development communication, the mass media reported only news that promoted the ideological positions and interests of the governments and ruling elite of the day. Dissenting journalists were either censored, censured, or worse. The arrival of Africa No. 1 on the broadcast scene provided an alternative voice to that of the government.

Programming on Africa No. 1

For a commercial station, Africa No. 1 has a unique program format that is a mix of music, sports, and cultural documentaries. The service broke the stranglehold of African governments on news and information. The station programs a lot of African popular music, to be sure, but it also broadcasts in-depth news and information that is not heard on government radio stations. It also airs the views of dissident politicians and

journalists and tells the world about the persecution of journalists and members of the opposition in African countries. Furthermore, its programming actively promotes African music, culture, and sports. The station plays mostly African music and has released compact disc compilations of the most influential music in post-independence Africa. It has also carried live broadcasts of Africa's major sporting events. Its well-researched documentaries cover African political, cultural, and historical topics.

Africa No. 1 and Liberalization of the African Airwaves

The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the end of the Cold War triggered a hurricane of instability over the African continent. Popular uprisings, strikes, sit-ins, and demands for political freedom and better standards of living broke out all over the map. In response, leader after leader, seeing that their superpower benefactors were no longer willing or able to provide unconditional support, legalized opposition parties and allowed the press more freedom. Portable transistor radios, satellites, and popular music had neutralized the power, if not the zeal, of the censor. The much-muzzled African mass media suddenly found their voices.

One of the consequences of political liberalization was the opening up of the airwaves. Press laws have been liberalized across the continent, and private radio stations broadcasting in several African and European languages are springing up in most regions of the continent. By 2000, no fewer than 21 African countries had allowed independent or alternative radio or television broadcasting facilities. This trend is quite a change from just five years earlier. Divergent voices are being heard, and many more people have access to the mass media.

All this has meant competition for Africa No. 1 from Africa and abroad. In addition to competing with African commercial stations, Africa No. 1 is experiencing increasing competition from international broadcasters such as the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), the Voice of America, Radio France International (RFI), Radio Deutsche Welle (Voice of Germany), and others broadcasting in English, French, Arabic, Portuguese, and several African languages. Since the liberalization of the media began in Africa in the early 1990s, several of these international broadcasters, who used to broadcast only on shortwave radio to Africa, have been allowed by a number of countries to broadcast directly to African audiences on FM frequencies. In addition, many of them have expanded their African services to include direct broadcasting by satellites and have signed rebroadcast agreements with several private African radio stations. The African audience is now splintered.

In the face of such stiff competition, Africa No. 1 has repositioned itself as the only station that is African 24 hours a day. It has also diversified its broadcast outlets and acquired FM frequencies in at least 15 African countries. Furthermore, it has

obtained broadcast licenses in France, where it broadcasts on two FM frequencies from Paris. Nevertheless, Africa No. 1's expansion into the African FM market has not been all that smooth. According to the Paris-based African magazine, *Jeune Afrique*, Africa No. 1's expansion into the competitive but lucrative FM market in Abidjan was held up by the Ivorian government and by local shareholders who wanted to control the programming of the station. A compromise was reached whereby the station was not allowed to cover the local news in Abidjan. The news is broadcast from Libreville, Gabon, Africa No. 1's home station. In effect, all local news from Abidjan has to be sent to Libreville, from where it is broadcast to Abidjan and the rest of the African continent.

Besides its shortwave and FM frequencies, Africa No. 1 broadcasts on four direct broadcast satellite channels and on the internet. In addition to its broadcast activities, Africa No. 1 also serves as a rebroadcaster for such international broadcasters as RFI, the Japanese Broadcasting Corporation, and Radio Swiss International. These broadcasters send their programs to Africa No. 1's transmission center in Moyabi, Gabon, where it is rebroadcast to the rest of the continent, to South America, or to the Middle East.

Controversy

Africa No. 1 has not been without controversy. Controversies have arisen over tobacco advertising on the station and over alleged political interference in its programming. As a commercial station, Africa No. 1 survives on advertising, mostly from multinational companies doing or wishing to do business in Africa. The station made a controversial decision to accept tobacco advertising. Even as the dangers of smoking became known and Western countries banned tobacco advertising on radio and television, multinational tobacco companies were buying airtime on Africa No. 1. The station soon became known as much for the slick Marlboro and Benson and Hedges cigarette advertisements punctuating its programs as for its music and documentaries.

Despite its generally good track record, Africa No. 1, like government stations in Zaire and elsewhere, did not escape the violence that came with political liberalization in Africa in the 1990s. Africa No. 1's studios in Libreville, Gabon, were attacked by mobs who accused the station of covering up the misdeeds and corruption of the government of Gabon. Some

members of the African public claimed that Africa No. 1 was not as critical of the government of Gabon as it was of other governments, because president Omar Bongo was a shareholder of the station. Because the station is private, that claim cannot be confirmed. Nevertheless, it is true that Africa No. 1 has not given as much attention to Gabonese dissidents and members of the opposition as it has given to dissidents and members of the opposition of other African countries. In addition, dissident groups from Congo (Brazzaville) claimed, in 1999, that Africa No. 1 had given in to political pressure and fired three journalists of Congolese origin who had reported on ethnic massacres in Congo's civil war.

Conclusion

Africa No. 1 is a pioneering radio station that has, in its 20 years of existence, greatly influenced Africa's political and media landscape. It has been an effective promoter of freedom of speech and expression. Its news and programming broke the monopoly of government-controlled stations over information in French-speaking Africa. Today, Africa No. 1 is the model upon which many new, independent African stations pattern their programming.

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See also Africa; Developing Nations

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African-Americans in Radio

African-Americans have played an important part in American radio broadcasting from the beginnings of the medium. From early experimenters to pioneer radio performers, blacks contributed to the cultural, economic, and technical development of radio broadcasting. Though shackled by discrimination, blacks enthusiastically used their talents on radio during World War II to help America display a united domestic front. The half-century since has seen African-Americans help to change the face of American culture through radio and other media.

Origins

One of the most notable of the pioneering electricity experts was Lewis H. Latimer (1848–1928), son of an enslaved African escapee, who prepared Alexander Graham Bell's telephone patent drawings that afterwards assisted the Boston speech and hearing therapist to actually invent his device. Telephone parts were later used by others to demonstrate the wireless transmission of human speech. Talladega College, a black institution known for its solid science curriculum, provided the educational foundation that inspired Lee de Forest to become an inventor who contributed much to perfecting modern radio broadcasting.

Before World War I, some African-Americans enrolled in those YMCA radio classes that were then available to them in a number of cities, and they gained even greater access to radio technology during the war as part of the war effort. Howard University in Washington, D.C., for example, offered electrical and radio technology classes under contract with the U.S. military.

A number of African-Americans conducted radio experiments after the war by establishing amateur radio-training organizations. Members could learn how to build and repair radio transmitters and receiver sets, how to send Morse code, and how to obtain an amateur operator's license. Miles Hardy established his Pioneer Radio Society in 1921 in New York City. A year later Roland Carrington founded the Bancker Radio Club in Baltimore. One of the most active areas for black ham operators was the midwest. Operators in Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, and Kentucky can be traced to Everett Renfroe who passed his ham operator's examination in Chicago in the early 1920s. (The operators formally initiated an organization, OMIK, in the early 1950s to protect members against racism when they traveled throughout the nation.)

Early Broadcasting

Many African-American musicians took advantage of opportunities to appear on early radio broadcasts. There is evidence that the "father of the blues," W.C. Handy, performed on the

Memphis ham radio station of a white amateur, Victor Laughter, as early as 1914. The "Fisk Jubilee Singers" of Fisk University and the "Hampton Singers" of Hampton College are known to have performed live on radio in the early 1920s to raise funds for their financially strapped schools. Morehouse College was repeatedly featured on radio in Atlanta. The common bond among African-American performers was a desire to display their abilities in a manner that proved black people were equal to others in society.

As American radio developed in the 1920s, the contribution of African-American musicians also increased across the country. Fletcher Henderson's music was broadcast from New Orleans in 1921. The Plantation Club in Los Angeles broadcast Kid Ory's Sunshine Orchestra in 1922. Further up the West Coast, vaudevillian George Dewey Washington made an appearance on Seattle's KFC. Clarence Jones and His Wonder Orchestra were guests on KYW in Chicago. The Symphonium Serenaders entertained KDKA listeners from Pittsburgh. On New York's WJZ, the Melrose Quartet was featured regularly, and Clarence Williams accompanied a variety of black artists for the station. Eubie Blake and Noble Sissle showcased their cast from "Shuffle Along" on Boston's WNAC during the *Boston Radio Exposition* of 1922; a year later, they were on the air at KYW in Chicago. "Shuffle Along" later became so popular on Broadway that Sissle and Noble were able to book cast appearances on New York's WJZ, WEA, and WHN. For its opening ceremonies, WBBM in Chicago included Jimmie Wade's Moulin Rouge Orchestra. WSBC in Chicago featured remote broadcasts by Frankie "Half Pint" Jaxon, and Hughie Swift's band was heard nightly in Chicago on the same station.

Duke Ellington first performed on radio over New York's WDT and then WHN in 1923. Bessie Smith, "Empress of the Blues," was heard performing live throughout the southwest in 1923 from Memphis station WMC. In Nashville, Deford Bailey, the legendary harmonica player, was featured on WSM. He appeared regularly on radio from 1926 to 1941 and helped establish the great musical tradition of the *Grand Ole Opry*.

New York City was a beehive of African-American radio experimentation during this period. Fletcher Henderson's band, performing at the Roseland, was broadcast remotely on a regular basis. Shows from the Plantation Club in New York, another jazz center for black bands, were broadcast five nights a week. Club Alabam contracted with several different stations to remotely broadcast 47 of its shows. Remote broadcasts from the Savoy Ballroom increased to eight per week. WHN carried a program featuring the great Florence Mills in celebration of her joining the Greenwich Village Follies. A blues marathon show was programmed on WDT. Other New York stations brought in such top entertainers as Antoinette Gaines,

LeRoy Smith, Sam Wooding, Revella Hughes, and Eva “The Dixie Nightingale” Taylor. From St. George’s Episcopal Church, vocalist Harry T. Burleigh was heard on WJZ and proclaimed “the leading creative genius of the Negro race.”

Local Radio in the 1930s

What is known of African-Americans in and on local radio is still evolving. The paucity of information may be due to the fact that much historical attention has focused on network radio. Some researchers have found, however, that a few Northern stations had begun to observe what was then called “Negro history week,” inviting guest speakers to discuss black achievements. Certain important black newsmakers occasionally spoke on a public affairs show, as labor leader A. Phillip Randolph did in 1931. By the mid-1930s, local stations in Baltimore and Philadelphia had at least one weekly program aimed at a black audience. The Museum of the City of San Francisco has discovered that Henry Starr, an African-American, was the leading pianist on KFRC’s *Edna Fischer Show*, a variety program in that city during the late 1920s and early 1930s.

The Depression may have created opportunities for African-Americans in many markets during the early 1930s: African-American music was often cheaper than white music for local stations to broadcast because the licensing agency ASCAP had signed few contracts with African-American publishers and writers. A station could thus play recordings by African-Americans and not incur ASCAP fees. Although as early as 1930 there were efforts by black businessmen to purchase a radio station, such efforts would not succeed until 1949.

Strong and continuous local programs by African-Americans began with those of Jack L. Cooper in Chicago during the 1930s. Many scholars credit Cooper as being the patriarch of black radio. His newsboy experience in Cincinnati and later his professional song and dance work on stage may have helped turn his career toward communication: he became an entertainment writer for the *Chicago Defender*. While on assignment in Washington in 1925, Cooper began writing, producing, and starring in his own black vaudeville show on WCAP. Washington’s racial laws, however, soon forced Cooper’s return to Chicago. There, station WSBC operated successfully by brokering time to various immigrant groups and was receptive to Cooper’s desire to produce and air *The All Negro Hour* in 1929. One of Cooper’s live broadcasts was threatened in 1932 when the key performer abruptly quit over a pay dispute. Cooper creatively set up a phonograph, placed a microphone in front of it, and played recorded music to maintain the show’s broadcast schedule and continuity thereafter. Inadvertently, he had become the first African-American disc jockey. By 1938 Cooper was brokering up to 20 hours of time

on WSBC and programming church services on Sundays. Eventually he bought time on several other Chicago stations, replicated his record show, and produced news and public affairs programs that utilized his journalism skills. He also launched the first black advertising agency and radio production company.

Chicago became a focal point for broadcasting recorded black music—a mix of jazz, blues, spirituals, and hymns—when in the early 1940s Al Benson bought time on WGES and complemented Cooper’s “time blocks” with his own set of programs. Cooper and Benson each organized training programs and taught young aspirants about radio. They bought and sold time, conducted market research, and wrote and produced advertisements.

The “time block” purchase method and the recorded music program also appear to have been popular among local African-American entrepreneurs in other parts of the country in the late 1930s and early 1940s. In Seattle, Bass Harris appeared on KING; in Washington, D.C., Hal Jackson was on WOOK; in Detroit, Ed Baker was featured on WJLB, while Van Douglas appeared on WJBK; in Hammond, Indiana, Eddie Honesty was on WJOB; and in New York, Joe Bostic appeared on both WCNN and WMAC. As with Cooper and Benson, most early African-American radio personalities were college educated, trained by veteran professionals, or they were experienced entrepreneurs who understood the radio business.

Network Radio and Minstrelsy

With programs such as the hugely popular *Amos ’n’ Andy* featuring white performers playing black roles, one must look at the stereotypic roles played by early black performers to understand the kinds of jobs generally available to African-American actors on network radio during the 1930s. For example, Ernest Whitman was employed as Awful for *The Gibson Family*. The role of Gardenia, a humorous character, was played by Georgia Burke on the *Betty and Bob* soap opera. Even Academy Award winner Hattie McDaniel (*Gone With The Wind*) was hired to portray a mammy on the network radio series *Showboat*. McDaniel also played a more endearing role as the lead on the network series *Beulah*—but only after the role had originally been played by a white man.

Positive portrayals of blacks in network drama were rare but not absent entirely. In 1933 Juano Hernandez starred in the CBS series *John Henry, Black River Boat Giant*. Rose McClendon, Dorothy Caul, and Jack McDowell also were cast members. John Henry was portrayed as a powerful but bad ladies’ man. More frequently, African-Americans were cast in stereotypical roles on network vaudeville programs including the *Eddie Cantor Show*, *Saturday Night Sewing Club*, and the *Rudy Vallee Show*. Cantor also hired a black female vocalist,

Thelma Carpenter, for a regular spot on his show. "Rochester," on *The Jack Benny Program*, was another black stereotype, but much of the humor came from Rochester's "bettering" his white boss.

Performers such as the Golden Gate Quartet, Southernaires, Wings Over Jordan, CBS Trumpeteers, Ethel Waters, Andy Razaf, and Paul Robeson were able to showcase their professional skills nationally at one time or another. The Mills Brothers were especially popular on radio, Duke Ellington had his own network radio show by 1936, and Marion Anderson is legendary if only for her 1939 appearance at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, which was broadcast nationally.

World War II

With its entry into the war, however, the United States was forced to begin confronting its "Jim Crow" treatment of black people, including the paucity and negative portrayal of African-Americans on radio: the country badly needed racial tranquility at home and among its military servicemen. To help accomplish its objective, the government produced or supported network radio programs that projected African-Americans in a positive light. *Men o' War* was an all-black patriotic musical program series featuring naval personnel; it was broadcast regularly for two years over the CBS radio network. *Freedom's People*, an eight-part program on NBC, highlighted African-American achievements and featured Count Basie, Cab Callaway, George Washington Carver, W.C. Handy, Joe Louis, Jessie Owens, and other outstanding African-Americans. African-Americans portraying positive characters were also written into such network soap operas as *Our Gal Sunday* and *The Romance of Helen Trent*.

A special radio documentary, "Open Letter On Race Hatred," was broadcast on CBS in response to the 1943 Detroit, Michigan, race riot that left 35 dead. In addition, a series of discussion and public affairs programs that addressed black issues and featured black leaders aired nationally on radio networks. Ann Tanneyhill produced a show for CBS in 1943 about black women, called *Heroines in Bronze*. NBC aired programs such as *America's Town Meeting* (which, although it discussed racial issues, did so with white speakers), *The Army Hour*, *Too Long America*, and others. CBS broadcast *People's Platform*, *The Negro in the War*, and *They Call Me, Joe*, among others.

Many programs carried by the Armed Forces Radio Service (AFRS) encouraged good race relations among troops. Many programs featured black announcers, recorded music, and live bands. One AFRS station, located at the Blytheville Army Air Corps Base in Arkansas, programmed black local news, events, and recorded music in both the early morning and mid-afternoon that was listened to faithfully by African-American civilians throughout Mississippi County.

Postwar African-American Radio

After the war, African-American men and women began performing live on radio throughout America. Early Lee Wright became the South's first recognized black announcer in 1947 on WROX in Clarksdale, Mississippi. The Delta Rhythm Boys, a local gospel group from the same town, could be heard on records. The famous *King Biscuit Time*, featuring blues men Sonny Boy Williamson and Robert Lockwood, was broadcast on KFFA in Helena, Arkansas. WLAC in Nashville had begun to play a mix of black-oriented music on a nightly basis, even though they still used white announcers.

Magazine reports about the success of African-American disc jockeys began to persuade some white owners of unsuccessful radio stations to begin full-time programming of rhythm and blues music. WDIA in Memphis, Tennessee, was the first such white station to do so. It was the second new station (after KWAM in 1946), to go on the air in Memphis after the war and found survival in the new competitive market very difficult. John Pepper, one of the WDIA owners, was ready to quit. In 1948 the station's general manager and co-owner, Bert Ferguson, read a magazine article about the economic success of programming to African-Americans. Probably he was reading about Jack L. Cooper or Al Benson in Chicago. Shortly afterwards Ferguson hired Nat D. Williams to create a block of black-oriented programming in the afternoon. Williams' afternoon program soon brought financial success to WDIA and enabled Ferguson to add another time block that featured Maurice "Hot Rod" Hulbert, then A.C. "Mooha" Williams and others until WDIA's entire schedule was completely filled with various black blocks of rhythm-and-blues and gospel music programming. Fulltime black-oriented radio was born.

By the early 1950s, there were reportedly more than 500 blacks working in radio throughout the nation, playing mostly rhythm-and-blues, and working part-time on stations that otherwise provided programming for white listeners. This sudden expansion in the number of black announcers had been driven by the popularity of rhythm and blues music. The sounds conveyed joy and hope in a language that reflected the postwar vision of freedom. The men and women who played the music on radio shared the same hope for the future and spoke the same rhythmic language. The rhyme-language style popular among blacks was used in a variety of situations such as "signifying" contests or when compliments were paid on clothing styles. Al Benson used it on radio, but Jack L. Cooper did not. It was used for laudatory salutes among MCs on the black entertainment "chittlin' circuit" when introducing performers and working the audience. Some scholars trace the rhyme's origin back to Africa. It certainly found its way into the lyrics of Louis Jordan's "Beware" recorded in the mid-1940s. Nat D. Williams was associated with rhyme on Beale Street and later on WDIA. Maurice "Hot Rod" Hulbert, entertainer turned

Memphis disc jockey, moved to Baltimore radio and popularized the style. Doug “Jocko” Henderson, a Hulbert admirer, put his signature on the style in Philadelphia and syndicated his *Rocket Ship Show* to five other East Coast markets. Radio personalities such as Jack Gibson and Daddy-O Daily developed rhyme styles mutually exclusive of the Memphis linkage.

African-Americans solidified their positive presence in radio through perseverance and by promoting rhythm-and-blues music; their audience expanded because of improved education and growing wealth among African-Americans. Most major U.S. cities operated a full-time rhythm-and-blues station by the mid-1950s. As black people traveled or communicated, they spread stories about their favorite local disc jockey, among them “Frantic” Ernie, Jack “The Rapper” Gibson, Joe “Joltin Joe” Howard, “The Magnificent” Montague, “Honey Boy” Thomas, “Lucky” Cordell, Sid “The Real” McCoy, Martha Jean “The Queen,” or simply, Georgie Woods.

African-American performers and rhythm-and-blues music were adopted by white people and by broadcast institutions at an increasing rate. Among those who championed the new sound were Alan Freed in Cleveland, Dick Clark in Philadelphia, George Lorenz in Buffalo, and Robert “Wolfman Jack” Smith near Del Rio, Texas. Collectively, recorded rhythm-and-blues performances and the accolades awarded black disc jockeys had made their impression. Imitation by white broadcasters was a respectful cultural compliment.

Station Ownership and Activism

Andrew “Skip” Carter bought KPRS of Kansas City, Missouri, a defunct operation, in early 1949: he became the first African-American to own a commercial radio license. Later that same year, J.B. Blayton purchased WERD in Atlanta. Dr. Haley Bell in Detroit was the first black person to construct a new radio station—WCHB first aired in 1956.

African-American disc jockeys during the 1950s found it necessary to organize professionally in order to help each other improve salaries, working conditions, equal rights, and employment. They formed the National Jazz, Rhythm-and-Blues Disc Jockey Association and attracted national attention in 1956 when members met to defend rhythm-and-blues music against its critics—those who believed that because rhythm-and-blues had black origins it was dangerous for white people to listen to. The group later changed its name to the National Association of Radio and Television Announcers (NATRA).

In the mid-1960s, managing and owning stations moved to the top of the black broadcasters’ agenda. The entire black staff of disc jockeys at WVOL in Nashville went on strike in 1964 and helped head salesman, Noble Blackwell, move into the vacated general manager’s job. In Chicago, Lucky Cordell was appointed manager at WVON. These moves were seen as milestone achievements within the larger civil rights movement.

Dr. Martin Luther King addressed the 1967 NATRA convention and publicly thanked its members for their valuable support of the civil rights movement. He praised the contributions of African-American announcers in general for using radio to popularize rhythm-and-blues internationally. Commentators have since praised the role played by African-American broadcasters in calming fears in the midst of the urban rebellions in the 1960s. Yet many emphasized the need for radio to open its doors even wider. African-Americans in the mid-1960s still held perhaps only one percent of the 60,000 jobs in commercial radio, and only five of 5,500 licensed radio stations were black-owned.

Pressure from activist groups and changes in federal policy brought sweeping change in the 1970s. NATRA declined as a result of growing conflict within and outside its own ranks over its priorities. Yet the organization’s agenda, to promote ownership of radio stations by blacks, advanced by Del Shields and others, had won support from FCC Commissioner Nicholas Johnson and was also supported by other organizations such as Black Efforts in Soul Television, led by Bill Wright, and subsequently The National Black Media Coalition under Pluria Marshall. The predominately white National Association of Broadcasters along with the National Congressional Black Caucus also lent their efforts to addressing the ownership problem. The first black FCC Commissioner, Benjamin Hooks, was appointed by President Richard Nixon. Overall, this activism led to a modest increase in station ownership and the establishment of The National Association of Black Owned Broadcasters.

Dr. Haley Bell’s acquisition of a second Detroit license in the 1960s (to operate WCHD-FM) made him the first African-American to own more than one station. James Brown’s two Augusta, Georgia, stations and Percy Sutton’s Inner Broadcasting, Inc., based in New York, soon followed. Dorothy Brunson’s acquisition of Brown’s stations made her the first African-American woman to become a station owner. Cathy Hughes of Radio, Inc. emerged as a legendary figure in radio-station financing, acquisitions, and operations. Hughes had honed her skills in advertising and sales by serving as a radio volunteer in Omaha. In 1971 she began to teach advertising at Howard University, and was soon managing WHUR-FM, owned by the university. By 1980 she had purchased Washington’s WOL and added another station to her list in 1987. Deregulation helped Hughes: in the early 1990s she founded Radio One, Inc., and by 2001 her company held 48 radio station licenses and was the main reason African-Americans now owned more than 200 stations. But in many markets deregulation hurt the black goal of owning more stations. The 1996 Telecommunications Act allowed unlimited groups of radio stations (as well as multiple stations in any single market) to be owned by a single entity: this relaxation of former rules had the effect of pushing up station prices. Often unable to raise the inflated purchase

prices—and with existing black-owned stations bought out by the owners of the growing radio chains—black station owners were unable to compete: the number of black-owned stations stagnated then slowly begin to decline. The only bright note was that at the turn of the century, blacks William Kennard and then Michael Powell were successive chairmen of the FCC.

Networks and Wider Distribution

The first African-American network was the short-lived National Negro Network founded by black entrepreneur W. Leonard Evans in 1954. The network signed up 40 affiliates and promised good programming: among its best were a radio drama *The Story of Ruby Valentine* and variety shows hosted by Cab Callaway and Ethel Waters. But lack of advertiser support caused the network's demise after only a few months. Two decades later two networks, the Mutual Black Network and the National Black Network, began providing news and public affairs programming to black-oriented radio stations. Together these networks reached millions of listeners.

Ronald R. Davenport, a former dean of the Duquesne University School of Law, raised enough money to purchase the struggling white-owned Mutual Black Network and assumed management of the company. In the late 1970s MBN became the Sheridan Broadcasting Company. In 1991 Sheridan Broadcasting Network and National Black Network joined forces to operate as equals in a general partnership under a new name, American Urban Radio Networks. The AURN distributes a variety of news and public affairs programming to 250 African-American-oriented radio stations. It ranks as one of broadcasting's most successful firms.

A number of highly visible existing African-American operations have made use of such newer technologies as communication satellites and the internet. For years radio personality Tom Joyner had worked in both Dallas and Chicago simultaneously. He became known as the "fly jock" for his daily commutes between the two cities. Finally he converted to up-linking his broadcast signal to satellite from his Dallas location and syndicating his program to all radio stations. His popular show is now heard coast to coast by millions of listeners daily via the ABC Radio Network's satellite system. He is not alone. Others have purchased satellite time and are thus linked to hundreds of outlets nationally. Examples include Walt "Baby" Love, for Walt "Baby" Love Productions, Lee Bailey for Bailey

Broadcasting, and American Urban Radio Networks. Darnell's *Black Radio Guide* maintains a growing list of internet-only black radio stations. The heart of the human resource chain is Black College Radio whose stated purpose is to provide an annual forum for black college broadcasters, professional broadcasters, and members of the music industry to meet and discuss ways to increase minority participation in the broadcasting industry.

Although the playing field for African-Americans has seldom been level, many have persisted and mastered the skills essential for successful leadership. The number of African-Americans who worked in radio between 1920 and 2000 was comparatively small. The quality of their contribution to achieve equity is more significant to radio when culture is placed into a perspective that stretches from Latimer, Gosden, and Correll, to recorded music used in modern programming. The magnitude of African-American presence in radio through jazz, rhythm and blues (or rock and roll), blues, reggae, gospel, salsa, and rap, regardless of the performer's race, is incalculable. According to folk legend Pete Seeger, American music is Africanized music.

LAWRENCE N. REDD

See also Affirmative Action; Amos 'n' Andy; Beulah Show; Black-Oriented Radio; Black Radio Networks; Durham, Richard; Hulbert, Maurice "Hot Rod"; Joyner, Tom; KFFA; Stereotypes on Radio; WDIA; Williams, Nat D.; Wright, Early

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Agricultural Radio. *See* Farm/Agricultural Radio

Album-Oriented Rock Format

Album-Oriented Rock (AOR) originally referred to 33 1/3 rpm LP vinyl recordings, which distinguished it from the “single” 45 RPM recordings played on the Top-40 format.

AOR’s initial popularity in the 1970s signaled the arrival of 1960s counterculture tastes into the American popular music mainstream. But far from embracing the progressive politics, lifestyle, and artistry that gave counterculture music its relevance, AOR programmers capitalized on the increasing popularity of progressive radio incubating in the antiwar, Woodstock-era FM underground by appropriating its unique characteristics. AOR programming consultants replaced the DJ-programmer with a system of cue cards and playlists, turned thematic sets into music “sweeps” designed for Arbitron’s ratings methodology, and handed FM station owners a homogeneous and more manageable format. AOR radio, by stripping rock and roll of its rhythm and blues heritage and rejecting its subversive possibilities, significantly contributed to branding rock as a marketable commodity. It also helped move most radio listeners from AM to FM by the end of the 1970s. Although the AOR format prospered at the expense of the radio radicals who inspired it, some went on to run AOR stations or form broadcast consultancies, while others remained reactionary by joining in less mainstream forms of radio, typically noncommercial in nature.

The AOR playlist is comprised of selected tracks from rock albums, chosen to attract a target audience. Radio sta-

tions utilizing the AOR format skew their playlists to position the station competitively. For example, AOR stations targeting an older audience may include rock from the late 1960s and early 1970s; lighter rock tracks often attract more women; and emphasis on contemporary albums may appeal to a cosmopolitan audience. Such refinements of the AOR format have led to Classic Rock, Soft Rock, and some Alternative formats. Other Alternative formats have developed as antithetical to AOR.

JOSEPH R. PIASEK

See also Alternative Format; Arbitron; Classic Rock Format; Progressive Rock Format; Soft Rock Format; Underground Radio

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The Aldrich Family

Situation Comedy Program

The 20th century may not have invented teenagers, but it supplied the most memorable examples. From 1939 to 1953, the character Henry Aldrich and his imitators defined the standard crises, all poignant yet laughable. Although Henry’s stage

origin was unpromising, his radio personality carried on the Tom Sawyer/Penrod Schofield/Andy Hardy tradition of a good-hearted innocent who unintentionally causes mischief. Clifford Goldsmith’s 1937 play *What a Life!* confined him in

the principal's office, accused of stealing band instruments when he had merely cheated on a test in order to attend the dance. Henry's world grew when Rudy Vallee and Kate Smith commissioned sketches for their shows. By 1939 the vignettes expanded to a 30-minute series on the National Broadcasting Company's (NBC) Blue network. Sponsored by Jell-O and introduced by the rousing tune "This Is It," *The Aldrich Family* mingled humor, nostalgia, and complicated plots.

The opening routinely stressed the universality of Henry's zany experiences. For example, the announcer led in to the episode "The Tuxedo" by saying, "Whatever and whenever the Golden Age was, it is less important to most people than the teen age—a time of life made notable by typical American boys like Henry Aldrich and all their mishaps." Adolescence normally involves a tension between conformity and individuation, but Henry's awkward attempts to be a dutiful son/student/friend/worker as well as an independent individual seldom seem rooted in common experience. Unlike his listeners, he never matured beyond 16. Certainly he honored his parents: the show began with the memorable call from mother Alice ("Hen-ry! Hen-ry Aldrich!"), which Henry answers with an obedient, "Coming, Mother." Talking to father, lawyer Sam Aldrich, Henry resorts to elaborate but ungrammatical politeness: "Do you wish to speak to I, Father?" He tries to carry out their wishes by not leaving doors open, by cooperating with his sister Mary, and by babysitting a rambunctious tyke. Yet he inevitably upsets family order. Once Sam borrows Henry's bicycle and thoughtfully leaves a note on the rake with which his son had promised to beautify the yard. As usual, Henry forgets the leaves, doesn't see the note, and, assuming someone has stolen the bike, calls the police. By the show's end, friends, neighbors, and strangers share his teenage turmoil.

School situations likewise do little to develop Henry as a character. He once masters the Latin pluperfect subjunctive; most other times, his academic milestones mark unpredictable gaffes: when he spills glue on the shop floor and sees his teacher lose his shoe in the mess, or when he is caught on a fire escape by the principal as he tries in vain to return a teacher's grade book that his pal mistakenly picked up because it resembled a mystery story. Friendship and romance also seemed to change before Henry could understand them. A note from a girl in the next town flatters him so that he rents a costume, intending to escort her to a dance. After seeing her picture, he fobs her off on a rival who also takes his costume. The urge to make money, too, is thwarted by poor information. He buys a furnace-starting concession. The seller neglects to tell him that the owners are in Florida, a fact Henry learns from a postcard sent by the owners to his family. Unfortunately, he has already wrecked the furnace, restarted mail and milk deliveries, and burned a box of the owner's papers. Although Henry mishan-

dles his duties, his good will eventually moderates any possibilities for serious harm.

The plots often center on Henry's quest to acquire some object: a misplaced watch given by his aunt Harriet, who wants to see it again; a tuxedo so he can attend the prom; a straw hat; an antique toy to replace the one he broke in his girlfriend Kathleen's home; a motor scooter that he will receive if he can pass his history test. His cravings for material goods parallel those of the normative middle-class citizen, but his missteps lighten greed with humor. Popular formulas for success often mislead Henry. He thinks he might get rich raising rabbits; he imitates the generosity he's seen in a film and, like the hero of Thornton Wilder's *Heaven's My Destination*, creates chaos; he writes to a Charles Atlas-type muscle developer but misplaces the letter that details his puny dimensions. Henry's ambitions do not liberate him; rather, they entangle others. His father spends some uncomfortable hours trapped in a phone booth; a friend crouches miserably in a basement cubbyhole; his chum Homer Brown, unwittingly engaged to Agnes, finds that Henry's solution is worse than commitment.

Although *The Aldrich Family* provided lasting memories, the cast changed frequently. At least three mothers, seven sisters, seven directors, and three fathers appeared. House Jameson, barely in charge as would-be patriarch Sam, had more authority as *Renfrew of the Mounted*. Ezra Stone was the best-known Henry—his reedy voice captured the nearly out-of-control mood that characterized each program. After Stone was called to military service from 1941 to 1944, Norman Tokar, Raymond Ives, Bobby Ellis, and Dickie Jones filled in until his return. Clifford Goldsmith relied on seven other writers, but his benign vision of adolescence still shaped their versions. Only Jackie Kelk remained consistent, playing Homer (a role that was a shift for Kelk, who had played the self-confident Terry on *Terry and the Pirates* and helpful Jimmy Olson on *Superman*).

Several shows copied the Aldrich formula of a well-meaning youngster who inadvertently confounds normalcy: *Archie Andrews* and *That Brewster Boy* echoed the male adolescent's turmoil; *Junior Miss*, *A Date with Judy*, *Maudie's Diary*, and *Meet Corliss Archer* presented the female version. A series of 11 Henry Aldrich movies between 1939 and 1944 made visual his arrested adolescence, but the film versions employed other actors (Jackie Cooper in the first, Jimmy Lydon in the rest). Likewise, the 1949–53 television program used five Henrys (most notably Bobby Ellis), though it retained Jameson as father, Kelk as Homer, and Leona Powers as Mrs. Brown.

JAMES A. FREEMAN

See also Comedy; Situation Comedy

Cast

Henry Aldrich	Ezra Stone (1939–42; 1945–52), Norman Tokar (1942–43), Dickie Jones (1943–44), Raymond Ives (mid 1945), Bobby Ellis (1952–53)
Sam Aldrich	House Jameson, Clyde Fillmore, Tom Shirley
Alice Aldrich	Katharine Raht, Lea Penman, Regina Wallace
Mary Aldrich	Betty Field, Patricia Peardon, Charita Bauer, Ann Lincoln, Jone Allison, Mary Mason, Mary Rolfe, Mary Shipp
Homer Brown	Jackie Kelk, Johnny Fiedler (1952–53), Jack Grimes (1952–53), Michael O'Day (1952–53)
Will Brown	Ed Begley, Arthur Vinton, Howard Smith
Homer's Mother	Agnes Moorehead, Leona Powers
Kathleen Anderson	Mary Shipp, Ethel Blume, Jean Gillespie, Ann Lincoln
Dizzy Stevens	Eddie Bracken
George Bigelow	Charles Powers
Toby Smith	Dick Van Patten
Mrs. Anderson	Alice Yourman
Willie Marshall	Norman Tokar
Aunt Harriet	Ethel Wilson
Announcers	Harry Von Zell, Dwight Weist, George Bryan, Dan Seymour, Ralph Paul

Creator/Writer

Clifford Goldsmith

Programming History

NBC July 1939–July 1944; September 1946–April 1953

CBS September 1944–August 1946

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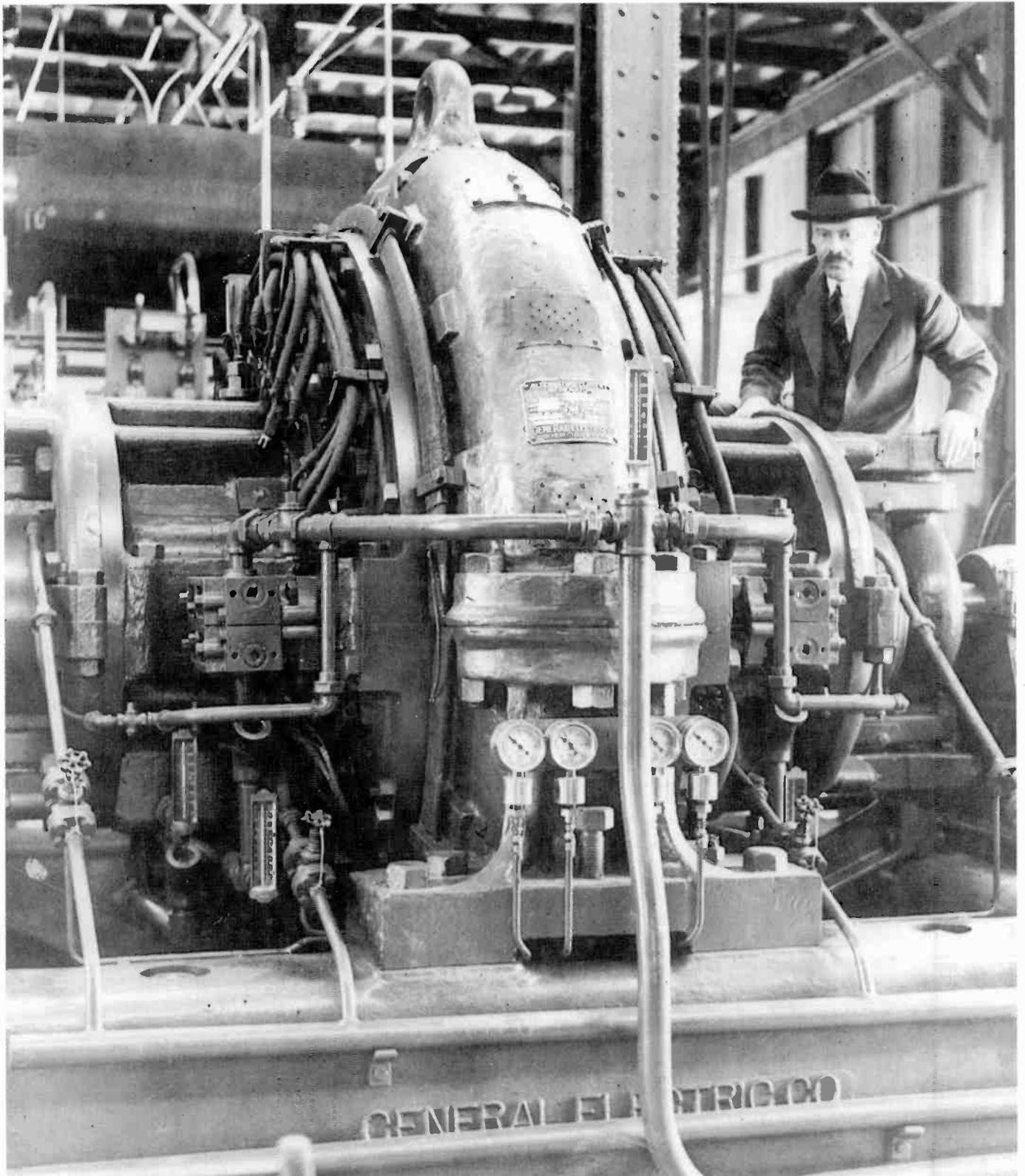
Alexanderson, E.F.W. 1878–1975

U.S. (Swiss-Born) Radio Engineer and Inventor

Employed for 45 years by the General Electric Company as an electrical engineer, E.F.W. Alexanderson was involved in early research and development of radio-related technology. He is associated primarily with the development of alternators that first made reliable long-distance radio transmission possible.

Ernst Alexanderson was born in Uppsala, Sweden. After graduating from the Royal Institute of Technology in Stockholm in 1900 and then studying electrical engineering for a year in Germany, Alexanderson emigrated to the United States. Shortly thereafter, in 1902, he found employment at General Electric. Alexanderson was involved in a number of projects during his first years at General Electric, until the work of Reginald Fessenden brought Alexanderson into radio research.

Fessenden was attempting to achieve transoceanic voice transmission through a radio wave. Up to that time, radio transmission had been based on Guglielmo Marconi's spark-gap system, which sent out an interrupted wave, thus creating a series of dots and dashes for Morse code. To achieve the ability to transmit a continuous wave on which a voice could be superimposed, Fessenden contracted with General Electric to construct a special alternating-current generator that could be used as the transmitter. This project was assigned to Alexanderson. After several years of design and development, in December 1906 the alternator was delivered to Fessenden, who proceeded that Christmas Eve to present the first radio voice transmission.



E.F.W. Alexanderson posing with Alexanderson alternator, ca. 1922
Courtesy Schenectady Museum Archives

In the following years, Alexanderson continued to work on and refine the alternator for General Electric, incorporating many of his own engineering ideas into its design. This General Electric alternator was commonly called the Alexanderson alternator. The design of this large machine was very similar to that of a power plant's generator, though it rotated much faster. Such high-speed rotations created complex mechanical problems that Alexanderson had to solve.

During World War I, the Alexanderson alternator began to receive much favorable attention in scientific and industrial circles when General Electric used it for transmission tests of a new vacuum tube the company had developed. Alexanderson was now concentrating on creating a 50,000-watt version of the alternator. By early 1915, developmental work on this device had reached the point where tentative plans were made to install one at an American Marconi radio transmitting station in New Brunswick, New Jersey, for field tests. While he was in the United States in 1915, Marconi visited General Electric's Schenectady, New York, laboratory to examine the alternator. He saw it as a key component in developing reliable transoceanic communication. Shortly after Marconi's visit, representatives of Marconi and of General Electric discussed a deal whereby Marconi companies would have exclusive use of the Alexanderson alternator, with General Electric retaining exclusive manufacturing rights. The agreement was not completed because Marconi was suddenly called back to Europe by the Italian government.

Although the negotiations with Marconi were on hold, General Electric proceeded with its plan to install a 50,000-watt alternator at the American Marconi New Brunswick site, and an alternator was delivered in 1917. Because of World War I, the U.S. Navy had been authorized to take over all high-powered radio transmission stations, and it soon took over American Marconi's New Brunswick facility. Using the call letters NFF, the navy used this alternator and a subsequent 200,000-watt alternator—also designed by Alexanderson and delivered to New Brunswick—to transmit propaganda and information by radio throughout Europe. In January 1918, President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points message was delivered to Europe via this facility, as was a later appeal from Wilson to the German people to remove their Kaiser. For this latter message, Alexanderson himself was at the transmitter site.

After the war ended, Marconi again approached General Electric with a proposal to obtain the exclusive right to buy the Alexanderson alternator, for by that time the alternator was the best long-distance transmitter available. If General Electric had accepted Marconi's proposal, a foreign company would have gained a monopoly over American radio communications with Europe. When General Electric approached the navy for its view of the proposed contract with Marconi, navy officials

expressed strong opposition. Knowing that the government preferred an American company to control the country's international radio communications, General Electric instead bought a controlling interest in American Marconi, which led to the eventual formation of the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) in 1919. Control over Alexanderson's alternator technology was one factor that led to the creation of RCA.

Alexanderson was appointed RCA's first chief engineer. General Electric, as a founder and major shareholder of RCA, loaned Alexanderson to the new company while also keeping his services at General Electric on a shared-time basis. Alexanderson stayed at RCA for four years and then returned full-time to General Electric to continue research. He concentrated on antenna design and television research, demonstrating a mechanical scanning television receiver as early as 1927.

Alexanderson retired from General Electric in 1948, but he stayed active for the next 27 years by consulting for several companies, including RCA. In these later years, Alexanderson was viewed in the scientific community as one of the pioneers of electrical engineering and early radio technology. He died in Schenectady, New York, in 1975, just two years after his final patent had been awarded.

RANDALL VOGT

See also Fessenden, Reginald; General Electric; Radio Corporation of America

Ernst Fredrik Werner Alexanderson. Born in Uppsala, Sweden, 25 January 1878. Studied engineering at Royal Institute of Technology, Stockholm, graduated 1900; spent next year studying at Königliche Technische Hochschule, Charlottenburg, Germany; employed by General Electric Company at Schenectady, New York, from 1902 until retirement in 1948; first chief engineer, Radio Corporation of America, 1919–23. Became naturalized U.S. citizen, 1908. Awarded 344 patents, 1905–73. Died in Schenectady, New York, 14 May 1975.

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All India Radio

India presents huge challenges to any broadcasting institution that aspires to serve the whole nation. All India Radio (AIR), the state-run monopoly, was expected to take these challenges on and help build a modern nation state with an egalitarian social democracy. More than a billion people, nearly half of them living below the poverty line, are spread over a land mass of 1.27 million square miles. Although urbanization and industrialization are the hallmarks of postcolonial India, nearly 75 percent of the population still lives in 55,000 villages, eking out a living from farming. About 10 percent are employed in industries in urban areas. India's religious, cultural, and regional diversity is striking, with 83 percent of the population claiming Hinduism as their religion and Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists, and Jains accounting for the rest. Fourteen officially recognized languages and hundreds of dialects coexist with English. Hindi, the official language of modern India, is slowly gaining a foothold with the masses. Uneven development characterizes India; cities such as Bangalore claim a place in the global computer industry as the "Silicon Valley of India," whereas villages have extremely bad roads and lack clean drinking water, medical facilities, and schools. Significant advances have been made in literacy rates since independence in 1947, but a mere 52 percent are functionally literate. Social inequity such as caste, class, and gender inequality can be found in urban and rural parts of the country. Untouchability is still practiced against nearly 170 million people who are cast aside in near-apartheid conditions.

Origins

Enthusiasts in India's big cities pioneered radio by organizing amateur radio clubs in the early 1920s. Their efforts, and the successful growth of radio in Europe and the United States, gave impetus to a group of Indian entrepreneurs who established the Indian Broadcasting Company on 23 July 1927. Nevertheless, by 1930 their pioneering effort to launch privately owned radio ran into trouble because of lack of revenues. Broadcasting from their two stations, located in Bombay and Calcutta, they catered to the small European community and Westernized Indians while ignoring the masses. The colonial government was faced with the rising tide of anti-imperialist sentiment in the country; being interested in the propaganda potential of broadcasting, it bought the assets of the Indian Broadcasting Company and renamed it the Indian State Broadcasting Service (ISBS).

In 1935 the colonial government took another decisive step by inviting the BBC to help develop radio; one of the BBC's senior producers, Lionel Fielden, was sent. Fielden is credited

with having the name of the organization changed to All India Radio and for laying the foundations for public service broadcasting with the goal of providing information and education. He returned to England in 1940. By 1947, the year of India's independence, the AIR network had grown to 11 stations with 248,000 radio licenses.

AIR Today

AIR's growth and reach have been phenomenal in the last 50 years. There are 333 transmitters today, including 146 medium wave, 54 shortwave, and 133 FM. Some 210 radio stations cover 90 percent of India and reach 98 percent of the population. AIR claims a listenership of approximately 284 million who tune in on 111 million radio sets. Although controlled by the central government, AIR introduced advertising in 1967 and earns 808 million rupees a year (US\$1 = 48 rupees). The government makes up any deficit in its operating expenses.

AIR broadcasts in 24 languages and 146 dialects for domestic audiences and in 24 languages for international audiences. Approximately 303 news bulletins are aired daily, of which 93 are intended for national listeners, whereas regional stations originate 135 news bulletins daily. In addition, there are special bulletins on sports, youth, and other major events, such as the annual Haj to Mecca by Muslims or the Kumbh Mela in Allahabad. More than 80 stations in the AIR network broadcast radio dramas in various languages. Forty percent of the broadcast time, however, is set aside for classical, light, folk, and film music. The External Service, set up to act as a cultural ambassador, airs 65 news bulletins in 16 foreign and eight Indian languages. In addition, magazine programs on sports and literature; talk shows on sociopolitical-economic issues; and classical, folk, and modern Indian music from different regions of the country are broadcast.

AIR employs well over 16,000 persons. Approximately 13,000 are regular government servants; the rest are contract employees. They are transferable every three years, and so these employees seldom come to know the community in which they work. Such a huge organization cannot escape a hierarchical structure and the formal nature of appointments, promotions, retirements, and codes of conduct. Instead of demanding commitment to listeners, the organization requires its employees to adhere to the rules and procedures of a large government department. Because the employees have very little functional freedom, creativity and innovation are sacrificed. Lethargy, apathy, and favoritism unfortunately permeate the organization.

Regulation and Autonomy

Broadcasting is a regulated monopoly of the central government. The Indian Telegraph Act of 1885 was later amended to vest the exclusive right to “establish, maintain and work” wireless apparatus in the Government of India. Consequently, AIR has functioned as an arm of the central government ever since its inception. The Ministry of Information and Broadcasting is the policy-making body for the entire broadcasting system. Generalist officers drawn from the civil service manage the ministry. The director general heads the AIR and executes policy. The government has held that any member of the elite Indian Administrative Services can function as head of AIR with equal disinterest. Hence the director general is a bureaucrat who may or may not be interested or qualified in radio.

National television grew under the umbrella of AIR and in 1976 was given a separate structure called Doordarshan, literally meaning viewing from a distance. As one would view a deity in a temple, TV audiences regularly gain a glimpse of the political establishment via Doordarshan’s newscasts. With a mandate similar to radio’s, television has also seen remarkable expansion and reach in the country in the last three decades. With the rise of privately controlled satellite delivery services, India now has a mixed system of public and private enterprises in television, whereas radio has clearly remained a government monopoly.

The credibility of AIR news has always been in question, however, not only because it is a government department but also because of well-reported instances of interference by the prime minister’s office, irrespective of who is in power. There has been considerable pressure from private and public institutions as well as from intellectuals in the country to create an arms-length relationship between the government and the broadcast institutions ever since the National Emergency in 1975. Suspending certain articles of the constitution, the prime minister unleashed a reign of terror, which lasted almost 19 months. To silence dissent, the government engaged in mass arrests of prominent political leaders, trade unionists, human rights activists, communists, and students. There were widespread reports of torture and sterilization, especially of the poor. While the judiciary was not abolished, the ruling party in the Parliament passed certain amendments to the constitution to put the prime minister and her party loyalists above the nation’s laws. The privately controlled press and cinema were subjected to intense censorship, and journalists at AIR were instructed to abandon even the pretense of journalistic fairness and balance in their coverage of events. Prominent journalists went underground to avoid arrest. The government restructured the news agencies in the country to “clean out” anyone who was not favorable to the prime minister and denied advertising in newspapers that would not change the tone of coverage of the regime. A dark moment in the history of the nation,

the national emergency exemplified the extent to which the executive branch of the government could misuse its power over the media.

The debate on autonomy for broadcasting has finally resulted in Parliament passing the Prasar Bharati Act of 1990, which seeks to free radio and television from the direct control of the government and place it in the hands of an autonomous corporation that would be managed by a board. That board would be required under the law to be accountable to a broadcasting council and in turn to a statutory parliamentary committee with various powers reserved to the government. The act has not been implemented, however.

Promises Versus Reality

AIR’s heavily bureaucratic ways have been the major impediment to innovation and creativity. In a highly pluralistic society with incredible linguistic, caste, and class differences, AIR has attempted not to offend any group. Controversial social and community welfare issues take a back seat while popular film music dominates. Regional language radio stations beam programs to the whole state in a formal dialect, which renders it stiff and official. As a consequence, most people find AIR boring. Radio, as a mass medium, is particularly suited to communicate in the local dialect and idiom, thereby establishing a personal connection between the broadcaster and the listener. That has not, however, been achieved in India because of the bureaucratic stranglehold on radio.

The model of a centralized national radio service with many regional and local stations intended to achieve the vision of unifying the nation was well intentioned but expensive and difficult to deliver. For development purposes, more localized micro radio operations based in community and educational institutions would have been more cost efficient and credible with audiences. The distance between the program creators and listeners would have been reduced, which in turn would have enhanced radio’s credibility with the rural masses. Perhaps radio might then have met local needs better. Until recently, the government has guarded the frequencies as though they were its property and has only reluctantly allowed private program producers some space on the government-controlled stations. This may lead to licensing of private FM stations that will, in all likelihood, be urban-centered. All India Radio’s local outlets around the country often are criticized for their low levels of involvement on the part of local groups. Partly in response, the Indian government began to license private radio stations in 2000, and the first of them came on air in July 2001. As of 2002 a few community radio stations had begun to appear.

AIR’s long-held policy of broadcasting classical music meant that it should have developed an extensive collection of recordings by some of India’s greatest performers. Lacking

resources and vision, many station directors simply did not save such precious recordings. For a few rupees more, the artists would have let AIR keep the recordings and later release them in the burgeoning cassette market. Recently, AIR seems to have realized its folly, and cassette tapes of speeches by leaders such as Gandhi and Nehru are being released to the public.

Competition to radio has grown steadily from film and television. Doordarshan, with its national reach and through its regional stations, and the privately controlled satellite TV channels have stolen radio audiences. They offer similar programs of music, talk, and other shows with the power of visuals. The enormously popular film music from India's own gigantic film industry became widely available on cassettes by the mid 1970s and even penetrated rural areas in the following decade. Satellite audio services and on-line radio, operated by private companies, will be the next frontier on which AIR will have to compete.

AIR needs bold new directions in this age of the internet and FM broadcasting. What seems to be in store is an added layer of bureaucracy in the name of autonomy and higher pressure on AIR to earn more revenues and become self-sufficient. Those signs do not offer much hope for an institution with the national purpose of employing the power of the medium for social change.

MANJUNATH PENDAKUR

See also Developing World

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All News Format

All news is a programming format that continuously provides listeners with the latest news, sports, weather, time, and, in many cases, reports on driving conditions. This format's appeal is directed to a revolving audience continuously tuning in and out.

Radio news traces its origins to KDKA's broadcast of the 1920 presidential election returns. The station announcer requested that listeners mail postcards to the station confirming that they had heard the broadcast. By 1930 NBC and CBS were simultaneously broadcasting *Lowell Thomas and the News*, sponsored by *Literary Digest*. The unusual simulcast, in

which NBC broadcast the program to the eastern half of the country and CBS to the western half, became solely the property of NBC within a year. Americans grew accustomed to turning on their radios for the latest news during the late 1930s. By the end of the decade, as social unrest increased in Europe, the voices of radio correspondents William L. Shirer, George Hicks, and Edward R. Murrow became as familiar as those of friends and neighbors. Radio was establishing itself as the leader in reporting events as they were occurring. In 1940 Americans told pollsters for the first time that they preferred radio to newspapers as their primary news source. Coverage of

World War II cemented the relationship between radio and its audience across the United States as listeners followed the progress of American troops in Europe and the Pacific.

With the end of World War II and the development of television, radio's role once again shifted. During the 1950s, radio's entertainment programming, including dramas and soap operas, moved steadily to television. Music gradually became the dominant form of programming on radio; at many stations, news was shifted to five minutes at the top of the hour.

In the 1960s radio management took another look at news programming. The trade magazine *Sponsor* described radio at that time as the "new king of the news beat" and attributed its change in status to improvements in technology, increased numbers of experienced news reporters, and recognition that newsmakers were more important than newscasters. Four radio networks were providing regular newscasts to their affiliates: ABC, NBC, and Mutual Broadcasting System (MBS) produced two newscasts hourly, and CBS, with 20 news bureaus worldwide, had nearly 50 correspondents contributing to their news programs.

The first all-news radio format in the United States was used at KFAX in San Francisco on 16 May 1960. General manager J.G. Paltridge and sales manager Ray Rhodes called the new format "newsradio." As was common at the time, KFAX (owned by Argonaut Broadcasting) sold advertisers announcements but no sponsorships of shows. Compared to today's heavy commercial schedule, spots were few, with one commercial per five minutes of news and also at station breaks. The first 25 minutes of an hour consisted of hard news followed by business news, sports, and special features. "Newsradio" died after four months due to its lack of advertisers.

In 1961 Gordon McLendon started the first commercially successful all-news radio station, X-TRA. Located in Tijuana, Mexico, it beamed its powerful signal across the border to southern California. A station promotional announcement trumpeted, "no waiting for hourly newscasts or skimpy headlines on X-TRA NEWS, the world's first and only all-news radio station. In the air everywhere over Los Angeles."

Los Angeles broadcasters were critical of the Mexican station's identification with their city, as the only address announcers mentioned was that of the sales office in Los Angeles. The station's official on-air identification, required by law, was made in Spanish and followed by Mexican music and a description of Mexican tourist attractions. The Southern California Broadcasters Association called this an unethical attempt to camouflage a Mexican station as one located in Los Angeles.

In the early days, X-TRA used "rip and read" reports (stories torn straight from wire service machines and read live on the air). The station was served by the Los Angeles City Wire Service, the Associated Press (AP), and United Press Interna-

tional (UPI). X-TRA also subscribed to a clipping service that provided stories from newspapers in all major U.S. cities and international capitals around the world. No one rewrote the wire copy, and there were no station reporters gathering news or conducting interviews. Newscasters alternated as anchors every 15 minutes, with a half hour in between to prepare for the next news stint. The content was somewhat repetitive, as programmers assumed that the audience would switch to a music station after hearing the most recent news. All newscasters read their copy with the sound (often recorded) of wire service teletype machines in the background, as a report in *Sponsor* magazine described it, "to suggest a newsroom setting."

McLendon brought the all-news format to WNUS (pronounced "W-news") in Chicago in 1964. He advised radio programmers considering the format not to attempt to enliven it with features and "actualities" (sound bites), suggesting that listeners wanted nothing but news. WINS, New York's first all-news radio station, ignored that advice when it switched to round-the-clock news in 1965. Owned by Westinghouse, WINS expanded the McLendon design, emphasizing on-the-scene reports and actualities. Fourteen newscasters, rotating in 30-minute shifts, anchored the newscasts. Mobile units provided live and taped reports from the five boroughs and the outskirts of the metropolitan area. A staff of more than 40 produced the news summaries, sports reports, financial news, and weather reports, plus time and traffic reports. They relied on wire service from AP and UPI and the resources of Westinghouse stations and news bureaus across the country and overseas. Despite the personnel-intensive expense of the operation, WINS started turning a profit six months into its all-news operation.

In 1966 *Broadcasting* reported that all news was a viable, profitable choice for a programming format. There were then four U.S. stations concentrating on news: WINS (New York), KYW (Philadelphia), WNUS (Chicago), and WAVA (Arlington, Virginia), and the Mexican station X-TRA in Tijuana, which also had an audience in the United States. Despite reaching the profit-making point after nine months, WNUS never gained a dominant share of the market, so management changed its program format back to music in 1968. Westinghouse, however, went on to program all news in its stations in Los Angeles and Philadelphia.

CBS's flagship station in New York, WCBS, shifted to all news in 1967, but with its own innovations and significant financial support. WCBS used helicopters for traffic reports and its own weather forecasters. It had more reporters and produced more features than other all-news stations of the period, and it had access to the resources of the respected CBS network news. Among its reporters were Ed Bradley and Charles Osgood, who would make national names for themselves and eventually shift to television news. CBS brass liked

the results, and all-news formats were put into place at other CBS owned-and-operated stations in Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, and San Francisco.

NBC broke into all-news radio in 1975, introducing News and Information Service (NIS), the first national all-news service. Subscribers paid as little as \$750 or as much as \$15,000, depending on their market size. Stations would pay for world and national news plus sports and features, all provided by NBC anchors in New York. They broadcast for 47 minutes out of every hour with the format constructed so that subscribers could take the whole 47 minutes or as little as 23 minutes of the hourly format. Unlike traditional affiliations in which a network paid its affiliates or traded commercial availabilities, NIS had to be purchased from NBC. With the network producing the majority of the programming, the all-news format looked financially feasible for medium and small markets for the first time.

Despite the positive appearances, the all-news concept was not successful for NBC. After 18 months NBC had only 62 subscribers, significantly fewer than the projected 150 stations. Industry insiders suggested that the NBC network's unwillingness to commit its owned-and-operated stations contributed to the demise of NIS (only one adopted the all-news format). Audience numbers never reached expectations, resulting in disappointing advertising sales. All news was expensive to produce and simply was not bringing in the necessary income, so NIS went off the air two years after it began. Although it had cost \$20 million, its impact on the future of all-news radio had been significant during its short life. After its demise, a number of other all-news stations continued, affiliating with other networks, including CBS. So NBC contributed to the all-news format's expansion from the top ten markets to the medium-sized markets, despite the failure of NIS.

From NBC, CBS, and Westinghouse, three basic models developed for the all-news format, all based on the "format clock." A circle divided into pie-shaped slices indicates specific times during the hour on an analog clock. News, weather, traffic reports, and features are designated on the pie slices. Today's "weather on the fours" or "traffic on the eights" are segments that appear every four and eight minutes within each hour span, based on the traditional format clock.

The Westinghouse model is based on a 20- to 22-minute cycle with short, crisp stories and repetition. This is generally a hard-news approach with headlines, weather, time checks, and traffic reports. For instance, Philadelphia's KYW is famous for announcing, "Give us 22 minutes and we'll give you the world." The CBS model tends to be more informal, with hard news, features, and commentary, having initially used dual anchors and less repetition to establish its format. NBC created a more impersonal sound with the NIS model because it was producing news for all areas of the country rather than tailored for a specific market.

All news was one of the fastest growing formats in the 1970s, but the number of all-news stations started dropping in the 1980s as the news format was combined with a less expensive format that was growing in popularity: talk. The number of news-talk stations increased as all news declined. By 1990 there were only 28 all-news stations in the United States.

In 1994 the Associated Press started a 24-hour all-news radio network to serve news and news-talk stations. AP was already providing a newswire service to 5,000 radio stations and 750 TV stations. It also provided an audio network, AP Radio, that offered stations four brief news segments per hour. Industry insiders looked back 15 years to NBC's NIS and said that new technology and changes in the radio business made AP's network likely to succeed, predicting that it would reinvigorate local radio news.

By 1995 the ubiquity of the all-news radio format was evident with the introduction of a new television sitcom, NBC's *NewsRadio*, set in an all-news radio station in Manhattan. Like previous sitcoms that had used the broadcast news business as a framework (*The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, *WKRP in Cincinnati*, and *Murphy Brown*), *NewsRadio* had little to do with news and much to do with workplace relationships. It was canceled after five seasons.

The number of genuine news-radio operations in the United States grew dramatically to 836 all-news stations in 1999: 387 AM stations and 449 FM. Of these, 451 were commercial stations and 385 were noncommercial. In Canada there were 32 all-news stations: 15 AM, 17 FM (29 commercial, and three noncommercial).

All-news formats are carefully designed for specific markets—what works in Atlanta may not be successful in Los Angeles or Minneapolis. Listening patterns, including how long a listener will stay with the station and how often, vary from market to market. The larger the population in a station's market, the more the station can afford to have frequent turnover in its audience. Smaller-market stations try to keep listeners for longer periods.

Four decades after the introduction of all-news radio, it is a stable and profitable format. Advertisers are willing to pay all-news stations top rates to reach the population segment that is attracted to news. In the United States, all-news listeners tend to be older (35-plus), better educated, and have more money than the average consumer. Because of the repetitive nature of the format, they stay with the station only a short time. But while they listen, they tend to give much closer attention to the broadcast than they give to music programming, and all-news stations tend to carry more commercials than music stations.

Despite the increased attention to news overall—international, national, business and sports—some critics and listeners in the United States have expressed concern about the reduction in local news on radio. A number of stations, recognizing that local news continues to be a labor-intensive, expensive

process, are finding it economically viable to reduce their local news content and increase reliance on news services that provide more lifestyle, sports, and entertainment news. As a result, some stations that identify themselves as news-radio stations depend on syndicated services and employ few, if any, reporters to gather news. Some even label talk-show programs featuring hosts such as Don Imus, G. Gordon Liddy, Oliver North, and Howard Stern as newscasts. Other types of non-news broadcasts may also be mislabeled; for example, the magazine *Smart Money* warned its readers about “investment pros” who buy radio time to promote stocks and investment services but masquerade as business news.

At the beginning of the 21st century there are more news resources available to U.S. radio stations than ever before. AP provides audio and text to almost 4,000 stations with a variety of program formats. National syndicator Westwood One distributes CBS Radio News, Fox News Radio, and NBC Radio Network; it also owns Shadow Broadcast Services and Metro Networks, which offer a variety of news options and traffic reports. ABC provides radio service to some 3,200 affiliates. Business news has become a hot commodity with Bloomberg Business News Network and CNBC Business Radio, among others. Sports news is provided by ESPN, which has 650 affiliates in its radio network. One historical news organization dropped out of the broadcast news business in 1999, however, when UPI (which started its newswire service for broadcast stations in 1958) sold its remaining radio and TV accounts to the Associated Press. The venerable news service announced that its future plans were to focus on internet-delivered news.

By 2000 the popularity of all-news radio was spreading around the globe. Canada's largest cable company, Rogers Communications, switched its country music station in Vancouver to all news in early 1996. A spokesman described the company as “fully committed” to the format. Scandinavia's first all-news operation started in Norway in 1997. *Alltid Nyheter* (Always News) was begun by a Norwegian public service station, NRK. In addition to news gathered by its own staff, *Alltid Nyheter* uses material from CNN, Swedish Radio, Danish Radio, and BBC World Service. In France, the main all-news radio station is France-Info. After ten years without an all-news station, Montreal's 940News (English language)

and Info690 (French) went on the air in December 1999. Quebec's Metromedia radio chain plans to invest \$40 million in the first five years of these stations' operation. In England, listeners can tune in news from NewsDirect, London's all-news radio station.

Despite the variety of news sources available (newspapers, the internet, all-news cable networks, and local television), all-news radio continues to build a loyal following of listeners in the United States and abroad. Working people once got their news from television at home in the evening, but today's professionals often work longer hours. They listen to the news when it's most convenient—on the radio as they drive to and from work.

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See also Canadian News and Sports; KYW; News; News Agencies; Talk Radio; WCBS; Westwood One; WINS

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All Night Radio

All-night radio programming has been a staple of the industry since the 1920s, when stations such as WDAF in Kansas City remained on the air far into the night to accommodate listeners who wanted to hear distant signals. Late-night programs began appearing more widely in the 1930s as the networks scheduled live big band shows, which typically played dance music into the wee small hours (often 2:00 or 3:00 A.M.). Although it is difficult to say which station first offered a regular schedule of all-night broadcasts, certainly one of the pioneers was WNEW-AM in New York. It premiered *Milkman's Matinee* (first broadcast midnight to 6 A.M. and later from 2 A.M. to 6 A.M.) on 6 August 1935, and the program remained on the air until 1992. During the same period, many major-market radio stations experimented with extended hours, with some confining their late-night programs to specific days of the week.

World War II led to a sharp increase in all-night radio programming. Feeling it their patriotic duty, many stations (among them WNAC and WEEL in Boston, WNEW and WOR in New York, WKBW in Buffalo, KDKA in Pittsburgh, WCAU in Philadelphia, and WRVA in Richmond) offered broadcasts for those legions of Americans working graveyard shifts in defense plants and factories.

After the war, all-night talk shows began to appear. Regarded by many as the father of the overnight call-in show, Barry Gray launched his program in New York City in 1945, and his “graveyard gab-a-thons” would remain among the most popular forms of this radio programming daypart. In the 1970s, all-night talk was given a significant boost with the debut of national call-in shows hosted by personalities such as Larry King and other extremely popular and sometimes controversial talkmasters. The use of toll-free 800 numbers enhanced the attraction of this format.

The primary appeal of overnight radio broadcasting lies in its companionability. A 1968 National Association of Broadcasters survey concluded that 60 percent of the all-night audience tunes in to keep from being lonely. All-night radio is also where the subcultures and countercultures tune to stay connected at an hour when the mainstream world is asleep. Insomniacs and third-shift workers, among them bakers, policemen, cab drivers, and convenience store clerks, constitute a substantial part of the loyal listenership of all-night radio. For aspiring disc jockeys and talk hosts, the overnight shift frequently serves as a training ground. It is where stations often put their most inexperienced on-air people to allow them the chance to build their skills. However, for some seasoned professionals, especially those in larger markets, the overnight shift is a preferred slot, because it is a segment of the program clock when rigid compliance to format strictures may be some-

what relaxed, thus providing them with greater opportunity to experiment and flex their creative muscles.

The program content of all-night radio tends to be eclectic. However, since the 1980s there has been a significant rise in the number of stations airing overnight talk shows, often syndicated programs, and canned programming is widely employed to fill the time slot. This period of the broadcast schedule has become famous for an often bizarre mix of program offerings. Psychics, paranormalists, conspiracy theorists, love therapists—to mention a few—are among the unique array of those who hold court over the night-time airwaves at hundreds of radio stations.

Outlets programming music over nights are frequently equally divergent in their approaches. In fact, music stations that feature a primary or single format during the day may shift gears to another, albeit complementary, form of music for their overnight hours. One quality many all-night music stations share in common is their tendency to soften or mellow their sounds to create a mood and atmosphere consonant with the nocturnal landscape. Jazz, blues, folk, and classical music are frequently given more airplay at night than during the day. Of course, not all stations vary or reconfigure their program clocks or playlists between midnight and 6 A.M. In fact, most actually mirror the programming they offer throughout the day and early evenings.

No programming ingredient has been more responsible for establishing loyal overnight followings than the radio personality; many of these have served their audiences for decades. The list of popular all-night hosts is long, if not endless. A partial list would certainly include Jean Shepherd, Norm Nathan, Franklin Hobbs, Joey Reynolds, Larry King, Henry Morgan, Jerry Williams, Jim Bohannon, Joe Franklin, Barry Farber, Larry Glick, Alison Steele, Ira Fistell, Ray Briem, Herb Jepko, Jean King, Larry Regan, Raechel Donahue, Long John Nebel, Wolfman Jack, Barry Gray, Mary Turner, Eddie Schwartz, John Luther, Mel Lindsay, Rollye James, Stan Shaw, Art Dineen, Hunter Hancock, Doug Stephan, Yvonne Daniels, Al Collins, Don Sainte John, Tom Snyder, Dave Wiken, and Art Ford. Every late-night listener has his or her favorite personality. Perhaps no all-night figure was more popular than Art Bell at the turn of the millennium. Broadcasting from a remote locale (near the infamous “Area 51”) in the Nevada desert, Bell attracted an audience that consistently numbered in the millions from coast to coast.

Since 1988, Arbitron has rated overnight time slots at the behest of outlets in markets with potentially large listenerships during this segment of the broadcast schedule. Although all-night hours are not typically viewed as profit centers (in fact, they are more often thought of as “giveaway” zones), many

stations have been successful enough in generating revenues to want audience statistics to help promote increased levels of advertising. In fact, the value of all-night radio as an advertising medium has risen in a world that has become increasingly 24-hour oriented.

With the predicted continuation of station consolidation and an even greater bottom-line emphasis, live and local all-night programming is expected to decline in the future. It is not unusual to find stations rebroadcasting daytime programs during their overnight hours, and the rise in bartered and syndicated shows is significant. Although the prospects for all-night radio are far from bleak, its growth will likely be influenced, if not substantially inhibited, by ongoing industry downsizing and the increasing reliance of the listening public on new forms of electronic media, such as the internet and digital audio on demand. Meanwhile, the program fare (politics and other hot-button issues) that has attracted all-night listeners for so many years appears to be on the wane, increasingly replaced by fea-

tures that are far less provocative and controversial and thus more salable to advertisers.

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See also Jepko, Herb; King, Larry; Shepherd, Jean; Talk Radio; Williams, Jerry; Wolfman Jack

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All Talk Format. *See* Talk Radio

All Things Considered

Public-Affairs Program

The seminal program of National Public Radio (NPR) first aired from an improvised studio in a run-down Washington, D.C., office building at 5:00 P.M. EDT on Monday, 3 May 1971. *All Things Considered* (ATC) marked the beginning of public radio as we know it. It also marked the culmination of more than a year of soul-searching about the purposes of this new enterprise. The task of defining public radio fell to the initial board of directors of NPR—a collection of managers from the largely moribund world of educational radio—and in particular to board member William Siemerling, who declared NPR's first priority to be the creation of "an identifiable daily product which is consistent and reflects the highest standards of broadcast journalism." His report continued:

This may contain some hard news, but the primary emphasis would be on interpretation, investigative

reporting on public affairs, the world of ideas and the arts. The program would be well paced, flexible, and a service primarily for a general audience. It would not, however, substitute superficial blandness for genuine diversity of regions, values, and cultural and ethnic minorities which comprise American society; it would speak with many voices and many dialects.

The editorial attitude would be that of inquiry, curiosity, concern for the quality of life, critical, problem-solving, and life loving. The listener should come to rely upon it as a source of information of consequence; that having listened has made a difference in his attitude toward his environment and himself.

There may be regular features on consumer information, views of the world from poets, men and women of ideas and interpretive comments from scholars. Using

inputs from affiliate stations, for the first time the intellectual resources of colleges and universities will be applied to daily affairs on a national scale.

National Public Radio will not regard its audience as a “market” or in terms of its disposable income, but as curious, complex individuals who are looking for some understanding, meaning and joy in the human experience.

In the early 1970s, radio news remained a serious enterprise at commercial radio networks. The aura of Edward R. Murrow still surrounded Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) News. CBS provided ten-minute newscasts on the top of the hour around the clock. The commercial networks maintained extensive staffs of correspondents around the world. It was against that staid but responsible incarnation of commercial radio news that NPR sought to define an “alternative.” It needed to separate itself as well from the equally staid and responsible style of traditional educational radio. Although it was located in Washington, D.C., just blocks from the White House, NPR saw itself in an outsider role and took pride in not attending the news conferences to which members of the mainstream media flocked. Siemering asked, “Why do we always think that what the President did today is so important? Maybe it is more important that some unemployed person found a job today? Maybe that should lead our program?”

Siemering urged NPR to distinguish itself from commercial radio and its own past by “advancing the art of the audio medium.” That mandate ultimately translated into a distinctive production style that took listeners to the scene of an event or into the lives of ordinary people instead of just talking about them. Producers would use microphones the way television reporters and documentarians used cameras. This was a new approach to radio journalism, because although listeners might recall the sounds of Murrow on the streets of London in World War II or the burning of the dirigible *Hindenburg*, these were the exceptions in radio news reporting before NPR. For the most part, radio news had meant reporters reading scripts. NPR sought to pioneer the regular use of sound in its reporting, drawing mental images more vivid than the pictures seen on television.

Even the titles of its programs suggested open-ended possibilities rather than a well-defined concept. Public radio’s initial news program would be called not *The NPR Nightly News* but *All Things Considered*, suggesting both the unlimited range of its interests and the careful consideration it would give to all issues it tackled.

Siemering drafted the program’s purposes as a member of the initial board. He then took on the task of implementing them as NPR’s first director of programming. In the six months between his arrival at NPR’s temporary facilities in Washington in November of 1970 and the program’s debut the follow-

ing May, Siemering took great care in hiring individuals who resonated with his vision statement. Concern with shared vision and personal compatibility outweighed more traditional standards, such as experience. In a sense, anyone with deep experience in traditional broadcasting and journalism had the wrong experience for what was to be a totally new departure. Symbolizing the priority of innovation over traditional broadcast standards, Siemering turned down an offer from the Ford Foundation to fund the salary of veteran news analyst Edward P. Morgan to anchor the new program. Siemering did not question Morgan’s competence. He simply wanted something fresh.

All Things Considered’s first anchor and “managing editor,” then, was not Edward P. Morgan but a relatively obscure former reporter for *The New York Times* and National Broadcasting Company (NBC) Television named Robert Conley. Conley brought with him one of his former editors at *The Times*, Cleve Matthews, who would direct the news operations. Josh Darsa, formerly of CBS Television, gave NPR another experienced hand and another staff member over the age of 30. In contrast to Conley, Matthews, and Darsa, however, a motley group of young, idealistic, creative, energetic men and women more comfortable with the counterculture than conventional journalism dominated the initial staff of ATC and formed its distinctive personality. Men still dominated broadcasting and journalism in 1971, and affirmative action was not yet the law of the land, but Siemering hired as many women as men for the initial staff and insisted on minority representation. Only a staff representative of the whole population, he felt, could produce a program that really served the needs and interests of the whole population.

True to the spirit of the times, the character of the staff, and Siemering’s own instincts, the program operated as something of a commune during its first nine months. No one was in charge. Three different individuals hosted the program during that time. The program’s vision was open ended, its implementation unreliable, and the working conditions chaotic. NPR management told Siemering he would lose his job if he did not give someone operating authority over the staff and program. After consulting members of “the commune,” Siemering gave the task to one of the “senior” members of the staff, 30-year-old Jack Mitchell, who imposed a structure on the previously free format and sought to develop a more consistent personality for the show. He changed the theme music from a playful little tune composed by Don Voegeli (a veteran musician at WHA in Madison, Wisconsin) to a more forceful “news” version of Voegeli’s basic melody. He broke the program into three half-hour segments, fixed newscasts at the top of each hour, and organized each half hour to move from “hard news” to softer features. Commentaries by “real people” from across the country were an attempt to realize Siemering’s democratic vision of radio. Commentaries by immortal broadcasters such as Goodman Ace, John Henry



(Left to Right) Robert Siegel, Linda Wertheimer, Noah Adams, *All Things Considered*
 Courtesy National Public Radio

Faulk, and Henry Morgan provided a link to radio's golden age. Key to the program's evolving personality, however, would be two program hosts, a man and a woman, who would conduct their own interviews in addition to introducing produced reports. Siemering had described the hosting role as a neutral, unobtrusive "picture frame" that never called attention to itself; Mitchell moved the hosts into the picture.

ATC's first hosting team paired Mike Waters, a man with a warm voice and a natural ability to tell engaging stories, with Susan Stamberg, an enthusiastic interviewer willing to laugh out loud and reveal the emotions of a real human being. Stamberg was the first female co-anchor of a major national nightly news program, as NPR pointed out in newspaper ads when American Broadcasting Company (ABC) Television touted its appointment of Barbara Walters to co-anchor its evening network newscast as a "first." As much as her gender, Stamberg's New York accent and brash personality polarized listeners, stations, and the NPR management. When she talked on the air

about her son Josh or gave her famous recipe for cranberry relish each Thanksgiving, Stamberg provided a human identity that told the world that this program was different from anything else on the air. Susan Stamberg came to personify *All Things Considered*, NPR, and public radio as a whole. Neither Waters nor Stamberg considered themselves journalists. Neither was especially interested in "news." Indeed, their ability to identify with the lay listener, posing "uninformed" questions that any reasonably intelligent non-expert might ask about complex issues, may have been part of their appeal.

In 1974 ATC expanded into the weekend. Waters took over the weekend assignment and was replaced on weekdays by Bob Edwards, another fine voice and excellent reader who, like Waters, provided a calming counterpoint to Stamberg's exuberance and who, unlike Waters, cared deeply about news. Many believe that Stamberg and Edwards set the standard for NPR hosting during their five years together, a period in which listeners in large numbers discovered the program and bonded

with the cohosts and the institution they represented. This “perfect” combination split in 1979, when Edwards moved to host NPR’s second major news effort, *Morning Edition*.

Morning Edition grew out of the example of *All Things Considered*, drawing its values, approach, and even its host from the older program. At the same time, however, *Morning Edition* changed *All Things Considered*. It broke up the team of Stamberg and Edwards, of course, but more important, *Morning Edition* turned NPR into a 24-hour-a-day news operation and forced the network to drastically increase its news-gathering capacity. Future ABC News star Cokie Roberts began her broadcasting career at NPR at about that time, joining the indomitable Nina Totenberg, who had come to NPR four years earlier, to become two of Washington’s most prominent and respected news reporters. Although Siemering had written that NPR’s daily magazine would include “some hard news,” the program instead evolved into a primary vehicle for breaking news coverage. NPR transformed itself into a competitive news organization, eventually filling the void for quality journalism created by the decline of serious news reporting and analysis on commercial radio and the simultaneous reduction of foreign news-gathering capacity by those networks. *All Things Considered* became more serious in its approach to news, constantly raising its journalistic standards and focusing increasingly on international news as commercial radio abandoned these interests. The “alternative” to traditional broadcast journalism became the bastion of journalistic standards. The hard news squeezed, but never eliminated, the softer elements of the program that had distinguished *ATC* in its early years.

Sanford Unger, a print reporter with a journalistic résumé far stronger than that of any previous NPR host, symbolized *ATC*’s evolving role as a serious player in the world of Washington journalism when he took over Edward’s seat next to Stamberg. Unfortunately, Unger’s on-air persona did not match his journalistic prowess. He moved on, to be replaced in 1983 by Noah Adams, who, like Mike Waters, was an “unknown” from within the NPR staff who had a soothing voice, a near-magical sense of radio, and only a marginal interest in hard news.

Tiring of the daily grind and not quite comfortable with the hardening of *ATC*’s news values, both Stamberg and Adams left the program four years later in 1987—Stamberg to host the new *Weekend Edition Sunday*, a feature-oriented program that would better suit her interests, and Adams to Minnesota to take over the Saturday night slot vacated by Garrison Keillor when Keillor moved to Denmark to live with his new wife.

Thus, in a sense, *All Things Considered* started over in 1987 with a harder journalistic edge. News Vice President Robert Siegel decided to give up his big office for the chance to anchor *All Things Considered*. Reporter Rene Montaigne joined him as cohost for one year. At the end of that year, Gar-

rison Keillor was back on Saturday night, and Noah Adams was back at NPR. The news-oriented Siegel and the feature-oriented Adams might have made an outstanding complementary team had they not both been men. NPR solved the dilemma by adding political and congressional correspondent Linda Wertheimer to the mix as a third host. Siegel, Adams, and Wertheimer would share the hosting duties, and each would have time to do some reporting as well. That arrangement served the interests of the three hosts and the philosophy of NPR’s president, Doug Bennet, who chose to downplay individual personalities in favor of NPR’s institutional identity as a news organization. Three interchangeable hosts on *All Things Considered* symbolized the interchangeability of reporters and other staff in an organization whose success and credibility should transcend that of any individual.

NPR’s next president, Delano Lewis, expanded *All Things Considered* from 90 minutes to two hours in 1995 and moved the program forward by one hour to 4:00 P.M. EDT, to better fit peak afternoon drive-time listening. At the same time, breaks were added within each half hour, dividing the program into shorter segments similar to its companion program, *Morning Edition*. The extra time allowed *All Things Considered* to do more “soft” material among the “hard news.”

Beginning with its first Peabody Award in 1973 for its “distinctive approach to broadcast journalism,” *All Things Considered* has won virtually every award for broadcast journalism excellence.

JACK MITCHELL

See also Easy Aces; Edwards, Bob; Faulk, John Henry; Morgan, Henry; Morning Edition; National Public Radio; Peabody Awards; Public Radio since 1967; Siemering, William; Simon, Scott; Stamberg, Susan; Totenberg, Nina; Wertheimer, Linda

Hosts

Robert Conley (1971), Jim Russell (1971), Mike Waters (1971–74), Susan Stamberg (1972–86), Bob Edwards (1974–79), Sanford Unger (1980–83), Noah Adams (1983–86), Robert Siegel (1986–87), Rene Montaigne (1986–87), Robert Siegel (1988–), Noah Adams (1988–2002), Linda Wertheimer (1988–2002), Michelle Norris (2002–), Melissa Block (2003–)

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National Public Radio 1971–present

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Allen, Fred 1894–1956

U.S. Radio Comedian

Fred Allen was one of the most successful radio personalities during the 1930s and 1940s. Allen's forte was topical humor. He was a satirist, drawing much of his material from the day's events. While he occasionally commented on the headlines, he more often zeroed in on the smaller "filler" items that graced the newspapers. Even though his greatest appeal was to the "thinking" audience, Allen also enjoyed enormous popular appeal. Author John Steinbeck once called Allen "unquestionably the best humorist of our time." Among his many fans were Groucho Marx, Jack Benny, and George Burns. By the end of his career Fred Allen became one of the country's leading authorities on humor.

Origins

Fred Allen was born John Florence on 31 May 1894 in Cambridge, Massachusetts. His mother died when he was very young and his father died when he was 15. After their father's death, he and his brother, Bob, lived with their aunt. At 18 he began performing on the "amateur night" circuit of vaudeville around Boston. His ability to juggle led to a hokey comedy routine. He was billed as Paul Huckle, European Entertainer, for his first appearance. He later became Fred St. James, the juggler. He soon changed his name to Freddie James and billed himself as the world's worst juggler. As time went on, the juggling became a smaller part of his act and the comedy became more prominent; he eventually abandoned juggling altogether.

In 1914 he left for New York City to try to break into big-time vaudeville. Not finding much success, in 1916 he left for a tour of Australia. While there, he polished his act and returned to the United States a year later. Upon his return he joined the New England vaudeville circuit. By 1920 he was an established vaudeville headliner, now known as Fred Allen. In 1922 Allen took his act to Broadway and there met his future wife, Portland Hoffa.

Radio

By the early 1930s radio had established itself as an important venue for many of vaudeville's top talent; by the fall of 1932 most vaudeville acts had made the switch to radio. Among the medium's new performers were singers Bing Crosby, Al Jolson, and Paul Robeson and comedians Jack Benny, Ed Wynn, the Marx Brothers, George Burns and Gracie Allen, and Fred Allen. Allen's first radio program *The Linit Bath Club Revue*, premiered on the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), Sunday night, 23 October 1932. Allen put his all into the weekly show, regularly working 80-hour weeks to prepare each week's program. The *Linit* show was heavily influenced by the vaudeville style—stiff stage comedy and stand-up patter backed by music. His show changed its sponsors and its name three times during the next year, first to *The Salad Bowl Revue* then to *The Sal Hepatica Revue*, then to *The Hour of Smiles*. Finally in 1934 Allen's show became famous as *Town Hall Tonight*.

Like most programs of the era, Allen's followed a formula from the beginning. In his earlier series each episode would be built around a different occupation. One week he would play a plumber, the next week a banker, then a druggist, etc. By the time *Town Hall Tonight* emerged, the formula had evolved to what is now commonly known as the "comedy variety" format. This format includes different comedic skits or monologues interspersed with music. Another feature of *Town Hall Tonight* was a regular amateur talent segment. In fact, almost half of each episode was devoted to amateur talent. Like the other elements of the program, the amateur segment was extremely popular with the audience. It was also popular with the sponsor and the network because it was very inexpensive to produce. In fact, the amateur talent segment proved so popular that it spawned a number of amateur talent programs, the most notable being *The Original Amateur Hour* of Major Bowes. Some of the amateur talent that was discovered on Allen's program included comic, and later radio and TV host,



Fred Allen
Courtesy Radio Hall of Fame

Garry Moore, actress Ann Sheridan, and a young Frank Sinatra.

It was on *Town Hall Tonight* on the evening of 30 December 1936 that Allen started his famous on-air “feud” with Jack Benny. The feud began inadvertently when Allen ad-libbed a joke about Benny’s inability to play the violin well. The following week Jack Benny responded to this remark on his own program and the feud was on. The feud played on over the next three months. In March 1937 on *The Jack Benny Program* a mock fistfight, called “the battle of the century” was staged to resolve the feud once and for all. The fight was to have taken place in the ballroom of the Hotel Pierre on March 14. There was no actual winner of this contrived fistfight, and both men returned from the boxing ring tattered but friends. This was all in good fun, of course, because Allen and Benny had always been and continued to be the best of friends off the air. Although the fistfight was to have been the end of this feud, the public enjoyed it so much that Allen continued it until he left the air in 1949.

After a six-year run, *Town Hall Tonight* ended in 1939 and became simply *The Fred Allen Show*. The new weekly program contained musical numbers, a feature comedy skit by the newly created Mighty Allen Art Players (a device that was so successful it was paid homage to many years later on television by Johnny Carson in the form of the Mighty Carson Art Players), and a “News of the Day Newsreel.” The newsreel was typically a satire about some obscure recent event. Harry Von Zell was the announcer and Peter Van Steeden was the musical conductor on the program.

In the fall of 1940 Allen returned to CBS and his program was renamed *The Texaco Star Theatre*, after its sponsor Texaco Gasoline. The CBS version was initially scaled down to 30 minutes; in 1941 it went back to an hour-long format for a year, but in 1942 the program returned to the 30-minute format that it would retain until its end; the show was aired on Sunday nights.

Allen’s Alley

The 1940s brought change to radio. Old-style vaudeville comedy had lost its appeal. The public was becoming more sophisticated and thus expected its comedy to be more sophisticated as well. During the early 1940s “Allen’s Alley” emerged. The Alley was not your typical street. In fact, it might have been the most atypical street anywhere. The actual description of the Alley was always left to the imagination of the listener. Very few details about its appearance were ever offered. The residents of “Allen’s Alley” became household names, and were among the best-known characters of radio’s golden age. On “Allen’s Alley,” Fred often visited the Brooklyn tenement of Mrs. Nussbaum (Minerva Pious). Mrs. Nussbaum was always relating her weekly problems with her husband Pierre. The net-

work executives were concerned that Mrs. Nussbaum’s thick Jewish accent might offend some listeners, but the overwhelming reaction by the audience was favorable. Also on the Alley were the farmhouse of Titus Moody (Parker Fennelly), the shack where Ajax Cassidy (Peter Donald) lived, and the antebellum mansion of southern Senator Beauregard Claghorn (Kenny Delmar). Moody was one of the funniest characters on the show, always greeting Allen with the friendly “Howdy, Bub.” Cassidy, the loudmouth Irishman, was probably the least popular character on “Allen’s Alley,” while Senator Claghorn became the star of the Alley. His famous refrain “that’s a joke, son” became part of the popular lexicon of the day.

There were other characters that became audience favorites—Senator Bloat; John Doe, the angry average citizen; and poets Falstaff Openshaw, Humphrey Titter, and, of course, Thorndyle Swinburne, the poet laureate of Boston Post Road. In addition to the appearances of his regular characters, some of Allen’s most memorable moments came when he would spoof musicals. On one program in the early 1940s he and Orson Welles did a hilarious five-minute version of “Les Miserables.” A few years later, his parody of Gilbert and Sullivan’s “The Mikado,” called “The Radio Mikado,” was a smash with the audience and still remains a classic.

Throughout the 1940s Allen was frequently at odds with network officials. His battles with the networks usually involved the content of his remarks, which were often derogatory about network officials. Although ordered to stop these remarks, Allen continued. As a result he was required to submit verbatim scripts to the networks before air for their approval. The network often required him to change or delete items. Allen eventually started to include items in the script that he had no intention of using on air, so that he could use those items as bargaining chips; he would agree to cut one of those items in exchange for keeping something else. In addition Allen would often ad-lib material. As radio programs were broadcast *almost* live (there was a delay of a few seconds), the audience would sometimes hear a bleep in place of a word or phrase. On 20 April 1947 his show had 30 seconds of dead air because he refused to delete a controversial joke. Finally an angry public forced the bleeping to stop. Sometimes Allen’s shows ran overtime and were cut off. Once a show ended in the middle of a skit. The following week Allen began the show with the remainder of the skit and an angry, but witty, tirade against the network for being so fussy about staying to a regular schedule.

Demise

Allen left the air for health reasons (high blood pressure) in 1944. In 1945 he returned and the title of his program returned to *The Fred Allen Show*, which it kept until its cancellation in 1949. A young Arthur Godfrey served briefly as Allen’s announcer during the program’s later years. Airing

under different titles, *The Fred Allen Show* had a very successful 17-year run on network radio. Allen's final radio show was on 26 June 1949 and, fittingly, his last guest was Jack Benny. The program finally ended owing to a combination of competition (*Stop the Music*) and an unchanging format that had begun to wear as radio gave way to television.

Although Fred Allen was the driving force on the air and behind the scenes, many people contributed to the success of Allen's programs throughout its long run. Some of the more prominent were writers Nat Hiken, Larry Marks, and Herman Wouk; announcers Kenny Delmar, Jimmy Wallington, and Harry Von Zell; directors Vick Knight and Howard Reilly; and musical directors Al Goodman, Ferde Grofe, Lennie Hayton, Lou Katzman, and Peter Van Steeden. The most prominent sponsors during Allen's run included Bluebonnett Margarine, the Ford Motor Company, Hellmann's Mayonnaise, Ipana and Sal Hepatica, Shefford's Cheese, Tenderleaf Tea, Texaco Gasoline, and V-8 Vegetable Juice. Allen's long-standing theme song was "Smile, Darn Ya, Smile."

Like many radio personalities of the day, Fred Allen tried to make the transition to television. Unlike many of his contemporaries, the transition was difficult for Allen, because he had an inherent distrust of television. He once said of television, "They call it a medium because nothing on it is ever well done." In the same vein, he once quipped "Television is a triumph of equipment over people, and the minds that control it are so small that you could put them in the navel of a flea and still have enough room beside them for a network vice president's heart."

Allen's first venture into television was on NBC as one of the rotating hosts, along with Eddie Cantor and the team of Dean Martin and Jerry Lewis, of *The Colgate Comedy Hour*. The program debuted in September 1950 and ran for a number of years, but Allen was dropped from the rotation after only three months. His next venture was also as a rotating host (along with Bob Hope and Jerry Lester) of NBC's *Chesterfield Sound Off Time* in October 1951. The program lasted just three months. In 1952 he was to start another TV series when his first heart attack forced him into retirement. He came back in the fall of 1953 to host an NBC quiz show called *Judge For Yourself*. The program was cancelled after one season. Finally, in 1954 Allen took a panelist spot alongside Bennett Cerf, Arlene Francis, and Dorothy Kilgallen on the successful CBS quiz program *What's My Line?* Allen remained on *What's My Line?* until his death on 17 March 1956.

MITCHELL SHAPIRO

See also Benny, Jack; Comedy; Vaudeville

Fred Allen. Born John Florence in Cambridge, Massachusetts, 31 May 1894. Worked in vaudeville, performing on the

amateur night circuit around Boston as a juggler and comic under the names Paul Huckle, Fred St. James, and Freddie James, 1912-14; moved to New York City trying to break into big-time vaudeville, 1914-16; left for Australia, toured the vaudeville circuit as a comic, 1916-17; joined New England vaudeville circuit as comic, 1917-20; changed name to Fred Allen, became a vaudeville headliner; 1920-22; came to Broadway as a vaudeville comic, 1922-32. Radio debut with *The Linit Bath Club Revue*, 1932, the first of several series; guest roles on radio series, 1949-50; rotating host of TV series *The Colgate Comedy Hour*, 1950; rotating host of TV series *Chesterfield's Sound Off Time*, 1951; emcee of TV series *Judge For Yourself*, 1953-54; panelist on TV series *What's My Line?*, 1954-56. Died in New York City, 17 March 1956.

Radio Series

- 1932-33 *The Linit Bath Club Revue*
- 1933 *The Salad Bowl Revue*
- 1934 *The Sal Hepatica Revue*
- 1934 *Hour of Smiles*
- 1934-39 *Town Hall Tonight*
- 1939-40 *The Fred Allen Show*
- 1940-44 *The Texaco Star Theatre*
- 1945-49 *The Fred Allen Show*

Television Series

The Colgate Comedy Hour, 1950; *Chesterfield Sound Off Time*, 1951-52; *Judge For Yourself*, 1953-54; *What's My Line?* 1954-56

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- Treadmill To Oblivion*, 1954
- Much Ado About Me*, 1956

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Allen, Mel 1913–1996

U.S. Sportscaster

Mel Allen was the mellifluous “Voice of the New York Yankees” for 25 years, announcing during the era when that baseball team was regularly the World Series champion. Closely identified with the Yankees during the decades when baseball dominated U.S. sports, and a legend himself in his lifetime, Allen created heroes and dreams for radio listeners during the post-World War II period. Allen was a Yankee partisan, cheering for every hit and strikeout, and his impact was so great that he had more fans of his own than any other announcer. During the 1960s, he also represented tradition and constancy in a period of great social turmoil.

Yankee Years

Allen got his first part-time broadcasting job in 1933 as the voice of the University of Alabama’s “Crimson Tide” on CBS’s Birmingham affiliate. After completing law school, he was hired by CBS in 1937 and became the New York Yankee broadcaster in 1940. After army service in World War II, Allen returned to the Yankees.

The Yankees became the first professional baseball team to air all its games live, ending studio recreations of away games and giving Allen a bigger canvas to fill with stories of baseball life. For a time, as the Yankees’ premiere announcer, he was joined by the equally legendary Red Barber, and as a team they were considered the best in radio. Beginning in 1941, as both a team and network broadcaster, Allen announced 20 World Series and did play-by-play for 24 All-Star Games, more than any of his contemporaries; he also called 20 college bowl games, including numerous Rose Bowls. From 1939 to 1943, Allen broadcast the New York Giants baseball games as well. One of the world’s most widely recognized voices in the two decades after World War II, he narrated over 2,000 Fox Movietone newsreels as well as hundreds of short film subjects for 20th Century Fox. An enormously valued advertising spokesperson, he sold millions of dollars of Ballantine beer to Yankee baseball fans.

Allen broadcast nearly every major Yankees event from Joe DiMaggio’s 56-game hitting streak in 1941 to Don Larsen’s historic perfect game in the 1956 World Series to Roger Maris’ record-breaking 61 home runs in 1961. Allen also handled sad farewells. On 4 July 1939, he introduced Lou Gehrig (who was then dying of what is now called Lou Gehrig’s disease) to a packed Yankee Stadium before Gehrig’s gripping farewell speech, “Today, I am the luckiest man in the world.” In 1948 Allen also introduced a dying Babe Ruth at Yankee Stadium.

Allen was a truly gifted storyteller, sometimes carrying on long monologues that enchanted fans during slow games. He was widely admired for his comprehensive knowledge of baseball and his affection for the home team (expressed in such trademark phrases as “How about that!” and “Going, going, gone!”). Allen’s authoritative words were spoken in an Alabama twang that was instantly recognizable (“Hello everybody. This is Mel Allen.”). He rarely misspoke or made outright errors, and when he did, he passed them off lightly and fans forgave him. During his years with the Yankees, he created such enduring nicknames as “Joltin’ Joe” DiMaggio, “Old Reliable” Tommy Henrich, and “The Scooter” Phil Rizzuto. During the Yankees’ heyday, his inimitable voice was found on the radios of almost every taxi in New York City.

In an ebullient style markedly differing from Barber’s detached precision, Allen peppered his broadcasts with enthusiasm for the home team, but both men were intense and focused on baseball—Allen especially so because he never married or had a family. Because he saw athletes as idols and role models for children, he felt that educating new fans about baseball was an important part of his job. This led to criticism that Allen talked too much during games, explaining rules that most fans knew quite well. But his explanations were for the new fans, he always claimed, insisting that his detailed descriptions of events viewers could see for themselves (in the television years) helped heighten the excitement. He tended to magnify the players’ admirable attributes in his stories. Beyond DiMaggio’s memorable home runs and outstanding batting averages, for example, Allen especially admired DiMaggio’s team leadership and often drew attention to it during broadcasts. Allen was such a great favorite with both those who attended games and those who heard them over the radio that, in 1950, Yankee fans held a Mel Allen Day celebration. It raised money that he donated to the Lou Gehrig Scholarship Fund and the Babe Ruth Scholarship at the University of Alabama.

Later Career

To widespread surprise at the time, Allen was inexplicably fired by the Yankees in 1964. After a hiatus, Allen became the voice of the syndicated *This Week in Baseball* in 1977 and remained so for nearly all of the next 20 years. In 1985 he once again became the voice for Yankee games on cable television. Allen was a pioneer broadcaster with a magnetic personality and great personal charm. Those who knew him usually loved him (unless they were Yankee-haters), and thousands of fans,



Mel Allen
Courtesy CBS Photo Archive

scores of baseball players, and his broadcasting peers considered him the most unforgettable sportscaster. Hall of Fame sportscaster Lindsey Nelson called him “the best sports broadcaster of my time.”

Among innumerable awards and honors, such as selection as the nation’s top sportscaster for 14 consecutive years (a feat matched by none), Allen was inducted into the National Sportscasters and Sportswriters Hall of Fame in 1972, and along with Red Barber, received the first Ford C. Frick award in 1978 (placing him in the sportscaster section of the Cooperstown Baseball Hall of Fame). He was selected for the American Sportscaster Hall of Fame in 1985 and the Radio Hall of Fame in 1988. In 1992 he received the Bill Slocum Award for long and meritorious service to baseball. Allen died in 1996 at age 83.

SUSAN TYLER EASTMAN

See also Sports; Sportscasters

Mel Allen. Born Melvin Allen Israel in Johns, Alabama, 14 February 1913. Attended University of Alabama, BA, 1932;

LLB, 1936; CBS Radio sportscaster, 1937; voice of New York Yankees, 1940–64; hosted *This Week in Baseball*, 1977–95; hosted Sports Channel’s television coverage of New York Yankee games, 1985–96. Died in Greenwich, Connecticut, 16 June 1996.

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Alternative Format

Responding to a perceived lack of inventiveness on rock music stations, some musicians and modern rock fans embraced a more experimental, less packaged, alternative sound in the 1990s. Compared to the mainstream rock primarily played on Album-Oriented Rock (AOR) stations, alternative was unpolished and unabashed; its lyrics spoke of both idealism and disenfranchisement. Radio programmers, recognizing a new trend with counter-programming potential, added alternative tracks to their playlists, developing what became known as the *alternative format*. For advertisers and record labels seeking to expand their reach, commercial alternative formats provide a highly targeted and efficient medium similar to the alternative press.

The alternative format has been implemented in a variety of ways. The hard edged modern rock version may include talk-ups, sounders, and contesting similar to Contemporary Hit Radio (CHR). Adult Alternative Album (AAA) is essentially an album-oriented rock format, but with an alternative playlist. College alternative radio, where much of the sound found its original support, often takes an eclectic approach. Other variants may include shock jocks, techno music, or music with urban appeal.

Although the alternative radio movement emerged in the 1990s, its lineage extends back through the punk rock/new wave movement of the late 1970s and progressive radio of the late 1960s to rebellious rock and roll radio of the 1950s. Each of these movements emerged from a fervent subculture demonstrating a certain disdain for what was perceived as popular music at the time. Characterized by garage bands, small venue live performances, and low budget recordings distributed by independent labels, alternative's back-to-basics approach, rejection of glitzy production, and youthful self-expression have paradoxically had popular appeal as Music Television

(MTV), college radio, and rock promoters began successfully packaging and selling the new musical genre to an increasingly fragmented market. Commercial radio success, initially in the San Francisco and Seattle areas, the popularity of alternative music on college campuses, and digital distribution—including MP3 audio files on the internet—have all contributed to the vibrancy of the alternative format.

Alternative has also been known as the anti-format, associated with independent, community stations focused on political issues and social change, such as those operated in the U.S. by the Pacifica group. It may also refer to those global broadcasters with alternative worldviews and alternative means of distribution, such as the internet.

JOSEPH R. PIASEK

See also Album-Oriented Rock Format; Contemporary Hit Radio Format/Top 40; Pacifica Foundation; Progressive Rock Format

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Amalgamated Broadcasting System

U.S. Radio Network

The Amalgamated Broadcasting System, which survived as a corporation for 13 months but operated as an actual radio network for a mere five weeks, is better known for the myths surrounding it than for the facts of its brief existence. Despite the claims of many so-called "old-time radio"

scholars, Amalgamated was never associated with station WNEW in New York (which did not exist until after the network fell into bankruptcy) and the EW in that call sign did not derive from the initials of Amalgamated's founder, comedian Ed Wynn.

Origins

Amalgamated was founded in the fall of 1932 as a program production agency. Wynn's partners in the venture were Broadway producers Arthur Hopkins and T.W. Richardson, and Hungarian-born violinist and promoter Ota Gygi. Initial press releases hinted that Irving Berlin and Daniel Frohman were interested in the project and that more than a million dollars had been committed by two nationally known agencies.

Despite these claims, nothing further was heard of the venture until January 1933 when George W. Trendle, president of the newly formed All-Michigan Network, announced his alliance with the Wynn group. The New York flagship of the network would be made up of an amalgamation of three small time-sharing stations controlled by Walter Whetstone's Standard-Cahill Corporation: WBNX, WCDA, and WMSG. This would be the first step, declared Trendle, toward building a nationwide chain of low-powered regional stations. Trendle claimed, without naming names, that five Detroit millionaires were backing the venture and that Wynn had enlisted the support of practically every theatrical man of note and 13 prominent authors.

The next five months were filled with promises but little substance. Wynn went into detail in the trade press describing the policy of the new network, declaring that it would limit advertising to indirect messages at the beginning and end of each program and that he himself planned to appear occasionally on the network once his National Broadcasting Company-Texaco contract expired. Studio space was prepared in a newly constructed building at 501 Madison Avenue in New York City, arrangements were made with Western Union for network lines, and several dates were announced for the start of broadcasting, only to be postponed at the last minute.

The industry was fast losing patience with Wynn's stalling. In the 1 June 1933 issue of *Broadcasting*, editor Sol Taishoff portrayed Amalgamated as an amateurish, slipshod operation, run entirely by show people who were decidedly naive about the realities of the broadcasting business. There was no longer any mention of Detroit millionaires and, even though the son-in-law of President Roosevelt, Curtis B. Dall, joined the company in August as chairman of the board, it was becoming evident to observers that the network's money was coming primarily out of Ed Wynn's pocket.

Operations

The Amalgamated network finally went on the air on the evening of 25 September 1933. Thirteen small Eastern stations carried the initial program—flagship WBNX; WCNW in Brooklyn, New York; WPEN in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; WDEL in Wilmington, Delaware; WCBM in Baltimore, Mary-

land; WOL in Washington, D.C.; WCAP in Asbury Park, New Jersey; WHDH in Boston, Massachusetts; WCAX in Burlington, Vermont; WPRO in Providence, Rhode Island; WNBH in New Bedford, Massachusetts; WSAR in Fall River, Massachusetts; and WFAS in White Plains, New York. Despite claims that the network would soon span the continent, no additional stations were ever added.

Critic Ben Gross described the inaugural broadcast as chaotic, but a surviving recording reveals that it was in reality a dull hodgepodge of mediocre talent, the major exception being an appearance by the dynamic Broadway vocalist Jules Bledsoe. There were no commercial announcements, but on-air credits were quietly slipped into the program for the firms that provided the bar for the guests and the beer they were served. Although Gross claimed that there were hundreds of complaints from listeners unable to hear the broadcast because the noise from the rowdy studio audience drowned out the performers, the recording makes it clear that this was a fabrication. The only complaints noted in a post-broadcast article in *Broadcasting* were from technicians, who suggested that the Western Union telegraph network lines were somewhat noisier than AT&T telephone circuits. Wynn himself was not present for the inaugural, because he was occupied with motion-picture duties in Hollywood and had left Gygi in full charge of the network in his absence.

Collapse

The story of Amalgamated has a beginning and an end, but no middle. No sponsorships were ever sold. During October, a 15-hour-a-day schedule of music and talk was fed to the small eastern hookup that had taken the opening broadcast, but clearance of these sustaining programs (programs not paid for by advertising) proved difficult when affiliates insisted on carrying their own local, sponsored features.

Curtis Dall resigned as chairman of Amalgamated in early October. Ed Wynn returned to New York in mid-October and soon realized the futility of the venture. He resigned on 23 October, claiming to have spent \$250,000 on the project with no hope of any return. Subsequent investigation by receivers revealed that Wynn's out-of-pocket investment was closer to \$125,000.

At midnight on 1 November the network halted service to its 12 affiliates. On 3 November creditors foreclosed and Amalgamated passed into the hands of the Irving Trust Company. Liabilities totaled \$38,000, with \$10,000 owed in salaries to the company's 200 employees.

The assets of the network were sold at auction on 18 December, raising \$10,841 toward the settlement of outstanding claims. The studio equipment was purchased for \$9,800 by advertising executive Milton Biow for use in his new station in Newark, WNEW. WNEW would subsequently lease the

former Amalgamated studio space at 501 Madison Avenue for its New York studio.

Ed Wynn resolved to settle all of the network's remaining debts. The stresses involved in the Amalgamated venture contributed to the failure of his marriage in 1937 and ultimately to a nervous breakdown. Ever the promoter, Ota Gygi spent much of 1934 trying to form yet another "new network" among stations in the Midwest, but he had lost all credibility. Several former Amalgamated stations became part of George Storer's American Broadcasting System.

ELIZABETH MCLEOD

See also Wynn, Ed

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Ameche, Don 1908–1993

U.S. Radio, Film, and Television Performer

As a versatile singer, actor, and host, Don Ameche was one of radio's earliest male stars and one of the medium's most popular figures in the 1930s and 1940s. He was also a relatively rare example of a star who maintained his radio career despite a period of significant Hollywood film success.

Ameche was born Dominic Amici in Kenosha, Wisconsin, in 1908. His Italian immigrant father changed the family name to Ameche shortly thereafter, and his fellow grade school students in Kenosha transformed the name Dom into Don. After a few years of grade school in Kenosha, Ameche left for a boarding school in Marion, Iowa. He remained in Iowa to attend high school, where he developed his dramatic talents under the tutelage of Father I.J. Semper, the school's drama coach. However, his parents had hoped for a lawyer in the family, not an actor, so Ameche enrolled in prelaw at Iowa's Columbia College. He had trouble staying focused on his studies, however, and as a result, he skipped around to different schools, including Marquette University and Georgetown University, before finally ending up at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, in 1928.

Acting continued to draw his interest, and he occasionally starred in campus plays with the campus's University Players.

Like most successful entertainers of the period, his first steps to stardom included a mythical moment of discovery: Ameche went to see a road company play on campus one evening, but one of the leading actors had been hurt in a car accident earlier that day. Ameche arrived at the theater to purchase his ticket, and at the ticket booth, the manager of the theater recognized Ameche from his previous plays and asked him if he would fill in for the injured actor. Ameche agreed and in fact ended up staying with the stock company for the rest of the season, thereby forgoing his future career as a lawyer.

Emboldened by this success, Ameche moved to New York in 1929 and tried to foster an acting career on stage and in radio. But after an unsuccessful audition in 1930 as a singer for WMCA, he returned to Kenosha in the early 1930s. Ameche then moved to nearby Chicago at the suggestion of a friend, who told Ameche of the burgeoning opportunities for radio singers and actors in that city. After an audition with NBC Blue in 1930, Ameche was hired for a number of NBC dramas in Chicago, including *Rin Tin Tin* and *The Empire Builders*. He subsequently received a role in the show that launched him to stardom, *The First Nighter*.

The First Nighter was a 30-minute anthology drama, and the show's format fostered the illusion that listeners were hearing a Broadway play on opening night, despite its Chicago origin. As the male lead in plays for the show's first six years, Ameche was especially popular with audiences, and he quickly developed into radio's first sex symbol. In 1932 he parlayed this status into a lead role on a daily soap opera, *Betty and Bob*, the first of many daytime serials from Frank and Anne Hummert. *Betty and Bob* presented Ameche and Elizabeth Reller as a pair of seemingly incompatible newlyweds. Betty was a working-class secretary, and Bob was an urbane heir to a vast fortune. Arguments and jealousies abounded, as Bob had to accept Betty's workaday world, and she had to tolerate his dashing personality and friendliness with other women. As one can imagine, this role served to further cement Ameche's status as a radio heartthrob. Ameche also occasionally appeared on a juvenile adventure series, *Jack Armstrong, All American Boy*, with his brother Jim.

Ameche's radio success and suave persona inevitably captured Hollywood's attention. A talent scout arranged an audition with MGM, but the studio declined to sign him. After a subsequent audition with Twentieth Century Fox, Ameche signed with that studio in 1935. He then appeared in a spate of films throughout the 1930s, reaching his height of fame with *The Story of Alexander Graham Bell* in 1939. Known for the "young-man-about-town" role, Ameche was said to be second only to Shirley Temple in status at the Fox studios. Despite this Hollywood fame, Ameche continued his radio career, a choice that underscored his appreciation for the aural medium. Most notably, he starred periodically on *The Edgar Bergen-Charlie McCarthy Show*. Among other skits for this program, Ameche appeared in a regular segment called *The Bickersons*, portraying half of a quarrelsome married couple.

In the 1940s, with his film career dwindling, Ameche hosted a series of half-hour comedy-variety shows, such as *What's New?* and *The Drene Time Show*, which featured musical selections, dramatic skits, and comedy sketches, including *The Bickersons*. On his programs, Ameche offered listeners many guest stars from the film world, including Dorothy Lamour, Herbert Marshall, and Fred Astaire, illustrating the benefits to radio of his lingering connection to Hollywood. He also hosted a talent program called *Your Lucky Strike*, on which unknowns competed each week, with their talents being judged by three random housewives who voted over their telephones. In addition to his hosting duties, Ameche appeared on *Lux Radio Theater* 21 times, among the most appearances of any actor, and he guest-starred regularly on *The Jimmy Durante Show*.

In 1950 Ameche moved to New York and shifted his broadcasting career to television, beginning with hosting a quiz program, *Take a Chance* (1950). For the rest of the decade, he mainly hosted television variety shows, and he also appeared

periodically on Broadway, most notably in Cole Porter's *Silk Stockings* in 1955. In 1958 Ameche returned to radio for a final time, hosting *Don Ameche's Real Life Stories*, a serial drama airing every day in half-hour installments, providing one complete narrative per week. After only occasional film and television appearances throughout the subsequent decades, Ameche made a comeback in the 1980s, winning an Academy Award for his supporting role in *Cocoon* (1985). He died in 1993, leaving behind a unique legacy as both a pioneering radio star and a successful film actor.

CHRISTINE BECKER

See also Comedy; Edgar Bergen and Charlie McCarthy Show; Jack Armstrong, All American Boy

Don Ameche. Born Dominic Amici in Kenosha, Wisconsin, 31 May 1908. Brother of Jim Ameche, radio actor. Attended Columbia College, Marquette University, Georgetown University, and University of Wisconsin, Madison; toured with Jackson Players stock company, 1928–29; starred in first major radio program, *The First Nighter*, 1930–36; often featured on *The Edgar Bergen-Charlie McCarthy Show*, 1937–48; notable film performances in *The Alexander Graham Bell Story*, 1939, and *Heaven Can Wait*, 1943. Academy Award for role in *Cocoon*, 1985. Died in Scottsdale, Arizona, 6 December 1993.

Radio Series

- 1930–31 *Empire Builders; Rin Tin Tin*
- 1930–36 *The First Nighter*
- 1932–35 *Betty and Bob*
- 1943–44 *What's New?*
- 1946–47 *The Drene Time Show*
- 1947–48 *The Old Gold Show*
- 1948–49 *Your Lucky Strike*
- 1958 *Don Ameche's Real Life Stories*

Television Series

- Take a Chance*, 1950; *The Frances Langford-Don Ameche Show*, 1951–52; *Coke Time with Eddie Fisher*, 1953; *Holiday Hotel*, 1950–51; *The Jack Carson Show*, 1954–55; *Don Ameche Theater*, 1958; *International Showtime*, 1961–65

Films

- Sins of Man*, 1936; *One in a Million*, 1937; *In Old Chicago*, 1938; *Alexander's Ragtime Band*, 1938; *The Three Musketeers*, 1939; *Midnight*, 1939; *The Story of Alexander Graham Bell*, 1939; *Swanee River*, 1940; *Moon Over Miami*, 1941; *Girl Trouble*, 1942; *Heaven Can Wait*, 1943; *Guest Wife*, 1945; *Sleep My Love*, 1948; *Phantom Caravan*, 1954; *The Beatniks*, 1970; *Won Ton Ton*, 1975; *Trading Places*, 1983; *Cocoon*, 1985; *Harry and the Hendersons*, 1987; *Cocoon: The Return*, 1988; *Folks!* 1992

Stage

Silk Stockings, 1955; *Holiday for Lovers*, 1957; *Goldilocks*, 1958

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American Broadcasting Company

The American Broadcasting Company (ABC) came late to the radio game, appearing as an independent network only in 1945. As such, it was a weak player until the 1960s, when ABC was in the vanguard of an attempt to revive and reshape network radio in the age of television.

Origins

ABC—as a network and an owner of major radio stations—was created in the 1940s, when the Federal Communications Commission and the Department of Justice forced the National Broadcasting Company's (NBC) owner, the Radio Corporation of America (RCA), to spin off one of NBC's two radio networks. In 1943 Edward J. Noble, who had made his fortune creating, manufacturing, and selling Life Savers candy, bought NBC's Blue network and three owned and operated stations for \$8 million. In 1945 Noble renamed Blue the American Broadcasting Company and began to build ABC. In 1946, for example, he acquired WXYZ-AM in Detroit from King-Trendle Broadcasting for slightly less than \$3 million.

The Blue network carried a number of popular shows—including *Just Plain Bill*, *Easy Aces*, *Inner Sanctum Mystery*, and *Lum 'n' Abner*. But generally ABC shows drew last place in ratings in all of Golden Age radio's categories of programming. In the variety category, for example, ABC's *The Alan Young Show* earned but a seventh of the ratings of NBC's *Bob Hope Program*, which broadcast later the same night. The *Andrews Sisters* program drew a third of the ratings of *Your Hit Parade* on the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), and *Ted Mack's Original Amateur Hour* always finished far behind *Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts*.

Still, Drew Pearson attracted vast audiences with his reports of the goings-on in the nation's capital, and the dramatic and controversial re-creations of the *March of Time* were popular as well, helped by the movie newsreel of the same name and by the program's connection with *Time* magazine. On the prestige

side, ABC's regular Saturday matinee broadcasts of the Metropolitan Opera added some class to ABC's image.

It was not that Edward Noble was not willing to acquire top talent. During the late 1940s, Noble and his managers tried to add new shows, such as *Professor Quiz*, *Break the Bank*, *This Is Your FBI*, *Lone Ranger*, *Gillette Fights*, and *Gangbusters*. For example, when ABC bought WXYZ-AM, it acquired *Lone Ranger* and *Green Hornet*. A far more temporary triumph came with the hiring of Milton Berle, for this comic appeared on the ABC radio network for only one year before, looking for a showcase better suited to his visual style, he moved to NBC television and became a national sensation.

There were two notable exceptions. In 1946 Bing Crosby moved to the ABC radio network for reasons of convenience and technical change. Crosby, who was then at the very height of his popularity as a singer and movie star, agreed to move to ABC because NBC was forcing him to broadcast his show live twice, once for the eastern and central time zones and then a second time for stations based in the mountain and pacific time zones. Crosby wanted to use audiotape to record his show at his convenience. ABC executives were more than willing to permit Crosby to use the then new audiotape technology to record his show ahead of time and then hit the links when listeners thought he was in the studio broadcasting to them.

During summer 1946, Crosby shocked the industry when he announced he was leaving NBC and long-time sponsor Kraft to sign with Philco, maker of radio sets, and appear on ABC. His weekly salary was announced at a staggering \$7,500. Because Philco and ABC permitted Crosby to prerecord his *Philco Radio Time*, he was nowhere near the studio when his show debuted on Wednesday night, 16 October 1946. The Philco show proved a major ratings triumph. Because of its success, three years later, when CBS chief William S. Paley was in the midst of his celebrated "talent raids," he lured Crosby away from his three-year run on ABC. *Philco Radio Time* last ran on ABC on 1 June 1949.

The other exception to ABC's normal ratings mediocrity started in March 1948 when *Stop the Music!* premiered. Listeners quickly embraced this giant jackpot quiz show. With master of ceremonies Bert Parks as its host, musical selections were played by the Harry Salter Orchestra or sung by vocalists Kay Armen and Dick Brown. While a song was played, a telephone call was placed to a home somewhere in the United States, and when the caller answered, Parks called out "stop the music." If the person at home could name the tune, he or she won up to \$20,000.

Listeners flocked to ABC on Sunday nights, and by the summer ABC truly had a hit, doubling the audience reached by Fred Allen at NBC and *Sam Spade* on CBS. With ratings high from the beginning, sponsors lined up, and ABC selected Old Gold cigarettes and Spiedel jewelry as the main advertisers. During summer 1948, demand for tickets was so high that the producers moved the show to the 4,000-seat Capitol Theater in the heart of Times Square. But ABC could not sustain the hit, and by 1952 the radio version was off the air. The fledgling ABC television network kept it on the tube—originally as just a simulcast—until 1956.

As the Golden Age in radio was ending, ABC certainly matched Mutual as a radio network, but it was rarely as successful as NBC and CBS. Building ABC as a radio network was always a struggle, yet from a network with 168 owned or affiliated stations as of the October 1943 purchase date, Noble and his managers doubled affiliations within a decade. Indeed, owning and operating radio stations and a network was lucrative enough that Noble—with the help of a \$5 million loan from the Prudential Insurance Company of America—was able to launch the ABC television network. By the beginning of the 1950s, ABC not only owned a radio network and the maximum allowable number of AM and FM radio stations, but had also reached the legal limit on television stations as well—five. So successful was ABC that Noble began to attract bidders for his enterprise.

The United Paramount Takeover

In 1951, in what was up to that point the biggest transaction in broadcasting history, United Paramount (the chain of movie houses formerly owned by Paramount Pictures) paid \$25 million to add ABC's five television stations, six FM radio stations, and six AM radio stations to its 644 theaters in nearly 300 cities across the United States. The FCC took two years to finally approve the deal. ABC would never have become a modern radio and television corporate powerhouse had it not been acquired by United Paramount, greatly adding to its financial resources. Leonard H. Goldenson, head of United Paramount, began to sell theaters and real estate to generate the cash necessary to build up ABC television first and ABC radio second.

On the radio side, Goldenson faced a challenge. Most of ABC's radio affiliates were lower-power stations in smaller cities. When forced to divest RCA of the Blue network a decade earlier, RCA had stacked the deck, making sure that what he transferred with Blue represented the least valuable of NBC's stations. To generate income, ABC radio management, headed by Robert Kintner, allowed advertising for products considered inappropriate by the mighty NBC and CBS, such as deodorants and laxatives. But in 1953 Goldenson felt radio would need to change as television became America's top mass medium. With AM radio now standard equipment on most new cars, and with the innovation of the inexpensive portable radio set, Goldenson reasoned that a radio market would always exist, but in a different form than had worked in the past. The question for ABC—and for all of radio in 1953—was how best to exploit the changing radio medium.

Goldenson realized that while United Paramount had gained a network with the ABC purchase, more important were the stations located in some of the nation's largest markets. The flagship station in New York City—WJZ-AM—was his most valuable radio asset, worth more than the then struggling ABC radio network. Still, whereas WNBC-AM had studios at Radio City, WJZ-AM broadcast from a modest renovated building at 7 West 66th Street, one block west of Central Park. On 1 May 1953—six and a half years after the rival network's stations were named WNBC-AM and WCBS-AM in honor of their respective parent companies—Goldenson renamed his New York City outlet WABC-AM and worked to make this 50,000-watt powerhouse a metropolitan fixture at "77" on the AM band.

Programming proved harder to change, so Goldenson stuck with what was working for the time being. In the mid 1950s that meant shows such as American Safety Razor's *Walter Winchell* on Sunday nights; Anheuser Busch's *Bill Stern's Sports Reports* at 6:30 P.M. three times a week; General Mills' *Lone Ranger* at 7:30 P.M. on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays; and Mutual of Omaha's *Breakfast Club* in the mornings. Goldenson's innovation was to hire local personalities to develop followings only within the New York City metropolitan market. For WABC-AM, this meant in time Peter Lind Hayes and Mary Healy, Martin Block, Ernie Kovacs, Howard Cosell (and his sports reports), commentators John Daly and Edward P. Morgan, and rock disc jockey sensation Alan Freed.

The transition of WABC-AM to the highest-rated rock station in the United States began modestly with Martin Block's *Make Believe Ballroom*, which Goldenson bought in 1954. But it was the June 1958 hiring of Alan Freed that would signal the future of WABC-AM as a Top 40 profit-generating powerhouse. Freed would soon burn out in the payola scandals, but WABC disc jockeys "Cousin Brucie," "Big Dan Ingram," and others replaced him, and by the arrival of the Beatles in early

1964, WABC-AM had become one of the nation's most-listened-to radio stations.

Goldenson's management team rebuilt the other owned and operated ABC radio stations: WLS-AM in Chicago, WXYZ-AM in Detroit, KABC-AM (formerly KECA-AM) in Hollywood, KQV-AM in Pittsburgh, and KGO-AM in San Francisco. Each would soon take its place among the top-rated stations in its metropolitan area. Each also beefed up an FM license that had been underutilized.

For example, Chicago's clear channel WLS-AM was transformed from a major-market network affiliate to a rock and roll pioneer, beaming Top 40 hits across the Midwestern states. As the 1960s commenced, WLS-AM had joined the Top 40 elite and was being built up by a number of local disc jockey stars—none hotter, or more famous, than Larry Lujack. For a generation of listeners in the 1960s and 1970s, Lujack created and defined rock and roll.

Similar histories could be traced for all of ABC's major radio stations. In Detroit, for example, WXYZ-AM was also transformed into a radio powerhouse, and by Goldenson's own calculations it functioned as ABC's most profitable radio outlet during the 1950s and 1960s. If the selling of United Paramount's theaters and valuable real estate is properly credited with underwriting ABC television network deals with Hollywood's Walt Disney and Warner Brothers Companies, one must also credit the revenues generated by profitable radio stations such as WXYZ-AM. Indeed, the rebuilding of AM radio stations was going so well that in 1957 Goldenson separated the television side (which required fashioning alliances with Hollywood) from the radio side (which needed to transform existing properties into local hot spots, station by station) of the business. With this separation, Goldenson emphasized that television and radio management required quite different skills.

Leonard Goldenson's Radio Network Innovations

Although Leonard H. Goldenson has never been labeled as one of radio's top leaders—in the league with NBC's David Sarnoff or CBS's William S. Paley—many consider that he ought to be. Despite all the hiring and firing of radio talent during the 1950s and 1960s, ABC management at the top varied little as Goldenson and his small set of advisers built ABC radio (and television) into highly profitable media institutions. By 1985, when he stepped down, Goldenson had created a modern media conglomerate. This small-town poor boy from Pennsylvania, who managed to graduate from Harvard Law School, learned the mass entertainment business at Paramount Pictures and took over its divested theater division in 1950. He already had some experience in television from Paramount's owned and operated television station in Chicago, WBKB-TV. He had no experience in radio, but he knew of its success as an entertainment medium in cities where Paramount operated theaters.

Although most kudos for Goldenson go to his development of the ABC television network, media historians also recognize his reinvention of network radio. By refashioning a single all-things-to-all-audiences network into four—and later more—specialized radio networks in the late 1960s, Leonard Goldenson earned his place as a radio pioneer. ABC was transformed from a single radio network into the American Contemporary Network, the American Information Network, the American Entertainment Network, and the American FM Network. This specialization would set the model for network radio for the next three decades.

However, Goldenson's most significant innovation almost did not come to be. By the early 1960s Goldenson thought he had built up and milked his major-market stations for as much as he could, and he considered abandoning network radio altogether. He seriously entertained bids to sell the ABC radio network—plus all its valuable stations—to Westinghouse for a price reported to be \$50 million. But once he got over the shock of the unexpected size of Westinghouse's offer, Goldenson figured that this substantial bid by Westinghouse's experienced executives did not signal the end of the Top 40 radio era; rather, new forms of radio broadcasting did have a future. He turned down Westinghouse and successfully continued to build his own radio empire as part of what was (and is) often incorrectly considered simply a television network business operation.

At the time, breaking with the mold of a single network was considered a risky proposition. The executives directly responsible for the network radio turnabout were Hal Neal and Ralph Beaudin, who had made their reputations by turning ABC-owned and -operated stations into rock and roll powerhouses. The four networks were patterned from formats of the day. The American Contemporary Network stressed middle of the road music and soft-spoken middle-aged disc jockeys. The American Information Network was all news and talk, patterned after the all-news local stations that CBS and Westinghouse were then pioneering. The American Entertainment Network was a piped-in Top 40 feed, and the FM network was a grab bag, because no one honestly knew the future of FM at that point.

In planning the four networks, Goldenson, who was already paying American Telephone and Telegraph (AT&T) for transmission by land lines, figured that four would cost only a bit more than one transmission for facilities that were being underutilized. Talent could be drawn from owned and operated stations. By late 1966 the plan for the four networks was in place, and Goldenson gave notice to all advertisers and affiliated stations that the year 1967 would be the final year for ABC as a single radio network. During summer 1967, ABC began heavy promotion of the four-network idea, and quadruple feeds commenced on the first day of 1968 to 500 affiliates.

In the first year of four-network operation, 1968, Goldenson was criticized because ABC lost \$8 million. But just four years later the radio division alone was making more than \$4 million annually. But by 1972 the network radio division was making \$4 million profit per year. As the 1970s ended, ABC's network radio division had 1,500 affiliates and was making \$17 million profit per year. In the late 1970s, ABC Contemporary had about 400 affiliates, and the American Information Network had almost 500 affiliates, as did the American Entertainment Network; however, the American FM Network never moved past 200 affiliates. The recasting and specializing of network radio worked for AM stations, but FM gradually found musical niches that would make them the leaders in radio ratings in most markets by 1980.

Goldenson continued to tinker with the format profile of both ABC's owned and operated stations and its growing number of networks. The advertising community applauded Goldenson's adaptation of focused demographics. In August 1970 ABC separated management of AM from FM owned and operated radio stations, and with the progressive rock format ABC began to remake FM outlets, which had long merely simulcast AM.

Takeovers

As the 1980s commenced, Goldenson began to slow down. In 1980 his ABC television network ranked number one, and he was able to tout ABC's radio stations as among the most popular in the nation. For example, WABC-AM in New York abandoned Top 40—after 22 years—and soon made even more money with “talk.”

Goldenson needed to find a suitable successor. He wanted to pass “his” company to someone who had the skills to consistently and profitably run a mature multibillion-dollar media empire. After much looking and interviewing, Goldenson met Thomas Murphy, head of Capital Cities Broadcasting, a 30-year-old media company that as the 1980s began owned 7 television stations, 12 radio stations, an assortment of daily and weekly newspapers, and an additional assortment of magazines. Capital Cities was a Wall Street high flyer, known for its efficient management by Murphy and Dan Burke. Goldenson decided that Capital Cities was the logical successor to take over the ABC radio and television networks he had created.

At the time the deal was announced, in March 1985, it was the largest non-oil merger ever, at \$3.5 billion. But although headlines warned of vast changes and ominous negative implications for news and entertainment, none ever really materialized. Murphy, Burke, and their Capital Cities executives simply merged the two media companies, sold off some duplicative properties, and then continued the process of fashioning an even more profitable, even larger media enterprise than Goldenson had created—one that encompassed forms of mass

media from print to television and from film-making to radio network and station operation.

In radio, Murphy, Burke, and company changed almost nothing. They tinkered on the margins as they tried to follow (not set) trends. They smoothly and efficiently managed format makeovers as Top 40 rock and roll gave way to other formats of pop music. In general, Murphy and Burke transformed ABC's large-city AM powerhouse stations, often to middle of the road talk-format operations. Consider the example of Chicago's WLS-AM, symbol of the Top 40 era. When Murphy and Burke took over, its ratings were slipping, and so they worked to reformat WLS-AM again, even as FM was draining away listeners. By the early 1990s, WLS-AM became news-plus-talk radio 890, with no “hot jock,” but instead the ramblings of Dr. Laura Schlessinger and Rush Limbaugh. Such transformations took place throughout the matrix of ABC stations, as radio continued to provide core profits to the company now known as Capital Cities/ABC.

In 1996 Murphy and Burke themselves neared retirement age, and, as Goldenson had done, they sought an alliance with a company to continue ABC. In 1996 the biggest merger in media history was announced when the Walt Disney Company acquired Capital Cities/ABC. Overnight, Disney, far more famous for its movie making and theme parks, became one of the top competitors in the world of radio.

When Disney announced its takeover of Capital Cities/ABC at the end of July 1996, the headlines blared about vast potential synergies of a Hollywood studio and a television network. Radio was considered an afterthought. Still, with New York City flagship station WABC-AM leading the list, Disney now had important radio promotional outlets in a half-dozen other top-ten media markets: in media market 2 Los Angeles (three stations), in market 3 Chicago (two stations), in market 4 San Francisco (two stations), in market 6 Detroit (three stations), in market 7 Dallas (two stations), and in market 8 Washington, D.C. (three stations).

Disney concentrated on these big cities, but its radio holdings paled in comparison to rival radio powers of the late 20th century such as CBS and Clear Channel. Yet Disney's station reach always remained vast. Disney head Michael Eisner then looked and applied synergies to these urban radio stations. He sold off Capital Cities/ABC's newspapers and other print operations but kept radio—even expanding Disney into more radio with the September 1997 launch of a new network, the ESPN radio network, with its exclusive rights for Major League Baseball for five years. Eisner also rolled out Radio Disney, a live network for families and children under age 12 with a select playlist of special music, much of it from Disney movies and television programs.

Although radio is a relatively small division at Disney, Disney management certainly recognizes radio's contribution to Disney profit accumulation. As the 21st century commenced,

ABC radio networks programmed ten services, including *American Gold*, *Flashback*, *Moneytalk*, *Business Week Report*, *Rock & Roll's Greatest*, and *Yesterday . . . Live!*—as well as ABC News Network and ABC Sports radio. Stars included canonical Paul Harvey (by the year 2000 one of the longest-running voices in radio history), the controversial “news commentator” Matt Drudge, and noted sports commentators Tony Kornheiser and Dan Patrick. ESPN offered sports news and talk, based on its companion cable television network, and ABC News expanded its long-running network services with shows spun off from television favorites such as *This Week with Sam Donaldson and Cokie Roberts*. ABC News also offered on the radio *America's Journal*, *World News This Week*, *Hal Bruno's Washington Perspective*, and *Newscall*. Disney bragged that its Radio Disney network was reaching 1.6 million children and 600,000 moms per week, while *American Gold*, starring Dick Bartley for four hours per week, offered the most-listened-to nationally syndicated oldies countdown show in the year 2000, in competition with Dick Clark, as a lure for aging baby boomers. Surely, these services—and a multitude of others—will be changed and reinvented as ABC Radio networks continue to refocus vital services.

DOUGLAS GOMERY AND CHUCK HOWELL

See also Crosby, Bing; Freed, Alan; Harvey, Paul; McNeill, Don; Network Monopoly Probe; Radio Disney; Talent Raids; WABC; WLS; WXYZ

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American Broadcasting Station in Europe

Office of War Information Station, 1944-1945

The American Broadcasting Station in Europe (ABSIE) was created and operated by the U.S. Office of War Information (OWI) to support the Allied invasion of Europe during World War II. The station carried news, entertainment, coded messages, propaganda, and instructions for European populations between 30 April 1944 and 4 July 1945. It broadcast from its London studios in English, French, German, Norwegian, Danish, and Dutch and offered over 42 hours of weekly programming featuring exiled statesmen, military leaders, and popular musicians. The list of prominent individuals who broadcast for the station included King Haakon of Norway; King Peter of Yugoslavia; Foreign Minister Jan Masaryk of Czechoslovakia; General Dwight D. Eisenhower; Charles DeGaulle; and entertainers Glenn Miller, Dinah Shore, and Bing Crosby.

Although the idea of an American station transmitting from Great Britain was conceived as early as the attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941, OWI did not initiate concrete planning for two and a half years. By that time, the government's widespread radio propaganda activities included shortwave broadcasts to Japan; the operation of stations in Tunis, Algiers, and Italy; and the transmission of a large number of Voice of America (VOA) programs via shortwave radio. Nevertheless, the scarcity of shortwave receivers on the continent and the Nazis' increasingly effective efforts to jam broadcasts convinced OWI officials to build a station near enough to the front that its signal could reach European listeners.

Brewster Morgan, ABSIE's first director, and Richard Condon, its engineer, started work on the station in 1942, only to have their efforts postponed when OWI assigned them to set up the Armed Forces Network to broadcast to Allied troops. By 1943 they were back on the job, ordering equipment in the summer and recruiting staff in the fall. The following period of intense activity at the station coincided with heavy air raids in London. One evening German bombs narrowly missed the headquarters that ABSIE shared with Gaumont Films and destroyed the neighboring building. Shaken, the staff continued working; by early April, they had started rehearsing programs in anticipation of the inaugural broadcast of 30 April. Listeners to that program heard OWI's European director, Robert Sherwood, caution resistance forces to avoid premature action and to await word from Allied radio before striking the enemy. Sherwood also stated that an American voice could now be heard that was committed to "telling the truth of the War" to America's friends and enemies.

To ensure that this voice was received, ABSIE broadcast using four medium wave transmitters built by the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) and six powerful shortwave trans-

mitters leased from the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). Its configuration allowed listeners to tune to ABSIE on several frequencies while forcing Nazi propagandists to dedicate an increased number of transmitters to jamming. Captured German records reveal that ABSIE's efforts to counter jamming were successful enough that most of the station's broadcasts were received. A more formidable tactic than jamming was the Nazis' ban, under penalty of death, on listening to Allied radio. Postwar surveys revealed, however, that German civilians and soldiers had listened to ABSIE's programming despite the potential consequences and that stories reported on ABSIE had circulated widely by word of mouth.

ABSIE's organization mirrored that of a commercial station, an unsurprising fact given that it recruited key personnel from commercial stations and networks. Director Brewster Morgan had been a director and producer for the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS). Station Manager Robert Saudek had worked at the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) Blue network in New York. The chief of the German language desk, Robert Bauer, had been an employee of WLWO Cincinnati prior to the war. Even William Paley, the head of CBS, helped ABSIE with planning and equipment procurement. Commercial radio's willingness to contribute staff to ABSIE reflected both its support for U.S. involvement in World War II and its conciliatory approach toward the government during the war years. Such attitudes also explain the networks' willing self-censorship at home.

OWI's U.S. offices, particularly those of its Overseas Branch in New York, provided another major source for ABSIE's staff. Phil Cohen, Morgan's successor as ABSIE's director, had been chief of OWI's Domestic Bureau in Washington. ABSIE's language desks drew heavily from the OWI's New York offices. Pierre Lazareff, previously chief of the French radio section in New York, became chief of the French desk. Jom Embretsen, chief of ABSIE's Norwegian desk, had headed OWI's Radio Program Bureau in New York. Robert Bauer, Alfred Puhon, and George Hanfmann, the three successive chiefs of the German desk, all came from New York as well.

ABSIE's language desks were central to its operation. They translated key news items while tailoring programming to specific national audiences. Lazareff made sure the French desk established close working ties with the French government in exile and aired many speeches of its officials. A popular Norwegian program prompted a deluge of audience mail when it broadcast messages from Norwegian members of the armed forces for their friends and relatives at home. The English section was specifically designed to appeal to European listeners

who, saturated with overly direct propaganda in their native languages, were more trusting of English language broadcasts. Most of its programming was news, supplemented by frontline commentary.

In general, news accounted for the largest share of ABSIE's time, although special programs and rebroadcasts of BBC and VOA programs figured prominently on the daily schedule as well. Broadcasts generally avoided the most overt propaganda appeals in favor of carefully selected but usually truthful reports. This "white" propaganda contrasted with the Office of Strategic Services' use of such "black" propaganda as the invention of a revolutionary party in Germany devoted to the overthrow of the Nazis. More typical of ABSIE's approach was the news coverage in 1945, which juxtaposed stories of chaos in Nazi-occupied regions of Germany with reports of orderly conditions and fair treatment in the Allied zones. One program broadcast interviews with German prisoners of war in hopes that their families would tune in. On another broadcast, Bing Crosby performed after reading a phonetically written German script that projected a vision of the increased freedom Germans could expect after the Nazis were defeated.

ABSIE's final broadcast aired on 4 July 1945 and featured a statement by OWI director Elmer Davis asserting that ABSIE

had successfully completed its mission but that the VOA and BBC would continue in its place.

BRYAN CORNELL

See also Armed Forces Radio Service; Office of War Information; Propaganda by Radio

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American Family Robinson

Soap Opera Adventure Program

The National Association of Manufacturers (NAM) raised the character concept to an art with the soap opera adventure *American Family Robinson*. Syndicated by the World Broadcasting System from late 1934 to 1940, the 15-minute transcribed episodic drama was an anomaly among the NAM's nearly exclusive investment in printed public and political relations material. The NAM's politics, like its print-oriented publicity, were underwritten by the nation's largest industrial corporations, who were *Robinson* sponsors.

Provoked by the prolabor clauses of the New Deal's National Industrial Recovery Act (NRA), in 1933 the NAM embarked on a campaign of employer opposition that forestalled the imposition of collective bargaining in the steel, chemical, and auto industries. Announcing an "active campaign of education" in September of that year, Association President Robert L. Lund explained that NRA Section 7(a) posed a special threat to employers, given the "untruthful or

misleading statements about the law" made by the American Federation of Labor and "communistic groups promoting union organization." Lund concluded that the American public would become favorably disposed toward business's traditional prerogatives and institutional choices if only business leaders would "tell its story."

Drawing upon the "home service personality" expertise of its packaged goods producers, the NAM led the way in radio with the episodic adventures of the *American Family Robinson*. The program appears to have been proposed by Harry A. Bullis, General Mills vice president and chairman of NAM's public relations committee. The *American Family Robinson's* drop-dead attacks on the New Deal reflected the print-oriented focus of the NAM's traditional publicity techniques. The interjection of editorial comment into the *Robinson's* soap opera plot reduced series protagonist Luke Robinson, "the sanely philosophical editor of the *Centerville Herald*," to a caricature

of the factory town newspaper editor that the NAM assiduously cultivated with an open-ended supply of pro-industry preprinted mats, columns, and tracts.

Editor Robinson, the program's repository of sound thinking and common sense, is beset by social schemers and panacea peddlers. Some are threatening and even criminal, but most are simply misguided. Among the latter is Robinson's brother-in-law, William Winkle, also known as "Windy" Bill, the itinerant inventor of the "housecar." Bill's meddling and uninformed political ideas are as unexpected as his unannounced visits with the Robinsons. More menacing is Professor Broadbelt, the "professional organizer of the Arcadians, a group using the Depression as a lever to pry money from converts to radical economic theories" (from *American Family Robinson*, cited in MacDonald, 1979).

The story line of the *American Family Robinson* revolves around the resolution of political conflict in the home and immediate community through the application of "time-tested principles." The Robinsons are shocked when their daughter Betty falls under the oratorical spell of Professor Broadbelt, a common criminal whose turn of phrase suggests a certain Hyde Park, New York, upbringing. Complications attend Betty's engagement to the Arcadians' charismatic leader, whose first consideration is his chosen mission: "The upliftment of mankind." Broadbelt's motives, however, are neither idealistic nor romantic. In the next episode, Luke Robinson helps apprehend Broadbelt, who has skipped town with the Arcadians' treasury. Returning to Centerville, Robinson presides over the liquidation of the Arcadian movement by publicly refunding the contributions of its confused and misguided members, including his daughter's.

In certain households, interest in the *American Family Robinson* undoubtedly did exist. The program attracted an articulate audience that appreciated and responded to the NAM's send-ups of New Deal liberalism. From fan mail the NAM learned that listeners responded enthusiastically to Luke Robinson's comic foil "Windy" Bill. Written into the script as an incidental character, "Windy" soon returned to Centerville with a role expanded to include yet more meddling and annoying business. Other changes occurred as characters changed careers and took on new responsibilities. In 1935 Luke Robinson left the editorship of the *Centerville Herald* to become the assistant manager of the local furniture factory. Although Robinson remained the series' protagonist, a new character, "Gus Olsen," a janitor who had made the best of his lot in life, assumed Robinson's place as the managing editor and owner of the *Herald*. A tabloid "Herald" mailed to listeners from "Centerville" announced the changes and included photographs of the "Robinsons" reading their fan mail along with the paper's articles, editorials, cartoon, and crossword puzzle.

When introduced to New York City listeners in 1935, the *American Family Robinson* appeared five days a week until it changed to its regular twice-a-week schedule. In 1940, the last year of broadcast, the series appeared twice a week on 255 stations. NAM specialists considered midafternoon the optimum time for broadcasts. According to NAM Vice President for Public Relations James P. Selvage, tests showed that when scheduled between 2:00 and 3:00 P.M., the program had an excellent chance "to reach not only housewives but other members of the family." The *American Family Robinson*, Selvage wrote, presented "industry's effective answer to the Utopian promises of theorists and demagogues at present reaching such vast audiences via radio."

From the outset, Selvage had hoped to interest the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) or the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) in broadcasting the *American Family Robinson* on a sustaining basis. Neither was interested, and the series ended up in transcription, recorded and circulated to individual stations by the World Broadcasting System. A review of scripts submitted to NBC in October 1934 resulted in the program's banishment from the network's owned and operated stations as well. Reviewing the series' first three episodes, NBC script editor L.H. Titterton hardly knew what to make of the Robinsons, or the direction the story might take. An outline for the rest of the series and a script of the last episode received three days later confirmed Titterton's suspicion. After meeting with Selvage and Douglas Silver, the scripts' author, Titterton reported that the *American Family Robinson* proposed "to take on a definitely anti-Rooseveltian tendency." "You would probably not find in the entire series any specific sentence that could be censored," Titterton wrote to his network superiors, "but the definite intention and implication of each episode is to conduct certain propaganda against the New Deal and all its work."

WILLIAM L. BIRD JR.

Cast

Luke Robinson
 The Baron
 Miss Twink Pennybacker/Gloriana Day
 Windy Bill
 Cousin Monty, the Crooner
 Professor Broadbelt
 Myra
 Aunt Agatha
 Emmy Lou
 Elsie
 Mr. Popplemeyer
 Letitia Holsome
 Gus (Luke's assistant)
 Pudgie

Producer/Creator

Harry A. Bullis

Programming History

National Industrial Council syndication, Orthacoustic transcription 1935–1940

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American Federation of Musicians

The American Federation of Musicians (AFM) represents some 150,000 members in nearly 400 local unions throughout the United States and Canada. The AFM became infamous during and after World War II under its fiery leader James Caesar Petrillo, who fought tirelessly to preserve the jobs of professional musicians at stations and networks. Petrillo defied President Roosevelt and Congress until the latter passed legislation limiting his right to pressure broadcast stations.

Origins

After several earlier attempts at organization, the AFM was founded in Indianapolis in 1896 following an invitation from Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor (AFL), to organize and charter a musicians' trade union. Delegates from various musician organizations, representing some 3,000 musicians, created a charter stating that "any musician who receives pay for his musical services shall be considered a professional musician." The union added the phrase "of the United States and Canada" to its title in 1900. At the St. Louis World's Fair four years later, the AFM discouraged the hiring of foreign bands. It also achieved the first minimum wage scale for traveling orchestras.

The economic impact of World War I and the growing popularity of recorded music led to epic high unemployment of musicians. Prohibition was closing beer halls where musicians had worked, and by the late 1920s and early 1930s, sound-on-film technology had displaced theater orchestras. The 22,000

musicians providing in-theater musical background for silent movies were replaced with only a few hundred jobs for musicians recording sound tracks. As might be expected, the New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles AFM locals were the largest during this period, with about 25 percent of the total membership in the three cities.

AFM and Radio

AFM members initially looked to radio as a godsend, assuming that it would provide for more employment opportunities for members. And indeed larger stations did create or hire individual musicians or even orchestras. But stations in smaller markets relied on recordings or shared (networked) broadcasts of national orchestras to fill their airtime, so music was getting wider circulation, but musicians usually were not.

Development of electrical transcription around 1930 (and sound quality improvements in records sold to consumers) made the problem worse, as it was now easier for stations to produce recorded programs that sounded nearly as good as live performances. After many years of indecision, in 1937 AFM President James Petrillo originated the "standby" approach, pressuring Chicago stations to employ AFM members if recorded music was played, as backup musicians or even as "platter turners" in place of regular on-air personnel. This "featherbedding" tactic (hiring more employees than needed) was adopted by the union and expanded to other areas of the nation in the years before the U.S. entry into World War II. That the standby process originated in Chicago

is central to the AFM story, for Chicago became the base of strong AFM leadership for several decades.

A onetime trumpet player ("If I was a good trumpet player I wouldn't be here. I got desperate. I had to look for a job. I went in the union business," *New York Times*, 14 June 1956), James Caesar Petrillo joined the AFM in 1917 from a rival group. He became head of the Chicago AFM local in 1922 and kept that post for over four decades, in part due to the lack of secret ballot elections and members' fear of him. In 1928 Petrillo had demanded that radio stations in the Chicago market pay musicians for performing on the air, which ironically forced many to use recorded music. The "standby" approach followed wherein musicians were retained but often not used by broadcasters.

By 1940 Petrillo had been elected national AFM president, a post he would hold until 1958, all the while retaining his local power base (and title) with the Chicago local. He quickly expanded the union's standby tactic, requiring stations across the country that played records (as most did by that time) to hire AFM members as standby players. With strong AFM pressure, by 1944 the practice had spread across the nation, employing some 2,000 musicians.

Petrillo and the union drew negative public attention, however, by demanding that the NBC radio broadcast from the National Music Camp at Interlochen, Michigan, be canceled in 1942. (Some of the camp's final performances each season had traditionally been broadcast.) A year later, the camp's leader, Joseph E. Maddy, lost his AFM membership because he was playing with non-members. The camp proved unable to get another broadcast outlet for its concerts, though ironically most could not have joined the union in any case because they were too young.

Petrillo did not seem to be concerned with public opinion. The height of his "public be damned" mode came in August 1942, when he pulled AFM members from all recording sessions with the big record companies until they agreed to his pension and related demands. The resulting 27-month ban continued until late 1944 despite orders by the War Labor Board, pleas from President Roosevelt, and loud complaints in Congress that the AFM leader was not being supportive of the war effort. He stood his ground, and in November 1944, the last of the major recording companies (RCA Victor and Columbia) gave in to AFM demands. AFM gained the payment of 1.5–2 cents from each record sold; the money went into what became a huge performance trust fund. (The fund still helps to support popular free concerts in what is now the Petrillo Band Shell in Grant Park in Chicago.) Growth of the recording business after the war and the increasing number of jukeboxes prompted the AFM to threaten another recording musicians strike in 1948, but the parties involved settled, agreeing to continue paying AFM fees to the performance fund.

Concerned about the developing new media and what impact they might have on musicians, Petrillo in 1945 banned AFM members from performing on television or on FM dual broadcasts with AM unless standby musicians were hired. These bans were lifted only after stations again agreed to his demands for payments to musicians who were often not used at all. He also banned foreign music broadcasts except those from Canada, whose players were often AFM members. Although some of the membership grumbled, Petrillo and his supporters were all-powerful in the union and held sway. Indeed, his supporters reveled in the poor press their president achieved, publishing a booklet of negative cartoons depicting the feisty leader.

Lea Act

But pressure from broadcasters who felt blackmailed into accepting employees they did not need led Congress to take action limiting the union's power. In 1946 Clarence Lea, a Republican from California, introduced legislation to revise the Communications Act by adding a revised Section 506 concerning "coercive practices affecting broadcasting." Passed by overwhelming margins in the House and Senate and quickly signed by President Harry Truman, the Lea Act banned pressure on licensees to employ or make payments for "any person or persons in excess of the number of employees needed by such licensee to perform actual services," or "to pay or agree to pay more than once for services performed." Pre-existing contracts were allowed to stand, but renewals would have to agree with provisions of the new law.

In his usual pugnacious approach, Petrillo appealed the new legislation, using WAAF in Chicago as a test case, and promised a nationwide strike against radio if the Lea Act was found unconstitutional. The Supreme Court, however, held the act to be constitutional and thus enforceable, and the AFM lost some of its power. Petrillo remained president of the AFM for another decade, but the union gradually slipped out of news headlines.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Columbia Broadcasting System; Copyright; Music; Radio Corporation of America

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American Federation of Television and Radio Artists

The American Federation of Television and Radio Artists (AFTRA) is the national labor union or "guild" for talent in television, radio, and sound recordings. It was originally founded on 30 July 1937 as the American Federation of Radio Artists (AFRA), part of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). By 2000, AFTRA had 36 local offices throughout the United States, with a total of 80,000 members, representing performers at over 300 radio and television stations nationwide, and a workforce collectively earning over \$1 billion annually under work contracted by the union. The union is still affiliated with the AFL-CIO and is headquartered in New York City.

AFTRA's membership represents four areas of broadcast employment: news and broadcasting; commercials and non-broadcast, industrial, or educational media; entertainment programming; and the recording business. Members include announcers, actors, newscasters, sportscasters, disc jockeys, talk show hosts, professional singers (including background singers and "royalty artists"), dancers, and talent working in new technologies such as CD-ROM and interactive programming. The union also franchises talent agents who represent AFTRA performers, stipulating talent agency commission fees as well as other regulations regarding the representation of performers in the union's jurisdiction.

AFTRA is party to about 400 collective bargaining agreements nationwide. These agreements generally regulate salaries and working conditions and include binding arbitration procedures for unresolved labor disputes. Union rules require AFTRA members to work only for "signatories" (employers who have signed AFTRA contracts), and members are asked to verify the signatory status of an employer before accepting a job. AFTRA was also the first industry union to establish employer-paid health insurance benefits and portable retirement plans. Any performer who has worked or plans to work

in an area covered by AFTRA contracts is eligible for membership. Member dues are based on a performer's previous year's AFTRA earnings. Currently, dues and initiation fees are set by each local office, but the union has plans to implement a uniform national schedule of dues.

The union is governed by volunteer member representatives on both local and national boards of directors. National delegates are elected on a proportional basis from the locals at the union's biannual national convention. The national office publishes basic rates for the national freelance agreements for entertainment programming, commercials, sound recordings (both singing and speaking, such as for talking books), industrials (video- and audiotapes for corporate, educational, and other off-air use), and new technologies. Local AFTRA offices publish local talent guides and offer special services designed to meet local member needs, including skill development seminars, casting hot lines and bulletin boards, and credit unions and tax clinics. Local offices handle staff employment for broadcasters and newsmen at over 300 radio and television stations nationally. Because each signatory station's collective bargaining agreement is negotiated separately, it is up to the local AFTRA office to monitor and distribute information about specific station agreements. Local offices also track rates and conditions of employment for freelance work in each market, including rates for local or regional commercials and programs.

Presently, membership in AFTRA does not guarantee work or membership in other performer guilds, such as the Screen Actors Guild (SAG) or Actors Equity, although in general, both SAG and Actors Equity credit AFTRA membership and employment when evaluating applications. About 40,000 performers are members of both unions, and consequently, AFTRA and SAG have discussed a merger for several years. In 1995 the boards of directors of the two organizations

approved a merger that would have created a larger union, given the combined membership of 123,000. Proponents of the merger cited the value of being able to present a united front when negotiating with an industry that was undergoing vast changes. Opponents were uneasy about the merging of the unions' health insurance and pension plans and about higher proposed dues and were said to be nervous about increasing employment pressure on the 80 percent of SAG members already earning less than \$10,000 annually from acting. In early 1999 the merger got only about 50 percent of SAG voter approval, far less than the 60 percent level of approval required by the SAG constitution, although the merger was approved by two-thirds of AFTRA voters.

Following the defeat of the proposed merger between AFTRA and SAG, AFTRA's leadership continued to work toward a restructuring of the union. Between 1990 and 1993, an outside consulting agency had been commissioned to study changes affecting the industries under AFTRA jurisdiction. The study concluded with recommendations that AFTRA strengthen its national office and foster coordination among its historically strong locals. The consultants also recommended that AFTRA become more sophisticated in its use of both internal and external resources in order to match the resources of the companies with which it negotiated. Finally, it recommended that AFTRA provide more benefits and services for members and that the union find ways to involve its membership more fully in decision making and other union activity. Although the study maintained that AFTRA had "under financed" itself for many years by charging member dues that were among the lowest of any union in the broadcasting industry, the union decided it could not increase dues before first improving its services. Consequently, AFTRA reallocated its dues revenues in a series of internal changes that enabled AFTRA to add to its national staff by 36 percent to provide for better legal, financial, negotiating, and organizing services. The union also worked to enforce its existing contracts more vigor-

ously, started a new research department, and worked to increase its lobbying presence in Washington. As of December 2002, AFTRA and SAG engaged in joint contract negotiations as an attempt to coordinate efforts in the face of continuing media (employer) consolidation.

AFTRA has a long history of supporting equal employment opportunities for women and minorities, and all AFTRA contracts include provisions for diversity and hiring fairness. AFTRA has a scholarship fund for members and dependents called the AFTRA Heller Memorial Foundation, and the union also set up the AFTRA Foundation, a tax-exempt organization funded by voluntary contributions to support educational and charitable causes.

MARK BRAUN

See also Commentators; Disk Jockeys; Female Radio Personalities; Singers on Radio; Sportscasters; Technical Organizations; Trade Associations

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American School of the Air

U.S. Educational Radio Program

First aired on 4 February 1930, with an 18-year run that ended on 30 April 1948, this Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) half-hour educational series drew from top radio and educational talent to bring programs to U.S. and international schools and radio listeners.

The show was sponsored for a brief time by the Grisby-Grunow Company to support radio sales, and then CBS chose to retain *American School of the Air* as a sustaining "Columbia Educational Feature" overseen by the network's department of education. In 1940 the program was adapted and

expanded to international educational markets in Canada and Latin America and the Philippines under the names *School of the Air of the Americas*, *Radio Escuela de las Americas*, and *International School of the Air*. Beginning in 1942, the *School of the Air of the Americas* was officially sponsored by the U.S. Office of War Information (OWI). In 1943 the program was deemed the “official channel for news, information, and instructions” by the OWI (CBS *Program Guide*, Winter 1943). In 1944 programs were also broadcast over the 400 stations of the Armed Forces Radio Service. The program was discontinued in 1948.

A number of educational organizations and individuals lent their names and expertise to the *American School of the Air*. Top-level national educators, such as William C. Bagley of the Teachers' College at Columbia University and U.S. Commissioner of Education John W. Studebaker, served on the national board of consultants, and educational consultants were also involved at the state and local levels. National organizations also offered conceptual and resource support to the program.

Each *American School of the Air* season ran from October through April, taking a break for the summer out-of-school months. Typically, the series offered five subseries—one for each day of the week—with titles such as *Frontiers of Democracy*, *The Music of America*, *This Living World*, *New Horizons*, *Lives between the Lines*, *Tales from Far and Near*, *Americans at Work*, *Wellsprings of Music*, *Science at Work*, *Music on a Holiday*, *Science Frontiers*, *Gateways to Music*, *Story of America*, *March of Science*, *World Neighbors*, *Tales of Adventure*, *Opinion Please*, and *Liberty Road*. Program topics included U.S. and international history and current events; music and literature; science and geography; vocational guidance and social studies; biographies; and many other topics. In 1940 CBS reported that the *American School of the Air* programs were received by more than 150,000 classrooms throughout all 48 states, reaching more than 200,000 teachers and 8 million pupils.

Some radio historians typically argue that the *American School of the Air* was part of a political strategy in early struggles over broadcast regulation. In the 1920s and early 1930s, noncommercial and citizen organizations proposed regulation, including frequency reallocation and nonprofit channel and program set-asides, to ensure that the United States' burgeoning broadcast system would remain, on some level, competitive and in the public's hands. The outcry against establishing a wholly commercial broadcast system compelled the networks to present a clear public-interest face, replete with educational, religious, and labor programming, in order to stave off binding regulation that might compromise network program time and control. CBS's *American School of the Air* was a premier effort of this type.

Educational scholars offer an alternative account of the *American School of the Air*. They focus on the program's role and function as an example of early educational technology and see the program as one of the first concerted experiments in education by radio, complete with supplemental classroom materials, teachers' manuals, and program guides.

SOUSAN ARAFEH

See also Columbia Broadcasting System; Educational Radio to 1967

Cast

Members of the New York radio pool, including Parker Fennelly, Mitzi Gould, Ray Collins, Chester Stratton; cast of *The Hamilton Family*: Gene Leonard, Betty Garde, Walter Tetley, Ruth Russell, Albert Aley, John Monks

Program Directors

Lyman Bryson, Sterling Fisher, and Leon Levine

Musical Directors

Alan Lomax, Dorothy Gordon, Channon Collinge

Writers

Hans Christian Adamson, Edward Mabley, Howard Rodman, A. Murray Dyer, Robert Aura Smith, and others

Announcers

Robert Trout, John Reed King, and others

Programming History

CBS February 1930–April 1948

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American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers

Established in 1914, the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers (ASCAP) is the oldest music performance rights organization in the United States and the only U.S. performing rights organization whose board of directors (elected by the membership) consists entirely of member composers, songwriters, and music publishers. For almost two decades, it also was the only national organization providing copyright clearance for the broadcasting of music.

Origins

The legal foundation for ASCAP was established in the 1909 copyright law that required permission from the copyright holder in order to perform music for profit in public. With no rights clearinghouse in place, however, copyright holders faced the impossible job of individually monitoring performances of songs to which each held title. Not many years later, composer Victor Herbert was conducting performances of one of his operettas at a New York theater. At dinner one evening in a nearby restaurant, he heard the establishment's house musicians performing his composition "Sweethearts." Herbert became upset that people were paying to hear his melodies in the theater while restaurant patrons were listening to them without paying anything. He brought suit under the 1909 law. A lower court initially ruled against him because the restaurant had charged no admission fee. But the United States Supreme Court reversed the lower court in its 1917 *Herbert v Shanley* decision. In upholding the composer's claim, justice Oliver Wendell Holmes and his colleagues stated that it did not matter whether or not the performance actually resulted in a profit. The fact that it was employed as part of a profit-seeking endeavor was enough.

In 1914, before the main legal battle began, Herbert gathered eight composers, publishers' representatives, and lyricists for a meeting that ultimately would result in the establishment of ASCAP as their collection agent. In addition to Herbert, charter member composers included Irving Berlin and Rudolph Friml. Buoyed by Herbert's legal triumph three years later, ASCAP expanded its fee-seeking horizons beyond theaters and dance halls to any place where performance for profit took place. These proceeds then were distributed among ASCAP members via a sliding scale based on the number of compositions to which each held title and the musical prestige (not necessarily popularity) of each work.

ASCAP and Radio

By 1923 some radio stations had become profit-seeking (and a very few actually profit-making) enterprises that made wide-

spread use of popular music. ASCAP therefore turned its attention to broadcasting, selecting WEAf, American Telephone and Telegraph's (AT&T) powerful New York outlet, as its test case. An aggressive protector of its own license and property rights, AT&T was not in a position to oppose ASCAP and settled on a one-year license of \$500 in payment for all of the ASCAP-licensed music WEAf chose to air. This blanket license arrangement would become the industry standard. ASCAP followed this breakthrough by winning a lawsuit against station WOR in Newark, New Jersey, for the unlicensed broadcast of Francis A. McNamara's ballad "Mother Machree." Because ASCAP-affiliated composers were then the creators of virtually all popular music, stations faced the prospect of either paying up or ceasing to play the tunes that listeners expected to hear.

Perceiving themselves to be at ASCAP's mercy, major-market station owners formed the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) in 1923 to do battle with the licensing organization. Station radio concerts were far less appealing without the melodies ASCAP controlled, but the annual license fees, which escalated upward from an initial \$250, were seen as too high for many stations to pay. (Few of them had much revenue, let alone profits, at this point.) In subsequent years, ASCAP used its near-monopoly position in the music industry to charge broadcasters ever-higher rates. Continuous legal skirmishes, congressional hearings, and even frequent NAB-inspired Justice Department antitrust probes of ASCAP served only to raise the financial stakes and intensify the antagonistic relationship between NAB and ASCAP.

In 1931, for instance, ASCAP boosted its overall fees to stations by 300 percent, charging five percent of each outlet's gross income. It then broke off dealings with the NAB and began negotiations with individual broadcasters, offering three-year contracts at three percent of net income for the first year, four percent for the second, and the full five percent by the third year. By 1936 it was demanding five-year licenses.

Formation of a Competitor

When ASCAP announced yet another large increase in license fees for 1939, broadcasters took action and by the following year had established their own licensing organization, Broadcast Music Incorporated (BMI). On 1 January 1941, as BMI labored to build a catalog, most stations stopped paying their ASCAP fees and restricted their music broadcasts to airing songs with expired copyrights and folk songs that had always been in the public domain. Stephen Foster melodies, such as "Jeanie with the Light Brown Hair," became radio staples.

To ASCAP's chagrin, no groundswell of indignation arose from the radio audience. Further, singers and instrumentalists

also replaced much of their repertoire with non-ASCAP material in order to keep their lucrative and visibility-enhancing radio bookings. Many performers switched from playing tunes by George Gershwin, Cole Porter, and Irving Berlin to using non-ASCAP music from South America—a key factor behind the sudden 1940s popularity of the rumba, samba, and tango. Combined with government antitrust pressure, these factors resulted in ASCAP's agreeing to offer per-program fees as well as blanket license fees and the rollback of rates to about half of what they had been collecting.

By the mid-1950s, the number of BMI tunes played over U.S. radio stations had come to parity with those licensed by ASCAP. Most of BMI's success was attributable to the explosion of rock and roll—a pulsating blend of rhythm and blues, country, and gospel music penned by songwriters outside of ASCAP's traditional constituency. BMI scooped up these composers and rode the rock and roll wave to dominance on many Top 40 format stations.

ASCAP and the Payola Scandal

In 1959 the payola scandal shook the radio industry to its core. Many disc jockeys were accused of taking unreported gifts from record promoters in exchange for “riding” (heavily playing) certain songs (payola). ASCAP added fuel to the fire when its spokespersons maintained that rock and roll, largely the creative product of BMI-affiliated composers, would never have gotten off the ground without payola. ASCAP claimed that 75 percent of the Top 50 tunes owed their success to payola—a charge meant as much to indict BMI as the practice of payola. With the subsequent passage of amendments to the 1934 Communications Act making payola a criminal offense, the radio industry moved beyond the crisis—but the resulting ASCAP-BMI animosity took a much longer time to cool.

Negotiating Music Rights

As it has for decades, ASCAP negotiates with radio stations mainly through the Radio Music License Committee (RMLC), a select group of broadcasters appointed by the NAB.

Although stations technically could negotiate on their own, virtually all rely on the committee to carve out acceptable blanket and per-program license fee structures. For the period through the year 2002, blanket license fees for commercial radio stations were pegged at 1.615 percent for stations with an annual gross revenue over \$150,000 or a minimum of 1 percent of adjusted gross income. For stations billing less than \$150,000 per year, a flat fee schedule ranges from \$450 to \$1,800 depending on income. Noncommercial stations pay an annual fee determined by the U.S. Copyright Office. In 2003 this was pegged at \$245 for educationally owned facilities and \$460 for all other noncommercial outlets.

ASCAP determines the amount of airplay garnered by each ASCAP-member song via three methods: electronic logging information from Broadcast Data Systems (BDS), periodic logging by the radio stations themselves, and ASCAP taping of station broadcasts.

PETER B. ORLIK

See also Broadcast Music Inc.; Copyright; Licensing; National Association of Broadcasters; Payola; United States Supreme Court and Radio; WEA

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American Telephone and Telegraph

American Telephone and Telegraph Company (AT&T) was a major contributor to the development of early broadcasting technology and radio networking. As a result of its refinements in vacuum tube technology and the ensuing patent disputes, AT&T became a founding shareholder in the powerful Radio Corporation of America (RCA), built the first commercial radio station (WEAF), and perfected the technology for network broadcasting. Over the years, AT&T's Bell Laboratories has pioneered many technologies used in radio.

Audion and Patent Concerns

Parent company of the Bell Telephone System, AT&T recognized the potential of de Forest's Audion tube as an amplifier for telephone circuits and secured rights to the device. Although the Audion could not be used in radio circuits due to a suit by the Marconi Company alleging patent infringements, AT&T licensed its use for telephone circuitry, quickly refining the technology and thus making transcontinental telephony a reality. AT&T also used vacuum tubes to pursue development of continuous wave transmitters necessary for voice communication as ancillary devices supporting telephone services. At the outbreak of World War I, the U.S. Navy took control of all radio patents, accelerating the development of wireless and radio receiver technology. At the end of the war, large electronic manufacturers such as AT&T, Westinghouse, and General Electric reclaimed their patents.

After the war, U.S. government officials expressed their desire to settle the patent problem quickly in order to keep key radio technology in the hands of a U.S. company. In 1919 RCA was formed as a way to pool the patents and cross-license the various technologies, making the large-scale manufacture of radio vacuum tubes possible. Under the agreement, AT&T's manufacturing arm, Western Electric, gained exclusive rights to produce long-distance transmitters and other key technology used in conjunction with wired communications. By 1922 Western Electric transmitters were powering 30 of America's pioneering radio stations, including such legendary stations as WOR in Newark, New Jersey, WHAM in Rochester, New York, and WSB in Atlanta, Georgia. AT&T soon came to realize, however, that the sale of transmitters to others conflicted with the company's strategy of beginning a nationwide commercial broadcasting service.

Birth of Radio Networking

Beginning in 1877 AT&T started experimenting with the use of telephone lines for transmission of music and entertainment. These experiments used telephones or public address systems

to carry program material such as music or speeches. By 1919 AT&T had refined vacuum tube technology to the point where large, elaborate auditorium demonstrations were possible. With the advent of broadcasting, however, the need for high quality connections to bring live events to radio stations became apparent. Soon AT&T undertook experiments to test public acceptance of broadcasting.

In January 1922 AT&T began construction of its own broadcasting facilities. AT&T vice president Walter S. Gifford outlined the commercial "toll" concept of broadcasting, calling for the creation of a channel through which anyone could send out his or her own programs. AT&T originally contemplated building 38 "radiotelephone" stations linked together by the company's Long Lines division. The first two stations were constructed in New York: WBAY was erected atop the AT&T Long Lines building on Walker Street and WEAF was constructed at Western Electric's Labs on West Street. WBAY signed on to 360 meters (830 kHz) on 3 August 1922. When signal coverage from WBAY proved unsatisfactory due to the steel construction of the Walker Street building, WEAF became the company's principal transmitting facility. In 1923 WCAP, Washington, D.C., was added to AT&T's station lineup.

Both RCA and AT&T started experimenting with interconnecting stations, but RCA was limited to using Western Union telegraph lines, and these proved to be unsuitable for the transmission of high-quality voice and music. The first AT&T network experiment started on 4 January 1923, when engineers connected WEAF in New York, New York, with WNAC in Boston, Massachusetts. Soon after, Colonial H.R. Green, owner of station WMAF, convinced AT&T to provide a link from WEAF to his station in South Dartmouth, Massachusetts. Green agreed to pay AT&T \$60,000 for a permanent connection, and WMAF began retransmitting WEAF programming. This arrangement gave AT&T engineers a full-time connection, which they used to experiment with transmission equipment. Other networking experiments followed. On 7 June 1923, WGY in Schenectady, New York, KDKA in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and KYW in Chicago, Illinois, were connected to WEAF. AT&T used the term *chain* to refer to interconnection of radio stations. Later *chain broadcasting* became the term commonly applied to radio network broadcasting.

Using Long Lines Division's capabilities, WEAF undertook a series of spectacular remote broadcasts that generated great interest among radio listeners and gave WEAF a programming advantage over other stations. Sporting events such as the Princeton-Chicago and Harvard-Yale football games, the Dempsey-Tunney boxing match, and recitals from the Capitol Theater demonstrated that coverage of live events was of great interest to Americans. At the same time, AT&T held control

over the capability to provide remote broadcasts via its telephone lines, and it began to refuse to provide hookups to other rival stations owned by RCA's radio group.

In 1924 AT&T connected radio stations in 12 major cities from Boston to Kansas City, Missouri, for special broadcasts of the Republican and Democratic national conventions. One year later, it used its circuits in the first coast-to-coast demonstration. As these experiments continued into 1925, radio network connections regularly linked WEAF and other stations in cities throughout the East and Midwest. AT&T executives began to rethink the company's involvement in broadcasting, however, as disagreements with RCA over the cross-licensing arrangements increased. Finally, in 1926 AT&T decided to discontinue broadcasting operations and sold WEAF to RCA.

RCA created the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) to operate WEAF, WJZ, and its own radio stations. Under the terms of the WEAF sale, NBC was required to lease AT&T lines for network connections whenever possible. NBC decided to form two separate networks to handle stations where there was duplication in coverage area. AT&T Long Lines engineers used red and blue pencils to trace the connection paths for NBC's new networks and NBC adopted the colors as designations for the two networks. The Red Network, with WEAF as the flagship station, was the larger and more important of the two with 25 stations; the Blue Network began with only 5 stations.

Growth of the Chains

America's growing interest in high-quality programs spurred further AT&T development of networking capabilities. As public interest in high-quality programming grew, many local stations joined one of the two NBC radio networks, but the NBC monopoly in network broadcasting was not to last for long. A small upstart, United Independent Broadcasters, was formed when Arthur Judson decided to establish a new radio network. In early 1927 Judson tried to secure telephone lines for the newly formed network, but AT&T refused to provide connections because it had signed an exclusivity agreement with RCA. By mid-1927 AT&T, under pressure from the Federal Trade Commission, agreed to provide network connections to the new network. That fall the newly named Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) began operations with 12 affiliated stations. Soon, chain broadcasting revolutionized radio in the United States.

AT&T played a pivotal role in making network broadcasting a success. Long Lines Division developed elaborate specialized network capabilities that served both full-time networks such as NBC and CBS and specialized regional networks, such as the Don Lee Network in California and the Liberty Broadcasting System in the Southwest.

By 1928 AT&T maintained four broadcast network interconnection systems (called Red, Blue, Orange, and Purple) linking 69 radio stations together with more than 28,000 miles of wire. New York served as the central distribution point for stations in the East and South, while Chicago, Illinois, and Cincinnati, Ohio, served Midwest stations. San Francisco, California, became a switching point for the West Coast. Both telegraph and voice circuits were used to provide affiliates with networking information and programming channel feeds.

AT&T used an elaborate series of repeater stations to route high-quality audio transmissions across the nation. Special Long Lines operators provided maintenance for the system and switching for network programs. Stations that normally carried Red network programming needed to be manually switched by AT&T personnel when they wanted to carry Blue network programs. Important switching stations, such as Washington, D.C., could switch as many as 30,000 programs each year. To facilitate network quality testing, broadcasters provided musical programming for the Long Lines operators. NBC maintained a legendary jukebox at Radio City that played music whenever either of the networks was not transmitting a program. The jukebox selections provided AT&T engineers with a constant audio source to verify network quality. This practice continued through the mid-1980s, when satellites finally replaced land lines. Broadcasters worked with Bell Labs to develop equipment to interconnect broadcast stations with the telephone network. The VU meter, a visual gauge for measuring audio, was an outgrowth of that cooperation, and special terminology such as *nonemanating outputs*, (NEMO) *terminal block*, and *mults* entered broadcast parlance as a result of this relationship.

The cost of renting AT&T broadcast lines was often too high to allow local radio stations to provide live coverage of sporting events. Announcers such as Red Barber and Ronald "Dutch" Reagan—and later Gordon McLendon—made names for themselves recreating games by using sparse information provided by telegraph operators at ball games.

As broadcasting networks grew in power and size throughout the 1930s, AT&T expanded its special services. By 1939 more than 53,000 miles of special circuit wires were used to provide network services. The number of specialized networks maintained by AT&T expanded to 21 just before World War II. Network designations continued to be based on the original engineering color schemes, with NBC having its Red and Blue networks and CBS using ivory, black, pink, scarlet, and other specialized broadcast facilities. Broadcast network operations represented approximately 15 percent of AT&T's \$23 million in gross revenue for Private Line Services in 1933. By 1935 broadcasters were spending more than \$10 million a year for telephone lines to link their networks. Some estimate that in 1950 nearly 40 percent of AT&T's \$53 million in private network gross revenues represented broadcast services. Revenues

generated from broadcasting and other special private services rose throughout the golden age of radio networks, providing AT&T with substantial profits.

With the introduction of television, the decline in network radio led to a decline in AT&T's involvement in linking up network stations. Special services provided by Long Lines during this time were used to create a nationwide television network system for the growing number of television network affiliates. Long Lines continued to provide network connections for radio until the mid-1980s, when domestic communication satellites replaced land lines. The competition from satellite distribution and FCC deregulation in telecommunication services made general land line distribution of radio unprofitable.

Technical Developments

Bell Telephone Laboratories, created by AT&T in 1925, pioneered many technologies that have expanded the capability of modern radio broadcasters. In the 1930s AT&T invented stereophonic sound systems and microwave transmission, both essential technologies for today's high-quality radio programming. In the late 1940s Bell Labs invented the transistor, the forerunner of modern solid-state electronics, spawning both the transistor radio and solid-state computer era. Other key developments include the communication satellite, the light-

emitting diode (LED), and the laser. Today's advanced audio technology is partially an outgrowth of the basic scientific research undertaken by AT&T.

FRITZ MESSERE

See also Columbia Broadcasting System; De Forest, Lee; National Broadcasting Company; Network Monopoly Probe; Radio Corporation of America; Stereo; WEAf

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American Top 40

Popular Music Program

American Top 40 (AT₄₀) is the longest running national music countdown broadcast on American radio during the rock era. In its 30-year history, the show has undergone a series of personnel and ownership changes. The first AT₄₀ show aired with veteran disc jockey Casey Kasem during the week of 4 July 1970 and was distributed in only seven U.S. markets. By 1980 the show could be heard in nearly 500 markets across the United States.

The original AT₄₀ program concept was created by Ron Jacobs, who with Tom Rounds founded Watermark in 1969. The program grew out of collaboration between Jacobs and K-B Productions owners Casey Kasem and Don Bustany, who sold Jacobs on the idea of a national music countdown. Despite the initial downturn in the Top 40 music format as the rapid proliferation of new FM stations popularized album-

oriented rock in the early 1970s, AT₄₀ soon found a loyal audience.

AT₄₀ was the first program to turn the popular local Top 40 countdown into a national syndicated show. The three-hour show was distributed weekly on records to radio stations across the United States, using the *Billboard* Top 100 as the source for the countdown. AT₄₀ was distributed as a boxed record set each week. Records played 30 minutes of the show per side, and the set contained cue sheets allowing stations to integrate local station breaks into the AT₄₀ program format. The records had to be played in the right order for the countdown to progress correctly. Program segments opened or ended with jingles identifying the program and the program host. By 1978 the general length of popular songs had increased, causing AT₄₀ to increase its program length from

three to four hours per show. Today the show is distributed on compact discs.

One of the reasons for *AT40*'s success was the charismatic, personal voice style of Casey Kasem, the show's longest-serving host. The format initially called for a fast-paced delivery with minimal talk and a quick turnover from song to song. As the program gained momentum, Kasem's knowledge of popular music and his ability to create a sense of intimacy added interest for listeners. As the show expanded its time and found a loyal audience, special features such as the "Long Distance Dedication" became popular segments. Kasem's classic sign-off, "Keep your feet on the ground and keep reaching for the stars" became the show's trademark.

AT40's success was challenged in 1979 with the introduction of *The Weekly Top 30* hosted by Mark Elliot and in 1980 with *Dick Clark's National Music Survey*. Both of these shows were aimed at slightly different demographics than *AT40*. *The Weekly Top 30* ended in 1982, and in 1983, *Rick Dees' Weekly Top 40* aired based on the popular music chart listings in *Cashbox* magazine.

In 1988 American Broadcasting Companies (ABC) Radio Networks, which had acquired Watermark, and Kasem were unable to agree to terms for a renewal contract. By this time *AT40* had grown to become the most successful American radio program and was the sixth largest syndicated broadcasting program with an estimated 2.4 million listeners worldwide. The show boasted nearly 1,000 outlets around the world. In July 1988 ABC introduced Shadoe Stevens as the new host of *AT40*. ABC heavily promoted the transition and introduced various new features to distinguish the new show host and keep the format fresh. Stevens hosted the show until 1995. Several broadcasting companies vied for Kasem's talents, and in 1989 he signed a multimillion-dollar, multiyear contract with Westwood One to start a competing program called "*Casey's Top 40*."

The early 1990s saw a substantial change in popular music. In November 1991 *Billboard* changed the way it tabulated the Hot 100. *Billboard*'s new methodology led to a substantial increase in rap and other nontraditional pop music genres in the chart, causing many older loyal listeners to tune out. The traditional Top 40 format splintered into derivative formats. In addition, the continuing success of *Rick Dees' Weekly Top 40* and *Casey's Top 40* splintered the market for Top 40. By 1992

AT40 had fewer than 275 stations carrying the program in the United States, although it still held the predominant position among overseas listeners.

In 1994 ABC Radio Networks acquired the Westwood One network and ownership of *AT40*. ABC now owned both the Rick Dees countdown and *AT40*. On 24 June 1994, ABC announced that it would cancel the American version of *AT40*, and the last program aired in January 1995. ABC's rights to the program terminated in 1998, and the show reverted back to Kasem and Bustany, the owners of K-B Productions. *AT40* was revived with Kasem as the host in March 1998 under the ownership of AMFM Networks. In addition to the Top 40 format, there is also an American Top 20 based on the hot adult contemporary format and another geared toward adult contemporary listeners. Even though the format of the new *AT40* is very similar to the original, the chart list is now based on the Mediabase 24/7 hit music charts.

In 2003, the distribution of the program changed to Premiere Radio Networks. American Top 40 was at that time heard on 127 U.S. stations and 14 outlets internationally.

FRITZ MESSERE

See also Kasem, Casey

Hosts

Casey Kasem (1970–88; 1998–), Shadoe Stevens (1989–95)

Creator

Ron Jacobs

Executive Producer

Tom Rounds

Programming History

Watermark Syndication	1970–88
ABC	1988–95
Radio Express	1998–2002
Premiere Radio Network	2003–

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American Women in Radio and Television

Women have taken part in the business of radio broadcasting from the earliest days of the industry. Although their advancement was often slower than that of their male counterparts, they were able to contribute greatly to the development of radio. As in many professions, women organized groups to provide mutual support in their efforts for advancement and recognition. American Women in Radio and Television (AWRT) is one such organization.

Origins

On 8 April 1951, AWRT held its organizing convention at the Astor hotel in New York. According to the trade publication *Broadcasting and Telecasting*, 250 women from the fields of radio and television attended this event. They elected Edyth Meserand, assistant director of news and special features at WOR-AM-TV in New York, as the first AWRT president. Appropriately, the keynote speaker at the conference was Frieda Hennock, the first woman to be appointed a commissioner at the Federal Communications Commission (FCC).

Since 1951 AWRT has pursued its stated mission: "to advance the impact of women in the electronic media and allied fields, by educating, advocating, and acting as a resource to our members and the industry." Logically, the majority of members are women, but many men also choose to participate in this effort. The organization carries out its work through more than 30 chapters nationwide.

Function

AWRT provides professional development activities, mentoring, and job-search assistance for its members. The organization sponsors awards for excellence in the profession and publishes information resources, in print and on-line, for members and nonmembers alike. Through its lobbying efforts, AWRT has been an advocate for many causes, including better opportunities for women who aspire to own media organizations and stricter enforcement of equal employment opportunity requirements at television and radio stations. It has argued in favor of a proposal that would require broadcast organizations to keep statistics on minority and female employees, and it has taken a lead role in educating professionals about sexual harassment. At times, AWRT speaks out on behalf of general policy options that its members consider relevant to its mission. For example, the group argued against using auctions to determine spectrum ownership. The basis for this argument was the belief that auctioning broadcast frequencies would work against preserving a diversity of voices in the media marketplace.

One of the most important services AWRT provides is facilitating networking opportunities for its members. At its annual convention, professionals from all areas of electronic media discuss key issues affecting the field as well as more specific topics that are most likely to concern women. Throughout the year, AWRT serves all types of organizations by providing speakers on such topics as promoting diversity in the workplace and managing a diverse workforce.

In addition to these services, AWRT recognizes excellence in electronic media by presenting awards to individuals and companies. These awards are given for outstanding achievements in electronic media, for commitment to the issues and concerns of women, and for achievements in strengthening the role of women in the industry and contributing to the betterment of the community. Its annual Gracie awards, named in honor of broadcast pioneer Gracie Allen, recognize realistic portrayals of women in radio and television programming. Several awards are given each year to commend media contributions "by women, for women or about women." The Silver Satellite awards recognize the outstanding contributions of an individual to the broadcast industry. Among the former winners of this prestigious award are Bob Hope, who won the first Silver Satellite award in 1968, Vincent Wasilewski, former head of the National Association of Broadcasters, Mary Tyler Moore, Barbara Walters, and Pauline Frederick. Other honors given by the organization include the Star Awards, which honor individuals and companies who have shown a commitment to the concerns of women, and the Achievement Awards, which recognize a member who has both strengthened the role of women and contributed to the betterment of the community.

In 1960 the AWRT Educational Foundation was chartered to promote charitable programs, educational services, scholarships, and projects to benefit the community and the mass media. This support not only provides assistance to community organizations in need of funding, it also provides an opportunity for AWRT members and others to become actively involved in serving their communities.

PATRICIA PHALEN

See also Association for Women in Communication; Female Radio Personalities and Disk Jockeys; Women in Radio

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America's Town Meeting of the Air

Public Affairs Program

For much of its 21-year run, *America's Town Meeting of the Air* (1935–56) was a Thursday evening staple in many radio homes. As part of a trend toward panel discussion shows in the 1930s, this series as well as *American Forum of the Air*, *People's Platform*, *University of Chicago Roundtable*, *Northwestern Reviewing Stand*, and *High School Town Meeting of the Air* were sustaining (commercial-free) programs devoted to in-depth political and social discussion. Although *America's Town Meeting of the Air* was not the first of these panel discussion programs on the air, it was the first radio program to offer debate and active audience participation.

The first panel discussion program, *University of Chicago Roundtable* (1931–55), was a more reserved, scholarly program featuring University of Chicago professors debating contemporary issues. *American Forum of the Air* (1934–56) developed an adversary format, with two opponents on either side of a controversial issue, which became a popular feature of later panel discussion programs. *America's Town Meeting of the Air's* innovation was its inclusion of the live audience by using unscreened audience questions as an essential part of the discussion. Because audience members challenged guest speakers and their views, *America's Town Meeting of the Air* was an often volatile and unpredictable hour of radio programming. This serious-minded and popular program recognized the power of audience participation and influenced the format of later public-affairs programs and talk shows.

America's Town Meeting of the Air was the brainchild of George V. Denny, Jr., a former drama teacher and lecture manager. Denny was associate director of the League of Political Education, a New York-based political group founded in 1894 by suffragists that held town meetings to discuss contemporary issues. Legend has it that Denny, shocked by a neighbor's refusal to listen to President Roosevelt because he disagreed with him, sought to raise the level of political discussion in the country. He believed that a radio program could be produced that would mirror the New England town meetings of early

America and promote democratic debate. Denny mentioned his idea to the director of the League of Political Education, Mrs. Richard Patterson, who brought the idea to her husband, National Broadcasting Company (NBC) Vice President Richard Patterson. Richard Patterson helped Denny develop the show and gave the hour-long program a six-week trial run in 1935 on the NBC Blue network. Inexpensive and easy to produce, *America's Town Meeting of the Air* was an efficient and effective sustaining program for NBC. From its initial airing over 18 stations on the NBC Blue network, the show reached more than 20 million listeners through more than 225 stations by 1947. The successful program found its home on the NBC Blue (later American Broadcasting Companies [ABC]) network for its entire run.

For most of its life on radio, the program refused to accept sponsors, fearing that commercial interests would interfere with the show's controversial content. For only one year, *America's Town Meeting of the Air* accepted the sponsorship of *Reader's Digest*. In its later years (1947–55), the program accepted multiple sponsors. ABC tried to simulcast the program (somewhat unsuccessfully) on television and radio in 1948–49 and again in 1952, but the program did not translate well to television. After an internal dispute, Denny, the originator of the series, was removed from the program in 1952. Despite the loss of its creator, the program lasted four more years.

America's Town Meeting of the Air welcomed listeners each week with the sound of a town crier's bell and Denny's voice calling, "Good evening, neighbors." Broadcasting from Town Hall (123 West 43rd Street in New York City), Denny assembled a live studio audience of nearly 1,800 to participate in the broadcast. Before these witnesses, the show featured two or more opponents on a controversial issue. To build suspense, each guest would have the opportunity to state his or her position and would then field unscreened questions from the live studio audience and from listeners who sent questions via tele-

gram before the program's broadcast. The program's format was designed by Denny to present a diversity of political and social views and to bring those views into conflict before a live and often raucous studio audience.

The program's commitment to public affairs and controversial issues was established from its first broadcast on 30 May 1935. The topic for the first program was "Which Way for America—Communism, Fascism, Socialism, or Democracy?" Raymond Moley (an adviser to President Roosevelt) defended democracy, Norman Thomas made the case for socialism, A.J. Muste argued for the importance of communism, and Lawrence Dennis explained the benefits of fascism. The show was remarkable for the breadth and depth of the issues debated publicly. *America's Town Meeting of the Air* frequently addressed foreign policy or international disputes (e.g., "How Can We Advance Democracy in Asia?" or "What Kind of World Order Do We Want?" featuring a debate between H.G. Wells and Dr. Hu Shih, the Chinese ambassador to the United States) as well as domestic issues (e.g., "Does Our National Debt Imperil America's Future?" "How Essential Is Religion to Democracy?" or "Can We Depend upon Youth to Follow the American Way?"). *America's Town Meeting of the Air* also tackled the racial conflicts of the period, featuring prominent African-American scholars and writers such as Richard Wright. One of its most popular shows was the 1944 broadcast entitled "Let's Face the Race Question," with Langston Hughes, Carey McWilliams, John Temple Graves, and James Shepard. Whether discussing the detention of Japanese-Americans during World War II, debating immigration restrictions, or confronting the racial divide in the 20th century, *America's Town Meeting of the Air* offered listeners the opportunity to debate topics that were suppressed or marginalized elsewhere on radio.

In the 1930s and 1940s, prestigious panel discussion programs such as *America's Town Meeting of the Air* were sterling examples of the networks' devotion to public service. Such shows were used by the networks to fulfill their public-interest obligations to the community and to stave off government regulation in early radio. As discussed by Barbara Savage (1999), *America's Town Meeting of the Air* conducted an extensive public outreach campaign to incorporate the listening audience into the program and to increase its public profile.

According to a 1940 sales brochure, NBC supported the development of debate and discussion groups. NBC viewed the program as "a real force of public enlightenment" and an example of the network's "unexampled public service to the men and women of America." Transcripts of broadcasts were published by Columbia University Press. The program encouraged the use of transcripts in schools and sponsored editorial cartoon and essay contests on subjects such as "What Does American Democracy Mean to Me?" Despite the fact that *America's Town Meeting of the Air* originated from New York

City, the program also worked carefully to promote regional interest in the program. For six months out of the year, the program traveled around the country, sponsored by local universities and civic groups.

America's Town Meeting of the Air was one of the most popular national public-affairs programs on radio. Nearly 1,000 debate groups were officially formed, and thousands more listened each week in barber shops and community centers around the country. In the 1938–39 season, nearly 250,000 program transcripts were requested; the show typically received 4,000 letters a week. The program was also critically acclaimed for its public service. *America's Town Meeting of the Air* was a multiple winner of the Peabody Award and was also recognized by the Women's National Radio Committee, the Institute for Education by Radio, and the Women's Press Bloc, among other organizations, for its educational qualities and its discussion of economic, political, and international problems.

JENNIFER HYLAND WANG

See also Public Affairs Programming

Moderator

George V. Denny, Jr.

Announcers

Howard Claney, Milton Cross, Ben Grauer, George Gunn, Ed Herlihy, Gene Kirby

Producer

Marian Carter

Directors

Wylie Adams, Leonard Blair, Richard Ritter

Programming History

NBC Blue 1935–42

NBC Blue/ABC 1942–56

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Amos 'n' Andy

U. S. Serial (1928–1943); Situation Comedy (1943–1955); Hosted Recorded Music (1954–1960)

Amos 'n' Andy, which began as a nightly serial telling the story of Amos Jones and Andy Brown, two Georgia-born black men seeking their fortunes in the North, dominated American radio during the Depression. Combining character-driven humor with melodramatic plots, the series established the viability in broadcasting of continuing characters in a continued story and, from both a business and creative perspective, proved the most influential radio program of its era, inspiring the creation of the broadcast syndication industry and serving as the fountainhead of both the situation comedy and the soap opera. At its peak in 1930–31, the program's nightly audience exceeded 40 million people.

After 15 years and more than 4,000 episodes, the serial gave way to a weekly situation comedy and the characterizations grew more exaggerated. Today, the original *Amos 'n' Andy* is almost completely forgotten—its substance overshadowed by the unacceptability of white actors portraying African-American characters and lost to the memory of the broadly played sitcom that replaced it. Nevertheless, *Amos 'n' Andy* remains a landmark in U.S. broadcasting history.

Origins

Amos 'n' Andy grew out of *Sam 'n' Henry*, created by Freeman F. Gosden and Charles J. Correll, two former producers of home-talent revues who had begun their careers as a comic harmony team on Chicago radio in 1925. They had been asked by the management of station WGN to adapt the popular comic strip “The Gumps” for broadcasting, but were intimidated by its middle-class setting. Instead, they suggested a “radio comic strip” about two black men from the South moving to the North, characterizations that would draw on Gosden's familiarity since childhood with African-American dialect, and that would enable the performers to remain anonymous—an important consideration if the program should fail.

Sam 'n' Henry premiered on 12 January 1926 as the first nightly serial program on American radio, combining black dialect with certain character traits and storytelling themes from “The Gumps.” The early episodes were often crude, but Gosden and Correll gradually learned how to tell involving stories and to create complex human characterizations.

By the spring of 1926 the performers had begun recording *Sam 'n' Henry* sketches for Victor, and the success of these records suggested to the performers that live broadcasting need not be their only course. Accordingly, the partners sug-

gested to WGN that their programs be recorded and the recordings leased to other stations. WGN rejected the proposal, citing its ownership of the series and its characters. Gosden and Correll left WGN in December 1927, moving to station WMAQ, owned by the *Chicago Daily News*, and negotiated an agreement that included syndication rights. Arrangements were made for advance recordings of each episode on 12” 78 rpm discs that would be distributed to subscribing stations for airing in synchronization with the live broadcast from WMAQ. Correll and Gosden called this a “chainless chain” and, realizing the value of the concept, attempted to secure a patent, but were unable to do so; however, by the early 1930s their idea had formed the basis for the broadcast syndication industry.

Transition

The WMAQ series introduced Amos Jones and Andy Brown as hired hands on a farm outside Atlanta, looking ahead to their planned move to Chicago. Amos was plagued by self-doubts and worried about finding work in the North, whereas the swaggering Andy was quick to insist that he had the answers to everything.

Amos and Andy struggled until they met Sylvester, a soft-spoken, intelligent teenager patterned after the black youth who had been Gosden's closest childhood friend. Sylvester helped Amos and Andy start their own business, the Fresh Air Taxicab Company, and introduced them to a cultured, successful, middle-class businessman named William Taylor and his bright, attractive daughter Ruby, who soon became Amos' fiancée. They also met the potentate of a local fraternity, George “Kingfish” Stevens, a smooth-talking hustler who insinuated himself and his constant moneymaking schemes into their lives.

Chainless Chain to Network

Within a few months *Amos 'n' Andy* had attracted a national following and the attention of the Pepsodent Company, which negotiated to bring the serial to the coast-to-coast NBC Blue network in the summer of 1929. Amos, Andy, and the Kingfish relocated from Chicago to Harlem at the start of the network run, but otherwise the storyline continued unchanged.

At first, the program was heard at 11 P.M. Eastern time, but Pepsodent sought an earlier time slot for Eastern listeners and NBC was able to clear time at 7 P.M. As soon as the



Freeman Gosden Sr. ("Amos") left, and Charles Correll ("Andy")
Courtesy Radio Hall of Fame

change was announced, thousands of listeners in the Midwest and West wrote to complain about the move and within a week Correll and Gosden had agreed to broadcast twice nightly. This dual-broadcast plan would be widely adopted by other national sponsors as a solution to the time-zone dilemma.

The outcry over the time change offered just a hint of what was to come. By the spring of 1930 theater owners in many cities were being forced to stop the movie playing in order to present *Amos 'n' Andy* over their sound systems to hold an evening audience—dramatic evidence of an unprecedented craze that would endure for nearly two years.

Impact

As a result of its extraordinary popularity, *Amos 'n' Andy* profoundly influenced the development of dramatic radio. Working alone in a small studio, Correll and Gosden created an intimate, understated acting style—a technique requiring careful modulation of the voice, especially in the portrayal of multiple characters—that differed sharply from the broad manner of stage actors. The performers pioneered the technique of varying both the distance and the angle of their approach to the microphone to create the illusion of a group of characters. Listeners could easily imagine that they were in the taxicab office, listening in on the conversation of close friends. The result was a uniquely absorbing experience for listeners who, in radio's short history, had never heard anything quite like *Amos 'n' Andy*.

Although minstrel-style wordplay humor was common in the formative years of the program, it was used less often as the series developed, giving way to a more sophisticated approach to characterization. Correll and Gosden were fascinated by human nature, and their approach to both comedy and drama drew from their observations of the traits and motivations that drive the actions of all people; although they often overlapped popular stereotypes of African-Americans, there was at the same time a universality to their characters that transcended race.

Central to the program was the tension between the lead characters. Amos stood as an "Everyman" figure: a sympathetic, occasionally heroic individual who combined practical intelligence and a gritty determination to succeed with deep compassion—along with a caustic sense of humor and a tendency to repress his anger until it suddenly exploded. Andy, by contrast, was a pretentious braggart, obsessed with the symbols of success but unwilling to put forth the effort required to earn them. Although Andy's overweening vanity proved his greatest weakness, he was at heart a poignant, vulnerable character, his bombast masking deep insecurity and a desperate need for approval and affection. The Kingfish was presented as a shrewd, resourceful man who might have succeeded in any

career, had he applied himself, but who preferred the freedom of living by his wits.

Other characters displayed a broad range of human foibles: the rigid, hard-working Brother Crawford, the social climber Henry Van Porter, the arrogant Frederick Montgomery Gwindell, the slow-moving but honest Lightning, the flamboyant Madam Queen. Still other characters stood as bold repudiations of stereotypes: the graceful, college-educated Ruby Taylor; her quietly dignified father, the self-made millionaire Roland Weber; and the capable and effective lawyers, doctors, and bankers who advised Amos and Andy in times of crisis. Beneath the dialect and racial imagery, the series celebrated the virtues of friendship, persistence, hard work, and common sense and, as the years passed and the characterizations were refined, *Amos 'n' Andy* achieved an emotional depth rivaled by few other radio programs of the 1930s.

Above all, Correll and Gosden were gifted dramatists. Their plots flowed gradually from one into the next, with minor subplots building in importance until they took over the narrative and then receding to give way to the next major sequence; seeds for future storylines were often planted months in advance. It was this complex method of story construction that kept the program fresh and enabled Correll and Gosden to keep their audience in a constant state of suspense. The technique they developed for radio from that of the narrative comic strip endures to the present day as the standard method of storytelling in serial drama.

Storylines in *Amos 'n' Andy* usually revolved around themes of money and romance—Amos' progress toward the goal of marrying his beloved Ruby Taylor stood in contrast to Andy's romantic fumbblings—with the daily challenge of making ends meet forming a constant backdrop. The taxicab company remained the foundation of Amos and Andy's enterprises, but the partners constantly explored other ventures, including a lunchroom, a hotel, a grocery, a filling station, and a 500-acre housing development. Andy invariably claimed the executive titles, while Amos shouldered the majority of the work, until Amos' temper finally blazed and Andy was forced to carry his share of the load.

The moneymaking adventures of the Kingfish moved in and out of these plotlines, and through the Depression era *Amos 'n' Andy* offered a pointed allegory for what had happened to America itself in the 1920s: Amos represented traditional economic values, believing that wealth had to be earned, whereas the Kingfish embodied the Wall Street lure of easy money, and Andy stood in the middle, the investor torn between prudence and greed.

Although *Amos 'n' Andy*'s ratings gradually declined from the peak years of the early 1930s, it remained the most popular program in its time slot until 1941. Correll and Gosden and their characters had become a seemingly permanent part of the American scene.

The early 1930s saw criticism of the dialect and lower-class characterizations in the series by some African Americans, but *Amos 'n' Andy* also had black supporters who saw the series as a humanizing influence on the portrayal of blacks in the popular media. A campaign against the program by the Pittsburgh *Courier* in mid-1931 represented the most visible black opposition the radio series would receive—and, although the paper claimed to have gathered hundreds of thousands of signatures against the series, the campaign was abruptly abandoned after six months of publicity failed to generate a clear consensus. Throughout *Amos 'n' Andy's* run, African-American opinion remained divided on the interpretation of the complex, often contradictory racial images portrayed in the program.

A New Direction

On 19 February 1943 Correll and Gosden broadcast the final episode of the original *Amos 'n' Andy*. In a busy wartime world, the era of the early-evening comedy-drama serial was drawing to an end.

Correll and Gosden returned to the air that fall in a radically different format. The gentle, contemplative mood of the serial was replaced by a brassy Hollywoodized production, complete with studio audience, a full cast of supporting actors (most of them African-American) and a team of writers hired to translate Amos, Andy, the Kingfish, and their friends into full-fledged comedy stars. The new *Amos 'n' Andy Show* endured for the next 12 years as one of the most popular weekly programs on the air.

The sitcom initially stuck close to the flavor of the original series; with Amos having settled down to family life, the storylines in the last years of the serial had focused on Andy's romantic entanglements and on his business dealings with the Kingfish. At first the half-hour series continued in this pattern, emphasizing plots that could be wrapped up with an O. Henry-like surprise twist at the end. By 1946, however, the Kingfish had moved to the forefront, driving the plots through his eternal quest for fast money and his endless battles with his no-nonsense wife Sapphire. The subtle blend of self-importance, guilelessness, and vulnerability that had characterized Andy was gradually replaced by simple gullibility, and for the Kingfish's increasingly outlandish schemes to work, Andy had to become not just gullible but more than a little stupid. Amos receded further into the background, his presence reduced to that of a brief walk-on, in which he would tip Andy off that the Kingfish had again played him for a fool. The relaxed intimacy of the original series had been replaced by an increasing emphasis on verbal slapstick. The subtlety of the original characterizations was lost in a barrage of one-liners. At the same time, however, the new series offered African-American performers a doorway into mainstream radio, in both comedic and nondialect, nonstereotyped supporting roles.

In 1948 Correll and Gosden sold the program to the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), initiating a chain of events that led directly to William Paley's "Talent Raid," and the network immediately began plans to bring the series to television with an all African-American cast. The TV version of *The Amos 'n' Andy Show* was dogged by controversy as CBS took the characters even further down the path of broad comedy, culminating in a formal protest of the TV series by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1951. The TV series was cancelled in 1953, but remained in rerun syndication until 1966.

The radio version of *The Amos 'n' Andy Show* was not mentioned in the NAACP protest. Radio was a dying medium, however, and when the weekly show ended in May 1955 the performers had already begun their next series, *The Amos 'n' Andy Music Hall*, a nightly feature of recorded music sandwiched between prerecorded bits of dialogue. Coasting on the familiarity of the characters, this final series ran for more than six years.

On 25 November 1960 CBS aired the final broadcast of *The Amos 'n' Andy Music Hall*. After a brief comeback—in which they provided voices for the 1961–62 American Broadcast Company–TV animated series *Calvin and the Colonel*, which reworked *Amos 'n' Andy Show* plots into funny-animal stories—Correll and Gosden slipped quietly into retirement.

Although audio recordings of most of the situation comedy episodes exist, most of the serial survives only as archival scripts, stored at the University of Southern California and the Library of Congress. Modern discussions of *Amos 'n' Andy* commonly focus more on deconstruction of its racial subtext than on examination of the original program—often obscuring the seminal role Freeman Gosden and Charles Correll played in the development of American broadcasting.

ELIZABETH MCLEOD

See also African-Americans in Radio; Situation Comedy; Stereotypes on Radio; Syndication; Talent Raids

Cast

Amos Jones	Freeman Gosden
Andrew H. Brown	Charles Correll
George "Kingfish" Stevens	Freeman Gosden
John "Brother" Crawford	Freeman Gosden
Willie "Lightning" Jefferson	Freeman Gosden
Frederick Montgomery	
Gwindell	Freeman Gosden
Prince Ali Bendo	Freeman Gosden
Flukey Harris	Freeman Gosden
Roland Weber	Freeman Gosden
William Lewis Taylor	Freeman Gosden

Sylvester Madam Queen	Freeman Gosden Freeman Gosden (1931–32), Lillian Randolph (1944, 1952–53)
Henry Van Porter Pat Pending The Landlord Honest Joe the Pawnbroker Lawyer Collins Henrietta Johnson Ruby Taylor Jones Sapphire Stevens	Charles Correll Charles Correll Charles Correll Charles Correll Charles Correll Harriette Widmer (1935) Elinor Harriot (1935–55) Elinor Harriot (1937–38), Ernestine Wade (1939–55) Elinor Harriot (1936–38), Ernestine Wade (1939–44)
Mrs. Van Porter	Elinor Harriot (1936)
Mrs. C. F. Van DeTweezer Harriet Lily Crawford Pun'kin	Edith Davis (1935) Terry Howard (1936–37), Elinor Harriot (1937)
Arbadella Jones	Elinor Harriot (1936–39), Barbara Jean Wong (1940–54)
Genevieve Blue Dorothy Blue Valada Green Sara Fletcher Widow Armbruster Shorty Simpson Gabby Gibson Reverend Johnson LaGuardia Stonewall Algonquin J. Calhoun Leroy Smith Sadie Blake Ramona "Mama" Smith	Madaline Lee (1937–44) Madaline Lee (1937–38) Ernestine Wade (1939) Ernestine Wade (1940–43) Ernestine Wade (1941–42) Lou Lubin (1944–1950) James Baskett (1944–1947) Ernest Whitman (1944–45) Eddie Green (1947–49) Johnny Lee (1949–54) Jester Hairston (1944–55) Ruby Dandridge (1944) Amanda Randolph (1951–54)

Announcers

Bill Hay (1928–42), Del Sharbutt (1942–43), Harlow Wilcox (1943–45, 1951–55), Carleton KaDell (1945–47), Art Gilmore and John Lake (1947–48), Ken Carpenter (1949–50), Ken Niles (1950)

Writers (serial)

Freeman Gosden and Charles Correll (1928–43)

Writers (sitcom)

Bob Ross, Joe Connolly and Bob Mosher, with contributions from others

Creative Producer

Freeman Gosden

Programming History (various networks)

1928–43	<i>Amos 'n' Andy</i>
1943–55	<i>The Amos 'n' Andy Show</i>
1954–60	<i>Amos 'n' Andy Music Hall</i>

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AM Radio

Amplitude modulated (AM) or “standard” radio broadcasting (as the Federal Communications Commission [FCC] referred to AM until 1978) was the first broadcast service. AM dominated American commercial radio through the 1970s, provided the basis for most electronic media regulatory policies, and was the medium for which programs and the programming process were first developed. After decades of growth, however, the AM business is in decline.

AM Basics

AM transmitters modulate (or vary) a carrier wave (the basic signal used to “carry” the sidebands that contain the program information) by its amplitude (loudness) rather than its frequency, and do so many thousands of times per second. Seen diagrammatically, AM waves vary in height, indicating power changes in accordance with the signal being transmitted, rather than frequency, as in FM radio. Electronic static, most of which is amplitude modulated in its natural state, cannot be separated from the desired signal, though engineers spent years attempting to do so.

In the United States, AM channels are 10 kHz wide, whereas in much of the rest of the world by the 1990s, stations were licensed to use 9 kHz (a move to do the same in the United States was defeated by industry pressure in the early 1980s). With careful monitoring, an AM station can transmit from 5,000 to 7,000 cycles per second, which is sufficient for voice and some music, but misses the overtones of true high fidelity sound. On the other hand, AM channels, being narrower, allow far more stations to be accommodated per kHz than is the case with FM.

In most countries, AM operates on the medium wave frequencies (in the United States, 535 to 1705 kHz). Such a spectrum location means that signals are propagated along and sometimes just beneath the ground (day and night), and by sky waves bouncing off the ionosphere (nighttime only). This process has its benefits and drawbacks. The former comes from the extreme distances a powerful AM signal may travel on a cold, clear, winter evening—1,000 miles and often more. Unfortunately, such transmissions can never be exactly predicted; this leads to frustration in tuning distant stations, and more importantly, interference with other outlets, even though they may be closer to the listener. Further, ground waves and sky waves arrive at the same tuning (listening) point at different times (the sky waves having traveled much greater distances), which also causes interference.

Because of the sky wave problem, more than half of all U.S. AM stations are licensed for daytime operation only (the FCC stopped issuing new daytime-only licenses in 1987). Virtually

all remaining stations reduce power in the evening hours as a condition of their licenses. This greatly reduces, but does not eliminate, the sky wave problem. Because so many AM stations were crowded on the air in the half century after World War II, most now must use directional antennas to “steer” their signals away from other stations.

All of these issues make AM engineering very complex. Because of this situation and the fact that more than 500 stations were on the air when effective regulation was established in 1927, there are no allotted channels in AM, as there are with FM and television services. When applying for a license, a new station must convince the FCC that it will not cause intolerable interference to others in the same or nearby markets—a very difficult and expensive thing to prove.

In an attempt to reduce interference and add stability to licensing, the Federal Radio Commission (FRC) in 1928 established three different types of AM radio channels: clear, regional, and local (in descending order of power and coverage area). There were few clear and regional channels and hundreds of local ones. Powerful (50,000 watts) clear channel stations were designed to serve large rural regions about 750 miles across and were located at great distances from one another (at first there were no other stations on clear channels at night—hence the term “clear”). Regional stations were less powerful and covered smaller areas; these stations naturally increased as channels were reused by stations in different areas. Finally, local stations reached only 10 or 20 miles, were separated by a few hundred miles, and soon became the most common type of AM outlet, often using lower power at night, with many operating on the same channel in different areas. The system was simplified in the 1980s.

Short History

AM radio broadcasting originated from the early 20th-century radio telephony experiments of Frank Conrad, Lee de Forest, Reginald Fessenden, Charles Herrold, and others. Early radio broadcast transmitters in the 1920s were manufactured by hand, were hard to adjust and maintain, and delivered uneven and sometimes unpredictable performance. This led to considerable detail in the regulatory requirements established by the FRC after 1927. Stations required a full-time engineer for all the modifications and monitoring required. By 1941 the quality of AM technical equipment was considerably improved.

Until 1941 all U.S. commercial stations—about 600 to 700 at any one time—operated only with AM transmission and competed only with other AM outlets. The radio industry at this time was small and friendly. While by 1941 the largest cities had a dozen stations, many smaller towns had but one or

two and large parts of the country had no local radio service at night. Radio networks dominated programming and advertising with relatively few stations surviving as independent operations. By 1941 there were only a handful of educational stations on the air.

AM faced its first competition when the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) approved the creation of FM stations at the beginning of 1941; television arrived by the middle of the same year. The U.S. involvement in World War II limited growth of the new services so that most people could only tune in to AM for the duration of the war. After the war, AM grew from about 900 stations in 1945 to some 2,500 by the early 1950s—a frenetic rate of growth that illustrated public interest in and demand for more local radio service. By the 1960s, the FCC initiated two different freezes on further AM licenses, steering new applicants to the FM band instead. Any town of any size had a full complement of AM stations with no room for more.

AM stations dominated the industry through these four decades: there were more of them, they earned the vast majority of radio industry income, and they reached most of the audience most of the time. Most program developments were focused on AM stations, especially the arrival in the 1950s of top-40 rock stations and their many spin-offs in the years that followed. AM station owners controlled broadcast trade associations and saw FM as merely an expansion of what they already offered.

By 1980, however, AM's competitive situation had changed dramatically. The year before, more people tuned to FM stations for the first time, and the gap continued to widen for the next two decades as FM's higher fidelity won over listeners. FM was expanding faster as well. By the turn of the century, only a quarter to a third of the radio audience regularly tuned to AM outlets. In many cases, AM stations shifted to news and talk formats, abandoning music to higher-fidelity FM. Long dominant, AM had become a minor partner in a still expanding radio business. The number of AM outlets was actually in decline by the 1990s as stations left the air unable to attract sufficient listeners and thus to make a case to advertisers. The AM business was in trouble.

Improving AM

Faced with signs of this decline, the industry manufacturers and the FCC pressed for relief by improving AM's limited technical capabilities. The first debate concerned stereo transmission, which many in the business thought held great potential for competing with FM. From 1977 to 1980 the AM industry sought to develop an agreed-upon standard for such a service that could be recommended to the FCC. Unable to make a decision among a half dozen mutually incompatible systems by as many companies, in March 1982 the FCC announced that

AM broadcasters were expected to establish their own technical standard, although anti-trust laws made it impossible for the industry to overtly collaborate on such a decision. Given this confused situation, few manufacturers built receivers, few stations installed AM stereo transmission capability (about 10 percent of all AM stations on the air), and listeners were never given a reasonable opportunity to accept or reject the technology. By 1992 the AM stereo "experiment" was clearly a failure, with two systems (Kahn and Motorola) still contending to be the final choice. Under a congressional mandate to finally make a choice, the FCC in late 1993 picked the Motorola system as a de facto standard. By then it was largely too late—too few stations (and fewer listeners) cared.

That AM still needed technical improvement in order to compete remained obvious. The FCC asked the National Radio Systems Committee (NRSC), an industry group acting in an advisory capacity to the commission, to aid in the effort, admitting it was "dealing with no less an issue than the survival of the AM service." Heavily criticized for the AM stereo debacle, the FCC appeared eager to demonstrate a real commitment to AM. In a series of decisions, it adopted NRSC-1 and NRSC-2 standards, which would help to reduce AM interference and encourage manufacturers to create improved receivers.

One AM problem had always been insufficient spectrum space. Despite post-World War II growth, the AM band remained unchanged since 1952. After the International Telecommunication Union approved a recommendation for Western Hemisphere nations to add to their AM radio bands in 1979, the FCC began to shift existing services out of the affected frequencies, and in 1990 began to actively plan for AM station use of the new band (1605-1705 kHz). Most of the new band was allocated to the United States, although both Mexico and Canada received use of some frequencies as well. After deciding not to license new stations (which would merely exacerbate existing interference), in a series of decisions the FCC selected existing AM outlets (based largely on how much interference they caused or received) to shift from lower frequencies into the new space. Assignments began in 1997 and the first station, WCMZ in Miami, was operating in the new frequencies by late that year. However, the newly relocated stations often reached far smaller audiences as old receivers could not tune the new frequencies. Only time and new sets would slowly change this problem.

At the same time the United States did not adopt another proposal—to narrow AM channels from 10 kHz to 9 kHz, a decision that would have allowed hundreds of new stations on the air. Touted in the late 1970s to help bring U.S. standards in line with those of the rest of the world, the idea was shot down by industry arguments that such spacing would increase interference and would make most digital receivers obsolete, as they were calibrated for 10 kHz channels. Not as overtly

stated was a strong industry belief that the last thing AM radio needed was more competing stations.

When all was said and done, however, the fact remained that AM was an older technology with an inferior sound to FM and could not accommodate developing digital formats. It could not compete on an equal basis with its newer competitors, and had not been able to for the last two decades of the 20th century, although the seeds of its decline dated back further. To a considerable degree, however, all of these technical "fixes" were band-aid approaches to a fundamental problem that could not be viably addressed without converting AM stations into digital operations.

AM Outside the U.S.

AM radio appeared in other industrial nations in the 1920s and early 1930s, and somewhat later in several of their colonies. Through World War II, AM and shortwave were the primary radio transmission choices available for broadcasting (there were some longwave stations in operation). Most nations had far fewer stations than the United States because they were smaller and didn't need as many to cover a more limited area, because they lacked advertising revenues to develop and support further stations, and because they often allocated fewer frequencies for broadcasting.

In tropical regions especially, static (often from thunderstorms) proved a substantial challenge as there was no way to carve the noise away from the desired voice or music signal. Radio stations were often clustered in the national capital and other major cities, with little radio service available in rural regions. In colonial areas, service was aimed primarily at the expatriates of the mother country rather than at indigenous peoples. Indeed, radio was used primarily to help tie the colony to the mother country.

Well into the 1970s, most foreign radio systems were typically of the public-service type, operated directly by governments or a governmentally supported independent operation (such as Britain's British Broadcasting Corporation [BBC]), and supported by fees assessed on receiver sales or ownership. Few carried advertising, and thus entertainment programming was less dominant than in the United States. On the other hand, cultural, experimental, and educational programs of all kinds were far more common on most non-U.S. radio systems.

Since the 1980s, AM's star has dimmed in Europe for the same reasons the medium became less important in the United States. The benefits of FM (called VHF in most other nations because of the spectrum it uses) radio became more widely understood and adopted, allowing foreign systems to experience greater diversity of content and far more entertainment (typically popular music) formats than had been possible with a handful of AM outlets. Expansion of FM radio and the much greater cost of television so increased overall system costs that most nations modified their AM-based public service systems to allow advertising (either on separate stations, parallel radio systems, or the formerly government-operated outlets). For all of these reasons, radio in other countries sounded far more like radio in the United States by the beginning of the 21st century than it had just a few decades earlier.

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See also Clear Channel Stations; Federal Communications Commission; FM Radio; Frequency Allocation; International Telecommunication Union; National Radio System Committee; Stereo; United States

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Antenna

An antenna is a device designed to either radiate (“send”) or intercept (“receive”) radio signals in an efficient fashion. Antenna types differ according to the frequency used, the radio service involved, and the specific task at hand. Antenna size and location are important factors in their efficiency. Transmission towers for antennas that send radio signals are nearly always manufactured of steel and are either in the form of self-supporting towers or are supported with guy wires (the latter structure is less expensive but requires more ground); in the United States, they are built to national standards set in 1959 by what is now called the Electronic Industries Alliance. Tower structures are typically either square or triangular in cross-section.

Origins

Washington, D.C. dentist and wireless inventor Mahlan Loomis may have been the first user of an antenna with his experiments in the Blue Ridge Mountains west of the capital city in the late 1860s. Loomis’ antenna consisted of a wire suspended beneath a high-flying kite. The real inception of modern radio antennas came decades later with Marconi’s understanding of the need for a high aerial or antenna to aid in receiving wireless telegraphy signals over large distances. He and other wireless pioneers experimented with many often highly complex antenna designs before settling on the use of three or four wooden (later steel) transmission towers at a given transmitter site.

The design of antenna structures rapidly improved in the years before and after World War I. The spread of broadcasting after 1920 and the use of higher frequencies for radio services prompted development of transmission antennas with greater efficiency. Radio receivers had improved by the late 1920s to the point that they no longer always required external antennas for effective operation, thus making them easier to use and less expensive. The first transmission antennas that could propagate signals in a given direction or pattern (dubbed directional antennas) were developed in the 1930s, allowing a station to transmit its signal to a more specific area and thus help avoid interference with other stations. World War II saw the development and refinement of microwave transmission and special antennas for that service. Much was learned about how the careful location of an antenna tower could have substantial impact on its efficiency. Post-war antenna improvements included substantial refinements in methods of both transmission and reception.

AM Radio

AM radio station antennas make use of the entire transmission tower as a radiating element. To achieve the most efficient

radiation, an AM antenna tower’s height should equal about half the length of the radio waves being transmitted. For example, an AM station on 833 kHz, where wavelengths are about 360 meters long, should ideally use an antenna tower that is some 180 meters or about 590 feet tall (nearly the length of two football fields). Additionally, because AM makes use of ground waves to distribute its signal, the tower is usually merely the visible part of a complex system that extends under and through the ground. As good ground contact is essential for an efficient ground wave, AM antennas often feature an extensive web of copper cables radiating out from the tower location and buried just below ground level. AM antennas are sometimes located in damp or moist locales (such as swamps or marshes) to aid in ground wave conduction.

Both to help reduce interference and to focus signals where most listeners are, the vast majority of the country’s AM stations transmit a directional signal. Rather than the circular coverage pattern that would result from a standard antenna (assuming flat terrain), most AM stations use two or more antenna towers to transmit signals in a pattern away from another station, or away from a body of water or some other physical feature with few listeners, and toward population centers. Multiple AM towers for different stations are often clustered together in antenna “farms” to keep potential obstructions to airplanes at a minimum. In some locations, FM antenna towers and towers for television stations are located within the same antenna farms.

FM Radio

Unlike AM antennas, where the entire tower can assist in radiating the signal, in FM broadcasting the antenna is a relatively small device mounted on top of the transmission tower. This is because the wavelengths in the VHF spectrum used by FM radio are far shorter than in the medium wave spectrum used by AM stations. An FM outlet licensed to operate at 100 MHz, where the wavelengths are about three meters long, only requires an antenna about 1.5 meters (about five feet) in length. Since FM stations rarely need a directional pattern, multiple FM antennas for a single station are uncommon. A taller transmission tower allows the antenna element to be mounted higher above average terrain, thus extending this line-of-sight service’s coverage.

FM antennas can be polarized in three different ways, each affecting how the signal will be received. Horizontal polarization was long the FM standard in the United States, but most stations now employ circular polarization for better service to car radio antennas of different types. A third type, vertical polarization, is generally restricted to public FM stations seek-

ing to avoid adjacent channel interference with television channel six (which occupies 82-88 MHz, immediately below the lowest frequencies of the FM band).

Other Types: Shortwave and Microwave

Shortwave radio station antennas are very complex because of the many different shortwave bands that may be in use during a typical broadcast period. Extensive antenna arrays of different sizes, often covering a large ground area, help to sharpen reception.

On many transmission towers across the country one can observe various ancillary dishes or horn-shaped antennas, sometimes mounted on the top of a tower, but often attached to its sides. These are nearly always for microwave transmission links, some used for voice or data links, and some for sending television signals for use by distant cable television systems.

All radio antennas in the United States must be built and operated within strict licensing and tower marking requirements. A tower's location, height, and other characteristics are specifically defined in a station's license from the Federal Communications Commission. Generally speaking, a higher antenna will help to extend a station's coverage area, although this is more true for FM than AM services. All transmission towers must be painted in wide bands of red and white to make them more visible in low light conditions, and must be electrically highlighted at night. Jurisdiction over these requirements (as well as locating towers as far away from airports as possible) is shared with the Federal Aviation Administration.

Reception Antennas

Antennas to receive AM or FM signals are rarely seen by consumers as they are increasingly built into radio receivers. Some home stereo systems, for example, come with a plastic-and-wire loop antenna for improved AM reception indoors. Likewise an FM antenna, usually a long wire with a "T" shaped ending, can be attached for better indoor reception.

With the inception of satellite communication in the 1960s, large dish-shaped antennas dubbed "earth stations" were built in several locations around the world. Often huge dishes up to 200 feet in diameter, they were designed to gather in weak satellite signals and boost them to an audible range. Also used to receive satellite-delivered audio signals are back-yard or building-top dishes typically called "television receive-only" ("TVRO") antennas. Direct-to-home reception of audio and video signals can now take place using small dishes of a foot or 18 inches in diameter.

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See also Audio Processing; Frequency Allocation; Ground Wave, Shortwave Radio

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Arab World Radio

There are several definitions of what makes one an Arab, but the most widely accepted one is that an Arab is someone who speaks Arabic as his/her mother tongue. The Islamic faith is also an important part of defining Arabness, but there are Christian minorities in some areas of the Levant, Egypt, and

the Sudan. The Arab world stretches from Oman in the south of the Arabian Peninsula to Syria in the east, and to Morocco in the extreme west of North Africa.

The development of radio in the Arab world is almost unique. The geography, political and colonial history, language,

and culture have exerted profound influences on the medium in the region.

Radio's development in the Arab world has moved through several stages. First there was the colonial period, when Italy and Britain began international broadcasting in Arabic. Also during this phase, the British and French created local stations in Palestine and in Lebanon/North Africa, respectively. Then there was a period of hostile radio propaganda, starting shortly after the Egyptian revolution in the early 1950s. Next, there was the creation in Jordan and in the Gulf states of the first radio production and transmission capabilities established by Arab nations to defend themselves against hostile Egyptian, Syrian, and later Iraqi broadcasts that called for the overthrow of governments headed by families in Jordan and the Arabian Gulf states. (For the Gulf states, the oil-rich years after the 1974 fourfold oil-price increase had made the new and expanded electronic media infrastructure affordable.) Finally, there are the contemporary radio systems.

Early Radio Broadcasting

The Arab world was targeted for the first Western broadcasts (before 1945) to a developing area with the goal of influencing its people. Italy began broadcasting across the Mediterranean in Arabic through its international radio service, Radio Bari, in 1934. The specific motivation for this effort is unclear, as there were few radio receivers in the Middle East at the time. (Receivers needed electricity, which was then available only in larger urban areas. In the 1920s and early 1930s, there were only a few low-power, privately owned stations in Egypt.) In that same year, the Egyptian government contracted with a British company to start an official radio station. At first the Italian Arabic programs had a virtual monopoly on the Middle East frequency spectrum, causing concern on the part of British diplomats serving in Egypt, Palestine, Trans-Jordan, and the Arabian Gulf sheikhdoms. The British Foreign and Dominions Office was alerted to the potential effects of such broadcasts, but reports from the field generally concluded that the programs were not effective in swaying public opinion.

Despite the measured British diplomatic response to Radio Bari broadcasts, reports circulated both unofficially and in the British press that Italy's increasingly anti-British programs had found a receptive audience and were effective in promoting Italian interests. Some of these reports came from those who understood the oral culture and the potential power of carefully crafted spoken Arabic that reached a primarily illiterate audience. Further, some well-informed Westerners in the Arab world knew about the male custom of frequenting coffee houses in the evening, drinking coffee and tea, and discussing politics. The following scene is the type of listening pattern about which some in British government grew increasingly concerned:

When the day's work was done both the *fellaheen* (peasants) and the city dwellers would betake themselves to their favorite cafes, huddle together under a fuming oil lamp, and stolidly smoking their water pipes play game after game of backgammon until the communal loud-speakers gave forth the voice of the Bari announcer (C.J. Rolo, *Radio Goes to War*, 1941).

By 1937 the British government realized the potential danger of international armed conflict, particularly in Europe. At the time, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) had a monopoly on broadcasting within the United Kingdom. Its external transmissions for British abroad, known then as the Empire Service, started in 1932 essentially as an extension of its English-only domestic service. The United Kingdom was studying the possibility of starting foreign-language broadcasts. In 1936 the British Foreign and Dominions Office asked diplomats around the world their reaction to the possibility of beginning BBC foreign-language broadcasts. The results were mixed, but posts in the Middle East were unanimous in recommending that an Arabic service be added. On 3 January 1938, the Empire Service officially started transmitting in Arabic, its first foreign-language broadcast. This event marked the beginning of the first international radio war over a developing region.

In the 1930s, the British had a strong political presence in the Arab world. BBC advisors were employed to help establish the new Egyptian radio service. Once the BBC started its Arabic service, it was decided that this should be of exceptionally high quality, as Britain had the resources, talent, and experience in the Arab world to ensure that this goal was met. The BBC hired Egyptian announcers and sought to bring to its London microphones prominent Arab leaders as well as singers and musicians, resulting in what must have been an appealing radio offering. Radio Bari's Arabic broadcasts attempted to meet the British radio challenge by increasing the strident, vituperative nature of their political commentary.

By 1938 radio ownership was becoming more common in urban homes and public coffee houses. The so-called radio war between Britain and Italy was, in fact, only a brief contest for listeners in the Arab world. Lasting from January to April 1938, verbal hostilities ended officially on 16 April 1938 with the signing of an Anglo-Italian pact. However, Nazi Germany started transmitting in Arabic for the first time in April 1938, just as the pact came into force. In 1939 both the Soviet Union and France began broadcasting in Arabic. The French, with interests then in North Africa, Lebanon, and Syria, had the advantage of either possessing medium wave facilities there for local programming or influencing domestic schedules, making possible local relays of Paris-based Arabic programming. The British had a similar advantage with their Palestine Broadcasting Service (PBS) in Jerusalem. During World War II, the main

international broadcasters to the Arab world were Germany and the United Kingdom. These two countries encouraged the development of some rather strong and distinctive on-air radio personalities. The Nazi Arabic Service employed an Iraqi by the name of Yunus al-Bahri, who may have been the most gifted Arabic-language broadcaster ever to speak from Europe. However, the BBC also had popular announcers during the war. Isa Sabbagh, a broadcaster with a considerable Arab-world following, was a Palestinian who later became a U.S. citizen and worked as a foreign service officer for the U.S. Information Agency.

Modern Broadcasting

Each Arab state is unique, but from a radio broadcaster's perspective, a common language (especially the modern standard Arabic that was actually fostered by radio broadcasting), a common religion for the vast majority of Arabic listeners, a common history, and similar political interests ensure a large radio audience for international and domestic broadcasts. A large number of broadcasters from outside the area continue to transmit Arabic programming via radio to the Arab world. These organizations have attracted relatively large audiences for several reasons, in addition to those noted above: in the Arab world, only Lebanon has a system that permits private radio broadcasting, and the major international broadcasters (such as the BBC, Voice of America, and French-government-owned Radio Monte Carlo Middle East) transmit to the area via powerful medium wave facilities. Conversely, the majority of Arab states have 1- or 2-million-watt medium wave transmitters that send a domestic service or special programs throughout the Arab world. Saudi Arabia, for example, has six medium wave transmitters (2 million watts each). Every Arab country has some shortwave transmission capability. Iraq had the most powerful shortwave transmission complexes in the Middle East until Allied air forces destroyed the French-built facility in January 1991 during the brief Gulf War.

Perhaps the greatest influence on the development of Arab radio are the governments (through their Ministries of Information) that operate them. Competition—from innovative radio programmers in the Arab world, international broadcasters from the West, videocassette recorders, and traditional as well as satellite television—has convinced Arab governments that they must be responsive to listener preferences. Pre-

viously they generally refused to acknowledge these, but even the scant survey research in existence showed the need to offer listeners more than just what the government wanted them to hear, both in the areas of entertainment and Ministry of Information-mandated news. Before this realization, most radio news in the Arab world had essentially rebroadcast the government's views on a variety of social, political, and economic issues.

Increasingly, listeners want high-quality local FM stations, especially for music listening. But radio will continue to evolve from North Africa to the Gulf states as both international and local broadcasts face competition for traditional audiences, who can now turn to over 100 satellite signals receivable at home with a \$200 dish and converter.

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See also BBC World Service; Propaganda by Radio; Radio Sawa/Middle East Radio Network

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Arbitron

International Media Research Firm

The Arbitron Company is a media research firm that provides information used to develop the local marketing strategies of electronic media, their advertisers, and agencies. Arbitron has three core businesses: measuring radio audiences in local markets across the United States; surveying the retail, media, and product patterns of the local market consumers; and providing survey research consulting and methodological services to the cable, telecommunication, direct broadcast satellite, on-line, and new media industries. Although begun as an audience measurement service for television, it is currently diversified into a complete service marketing firm.

As radio evolved into quite a different medium after the introduction of television, Arbitron was best able to provide a relatively inexpensive method, the personal diary, for measuring radio's listening audience. Radio stations strove to provide a continuous, distinctive sound, composed largely of music but also including news, talk, sports, and community bulletin information. As radio became more portable and available in cars, more of its audience was away from home.

Arbitron splits the field of radio measurement with Statistical Research Incorporated, whose RADAR service measures radio networks. Thomas Birch's Radio Marketing Research provided major competition for the radio marketplace before Birch left the field in 1991. Arbitron measures 276 local radio markets today by means of an open-ended mail-in personal diary developed by James Seiler (originally an improvement over C.E. Hooper's multimedia diaries). Each member of a household who is over 12 years of age receives a personal diary with a page for each day of the week without printed time divisions.

Origins

Begun by James W. Seiler in Washington, D.C., in 1949 as both a national and local television ratings service, the American Research Bureau (ARB; now known as Arbitron) succeeded because of the inexpensive method—the viewer diary—that it used to measure radio and television audiences. The diary method pioneered by Seiler met broadcasters', advertisers', and agencies' needs for more comprehensive information about the television audience, especially viewer demographics.

Seiler realized that the Federal Communications Commission freeze (1948–52) had artificially restricted television development to East Coast cities and that when the freeze was lifted, stations and the need for measurement would spread to the West Coast. On a trip to the West Coast, Seiler discovered a local service, Tele-Que, that also used a diary method to measure one-week periods. Rather than duplicating the Tele-Que

service, Seiler offered to consolidate, and ARB merged with Tele-Que in 1951, which put ARB in a strong position on both coasts. Known for a time as ARB Tele-Que, by 1954 the company was known simply as the American Research Bureau.

Like all services during that period, ARB originally tailored its methods to the nuclear family, which served as the target for enormous volumes of merchandise from manufacturers and advertisers. At that time, the entire household was used as the unit of measurement. Both the diary and the meter were tailored to a lifestyle in which the family gathered around a single console radio or television and listened or watched en masse. Only one diary (called a household diary or set diary) was sent to each family, and the assumption was that the housewife would record listening for the entire family. In an era before multiple sets, only the family room console required a meter, and it generated what were known as household ratings. Diaries allowed other information desired by advertisers and broadcasters to be included, such as the number of color television sets and whether the sets had ultrahigh-frequency receivers.

ARB's first major success was with national television reports, introduced in October 1950. Without national or network ratings, Seiler would later remark, ARB would have been lost in the crowd. Only ARB, Nielsen, and a much smaller rating service called Videodex represented a national cross-section in its sampling. Although the Nielsen network service, the Nielsen Television Index, was Audimeter based, Nielsen supplemented his meter method at the local level for his Nielsen Station Index with a diary to provide demographics. The development of a meter-plus-diary service was necessitated when, in 1954, ARB introduced an electronic instantaneous meter service, called Arbitron, to supplement its diary method. Videodex, a diary-only service, was discovered to be making up numbers from a discontinued sample of warehoused diaries; this came to light during a 1963 congressional investigation into rating services and their practices. The diary provided data on both gross (or duplicated) and cumulative (or unduplicated) audiences, and data were projectable to estimates of all U.S. television homes.

The ARB diary keepers were randomly selected from telephone directories of all U.S. cities within a 50-mile radius of the television signal. Diaries, mailed to those who agreed to cooperate, were kept for a one-week period. Field personnel made two subsequent calls to ensure continued cooperation. ARB drew new samples for each one-week period.

The ARB grew rapidly throughout the 1950s. Following Hooper's death in a 1955 boating accident, ARB took over his local market reports.

Arbitron

By 1959 Seiler had added a multicity rating service that used the same method as his archrival Nielsen, an electronic household meter. He called his meter service Arbitron. This meter service offered a distinct advantage over Nielsen's mail-in Audimeter and over its own hand-tabulated diaries in use at the time, because Arbitron's data were collected instantaneously. As part of the service, each station was represented by a row of electronic lights on a display board. As viewers switched from one station to another, the lights blinked off in the row for one station and lit up in another row for a different station. Arbitron did not succeed as a national television service owing to a number of factors: stations and networks balked at the cost, Nielsen entangled Arbitron in a lengthy patent litigation suit that drained it of financial resources, and the better-capitalized Nielsen undercut the cost of ARB's station reports.

Arbitron produces estimates for three areas: the metro area, the Area of Dominant Influence (ADI), and the total survey area (TSA). The metro area is short for metropolitan area, the standard metropolitan statistical area as defined by the U.S. census, although it is occasionally more loosely employed. The ADI is an exclusive geographical area consisting of all counties in which the home-market commercial stations receive a preponderance of total viewing or listening hours. The ADI concept divided the United States into more than 200 markets, assigning each station to only the one market where it captured the largest share of audience. The ADI was the first standardized means of defining a market, because previously, media planners had used their own definitions. The ADI paved the way for demographic targeting, because with a boundary for each market, a market's performance could be related to demographics. The TSA is a nonexclusive marketing area that indicates a station's viewing or listening audience regardless of where the station is located, including areas where stations overlap. Thus, a station could be assigned to more than one TSA if listening occurred in neighboring counties or markets. Unlike television, most radio buys are based on metro areas, because radio competes primarily in the local market against such media competition as newspapers. In 1982 Arbitron switched from 4-week to 12-week measurement periods in order to reduce the influence of promotions, giveaways, and other gimmicks used by radio stations to increase listenership. Advertising rates are based on audience size.

Radio Ratings

Arbitron entered the local radio marketplace in 1963 after the Harris hearings, a congressional investigation into the ratings services that resulted in Nielsen's exit from the radio marketplace that same year. ARB's new emphasis on the field of radio

audience measurement over television was also partly motivated by RKO Radio's request that Seiler conduct a study that same year of the best way to measure audiences of all media, especially radio. The outcome was the recommendation that the personal diary—a small booklet designed for each individual in the household to carry with him or her throughout the day—be used to measure radio. This was an improvement over the household or set diary previously in use, because for the first time since the mass exodus to television, radio stations were able to report a measurable audience. Radio had shifted from a mass medium where people listened around a single set to a more portable medium because of such technological innovations as the transistor. Now radio's largest audience was its out-of-home listeners, as people listened in such places as at work, in the car, and on the beach, a phenomenon that had not been recorded by the previous method, the household set diary, which conceptualized viewing as occurring at home and as a family.

Ratings Innovator

Arbitron has typically been more technologically and conceptually innovative than its competitors in responding to the marketplace. Dominant firms such as Nielsen find it more profitable to pursue a "fast second" strategy whereby they allow small pioneers a modest inroad before they respond aggressively. Arbitron's research and development, as a result, have led to a significant number of new features in product design. Seiler developed both the all-radio diary, which measured the radio audience separately rather than as part of the television sample, and the personal diary, which was sent to each member of the household.

Seiler began the practice of using a four-week ratings period (rather than the previously used one-week period). Television still uses this four-week period as the basis of its ratings, although radio now uses a 12-week period. Seiler provided the first county coverage studies, which determined station viewership on a county-by-county basis by actual measurement rather than the previously used projections.

Seiler also began the practice of "sweeps" periods, or the simultaneous measurement of all markets based on actual coverage areas. In 1966 ARB developed new survey markets, or ADI, which, in addition to the metro and total survey areas used by rating services during the period, became the industry standard for exclusively defining the geography of local markets. The ADI geography largely replaced the previously used metro areas in television. In failing to copyright the idea, however, ARB opened the door for Nielsen to introduce a somewhat similar concept, the Designated Market Areas. Much of this additional information was made possible by ARB's switch from hand-tabulated methods to use of an electronic Univac 90 computer in 1959. By 1961 ARB was measuring

every U.S. television market and had twice produced national sweeps.

By the 1960s Arbitron led the other ratings services in its inclusion of age and sex demographic information; it was able to do so because of its use of the diary method, which asked specific viewers about their viewing. Arbitron's innovation offered advertisers and agencies finer and more discriminating tools to cherry-pick audiences. These innovations, together with its national sample, resulted in Arbitron's quickly emerging as a leader in local market measurement.

After merging with the Committee for Economic and Industrial Research (CEIR) in 1961, ARB expanded its computer facilities. By 1964 many members of the original ARB management, including Seiler, Roger Cooper, and John Landrith, left, citing basic differences between ARB and CEIR policy. CEIR hired new management who were not well received by major agencies. In 1967, faced with agency and station cancellations, CEIR sold Arbitron to Control Data Corporation.

By the mid-1980s, Arbitron radio audience measurement had grown to 420 markets measured four times a year, and the personal diary had become the standard tool for radio. For studies of the radio audience, Arbitron was testing a portable pocket "people meter," a passive sound-measuring methodology, for radio, television, and cable audiences. Adoption of this device was stalled because of a 1993 patent infringement suit filed by Pretesting Company of Tenafly, New Jersey, which had developed a prototype similar to Arbitron's that it had shown to Arbitron in 1994. The device is the size of a handheld beeper. It is worn by respondents and is able to detect, decode, and store signals encoded in television and radio sound trans-

missions. A recharging base unit collects daily data and feeds them to a central computer. Audio encoding is located at each participating radio and television station. In 1998 Arbitron moved its Portable People Meter system out of the lab and into testing in Manchester, England. By 2003, the People Meter system was being test-marketed in Philadelphia. Arbitron had negotiated an agreement with Nielsen Media Research that gave Nielsen the option to join Arbitron in future deployment of the PPM system in the United States.

KAREN S. BUZZARD

See also A.C. Nielsen Company; Audience Research Methods; Cooperative Analysis of Broadcasting; Diary; Hooperatings

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The Archers

British Soap Opera

The world's longest-running radio soap opera was the brainchild of Godfrey Baseley, a British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) producer of factual agricultural and countryside programs. In the years following World War II, Britain was still subject to food rationing, and the BBC saw it as its duty to help the Ministry of Agriculture educate farmers in more efficient methods of food production. However, much of this programming was in the form of dry talks from Ministry experts, which failed to attract the farming audience.

At a meeting in 1948 between representatives of the BBC, the Ministry of Agriculture, and the National Farmers' Union, one farmer, Henry Burt, opined that what was needed was "a farming Dick Barton." The idea seemed preposterous; *Dick Barton—Special Agent!* was an immensely popular daily thriller serial. But Baseley started to muse on the idea of using radio drama as a medium for education, and he worked doggedly to persuade his BBC masters to let him make a trial of the idea. He recruited the writers of *Dick Barton*—Geoffrey

Webb and Edward J. Mason—and obtained funding for five pilot episodes, which were aired in May 1950 on the BBC Midlands Home Service. The pilots were well received, and on 1 January 1951 the official first episode was broadcast on the BBC Light Programme.

The program was set in the fictional village of Ambridge, in the equally fictional county of Borsetshire, but its geographic location was clearly intended to be equivalent to the area somewhere to the south of Birmingham, and so typical of much of the farming country in Britain. The central characters were the Archer family of Brookfield Farm: tenant farmer Dan Archer; wife Doris; their daughter Christine; son Phil; Phil's unreliable elder brother Jack; and Jack's city-born wife, Peggy. Of the other characters, the most notable was the comic creation Walter Gabriel, a ramshackle smallholder whose cracked-voiced greeting "Hello me old pal, me old beauty" was to become one of Britain's best-known radio catch phrases.

The program was an instant success, gaining an audience of 2 million within a few weeks of its debut. It was soon moved to take over the evening slot previously occupied by *Dick Barton*, and its audience grew to 4 million by May and 6 million by the end of the year. Listeners enjoyed the mixture of comedy, as Dan helped Walter out of his regular scrapes; drama, as traditional Dan and progressive Phil clashed over plans for Brookfield; and romance, through Phil and Christine's respective love affairs.

But underlying these universal tales was the educational purpose that was the program's *raison d'être*. So when proud Phil wanted to marry Grace, the boss' daughter, he decided that he needed sufficient capital of his own to refute any suggestion that he was marrying for money. He resolved to raise £5,000 (a substantial sum then) by breeding pedigree pigs, and over the next two years listeners unconsciously learned about the finer points of pig breeding as they followed the tale of a young man's pursuit of this headstrong, well-to-do young woman.

Phil achieved his aim, and he and Grace married in 1955. But their happiness was short-lived, as the decision was made to kill Grace while she was heroically trying to save a horse from a stable fire. The fictional death—heard by a record audience of 20 million—provoked national mourning on a completely unexpected scale and in the process eclipsed the launch of independent television the same night.

The Archers has always had an air of reality unusual in a drama series. In the early days, the actors were encouraged to use a non-histrionic, understated style of delivery, which was designed to give the impression that the listener was eavesdropping on the lives of real people. Each day in Ambridge portrays the real day and date of transmission, so the program reflects the changing of the seasons that is so important

to the farming community. And when the listener celebrates Easter or Christmas, the Archers do, too. The characters grow old in real time, and many cast members have been on the program for decades. The first episode featured Norman Painting as Phil and June Spencer as Peggy, both of whom were playing the same parts well after the program's 50th anniversary.

This intermingling of fact and fiction was reinforced by the inclusion of a "topical insert" in 1952, when the Archer family was heard discussing the content of the budget announcement that had been made to Parliament by the Chancellor of the Exchequer only hours earlier. Topical inserts have continued to be a feature of the program, and in more recent years they have reflected both farming matters, such as the crisis over bovine spongiform encephalopathy (or "mad cow disease"), and more general events, such as the Gulf War and the death of Princess Diana. Real-life celebrities have also been keen to appear on the program, and visitors to Ambridge have included actor Richard Todd, jazz trumpeter Humphrey Lyttleton, veteran disc jockey John Peel, and actor Britt Ekland. Most notably, the Queen's sister, Her Royal Highness Princess Margaret, appeared as herself in 1984.

Farm production eventually grew to a position of surplus, and as the original hand-in-glove relationship between *The Archers* and the government became less appropriate, so the educational function of the program was removed in 1972. However, it retained its reputation for well-researched accuracy and continued to inspire public debate on farming and non-farming topics. In 1993 the jailing of a mother of two who had aided her brother while he was on the run from the police inspired a "Free Susan Carter" campaign that provoked reaction from the Home Secretary. In 1999 the actions of Tommy Archer, who partially destroyed a crop of genetically modified oil seed rape, were soon mirrored in real life by Lord Melchett of Greenpeace. Tommy and Lord Melchett used the same defense, and both walked free from their trials.

The program moved in 1965 from the Light Programme to the mainly speech Home Service (later BBC Radio 4). Its regular pattern—five weekday episodes, each with a repeat, plus a weekly omnibus edition—was increased by the establishment of a Sunday evening episode in 1998. With weekly audiences averaging 4.5 million, it is the network's most-listened-to program after the morning news sequence *Today*. But its place in Britain's culture extends far beyond its regular listeners. The bucolic "dum-di-dum" of its signature tune "Barwick Green" still conjures up for many an image of a mythical rural heartland, the actual decline of which the program has been charting for more than 50 years.

KERI DAVIES

Cast

Dan Archer	Harry Oakes, Monte Crick, Edgar Harrison, Frank Middlemass
Doris Archer	Gwen Berryman
Christine Archer	Pamela Mant, Joyce Gibbs, Lesley Saweard
Phil Archer	Norman Painting
Jack Archer	Dennis Folwell
Peggy Archer	Thelma Rogers, June Spencer
Walter Gabriel	Robert Mawdesley, Chriss Gittins

Producer/Creator

Godfrey Baseley

Programming History

BBC Light Programme	1951–65
BBC Home Service (later BBC Radio 4)	1965–present

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Archives. See Museums and Archives of Radio; Nostalgia Radio

Armed Forces Radio Service

The Armed Forces Radio Service (AFRS) was the chief means of providing popular radio network programs to military forces outside the U.S. Begun during World War II, it later expanded to include television and continues to operate today.

Origins

In February 1939, shortwave radio station KGEI in San Francisco began beaming broadcasts to the Philippines for U.S. armed forces stationed there. Later these broadcasts became the responsibility of the War Department's Radio Division, which began broadcasting music and sports overseas in the spring of 1941. Late that year U.S. forces set up a 1,000-watt station on Bataan, later moved to Corregidor. They relayed news and entertainment from KGEI.

At about the same time, officers of the Panama Coast Artillery Command (PCAC), in an effort to ensure that troops would listen to widely spaced messages on a tactical radio circuit, began playing popular records in between the announcements. Early in 1940, they started broadcasting on a regular

schedule. Soldiers wrote to radio stars in the United States asking for copies of programs to air. Replies were immediate. Jack Benny sent an autographed disc, and his became the first network program to be broadcast by PCAC. In September 1941, NBC sent the station 2,000 pounds of programs. PCAC signed off on the day Pearl Harbor was attacked, 7 December 1941, for fear that Japanese aircraft might home in on the signal. It resumed broadcasting in January 1943 as a part of the growing new AFRS organization.

In a very different climate, imaginative soldiers in Alaska began "bootleg" radio stations of their own, beginning with KODK on Kodiak in January 1942, and shortly thereafter, KRB in Sitka. Unlicensed, KRB was ordered off the air by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC). In February 1942, ignoring the problems of KRB, soldiers established a new station at Sitka which they identified as KGAB and later as KRAY. C.P. MacGregor, a Hollywood recording executive and radio producer, received a request from one of these Alaskan stations for any and all recordings. Quick to comply, MacGregor sought approval from the War Department to

send a large shipment of glass and aluminum based recordings “out of the country” for “your radio station in Alaska.” The puzzled staff members didn’t know what he was talking about.

World War II

The United States Armed Forces Radio Service was established by order of the War Department on 26 May 1942. Thomas H. Lewis, vice president of the Young and Rubicam advertising agency, was commissioned as an Army major and assigned to command the new organization. Los Angeles was selected as the headquarters because of its proximity to the entertainment industry, which quickly gave its overwhelming support. The mission of the new AFRS was to provide American servicemen “a touch of home” through the broadcast of American news and entertainment. It was also intended to combat Tokyo Rose and Axis Sally, whose broadcasts to American troops from Japan and Germany were heavily laden with propaganda.

AFRS first reached its target audience via borrowed short-wave transmitters and through dissemination of “B Kits,” or “Buddy Kits.” These were large, so-called “portable” 16-inch turntables delivered with transcriptions of music and radio programs, produced under the supervision of Los Angeles producer and recording executive Irving Fogel.

It was Glenn Wheaton, a “dollar a year” man with the War Department’s Radio Division, who first proposed a special program for the armed forces that would present entertainers requested by military personnel serving overseas. On 8 December 1941, Wheaton suggested it be called *Command Performance*. The first broadcast on 1 March 1942 featured Eddie Cantor as master of ceremonies. A special addition to the program was a recording of the Joe Louis/Buddy Baer title fight. Other Radio Division broadcasts included disc jockeys, sports roundups, and a regular section titled “News from Home.” Within a week, *Command Performance* was aired on some 11 stations, and by mid-year KGEI was transmitting the show to the South Pacific.

Command Performance was moved to Hollywood, where it continued production with the enthusiastic cooperation of the entertainment industry. Stars such as Betty Hutton, Gary Cooper, Edgar Bergen, and Gene Tierney made frequent appearances. A new program, *Mail Call*, was added and early shows starred Bob Hope, Jerry Colonna, Frances Langford, and Loretta Young.

Soon other AFRS productions included *Melody Roundup*, hosted by Roy Rogers, *Personal Album*, with Bing Crosby, and *Jubilee*, which featured African-American entertainers. Easily one of the most popular programs was a musical request feature, *AEF Jukebox*, hosted by a perky “G.I. Jill” (Martha “Marty” Wilkerson).

In AFRS broadcasts, all commercials were removed for two reasons. First, neither the government nor the War Department wanted to appear to be endorsing a commercial product or service. Second, and even more compelling, performers agreed that their work could be rebroadcast overseas without payment if no additional benefit accrued to the original sponsor. The sponsors agreed to the deletion of their commercials. In the same spirit, AFRS made agreements with all broadcasting and music guilds and unions, from the American Federation of Musicians to the American Federation of Radio Artists, and these continue today. Likewise, agreements were signed with copyright agencies to permit duplication and distribution of popular music. The cooperation of the performers, producers, directors, musicians, and sponsors made possible an AFRS schedule of programs that otherwise would have been prohibitively expensive. (AFRS created special troop information and education spot announcements to replace the excised commercials.)

Shortwave broadcasts continued from both U.S. coasts to furnish troops with news and sports programming, although music, despite the vagaries of shortwave reception, was included. The War Department approved the establishment of an American radio network in England. Lloyd Sigmon, a Los Angeles radio engineer, was commissioned to establish the stations. When he arrived in England, the new Signal Corps officer discovered his mission was to oversee activation of a number of 50-watt stations with extremely limited range.

In a relatively short period there were 140 stations broadcasting AFRS programs in England, Europe, Alaska, the Caribbean, and the South Pacific. AFRS had begun shipping self-contained stations for assembly in the Pacific area, and in 1944 the “Mosquito Network” of seven stations was established in the southwest Pacific with Noumea, New Caledonia, as key station. At about the same time the “Jungle Network” was also founded. These were affiliations of stations under a single commander. By VJ Day (15 August 1945) the total number of AFRS stations worldwide had reached 154, plus 143 public address systems and hospital bedside networks. AFRS pressed its 1 millionth disc and produced its most famous *Command Performance*, “The Wedding of Dick Tracy.”

Postwar Developments

At the end of the war, the first Armed Forces Radio station in Japan signed on in Kyushu in September 1945, closely followed by stations in Kure, Osaka, and Tokyo. Frankfurt became the new headquarters of the American Forces Network (AFN), Europe, and London signed-off for the last time. AFN facilities became the first American outlets to use audiotape recovered from the Germans.

As part of a worldwide reduction, in 1947 AFRS decreased production of original programming to 14 hours per week. However, stations began receiving an additional 41 hours of



Humphrey Bogart and Lauren Bacall talk to troops overseas at Jack Brown's "Showbusiness" microphone
Courtesy of Jack Brown

network programs, excluding their commercials. The Far East Network, which had reached a high of 39 stations, was gradually reduced to 16. The Berlin station served as a homing beacon for the allied Airlift in 1948–49. AFRS slowly gave up creative radio production.

In 1950, the same year that South Korea was invaded by North Korea, AFRS stations assisted in evacuation. The Seoul station became mobile as “Radio Vagabond” and eventually had to retreat to Japan. It returned to Seoul only to be driven out again, then returned permanently in May 1951. South Korea was soon well supplied with additional mobile stations known as Troubadour, Gypsy, Homesteader, Rambler, Nomad, Mercury, Meteor, and Comet.

Vietnam, Lebanon, and Desert Storm

In 1962 Armed Forces Radio and Television Service (AFRTS) Saigon signed on in Vietnam to counter propaganda broadcasts from Radio Hanoi. Da Nang’s Red Beach radio transmitter was knocked off the air by enemy fire, and the Armed Forces Vietnam Network (AFVN) at Hue came under fire during the 1968 Tet offensive. The station staff was captured and spent five years in prison. Despite the fact that the network headquarters building in Saigon was nearly demolished by a car bomb, more than 500,000 troops were now receiving radio and television (which had been added in the 1950s) from AFVN stations throughout Vietnam. By 1970 the Armed Forces Thailand network was operating six manned radio and television stations and 17 relay facilities, with headquarters at Korat. In the early 1970s, as American forces pulled out, AFVN began closing stations. Saigon was the last to shut down, signing off in March 1973.

The AFRTS SATNET satellite system began program feeds from Los Angeles on a 24 hour basis in 1978. By 1982 the Los Angeles Broadcast Center was providing satellite feeds to stations from Iceland to Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean. In 1988 satellite radio transmissions replaced the east and west coast shortwave broadcasts, providing greatly enhanced coverage and quality. A year later all satellite transmissions from the AFRTS Broadcast Center were encrypted to prevent program piracy, a move applauded by the television industry, which was still providing programs at very little cost to the Armed Forces.

In 1982 a mobile broadcasting unit was dispatched to Lebanon to support the U.S. Marine peacekeeping force. In 1983 the AFRTS station in Lebanon was knocked off the air by a bomb explosion that killed over 240 Marines. Three mobile

stations were flown to Honduras to provide support for American troops operating in that country.

When Iraq invaded Kuwait in 1990, mobile stations were provided almost immediately to Dharhan and Riyadh as part of Operation Desert Shield. Two mobile stations were deployed to Saudi Arabia and in 1991 became the Armed Forces Desert Network, with headquarters in Kuwait. The stations received live news from SATNET.

AFRTS celebrated its 50th Anniversary in 1992, feted by the Pacific Pioneer Broadcasters. The organization also received the coveted George Foster Peabody Award and later a Golden Mike from the Broadcast Pioneers.

The single-channel SATNET was replaced in 1997 with multi-channel television service. These channels were identified as NewSports, Spectrum, and American Forces Network (AFN), giving overseas stations more programming choices. Later that year Direct to Sailors (DTS) service was instituted, providing ships and remote sites two live television and three live radio services, 24 hours a day. DTS also delivers a daily *Stars & Stripes* newspaper to ships and remote installations.

As of 2000, overseas stations receive seven radio music channels 24 hours a day, plus one channel of public radio and another dedicated to news, live sports, and information. Station music libraries are furnished weekly shipments of popular music on CD, keeping overseas disc jockeys abreast of their stateside counterparts. Service reaches every continent and most U.S. Navy ships through more than 300 radio and television outlets.

JACK BROWN

See also Axis Sally; British Forces Broadcasting Service; Cold War Radio; Propaganda; Radio in the American Sector; Shortwave Radio; Tokyo Rose; Voice of America; World War II and U.S. Radio

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Armstrong, Edwin Howard 1890–1954

U.S. Radio Engineer and Inventor

Inventor of the regenerative circuit, the superheterodyne, and frequency modulation (FM), Edwin Howard Armstrong is remembered as perhaps the greatest radio inventor of all time.

Youth and College Years

Armstrong was born in New York City on 18 December 1890 to John Armstrong, an employee and later vice president of Oxford University Press, and Emily Smith Armstrong, a public school teacher. At the age of nine, Armstrong developed a severe case of Saint Vitus' Dance, a disorder causing involuntary contortions and contractions of muscles, especially in the face and neck, probably caused by rheumatic fever. Because of their concern over their son's illness, in 1900 the Armstrongs moved, 15 miles up the Hudson River to the relative serenity of Yonkers.

When Armstrong was 13, his father gave him a book entitled *The Boys Book of Inventions: Stories of the Wonders of Modern Science*. The next year Armstrong read *Stories of Inventors: The Adventures of Inventors and Engineers, True Incidents and Personal Experiences*. From that time on, Armstrong knew that he would be an inventor. He was particularly interested in reading about Guglielmo Marconi and his invention of the wireless telegraph. By the time he entered high school in 1905, Armstrong's inventive energies focused on wireless, and, with the help and encouragement of his family, he set up his first "laboratory" in his upstairs bedroom, from which he sent and received wireless messages with his friends. By the time he graduated from high school in 1909, Armstrong had built wireless receivers so sophisticated that he regularly received signals from as far north as Newfoundland and as far south as Key West.

Armstrong entered Columbia University in September 1909, commuting from his home in Yonkers on his high school graduation present, a red Indian motorcycle. The next year he gained admittance to the University's School of Mines, Engineering, and Chemistry, where he concentrated his studies in the electricity department. Though many of Armstrong's professors disliked him because of his willingness to question and even contradict their teachings, Armstrong found a mentor and proponent in Columbia's leading researcher in the electrical engineering department, Michael Pupin.

Because he commuted to Columbia from his home in Yonkers, Armstrong was able to continue his wireless experiments in his bedroom laboratory. In 1910, dissatisfied with his indoor antenna, Armstrong built a 125-foot tower behind his house, to which he attached his antenna wire at the top. Arm-

strong built the tower himself, hoisting himself skyward on a bosun's chair. This early experience demonstrated another of Armstrong's passions: the love of heights.

During his junior year at Columbia, Armstrong set out to understand the workings of the Audion tube, invented six years earlier by pioneer wireless inventor Lee de Forest. De Forest had taken the two-element "valve" (tube) of Ambrose Fleming and added another element, which he called a "grid." The grid allowed de Forest to regulate the flow of electrons through the tube and amplify them, thus providing a superior detection device for wireless signals. But de Forest never understood how or why his Audion worked. After much experimentation, Armstrong came to understand how the Audion worked and resolved to improve it by making it not only detect electromagnetic waves but amplify them as well. To do this, Armstrong fed the current back through the grid many thousands of times per second, thus amplifying it over and over again. He achieved success on 22 September 1912, noting "great amplification obtained at once." Using his new invention, Armstrong could receive signals from Ireland and Hawaii with remarkable clarity. The "feedback" or "regenerative" circuit, as it came to be known, revolutionized radio reception. Further tests of the regenerative circuit led Armstrong to discover that it could also be used to transmit continuous waves much more efficiently and powerfully than the large and expensive mechanical generators then in use. By early 1913, using modified circuitry, Armstrong successfully demonstrated the transmitting capabilities of his new invention.

Armstrong graduated from the engineering program at Columbia University in June 1913. Later that year he filed two patent applications, one in October for his wireless receiving system and one in December for his transmission circuit. At about the same time, Armstrong demonstrated his regenerative circuit to the then chief inspector of the American Marconi Wireless Company, David Sarnoff. The two quickly became close friends.

Patent Battles and World War I

Lee de Forest, believing that Armstrong had gained prominence by using his discovery, fought back by filing a patent in 1915 for an oscillating Audion, which he claimed to have discovered in 1912—a year before Armstrong filed his patents. In doing so, de Forest asserted that he was the inventor of the circuit that made the Audion work as both a receiver and a transmitter. This led to a series of patent infringement suits between the two inventors that lasted almost 20 years.

The looming patent battles between Armstrong and de Forest were delayed by the entry of the United States into World War I. During the war, the U.S. government suspended all patent cases and pooled the wireless patents in order to develop better technology for the war effort. The Navy Department controlled wireless and its development throughout the war. Armstrong joined the U.S. Army Signal Corps with the rank of captain; he was stationed in France, assigned to the division of research and inspection. Armstrong upgraded the wireless capabilities of the Expeditionary Forces on the ground and then developed a communication system for the Army Air Corps.

While Armstrong was in France, he developed his second major invention—the superheterodyne. Allied forces suspected that the Germans were using very high-frequency bands to transmit messages, anywhere from 500,000 to 3 million cycles per second. Although receivers could be built to detect such high frequencies, tuning them proved to be extremely difficult. Armstrong developed a circuit that would combine the higher frequency with lower frequencies and then amplify them so they could be heard. This new circuit permitted the precise tuning of very high frequencies. Armstrong filed a patent for his new invention in France in 1918 and in the United States in 1919 when he returned from the war. For his efforts during the war he was promoted to major. While in Paris, Armstrong learned that the Institute of Radio Engineers had awarded him the first medal of honor it ever presented.

Armstrong initially won his patent battles with de Forest and began to profit handsomely from the sale of his patents to Westinghouse and to the newly formed Radio Corporation of America (RCA). Sarnoff, then general manager and vice president of RCA, negotiated directly with Armstrong for rights to his next invention, the super-regeneration circuit. Following their agreement, which included cash and RCA stock, Armstrong became RCA's largest private shareholder. Armstrong's financial prosperity seemed secure. It was during this time that Armstrong met Marion MacInnis, Sarnoff's secretary, and began wooing her by doing tricks atop RCA's 115-foot towers in downtown New York and giving her rides in his new Hispano-Suiza automobile. They married on 1 December 1923. Armstrong's wedding gift to Marion was the first portable superheterodyne radio.

Although Armstrong had won his patent case against de Forest in 1923, the decision was never finalized because Armstrong, considering de Forest an unethical thief, refused to sign off on the judgment, which waived de Forest's court costs because he was nearly bankrupt. Nor would Armstrong agree to license his patents to de Forest. With nothing to lose, de Forest initiated another suit in federal court, this time challenging adverse decisions from the U.S. Patent Office. In 1924 the court overruled the Patent Office decisions, ignored the prior court cases, and awarded the rights to the regenerative circuit

to de Forest, based on an arcane reading of the original patent applications. Armstrong lost again at the U.S. Court of Appeals and then appealed the decision to the U.S. Supreme Court. In 1928, 15 years after Armstrong filed his patent for the regenerative circuit, the Court ruled decisively in de Forest's favor. The Court did not reach the merits of the claims but made the judgment based on a technical reading of the patent applications.

Most of the community of radio engineers correctly believed that Armstrong had been wronged. Armstrong took up yet another patent suit against the owners of de Forest's regenerative circuit patent, now RCA. Armstrong lost at the trial level but won at the Court of Appeals. RCA, wanting to protect its ability to earn royalties on the patents, took the case to the Supreme Court. In 1934 the Court ruled again in favor of de Forest's claims. This time, however, the case was decided on the merits, with the Court finding that de Forest was the true inventor of the regenerative circuit. But the decision, written by Justice Cardozo, revealed serious errors in the Court's understanding of the inventions. Again the engineering community reacted with disapproval. Later that year Armstrong attended the annual meeting of the Institute of Radio Engineers, intending to return the medal of honor it had awarded him in 1918. The president of the Institute would not accept Armstrong's offer, and the assembled engineers, knowing who really invented the regenerative circuit, stood and applauded when Armstrong took the stage.

Invention of Frequency Modulation

The amplitude modulation signals used by radio stations in the 1920s shared many drawbacks; among the most serious was that they were subject to significant levels of interference. This interference led to much crackling and hissing at the radio receiver. Armstrong had studied this problem on and off since 1914, but he did not pursue it seriously until 1923. One way of eliminating static that had been discussed by some radio engineers involved a different form of modulation in which the frequency of the carrier wave was modulated instead of the amplitude. However, mathematicians considering this issue stated categorically that frequency modulation could not solve the problem. Armstrong disagreed. For the next ten years, when not distracted with patent lawsuits, Armstrong worked toward eliminating static through the use of FM.

Conventional wisdom dictated that radio should be sent via as narrow a bandwidth as possible. Widening the bandwidth, it was thought, would simply subject the signal to more interference. After several years of failure in trying to reduce interference through a narrow-band FM system, Armstrong changed course and began experimenting with wide-band FM transmission in 1931. After redesigning his transmitter and receiver to utilize *wide-band* (200 kHz) FM, Armstrong found

success. In the process of designing his new system, Armstrong filed five new patents from 1930 to 1933, all of which were granted in 1933.

In December 1933 he invited Sarnoff and several RCA engineers to his laboratory, where he displayed his new invention. Skeptical of the results, Sarnoff offered RCA's transmitting space atop the Empire State Building for a field test. Armstrong conducted the first test on 9 June 1934. A receiver was placed in a house 70 miles from the transmitter. When Armstrong transmitted a signal via AM, there was significant static. When Armstrong switched over to his FM system, the static disappeared. In fact, the receiver picked up low notes from an organ that the AM signal, with its narrow bandwidth, could not even carry. In addition to high-fidelity sound, later tests with Armstrong's FM system proved the possibility of sending more than one signal simultaneously—a process known as multiplexing.

According to Sarnoff, Armstrong's invention was not an improvement, but a revolution—one that Sarnoff could not support given RCA's existing investment in AM radio and the NBC network, as well as Sarnoff's decision to spend heavily to develop television. By July 1935 Sarnoff asked Armstrong to remove his equipment so RCA could further test its television system. Sarnoff's lack of support for FM, plus RCA's recent patent suit against Armstrong, created a strain on their friendship.

Without the backing of Sarnoff and RCA, Armstrong decided to pursue the development of FM on his own using his patent-generated fortune. After securing an experimental license from the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), Armstrong constructed an FM station in Alpine, New Jersey (across the Hudson from New York City), and began testing W2XMN in 1938. By 1940 several experimental FM stations, including several built by the Yankee Network in New England, all using Armstrong's technology, were in operation. At this time, Armstrong displayed the network potential of FM by relaying FM programs from station to station over the air, over the length of the East Coast, with virtually no signal deterioration. By the end of 1940, the FCC had received over 500 applications for FM licenses and had decided that the audio portion of television signals should be transmitted by FM. Commercial FM broadcasting was authorized to begin 1 January 1941.

World War II and More Patent Battles

With the growing popularity of FM, Armstrong struck patent-licensing deals with all of the major radio manufacturers except RCA. According to the terms of these agreements, the manufacturers agreed to pay Armstrong 2 percent of all their earnings from the sale of FM receivers and related equipment. When RCA finally realized the importance of FM, it offered

Armstrong \$1 million for a non-exclusionary license to use the FM technology. Armstrong refused, insisting that RCA pay the same royalty as the other manufacturers. This decision by Armstrong led to fierce patent battles as well as the loss of his friendship with Sarnoff and, over the next dozen years, his fortune, his wife, and his life.

Once again, however, a war delayed the pending patent suits. When the United States entered World War II, Armstrong declined to accept royalty payments on the sale of radio equipment to the military, believing he should not profit from the war effort. He worked with military personnel to perfect FM equipment for their wireless communications links and then began working on long-range radar systems, which he continued to develop after the war.

In 1944–45, the FCC undertook a number of investigations of spectrum allocation and use, drawing on wartime research. In a hugely controversial decision, the commission decided in early 1945 to shift the FM service higher in the VHF band, to 88–108 MHz. In so doing, it made more than 50 FM radio station transmitters and half a million FM receivers obsolete after a three-year transition period. Pressured by other major broadcasters who wanted to ensure AM radio's dominance, notably William Paley at Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), the FCC also limited the power at which FM stations could operate. Although Armstrong contested them, these actions by the FCC severely limited (and nearly terminated) FM radio broadcasting for more than a decade while the industry turned to developing television and expanding AM.

Meanwhile, unwilling to pay Armstrong the royalties he sought, RCA began developing FM circuits of its own, which its engineers claimed did not use Armstrong's inventions. By using these circuits, RCA would not have to pay Armstrong any royalties on the sale of television sets, which used FM for the audio portion of the signal. RCA convinced other set manufacturers to do the same. In July 1948 Armstrong filed suit against RCA, alleging infringement on his five basic FM patents. RCA's trial strategy was to delay the proceedings as long as possible, to a date after the expiration of Armstrong's patents. RCA's attorneys also realized that, without any royalty revenues, Armstrong would soon be broke and unable to continue prosecuting the case. The strategy worked. By 1952 Armstrong had run out of money and had to rely on credit to pay his lawyers.

In August 1953 Armstrong proposed to settle the suit against RCA, seeking \$3.4 million over a ten-year period. In December RCA responded by agreeing to pay \$200,000 initially, with an "option" to pay more the next year. The option meant that Armstrong was guaranteed nothing but the initial \$200,000, and Armstrong rejected the offer.

The years of litigation had taken their toll. His one-time friend David Sarnoff was now his bitter enemy. His fortune was depleted. In a fit of rage in November 1953, he took his

anger out on Marion, his wife of 30 years, and she fled their apartment. On the evening of 31 January 1954, Armstrong wrote a note to Marion apologizing for his actions. He then stepped outside the window of his 13th-story apartment and fell to his death.

Marion Armstrong continued the patent battles. RCA settled its case for just over \$1 million in 1955. Through settlements and court decisions—the last of which came in 1967—the other equipment manufacturers began paying damages. In the end, all of Armstrong's FM patent claims were upheld.

MICHAEL A. MCGREGOR

See also de Forest, Lee; FM Radio; Radio Corporation of America; Sarnoff, David; Yankee Network

Edwin Howard Armstrong. Born in New York City, 18 December 1890. Bachelor's degree in electrical engineering, Columbia University, 1913; served in U.S. Army Signal Corps during World War I, attaining rank of major. Inventor of regenerative circuit (1912), superheterodyne (1918), superregeneration circuit (1921), and frequency modulation

(FM) broadcasting (1933). Died by suicide in New York City, 31 January 1954.

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Asia

The world's largest continent, Asia at the beginning of the 21st century was home to some 3.5 billion people—more than half of the world total. Although income levels vary widely, many Asians have yet to own a radio or even to make their first telephone call. Radio broadcasting systems of some Asian countries were initially modeled on the structures of their former colonial powers. For example, India, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Sri Lanka (Ceylon) were modeled on the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). Likewise, radio in Indochina once followed the French model.

Both medium wave (standard or AM) and shortwave have been in use for decades. But as original transmitters are becoming obsolete, use of FM is increasing. Advertising support of radio's operational costs is becoming more accepted and widespread. Asian radio's role has undergone change—including more entertainment programming (music, drama, call-in shows) in recent years to counter the growing influence and popularity of television. Experiments with digital radio have

taken place in China and elsewhere, but broad introduction is years into the future.

This continental survey begins in the West and moves toward the East, briefly surveying the past and current state of radio in countries other than India and Japan, which are covered in separate entries.

Southwest and Central Asia

Turkey

Radio broadcasting in Turkey was first regulated in the Telegram and Telephone Law (enacted 1924), which granted monopoly rights to the government post, telegraph and telephone (PTT) authority. In 1926, the first radio broadcasting concession was granted to the Turkish Wireless Telephone Co., with which the PTT was a partner for a license period of ten years. Initial broadcasts followed in 1927 with installation of

5-kilowatt transmitters in both Ankara and Istanbul. The company operated these until 1936, when, on expiration of the concession, they became a state monopoly. A new transmitter of 120 kilowatts was installed in Ankara in 1938, and radio broadcast services came under the direction of the press office attached to the prime minister's office. In 1949 a new 150-kilowatt transmitter installed in Istanbul began its first broadcasts. The 1961 Constitution stipulated that an autonomous public agency should operate and supervise radio (and television) services, and the 1982 constitution continued this requirement. The Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT) was established in May 1964. FM service was introduced in 1968.

By the start of the 21st century, TRT operated four national radio services. Radio I, headquartered in Ankara (164 hours weekly), reaches 99 percent of the population and is devoted to educational and cultural programs including drama, music, and entertainment, together with news and sports. It uses 12 FM and 12 medium wave transmitters. Radio II (126 hours weekly), based in Istanbul, reaches 97 percent of the population, and its programs are also broadly cultural, including education, drama, music, entertainment, news, and sporting events. It uses three FM and three medium wave transmitters. Radio III, also based in Ankara, reaches 90 percent of the people and programs 168 weekly hours of local and foreign popular music in stereo via 94 FM transmitters. Radio IV serves 90 percent of the population with Turkish classical and folk music for 112 hours per week. TRT also provides radio service aimed at tourists in seven regions of the country, with programs composed of music, cultural topics, and news. Broadcasts are in English, German, and French, in stereo using seven FM transmitters for 61 hours a week.

In addition to the national services, regional stations operate in Ankara and Istanbul as well as six other cities with programs consisting of educational, cultural, drama, musical, and entertainment broadcasts. Expansion of this regional system continues. The Voice of Turkey Radio broadcasts internationally in 16 languages to Europe, the northeastern part of the U.S., Asia, North Africa, the Balkans, and Central and Far East Asia. The center for such broadcasts is in Ankara-Mithat-pasa, and the service transmits nearly 350 hours a week.

Afghanistan

Afghan radio, government-controlled from the start, began in 1925 when the USSR donated a low-power longwave transmitter to be installed in Kabul. Three years later a German 200-kilowatt transmitter replaced the longwave unit and marked the start of regular broadcasting. Audiences were tiny—there were perhaps 1,000 receivers by 1930. Political unrest took the station off the air for two years in the early 1930s. Expansion of radio's role became a part of successive government five-year plans beginning in the 1950s. New facili-

ties, expanded programs, and effective training programs were begun, largely with aid from Britain and Germany. By the early 1970s, Radio Afghanistan was on the air about 14 hours daily with a diversified program schedule that emphasized national culture and performers. When the monarchy was overthrown in 1973, the event was first announced over Kabul radio.

A 1978 revolution led to establishment of a pro-Soviet government, followed by a partial Soviet occupation in the 1980s, during which powerful transmitters in the USSR relayed external service. In September 1996 Taliban forces occupied Radio Afghanistan and renamed it Radio Voice of Shari'a. With the overthrow of the conservative Taliban and installation of an interim government early in 2002, the future direction of Afghan radio (which needed to virtually begin anew) was again at a crossroads.

Persia/Iran

The first broadcast in Persia was made in February 1928 from Tehran. In 1940 regular broadcasting began under the control of the Ministry of Posts, Telephones, and Telegraphs and the prime minister. By 1950 the state-controlled system included three transmitters in Tehran (on the air about six hours a day) and one at Tabriz (five hours daily) plus another 25 low-power relay stations. A limited amount of advertising helped to defray system expenses. National Iranian Radio and Television (NIRTV) operated Radio Iran by the 1960s, providing three national services 24 hours a day on both medium wave and shortwave transmitters. One service using stereo FM provided three daily hours of music for the capital city. Radio Tehran programs were also carried on 13 regional stations that provided many of their own programs. Two private stations were operated in the 1970s, one by the national oil company in Abadan and the other from a U.S. Air Force transmitter in Tehran.

With the 1979 overthrow of the Shah's government, the sole broadcaster became Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting, which provided five national services originating from Tehran. There are studios in 39 centers producing programs in Farsi and local languages. The external service broadcasts in 29 languages.

Central Asia

The five Central Asian republics were all part of the USSR until the early 1990s, so the first radio stations generally relayed broadcasts from Moscow Radio for much of the day, with some local programs. In later years each republic inaugurated one or more additional republican services in the local language. In all these countries, the former Soviet broadcasting apparatus has been reformed as national state broadcasting organizations of each republic. Where private media exist,

these broadcasters have had difficulty in reforming themselves to meet the newly competitive environment. In most places local stations still relay some of the most popular programs from Moscow, notably key newscasts.

Although the first test transmissions in the region originated in 1922 from Tashkent in Uzbekistan, regular broadcasting began in February 1927. An external service was inaugurated in September 1947 that now broadcasts in 12 languages. Broadcasting in Uzbekistan is one of the most restricted in the region. Tashkent is the largest city and serves as the capital not only of Uzbekistan but also unofficially of the region. However, its radio and television services are exclusively government channels. There are four radio stations operating 18 hours daily. Although there are no private broadcasters, the government accepts commercials on its radio and television programs.

Broadcasting spread to Kazakhstan in 1923 when Radio Almaty was inaugurated. Private media are well developed in Kazakhstan, the largest of the Central Asian republics, and vigorous competitive media conditions have emerged, especially in the capital, Almaty. Although under restrictions and considerable informal pressure from officials, independent radio has become firmly established. Kazakh State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company is the national governmental service.

Radio Ashkhabad began broadcasting from Turkmenistan in 1927. In the 1990s, independent media have been suppressed in the country, which has the smallest population of these republics.

Radio came to Tajikistan in 1928. Broadcasting is now controlled by the official State Radio and Television Company, originating from the capital, Dushanbe. However, there are some fledgling private broadcasters struggling to get a foothold. Independent radio dates its origins from 1989, two years before establishment of the Commonwealth of Independent States. This follows a pattern familiar across the region of pirate underground stations becoming legitimate independent broadcasters after the fall of the Soviet Union.

In 1931 Radio Frunze (now Bishkek) began broadcasting from Kyrgyzstan. Pyramid Radio, the first private station, was launched in 1992. Among the five republics, only Kyrgyzstan has supported the development of comparatively free and open media. Three independent radio stations were on the air by the mid-1990s in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan's capital, and other private stations soon developed.

South Asia

Countries in the Subcontinent were formerly British colonies, and their broadcasting systems at least initially reflected that heritage (India is covered elsewhere). Radio has always been an important medium in this region, where literacy rates are often very low and the impact of the press is limited.

Pakistan

Radio stations in what became Pakistan first went on the air in Peshawar in 1936 (an experimental station, designed with Marconi's help, under the local government) and in Lahore in 1938 (part of All India Radio). Both were used for news and propaganda during World War II by the British authorities. These relatively weak stations—covering less than ten percent of the country—formed the beginning of Radio Pakistan when the country became independent in August 1947. Announcement of the new nation was made over what was initially dubbed the Pakistan Broadcasting Service. Early operations were stymied by lack of funds and facilities. A new station aired in Karachi in 1948, and new higher-powered shortwave transmitters followed a year later. By 1950, with the addition of a station in Rawalpindi, the country had five powerful stations broadcasting in 17 languages totaling more than 100 hours a day. Domestic and international radio services expanded in the late 1950s and into the 1960s with substantial budget increases.

Radio is a service of the Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation (PBC); television is the responsibility of a wholly separate service, Pakistan Television (PTV). While PTV is a limited corporation owned by the Pakistan government, PBC is a statutory corporation. By the 1990s PBC operated nearly two dozen medium wave and shortwave stations. In 1995, the Bhutto government introduced private FM station operations in Karachi, Lahore, and Islamabad. Calling itself FM100 on the air, the new service emphasized popular music and call-in programs. BCP added its own FM service in the same three cities in 1998.

Bangladesh

Radio service was established in 1939 in Dacca (which would become capital of the modern Bangladesh) in what was then British India. From 1947 to 1971, radio served as a vital link between densely populated East Pakistan and the larger portion of that country 1,000 miles to the west. A variety of medium wave facilities were developed, and the radio service operated largely independently of the Karachi government. After considerable fighting in 1971, Bangladesh became independent of the former West Pakistan. Radio Bangladesh, a government monopoly dependent on license fees, took over the radio facilities in Dacca, although most of the transmitters had been destroyed or seriously damaged in the strife.

The radio service, now known as Bangladesh Betar (Radio Bangladesh), operates eight regional stations effectively covering the country. As the country is mainly agricultural, farm broadcasts remain an essential program feature. While a private television station was allowed to air in 1999, radio remains a government monopoly, and news broadcasts emphasize activities of the party in power. Two thirds of all programming is music and entertainment.

Ceylon/Sri Lanka

Ceylon's first broadcasts in 1923 consisted of recorded music played over a transmitter built out of parts of a radio set from a captured German submarine. A regular broadcasting service started in July 1924 in Colombo. A shortwave station was built in Ekala, 13 miles north of Colombo, for the wartime South East Asian Command's Radio SEAC, with a 100-kilowatt transmitter, used as a relay for BBC service. The facility was transferred to the Ceylon government after the war. Radio Ceylon was founded on 1 October 1949. Commercial service began a year later when Radio Ceylon added a welcome alternative of music and entertainment programs. Medium wave transmitters were expanded in the 1960s. After the country achieved independence as Sri Lanka in 1972, the station became Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation (SLBC).

At the turn of the century, the SLBC operated six services, broadcasting nationally in English, Sinhala, and Tamil. One focused on service to rural areas. The planned elimination of license fee revenues, however, threatened to drastically alter the funding basis of SLBC. Two community radio stations in rural Sri Lanka—Mahaweli Radio and Radio Kotmali—have attracted international attention because of their high degree of community involvement. Radio broadcasting in Sri Lanka suddenly became intensely competitive by the end of the 1990s. By 2000, some 21 private stations had been granted licenses, mostly in the capital of Colombo. Indeed, privatization proceeded so rapidly that it outpaced policy. As of 2002, a regulatory framework still had not been formulated for the country's increasingly complex broadcast situation.

Maldives

The Maldives are a group of more than 1,100 islands in widely scattered atolls in the Indian Ocean southwest of Sri Lanka. They became an independent country in 1965. Radio Maldives opened as a government monopoly on 12 March 1964, with broadcasts in English and Dhivehi. Four years later a shortwave transmitter was put into service. In 1984 this transmitter broke down, and the station now uses two AM and one FM transmitters. The service operates for about 16 hours daily and is widely listened to. News, information, and education take up nearly half of all air time, followed by entertainment. Because of the vast distances between its island groups, Radio Maldives uses satellite relays to connect outlying atolls with the national broadcasting center in Male. There are no plans for issuance of private licenses.

Nepal and Bhutan

Radio Nepal was founded on 1 April 1951, using a 250-watt shortwave transmitter in an old school building, broadcasting

four-and-a-half hours a day. The station soon broadcast on medium wave (AM) and shortwave channels and by the mid-1970s was up to ten hours a day. The shortwave transmission achieves complete national coverage, but the medium wave broadcasts reach only between 80 and 90 percent of the population. Because literacy is low (54 percent according to the 2001 census) and access to television is limited to the urban elite, radio plays an important role in informing, educating, and entertaining the masses. Information and education programs make up 40 percent of the total broadcast. Entertainment programs consist mainly of Nepali, Hindi, and Western music, supplemented by traditional music. News is broadcast in Nepali and English as well as 16 other languages commonly spoken in Nepal. Radio Nepal began broadcasting recently on FM, covering Katmandu and adjoining areas with a 1-kilowatt transmitter. Nepal licensed its first independent community radio station in 1996, and Radio Sagarmatha came on air in May 1997, operated by the Nepal Forum of Environmental Journalists. Radio service from India can also be heard throughout Nepal.

Bhutan was one of the last countries in the world to initiate a radio service, which began only in 1973. At that time the National Youth Association of Bhutan, under the Ministry of Information, inaugurated a low-power shortwave transmitter. This station, known as NYAB, broadcast only on Sundays for 30 minutes of news and music. An unusual postage stamp was issued with a hole in the center, representing a phonograph record of local music. The government took over station operation in 1979 as the Bhutan Broadcasting Service (BBS), initially broadcasting three hours daily. A UNESCO-supplied shortwave transmitter in 1986 allowed the first radio service that covered the country. By 1991 the service was broadcasting 30 hours a week in four languages. With further UNESCO support as well as aid from Denmark, the system was further modernized and expanded in the early 1990s. Operation relies on government financial support. Radio receiver ownership grew from about 25 percent of households in 1989 to more than 60 percent a decade later.

In June 2000 BBS introduced an FM radio service for Western Bhutan with the main transmitter at Dobchula and one relay station at Takri in the South. Within a year the FM service was extended to central Bhutan. Plans call for total FM coverage of the country by 2007.

Southeast Asia

Burma/Myanmar

In 1926 the Radio Club of Burma was founded in Rangoon and inaugurated station 2HZ with a 40-watt medium wave transmitter. The station closed in the early 1930s. In 1938 test

transmissions began from two shortwave transmitters. These were taken over by the Japanese in 1942 (there was also a Burmese resistance radio service by 1944–45) and by the South East Asia Command (SEAC) in 1945. On 15 June 1946 the Burma Broadcasting Service was founded. The military have controlled the nation since 1962 and have oppressively controlled all media. Well into the 1960s, the country still relied on the single Rangoon-based broadcast station (using both medium wave and shortwave transmitters) with a modest level of programming, the government preferring to put its media efforts into newspapers. There were no stations in other cities, nor were repeater transmitters employed, making the medium easier to control.

In 1989 the military government changed the country's name to the Union of Myanmar, and Rangoon became Yangon. The government-controlled broadcast service is known as Myanmar Radio and TV. A few opposition political radio stations operate from time to time on or near the country's borders.

Siam/Thailand

The kingdom of Siam (until 1939) was never occupied by a colonial power, unlike virtually all of its neighbors. On 25 February 1931 the first station opened in Bangkok, operated by the Office of Publicity and Armed Forces. Experimental shortwave transmissions began from Bangkok in 1937, and the following year Radio Thailand was founded, broadcasting in English and French. A second national state-run network, Tor Tor Tor, began operation in 1952. FM service was introduced in 1956. The number of radio stations grew dramatically—from less than 30 before 1960 to 250 two decades later and more than 500 by the turn of the century.

In 1992 a student uprising against the General Suchinda government drove the military from power, and in the aftermath broadcasting laws were completely rewritten. The new laws opened the system to private stations and provided relatively open and transparent licensing procedures. This led to a quick commercialization of radio as new private stations signed on the air.

National public radio is a service of the Public Relations Department (PRD) of the Government of Thailand. Private radio stations are operated commercially under long-term licenses by private firms, but under fairly tight government control. Military-operated stations provide another alternative to government broadcasts. Efforts to promote legislation that would change the nature of the PRD and make new rules for the operation of all electronic media have been considered regularly by Parliament since 2000. Radio Thailand has for more than 30 years been providing a special service to indigenous hill tribe peoples. Bangkok has the largest number of local stations in Asia, with more than 50 on the air.

Malaya/Malaysia

Radio service began in the British colony of Malaya in 1924 with the Amateur Wireless Society of Malaya in Singapore providing music from their amateur transmitters. Regular broadcasting appeared only in 1935 with the British Malaya Broadcasting Company. The company was sold to the colonial government on the eve of World War II. Under Japanese occupation (1942–45), the radio system provided news and propaganda but also offered a voice for local languages and cultures. The Japanese also established low-power stations in Penang, Malacca, and Seremban. Post-war radio (operating as Radio Malay) was again under British colonial control from 1945 until independence in 1957. In 1963 the Federation of Malaysia was formed, although Singapore withdrew two years later. Commercial radio and the country's first international radio service began about the same time as tension rose with Indonesia. The radio system was largely privatized in the early 1980s.

Radio Malaysia, operated by the government and supported by license fees and advertising, owns 21 stations in various state capitals and in East Malaysia, using medium wave, shortwave, and FM transmitters. The service provides seven national services, most of which operate on a 24-hour basis. They include national broadcasts in Malay, English, Tamil, and Mandarin (Chinese), as well as a national FM music service, special services for aboriginal peoples, and regional stations. Private commercial stations include the Time Highway Radio which operates a network, Mix FM, and Hitz FM.

Singapore

Long a British colony, Singapore became self-governing in 1959. The first radio stations appeared in mid-1936, operated by the British Malaya Broadcasting Service, a private commercial organization. The colonial government took over operations in 1940, and the Japanese occupation authorities ran the facilities from 1942 to 1945. Post-war colonial service expanded using both medium wave and shortwave transmitters to cover all of Malaya. Radio Singapore became a separate entity after Malayan independence in 1957 and was designated Radio-Television Singapore in 1965 and the Singapore Broadcasting Corporation 15 years later. Financial support came from both advertising and license fees.

The broadcasting service was privatized in 1994. The government closely controls all operations, though stations are privately held. Three private corporations operate all commercial radio stations in Singapore. In 2002 MediaCorp Radio owned the five top-rated stations plus seven other outlets, including Radio Singapore International, broadcasting in shortwave to the region. The other radio broadcasting companies are SAFRA Radio, operated by the Singapore Armed Forces Reservists' Association, and UnionWorks, jointly

owned by the National Trade Unions Council. A not-for-profit arts and culture station is managed by the National Arts Council and is operated by MediaCorp.

Indonesia

Radio service makes particular sense in and for a country made up of nearly 14,000 islands, some 3,000 of them inhabited by people speaking more than 275 languages and dialects. Indeed, radio's use of Bahasa Indonesia as the official national language has helped to promote national unity.

Radio broadcasting (which grew out of earlier radio-telegraph connections with the Netherlands) began in mid-1925 with the establishment of the Batavia Radio Vereniging in what is now Jakarta. Music and entertainment programs in Dutch were aimed at the colonials. The first Indonesian-language service came in 1933. A year later the Dutch established Nederlands Indische Radio Omroep Maatschappij, which slowly developed shortwave stations in outlying areas to tie Dutch settlers with Batavia and the home country. Indonesian listeners, dissatisfied with the Dutch-sponsored radio system, began to build their own stations and by 1938 received a subsidy from the colonial authorities. From 1942 to 1945, radio came under Japanese control, focusing on news, culture, and propaganda.

With the end of Japanese occupation in 1945, Radio Republik Indonesia (RRI) was formed, and it became a voice during the struggle for independence from the Netherlands, which lasted until 1949. RRI expanded the Japanese system and by 1955 there were 25 transmitters plus some international service as well. A decade later 38 stations included the main government station in Jakarta, three more that covered most of the country, and 28 that were regional or local, though well under half the country could receive any of these signals. School broadcasts began in 1966, and a special system of rural radio forums, initiated in 1969, broadcast to farmers (often listening in community groups) in a joint venture by the government and UNESCO.

By the early 1970s the Indonesian radio system had expanded to some 50 RRI stations and another 100 regional outlets, most operated by provincial governments. By the late 1990s, after several periods of considerable political upheaval, the country enjoyed the use of nearly 1,000 radio stations including 52 RRI outlets, nearly 800 low-power (500 watt) commercial stations, and 133 stations run by local political authorities.

Brunei

Located on the island of Borneo, Brunei was under British colonial rule from 1888 until independence came in 1984. The Brunei Broadcasting Service was founded in 1957 (two years before

the country became internally self-governing) using a medium wave transmitter for less than three hours daily. Radio TV Brunei operates five FM networks (National with news, religion, education and entertainment; Pelangi aimed at younger listeners with a largely musical service; Harmony directed to family listening; the Optional service of news and entertainment in English and Chinese; and the Nur Islam service of religious programs), supported by both advertising and government funds. A private FM radio station began operation in 1999.

Philippines

In June 1922 an American electrical supply company was granted temporary permits to operate three 50-watt stations in the neighbor cities of Manila and Pasay. The Radio Corporation of the Philippines subsequently acquired one of the stations and expanded radio with a station in Cebu in 1929. Radio generally followed the American pattern (and use of English) and focused on entertainment with some news in the years leading up to World War II. Four commercial stations, all owned by department stores, were based in Manila. During the Japanese occupation (1942–45), all but one were closed, and the survivor was used for news and propaganda.

After independence in 1946, radio expanded rapidly—there were 30 stations operating by 1950. By the late 1960s there were some 200 stations (40 of them in the Manila region), those numbers having risen to 350 and 55 respectively by 1972. A few chains controlled most stations and radio advertising was widely used, though political parties supported some outlets, especially during campaigns. During the period of martial law decrees by the Ferdinand Marcos government (1972–86), many nongovernment stations were closed down or severely controlled. In the years since, private commercial stations (unusual among most Asian nations) have regained considerable freedom, though all are licensed by the National Telecommunication Commission.

Philippine radio programming has always been largely entertainment centered—especially music and soap opera drama. Radio news remains of fairly low quality, often emphasizing sensationalism. Radio Veritas is an exception—a Catholic-controlled entity operating more than 50 stations with an emphasis on quality news broadcasts. By the late 1990s there were more than 500 stations (half AM and half FM) in the country, making radio by far the most important mass medium (especially in rural areas), reaching perhaps 85 percent of the population, compared to 50 percent for television and only 25 percent for the press.

Indochina

The three nations (Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia) that now make up Indochina became French colonies in the late 19th

century. Initial radio broadcasting began under colonial authorities before World War II, set up largely to serve colonial needs and create closer ties to France. Japan occupied the region from 1941 to 1945, converting radio services to models akin to its own NHK as well as for propaganda. France tried to re-establish its colonial rule in 1946 but was eventually defeated in 1954 after bitter fighting.

Vietnam

The colonial authorities established Radio Saigon in July 1930, using a 12-kilowatt shortwave transmitter. The colonial service was re-established in September 1945, adding an external service in French, English, Cantonese, and Esperanto known as *La voix du Vietnam* (Voice of Vietnam).

Vo Tuyen Viet Nam (Radio Vietnam) began in 1950 and had eliminated all French influence a few years later. South Vietnam was administered separately beginning in 1955. By 1961 there were six stations, though most programs originated from Saigon. Beginning in the early 1960s, American support helped to expand and update the radio service. By the early 1970s, Radio Vietnam provided three services to most of the country. An external service, the Voice of Freedom, was aimed at North Vietnam. A clandestine service, Giai Phong (Liberation Radio), operated from the mid-1960s (starting with less than two hours a day) under the control of North Vietnam and Radio Hanoi. By the early 1970s it had become a multilingual service providing more than 100 hours of programs per week, much of it aimed at specific ethnic groups. The Armed Forces Vietnam Network operated stations on behalf of U.S. forces from 1962 to 1973, eventually expanding to six AM-FM outlets. After the fall of Saigon in April 1975, these were closed as Vietnamese broadcasting came under control of the former North Vietnam.

In the North, radio began in Hanoi, under French colonial authorities, before World War II. The Voice of Vietnam emerged after 1955, and by the early 1960s the service had several medium wave and shortwave transmitters covering most of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam). By the 1960s perhaps 20 percent of the radio audience listened to community loudspeakers connected by wired networks to government stations. Hundreds of such wired networks connected public facilities and major rural towns. During the Vietnam War, various women cited by American listeners as "Hanoi Hannah" and "Hanoi Hattie" broadcast radio propaganda from Hanoi to American military forces operating in South Vietnam.

National radio service is provided by Radio The Voice of Vietnam, with headquarters in Hanoi. Radio The Voice of Vietnam has several networks for domestic medium wave and FM broadcasting, and it is responsible for international broadcasts in a number of languages. VOV airtime expanded dramatically

in the 1990s, and the organization grew to about 1,500 staff members. VOV has an internet radio service for one hour daily. Each province has its own radio station with the total now at 61, and many of the larger cities have their own municipal stations. These are loosely regulated under the Ministry of Culture, Information, and Sports. As a consequence the system is surprisingly decentralized. Even with expanding television service, radio remains an important government tool in promoting various national development campaigns.

Laos

The first regular broadcast in Laos (now the People's Democratic Republic of Laos) was inaugurated in 1951 from Vientiane by the state-owned Radiodiffusion Nationale Lao. By the 1970s the system (supported by both advertising and government funding) used a medium wave and shortwave transmitter plus regional medium wave transmitters in the royal capital city of Luang Prabang.

National Radio and National Television are separate organizations, though both report to the Ministry of Information and Culture. Radio broadcasts in five languages on two AM radio channels. One channel is exclusively Lao and another channel is programmed in foreign languages as well as Lao. An FM station in the capital Vientiane has recently been added mainly playing recorded Lao, Thai, and Western music.

Khmer Republic/Cambodia

In 1946 Radio Cambodge opened in Phnom Penh using Japanese equipment. By 1955 there were four stations in the city, though only one remained three years later. Stations were controlled by the government, and during the government of Prince Sihanouk (1960s-1970s), they devoted up to a third of their time on the air to his speeches. In the 1970s Radio Diffusion Nationale Khmère (RNK) operated the national system with 12 to 14 daily hours of programming supported in part by advertising. Various political resistance groups operated their own stations in the 1980s. In 1994 Radio FM 103 began broadcasting from Phnom Penh as a joint venture between KCS Cambodia Company and Phnom Penh Municipality. A second station opened in 1998, providing international news and music programs.

In 1994, state TV and radio were placed under the Ministry of Information and were separated into different organizations. Prior to this, all of broadcasting was united in a single organization headed by a Director-General of Radio Television who reported to the Prime Minister's Office. RNK, National Radio for Cambodia, has a staff of 560 persons. Because of competition and funding issues, staff size is expected to shrink. There are two services on AM (simultaneously transmitted on two different frequencies) and another on FM. Separate local

stations—one in the north and another in the west—are presently in operation.

Government stations receive only a fraction of their budget from the government; the remainder must come from advertising. There is consequently great pressure to produce greater income from advertising. But the advertising revenues have declined due to economic conditions and the fact that more and more stations are dividing the available advertising into smaller portions.

In the main cities, especially Phnom Penh, private stations present stiff challenges to the government stations. There are 15 private radio stations in operation (and five private TV stations). Two of the private stations are said to have slightly larger cumulative audiences than the government channel.

East Asia

China

An American businessman built the first two radio stations in Shanghai in 1922 and was soon providing local newscasts. The first state-owned stations in China, in Tientsin and Beijing, were established by the Minister of Communications in May 1927. The following October, the Sun Company in Shanghai inaugurated the first private station atop its building. The number of stations in major cities in the north and east grew to total more than 70 by 1934, many of them very small, and most privately owned. Shanghai alone had 43 stations, a number of them foreign owned and serving the International Settlement. Most of China was covered by the Central Broadcasting Station, a shortwave transmitter, installed in Nanking in 1932. Cheap crystal radio receivers were in wide use. Most programs on these early radio stations consisted of lectures and talks, some news, and music. Government policy placed severe restrictions on what could be broadcast, censoring anything found to be “contrary to public peace or good morals.” By 1945 what became known as the Broadcasting Corporation of China served the country through 72 medium wave transmitters.

The Chinese Communist Party established their first radio station (called “New China”) in 1945 near their base at Yunan, broadcasting but two hours a day. A second soon followed, and by 1948 there were 16 transmitters operating in Communist-controlled parts of the country. With their civil war victory in 1949 the government quickly moved to take most of the 89 existing transmitters. A handful of big-city private stations were allowed to continue in operation for several years. Radio served only part of the country, being virtually unavailable in most rural regions. An international radio service began in 1950.

By the mid-1950s, a system of wired radio networks (allowing listening only to a single station) was established, with

more than 2,000 transmission centers and some 13,000 community receiving centers (loudspeakers) where group listening was encouraged if not required. In addition some 60 high-power and 165 low-power stations were operating. A decade later nearly 9,000 transmission centers served some 25,000 community receiving centers, virtually one for every commune in the country. Programs focused on news, information, and political lectures with considerable education and cultural content as well. Radio propaganda was used by all sides in the contentious Cultural Revolution of the late 1960s, which set back domestic radio as staff were diverted elsewhere.

By the early 1990s there were some 1,200 stations in the country in addition to the wired networks, which taken together reached nearly all of the population (official figures placed coverage at 92.1 percent). Talk radio programs on personal and consumer topics helped the medium overcome television’s inroads. At the beginning of the 21st century, China had a three-tier broadcasting system, with national, provincial, and municipal networks serving a growing number of receivers. Thus, even though there are no private stations, there is a high degree of rivalry among stations. Competition has caused radio stations to adopt imaginative and highly polished production techniques, just as is occurring in other Asian countries where many private stations are vying for listeners. China Radio International has become the largest overseas broadcaster in Asia, with programs in 44 languages.

Formosa/Taiwan

The first radio station on Formosa, then under Japanese control, appeared in Taipei in mid-1925. A network of transmitters covered the island by 1931. Only five stations remained of this system by 1945. As the Republic of China shifted to Formosa in 1949, the Broadcasting Corporation of China (BCC) became responsible for the existing stations, though initial growth was slow. Two decades later, 33 broadcasting companies, most of them private, operated 77 stations (with nearly 200 mostly medium wave transmitters), with radio reception being widely available. In 1965 the BCC’s Overseas Department was established to intensify service to overseas listeners, including those on the Mainland. The BCC’s first FM transmitter began operation in 1968—by 1972 four of them broadcast classical music from as many cities. The BCC offered two national services, one in Mandarin Chinese and the other in local dialects. Several stations begun to train the police became highly popular with general audiences for their traffic reports on the increasingly car-choked island.

Only after 1993 did the government loosen its tight control of radio frequencies (pushed in part by the development of unlicensed stations presenting call-in programs), allowing more local and community stations on the air—about 150 by the late 1990s. By 2000, deregulation of radio had occurred.

Some frequencies were set aside for aboriginal and minority ethnic (Hakka) broadcasts, to aid in preserving languages. With the government control loosened, radio became highly competitive. New stations such as UFO and the Voice of Taipei have become popular, exceeding audiences for the national stations. Most programs are entertainment oriented and are supported by advertising. But an educational service has existed since 1950 (with a second station added in 1966) and most stations carry a program featuring instruction in English.

Hong Kong

Radio Hong Kong was founded in the then British colony in June 1928. A shortwave transmitter was opened in 1935. Japanese occupiers ran the radio system during the war, and it took several years to rebuild the system afterwards. In 1948 Rediffusion Hong Kong introduced wired radio services in English and Chinese. Hong Kong's first commercial radio station, Hong Kong Commercial Broadcasting Company Limited, began broadcasting in 1959. By the early 1960s, there were seven stations (two FM) on the air from morning to midnight. In mid-1997 Hong Kong reverted from British to Chinese control, but as a part of the Basic Law governing the change, media remained markedly free compared to mainland standards. By 2000, there were three companies operating more than a dozen stations broadcasting in Chinese and English. One group of six stations was owned by the government.

Korea

In February 1927 Japanese authorities established a radio station at Kyongsung in Seoul which operated largely as a mouthpiece for their colonial policy. Over the next decade, additional stations were established throughout the country, broadcasting in both Japanese and Korean and depending on license fees to meet operational costs. After World War II, Korea was divided at the 38th parallel, with very different government and broadcast systems.

In the South, the U.S. military government (1945–48) took over the Japanese-built stations and helped to create the Korean Broadcasting System (KBS). American music and other formats were encouraged, as was advertising support. In 1954 the first privately owned stations (operated by Christian organizations) began broadcasting. The first commercial station, the Pusan Munwha Broadcasting Station, was established in 1959. Munhwa Broadcasting Corporation (MBC) was established on 12 December 1961 as the first public broadcaster in Korea. At various times political upheaval has affected radio operation, though never to the extent that it has with television. The first FM outlet aired in 1965, and several were on the

air by 1970. MBC makes use of AM and FM with its 20 affiliates. Television competition forced radio to develop specialized formats of all kinds in an attempt to attract listeners.

By 2000, there were nearly 100 radio stations in Korea, including 42 FM outlets and one shortwave station. In addition to those run by the KBS, many are operated by religious organizations. Music and drama predominate. The American Forces Korea Network has been on the air since the beginning of the Korean War (1950–53), providing news and entertainment for U.S. military personnel stationed in Korea. Radio Korea International broadcasts overseas in ten languages.

Radio in the Democratic People's Republic of North Korea was first introduced under the Japanese and has remained under government control. The Central Broadcasting Service took over in 1945 and was a high priority for reconstruction after the Korean War. This included development of a wired system connecting Pyongyang with more than 4,000 "broadcasting booths" located in factories, farms, and other public places. It has been a key medium in the constant touting of the country's leadership cult. By the mid-1970s, radio service operated on seven medium wave and 12 shortwave transmitters. Radio receivers were regularly checked to be sure they could receive only the official domestic service and no foreign broadcasts.

Most programs are relayed from the capital city of Pyongyang and offer of public affairs, culture, and some entertainment content, most of it with strong political overtones. Pyongyang FM's 14 transmitters offer music and propaganda-laced serial dramas to entice South Korean listeners. North Korean media remain the most tightly controlled on the continent—aided by widespread use of wired networks that prevent listening to foreign broadcasts.

Mongolia

In 1934 a national broadcasting service began from Ulan Bator. With substantial Soviet aid, an extensive medium wave and shortwave radio system was established that by the mid-1970s featured one national service and 20 provincial stations. Two decades later, radio served 90 percent of the country's population (television could reach only 60 percent), with some towns reached by wired networks. An overseas service was established in 1964, now called Voice of Mongolia. Until the country became a republic in 1992, all stations were owned and operated by the government and carried a strongly propagandistic program schedule.

The state-controlled system was abolished in the late 1990s. A few private stations are on the air and the government has encouraged further investment. There is little legal restriction on station ownership or operation. Three independent FM radio services now compete with Mongol Yaridz Radio, which had long operated as a monopoly and still enjoys the largest

audiences. Most Russian-language programs have given way to expanded interest in learning English.

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See also All India Radio; Arab World Radio; Developing Nations; Japan; Radio Free Asia; Russia and Soviet Union; South Pacific Islands

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Association for Women in Communications

The Association for Women in Communications (AWC) is a professional organization that supports the advancement and recognition of women in all communications fields, including journalism, advertising, public relations, radio, television, film, marketing, photography, and design. The association is also dedicated to supporting First Amendment rights and high professional standards in communications professions.

The organization consists of professional and student chapters, with a national headquarters staff and an 11-member board of directors. Since 1972 the organization membership has been open to both women and men and at the turn of the century numbered around 7,500.

Origins

AWC began in 1909 as an honorary women's journalism fraternity at the University of Washington. After collaborating on a women's edition of the school newspaper, one of the university's seven female journalism students, Georgina MacDougall,

got the idea for a university organization devoted to supporting college women who wished to pursue careers as professional journalists. MacDougall enlisted the support of classmate Helen Ross, who helped formulate the mission of the organization, which would be called Theta Sigma Phi. Fellow journalism students Blanche Brace, Helen Graves, Rachel Marshall, Olive Nauermann, and Irene Somerville joined the group to form the fraternity's first chapter.

The original mission of Theta Sigma Phi was very similar to AWC's current mission. High professional standards in journalism would be encouraged, the working conditions for women in journalism would be improved, and women journalists would be recognized for superior efforts. The group took the matrix as its insignia. In printing, matrices are small brass molds used in a Linotype, a common typesetting machine of that period. In its original Latin meaning of "womb," the matrix also signified for the group a place of development and growth. *The Matrix* would become the name of Theta Sigma Phi's membership publication, a magazine for women in journalism begun in 1915.

The University of Wisconsin established the second chapter in 1910. Chapters at the Universities of Indiana, Missouri, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Oregon and at Ohio State University were also chartered during that period. For the first several years, the officers of the University of Washington chapter served as national officers and initiated the publication of *The Matrix*. By 1916 national officers were elected separately, and plans for a national convention were in the works. Although the war delayed those plans, the first Theta Sigma Phi convention was eventually held in 1918 at the University of Kansas. In 1919 the first alumnae chapter was established in Kansas City, followed by two more alumnae chapters in Des Moines and Indianapolis. Alumnae chapters would eventually become known as professional chapters.

In the years between the world wars, Theta Sigma Phi grew as a national organization, reaching 39 student and 23 alumnae chapters by 1940. The Headliner Awards were established in 1939 to recognize excellence in any communications field. Despite facing much resistance, more women were getting jobs in journalism in the 1930s and 1940s, although they were often relegated to society pages and were nearly always paid a lower wage than their male colleagues. The new medium of broadcast radio expanded job opportunities for women not only in journalism, but in entertainment and advertising as well. Theta Sigma Phi alumnae branched out into a variety of writing fields, and the organization began to broaden its scope. In 1934 the organization established a national office in New York and hired a professional director to manage its growing national affairs. That same year, First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt was given honorary membership in Theta Sigma Phi. Mrs. Roosevelt supported the cause of female journalists by closing her press conferences to men. Theta Sigma Phi president and editor of *The Matrix*, Ruby Black, covered the first lady for United Press.

During World War II, women once again found themselves filling jobs vacated by men going off to war. Several Theta Sigma Phi members became overseas correspondents, and others were promoted to editors and producers. Radio, in particular, was in great need not only of writers and correspondents, but also of engineers, directors, and other technical people. *The Matrix* published lists of radio courses and articles describing various radio jobs.

Creation of WICI

Theta Sigma Phi became more involved in political and social movements during the changing times of the 1960s and 1970s. Articles on race relations, the women's movement, and pollu-

tion appeared in *The Matrix*; several members went to Vietnam as war correspondents; and in 1973 the organization joined the National Equal Rights Amendment Coalition. Recognizing that they had outgrown the Greek letters of the original fraternity, members decided in 1972 to change the group's name to the more professional sounding Women in Communications, Incorporated (WICI). In the 1980s WICI continued to fight for equal rights; in 1980 it opened a public affairs office in Washington, D.C., to monitor legislation and to lobby on behalf of the organization. WICI also became more active in First Amendment issues, having formed the First Amendment Congress in 1979.

Membership in WICI peaked in the mid-1980s at around 13,000. By 1995, however, membership had dropped to 8,000, and the organization was deeply in debt. The members agreed that WICI needed a new strategic plan, but they disagreed on the means of attaining one. In a controversial move, the board of directors approved a recommendation from the 40-member Fundamentals for the Future Task Force to suspend elections for the open board seats, with the intention of allowing the board time to streamline and restructure the organization. In 1996 Women in Communications, Incorporated was dissolved, and the Association for Women in Communication was incorporated in Virginia. Instead of financing its own national office and staff, AWC set up a contract with Bay Media, a management firm in Arnold, Maryland, to run the national headquarters operation. In 1997 board elections were restored, and the organization stabilized with a positive cash flow.

AWC offers ten national award opportunities, including the Clarion Award competition for recognition of excellence in any communications field. The Rising Star Award is reserved for student members who demonstrate leadership potential through school and community activities.

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See also *Female Radio Personalities and Disk Jockeys*; Roosevelt, Eleanor

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Audience

Over the eight decades of radio broadcasting's existence, knowledge about the medium's audience has developed and become more refined. Whereas other entries explore how radio audiences have been studied and measured, the purpose here is to characterize the audience for American radio through time.

Radio's Audience Before Television

The earliest information about radio listeners was at best anecdotal. Stations received letters from listeners (usually responding to a program), which revealed some sense of a program's geographical spread, but little else. What little research there was focused on who purchased receivers—and thus, presumably, who listened. The 1930 census gathered information on radio set ownership showing that half the urban but only 21 percent of the farm families owned a receiver. Whereas 63 percent of homes in New Jersey owned a radio, only 5 percent of Mississippi homes did.

In the early 1920s, and to some degree for several years after that, radio appealed to an upper-class audience. Manufactured receivers were often quite expensive (upwards of \$1,000 in current values for better models), and only upper-income people could afford them. Programs and advertising reflected this audience. The Depression and the appearance of a variety of popular programs made radio more attractive to a wider audience.

The first concerted attempt to study patterns of the radio audience more deeply was the work of psychologist Daniel Starch, whose consulting firm conducted personal interviews with some 18,000 families across the country in 1928 and again in 1929–30 under contract to the National Broadcasting Company (NBC). The Starch researchers found that 80 percent listened daily, that radio was used about 2.5 hours per day, that listening was largely a family affair that took place in the evening, and that nearly 75 percent of the audience tuned to one or two favorite stations most of the time.

By the end of the 1930s, more than 90 percent of urban and 70 percent of rural homes owned at least one radio (half the homes in the country had two), and whereas ownership was universal in higher-income households, radios were also found in 60 percent of the poorest homes. The average receiver was on for five hours a day, and listeners developed a fierce loyalty to the characters in favorite programs (especially daily soap operas, one of the first formats whose audiences were carefully studied). Radio was also trusted, as became clear in the panic caused by the 1938 *War of the Worlds* broadcast. Research was finding, however, that as a listener's income and educational level rose, the time spent listening to radio dropped.

During the 1941–45 war, radio became the prime source of news, and listening levels reached their peak. Radio's variety of

programs appealed at some time of the day to virtually everyone. Radio was available in nearly 90 percent of households and in a quarter of all cars by 1945. At the end of the 1940s—and the end of radio's monopoly of listeners—studies found that most people liked most of what they heard. Indeed, radio was ranked as doing a better job than most newspapers, churches, schools, or local government, although its reputation slipped a bit from 1945 to 1947, perhaps reflecting the end of wartime news (newspapers replaced radio as the primary news source over the same period).

Growing from related studies of the movie audience, some concern was raised about how radio affected young listeners. Programs that featured suspense and horror were said to keep children awake. Crime programs might encourage violence on the part of listeners. Considerable research was undertaken, especially at universities, but no clear results were forthcoming.

Radio Since Television

The public's growing fascination with television after 1948 initially cut down on radio listening, especially in cities with the handful of early television stations. Network audiences dropped sharply in just a few years. Radio rebounded in the 1950s, but patterns of listening were changing—radio was now largely a daytime (especially morning) medium, whereas television dominated evening time. Ironically, as radio diminished in the eyes of some of its listeners, it became the focus of more academic research. Studies began to assess the sociological and psychological reasons why people listened, but most of what was known about radio's listeners grew out of ratings and other commercial research.

As popular music formats (e.g., Top 40) appeared and as car radios became more common (half of all cars had radios in 1951, 68 percent by 1960), radio became a medium with considerable appeal to a teenage audience. Stations developed many gimmicks to keep young people listening—chiefly the use of contests and giveaways. Most parents were totally lost in this new format.

Another audience was attracted to radio, especially to the relative handful of FM stations offering classical music. These were the high-fidelity buffs who were interested in the best quality audio they could buy. They listened to AM-FM stereo broadcasts in the late 1950s and flocked to FM after stereo standards were approved in 1961. This was a relatively high-brow audience with considerable appeal to some advertisers.

By the mid-1960s, radio was in use for about 25 hours per week in the average household, with half of that from portable and car radios (in 80 percent of cars by 1965), showing radio's expanding ability to travel with its audience. Listening peaked

in morning “drive time” and slowly dropped off for the rest of the day, reaching low levels in the evening. Most people turned to radio for news and weather reports and some type of music—and despite the growing number of outlets, most people still listened to only a handful of favorite stations. Radio in many cases had become background sound for other activities at work and at home. Nearly 80 percent of households listened to radio sometime during a typical week.

Until the 1970s, *radio* still meant AM stations for most people, because FM was a limited service catering primarily to an elite audience interested in fine-arts programming. However, as the number of FM stations grew and began to program independently of AM outlets, that medium’s appeal increased. FM stations began to appear in ratings in major cities, and in 1979 national FM listening first exceeded that for AM. By the 1990s FM accounted for three-quarters of all radio listening.

The minority listening to AM were tuned to various talk formats, and they wanted to participate. Call-in talk shows became wildly popular, especially those with controversial hosts. Radio became almost a two-way means of expression for such listeners. Some controversy arose in the 1990s over the likely effect of some youth-appeal music lyrics that seemed to promote violent behavior.

By 2000 radio was reaching a wholly new and largely unmeasured audience—listeners tuning in via the internet. A station could now appeal to listeners well beyond its own market and even in other countries. This new mode helped to promote the splintering of radio formats—and their audiences—into more specialized categories.

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See also A.C. Nielsen Company; Arbitron; Audience Research Methods; Automobile Radio; Cooperative Analysis of Broadcasting; Demographics; Hooperatings; Lazarsfeld, Paul F.; Office of Radio Research; Programming Research; Psychographics; Violence and Radio; War of the Worlds

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Audience Participation Programs. See Quiz and Audience Participation Programs

Audience Research Methods

The necessary and sufficient condition for success in radio is an audience loyal to its favorite stations and important enough to advertisers to produce reliable levels of advertising revenue. Noncommercial radio station aims are much the same except that the advertising is called *underwriting*, and listener (audience) donations are an important source of revenue.

Research into radio audiences has been a part of radio broadcasting from its beginning. In the earliest days of radio, stations were concerned with audiences at a distance and the distant places where the signal of the station could be heard. Stations relied upon motivated listeners to send postcards and letters reporting which programs and stations they had heard.

Newspapers carried stories about the distances at which local stations had reportedly been heard; they also reported which far-distant stations had been received by readers. Consider this report in the *New York Times* (18 March 1924):

Pope Hears Opera on His Radio and Picks Up a London Station

ROME, March 17 (Associated Press)—The radio receiving set at the Vatican has been installed and Pope Pius already has been “listening in.” Last night the Pontiff heard the opera “Boris Godunov” played at the Costanzi Theatre in Rome, and later picked up a London station which was broadcasting.

Pope Pius expressed great pleasure at the clearness with which the sound waves were received, notwithstanding the fact that there was some static interference.

The set at the Vatican is said to be powerful enough to pick up some of the stations in America, and an effort is to be made to hear KDKA (Pittsburgh). Up to the present, however, there has been no attempt made to listen in on other than Continental stations.

This interest in the reach of radio signals continues today among shortwave broadcast audiences. Many stations encourage listeners to write or e-mail them about the shortwave programs and personalities they have heard. When listeners correspond with a station, they are rewarded by receiving colorful photo cards (QSL or “distant listening” cards) featuring favorite performers.

By the late 1920s advertising on radio had grown to the point that advertisers desired to know at a quantitative level the reach of their radio commercials. Broadcasters also needed to learn whether they were charging enough for the advertising opportunities they sold. The result was systematic radio audience research.

The principal questions addressed by audience research were (1) who is likely to be in a given station’s or program’s audience? (2) what is the popularity of a program or station? (3) what is the success of a program or commercial announcement? and (4) what is the probable success of a program or commercial announcement that had not yet been broadcast?

The term *ratings* is often used by media professionals to refer to all measures of audience listening and sometimes to describe the commercial companies that conduct syndicated audience research. Of greatest weight in the view of broadcasters is the fact that audience research is the principal tool used to persuade advertisers that significant audiences will be delivered for their advertising. The evidence of the future value of a station or network advertising opportunity is measured by the size and composition of the audience provided by particular programming in the past, and these are reported in audience research.

The first national radio survey conducted on a systematic basis took place in 1927 when Frank Giellerup of Frank Seaman Advertising asked Archibald Crossley to study audiences for the Davis Baking Powder Company. In March and April 1928, NBC commissioned Daniel Starch, a Harvard professor and pioneer market research consultant, to conduct an extensive survey east of the Rockies. By the 1929–30 radio season a regular program rating service, Cooperative Analysis of Broadcasting (CAB) had been established, providing routine reports on the audiences of network programs. Significantly, the CAB governing board assured that the Association of National Advertisers controlled the infant rating service. Later, broadcasters rather than advertisers became the prime force in establishing standards and practices for audience research.

Methods of Data Collection

Audience research must always ask what listeners have heard (which programs, which stations). The methods of collecting this data have evolved over the history of radio ratings. They include techniques known as telephone recall, telephone coincidental, roster interviews, diaries, meters, and recorders.

In a telephone recall survey, a radio listener was called by an interviewer from the research company at some time after a program has been presented. The interviewer asked whether the respondent listened. In March 1930 the CAB interviewed regularly in 50 cities using the telephone recall method. Telephone recall interviewers asked respondents about their radio listening in the previous 24 hours, noting the time of listening, who was listening, and the programs and stations heard.

Telephone interviewers using the telephone coincidental technique asked respondents about radio listening taking place at the time of the call. Their questions revealed whether anyone was currently listening to a radio in the household, which family members were listening, and what programs and stations were being heard. In the early years of radio, this method was associated with the research firm of Clark-Hooper formed when Montgomery Clark and C.E. Hooper left the Daniel Starch organization in 1934. Later this technique became known as the Hooper ratings. As only one time of listening was researched per telephone call, this style of research was labor-intensive for the interviewer and somewhat expensive. However, it is thought by audience research authorities to be the best measure of audience activity when conducted correctly.

Roster interviews were those in which the respondents were interviewed face-to-face. At designated points in a roster interview, respondents were shown a list of programs and stations and asked to identify those that they remembered hearing within a specified period of time. This method of data collection for audience research was also known as *aided recall measurement*. The roster method was used by The Pulse during the

several decades of its history and is associated with Sydney Roslow, a psychologist who formed the organization in 1941.

The diaries used in audience research are special questionnaires in booklet form in which listeners record their times of listening and the stations or programs heard. This method has the advantage of collecting many times of listening over a given period of time (typically a week). The development of this method is often associated with James Seiler, founder in 1949 of the American Research Bureau. Diaries may be kept by an individual for his/her own listening (individual diary) or by one household member for all of the household (household diary). Contemporary radio audience research in the United States and Canada asks that all individuals in selected households maintain individual diaries, a pattern called *flooding the household*.

Listening meters were devices that automatically record times and tuner settings for radio receivers. The first of these was devised by Robert Elder and Louis Woodruff of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and first used in 1935 for CBS. As radio meters measure the potential listening in a household by monitoring which receivers are on or off at what times and to which signal each is tuned, they produce household ratings. In 1936 market researcher A.C. Nielsen attended a luncheon at which Elder spoke about the Elder-Woodruff Audimeter. He was impressed and bought out the inventors, later establishing a radio meter rating service known as the Nielsen Radio Index.

Sound recorders are potential audience research tools, and a variety of recording methods have been employed to capture listener behavior. One form of recorder, carried by the listener, tunes to a special inaudible identifying signal in the transmissions of local radio stations. The recorder logs signals received and heard by the listener at stipulated intervals throughout the day. A computer later assembles this data as a record of listener exposure to stations throughout the day. Experiments with this sort of recorder have continued for decades without producing a syndicated research service built upon this technology. The Arbitron and Nielsen companies have announced their plans to launch a research service using this method to measure audiences of both radio and TV.

Another sort of recorder captured samples of sounds heard by a listener who carried the device throughout a listening period. On a carefully controlled schedule, the recorder sampled sounds in the environment of the radio listener carrying the device. Later a computer compared the sounds recorded by the listener for their match to signals being broadcast in the market at that time. This method required a relatively unsophisticated recorder but a complex analytical system and was not used in an established system of audience research reports.

Some researchers have proposed that recorders be carried by individual listeners participating in audience research surveys. Others have proposed that stationary recorders record

sounds from portable receivers operating in their vicinity, with the data then analyzed to produce audience research reports.

Samples of Listeners

In the early years of radio broadcasting, samples were typically drawn from phone listings in cities selected because they were served by radio stations affiliated with the networks sponsoring the study. During the 1940s and 1950s there were considerable efforts to produce samples that would be perceived as excellent by researchers in the broadcast and advertising industries.

Different samples are used for audience research with national and local audiences. Because the motive for much research has been to substantiate the value of advertising opportunities, the areas where surveys are conducted are called *markets*.

Networks, advertisers, and others interested in nationwide entertainment and advertising support national market audience surveys. National surveys must give weight not only to every local market and but also to listening in rural areas where national signals may reach. RADAR (Radio's All Dimension Audience Report) conducts the only regular national surveys of the radio audience.

In local market surveys the sample is drawn from three survey areas. The smallest of these is the metropolitan (metro) area, usually a core urban area as defined by the U.S. Office of Management and Budget. The largest area surveyed in a local market survey is called the total survey area (TSA), which typically is an aggregate of units of county size, including the relevant metro area or areas. The TSAs of adjacent markets may include the same counties; for example, the total survey area for City A may include Brown County because an important part of the listening in the county is to City A radio stations. At the same time, the TSA for City B may also include Brown county for the same reason. An "exclusive area" is sometimes included, in which each market consists only of those counties where the plurality of listening is to the market being surveyed. In this system of exclusive areas, any particular county can belong to only one market.

Random Sampling

In sampling for audience research, random sampling is preferred, because theoretically a random sample maximizes the probability that a sample will be very similar to the population from which it is drawn. A random sample is one in which each member of the target population is equally likely to be chosen for the survey (participants are chosen at random); each choice is also entirely independent of the others. The first criterion—equal likelihood for selection—requires that the researcher

name the “sample frame” from which the sample is to be drawn (i.e., to list all members of the target population). In the early days of radio audience research, telephone directory listings were the sample frames. Listed telephones serve best as sample frames when nearly all residential telephones are listed and when nearly all residences are equipped with telephones. In the early years of audience research the first condition was typically met, but telephone penetration had yet to reach its peak.

In the past several decades residential telephone listings have become progressively poorer telephone sample frames. Although nearly all residences now have telephones, fewer and fewer have listed telephone numbers. One of the methods audience researchers have adopted to cope with this problem is random digit dialing, a method in which all possible telephone numbers within a target area are listed and the sample frame is drawn from that list. A number of variations on this procedure are used as contemporary sample telephone frames. There are sample frames for households rather than telephones; an example is a city directory. Enumerations of households within census tracts (designated by the U.S. Census Bureau for control of their surveys) also serve as household sampling frames. A quite different approach to sample frames is a frame of clusters, which are sampling units that each consist of two or more interviewing units such as residences. A city block, for example, may become a cluster in a sample frame, as it is a cluster of households or interviewing units.

In most contemporary radio audience research, sampling procedures are mixed. Thus the initial sampling frame could be a residential telephone listing, later supplemented by a second frame of telephone numbers computer-generated at random.

Producing Ratings Survey Reports

Whenever a radio audience report lists a rating (percentage of potential audience) or a listening estimate (numbers of listeners), a degree of error is also implied. This is called *sampling error*, a scientifically determined estimate of the difference between research results if the entire target population were surveyed and those obtained using a sample. The probability that such an error will occur is given by the *confidence interval* listed for any professional research study. The confidence interval standard in audience research is 95 percent, meaning that if the same study were conducted many times, the same results would be obtained at least 95 percent of the time. Commercially produced audience survey reports include descriptions of the methods used for estimating sampling error and confidence intervals.

Stations, networks, and program suppliers who use audience data in their sales and planning prefer to receive audience data at a modest cost, so the research suppliers must not spend more on audience research than their customers are

willing to pay. The statistic used to compare the cost basis of competing radio audience research reports is price per “listening mention.”

A listening mention is the smallest unit of reported radio listening. It consists of at least five minutes of continuous listening to a certain station or program. One listening mention, then, means that one member of the sample reported listening to a particular station/program for at least five minutes during a 15-minute interval of the time period being surveyed. The telephone coincidental method for collecting listening mentions from audiences is the most expensive method of producing routine audience reports, as any respondent can provide only one listening mention—the one in which the individual was involved at the time of the interviewer’s call. The lowest cost per listening mention is nearly always a research method employing a meter or recorder, as analysis of one instrument’s data can provide a train of listening mentions over months or even years.

The number of hours per week over which ratings or audience estimates are provided is another cost factor. If every hour of the week were surveyed for listening, a maximum of 672 listening mentions could be recorded. To reduce costs, audience research firms have typically limited the number of hours reported in their surveys. Thus over the years they have reported listening during prime time only, or they have excluded the hours of lowest listening (such as those between midnight and dawn).

The break-even cost of an audience survey is reached when the number of clients who will pay for the survey at a designated price meets the cost of collecting, tabulating, and printing the data they are willing to buy. When the number willing to buy increases above the break-even point, then the research company becomes profitable (at times very profitable). This explains why a number of new companies over time have entered into the radio audience research business, although relatively few have survived.

Special Research Studies

A number of research methods are used to study the desirability of using particular songs or groups of songs within the established format of a radio station or network. Each of the following music audience research methods has its advocates and detractors, but all have persisted in one form or another over the past several decades.

Telephone call-out and call-in is a method that focuses on recent musical releases and older (but still fairly recent) songs that have remained popular and are still frequently played. Each music selection being studied is prepared as a recorded *hook*—that is, a representative excerpt of a recording.

In telephone call-out research, the researcher will have previously identified a pool of qualified study participants (listen-

ers to the station in question or to the categories of music being studied). The interviewer plays over the phone one hook at a time and asks the study participant to respond with phrases such as (1) "I've never heard of it," (2) "I dislike it strongly," (3) "I dislike it moderately," (4) "I don't care," (5) "I'm tired of it," (6) "I like it," or (7) "That's my favorite record."

Stations and networks that make use of call-out research conduct their studies weekly or semiweekly. Satellite programming services making music available to stations throughout the country conduct this research on a continuing basis in many markets.

In one form of telephone call-in, study participants receive a letter in the mail asking them to participate in the study. The letter identifies a telephone number for participants that connects them to a recording of the hooks for the study. The participant listens to the hooks when convenient, then returns the questionnaire by mail or telephones a researcher who writes down the responses read by the participant from the completed questionnaire.

Auditorium studies are surveys often used to study audience response to "oldies" (songs that were quite popular during the more distant past and that are still popular with at least part of the radio audience) and "standards" (new versions of oldies). Researchers recruit a sample of radio listeners, who assemble in an auditorium or rented meeting room. Hooks of the music are played over high quality sound systems. Participants then mark their responses to each hook in questionnaire booklets or on digital responders (keypads that summarize responses into a convenient computer file). Auditorium studies commonly include hooks for large numbers of recordings, greatly reducing the cost per hook for respondent data. Because of the effort required to assemble hooks, arrange for facilities, and recruit respondents, auditorium studies are conducted less frequently than call-out or call-in studies.

The relatively low costs of mail and internet surveys make these surveys appealing. However, mail surveys require that study participants recognize songs from written descriptions that may include the name of a song or performer or some words from a song's lyrics. This limitation often leaves researchers wondering whether the music has been correctly identified by study participants. Internet surveys permit playing hooks over a respondent's computer speakers, reducing the possibility that study participants will not recognize the music being studied. Survey questionnaires are then presented for completion on respondents' computer screens. When all answers have been provided, the data is immediately returned to the researcher's computer. As not every radio listener has access to a computer connected to the internet, study participants must be identified in a pre-survey as (1) listeners accessible by internet, and (2) listeners to the radio music being studied.

Radio Program Format Research

Radio program format research concerns the mixture of music, news, and talk programming that is best for a given station or network. Although a number of methods are used in format research, focus groups have received the greatest attention in the literature about radio.

A *focus group* is a group of research participants who are selected for their relevance to the matter being studied. Their viewpoints and opinions are collected with a guided conversation about the research topic. In the case of format studies, one strategy is to recruit a variety of groups—those who listen only to the station in question, those who listen to the station sometimes, and those who never listen to the station but by their media habits show that under some circumstances they could become listeners.

The results of station format focus group studies identify the "position" (reputation) of the station in its market. In addition, the specific language used by study participants during the focus sessions may suggest useful slogans or themes for station promotional campaigns.

Because many radio stations today are owned by corporations that own large groups of stations, station format studies may be a matter of researching format issues in several markets simultaneously. The results may lead to the choice of a station format that will function competitively in all of the group's markets.

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See also A.C. Nielsen Company; Arbitron; Auditorium Testing; Cooperative Analysis of Broadcasting; Hooperatings; Programming Research; Pulse, Inc.; RADAR

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Audimeter

The Audimeter—for audience meter—was the name of the A.C. Nielsen Company's mechanical, and later electronic, device for measuring radio and television set tuning as a way of determining a show's share of the audience, better known as its ratings.

Origins

In 1929 Claude Robinson, a student at Columbia University, applied to patent a device to "provide for scientifically measuring the broadcast listener response by making a comparative record of . . . receiving sets . . . tuned over a selected period of time." Robinson later sold his device for a few hundred dollars to the Radio Corporation of America, owner of NBC, but nothing more came of it at that time.

Many realized that the least intrusive and most accurate way to keep track of listeners' radio tuning would be to attach some kind of mechanical recorder to the set. In 1935 Frank Stanton, a social psychology student at Ohio State University, as part of his Ph.D. dissertation built and tested 10 devices to "record [radio] set operations for as long as 6 weeks." (Stanton was later research director and eventually president of the Columbia Broadcasting System.)

Others experimented with similar devices. Robert Elder of Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Louis Woodruff field-tested their device in late 1935 by measuring the audiences tuning in to Boston stations. But it was Arthur C. Nielsen, a consumer survey analyst with a degree in electrical engineering, whose wealth and fame would be made by the device. In early 1936, Nielsen heard a speech by Robert Elder, who called his device an "Audimeter." At the time the Nielsen Company, a consumer survey business, was primarily a collector of information on grocery and drug inventories.

After receiving permission to use the Robinson-RCA device and some redesign of it, in 1938 the Nielsen Company began tests in Chicago and North Carolina. In 1942 the company launched the Nielsen Radio Index based on 800 homes

equipped with the Audimeter, which recorded on a paper tape the stations a radio was tuned to. In the beginning, Nielsen technicians had to visit each of the 800 homes periodically to change the tape and to gather other information from each household based on an inventory of the family's food supply. The Audimeter was usually hidden from view in a nearby closet or some other out-of-the-way place. Respondents were usually given nominal compensation for their participation, and Nielsen usually shared repair costs on any radio in which the meter had been installed. Beginning in 1949, the receiver's tuning was recorded by a small light tracing on and off on 16 millimeter motion picture film that could be removed and mailed back to the Nielsen office in Chicago for examination and tabulation by workers using microfilm readers.

Audimeter Ratings

The Nielsen Company soon supplanted the older and dominant Hooperatings, and Nielsen acquired the C.E. Hooper company in 1950. That year the Audimeter was used to record TV tuning for the Nielsen Television Index (NTI). The company also launched the Nielsen Station Index (NSI), which provided local ratings for both radio and television stations for specific market areas. In the same homes where Audimeters were in use, Nielsen obtained additional information on audience demographics by the use of diaries in which viewers were asked to record their listening and viewing of radio and television.

Throughout most of the 1950s, as television's audience grew rapidly, the measurement of radio audiences by Audimeters provided the most important information used by sponsors, advertising agencies, media buyers, and programmers. As network radio audiences declined and independent Top 40 stations rose, however, local ratings became more important. In 1941 a competitor called Pulse entered the ratings business and, with its ratings based on interviews, eventually eclipsed Nielsen.

In the late 1950s and 1960s there was much criticism of broadcasting in general, resulting from scandals involving rigged quiz shows and disk jockeys being bribed in the “payola” scheme to play specific records, and there followed lengthy congressional investigations of ratings methodologies. As a response, Arthur Nielsen tried to develop a new radio index that would be above criticism but found it would be prohibitively expensive; advertisers and stations resisted higher costs. In 1963 the Nielsen Company ended local radio measurement and the next year withdrew from national radio ratings as well. The Arbitron rating company, founded in 1949 as the American Research Bureau (ARB), continued using meters for many years to supplement its diary method of radio ratings collection.

Audimeters that merely indicate when a receiver is on, and to what station it is tuned, are now obsolete. Advertisers and station operators alike want to know *who* is listening—the listener’s income, buying habits, location, level of education, etc. The Audimeter began to give way in television research (the new method was too costly to apply to radio) to the more expensive but also more useful “people meter,” which can indicate who is listening by means of a remote control-type device on which each listener punches his or her key to show they are present. The people meter is connected by dedicated data lines to computers in Florida that provide overnight ratings.

Since 1999 Nielsen, with Arbitron, the largest radio ratings firm, is testing a passive, personal meter, about the size

of a pager, that listeners wear to record all electronic media use. As with the rest of radio, what began as a large device—the “Audience meter”—has become much smaller and more portable.

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See also A.C. Nielsen Company; Arbitron

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Audio Mixer. See Control Board/Audio Mixer

Audio Processing

Electronic Manipulation of Sound Characteristics

Once a sound has been transduced (transformed into electrical energy for the purpose of recording or transmission), the characteristics of that sound can be electronically manipulated. These characteristics include pitch, loudness, duration, and timbre. Thus, the term *audio processing* refers to the art and science of making changes to an audio signal to improve or enhance the original sound or to create an entirely new sound

based on the original. There are many technical and creative reasons for audio processing in radio.

In the early days of radio, if the audio going into the transmitter was too loud, the transmitter could be damaged. Even today, because of the potential for interference to other stations caused by overmodulation, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) has strict rules about modulation limits.

Audio processors continuously maintain a station's compliance with these rules.

There are also many creative reasons to process audio. Consider the following examples: a commercial producer needs to transform the talent's voice into that of a space alien. In another commercial, the voices sound a little muffled; rerecording the spot through an equalizer to increase the midrange can make the voices sound louder. A third spot as recorded runs too long; it can be shortened by redubbing it through a digital signal processor using the time compression function. These are examples of problems that can easily be solved with the right audio processing in a production studio. Radio stations want their sound to be clean and crisp, bright, and distinctive. Rock-formatted stations targeting teens and young adults usually want to sound loud, regardless of the particular song being played. These are examples of the types of needs addressed by the processing equipment in the audio chain before the signal goes to the transmitter. A description of the basic characteristics of sound identifies the component parts that are manipulated during audio processing.

Characteristics of Sound

Sound is created when an object vibrates, setting into motion nearby air molecules. This motion continues as nearby air molecules are set into motion and the sound travels. This vibration can be measured and diagrammed to show the sound's waveform. The characteristics of a sound include its pitch (frequency), loudness (amplitude), tonal qualities (timbre), duration (sound envelope), and phase. A sound is described as high or low in pitch; its frequency is measured in cycles per second or hertz. Humans can hear frequencies between 20 and 20,000 hertz but usually lose the ability to hear higher frequencies as they age.

The subjective measurement of a sound's loudness is measured in decibels (dB), a relative impression. The softest sound possible to hear is measured at 0 dB; 120 dB is at the human threshold of pain. The range of difference between the softest and loudest sounds made by an object is called its dynamic range and is also measured in decibels. A live orchestra playing Tchaikovsky's *1812 Overture* complete with cannon fire will create a dynamic range well over 100 dB. The amplitude, or height, of a sound's waveform provides an electrical measure (and visual representation) of a sound's loudness. Timbre is the tonal quality of sound; each sound is made up of fundamental and harmonic tones producing complex waveforms when measured. A clarinet and flute sound different playing the same note because the timbre of the sound produced by each instrument is different. Timbre is the reason two voices in the same frequency range sound different. The sound envelope refers to the characteristics of the sound relating to its duration. The component parts of the sound envelope are the attack, decay,

sustain, and release. Acoustical phase refers to the time relationship between two sounds. To say that two sounds are in phase means that the intervals of their waveforms coincide. These waves reinforce each other, and the amplitude increases. When sound waves are out of phase, the waves cancel each other out, resulting in decreased overall amplitude.

Individually or in combination, the frequency, amplitude, timbre, sound envelope, and phase of the audio used in radio can be manipulated for technical and creative reasons. The characteristics of the audio created for radio typically need adjustment and enhancement for creative reasons or to prepare the audio for more efficient transmission.

Processors Manipulate Audio Characteristics

Equipment used to process audio can generally be classified using the characteristics of sound described above. There are four general categories of audio processing: frequency, amplitude, time, and noise. Some processors work on just one of these characteristics; others combine multiple functions with a combination of factory preset and user-adjustable parameters. Some processors are circuits included in other electronic equipment, such as audio consoles, recorders, or microphones. Processing can also be included in the software written for a computer-based device such as a digital audio workstation.

An equalizer is a frequency processor; the level of specific frequencies can be increased or decreased. A filter is a specific type of equalizer and can be used to eliminate or pass through specific narrow ranges of frequencies. Low-pass, band-pass, and notch filters serve specific needs. Studio microphones often contain a processing circuit in the form of a roll-off filter. When engaged, it eliminates, or "rolls off," the bass frequencies picked up by the microphone.

Amplitude processors manipulate the dynamic range of the input audio. Three examples of amplitude processors are compressors, limiters, and expanders. A compressor evens out extreme variations in audio levels, making the quiet sections louder and the loud sections softer. A limiter is often used in conjunction with a compressor, prohibiting the loudness of an input signal from going over a predetermined level. An expander performs the opposite function of a compressor and is often used to reduce ambient noise from open microphones. Most on-air audio processing uses these types of processors to refine the audio being sent to the transmitter. Recorders often have limiter or automatic gain control circuits installed to process the input audio as it is being recorded.

A time processor manipulates the time relationships of audio signals, manipulating the time interval between a sound and its repetition. Reverberation, delay, and time compression units are examples of processors that manipulate time. Telephone talk shows depend on delay units to create a time delay to keep offensive material off the air. Commercial producers

use time compression and expansion processing to meet exacting timing requirements.

Dolby and dbx noise reduction processing are methods of reducing tape noise present on analog recordings. The Dolby and dbx systems are examples of double-ended systems: a tape encoded with noise reduction must be decoded during playback. These types of processing become less important with the shift to digital audio.

Until the 1990s most processing was done using analog audio. Individual analog processors, each handling one aspect of the overall processing needs, filled the equipment racks in production and transmitter rooms. Equalizers, reverb units, compressors, limiters, and expanders all had their role. Digital processors were introduced during the 1990s. These processors converted analog audio to a digital format, processed it, and then converted the audio back to the analog form. Most processing today has moved to the digital domain. These digital signal processors allow for manipulation of multiple parameters and almost limitless fine adjustments to achieve the perfect effect. Modern on-air processors combine several different processing functions into one unit.

Audio Processing in the Audio Chain

Virtually every radio station on the air today uses some type of processing in the audio chain as the program output is sent to the transmitter. The technical reasons for processing the program audio feed date to the earliest days of radio. Engineers needed a way to keep extremely loud sounds from damaging the transmitter. The first audio processing in radio was simple dynamic range control done manually by an engineer "riding gain." The operator adjusted the level of the microphones, raising the gain for the softest sounds and lowering it during the loudest parts. During live broadcasts of classical music, the engineer was able to anticipate needed adjustments by following along on the musical score. Soon, basic electronic processors replaced manual gain riding.

Early processing in the audio chain consisted of tube automatic gain control amplifiers and peak limiters. The primary purpose of these processors was to prevent overmodulation, a critical technical issue with an amplitude-modulated signal. Operators still needed to skillfully ride gain on the program audio, because uneven audio fed to these early processors would cause artifacts, such as pumping, noise buildup, thumping, and distortion of the sound. Early processor names included the General Electric Unilevel series, the Gates Sta-Level and Level Devil, and Langevin ProGar.

Broadcast engineers generally consider the introduction of the Audimax by Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) Laboratories to be the birth of modern radio audio processing. The Audimax, introduced by CBS in the late 1950s, was a gated wide-band compressor that successfully eliminated the noise



The Optimod-FM 8200 Digital Audio Processor
Courtesy of Orban

problems of earlier compressors. The Audimax was used in tandem with the CBS Volumax, a clipper preceded by a limiter with a moderate attack time. In 1967 CBS introduced a solid-state Audimax and the FM version of the Volumax, which included a wide-band limiter and a high-frequency filter to control overload due to FM's preemphasis curve.

The reign of the Audimax was challenged in the early 1970s with the introduction of the Discriminate Audio Processor by Dorrugh Electronics. This broadcast compressor/limiter divided the audio spectrum into three bands with gentle cross-over slopes, compressing each band separately. Broadcast engineers began to make their own modifications to some of the internal adjustments, adjusting for specific program content and personal preference.

In 1975 Orban Associates introduced the Optimod-FM 8000, which combined compressor, limiter, high-frequency limiter, clipper, 15-kilohertz low-pass filters, and stereo multiplex encoder into one processor. This unit allowed for higher average modulation without interference to the 19-kilohertz stereo pilot signal. The Optimod-FM 8000 was replaced by what soon became the industry standard, the Optimod-FM 8100. A digital version, the Optimod-FM 8200, was introduced in 1992. The Optimod-AM was introduced in 1977.

The development of these processors was driven by the need for a reliable method of maintaining compliance with the FCC transmission and interference rules while allowing for creative use and adjustment of processing for competitive advantage. Along with maintaining compliance with regulatory constraints on modulation, interference, and frequency response, engineers and programmers are always looking for ways to make their stations sound better than and different from the others. Some stations have taken creative processing to extremes. During the 1960s WABC in New York was well known for the reverb used on disc jockey voices during music programs.

A station programming classical music has processing needs different from those of an urban format station. Preserving the

dynamic range of an orchestral work is critical, whereas maximizing the bass frequency and loudness enhances the music aired on the urban station. Today's processors allow for this kind of flexibility in adjustment based on format and on specific goals for the sound of the station. Audio processing plays an important role in radio stations' competition for listeners. Stations targeted toward teens and young adults want to sound louder, brighter, and more noticeable than their competitors. This is where audio processing becomes something of an art. Programmers and engineers cooperate to adjust processing to attract and maintain listeners. This is a subjective process that involves trial-and-error adjustments and critical listening by station management. There is a fine line between compressing audio to boost overall loudness and creating listener fatigue. Low time-spent-listening numbers in the ratings may not be the fault of poor programming as much as of overprocessed audio.

Audio Processing in the Studios

Much of the audio sent to the on-air processor has already been processed, perhaps as it was originally recorded, dubbed in production, or mixed with other sources in the air studio to create the program output.

One of the most common forms of audio processing in the studio is equalization (EQ), which is the increase or decrease of the level of specific frequencies within the frequency spectrum of the audio being created. Many audio consoles, especially those used in the production studio, have equalization controls on each channel to allow for adjustment of the EQ of each individual audio source. At a minimum, there are controls for low-, medium-, and high-frequency ranges, but many consoles divide the frequency spectrum into more parts. The EQ controls can be used for various creative and technical purposes. Examples include matching the frequency response of different microphones so they sound the same, creating a telephone effect by decreasing the low and high frequencies of the audio from a studio microphone, adding presence to the voices in a commercial by boosting the midrange, or eliminating hum on a remote line by decreasing the low end. Equalization can also be done through an outboard equalizer; the source or console output can be routed to the equalizer for processing. These units usually divide the frequency spectrum into intervals of one-third or one-half of an octave. Each band has a slider to increase or decrease the amount of EQ on that band. Filters, a specific type of equalizer, can be used to eliminate specific narrow ranges of frequencies. Low-pass, band-pass, and notch filters are usually used to eliminate technical problems with the audio or to keep unwanted audio frequencies from getting to the transmitter.

A well-equipped production studio has a number of processing options available to producers. Until the development

of digital signal processors, every effect came from a separate unit. Although many of these single-function processors are still in use and are still manufactured, digital multiple-function processors are the norm today. These are generally less expensive than the on-air multifunction processors, and a number of manufacturers provide many different models and options in their studio processor lines. Most units offer a number of factory preset effects with user-adjustable parameters. These units also allow users to create and store their own combinations of effects. The Eventide Ultra-Harmonizer, for example, provides pitch changing, time compression and expansion, delay, reverb, flanging, and sound effects as part of its inventory. The major advantage of these multifunction units is their ability to combine effects. For example, pitch change can be combined with chorusing and reverb. Flanging can be combined with stereo panning. Given the opportunity for user-created presets and parameter adjustments, the possibilities are almost limitless.

These same types of digital effects are also integrated in the software of digital audio workstations and editors. Audio processing can be added after a recording is made on a multitrack editor. The complex waveform of each track can be processed using the same type of multiple-effects options described above. An announcer can be made to sound like a group of elves through the addition of chorusing, pitch change, and reverb; each track can be processed independently. Because the changes are not made to the original sound files, any of the modifications can be easily undone and the original audio remodified.

Microphones in the production and air studios often receive special, full-time processing. An analog or digital microphone processor typically provides compression, limiting, de-essing, equalization, noise reduction, and processing functions designed specifically to enhance vocal characteristics.

JEFFREY D. HARMAN

See also Control Board/Audio Mixer; Dolby Noise Reduction; Production for Radio; Recording and Studio Equipment; WABC

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Audio Streaming

Carrying Sound on the Internet

Delivering audio-video (AV) content on the internet has been a long anticipated goal for the media. Audio delivery became practical in 1999 with the introduction of better streaming software and the widespread adoption of MP3 compression techniques. By 2001 major internet companies (including software, hardware, and content providers) were jockeying for positions in the new market. Streaming involves sending data but not asking the computer to record it.

Compared to other internet files, AV files are very large. At first, AV was delivered in the same manner as all other files. The user would download (receive) the entire file from a central computer. This method is still used with high quality compression (for example, MP3 files). But sending the whole file was unacceptable for two reasons. First, it took too long and required too much space on the user's computer, causing the typical home computer memory to fill up quickly. Second, after transfer, the user could keep the whole copy of the AV file. For radio it was not possible to send anything more than simple air checks or short songs, and in any case copyright holders would not allow most songs to be sent.

In 1995 Rob Glaser and company introduced RealAudio—later called RealPlayer and RealOne. The concept was simple. The software would download enough of a sound file to cover the difference between the transmission and play speed. A buffer was created on the user's computer and the file would begin to play. Only a fraction of the file needed to be transmitted before the user could enjoy it. The idea was that the file transfer would be completed shortly before the file was done playing. Continuous streaming would come later as bandwidth and compression increased.

The music industry is working to adopt both models. First, delivering whole files (download) for people to use at will—a sale model. Second, streaming content without giving it to people—a broadcast model. Even if whole files are sent, streaming is often used for more instantaneous delivery of content.

Because streaming content is expected to be one of the biggest profit centers on the web, streaming providers are engaged in a technology trade war. The system that is accepted by the majority of providers and consumers will be in a very strong position to make money. There are three levels to the competition: players, distribution, and content.

Streaming media is produced much like any other media. The target player determines how the content is stored and served. The player is the most visible element in the process. In addition to RealPlayer, Microsoft developed its own MediaPlayer and Apple added streaming capability to its QuickTime software. Finally, the MP3 compression standard allowed software vendors to create streaming media without aligning themselves with a major corporation. The main differences among these players involve cost, compression, ability, and quality.

Once produced, the digital file is encoded in one or more of the streaming formats and stored for use by the appropriate server. The server delivers files as users request them. The server may also add visual content such as advertising or graphic illustrations (such as an album cover).

Continuous programming may be delivered by a never-ending stream or by a playlist format. The latter method sends a list of files to be played rather than a never-ending stream. Playlists may make the entire file available to users, though this is a distinct disadvantage for copyright holders. On the other hand, playlists allow users to skip songs they do not want or to build playlists of their own design.

The competition in players comes down to a software choice while the competition in distribution mainly concerns hardware. Streaming files are not only very large but are also time-sensitive. If a part of the streaming content does not arrive in time, the music will stop. Distribution systems have been developed to deliver streaming files without delay. Newer server systems allow on-demand conversion from one streaming format

to another. This means the producer need only store content in one format.

The first method to assure delivery was to increase the speed of delivery. Standard telephone modem delivery—the most widely used form of hooking up to the internet—has peaked at about 56,000 bits per second. Broadband delivery systems for home use are becoming increasingly available, but they are more expensive. Rollout is slow and not nearing the level required for entertainment media.

The second method is to push content closer to potential users. In 1999, companies such as Akamai Technologies and Digital Island built additional internet connections designed only to transfer streaming content. Some networks stored copies of popular media in regional servers to reduce the distance to home users. The idea was to keep the content close to users and reduce the delay caused by network transfer.

A third method is called multicasting. In traditional (unicast) distribution, a separate file was sent to every requesting receiver. When the Clinton Impeachment hearing was put on the web, thousands of people wanted the same file. If the file were three megabytes in size and 100 people wanted to get it at the same time, the network would have to accommodate a 300-megabyte transfer. In multicasting, one copy of the file is transmitted to a large number of users. Then the transmission would be a little more than the original file size. Multicasting has been hurt by the lack of standards and network compatibility.

Content providers have been working to fill streaming media. By the end of 2000, there were nearly 4,000 internet radio sites worldwide with nearly half that number in the United States. Music content led the way since it could be enjoyed before true broadband capacity could be delivered. Most were still seeking a successful means of generating revenue. Along with the search for programming came issues of copyright and payment. ASCAP and BMI created internet payment models in 1998. At about the same time, the Recording Industry Association of America (RIAA) began separate negotiation for web content payments. Their efforts resulted in successful lawsuits against MP3.com and Napster. The continuing threat of lawsuits based on the Digital Millennium Copyright Act (1996) caused most content providers to refocus their mar-

ket. Pure streams of broadcast content nearly stopped in favor of copyright free content—usually new artists or in promotion of traditional media products. Eventually, a compromise will be worked out. Major media companies (especially music companies) are developing their own distribution systems so that both content producers and distributors will profit when the copyright issue can be resolved.

Content providers faced a second challenge in the early 2000s as the dot-com bubble burst. Unlike most player and distribution companies, many content providers did not have a second line of income and failed as online companies. Most players were supported by major software or hardware platforms. While distribution systems often saw corporate reorganization, broadband delivery was still seen as an acceptable investment by cable television and telephone companies. And new delivery systems show great potential including those that deliver to cellular phones, handheld players, and smart cable television boxes.

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See also American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers; Broadcast Music Incorporated; Internet Radio; Virtual Radio

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Audiotape

Introduced commercially only in the late 1940s, audio recording tape would transform radio broadcasting by removing the stigma of recorded broadcasts. Development of the technique dated back decades, to work accomplished in several countries.

Origins

Early audiotape technology drew on Danish radio pioneer Valdemar Poulsen's 1898 invention of a device called the "Telegraphone." The mechanical energy of sound was converted into a flow of electric current in a microphone and was then translated into magnetic fields, or "flux," in a small induction coil. Then, as a magnetizable steel wire or tape was drawn rapidly past the induction coil, the steel would retain a portion of that magnetic flux as a record of the original sound. This process became the basis for all later developments in magnetic recording. The Telegraphone was a grand prize winner at the 1900 International Exposition in Paris. However, it was only in the late 1930s and early 1940s that U.S. firms became interested in this technology, and even then, only two firms were actively engaged in commercializing it: the Brush Development Company of Cleveland, Ohio, and the Armour Research Foundation of the Illinois Institute of Technology in Chicago.

In contrast, the development of magnetic recording technology advanced in Europe. A turning point came in the early 1930s, when the German firm Allgemeine Elektrizitäts Gesellschaft developed the Magnetophone, a high-quality broadcast recorder capable of superior sound recording and reproduction. In 1944, after almost a decade of production, the most advanced Magnetophones incorporated scores of technical innovations. The German broadcasting authority, Reichs Rundfunk Gesellschaft (RRG), became the major customer for Magnetophones, installing them in nearly all German radio studios. During World War II, the RRG took over the operations of broadcast stations in occupied countries and installed Magnetophones there as well. Thus, by the end of the war, tape recording was a standard feature in many European radio stations.

One of the chief distinguishing features of the Magnetophone system was its special recording tape. Since the late 1920s, the German chemical firm IG Farben had been developing a plastic tape base coated with a magnetic form of iron oxide that could substitute for the heavy, expensive steel recording tape used in previous designs. The particles of oxide on such a tape act as tiny individual magnets, and it was learned that it was possible to record higher frequencies at slower tape speeds than on a solid steel band or wire. The

slower speed and the lower cost of materials made the coated tape much cheaper, contributing to its widespread adoption in Germany.

The structure of U.S. broadcasting militated against the creation of a demand for that technology. U.S. radio networks relied heavily on live programming distributed by telephone line. Recording represented a threat, both because the recording of a network program was piracy of the network's product and because it would then be technically possible to operate a network by distributing recorded rather than live programs. The status quo in program technology was reinforced by the oligopolistic structure of the broadcast equipment manufacturing market, which was dominated by firms such as Western Electric and the Radio Corporation of America (RCA). None of these firms would offer magnetic recording equipment until after World War II.

Postwar Innovation

In 1945 the United States enlisted the aid of its businesspeople, scientists, and engineers to collect German scientific and industrial knowledge. Some of those who became intimately familiar with Magnetophone technology while in Germany returned to the United States to play a role in the establishment of magnetic recording manufacturing there.

In 1945 Col. John T. Mullin was part of an Army Signal Corps team investigating the military applications of German electronic technology. He was told by a British officer about a tape recorder with exceptional musical quality at a Frankfurt, Germany, radio station that was being operated by the Armed Forces Radio Service (AFRS). There Mullin found German technicians working for AFRS using Magnetophone audiotape recorder/players. The technological improvements of a constant speed transport, plastic tape impregnated or coated with iron oxide, and the employment of a high AC-bias frequency mixed with the audio signal made these machines high fidelity. The first two machines acquired were turned over to the Signal Corps, and Col. Mullin disassembled two other machines and shipped them to his home in San Francisco. In 1946 Mullin designed custom record/reproduce electronics that improved the performance, rewired and reassembled the Magnetophone machines, and went into a partnership with Bill Palmer for movie soundtrack work, using those machines and the 50 reels of tape he had acquired.

In October 1946 Mullin and his partner Palmer attended the annual convention of the Society of Motion Picture Engineers, where he demonstrated the machine to the sound heads of Metro Goldwyn Mayer and Twentieth Century Fox and to the chief engineer of Altec Lansing. Mullin was then invited to

an Institute of Radio Engineers meeting in May 1947 to demonstrate the German Magnetophone. It was there that employees of Ampex, a small maker of electric motors in Redwood City, California, first saw and heard the tape recorder. The U.S. government had arranged for the suspension of all German legal claims to magnetic recording technology and had sponsored its wholesale transfer to the United States. The Commerce Department released its technical reports, captured documents, and patents related to the Magnetophone, allowing any interested manufacturers access to information relating to tape-recording technology. Shortly thereafter, Ampex began its own developmental project.

In 1947 the technical staff of the *Bing Crosby Show* on American Broadcasting Company (ABC) arranged to have Mullin rerecord original disk recordings of the *Bing Crosby Show* onto tape and then edit them. Crosby had been with the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) until 1944, doing the *Kraft Music Hall* live, but he did not like the regimen imposed by live shows. Because NBC would not permit recorded programs, Crosby took the fall off and returned on the newly formed ABC network with a new sponsor, Philco, because ABC had agreed to let him record on electrical transcriptions as long as his ratings did not diminish. The process required cutting a record and then rerecording; what with sometimes two or three generations, the quality of sound suffered. In July 1947, after the initial demonstration of editing, Mullin was invited to give a demonstration of his equipment for Crosby's producers by taping live side by side with transcription equipment the first show for the 1947-48 season in August at the ABC-NBC studios in Hollywood. Bing Crosby Enterprises then negotiated financing for Ampex for exclusive distribution rights, and Mullin was employed to record the Crosby show on his original German equipment until the Ampex machines became available. Made with the original German tape recorders and 50 rolls of BASF tape, Mullin's first recorded demonstration show of August 1947 was broadcast over ABC on 1 October 1947.

In 1948 Alexander Poniatov and his team of engineers at Ampex introduced the first commercial audiotape recorder based on the Magnetophone as Ampex Model 200. The first two, with serial numbers 1 and 2, were presented to John Mullin, and numbers 3-12 went into service at ABC. (To meet the contract requirements, Mullin gave his machines to ABC and later received numbers 13-14 for his contribution.)

The Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing Company (3M) of Saint Paul, Minnesota, already had experience in the manufacture of coated films from its line of adhesive tapes. Home tape machines such as the Brush Soundmirror, which used Scotch 100 paper tape supplied by 3M, had been introduced in

the consumer market, but these fell far short of professional requirements. Mullin then asked 3M engineers to reverse-engineer the German product using samples of IG Farben tape and Department of Commerce technical reports. Although the Minnesota company quickly came to dominate the field, much smaller firms successfully broke into the market, competing with 3M.

The Crosby show remained tape-delayed, setting a precedent in broadcast production that remains the norm to this day. Most other network radio and recording artists quickly adopted tape to produce their shows and discs, including Burl Ives and Les Paul. Live broadcasting was soon limited mostly to local disc jockeys spinning the new long-playing 33-1/3 and 45-rpm music discs.

Mullin remained with Bing Crosby Enterprises, recording his shows and others at ABC, until 1951. As the exclusive distributor for Ampex, Bing Crosby Enterprises sold hundreds of recorders to radio stations and master recording studios. In 1951 Mullin and other engineers were spun off as the Bing Crosby Electronic Division to handle development of audio instrumentation and video recording. In 1956 the Electronic Division became the Minicom Division of 3M, where Mullin served as head of engineering and as professional recorder development manager until his retirement in 1975. He died on 24 June 1999 at age 85.

MARVIN BENSMAN

See also American Broadcasting Company; Crosby, Bing; Recording and Studio Equipment; Wire Recording

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Auditorium Testing

Radio Market Research

Auditorium testing is a method of market research used widely in the radio industry and elsewhere to determine the effectiveness of programming and audiences' preferences in music, voice quality, commercial messages, and other program elements. Its name comes not from the room where the testing takes place, but from the "auditory" nature of the testing; that is, the subjects hear the samples being tested.

A company called ASI (now Ipsos-ASI) first used auditorium testing in the evaluation of TV programs, commercials, and movies in the 1960s. They used what they called the "Preview House" in Los Angeles as a controlled environment for such tests. Forty years later, versions of auditorium testing are still used by numerous market research firms around the world.

The basic methodology in auditorium testing starts with a careful consideration of the goals to be achieved. The client advertiser, radio station, or TV station needs to identify, in the most precise way possible, the boundaries of the testing and how the results will be used. Once the desired outcomes are known, the researchers design a testing strategy to achieve those outcomes.

With the strategy set, the research company screens and selects a group of between 75 and 200 people reflecting the demographic the client wishes to study. That demographic (a grouping according to age, gender, income, etc.) can be a random sample or one that is consistent with the station's current or desired audience, or even a subset of the audience that the client wishes to cultivate.

The assembled test group is then invited into a small auditorium and given instructions for the test. They are rarely told what is being tested or who the client is for the testing. In fact, tests often include decoy selections to keep the participants from guessing which specific radio station or product is being evaluated. The test subjects are instructed to respond to samples of music, voice, messages, images, or other content, providing some sort of rating on a scale created by the researchers. This can be accomplished with written questionnaires, a joy stick-type device that measures responses electronically, or even with a show of hands. Sometimes anecdotal comments are also solicited. Participants in auditorium testing are usually compensated for their time in order to increase the seriousness with which they approach the evaluating. The results are then tabulated and evaluated, with many variables charted, and correlations are made among the different samples tested. Ultimately the research firm can provide clients with both a review of the raw data and recommendations on how they may proceed to achieve their goals. Auditorium testing is essentially a hybrid of several market research methods, taking the group

dynamic of focus groups, the larger size of diary or phone research, and the immediacy of one-on-one surveying.

Bob Goode developed a form of auditorium testing called Electronic Attitude Response System. This method uses a video readout of averaged responses of the participants correlated directly to the audio content being rated and allows researchers to determine the test audience's preferences along with their "tune-out" of program elements. It also provides researchers with a sense of which program elements are more effective if paired with others. For example, a commercial following a weather report may lead to less tune-out than if that same commercial aired after a musical selection.

Music testing is a particular strength of auditorium testing models. Whole pieces within a musical genre can be tested before they are aired on a station. More commonly, however, "hooks," short segments of songs, are tested. In markets where many stations compete for listeners within each programming genre (country, oldies, urban contemporary, etc.), the subtleties of which songs are most liked within each genre can make a major difference in the ratings successes of each station. One firm, The New Research Group, offers 600 to 1,200 musical hooks along with 100 perceptual questions, allowing the client to know not only which music is preferred, but why, in specific descriptive terms, dealing with emotions, motivations, associations, etc.

Research firms "cluster" music that appeals to test audiences in auditorium groups, because people who enjoy one song from the cluster are likely to enjoy others as well. In addition, firms use complex matrix charts to show compatibility between clusters, showing radio programmers how to broaden appeal by including more musical selections without causing tune-out by core listeners.

Auditorium testing, along with other music testing, is seen by some as limiting, in that the short hooks it tests can oversimplify otherwise interesting music that might gain acceptance upon being heard by audiences. For example, a hook from "Hey Jude" by the Beatles might not have tested well, whereas the song in its entirety was a number one hit.

Public and commercial radio stations use research, including auditorium testing, to make program decisions; for example, the Wisconsin Public Radio network has been involved in the Corporation for Public Broadcasting program research, and Denver-based Paragon Research studied public radio stations in eight markets using focus groups, surveys, and auditorium research.

As audio broadens its reach through new technologies such as satellite, Web-casting, and other distribution channels, it is likely that increasing specialization of program channels will

occur, making auditorium testing more important in the precise selection of program content.

That being said, the increasing sophistication of audience behavior measurement technology imbedded in some of these new communications media may eventually render traditional auditorium testing too slow and imprecise by comparison for the emerging information needs of the industry.

PETER WALLACE

See also Audience Research Methods

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Australia

Australian radio is a fascinating amalgam of the unbridled commercialism of U.S. radio and the public broadcasting ethos of Western Europe and Asia, blending the two forms into a mixed private/public system. Its history can be divided into five parts: radio as a new technology in the 1920s; the new broadcast medium of the 1930s; the emergence of a diverse production sector and debates over Australian content and wartime censorship in the 1940s; the impact of television and popular music in the 1960s; and today's changes, brought about by frequency modulation (FM), digitalization, and deregulation.

A New Technology (to 1930)

Wartime anxieties deriving from the uncoded transmission of the whereabouts of an Australian naval convoy had led to the impounding of all privately owned wireless telegraphy sets in 1915. Governments sought from very early on to exercise control over the airwaves as resources, both for military purposes and to police property, and as a source of revenue. The first public demonstration of radio took place in Sydney in 1919, an event sponsored by the Amalgamated Wireless Company of Australia (AWA). AWA and the Royal Australian Navy were in dispute over the direction the new medium should take and the framework within which it should operate. This struggle for control between AWA and the navy featured the former championing the rights of the lone user and the latter criticizing any moves toward private control.

As in the United States, when the medium's commercial and governmental potential became clearer, the private and public sectors grew increasingly antagonistic. A major conference was held in 1923 to try to sort out these differences. AWA obtained approval for a "sealed" wireless system, to operate on a competitive basis. Broadcasting companies—which often manufactured and distributed receivers—were to be licensed by the

government, with audiences subscribing to particular stations. The sets were then sealed, confining listeners to the stations they had paid to hear. By the following year, cost pressures and differences within the industry led to two further conferences and the establishment of a new dual system for broadcasting: "A" licenses, funded by listeners' subscriptions—with the government retaining a proportion of the levy—and "B" licenses, financed by advertising. The A stations were required to provide a comprehensive service that would cater to all sectors of the community. The Bs, lacking the safety net provided by access to the license fee, were free of such obligations.

Much of the nation was not catered to by this fledgling industry. Concerns about rural areas, along with the legal mechanics of copyrights and patents, led to a Royal Commission into Wireless in 1927. The government was determined to maximize the capacity of the new medium to bind the equally new nation together. After failing to persuade individual license holders in the A sector to pool their resources for a nationwide grid, in 1928 the government announced that it would acquire all A class stations, in large part as a result of pressure from rural areas. The new national system would be operated by the post office, with programs provided by the private sector. The successful bidder for the contract to provide programs was called the Australian Broadcasting Company.

There was considerable innovation at the programming level: 1924 saw the first transmission of Parliament, the first radio play, and the world's inaugural broadcast from an airplane. Four years later came the first ecclesiastical opposition to beaming church services into people's homes. (Religion went on to gain a unique guarantee of airtime in Australian broadcast regulation of all sectors, because Christianity was seen as central to the moral fiber of the nation but marginal to media profitability. Such provisions were of dubious constitutional legitimacy, but they remained unchallenged for decades

[Horsfield, 1988].) By 1930 there were 290,000 sets across Australia, with 26 stations in 12 cities. The Labor Party's campaign platform included a promise to abolish license fees if elected.

A Broadcast Medium (1930s)

By the beginning of the 1930s, radio was firmly established. The critical event was the creation of the Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC) in 1932 as a public broadcaster, still funded by licenses, in place of the three-year-old private Australian Broadcasting Company. Its enabling legislation obliged the commission to raise the educational and cultural levels of the public. One of its early chairs, W.J. Cleary, described the task of the ABC in 1934 as promoting "the finer things of life" by elevating the populace "to find interests other than material ones, to live by more than bread alone."

The first overseas transmission from Australia took place in 1933, and big increases in the sale of radio sets coincided with the ABC's descriptions of play from the 1934 cricket series between England and Australia. By the middle of the decade, the audience for radio was growing by 8,000 people each month. Complaints were made about the heavy schedule of advertisements on the commercial stations, although regulation prevented ads on Sundays. The commercial stations, now represented by the Australian Federation of Commercial Broadcasting Stations, were adjusting to the growth of the industry by networking and borrowing programs from overseas, notably *Lux Radio Theater* and radio serials. The advent of the serial and the network were linked. Multinational corporations owned the major advertising agencies, and they placed pressure on the commercial stations to deliver a big audience to clients who desired nationwide exposure for their output. They also frequently colluded with each other to rein in recalcitrant networks, assisting compliant groups and undermining others by manipulating schedules. The ABC's networking arrangements were falling into place by 1939, with two metropolitan stations established in each capital city.

In 1930 there were only a handful of commercial stations in Australia; two years later, the number had risen to 46. With more stations came greater uniformity: cutting production costs, standardizing formats, playing greater amounts of recorded music than was the case anywhere else in the world, and selling blocks of time to specific sponsors so that programs were created around the products that paid for them. Networks were established to satisfy the demands of advertisers for a national reach, with the encouragement of American-owned advertising agencies. In the 1940s, following governmental anxieties about monopolistic practice, the networks emphasized the autonomy of individual stations, which were said to rely on networks for resources rather than acting as mere conduits.

By the close of the 1930s, there were well in excess of 1 million license sales and perhaps four times that number of regular listeners. Two of every three dwellings had a set. And despite its early reputation as technologically complex, the potential of the medium to ameliorate the drudgery of domestic work even as it encouraged a habit of consumption made the female listener a target. "The men behind the microphone, in a very real sense, modulate all other sounds. To some they are folk heroes; to some women—phantom lovers" (Walker, 1973). This was also the period when the child audience was discovered: "If children were off sick, they were sometimes allowed to have the bakelite box in bed with them for the drip dramas, the afternoon children's serials and—if they were privileged—the quiz shows with tea on a tray in the evening" (Kent, 1983).

Wartime and Beyond: Diversity and Australian Content (1940–55)

World War II dramatically increased the role of the state in radio. The war brought about security restrictions on broadcast material as well as the notion that the citizenry must receive expanded coverage of global events. This expansion of service and contraction of autonomy led to both the formation of Radio Australia as an international network (and its wartime takeover by government) and the imposition of strict censorship. ABC news followed the government's line on the primacy of the Pacific theater of war, and most of these bulletins were relayed to the commercial stations. The diminution in the amount of rebroadcast British opinion and the sense that the ABC was becoming an arm of state propaganda led to serious protests from listeners. Another side effect of the war was the belated—and short-lived—opportunity for women to work as ABC news presenters. They were hired in large numbers in the absence of able-voiced men on military duty. But after the war, no woman would read the national radio news again until 1975.

In 1942 a law was passed to regulate non-ABC sectors of the industry and to provide a guarantee against political directives being issued to the ABC. The new act imposed an Australian music quota of 2.5 percent of commercial airtime. In 1949 the Australian Broadcasting Control Board (ABCB) was created as a statutory authority to regulate the industry.

One cannot draw an indelible line between the program output of the commercial stations catering to public demand and the ABC catering to public education. Both had high costs of production in comparison with today's emphasis on music or basic talk. In the years after the war, the ABC expended nearly £1 million a year on production, and the commercial stations only slightly less. Recorded material from outside Australia took up less than 5 percent of commercial airtime. Both sectors devoted a good amount of these sums to locally written plays. The ABC devoted a quarter of broadcast time

to “light” and “dance” music, with much less “serious” music. This decade also saw the first episode of the ABC’s popular *Blue Hills* soap opera, which was to continue until 1976. At the other end of the spectrum, the commission was required by law to broadcast Parliament from 1946, partly to raise the profile of politicians in the community and partly because of the Labor government’s concerns with press bias against it.

The rationing of newsprint during the war delivered advertisers to radio on an unprecedented scale. The war also cut off the commercial stations’ supply of transcriptions from North American drama, which led to the substitution of local product. A star system was created, with high-quality serials designed to capture nighttime audiences and block programming to retain interest at a particular point on the dial throughout the evening. Although commercial radio could not match the ABC’s claim to having been the first network anywhere to broadcast all of Shakespeare’s plays, it expended a comparable amount on drama in the 1940s. The commercial stations produced documentaries on nature, history, and medicine; devoted only about 8 percent of airtime to advertisements; broadcast cricket from overseas; and generated the preconditions for illegal off-course betting on horse races through coverage from every imaginable track.

The Challenge of Television and Pop Music (1956–70)

After 1956 television, along with the importation of Top 40 techniques from the United States and a focus on youth as desirable potential consumers, transformed radio listening. Radio shifted from a medium dominated by variety and quiz shows and drama serials to one of popular music, “talkback” (talk radio), and sports. Other enforced changes included a move toward additional use of actuality in news broadcasts, both to compete with television and as a consequence of improvements in taping facilities. Revenue and profits grew in the late 1950s to double their pre-television figures. In 1961 there were 6.5 million radio receivers and 10.54 million people in Australia.

The ornate receiver in the living-room corner of the 1930s had given way by the 1960s to an object that was on the move: the tube was replaced by the transistor. Prior to television, 40 percent of radio set sales were for console and table receivers. In 1960 these made up just 19 percent of the total. The turn toward portables (41 percent of sales) and car radios (26 percent) led the recently formed Australian Radio Advertising Bureau to characterize the trend toward “outdoor listening” and “indoor one-person audiences.” Forty percent of Sunday listening was now outside the home, principally at the beach.

Overseas influence increased independently of the new medium: the ABC was importing discs for programming, and the private Macquarie network was owned by British interests

from 1951 to 1965. Macquarie came to make extensive use of current-affairs material from U.S., New Zealand, British, Ceylonese, and South African sources. Programs in languages other than English were strictly limited.

The ABCB doubled the Australian music quota to 5 percent—although frequently this was not adhered to—and it also allowed advertising jingles on Sundays. A study of children’s radio serials warned of the unholy effects on young people that exposure to radio could bring. Moral panics abounded with the shift toward playing rock and roll records, the turns of phrase of which provoked numerous complaints by 1960–61. About 7 percent of music on commercial radio met the ABCB’s tests of local content. Talkback became possible when legislative changes in 1960 allowed stations to broadcast material using the telephone.

Expansion and Crisis (1970s–2000)

Between 1948 and 1972, Australia’s urban population more than doubled, but only one new commercial radio station was added. The Labor government of 1972–75 opened up use of FM, issued additional frequencies on the AM band, and developed public access. Australia was decades behind other countries in the introduction of FM radio (despite initial trials as early as 1947) because television had been allocated the very-high-frequency (VHF) waveband. Space was found on VHF for FM signals to exist alongside those of television. By 1978 there were well over 200 commercial and ABC AM and 5 FM stations, plus 50 public access outlets. Of the commercial stations, approximately one-quarter were owned by newspaper interests.

The ABCB was succeeded in 1976 by the Australian Broadcasting Tribunal (ABT). Its first major document, *Self-Regulation for Broadcasters?* was a critical statement of the rationale for significant—albeit limited—private-sector self-determination in the industry. Nevertheless, the renamed commercial representative, the Federation of Australian Radio Broadcasters (FARB), criticized the report for its extrapolations from the model of television to radio. FARB’s other protectionist activities at this time included trying to shut down the ABC’s youth station in Sydney and threatening legal action to restrain the government from granting community radio licenses. The new ABT opened up the system of license renewals to public participation. It also began to show a real concern with cross-media ownership.

The ABCB had raised the Australian music quota to 10 percent of airtime in 1973, with the ABC electing to follow suit. The figure was increased to 15 percent in 1975, with major implications for both programming and the local record industry. Twenty-two million records were manufactured locally (mostly made from imported masters) in that year. By 1980, when commercial FM commenced operations, rock music and

its Australian substratum were embedded in entertainment programming. A major review of Australian content on commercial radio in 1986 led to new rules, which provided that 20 percent of music broadcast between 6 A.M. and 12 midnight must be Australian. Conversely, restrictions holding advertising to 18 minutes per hour were lifted.

The ABC's movement into a more national focus took two significant steps in the mid-1970s: a national network of classical music set the seal on the higher tone to its mission, and youth station 2JJ appeared in Sydney (2JJ would later go national over the period 1989 to 1991). The ABC was reconstituted as a corporation in 1983 and charged with the responsibility to provide "innovative and comprehensive" programs "of a high standard" in order to "contribute to a sense of national identity and inform and entertain, and reflect the cultural diversity of, the Australian community." The formation in 1977 of the Special Broadcasting Service (SBS) increased ethnic broadcasting. The period also saw the advent of radio for the print-handicapped and the formation of the Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association (CAAMA). CAAMA began broadcasting by Aborigines for Aborigines halfway through 1980. The federal government allocated A\$7 million to Aboriginal broadcasting in 1992, as opposed to A\$65 million to ethnic broadcasting, some indication of the groups' respective political clout. By 2000 there were five licensed Aboriginal stations and special services for tribal peoples. As community radio managers moved onto an increasingly commercial footing, their stations began requiring Aboriginal groups to pay for time on the air. Thus, the amount of access available to indigenous people was strictly limited, emphasizing the importance of opening up the opportunity for Aborigines to control their own stations.

By 2000 there were four sectors of Australian radio, arching across the FM and AM bands: the ABC, the commercial stations, the SBS, and community (previously called public) stations.

The Australian Broadcasting Corporation

The ABC operates a variety of services. It offers a rural network extending across the country, in addition to metropolitan AM stations that mix talk, music, and news from local and national perspectives. Radio Australia is a single shortwave, multilingual, international service of news, music, and information that claims to be heard by 50 million people outside Australia. There are five national services: Radio National (variously, "Radio to Think By," "The Truth of Australia," or "Mind Over Chatter"); ABC Classic FM ("fine music"); JJJ-FM ("Radio That Bites"); ABC News network (alternating between political proceedings and news); and Dig Radio, an internet network. Finally, Radio Australia broadcasts to the Asia-Pacific region.

The ABC is expected by government and management to combine broad popularity (the metropolitan stations' breakfast programs) with authoritativeness (news and current affairs) and innovation (music markets neglected by commercial broadcasters but desired by cassette and compact disc manufacturers). Further, the ABC tries to ensure "that listeners across Australia hear viewpoints and perspectives not broadcast on other stations." Numerous marginal groups regard the ABC as their access to the center. At the same time, the commission continues to refer to "those original aims that saw the ABC come into being in 1932: to draw the country together by bringing radio of special quality, importance and relevance to all Australians."

For people who grew up with the ABC, their referent is never simply its actual broadcast output. It is also the *meaning* of the ABC, as Australia's foremost institution of information and culture. And for the first 25 years of its existence, it had an exclusively audio presence, a presence that continues to be enormously significant. The commission's remit is basically contradictory: a comprehensive service that should complement market-driven services, simultaneously both popular and specialist.

Commercial Stations

Commercial stations meet the needs of advertisers by attracting large audiences. The larger the number of listeners, the more the commercial stations clamor for independence from surveillance by the state: popularity, they argue, guarantees their being in step with public values and attitudes. And this in turn is their claim on the advertising dollar.

Once pilloried for their lowbrow teenage audience, commercial stations are now taken to task for ignoring this group in favor of the aging young and its taste for recycled popularity. Instead of the teenage record-buying public, 25- to 39-year-old consumers are sought by metropolitan FM stations because of their conspicuous propensity to purchase. AM stations have found their niche (considered by many to be comparatively unprofitable) in a mythic suburbia that is fond of convivial chat, of inoffensive music, or of sports radio.

The 1980s were the decade of FM. FM prided itself on the "extraordinary sophistication" of its audience research methods, targeting ever more specific categories of listener. The research is divided in five ways: focus groups for qualitative information from a few listeners; audience tracking, to find out whether listeners are loyal; callout music research, or playing music down the telephone line to gauge reaction; auditorium music tests, where respondents sit en masse and listen to hundreds of tunes; and lifestyle research, which systematizes the habits of the audience.

The commercial stations' daily cycle is differentiated through announcers defined as individual personalities rather

than by a range of music. Disc jockeys are the effective markers that distinguish one service from another. This loss of diversity has been assisted by deregulatory forces. The ABT's successor, the Australian Broadcasting Authority (ABA), has replaced the single quota of Australian music with more targeted quotas specific to particular station formats (up to 15 percent for rock stations, down to 5 percent for easy listening). Regulation of offensive content has, however, continued, and stations are subject to a code of practice designed to prevent programming that offends community standards concerning violence, drugs, suicide, or hate speech.

The successor to FARB, Commercial Radio Australia (CRA) claims that 80 percent of radio listeners tune to the commercial stations. The claim represents its justification for opposing a free-market approach to the issue of licenses: room for new entrants is severely limited by the long periods needed to achieve a profit, and exclusivity is required if local commercial radio is to maintain sufficient advertising revenue to continue broadcasting. FARB opposed using the premium space on the FM band for community radio: commercial stations have the listening numbers in their favor, so they should have spectrum allocation in preference to minority interests.

Special Broadcasting Service

SBS radio is part of multiculturalism, the federal government's cultural shift in immigration settlement policy from all-out assimilation. An ethnic middle class that lacked access to media outlets and attention to their informational needs started to lobby politicians in the mid-1970s, leading to the creation of the SBS as the body responsible for stations 2EA in Sydney and 3EA in Melbourne, stations then on the air on a community basis. The SBS extended these stations' reach via a relay system to Wollongong and Newcastle.

SBS radio programming was to be along language, not community lines. As the 1980s progressed, the SBS board came to resist an overt discussion of politics by advisory groups while supporting the existence of consultative machinery: an apparent openness to public participation actually masked a very limited agenda for discussion. A further dimension emerged with the mid-1980s uptake of anti-immigration positions by the Liberal and National Parties and the 1990s push from Aboriginal and other people to forge a code of anti-discriminatory guidelines for announcers. Attention has shifted away somewhat from SBS radio since the federal government assigned further development of ethnic broadcasting to the community sectors in the mid-1980s, but the Sydney and Melbourne stations continue to attract controversy.

Community Stations

Community stations differ from the other three sectors in that their mandate is neither governmental nor commercial. They have a much more focused and limited warrant to serve local, special interest, community, or educational needs. This constituency may be highly specific, as in radio for the print-handicapped or for the residents of East Fremantle, or very broad, as in a station catering to jazz listeners from 8 to 10 o'clock and to Spanish speakers from 11 to 1. Apart from the surveillance of the ABA, which issues specific licenses for education, special interests, and geographical locations, they are also beholden to internal systems of management, often related to educational institutions or sources of program sponsorship. In addition to the reporting requirements of regulatory bodies and management committees, the sector has a peak representative body, the Community Broadcasting Association of Australia (CBAA). The association makes submissions to inquiries into the area, convenes national meetings to discuss common issues, and provides a point of articulation.

There is a significant democratic, participatory rhetoric associated with such stations. Although most have in-house training and monitor their output, the claim they frequently make is that they transform the passive audience member into an active producer of material, opening up the airwaves to alternative points of view and modes of presentation and demystifying the media. The voluntary nature of this labor also encourages a faith in the value of cooperative management, which has on occasion led to conflict over production values and the basis for making and implementing decisions on programming, finance, and personnel. Such issues can be especially awkward when paid staff seek to control the administration and quality of the station in a way that is seen as replicating the elitism of other forms of Australian media. The CBAA promulgates a "Code of Ethics" that prescribes community accountability, broad media access, participatory decision making by both presenters and listeners, quality balanced with access, no censorship other than legal requirements, and public proclamation of nondiscriminatory station policies.

The Modern Radio Industry

In 1990 Australia's 150 commercial radio stations earned A\$450 million in revenue and spent over A\$400 million, much of it to employ over 4,000 people. These figures mean that the sector is only marginally profitable, which pushes CRA toward contradictory postures on industry regulation. At one moment it is all for total freedom to decide what is broadcast and when, arguing that program content should be the sacrosanct

domain of the implied contractual space negotiated by broadcaster and listener. But when it turns to use the airwaves, CRA wants regulation to prevent masses of new competitors. This is, however, counter to the penchant for open markets that has been very much in evidence among Commonwealth government policy makers.

At the same time, the government was engaging in a detailed investigation of metropolitan commercial radio, resulting in a 1988 National Radio Plan (NRP). It called for the conversion of ten AM stations to FM, ten additional licenses, and new services in the not-for-profit area. This was occurring against a backdrop of huge declines in ratings for AM stations. FM was the band that everybody desired to enter, and the federal government's need for cash provided a useful foil to its laissez-faire intellectual preferences: the new licenses for FM were let by competitive tender. The existing players needed to buy airspace in order to remain solvent or grow as business forces. More than half the stations in the southeastern states' capital cities changed hands between November 1986 and April 1989. In some transactions, prices paid were in excess of 2.5 times the value of annual profit.

The upshot of this policy innovation and supply-side disruption was that 1991 found 60 percent of the listening audience tuned to businesses run by Austereo and Hoyts. But this audience potential did not necessarily amount to profitability: Austereo was unable to find bidders for its FM and AM stations in Canberra, which had combined with its Perth license to produce a loss for 1989–90 of about A\$8 million. Meanwhile, the extraordinary revival of AM ratings in Melbourne brought into question the automatic equation of FM with profits. CRA emphasized the difficulties confronting the industry, such as the aggregation of television services, the possibility of pay TV, high license fees, competition from a subsidized ABC, and too many competitors in the FM area.

Despite incurring penalties of A\$50,000, 5 out of 14 metropolitan AM stations defaulted on their FM-conversion proposals by the end of 1992, because the competitive bidding system had combined with a long and deep recession to strip away the foundations of many companies. Some recompense was available, as the ABA made it possible for a licensee to run more than one station in a market, whereas the NRP had tried to acknowledge a problem with concentrated ownership. The success of the original FM stations diminished to the point of a collective loss in 1991, with the advent of new entrants and some renewal of the AM band's popularity (although most of those stations are losing money also). This should come as no surprise, because revenue from advertising is now expected to cover 23 FM stations, compared to 7 before 1990. In the first few months of its operation, the ABA issued 130 virtually free licenses for narrowcasting transmission, mostly covering tiny locations for tourist drive-through

information or betting services, areas once covered by the commercial sector.

But the definition of narrow—and its implications for niche marketing by full-blown commercial services—was unclear, with 124 of the country's 150 profit-oriented stations using almost identical golden contemporary playlists! Blocks of programming, both music and news, are increasingly being purchased by many stations in order to keep a continuous service on the air without employing staff, and news bulletins are generally supplied by a small number of services. By 2002 commercial radio was making around A\$745 million in revenue a year, amounting to a profit of about \$140 million. The sector secured around 8 percent of all advertising revenue to media outlets.

The Future

Four interrelated factors will determine the future character of commercial radio: technology, networking, imagined audiences, and regulation. The advent of digital technology in Australia offers the prospect of enormously high-quality sound reproduction across similarly enormous distances. When combined with the centralizing drive of networking and syndication to reduce costs, this suggests a southeastern, urban broadcasting center that will swallow up both rural and metropolitan stations through a centrally delivered signal that is customized to local time, weather, and traffic conditions.

Digital audio broadcasting (DAB) has major implications for how audiences are conceived and addressed in terms of localism as well as age, income, race, values, and routine. DAB thus suggests a further homogenization of programming, but by the end of 2002 it remained a dream.

Demographic projections say that the average Australian household will increasingly be composed of the delightfully named "unoccupied person," living alone and keen to turn to casual voices in search of anomic relief. In this sense, metropolitan and suburban life become akin to rural isolation, where the regional radio presenter is a major figure and a source of delightful recognition for many people. This will encourage research into people's work and leisure activities and ideological proclivities as part of the surveillant eye of social science. It is also encouraging networks, because CD-quality commercials for national advertisers can now be transmitted from central locations to stations throughout the country. In 1999, 75 percent of commercial stations had network affiliations, and several were owned by foreign citizens, following deregulation of ownership controls. In 2000 there were 229 commercial stations serving just 19 million people—but offering a crushing sameness. Only the ABC holds out signs of difference.

TOBY MILLER

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Australian Aboriginal Radio

Over the past 15 years the Australian radio broadcast system has begun to serve the specific needs of the Aboriginal audience. By the turn of the century, progress was being made on several levels to increase the availability and variety of services offered to the nation's native minority.

Indigenous broadcasters form a unique segment of Australian Broadcasting. The Aboriginal people, through their own broadcasting services, produce programs in their own languages that enhance and preserve their culture. The Aborigines comprise only 2 percent of a total population of 17 million; half live in the coastal urban areas and the remainder in rural, more traditional communities.

ABC's Indigenous Broadcast Unit

In the early 1980s, ABC began making time available to Aborigines over some of its larger urban stations. In 1985 ABC provided three hours a day for Aboriginal groups in the northern part of Queensland. Training and support were provided by ABC, but the Aboriginal staff had full control over content. In 1986 ABC began to share a 50,000-watt shortwave transmitter with 8 KIN. This improved 8 KIN's reach across the Northern Territory, but no one knew how many Aborigines had shortwave receivers (Browne, 1990).

ABC Local Radio is committed to Aboriginal Broadcasting in three ways. First, ABC is not a funding agency but provides

professional advice in the development of indigenous media organizations. Second, in 1988 ABC agreed to work toward employment equity for Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders. An employment target of 2 percent in a variety of positions across the company has been set for ABC by an agreement with the Department of Employment Education and Training. Third, ABC Radio carries *Speaking Out* and *Awaye*, programs produced by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders for a general audience. ABC also purchases programs from independent indigenous production houses and also expects to develop new programs for in-house production.

Speaking Out deals exclusively with the culture of the Aboriginal people in Australia and the politics and issues that affect them. The show airs every Sunday night live for one hour. *Awaye* airs programs that deal with the art and culture of indigenous people; the program airs on Friday and is repeated on Sunday. To hear the theme music for *Awaye*, visit their website at www.abc.net.au/message/awaye.

8 KIN Programming

By the end of 1985, the first exclusively Aboriginal station, 8 KIN, a 50,000-watt noncommercial FM station, came on the air in Alice Springs in Central Australia. Eventually, relays were added in Ntaria, Ali Curung, and St. Teresa. Until 1992, the Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association (CAAMA) operated this, the only licensed Aboriginal community broadcasting service. By June 1994, six additional licensed stations were operating for Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders. Additional Aboriginal media associations, with community broadcasting licenses, operate in North-East Queensland, Brisbane, Perth, Darwin, and smaller stations in Western and Southern Australia. Programs on Aboriginal-owned community radio stations include news, sports, current affairs, Aboriginal music, talk back, Aboriginal oral stories, health, employment, housing, and land rights information. A special program goal is to reach both the young and the old. In addition to the seven licensed broadcasters, 11 other Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander regional media groups produce radio programs for Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) and other broadcasters. In 2001, the government provided A\$3.1 million through the Community Broadcasting Foundation to facilitate radio access for indigenous Australians and ethnic communities.

Today, station 8 KIN FM broadcasts 18 hours a day and reaches a potential audience of 60,000 indigenous people from 25 major language groups. The station broadcasts in English and seven Aboriginal languages which are spoken in Central Australia. These programs account for 90 percent of the time on air or about 11 and one half hours per day. The amount of time in program categories varies from one language to another, but music accounts for 60 percent with spoken language programs comprising the remainder.

Programming includes news from wire services, local and national newspapers, and reports phoned into the station. There is a journalist coordinator and trainer and two Aboriginal journalist trainees, but much copy is translated from English. There are occasional documentaries and traditional stories. Music on the Aboriginal language program is about 75 percent Aboriginal, the rest European.

Satellite Services

Domestic satellite services became available in Australia in 1988 with the launch of AUSSAT, which made radio and television broadcasting available to remote parts of Australia for the first time. There has been debate since the early 1980s about the use of satellite by Aboriginal people as there was concern about the impact of satellite programming on traditional cultures. Two Aboriginal communities, Yuendumu in the Northern Territory (Warlpiri people) and the other in Ernabella in northern Southern Australia (the Pitjantjatjara people), were already producing video and radio. They lobbied for funding of their locally produced services, which at the time were being broadcast illegally on low power equipment (Buchtman, 1999).

In 1984, the Department of Communication and the Department of Aboriginal Affairs recommended policies that would allow local Aboriginal people control over the new satellite service. This led to the establishment of Broadcasting in Remote Aboriginal Communities (BRACS). In many indigenous communities there were objections to programs by white people, and BRACS was considered a shield to protect their culture. Seventy-four communities were given equipment, but in many cases they did not know how to use it and were given no training. In some communities, there was no interest in learning or training and, in this situation, English programs were rebroadcast. Tribal elders in some communities were more active, and under their leadership BRACS assists in developing Aboriginal programming, especially for television.

MARY E. BEADLE

See also Developing Nations; Native American Radio

Selected Aboriginal Radio Stations as of 2002

Sydney-Koorie Radio (FM)
 Brisbane-4 AAA (FM)
 Port Augusta-5 UMA (FM)
 Perth-6 AR (AM)
 Kununurra-6 WR (AM)
 Central Australia-8 KIN (FM)
 Northern Australia-TEABBA (FM and Satellite)
 Fitzroy Crossing-6FX (AM)

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Automation

Automation in radio refers to a method of broadcasting in which individually recorded program elements are reproduced in assigned order by equipment designed to operate with little or no human assistance. Automation systems were initially capable of performing two tasks routinely performed by disc jockeys: broadcasting music selections and commercial announcements. Refinements to technology subsequently enabled disc jockeys to record (or *voice-track*) their ad-libs in advance and to instruct systems to broadcast them at the appropriate times within the program schedule. The addition of voice-tracking capabilities assisted stations in suppressing criticism that automated broadcasting sounded "canned" in comparison with live, disc jockey supervised presentations.

Origins

Paul Schafer is credited with automating the studio operation function. After founding Schafer Electronics in 1953 to manufacture remote-control equipment for broadcast transmitters, Schafer extended the application of this technology in 1956 to program automation. Radio station KGEE used the first Schafer automation system to expand its hours of operation and offer nighttime service to its Bakersfield, California, listeners. Capable of unattended operation, Schafer's initial system consisted of two Seeburg jukeboxes for music reproduction, three Concertone open-reel tape decks for broadcasting commercial announcements, and an electromechanical switcher for storing programming instructions to control the playback sequence.

Schafer installed an automation system into a motor coach and traveled to radio stations to demonstrate its capabilities. During his visits with station owners and managers, Schafer explained how automation could reduce operating expenses while enhancing the quality of the on-air presentation. Automation systems, he asserted, not only reduced the number of

personnel needed to operate the station but also executed programming instructions more reliably and with fewer mistakes than human operators could.

Schafer's identification of the economic and performance concerns were, in the late 1950s, of relatively equal importance to broadcasters. However, the economic incentive would escalate prominently in 1965 when the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) imposed the AM-FM Program Nonduplication Rule. In its effort to stimulate listener interest in the languishing FM service, the FCC reduced AM station simulcasting by their FM sister stations in the nation's 100 largest markets. A majority of the approximately 200 duopoly stations affected by the rule chose to automate their FM facilities rather than incur the expense of hiring additional announcing and engineering staffs. Contributing to the movement toward automation was management's realization that the pool of available talent had been depleted by rapid expansion in both radio and television broadcasting. Demand for qualified personnel had steadily driven up the price of labor during the 1950s. Duopolies in the smaller markets, unaffected by the nonduplication rule, were nonetheless enticed into automating when desirable local talent departed for more lucrative opportunities in metropolitan areas.

Equipment

The manufacture of automation equipment, previously a cottage industry, blossomed during the 1960s. The Radio Corporation of America (RCA) and Gates Radio Company, two prominent broadcast equipment manufacturers, entered into competition with Schafer Electronics. Unlike Schafer's initial design, which had relied upon jukeboxes for vinyl disc reproduction, next-generation systems reproduced program elements with open-reel and cartridge tape machines. This

approach provided greater reliability than did the early disc-dependent systems. More important, it afforded programmers opportunities to execute formatics in a manner that more closely emulated the sound of a live, spontaneous broadcast.

As the sophistication of control switchers grew, tape-dependent systems enabled announcers to develop the technique of voice tracking. In approximately 10 to 20 minutes, announcers could record all of the comments they would normally make during the course of a four-hour, live program. By instructing the automation system to execute their voice recordings at the appropriate times, announcers were freed to pursue other creative activities during their airshifts.

Adapting a station to automated broadcasting did not, in and of itself, liberate operators from the responsibility of creating a program service; it merely facilitated the execution of programming decisions. Rather than attempting to produce tape-recorded libraries of music internally, numerous automated-station operators elected to subscribe to the services of program syndicators. In most instances, syndicators supplied stations with base libraries of recorded music, which were supplemented periodically with reels of music of current popularity.

Syndication

The syndication firm Drake-Chenault, under the supervision of legendary Top 40 programmer Bill Drake, successfully adapted the middle of the road, Top 40, country, and soul formats to automated presentation. By the mid-1970s, approximately 300 stations subscribed to the company's services. The beautiful music format was also used extensively by automated stations. Because its execution emphasized repeated segues between songs, this format was especially adaptable to automation.

Broadcaster reliance upon tape-based automation diminished during the 1980s. Among the explanations for the decline in automation's popularity was programmers' perception that listeners desired more announcer involvement within the presentation than even the most sophisticated systems could reliably provide. Although voice-tracked programming resembled live presentation, it nonetheless was incapable of emulating for listeners the spontaneity and interactivity they associated with hearing a live broadcast. An alternative approach, in which syndicators delivered live, hosted presentations simultaneously to multiple affiliates via satellite, became the preferred method of automated operation during this period.

Following the passage in 1996 of the Telecommunications Act, which sharply relaxed radio station ownership rules and led to significant consolidation of station properties, interest in automated broadcasting renewed. Owners who operated mul-

iple stations within markets began to cluster the facilities into single studio complexes. In such situations, automation has enabled owners to share personalities among stations, thereby reducing the number of announcers required to sustain program operations. Systems now store all program elements, including voice-tracked disc jockey commentary, in hard-disk memory. These "jock-in-a-box" systems offer disc jockeys greater voice-tracking flexibility and have narrowed the gap between listeners' perceptions of live and recorded presentation. Clear Channel Communications was making use of this technique in the early 2000s, noting that a small station (say, in Boise, Idaho) could gain the use of an on-air personality for as little as \$4,000 to \$6,000 a year, far less than paying a real DJ on site. The DJ stays in a major market, yet appears to host local programs in multiple locations. Another trend developing among group-owned stations is to interconnect stations in multiple cities via telephone circuits to a central, or hub, production facility. A single announcing staff is thus able to provide each of the stations within the hub with individualized, market-specific commentary using the voice-tracking technique. Industry representatives estimate that approximately one in five stations now employs systems for either fully automated or announcer-assisted operation.

BRUCE MIMS

See also Drake, Bill; FM Radio; Recording and Studio Equipment; Syndication; Telecommunications Act of 1996

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Automobile Radios

First designed in the 1920s as separate radios to be installed optionally in automobiles, the auto or car radio eventually became a standard feature, flourishing in popularity after World War II. Today the auto radio is considered standard equipment on virtually all makes and models of cars.

Origins

Perhaps it was inevitable that two of the 20th century's most popular products—cars and radios—would unite in some way, but numerous technological barriers initially prevented such a marriage. The earliest known radio equipped car was demonstrated in St. Louis, Missouri, in 1904. In 1922 Chevrolet offered the United States' first factory unit, the Chevrolet Radio Sedan, featuring a modified Westinghouse radio with an elaborate fence-like antenna mounted on the roof. This early option alone cost one-third the price of the car itself. Few were purchased, so Chevrolet discontinued their manufacture.

Radio experimenters continued to fend for themselves. Some adapted portable, battery-powered units for use as travel radios, but interference from the automobile's engine and ignition system thwarted their widespread development. The do-it-yourselfers discovered other obstacles, including exposure to extreme heat and cold, incompatible power supplies from automobiles, and loudspeakers too weak to overcome the noise caused by driving.

Gradually these problems were resolved on several fronts and, like the technical development of the radio itself, auto radio evolved from a combination of discoveries over a period of time rather than in the immediate aftermath of a single breakthrough. Ignition interference, for example, was reduced substantially in 1927 with the invention of the spark plug suppresser, or damp resistance. Within three years, a second development, voltage conversion, allowed simplified operation of the auto radio. Enabling the auto radio to operate independently of a battery system, relying instead upon the car's electrical system, was key to the device's commercial success. By the mid-1930s widespread manufacturing was underway.

This second development, in 1930, was the result of collaborative work between Paul Galvin, Elmer Wavering, and William Lear, who later gained prominence in aviation design. At the time, Galvin manufactured battery eliminators in Chicago, products that permitted battery-operated radios to be run by the 120-volt system of household current. Galvin applied the same principle to his Studebaker automobile, demonstrating it to passersby at a meeting of the Radio Manufacturer's Association in Atlantic City, New Jersey. His first production model, the 5T71, sold for \$120 (installed) and became known as a Motorola, a combination of the words *motor* and *Victrola*.

That year Chrysler offered a radio as a regular option and was followed soon by other automakers. The price of an average auto radio dropped to \$80 by the mid-1930s, one-eighth the cost of a typical car, as opposed to the one-third cost of 10 years earlier.

In 1933 Ford introduced auto radios compatible with specially designed dashboard panels in some of its models. By 1936 the push-button feature was added, enabling motorists to tune to a desired station safely, without glancing away from the road while driving. The adjustable, telescopic "whip" antenna, which improved reception of distant stations, was introduced in 1938.

After World War II, the popularity of the auto radio soared when automakers began to offer them as a preinstalled option. By the late 1950s, Motorola, by now the name of Galvin's company, manufactured one-third of all U.S. auto radios.

Postwar Growth

The development of the auto radio reflected the increasing mobility of the United States itself, but television's arrival in U.S. homes after World War II was swift and nearly complete by the end of the 1950s.

Many radio executives assumed the worst: their medium was dead or dying. In one sense, this was true. The amount of advertising revenue generated by network radio shows dropped by half in the five-year period ending in 1955. Such long-time popular shows as *Amos 'n' Andy*, Jack Benny, and *Ma Perkins* either moved to television or disappeared completely. Yet a paradox was emerging; despite the precipitous decline of network radio, more radio stations than ever were on the air (about 2,300 in the United States by the mid-1950s, nearly triple the number immediately before World War II) and more radios were being manufactured than ever. Surveys suggested that TV set owners were more likely to own more than one radio than were non-TV set owners and that radio listeners were tuning in more frequently, to different stations, for shorter durations of time. Television, it appeared, was threatening network radio, but not the medium of radio itself.

"Radio didn't die. It wasn't even sick," said Matthew J. Culligan, National Broadcasting Company's vice president for radio, in 1958.

It just had to be psychoanalyzed. . . . The public just started liking [radio] in a different way, and radio went to the beach, to the park, the patio, and the automobile. . . . Radio has become a companion to the individual instead of remaining a focal point of all family entertainment. An intimacy has developed between radio and the individual.

The “disc jockey” and “drive time” had arrived. Influenced by the auto radio and its motorist listeners, radio became a predominantly music and news service after about 1955.

The new portability of radio was made possible, too, by the development of the transistor in 1948 and by the phenomenal growth of auto radios. By 1953 the first transistorized pocket-size portable radios were available, and five years later the first solid-state (tubeless) auto radios using transistors appeared on the market. In 1952 auto radios were in just over half of America’s cars. By 1980 that figure reached 95 percent. The trend reflected, as J. Fred MacDonald put it, “a mobile, affluent, and commercialized America, solidly committed to television for its creative amusement, but still requiring radio for music and instantaneous information.”

The proliferation of auto radios (by 1962 some 47 million cars in the United States were equipped) also coincided with the emergence of a distinct “teen culture” in the United States following World War II. The auto radio helped to promote the growth of this emerging youth culture and, like the drive-in restaurant and drive-in theater, it came to symbolize America’s new level of mobility. At the same time, auto radio offered more stations. FM had been available, although not widely purchased, in car radios since the mid-1950s. With the medium’s growth in popularity, sales of FM-equipped auto radios soared and prices dropped.

Radio in the years since has continually readjusted its approach to programming to meet changing audience needs, and the pervasiveness of the auto radio has remained high. Its

technology has evolved in the same way consumer electronics have changed in the home. Digital audio broadcasting, introduced to the consumer in the 1990s, has spawned a new generation of auto radios. Radio continues to attract its largest audiences during commuting hours, a trend well established by the 1960s and continuing 40 years later, thanks to the near universal availability of the auto radio.

DAVID MCCARTNEY

See also Motorola

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U.S. Radio Star and Station Owner

Born on a cattle farm near Tioga, Texas, son of a livestock dealer and horse trader, Gene Autry really was raised as a western cowboy, a role he lived on radio and in many films and television shows. Although his early dream was to be a telegraph operator and work on the railroad, Autry loved music. His preacher grandfather had taught him to sing at age 5, putting him in his church’s choir, and Autry saved up to buy his first guitar at the age of 12. By the age of 15 he was singing and playing his guitar all over town. Will Rogers heard him sing as a teenager and encouraged him to pursue a radio career singing music. Autry didn’t rush right into radio, but he did travel with the *Fields Brothers’ Marvelous Medicine Show*, playing as the lead-in act to attract the audience so that “Pro-

fessor” Fields could sell his patent medicines. He earned a hearty \$15 a week for his work.

Radio Years

Autry was a teenager when radio came to Tioga. He taught himself to make his own crystal set from reading magazine articles. After he had saved up some money, he decided to take Will Rogers’s advice and look into radio for his chance to sing professionally. He figured the best way would be to first cut a record, which would be his ticket through the door of radio stations. After a month in New York, he was finally given the chance to cut a test for Victor records.

He was told that he had a good voice but needed some seasoning in front of a microphone. The Victor producers recommended he spend some time on the radio and gave him a letter of recommendation to take to radio stations, something that was probably unnecessary given that many rural radio stations would let almost anyone on the air in the 1920s. Autry used the letter to land his first radio spot, a daily 15-minute show on KVOO in Tulsa, Oklahoma, in 1929. He was known as the Oklahoma Yodeling Cowboy. He worked for the railroad by day, because the radio job was unpaid, and used his on-air publicity to land singing engagements wherever he could find them. During that time, he also began to write his own music.

After six months, Autry returned to New York in the fall of 1929 and cut records for Victor; Columbia's Velvotone label; and the Conqueror label of American Record Corporation, with whom he signed an exclusive contract. As a result of these record connections, he was later invited to appear on Rudy Vallee's *Fleischmann Yeast Hour*, one of his first network engagements. He was also invited to be on *National Barn Dance* on Chicago station WLS. *National Barn Dance* was one of the most important venues for early country music. Other performers who frequented the WLS "Cornstalk Studio" from which the show originated included Pat Buttram, Lulubelle and Scotty, The Prairie Ramblers, Patsy Montana, the Cumberland Ridgerunners, and Jolly Joe Kelly. They performed what was known as "hillbilly" music in the 1920s and 1930s but which later became known as "country and western," due in part to the likes of Autry and other "singing cowboys."

These early appearances led to Autry's becoming a regular on the *National Barn Dance*, where he was paid \$35 a week for performing on-air and touring with the show. The show would tour county fairs and the like during the week and return to Chicago for the Saturday night radio show, which was performed in front of a live audience of around 1,200. The cast would do two of these live radio shows in a night. One hour of the show was aired on the National Broadcasting Company (NBC). Autry had by 1931 become a WLS regular. His role included singing on the radio program and touring with the company for performances. Sears and Roebuck also sponsored him for a show using his own name, the *Gene Autry Program*, and he was a guest artist on other shows, including the *National Farm and Home Hour*.

Recording Success

Integral to Autry's network success was his recording success. One of his early recordings, "That Silver-Haired Daddy of Mine," became his first hit (he had written it with a coworker on the railroad). After it was recorded for distribution by the Sears mail-order catalogue, it sold 30,000 copies the first

month. By the end of a year, it had sold half a million copies. The head of his record company and his press agent together had a gold-plated copy of the record made. When sales topped 1 million, they gave him a second gold record. In his autobiography, *Back in the Saddle Again*, Autry says that this was the start of the tradition of giving gold records for sales of 500,000 copies. The record sold over 5 million copies by 1940.

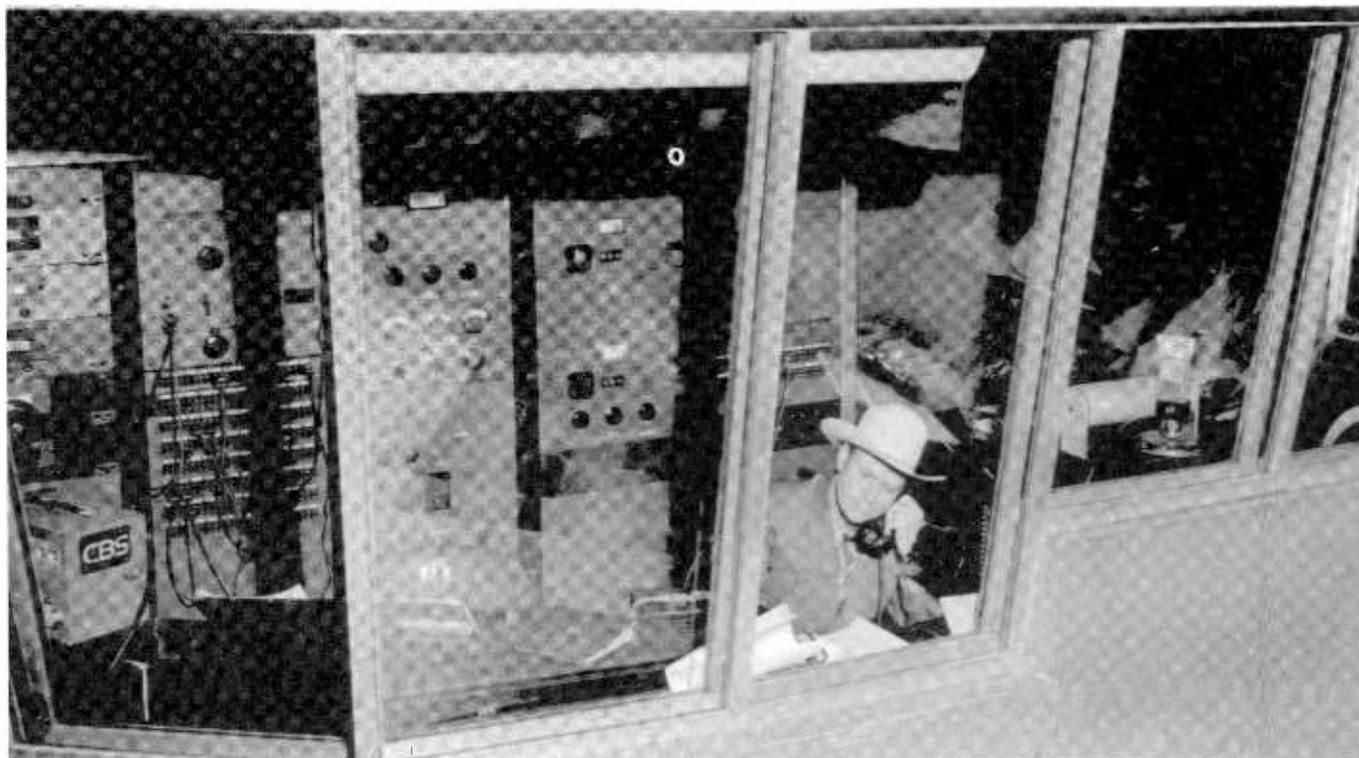
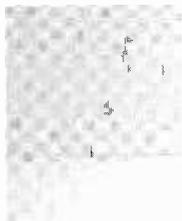
Other songs that made Autry a top-selling country star included "Tumbling Tumbleweed," "Back in the Saddle Again," "Mexicali Rose," "Peter Cottontail," "Here Comes Santa Claus," and "South of the Border." The song "Rudolph the Red-Nosed Reindeer" took Autry to the top of the pop charts for the first time when it was released in 1949. It is one of the best-selling singles of all time. Overall, Autry recorded more than 600 songs, some 200 of which he wrote or co-wrote.

Managing the Show

Keeping a band together was difficult in the early 1930s; performers regularly left to pursue other opportunities. This meant regularly searching for talent to replace those who moved on. In one instance, Autry's booking agent, J.L. Frank, was traveling in central Illinois in 1933 when he heard a man by the name of Lester "Smiley" Burnett sing on radio station WDZ out of Tuscola, Illinois. He told Autry that Burnett would be a good addition to the show for his personal appearances. Autry called Burnett at the radio station and offered him the job sight unseen. Burnett responded, "I'm getting 18 dollars a week and getting it regular," a modest salary, but one to be thankful for in the early Depression years. Autry offered him \$35 dollars a week, and Burnett accepted. Burnett would go on to back up Autry on radio, co-write songs with him, and then star in 60 movies as Autry's sidekick.

Although few band members stayed with Autry through the years, similar stories show how he often went about finding them: once, Autry saw a man hitchhiking and carrying a guitar. He pulled over and asked the fellow to play for him. He didn't hire the hitchhiker, but he got the name of "the best fiddle player in the county" from the man and hired the fiddle player.

While Autry was at WLS, the station was sold to a national network, further advancing Autry's fame beyond Chicago to other cities around the country. Autry was still at WLS in 1934 when he began his film-acting career in earnest by starring in a series of westerns. After making a few films in Hollywood, he returned to Chicago during a winter storm. Suddenly, he realized that California looked much more appealing, and when another offer for a movie came in 1935, he left Chicago for good. He made eight films a year from 1935 to 1942. By 1953, when he starred in his last movie, he had been in 93 films.



Gene Autry in control room on the *Gene Autry Show*
 Courtesy CBS Photo Archive

Autry's Melody Ranch

In 1940 Autry made a movie called *Melody Ranch*. The Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) then gave him a new radio show called *Gene Autry's Melody Ranch*. The program would last from 1940 to 1956, interrupted only by Autry's military service during World War II. The program included a mix of barn dance, vaudeville, Saturday matinee, and medicine show; there was even a role for his movie co-star, his horse Champion. Autry toured extensively with the show, broadcasting it from many of the small towns and rural locations where his country-style music had its greatest appeal.

In 1941, the second year of the show, *Melody Ranch* received an invitation to perform in the small town of Berwyn,

Oklahoma. The town's 227 residents invited Autry because they had decided to change the town's name to Gene Autry, Oklahoma. The show performed on a flatbed railroad car to a live audience of 35,000 people who had come to the small town that day. This was in addition to the CBS radio audience and a makeshift network audience put together over several Oklahoma radio stations that carried an extended version of the broadcast.

About a month later, Autry was set to start the show at the CBS studios in Hollywood when, instead of the opening theme, a special news bulletin was announced from New York. The report gave the details of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor that drew the United States into World War II. The show went on as usual that night after the news bulletin, but

seven months later Gene Autry enlisted in the U.S. Army Air Corps during a live *Melody Ranch* show, one of several efforts he made to promote the war effort.

Autry decided to enlist, knowing that he was ripe for the draft anyway. In July 1942 he enlisted as a G.I., cutting his pay from \$600,000 the year before to \$2,000 in his first year in uniform. He initially worked to entertain many of the troops and even performed many of his *Melody Ranch* shows from the base while stationed in Phoenix, Arizona. He eventually made it into flight school and became a pilot in the Air Transport Command, flying in the Pacific theater of the war. Once the war ended, he returned to the *Melody Ranch* program and to the movies.

Guests on other episodes of *Gene Autry's Melody Ranch* included First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt and a baby boy named Franklin Delano Gene Autry Johnston after both the president of the United States and the host of the radio show. One group of back-up musicians who played regularly for Autry's radio show was the Jimmy Wakeley Trio, a group that also appeared in one movie with Autry, *Heart of the Rio Grande*.

The show, sponsored by Wrigley's Doublemint gum, sometimes promoted the spearmint version of that product. The company had assured Autry that they didn't have to worry about ratings as long as the program sold gum. Nevertheless, after the show had reached the 10-year mark, Wrigley's hired additional writers, singers, actors, orchestra members, and a publicity agent—all in an effort to stem any defection of audience to the upcoming medium of television.

Because Autry saw the trends moving toward television, 1950 also marked the beginning of his own television series, *The Gene Autry Show*. The show continued for the duration of Autry's *Melody Ranch* radio program, also ending in 1956. By the time it ended, about 100 episodes of the television program had been made. Autry began to withdraw from personally performing in show business in the late 1950s. He had already made his last film, and in 1956 he ended his regular radio and television shows. He still recorded music regularly until 1962, but after that he concentrated on managing a growing entertainment corporation. He recorded his last two songs in 1964. Autry's autobiography, titled after one of his most popular films, *Back in the Saddle Again*, was published in 1978.

Ownership and Awards

By 1950 Autry was also a radio station owner, having purchased his first property a few years earlier, during World War II, when he was stationed near Phoenix. This Phoenix station, KPHO-AM, became the cornerstone of a corporate entertainment company that he called Golden West Broadcasting. Before incorporating, however, Autry ran the station with a partner, Tom Chauncey, who continued to run the station when Autry was transferred away. The partners also bought a

radio station in Tucson. Soon Autry moved into television ownership also when he obtained a broadcast license from the Federal Communications Commission for KOOL in Phoenix. Autry owned KOOL-TV as well as KOOL radio interests until the early 1980s, when he sold them for \$35 million.

In 1952 Autry purchased 56 percent of KMPC-AM radio in Los Angeles, which became the flagship station for Golden West Broadcasting. The corporation soon bought stations up and down the Pacific coast in San Francisco, Seattle, and Portland. The adult alternative KSCA-FM in Los Angeles was added to the group later. Golden West owned television stations as well, including KTLA in Los Angeles, bought from Paramount for \$12 million in 1964. In 1985, Autry's company sold KTLA for \$245 million, the highest price paid for a television station to that time.

Autry is the only entertainer to have five stars on the Hollywood walk of fame—one each for recordings, television, film, radio, and theater. Autry received many other awards, including the Songwriters Guild Life Achievement Award and the Hubert H. Humphrey Humanitarian of the Year award. He has been inducted into the National Cowboy Hall of Fame and the Western Music Association Hall of Fame, among others.

STEPHEN D. PERRY

See also Country Music Format; National Barn Dance

Gene Autrey. Born in Tioga, Texas, 29 September 1907. Served in U.S. Army Air Corp, 1942–45; started radio career as Oklahoma Yodeling Cowboy on KVOO, 1929; recorded first record, 1929; joined station WLS with *National Barn Dance*, 1931; wrote and recorded first hit song, "That Silver-Haired Daddy of Mine," 1931; first film appearance, *In Old Santa Fe*, 1934; wrote theme song, "Back in the Saddle Again," 1939; starred in own radio program, *Gene Autry's Melody Ranch*, 1940; bought first radio station, 1942; first television starring role in *The Gene Autry Show*, 1950; known for writing and recording "Here Comes Santa Claus" (1947), "Rudolph the Red-Nosed Reindeer" (1949), "Frosty the Snowman" (1950), and "Peter Cottontail" (1950); incorporated Golden West Broadcasting, 1952; ceased regular TV and radio performances, 1956; recorded last song, 1964; bought the California Angels baseball team, 1961. Died in Studio City, California, 2 October 1998.

Radio Series

1929–30	<i>Oklahoma Yodeling Cowboy</i>
1931–34	<i>National Barn Dance</i>
1930–34	<i>Gene Autry Program</i>
1940–56	<i>Gene Autry's Melody Ranch</i>

Television

The Gene Autry Show, 1950–56

Films

In Old Santa Fe, 1934; *Mystery Mountain*, 1934; *The Phantom Empire*, 1935; *Tumbling Tumbleweeds*, 1935; *Melody Trail*, 1935; *Sagebrush Troubador*, 1935; *The Singing Vagabond*, 1935; *Red River Valley*, 1936; *Comin' Round the Mountain*, 1936; *The Singing Cowboy*, 1936; *Guns and Guitars*, 1936; *Oh, Susanna!* 1936; *Ride, Ranger, Ride*, 1936; *The Big Show*, 1936; *The Old Corral*, 1936; *Git Along, Little Dogies*, 1937; *Round-Up Time in Texas*, 1937; *Yodelin' Kid from Pine Ridge*, 1937; *Manhattan Merry-Go-Round*, 1937; *Springtime in the Rockies*, 1937; *Rootin' Tootin' Rhythm*, 1937; *Public Cowboy No. 1*, 1937; *Boots and Saddles*, 1937; *Man from Music Mountain*, 1938; *Prairie Moon*, 1938; *Western Jamboree*, 1938; *Rhythm of the Saddle*, 1938; *The Old Barn Dance*, 1938; *Gold Mine in the Sky*, 1938; *Home on the Prairie*, 1939; *Mountain Rhythm*, 1939; *South of the Border*, 1939; *Rovin' Tumbleweeds*, 1939; *Mexicali Rose*, 1939; *In Old Monterey*, 1939; *Colorado Sunset*, 1939; *Blue Montana Skies*, 1939; *Men with Steel Faces*, 1940; *Gauche Serenade*, 1940; *Ride, Tenderfoot, Ride*, 1940; *Melody Ranch*, 1940; *Rodeo Dough*, 1940; *Unusual Occupation*, 1940; *Shooting High*, 1940; *Rancho Grande*, 1940; *Carolina Moon*, 1940; *Meet Roy Rogers*, 1941; *Under Fiesta Stars*, 1941; *Sunset in Wyoming*, 1941; *The Singing Hill*, 1941; *Sierra Sue*, 1941; *Ridin' on a Rainbow*, 1941; *Down Mexico Way*, 1941; *Back in the Saddle*, 1941; *Stardust on the Sage*, 1942; *Home in Wyomin'*, 1942; *Heart of the Rio Grande*, 1942; *Cowboy Serenade*, 1942; *Call of the Canyon*, 1942; *Bells of Capistrano*, 1942; *Sioux City Sue*, 1946; *Twilight on the Rio Grande*, 1947; *Trail to San Antone*, 1947; *Saddle Pals*, 1947; *Robin Hood of Texas*, 1947; *The Last Round Up*, 1947; *The Strawberry Roan*, 1948; *Loaded Pistols*, 1948; *The Cowboy and the Indians*, 1949; *Sons of New Mexico*, 1949; *Rim of the*

Canyon, 1949; *Riders of the Whistling Pines*, 1949; *Riders in the Sky*, 1949; *The Big Sombrero*, 1949; *Mule Train*, 1950; *Screen Actors*, 1950; *Indian Territory*, 1950; *Cow Town*, 1950; *The Blazing Sun*, 1950; *Beyond the Purple Hills*, 1950; *Gene Autry and the Mounties*, 1951; *Texans Never Cry*, 1951; *Silver Canyon*, 1951; *Valley of Fire*, 1951; *Whirl Wind*, 1951; *The Hills of Utah*, 1951; *Night Stage to Galveston*, 1952; *Apache Country*, 1952; *Wagon Team*, 1952; *Blue Canadian Rockies*, 1952; *The Old West*, 1952; *Barbed-Wire*, 1952; *On Top of Old Smoky*, 1953; *Winning of the West*, 1953; *Saginaw Trail*, 1953; *Pack Train*, 1953; *Last of the Pony Riders*, 1953; *Goldtown Ghost Riders*, 1953; *Hollywood Bronc Busters*, 1956; *Alias Jesse James*, 1959; *Silent Treatment*, 1968; *Gene Autry, Melody of the West*, 1994

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The Art of Writing Songs and How to Play a Guitar, 1933

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Awards and Prizes

As with other American media, the radio broadcasting industry awards itself (and receives from others) a host of annual prizes as a prime means of recognizing key people, programs, and top performances in the business. This entry briefly describes a selection of the longer running and better known national awards available to radio broadcasters. Most are given annually, and many are open to people in both radio and television (and sometimes other media). The means of choosing winners varies tremendously across both prizes and organizations.

Armstrong Awards

Often called "Majors" in honor of inventor Edwin Howard Armstrong's World War I army rank, these awards, established in 1964, are given in recognition of excellence and originality in radio broadcasting in six content categories: news, music, news documentary, education, community service, and creative use of the medium. Additional awards may be given in the areas of technology, innovation in station programming, and

outstanding service by an individual or company. Armstrong Foundation, Columbia University, New York.

Clarion Awards

Given in more than 80 categories, including radio, for people and programs concerning women in society. Association for Women in Communications, Arnold, Maryland.

Clio Awards

Given in honor of the best domestic and international advertising, these awards have been given since 1960. They include radio among other forms of advertising. More than 200 are given annually. Clio Awards, New York.

Crystal Radio Awards

Given to as many as ten radio stations per year for overall excellence in community service. National Association of Broadcasters, Washington, D.C.

Edward R. Murrow Awards

- (1) Given for outstanding individual contribution to public radio. Corporation for Public Broadcasting, Washington, D.C.
- (2) Given for the best news department, spot news coverage, continuing coverage, investigative reporting, news series and documentary, and for overall excellence. Radio Television News Directors Association, Washington, D.C.

Freedom Foundation National Awards

Given for constructive activities on drug abuse education, ecology, patriotic programs, respect for the law, moral and spiritual values, economic education, human dignity and brotherhood. Freedom Foundation, Valley Forge, Pennsylvania.

Gabriel Awards

Given for radio programs or segments in the following categories: arts/entertainment, news/information, religion, coverage of single news story, community awareness campaigns, public service announcements, and short features. National Catholic Association of Broadcasters and Communicators, Dayton, Ohio.

George Polk Award

These vary from year to year but generally are given to honor discernment in a news story or coverage, resourcefulness in gathering information, or skill in relating the story. These are

usually given for foreign, national, and local achievements. Long Island University, New York.

Gold Medal Award

Presented each year to an outstanding individual or corporate entity in radio or other electronic media. International Radio and Television Society, New York.

Golden Mike Award

Awarded to a company or an individual that has made an outstanding contribution to the art of broadcasting and the community at large. Broadcast Foundation, Greenwich, Connecticut.

International Broadcasting Award

Given to "the world's best" radio and television commercials from anywhere in the world. There are nine radio categories, and subject matter for the advertisement is open. Hollywood Radio and Television Society, Hollywood, California.

Jack R. Howard Awards

Given in honor of investigative or in-depth reporting. Scripps-Howard Foundation, Greencastle, Indiana.

Marconi Radio Awards

Given to stations or on-air personalities for excellence in and contributions to radio. National Association of Broadcasters, Washington, D.C.

Missouri Honor Medals

Given since 1930 in honor of lifetime achievement by the School of Journalism, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

National Headliner Awards

For radio network and individual station news, public service, documentary, and investigative reporting. National Headliners Club, Northfield, New Jersey.

National Radio Award

Given to an individual for significant or ongoing contributions to radio from a leadership position. National Association of Broadcasters, Washington, D.C.

New York Festivals Award

Encompasses radio advertising, programming, promotion, news, entertainment, editorials, service features, and public service announcements, among others. International Radio Program and Promotion Awards of New York, New York.

Overseas Press Club Awards

Given annually for radio spot news from abroad, or radio interpretation of foreign news. Overseas Press Club, New York.

Public Radio Program Award

Recognizes excellence in radio programming at the local or national level. Corporation for Public Broadcasting, Washington, D.C.

Radio-Mercury Awards

Given to honor creative excellence in paid radio advertising, these carry some of the largest cash prizes of any of the awards in this entry—upward of \$100,000 for the top winner. Radio-Mercury, New York.

Radio Program Awards

To recognize outstanding programming for community-oriented radio, commercial or public. National Federation of Community Broadcasters, Washington, D.C.

Radio Wayne Awards

Given annually for the top account executive, sales manager, general manager, director of sales, and broadcaster of the year. They are named in honor of the late Wayne Cornils, a senior vice president of the Radio Advertising Bureau. Radio Ink, Miami, Florida.

Sigma Delta Chi Distinguished Service Award

Given for radio editorials or radio reporting. Society for Professional Journalists, Greencastle, Indiana.

Silver Baton Award

Given for outstanding work in news and public affairs during the previous year, covering both network and local radio. Can be given to an individual, program, series of programs, or a station. Alfred I. DuPont-Columbia University Awards, Graduate School of Journalism, Columbia University, New York.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Peabody Awards; Radio Hall of Fame

Further Reading

“Major Broadcasting and Cable Awards,” *Broadcasting and Cable Yearbook* (annual listing)

Axis Sally (Mildred Gillars) 1900–1988

U.S. Shortwave Propagandist for Nazi Germany

Axis Sally’s “This is Germany Calling” shortwave radio signature heralded one of the most notorious anti-Allied propaganda broadcasts of World War II. Her sexy voice and clever mix of musical entertainment with morale-shaking commentaries and dramatic sketches were familiar to GIs in every zone of the European theater of operations.

Mildred Gillars began her radio work in 1940, after efforts to secure a job as an actress in the United States failed and she moved to Berlin. With the outbreak of World War II, radio propaganda became an important instrument in Germany’s psychological warfare campaign. When the Propaganda Minis-

try began expansion of the *Europäische Fremdsprachendienste* (European Foreign Language Service), Gillars was offered a position as an announcer and commentator for the British zone. In the summer of 1940, during the Battle of Britain, Gillars blanketed the island with anti-British propaganda from the Reich’s Bremen shortwave station. In her *Bremen Sender* program, she commented on the course of the air battle (magnifying German victories) and entertained listeners with the light jazz of “Charlie and His Orchestra.” On one occasion, Gillars interviewed captured British fliers at the Dulag Nord transit camp.

When British and German forces clashed in North Africa in early 1941, Gillars transferred to the *Europäische Fremdsprachendienste's* southern broadcasting zone and began transmitting her *Anzac Tattoo: From the Enemy to the Enemy* program from the 100-kilowatt medium wave unit at Graz-Doble, Austria. The Commonwealth troops of General Wavell's Eighth Army tuned in every Saturday night to this 30-minute offering, ignoring the anti-Allied remarks in preference to the musical numbers and Gillars's seductive "bedroom voice."

When the tide of battle began to shift adversely for Germany following the November 1942 Allied invasion of North Africa, the propagandistic element in Gillars's broadcasts became more prominent and more malignant. For the 65,000 U.S. First Army troops who listened to her Thursday night *Home Sweet Home* program, "Axis Sally," as the GI's now dubbed her, presented a warm picture of recently abandoned family life and added, "You'll get back to all that when the war is over, if you're still alive." Sally also made soldiers uneasy by emphasizing their pawnlike status. "How did I let myself get roped into Churchill's and Roosevelt's war business?" she had one character remark. "After all, God can save the King. Americans don't need to bother about him." Axis Sally's broadcasts constantly exploited GI lack of training and fear of imminent death. Prior to one engagement she warned, "You poor, silly, dumb lambs, on your way to be slaughtered." Personal resentments against officers, war profiteers, scheming politicians, and military discipline were also exploited. Her most effective device for undermining morale, though, was her shrewd manipulation of the GI's romantic anxieties. In a 1943 broadcast, Sally queried, "And what are your girls doing tonight, fellows? You really can't blame them for going out to have some fun, could you? It's all so empty back there now. Better to go out for some drinks with that 4-F boyfriend than sit and wait forever, doing nothing . . . especially if you boys get all mutilated and do not return in one piece." This was followed by renditions of "Can I Forget You" and "Somebody Stole My Gal."

Another disturbing feature of Axis Sally's broadcasts was her apparent ubiquity. GIs of the U.S. Sixth Corps waiting in transports off the coast of Salerno in 1943 heard her warn, "Thousands and thousands and thousands of you men going from . . . Sicily to Europe are on your *last round-up*," followed by the song of the same name. Listeners aboard one U.S. merchantman were astonished when, within 90 minutes of their sailing past Gibraltar, Axis Sally was on the air describing the convoy in detail—number and type of ships, cargo, and so on. Sally's messages were frequently beamed across the Atlantic. "You women in America waiting for the one you love. Waiting and weeping in the safety of your own rooms . . . Thinking of the son, husband, brother who is being sacrificed . . . Perishing on the fringes of Europe . . . Losing their lives, at best coming back crippled."

In mid-1943, Sally expanded her on-air operations when she and Otto Koischwitz (another influential North America service propagandist, with whom she had a long-running affair and who may have gotten her into the radio business in the first place) began originating broadcasts from Allied prisoner-of-war camps in Germany. After presenting herself as an International Red Cross representative, she allowed GIs to transmit 25-word messages to their folks back home. Although she would later claim a humanitarian motive, these *Medical Reports* were pure propaganda. Every broadcast dwelt on the idyllic character of camp life—with obliging guards and tanned and cake-eating inmates.

In the fall of 1943, Sally followed Allied forces on their invasion of the Italian mainland. Her *Midge at the Mike* program was immensely popular with GIs, despite its constant drumming of themes like homefront betrayal and violent death. Sally's sexy tones and the lively vibes featuring America's big band artists brought warmth to many remote hillside foxholes. She ended each broadcast with "That's all boys and a kiss from Sally." In February 1944, German aircraft dropped program schedules along the entire Allied line of advance.

By spring 1944, Axis Sally was the highest-paid foreign language broadcaster in the Third Reich, and her notoriety encouraged several imitators in the European theater. With the increasing artistic freedom that accompanied her rising status, she helped produce one of the best-known German propaganda dramas of World War II, *Vision of Invasion*. Broadcast on 12 May 1944 to the American homefront and to U.S. troops gathering in southeastern England for D day (three weeks before the actual operation), *Vision of Invasion* was a warning of the catastrophe awaiting Allied forces when they disembarked onto Hitler's fortified continent. The program opened with an announcer declaring "D day. D stands for Doom, Disaster, Defeat, and Death!" The action alternated between an apprehensive transport-bound GI and his grieving mother at home (played by Sally). "The invasion will be suicide," she laments, "and between 70 and 90 percent of the boys will be killed or maimed for life."

To counter Sally's growing influence, the American Armed Forces Radio Service multiplied the number of shortwave transmitters in its zones of occupation and expanded its schedule of anti-Axis programming. Morale-boosting offerings for Allied consumption were also increased, and an anti-Sally character was created in the form of "GI Jill," who presented the same mix of vibrant music and alluring commentary. In addition, U.S. broadcasters began a vigorous on-air effort to discredit Sally. At home, a federal grand jury indicted her, in absentia, for wartime treason.

In the summer of 1944, Sally was dispatched to France where, using special mobile transmitters, she tried to foment confusion and undermine morale among advancing Allied troops. After the Allied sweep out of Brittany, Sally retired to



Mildred Gillars, aka "Axis Sally," leaves court in Washington, D.C., 17 February 1949
Courtesy AP/Wide World Photos

Paris, where she endeavored to stir up French resentment against the American bombing campaign, told of increased Allied disunity, and informed soldiers of the ingratitude of "liberated" Frenchmen. After a brief stint at Hilversum studios in Holland, Sally returned to Berlin and continued her broadcasts at KWS until the end of the war. In the spring of 1945, with Allied troops closing in on Germany from all directions, Sally tried to counter the impression of German defeat by broadcasting from officer's parties and official galas. In the last weeks of the conflict, she advised GIs to shirk their duties lest they become unnecessary casualties.

After the war Sally lived in a Berlin basement until arrested by U.S. intelligence agents in March 1946. She spent 6 months at the Oberursel detention facility and 19 months in another U.S. Army prison in Germany. On 24 January 1949 she was tried in the United States for high treason and was ultimately given a 10- to 30-year sentence and a \$10,000 fine. Although no firm evidence could be produced indicating her ideological commitment to Nazism (hence the relatively light sentence), enough pro-Hitler and anti-Semitic utterances could be gleaned from shortwave transcripts to condemn her. After 12 years in a West Virginia women's reformatory, she was paroled in July 1961. She returned to Ohio Wesleyan University to complete her bachelor's degree in speech communication. She died on 25 June 1988 in Columbus, Ohio.

ROBERT J. BROWN

See also Lord Haw-Haw; Propaganda; Shortwave Radio; Tokyo Rose; World War II and U.S. Radio

Axis Sally. Born Mildred Elizabeth Sisk (later Mildred Gillars) in Portland, Maine, 29 November 1900. Studied English and Drama at Ohio Wesleyan University, 1917-20; stagework in Cleveland, lived in New York as unemployed actress, 1920-28; minor role in film *Unwanted Children*, 1928; artist's model in Paris, 1929; returned to New York, 1930-33; moved to Berlin and worked at Berlitz language school, dubbed German language films, wrote film reviews, and acted as private secretary to German actress Brigitte Horney, 1934-39;

propaganda broadcaster for Nazi-controlled Bremen I shortwave station, 1940; joined southern broadcasting zone of *Europäische Fremdsprachendienste* (European Foreign Language Service) and hosted anti-Allied propaganda broadcasts, 1941-44; hosted propaganda broadcasts from Paris, the Netherlands, and Berlin, late 1944-45; in hiding in Berlin, 1945-46; arrested, March 1946; in U.S. Army detention center at Oberursel with other U.S. radio propagandists; released December 1946; rearrested by U.S. Army, January 1947; in U.S. Army prison, 1947-49; on trial for treason, found guilty, and received 10-30 year prison sentence and \$10,000 fine, 1949; women's reformatory, in Alderson, West Virginia, 1949-61; paroled, 1961; taught French and German at Catholic school, Columbus, Ohio, 1961-72; returned to Ohio Wesleyan to complete bachelor's degree in speech communication, 1972. Died in Columbus, Ohio, 25 June 1988.

Radio Series

1940	<i>Bremen Sender</i>
1941-42	<i>Anzac Tattoo: From the Enemy to the Enemy</i>
1942-45	<i>Home Sweet Home</i>
1943-45	<i>Medical Reports</i>
1943-45	<i>Midge at the Mike</i>
1944	<i>Vision of Invasion</i>

Further Reading

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- Edwards, John Carver, *Berlin Calling: American Broadcasters in Service to the Third Reich*, New York: Praeger, 1991
- Ettlinger, Harold, *The Axis on the Air*, Indianapolis, Indiana: Bobbs-Merrill, 1943
- Kris, Ernst, and Hans Speier, *German Radio Propaganda*, London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1944
- Van Dyne, Edward, "No Other Gal Like Axis Sal," *The Saturday Evening Post* (15 January 1944)

B

Barber, Red 1908–1992

U.S. Radio and TV Sportscaster

Respected for his integrity and admired for his folksy, literary style, Red Barber ranks as one of the greatest sportscasters in broadcasting history.

“The Ol’ Redhead” was born in Columbus, Mississippi, and grew up in Sanford, Florida. Barber inherited the storytelling ability of his father, a railroad engineer. From his mother, an English teacher, he absorbed a love of language. While studying English at the University of Florida in 1930, Barber joined the staff of WRUF, the campus radio station. Among his duties were play-by-play broadcasts of the University of Florida football games.

In 1934, at WSAI in Cincinnati, Ohio, Barber began a 33-season career of broadcasting major-league baseball. Thanks to the innovations of Cincinnati Reds general manager Larry MacPhail, Barber was at the microphone for the first night game in the big leagues, and he broadcast from an airplane when the Reds became the first team to travel by air.

Following MacPhail to Brooklyn in 1939, Barber enjoyed more “firsts,” including the first televised major-league game on 23 August 1939. That NBC game between the Dodgers and Reds also featured Barber doing the first TV commercials. Later that year, Barber did play-by-play announcement of the first football games ever televised.

Barber called the first integrated game in 1947 when the Dodgers’ Jackie Robinson became the first black player in the major leagues. Like many Southerners of his generation, Barber opposed integration and considered leaving the Dodgers. He knew listeners would focus on how he handled the situation and said he had “the hottest microphone in broadcasting” at the time. Robinson’s enormous courage in the face of threats on his life made Barber a convert to civil rights. Robinson and the black players who followed him into the majors praised Barber for treating them like other ballplayers and never referring to their color. They said that was exactly what they

wanted. Robinson led the Dodgers to the 1947 World Series, the first to be televised, and Red Barber called the games.

New York listeners and viewers were charmed by Barber’s folksy expressions. From his “catbird seat,” Barber described an outfielder “movin’ as easy as a bank of fog,” a pitcher who was “no slouch with the willow,” and an infielder trying to handle a ball “slicker than oiled okra.” A close game was “tighter than a new pair of shoes on a rainy day,” but a one-sided game was “tied up in a croker sack.” A bad game was “full of fleas.” A pitcher might be “as wild as a hungry chicken hawk on a frosty morning,” but another might be so good “he could toss a lamb chop past a hungry wolf.” A fight was a “rhubarb,” and a game with a lot of hits was an example of “tearin’ up the pea patch.”

Barber was no rube, however, and he never played the clown. His expressions came as naturally to him as his use of words such as *concomitant* and *penultimate*. He surely was alone among play-by-play announcers in quoting Byron and Coleridge to describe action on a baseball diamond.

Calling the games as a detached journalist, Barber refused to root for the teams that paid his salary. In the days when road games were sometimes described by announcers reading telegraph reports, Barber refused to pretend he was actually watching a game. He also rejected the superstition of ignoring a no-hitter in progress. He believed the pitcher’s no-hit performance was the obvious lead story of the game.

Hired by Edward R. Murrow in 1946, Barber served as Director of Sports at CBS for nine years. Among Barber’s innovations was the football “round-up,” in which the network would broadcast bits of several games on the same Saturday afternoon, switching to a more interesting match when a game became dull or one-sided. Out of one of these round-ups emerged Barber’s protégé, Vin Scully, who joined Barber and Connie Desmond on the Dodger broadcasts in 1950.



Red Barber
Courtesy Radio Hall of Fame

Barber could also be heard on *The Old Gold Hour* with bandleader Sammy Kaye and later with Woody Herman. His work for CBS included many celebrity interviews with people not connected to sports, including Fred Astaire, Francis Cardinal Spellman, and former president Herbert Hoover.

Leaving the Dodgers after the 1953 season, Barber joined his old rival Mel Allen in the broadcast booth at Yankee Stadium. Barber and Allen, the two great stars of their era, remain linked in the memories of many baseball fans. When the Baseball Hall of Fame began honoring broadcasters with the Ford C. Frick Award in 1968, it could not decide between Barber and Allen, so it gave the award to both.

Barber's independent streak was costly. Named to broadcast the 1953 World Series, he insisted on negotiating his fee. He was removed from the broadcast and was never asked to call another World Series. When CBS took control of the Yankees, it gave Barber three former ballplayers as broadcast partners. Barber believed broadcasting was a professional career, not a lark for ex-athletes who could no longer play the game. The 1966 Yankees were a bad team that drew just 413 fans to a game in September. Barber's reference to the sparse attendance did not endear him to management. He was fired after the 1966 season.

Barber retired from daily broadcasting and returned to Florida, where he wrote five books. From 1981 until his death in 1992, Barber was a commentator on National Public Radio's *Morning Edition*. Speaking from his home in Tallahassee, Barber, with his four-minute chat each Friday, was the most popular feature on NPR. Listeners loved hearing his stories about sports and the early days of broadcasting, but they especially enjoyed hearing him talk about his garden, the adventures of his pet cat, and the opera he had enjoyed that week on public television. He spoke with pride of his on-air support of blood drives during World War II, his USO tours, and his decades as a lay reader in the Episcopal Church.

BOB EDWARDS

See also Sports on Radio; Sportscasters

Red Barber. Born Walter Lanier Barber in Columbus, Mississippi, 17 February 1908. Joined staff of WRUF, Gainesville, Florida, 1930, and broadcast play-by-play of University of Florida football; staff announcer for WLW/WSAI, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1934–38, broadcasting Cincinnati Reds baseball, University of Cincinnati football, and some Ohio State football games; broadcast voice of Brooklyn Dodgers, 1939–53; play-by-play broadcaster for New York Yankees, 1954–66; director of sports, CBS, 1946–55; worked 13 World Series, five All-Star games, several NFL Championship Games, and 13 college football bowl games; newspaper columnist for the *New York Journal-American*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *Miami Herald*, and *Tallahassee Democrat*; commentator for National Public Radio's *Morning Edition*, 1981–92. Died in Tallahassee, Florida, 22 October 1992.

Selected Publications

The Rhubarb Patch (with pictures by Barry Stein), 1954
Rhubarb in the Catbird Seat (with Robert Creamer), 1968
Walk in the Spirit, 1969
The Broadcasters, 1970
Show Me the Way to Go Home, 1971
1947, When All Hell Broke Loose in Baseball, 1982

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 Edwards, Bob, *Fridays with Red: A Radio Friendship*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1993
 Smith, Curt, *Voices of the Game: The First Full-Scale Overview of Baseball Broadcasting, 1921 to the Present*, South Bend, Indiana: Diamond, 1987; 2nd edition, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1992

Barnouw, Erik 1908–2001

U.S. (Dutch-Born) Broadcast Writer, Producer, and Historian

Renowned as a media scholar and practitioner, Erik Barnouw had a long career that involved work with commercial networks, the federal government, documentary filmmakers, and academe. He is best known, however, as American broadcasting's premier historian.

Origins

Barnouw was born in the Netherlands and spent his first decade there, moving with his family to New York after World War I. He became very active in theater while attending Princeton

University from 1925 to 1929, and wrote and acted in several plays and musicals, including *Open Collars* and the *Princeton Triangle Show*. On graduation he turned down a chance to stay on for graduate degrees and become a faculty member, opting instead for the theater world. The theater was one of three offers he considered; in the end, Barnouw was luckily able to enjoy all three of them. The theater stint lasted only a few months, and he then accepted a position as a writer for the new business monthly magazine *Fortune*. When the Depression began to cut into that option (first his hours were reduced, then he lost his job), he turned to the third—a fellowship to travel overseas. The fellowship included a few months of his studying drama with Max Reinhardt in Vienna, plus travel to other spots in Europe and North Africa. On Barnouw's return in 1931, he found an America that had plunged even deeper into the Depression and that offered few job opportunities of any sort.

Radio Years

A chance meeting led to a position with the Erwin Wasey ad agency, which had just won the Camel Cigarettes radio advertising account. Barnouw was assigned to direct the *Camel Quarter Hour* program, both the program and its advertising. This variety show was broadcast six nights a week. As he later recalled: at that point "I had never had a radio. I went out and bought a radio . . . [and] listened to it all weekend, so I could come to work Monday knowing a lot about it." He remained with the Erwin Wasey agency until 1935, then spent two years with the Arthur Kudner agency. By mid-decade he was directing six or seven network (CBS and NBC) radio dramas every week, among them *Bobby Benson's Adventures*, a 15-minute children's program. Though he had sought a salary of only \$30 a week for this job, he was started at \$65, an indication of national radio's economic health (despite the perilous times) and growing importance.

By 1937 Barnouw felt burned-out from the long and hectic weeks dealing with multiple radio programs. A writing professor at Columbia University contacted him while he relaxed in Maine for the summer, and offered him a chance to teach radio writing during the coming academic year. As Barnouw later noted, this was fortuitous timing; the networks were increasing their sustaining (i.e., non-advertiser supported) programs, many of them dramas, in the face of press and government criticism of radio's direction. The networks needed and were willing to help support ways of training writers for the medium; they helped pay tuition for some of the people attending Barnouw's course at Columbia. Among those attending his first class were a young Bernard Malamud and (under an assumed name) novelist Pearl Buck, who had just won a Nobel Prize. Barnouw's first book, *Handbook of Radio Writing*, was the result of his experiences in this class, it also included scripts from his work with both CBS and NBC.

Teaching about how to write for radio (something he had deplored before he tried it) increased his interest and activity in writing for radio. He served as script editor for a CBS radio series in 1939–40. He also wrote many *Cavalcade of America* and *Theater Guild on the Air* scripts during and after World War II. As many radio employees were being called up for war-time work, Barnouw found himself working full-time again in network radio, becoming a script editor for NBC's public service program writers. As a result of advertisers increasing their expenditures during the war, the number of public service programs also greatly increased; there was plenty for Barnouw to do. The NBC position led to his being appointed the head of educational programs for the Armed Forces Radio Service in Washington, D.C., in 1944–45.

Television and Film

After the war, Barnouw returned to New York and Columbia University, this time as a full-time faculty member in the School of Arts. Among his first roles was that of bridging academe and network: the university made use of NBC television studios to train writers and production people. He expanded the courses in his department to include television and film as well as radio. He would chair this department until 1968, and he remained with the university until his retirement in 1973.

What many perceive to have been Barnouw's signature contribution to radio began in 1959 when he was approached by Oxford University Press to prepare a three-volume history of American broadcasting to parallel the history of the BBC that Oxford was planning to publish in England. Barnouw had already scheduled a year (1961) in India on a Fulbright fellowship (out of which came a history of Indian film), but on his return he devoted himself to this project. The first volume appeared in 1966 to laudatory reviews; it was followed by the two further volumes in 1968 and 1970. The trilogy almost overnight became the standard history of U.S. radio and television. He followed up with a one-volume version focused on television in 1975, and revised it twice before his death.

Barnouw spent the final years of his career in Washington. He became a fellow at the Woodrow Wilson Center of the Smithsonian Institution in 1976, from which residency came his history of the unique role of American broadcast advertising, *The Sponsor*, in 1978. From 1978 until his retirement in 1981, Barnouw served as founding chief or director of the Library of Congress's Motion Picture, Broadcasting and Recorded Sound Division. Even after he retired, and up until the time of his death in mid-2001, Barnouw continued to write insightful analyses of the state of American media.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Education about Radio

Erik Barnouw. Born in The Hague, Netherlands, 23 June 1908, son of Adriaan Barnouw, a noted linguist and later Columbia University professor of Dutch, and Anne Midgely. Immigrated with his family to the U.S., 1919. Graduated in English, Princeton University, 1929. Briefly joined Cukor-Kondolf stock theater company in Rochester, New York, as assistant stage manager. Writer for *Fortune* magazine, 1929–30. Radio program director and radio writer for two different advertising agencies, 1931–37; writer for CBS, 1939–40; editor, NBC Script Division, 1942–44; supervisor, Education Division, Armed Forces Radio Service, 1944–45. President, radio writer's guild, 1947–49; at Columbia University as part-time instructor from 1937; full-time faculty 1946–73, organizing film division and serving as its chair until 1968. Co-founder (in 1954) and head of Writers Guild of America, 1957–59. Peabody Award, 1944; Fulbright scholar in India, 1961; Guggenheim Fellowship, 1969; Bancroft Prize in American History, 1971; George Polk Award, 1971; Frank Luther Mott Journalism Award, 1971; Woodrow Wilson Center Fellow, 1976. Chief of Motion Picture, Broadcasting and Recorded Sound Division, Library of Congress, 1978–81. Died 19 July 2001 at Fair Haven, Vermont.

Selected Credits

Radio

(years indicate program span, not necessarily years Barnouw was involved)

Producer, *The Camel Quarter-Hour*, CBS, 1931–32

Director, *Bobby Benson's Adventures*, CBS, 1932–36

Director or writer, *The Cavalcade of America*, CBS, 1935–39

Director or writer, *Theater Guild on the Air*, CBS, 1943–44; 1945–49, ABC; 1949–53, NBC

Producer, *Words at War*, NBC, 1943–45

Writer, *The Conspiracy of Silence*, 1948

Television

The Ignorant, Ignorant Cowboy, public health campaign.

Motion Pictures

Producer, *Freedom to Read*, 1954

Producer, writer (with Herbert Wechsler), *Decision: The Constitution In Action*, 1959

Producer, *Hiroshima-Nagasaki, August 1945*, 1970 (Atlanta Film Festival Award winner)

Selected Publications

Handbook of Radio Writing, 1938; 2nd edition, 1947

Radio Drama in Action: 25 Plays of a Changing World, 1942

Handbook of Radio Production, 1949

Mass Communication: Television, Radio, Film, Press, 1956

The Television Writer, 1962

Indian Film (with S. Krishnaswamy), 1963; 2nd edition, 1980

A History of Broadcasting in the United States, 3 vols.

A Tower in Babel [to 1933], 1966

Golden Web [1933–53], 1968

The Image Empire [from 1953] 1970

Documentary: A History of the Nonfiction Film, 1974; revised editions, 1983, 1993

Tube of Plenty: The Evolution of American Television, 1975; revised editions, 1982, 1990

The Sponsor: Notes on a Modern Potentate, 1978

The Magician and the Cinema, 1981

International Encyclopedia of Communications (editor), 1989

Media Marathon: A Twentieth-Century Memoir, 1996

Conglomerates and the Media, 1997

Media Lost and Found, 2001

Further Reading

"A Festschrift in Honor of Erik Barnouw On the Occasion of His Ninetieth Birthday," *Wide Angle* 20, no. 2 (April 1998)

"Papers Presented at the 'Future of Media Historical Research,' a conference at the Media Studies Project, Woodrow Wilson Center, September 27, 1991," *Film & History* 22, nos. 2–3 (May/September 1991)

Beautiful Music Format. See Easy Listening/Beautiful Music Format

Bell Telephone Laboratories

At the forefront of communications research, Bell Laboratories for decades was regarded as the largest and most successful private research organization in the world. Created as the research and development division of American Telephone and Telegraph (AT&T), Bell Labs is now a part of Lucent Technologies. Best known for its development of the transistor, laser technology, and information theory, the organization boasts more than 27,000 patents and 11 Nobel laureates. Headquartered in Murray Hill, New Jersey, Bell Labs consists of a global community of some 16,000 people in 16 countries.

It was nearly 50 years after the invention of the telephone when AT&T formed Bell Telephone Laboratories as a subsidiary in 1925. The unit was created to merge and centralize the research and engineering work of AT&T and its manufacturing and supply arm, Western Electric. Frank B. Jewett was its first president.

Bell Labs can be credited with major roles in the development of computer technology, the microelectronics industry, and a host of modern communications technologies. In its first three years of operation, researchers demonstrated long-distance television transmission, sound/motion pictures, the artificial larynx, and the negative feedback amplifier (used to reduce distortion in radio and telephone transmissions). During the 1930s, researchers developed an electrical digital computer, a radio altimeter (a new means of radio transmission), and radio astronomy. In addition, they conducted research on stereophonic sound. During World War II, the U.S. military profited from research at Bell Labs on radar and wireless communications.

One of the most notable Bell Labs inventions was the transistor, a small electronic component with a semiconductor, which is now found in virtually every electronic device and led to solid-state communications and transformation of the electronics industry. The transistor was invented in 1947 when a team of scientists took initial semiconductor research and improved upon it in order to amplify signals in the same way as the vacuum tube did but with more reliability and much less power and space consumption. Bell Labs developed techniques to make the transistor practical, and it eventually became a fundamental and essential component of radio, television, telephone, and entertainment equipment. The transistor radio, one of the first mass-produced products based on this invention, appeared in 1954, quickly becoming the best seller in consumer product history and significantly influencing popular culture. The transistor paved the way for portability, miniaturization, and better car radios. Later, the invention of the integrated circuit, which organizes numerous transistors and other electronic components on a silicon wafer, took the transistor innovation to a new level and sparked the Information Age.

Other key contributions of Bell Labs include the publication of “information theory” in 1948, the invention of laser technology in 1958, and the development of the solar battery and communications satellite by the early 1960s. Bell Labs introduced software-controlled telephone switches long before personal computers, in addition to the first electric microphone for hands-free telephone conversations. Other developments in which Bell Labs researchers assisted included cellular mobile radio, fiber optics, light-emitting diodes, charge-coupled devices (used in cameras), the UNIX operating system, C and C++ programming languages, and High-Definition Television (HDTV).

For more than 50 years, Bell Telephone Laboratories enjoyed financial support from its parent company AT&T, a regulated monopoly that could pass along research costs to customers. The research approach was primarily academic, with a corporate philosophy of giving topflight researchers freedom and autonomy. Bell Labs focused on being the first or best in such areas as publishing papers, setting transmission records, and building the most powerful laser diode. Eleven of its researchers have been awarded the Nobel Prize, nine have received the National Medal of Science, and seven have received the National Medal of Technology. An Emmy Award was earned for the institution’s work on HDTV. Nobel Prize winners include Clinton J. Davisson, who demonstrated the wave nature of matter, a foundation for much of today’s solid-state electronics. John Bardeen, Walter H. Brattain, and William Shockley were honored with a Nobel Prize in 1956 for inventing the transistor, and Arno Penzias and Robert Wilson received the Nobel Prize for detecting background radiation supporting the Big Bang theory.

By the 1980s competitive pressures and then divestiture led AT&T to refocus its research efforts. The terms of a 1956 agreement with the U.S. Department of Justice restricted what use AT&T could make of technologies unrelated to its core telephone business. Bell Labs had to license others to utilize many of its patents—especially the valuable transistor. The court-ordered 1984 break-up of AT&T, however, freed Bell Labs to engage in direct marketing as well as licensing of its innovations. Research Director Arno Penzias pushed to bring wide-ranging research projects more in line with the company’s telecommunications business. Although there was concern that Bell Labs would suffer without the former cross-subsidies, AT&T pledged to continue its tradition of both primary and applied research. Critics noted, however, the slow but steady decline of fundamental scientific research in favor of more applied work to develop products to meet customer needs.

Bell Labs experienced a dramatic change in 1996 when AT&T underwent another major restructuring (a divestiture), giving up 75 percent of its Bell Laboratories staff to its new off-

spring, Lucent Technologies. The remaining 25 percent, made up of computer scientists, mathematicians, and other information scientists remained to form the new AT&T Laboratories, supporting the telecommunications provider's businesses in long distance and other services. Some physical science positions were terminated due to the corporate reorganization.

Bell Labs initially experienced a resurgence under its new parent company, Lucent Technologies, a high-tech company that develops and manufactures telecommunications technology and equipment for AT&T and others. Lucent also gave Bell Labs a higher profile, featuring the research and development unit in the company slogan: "Lucent Technologies. Bell Labs Innovations." About 80 percent of Bell Labs employees are part of and integrated into Lucent's business units. The other 20 percent work for what is called the Central Labs, which consist of three major technical divisions: Advanced Technologies, Technology Officer Division, and Research.

During the 1990s, Bell Labs led the world with more citations than, for example, IBM and top academic institutions. Even today, despite serious cut-backs and reorientation of research priorities, the Labs average better than three patent applications every business day. A number of technologies for the digital audio broadcasting (DAB) market have been patented, including the perceptual audio coding (PAC) algorithm. The PAC encoder converts AM or FM radio signals into high-quality digital signals and enables the transmission of digital audio over a variety of wireless and wireline channels, including in-band, on-channel (IBOC) systems and the internet.

At the dawn of the 21st century, Lucent, like most of the telecommunications industry, experienced financial troubles. As a result, Bell Labs lost funding and people, particularly in the physical sciences. Restructuring and streamlining shifted

the focus to addressing the needs of communications service providers. There are now two primary operating units, focusing on wireline networks and mobile networks. Web-based customer solutions and service intelligence are emphasized. Bell Labs continues to be Lucent's innovation engine.

LAURIE THOMAS LEE

See also American Telephone and Telegraph; Transistor Radios

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Benny, Jack 1894-1974

U.S. Radio Comedian

Jack Benny was one of network radio's top comedy stars for several decades, and one of the few who successfully made the transition from vaudeville to radio, and later from radio to television.

Vaudeville Origins

Jack Benny was born Benjamin (Benny) Kubelsky in Chicago on 14 February 1894, but he claimed Waukegan, Illinois, as his

birthplace because his parents lived there. Benny's father bought him a violin and paid for lessons, and after graduating from grammar school Benny played with a children's orchestra in stores, at parties, and at bar mitzvahs. He entered Central High School in Waukegan in 1909 and worked in vaudeville as a violinist in the orchestra pit at the Barrison Theater, also in Waukegan. Matinee performances required time away from school and led to his flunking out. His disappointed father found him a haberdashery job and enrolled him in Waukegan

Business College. Benny was so uninterested that his father let him return to the Barrison, which closed when Benny was 16. Benny then formed the act "Salisbury and Benny—From Grand Opera to Ragtime" with Cora Salisbury, a mature pianist. They played the Midwest until 1913, when Benny joined pianist Lyman Woods to form "Bennie and Woods." Their crowning moment came when they played New York's Palace, the leading vaudeville theater. In November 1917 Benny's mother died, and for the rest of his life Benny feared the cancer that had claimed her life. He also regretted that he had not become a serious violinist as she had hoped he would.

In 1918 Benny joined the navy at Great Lakes Training Station and never saw Woods again. He joined the *Great Lakes Review*, a navy theatrical show that performed across the Midwest for Navy Relief. Benny had never talked onstage in vaudeville. In the navy show, he had two lines that he delivered in a flat voice the audience loved. Upon his discharge, Benny performed solo to modest reviews as "Ben Benny—Fiddleology and Fun" and "Ben Benny—Aristocrat of Humor." He also had some success composing piano solos. He soon decided, however, to put all his emphasis on being a comedian in his act "A Few Minutes with Ben Benny." Ben Bernie, bandleader and comedian, was unhappy with the name similarity, and so Jack Benny was created. In "A Few Minutes with Jack Benny," music disappeared from his act. By 1926 Benny was well established as a vaudeville comedian when he met Sadie Marks, a hosiery salesgirl who in 1927 would become his wife. They adopted a daughter, Joan, in 1934.

In 1926 Benny landed a role in *The Great Temptations*, a musical revue. After that, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer signed him to a film contract. He was used primarily to emcee industry dinners and premieres, but he did play himself in *The Hollywood Revue of 1929*. He asked to be released from his contract and returned to the stage in *The Earl Carroll Vanities* in 1930.

Network Radio

Benny's first radio appearance was on an interview show hosted by *New York Daily News* columnist Ed Sullivan in 1932. Benny said: "This is Jack Benny. There will be a slight pause while everyone says, 'Who cares?'" Benny was given the *Canada Dry Program*, which aired on National Broadcasting Company (NBC) Blue (2 May 1932 to 26 October 1932) and on the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS; 30 October 1932 to 26 January 1933). Benny tried new ideas, such as humorously working the advertisement into the show. Canada Dry was at first unimpressed, but thousands of letters changed their minds. During the second year of Benny's work for NBC, he was given the *Chevrolet Program* on NBC Red (3 March 1933 to 23 June 1933; 1 October 1933 to 1 April 1934), but network President William F. Knudsen dropped the show until

protests from dealers changed his mind. However, NBC Red had already begun to broadcast Benny's *General Tire Revue* (6 April 1934 to 28 September 1934). Sadie joined the cast as Mary Livingstone, a fictitious character from Plainfield, New Jersey. There was no real Mary Livingstone, but fans who remembered her sent letters to her for the rest of Sadie's life.

In 1934 Benny signed to do the *Jell-O Program Starring Jack Benny* on NBC Blue in New York (14 October 1934 to 14 July 1935). The show moved to Hollywood on NBC Blue (29 September 1935 to 21 June 1936) and then on NBC Red (4 October 1936 to 31 May 1942). By 1936 the *Jell-O Program Starring Jack Benny* was rated number one. Benny introduced many running bits (including his famous "feud" with fellow radio comedian Fred Allen), which continued on television. In his basement was the famous vault and Carmichael the polar bear. He satirized motion pictures, always maintained that he was 39, drove a very old Maxwell car, and cultivated his stingy image. He demonstrated frustration, with chin in hand, by stating, "Well!" Sometimes he showed aggravation by saying, "Now cut that out!" His most famous line reflecting stinginess came during a scene in which he was held up by a robber who exclaimed, "Your money or your life!" After a lengthy delay, the robber repeated the demand. The audience laughed profusely and at great length until Benny responded, "I'm thinking!" Benny also employed sound effects, perhaps more successfully than anyone to that point in radio. Although he was a proficient violinist in real life, Benny continued to use it as a funny prop and sometimes played a sloppy version of his theme song, *Love in Bloom*. Benny and his writers did not employ any particular gag on a weekly basis but rotated and mixed old jokes with new ideas to keep material fresh. No bit was overplayed, but the audience always knew that the vault, Carmichael, and the Maxwell were there, even though they may have been part of the script only a few times per season.

Benny's radio program featured regular cast members, such as Mary Livingstone, Dennis Day, Phil Harris, and others. Perhaps the most beloved character was Eddie Anderson's "Rochester." The show returned to New York on occasion, and Rochester was introduced as a Pullman porter in a skit about one of the train trips back to Los Angeles. Gravel-voiced Rochester was so well received he was written into the program permanently under the premise that Benny had hired him away from the railroad. Rochester used affectionate insults to put Benny in his place, and the relationship worked perfectly into Benny's trademark of self-deprecating humor.

After moving to California, Benny signed a long-term contract with Paramount to appear in a number of movies, including *College Holiday* (1936) with George Burns and Gracie Allen and *Love Thy Neighbor* (1940) with Fred Allen. *Buck Benny Rides Again*, playing on one of the running radio gags, satirized Western films with film actor Andy Devine portraying



Jack Benny
Courtesy Radio Hall of Fame

his sidekick. Benny had success in his films, but one would not know it based on his treatment of film in his radio act. One recurring joke focused on the 1946 film *The Horn Blows at Midnight*. Although it made some money, it was his least successful movie effort. His agent, Irving Fein, said that although Benny later had other parts in movies, "the record books will state that *The Horn Blows at Midnight* really did blow taps to his motion-picture career."

While Bob Hope rightfully received tremendous credit for entertaining American troops abroad, Jack Benny deserves credit in this respect as well. Many jokes focused on his experiences as a World War I sailor. Unlike other entertainers, Benny and his accompanying performers wore civilian clothes, because he realized that military personnel were tired of seeing nothing but uniforms. On one tour, Benny discovered GI Jack Paar; three years later, Benny gave Paar his show business start by signing Paar as his summer radio replacement. Benny also performed in Korea (1950–53) but returned so exhausted that he was ordered to a week's bed rest. Although he wanted to entertain in Vietnam, he was in his 70s by then, and the memory of Korea prevented his participation.

The *Jack Benny Program for Grape-Nuts and Grape-Nuts Flakes* on NBC Red (4 October 1942 to 4 June 1944) dropped from first in the ratings to trail Bob Hope and Edgar Bergen and Charlie McCarthy. Benny hired new writers and launched the *Lucky Strike Program Starring Jack Benny* on NBC (1 October 1944 to 26 December 1948), but by 1945 the program had dropped from the top five. It was decided to have a contest in which listeners would write in 25 words or less on the subject, "I can't stand Jack Benny because . . ." Great publicity was generated, and the show returned to number one in 1947. In 1948 the *Lucky Strike Program Starring Jack Benny* left NBC for CBS (2 January 1949 to 22 May 1955). William Paley, CBS chairman, had seen television's future and raided NBC for almost all of its top performers and programs in order to move them all to television.

Television

The *Jack Benny Program* on CBS-TV (1950–64) began with a series of live specials from New York on 28 October 1950. Benny's first television line was, "I'd give a million dollars to know what I look like on television." For five years Benny continued to do radio even as his TV show became more popular. Indeed, much of the time the two were simulcast, often leaving radio listeners in the dark as audiences (or laugh tracks) indicated some sight gag. His only concession was to reduce the number of radio shows from 39 to 35 programs per year. The number of TV programs steadily increased to 9 in the third year, then to 13 and 16. In 1960–61 the number rose to 26. Benny's TV show rotated with other programs on the schedule,

including *Private Secretary*, *Bachelor Father*, and *The George Gobel Show*. Many of his television shows were adapted from radio. Initially television made Benny nervous, but he eventually began to like it more than radio. In 1955 Benny left radio behind to concentrate solely on TV. *Lucky Strike* sponsored the TV show from 1950 to 1959, and other sponsors took over until 1965. The entire TV series was done in black and white. The show's last year was broadcast on NBC (1964–65). *The Jack Benny Program* won eight Emmy awards for Best Comedian and Best Comedy Program.

In 1957 Benny won the first trustees award of the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences. The award read: "Jack Benny—For his significant contribution to the television industry as a showman. For the high standard for all to emulate, set by his personal skill and excellence as a performer. For the consistency, quality and good taste of his program through many years and many media." Until his death, Benny appeared sporadically as a guest star and in his own specials, featuring themes and all-star casts. The specials included *Carnival Nights*, *Jack Benny's Bag*, *Jack Benny's Birthday Party*, *Jack Benny's Twentieth Anniversary Special*, *Everything You Always Wanted to Know about Jack Benny but Were Afraid to Ask*, *Jack Benny's First Farewell Special*, and *Jack Benny's Second Farewell Special*, his last show.

W.A. KELLY HUFF

See also African Americans in Radio; Allen, Fred; Comedy; Stereotypes on Radio; Talent Raids; Vaudeville

Jack Benny. Born Benjamin Kubelsky in Chicago, Illinois, 14 February 1894. Worked in vaudeville as violinist in orchestra pit and then with "Salisbury and Benny" and "Bennie and Woods," 1909–18; served in U.S. Navy, World War I; returned to vaudeville as comic and musician Ben Benny; small-part Broadway actor during 1920s; radio debut, *The Ed Sullivan Show*, 1932. Recipient of eight Emmys. Died in Beverly Hills, California, 26 December 1974.

Radio Series

1932–55 *The Jack Benny Program*

Television Series

The Jack Benny Program, 1950–64, 1964–65

Films

Bright Moments (short), 1928; *The Hollywood Revue of 1929*, 1929; *Chasing Rainbows*, 1929; *The Medicine Man*, 1930; *Mr. Broadway*, 1933; *Transatlantic Merry-Go-Round*, 1934; *Broadway Melody of 1936*, 1935; *It's in the Air*, 1935; *The Big Broadcast of 1937*, 1936; *College Holiday*, 1936;

Artists and Models, 1937; *Manhattan Merry-Go-Round*, 1937; *Artists and Models Abroad*, 1938; *Man about Town*, 1939; *Buck Benny Rides Again*, 1940; *Love Thy Neighbor*, 1940; *Charley's Aunt*, 1941; *To Be or Not to Be*, 1942; *George Washington Slept Here*, 1942; *The Meanest Man in the World*, 1943; *Hollywood Canteen*, 1944; *It's in the Bag!* 1945; *The Horn Blows at Midnight*, 1945; *Without Reservations*, 1946; *The Lucky Stiff*, 1949; *Somebody Loves Me*, 1952; *It's a Mad Mad Mad Mad World*, 1963; *A Guide for the Married Man*, 1967; *The Man*, 1972

Stage

The Great Temptations, 1927; *The Earl Carroll Vanities*, 1930

Publication

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The Beulah Show

Situation Comedy

Based on a character that first appeared in *Fibber McGee and Molly*, this spin-off program marked an important transition. A black character, Beulah was, for the show's first two seasons, portrayed by white men. Only in later seasons did black women play the black characters—including the title character of *The Beulah Show*. For its era, however, the program helped to break racial barriers by introducing blacks to on-air roles.

The Beulah character, merely the latest black domestic in a radio program (Rochester on the Jack Benny program was probably the best known), had first appeared on *Fibber McGee and Molly* in early 1944 and became an instant hit. Portrayed by Marlin Hurt (who had himself been raised by a black maid and had thus picked up some of the "right sound" in childhood, developing a reputation as a good portrayer of blacks on radio), the character soon was delivering lines that became widely popular catch phrases across the country—"Looove dat man!" and the regular stand-by, "Somebody bawl fo' Beulah?"

Beulah was played as a central part of the white middle-class family that employed her. She was good natured and

respectful, but not subservient. Indeed she was often sarcastic, though rarely directly to her employers. She ran the household and solved problems—the core of program stories. Her radio friends included a shiftless boyfriend and the next door domestic, among others.

The weekly series seemed on its way to a long run when Hurt died at age 40 of a heart attack and, lacking its key actor, the program left the air. In the spring of 1947 it returned, with yet another white man (Bob Corley) playing the black domestic. Only that fall, when the program switched to CBS as a 15-minute program every weekday, did a black woman (Hatie McDaniel) begin to play the title part.

The program moved to television for four seasons beginning in 1950, though lacking some of the comic bite of the radio original. Black characters were played by black actors from the beginning—the first network television series where this was so.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also African-Americans in Radio; Amos 'n' Andy; Fibber McGee and Molly; Stereotypes on Radio

Cast

Beulah	Marlin Hurt (1945-46); Bob Corley (1947); Hatie McDaniel (1947-52); Lillian or Amanda Randolph (1952-53)
Bill Jackson	Marlin Hurt (1945-46), Ernie Whitman (1947-53)
Harry Henderson	Hugh Studebaker
Alice Henderson	Mary Jane Croft
Donnie Henderson	Henry Blair
Announcer	Ken Niles (1947), Marvin Miller (1947-53), Johnny Jacobs (1954)

Programming History

CBS (as <i>The Marlin Hurt and Beulah Show</i>)	1945-46
ABC	1947
CBS (15 minutes weekdays)	1947-54
ABC-TV	1950-53

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Beville, Hugh Malcolm 1908-1988

U.S. Audience Research Executive

The economics of commercial broadcasting are driven by estimates of audience size and type, and organizations such as the Arbitron Company and SRI (originally Stanford Research Institute) provide measurements of listenership to radio stations and networks. These measurements determine prices the media can charge for commercial time. The methods of audience research have changed greatly in the years since 1930, when the first system of ratings was introduced. Along the way, media researchers such as Hugh Beville influenced the direction and quality of the audience research process, helping to shape today's business of broadcasting.

Beville went to work for the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) at age 22 and spent the greater part of his career working in research for the company's radio and television networks, only leaving for a brief period during World War II to serve in the army. NBC had been in existence for only three years in 1930, when Beville was hired as a statistician. That same year, the Cooperative Analysis of Broadcasting released its first radio rating report. Beville's 38-year career coincided with the development of the field of audience research, and he made significant contributions to its development. Although he is perhaps best known for his insights into the ratings collection and analysis process, he is also credited with improving both quantitative and qualitative audience research methodologies.

As early as the mid 1930s, Beville was involved with the Joint Committee on Radio Research to study radio audiences. He developed the first nationwide study of daytime audiences

and was one of the first researchers to identify and track seasonal listening patterns. In his later years he was closely involved in decisions about crediting videotape recorder usage in television audience ratings, and he contributed to the planning and development of the People Meter system of measurement. Concerned with differences in population estimates among rating services, he helped develop a more compatible system of estimation using data from Market Statistics, Inc. He also worked on a system for estimating station circulation—something most industry practitioners take for granted now that the process has been refined.

Beville rose through the ranks at NBC during his 38 years there, from statistician to manager of research, director of research, and finally to vice president for planning and research in 1964. After retiring from NBC in 1968, he became a professor of business administration at Long Island College in Southampton, New York, teaching marketing and management. From 1972 to 1982 he was the executive director of the Electronic Media Ratings Council in New York and later served that organization as an independent consultant. Throughout his career, Beville enjoyed widespread respect in the media industries. Leo Bogart, a friend and colleague, described him as "a very earnest, soft-spoken gentleman, with sound professional judgment and a good eye for picking talented associates."

Beville fought many battles to ensure that audience ratings were estimated fairly and interpreted correctly. During his tenure at NBC, he served as the networks' representative to the

Advertising Research Foundation for 15 years. In 1963 he helped to establish the Broadcast Ratings Council (BRC), which later became the Electronic Media Research Council (EMRC) and eventually the Media Research Council (MRC), an organization formed in response to congressional hearings that questioned the integrity of the audience measurement process. Its mission is to ensure that ratings firms follow research protocols so that users of the data are able to correctly interpret the information.

One of Beville's major concerns was that companies supplying audience research data were too secretive about what they were doing. He argued that their research should be transparent—that clients should know exactly what they were getting. On several occasions he admonished the users of audience research data to recognize the drawbacks and limitations of statistical information as well as its usefulness. In a 1981 NAB newsletter he was quoted as saying: “. . . every measure of everything has limitations. Knowing this is part of the requirement of becoming a professional working to make these limitations known and clear—and as limited as possible.” He believed that there could be no perfect audience measurement system and that users of audience data had to live with trade-offs between cost, accuracy, and/or speed of delivery. At the same time, he was always concerned with studying the measurement process to improve research methods. He was a founding member of the American Association of Public Opinion Research (AAPOR), an organization that today continues the quest for better research.

The broadcasting industry often turned to Beville for his opinions on current issues. He wrote analyses for trade journals, spoke at industry events, and was frequently consulted about issues that affected audience measurement. His *Audience Ratings: Radio, Television, Cable* became an indispensable text in the field, explaining to lay and professional readers what the ratings process is all about.

In 1986 the Market Research Council (MRC), an organization that Beville had formerly served as president, selected him for its Research Hall of Fame. In 1989 the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) and the Broadcast Education Association (BEA) announced the creation of the Hugh Malcolm Beville award to “recognize noted researchers who have made

major contributions to the advancement of audience research in the broadcasting industry.” The first award was given to William Rubens, retired vice president of research for NBC.

PATRICIA PHALEN

See also Advertising; Audience Research Methods; Cooperative Analysis of Broadcasting; Electronic Media Rating Council; National Broadcasting Company

Hugh Malcolm Beville. Born 18 April 1908. Attended Syracuse University, B.S., 1930; New York University, M.B.A., 1966; statistician, manager of research, director of research, vice president for planning and research, NBC, 1930–68; established Broadcast Ratings Council, 1963; member of American Association of Public Opinion Research; elected by Market Research Council to Research Hall of Fame, 1986; National Association of Broadcasters and Broadcast Education Association created Hugh Malcolm Beville award in his honor, 1989. Died in Port Washington, New York, 25 March 1988.

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Big D Jamboree

Country Music Radio Show

Although the *Big D Jamboree* never rivaled the influence of the mighty *Grand Ole Opry* or even small *Opry* cousins such as the *Louisiana Hayride* and *Wheeling Jamboree*, it was nonetheless a potent regional force that helped raise a number of country music artists, and later rock and roll artists, to national prominence. The radio barn dance, which broadcast on 50,000-watt KRLD in Dallas, Texas, also acted as an important stage for local talent.

The *Jamboree* had its roots in the *Texas Barn Dance*, a live country music show first staged at Dallas' Sportatorium in 1946. The *Texas Barn Dance* became the *Lone Star Jamboree* when it found its first radio home on WFAA in Dallas a year later. However, WFAA already featured a country music stage show (the *Saturday Night Shindig*), so in 1948 the show put down more permanent stakes on the airwaves of KRLD. Rechristened the *Big D Jamboree*, the barn dance debuted over KRLD on 16 October 1948.

KRLD, named for the Radio Laboratories of Dallas, had begun broadcasting on 31 October 1926 and achieved its 50,000-watt designation in 1938. The station's power allowed it to cover a 100-mile radius during daytime hours, and to reach more than 30 states during the nighttime hours. The *Big D Jamboree* indeed had a powerful conduit through which to reach its radio audience. In the early 1950s, the *Jamboree* gained wider distribution when the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) radio network agreed to feature the show on its *Saturday Night Country Style*, a program that featured various country music barn dances around the United States.

The show that would become the *Big D Jamboree* was the brainchild of Sportatorium owner Ed McLemore (who also staged wrestling matches in his venue), Dallas nightclub proprietor Slim McDonald, and KLIF radio (Dallas) disc jockey Big Al Turner. By the time the show appeared on KRLD, only McLemore still had a hand in producing the show. Turner, the show's host going back to the *Texas Barn Dance* days, emceed the *Big D Jamboree* at KRLD for a short time, but that role soon went to KRLD personality Johnny Hicks, who would be the on-air voice most associated with the program during its run. KRLD's Johnny Harper was the *Jamboree's* announcer, and he also shared producing credit with McLemore and Hicks.

Cast members of the *Big D Jamboree* who achieved national success in country music included Billy Walker, Sonny James, Ray Price, Lefty Frizzell, Hank Locklin, and Charline Arthur. Many other country music performers visited the *Big D Jamboree* frequently and found it a career-amplifying stage; among them were Jim Reeves, Hank Snow,

Ferlin Husky, Hank Thompson, Johnny Cash, and Hank Williams. Local acts who never enjoyed much national fame but who nonetheless expanded their profile in Texas included the Callahan Brothers, Romana Reeves, Sid King and the Five Strings, Jimmie Heap, Gene O'Quin, Riley Crabtree, and Okie Jones.

The rise of rock and roll in the mid- to late 1950s was one of the factors that ultimately silenced the *Big D Jamboree* and other barn dances featured on radio, but ironically the *Jamboree* had a role in fueling the dissemination of the rock sound during the genre's early days. Elvis Presley, who toured frequently in Texas at the outset of his career, appeared often on the program before he became nationally known, as did other important figures such as Carl Perkins and Gene Vincent (who was managed by Ed McLemore). Other notable purveyors of the new sound who also appeared regularly on the *Jamboree* were the Belew Twins, Wanda Jackson, Johnny Carroll, and Werly Fairburn.

By the late 1950s, the *Big D Jamboree's* way had become uneven as rock and roll increasingly overshadowed country music, the primary staple of the program. The once-vital show limped along into the mid-1960s before fading. The *Jamboree* was briefly revived in 1970, but it failed to recapture the glory that inspired historian Kevin Coffey (2000) to call it "an enviable presence on the Southwestern music scene."

MICHAEL STREISSGUTH

See also Country Music Format

Hosts

Big Al Turner, Johnny Hicks

Producers

Big Al Turner, Johnny Hicks, Ed McLemore, Johnny Harper

Programming History

KRLD 16 October 1948–early 1960s

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Biondi, Dick 1933–

U.S. Top 40 Radio Personality

As Top 40 radio grew and was embraced by the public, Dick Biondi served as a driving force in its development. Along the way, he earned a reputation as one of the bad boys of radio. It is a title he wears proudly, along with his claim that he has been fired 23 times during his career. Biondi has collected a variety of aliases and nicknames over the years that personify his reputation: the Wild Italian [*sic*], the Screamer, Daddy-O Substitute, the Supersonic Spaghetti Slurper, the Big Noise from Buffalo, and the Limp Linguini. In 2001 Biondi celebrated his 50th year in broadcasting, still on the air, still performing at remote broadcasts, and still capturing the ears and hearts of fans in the Chicago area radio market with his shows on Oldies 104.3, WJMK.

Early Days

In 1941, as a child of eight, Biondi, the son of a firefighter and a short-order cook from Endicott, New York, moved from playing disc jockey using a wooden spoon as a microphone to his first on-air appearance at WNDO in Auburn reading a commercial. Later, he helped out at WINR in Binghamton. By 1951 he had his own shows, working a split shift in Corning, New York.

The next year, 1952, after being fired by a new manager, Biondi landed in Alexandria, Louisiana, working primarily as a utility or substitute disc jockey, but also hosting an all-black show called *Jammin Jive* on KYSO. Another change in management found Biondi on the road to York, Pennsylvania, in 1954.

From 1954 to 1958, Biondi held court in Youngstown, Ohio, at WHOT-AM. Literally working from the ground up, Biondi helped put down the tiles on the floor before the station went on the air. Biondi honed his talent for picking hit records while working in Youngstown by observing the reac-

tions of his audiences as they watched performers at record hops hosted by Biondi.

WKBW in Buffalo, New York, hosted Biondi from 1958 to 1960. It was the departure of George "Hound Dog" Lorenz, one of radio's legendary disc jockeys and the man who introduced rock and roll to WKBW's evening listeners, that made Biondi's move to Buffalo possible. Whereas Lorenz had programmed his show without restrictions, new management in 1958 established a Top 40 format they expected Biondi to follow. Biondi, although not thrilled about the restrictions, took on the assignment in what he has described as something of a guerilla warfare role.

Chicago in the 1960s

In 1960 Chicago's WLS, one of the clear channel stations, became a premier Top 40 radio station. On 2 May 1960, Biondi unleashed his special brand of patter on the nine-to-midnight shift at WLS. For the next three years, he consistently ranked as one of the most highly rated air personalities in Chicago, regularly attracting well over half of the listeners in the area. Nationwide, Biondi led the country with a Pulse rating that showed an average 60 share of the national audience.

In mid-1963 Biondi left WLS because of a dispute over the number of commercials during his program and took his act to KRLA Pasadena/Los Angeles. Here, Biondi worked with such notable entertainers as Casey Kasem and Bob Eubanks. In addition to his radio work, Biondi was involved in promoting and hosting rock and roll acts throughout southern California through his *Dick Biondi Road Show*.

In October 1967 Biondi returned to Chicago, but this time to WLS's archival, WCFL. Biondi describes working for Ken Draper, the program director, as being far different than his

earlier experiences. Biondi and the other on-air personalities were referred to as “talent” rather than “jocks.” The atmosphere was generally supportive, rather than combative.

1970s and Beyond

After a final disagreement with WCFL management in 1973 over his “abrasive style,” Biondi moved briefly to an on-air position in Cincinnati, en route to North Myrtle Beach, South Carolina. At the time, Biondi intended, if not to retire, at least to take it easy for a time. In 1977, faced with a dwindling bank account, he presented himself at local radio station WNMB looking for an on-air position. Without the general manager’s realizing his legendary status, Biondi was hired (at a salary of about \$100 per week) and remained in the area until spring 1983.

A six-figure salary offer from WBBM-FM to host an oldies show brought Biondi back to Chicago as morning disc jockey. The expense to the station was well justified by a complete and virtually instant sellout of commercial time during Biondi’s show. By August 1984, Biondi was firmly entrenched at Oldies 104.3, WJMK in Chicago, where he remains at this writing, easily his longest tenure in any post. He still makes a number of personal appearances each week and delights his audience with interviews and personalized greetings from the many legends of rock and roll he counts among his friends.

Stunts and Memories

Taking to the recording studio, Biondi had a minor novelty song hit with his original “On Top of a Pizza,” which sold more than 11,000 copies. Biondi delighted in ordering off-the-wall food for delivery to the station, including peanut butter and sauerkraut pizza. During his time at KRLA in Los Angeles, he spent ten days in a cage with a chimpanzee and a typewriter. The idea was that eventually the chimpanzee would peck out the station’s call letters (something the chimp never did manage). He stayed atop a flagpole at Idora Park in Youngstown for three days and nights.

Biondi delighted his audiences with a seemingly never-ending stream of the worst possible knock-knock jokes (“Knock-knock. Who’s There? Biondi. Biondi who? Beyondi blue horizon”). While airing Gillette shaving razor commercials, Biondi captivated his young male listeners by teaching them, on the air, the finer points of shaving. When he appeared at local high schools, he often dyed his beard to match the school colors.

Black slacks are a Biondi trademark. The tradition began when Biondi met Elvis Presley during a Cleveland concert. Elvis wore a kelly green jacket and black slacks. During a trip to Memphis, Biondi collected fallen leaves from the grounds of Presley’s Graceland mansion, took them home, and then awarded them to his listeners. Biondi once wore a shirt that

Elvis had autographed and then flung himself, wearing the shirt, into the audience. Fans went home with both a piece of Elvis and Biondi, while Biondi ended up in the hospital with multiple cuts and bruises.

Biondi’s Goal

The only hobby Biondi indulges in is golf, and he categorizes himself as a duffer. He also says he likes to write. Biondi lists his one goal in life as wanting to be “the oldest, active, working rock-n-roll disc jockey in the United States.” He’s proud that he’s maintained his skinny physique and that he still sports a full head of hair.

JIM GRUBBS

See also Contemporary Hit Radio Format/Top 40; Disk Jockeys; KRLA; Radio Hall of Fame; WBBM; WCFL; WLS

Dick Biondi. Born in Endicott, New York, 11 September 1932. First radio appearance in Auburn, New York, WNDO, 1941; disc jockey, Corning, New York, 1951; hosted “Jammin Jive,” KYSO, Alexandria, Louisiana, 1952; disc jockey and original staff member, WHOT-AM, Youngstown, Ohio, 1954–58; disc jockey, WKBW Buffalo, New York, 1958–60; member of the original Top 40 announcing staff at WLS, Chicago, Illinois, 1960–63; held position as the number one nationally rated disc jockey with a Pulse average share of sixty, 1961–62; deejay at KRLA (Los Angeles, California) and entertainment entrepreneur (Dick Biondi Road Show) from 1963–65; introduced the Beatles in Los Angeles, 1964; disc jockey, WCFL, Chicago, 1967–73; disc jockey, WNMB, North Myrtle Beach, South Carolina, 1977–83; morning show host, WBBM-FM, Chicago, 1983–84; oldies disc jockey, WJMK, Chicago, 1984–present; inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame and Museum, 1998; inducted into the Radio Hall of Fame, 1998.

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Birch Scarborough Research

Birch Scarborough Research was a radio research firm in competition with Arbitron throughout the 1980s and early 1990s. The measurement of local radio audiences provided by the Birch reports and the qualitative research provided by the Scarborough service helped to fill the void left in syndicated local radio audience measurement after the Pulse organization closed down its operation in April 1978. Perhaps no competitor challenged Arbitron with as much consistency and industry support as did Birch Scarborough in the 1980s.

Birch Scarborough Research began in 1979 when Thomas Birch first started a radio ratings service called Radio Marketing Research. Birch had tested a system for measuring market shares and surveying music audiences by phone that met with success during test runs. Birch's research was first used to help determine programming, and his monthly service grew to include 18 markets by 1980. By March 1982 Birch was able to compete with Media Statistic, taking many Mediatrend subscribers from the other service. This gave him some major market subscribers and lent further credibility to his service. By 1984 Birch served 93 markets with the standard report format and he had hired two former Arbitron executives to work for his organization, making the service an even greater challenger in the radio research business. The executives were Richard Weinstein, who served as president and would later go on to become executive director of the Electronic Media Rating Council (now known as the Media Rating Council), and William Livek, who served as vice president.

The Birch system relied on telephone interviews that asked respondents to report ("recall") their listening pattern during the past 24 hours. Only one designated person per household was used in the survey, with the phone interviewer asking to speak to the person with the last or most recent birthday, an approach commonly known as the "last birthday" method. The selected respondent was asked about stations heard on the radio during the previous 24 hours, the location(s) (such as at home, at work, or in the car) where the listening took place, and in which time periods the listening took place. (Time periods or "dayparts" included 6 A.M. to 10 A.M. that day, 10 A.M. to 3 P.M. that day, 3 P.M. to 7 P.M. the previous day, and 7 P.M. to midnight the previous day.) The Birch system used pre-designated households in its sample; households were randomly selected from the Total Telephone Frame listing developed by A.C. Nielsen for the Nielsen Station Index. Each household was called during the evening hours, with three attempts made to reach the household and the designated respondent.

Birch served as a major competitor to Arbitron in the radio research market for a number of reasons. Its service was fairly inexpensive; it provided monthly data that was delivered every two weeks; and its research included qualitative components.

Data collection was done in interview centers that allowed for oversight of interviewers and presumably ensured the quality of responses. And finally, Birch Scarborough laid claim to a response rate of over 60 percent, higher than that of Arbitron.

The basic Birch radio report was provided both monthly and quarterly. Monthly reports provided a combination of findings from the two most recent months of interviewing. Quarterly reports included average quarter-hour listening habits, daily listening habits, and weekly cumulative measures that were broken down by daypart, demographic group, and location of listening. Measures for ratings, shares, and cumulative audience were reported on an average quarter-hour and/or daypart basis.

Birch made efforts to weight its findings and thus balance the results obtained by compiling data from households of different sizes. Weighting was also used with data recorded for different days of the week, as not all respondents could be reached on the same day and their interviews often reflected listening on different days of the week (with different program schedules). Balancing methods were also used to account for disparities in ethnicity, age, sex, and county location factors.

Birch Scarborough conducted a number of studies on its own methodological research throughout the late 1980s and in 1990; for instance, in 1988 it conducted an analysis of those telephone calls placed via random digit dialing that resulted in no answer and busy signals. The results of this study were utilized by Birch to calculate response rates.

In 1989 the firm analyzed the number of attempts that were being made to reach specific demographic groups with its surveys. This analysis found no significant differences by gender or age group in the number of completed interviews. A separate study in 1989 examined the "seven day methods test." It compared the weekly cumulative numbers obtained via single-day interviews that examined listening on the current day and previous day with cumulative numbers based on successive daily interviews throughout the week, finding no significant differences between the two groups of results.

In 1990 Birch Scarborough completed a case study of the Hispanic market to evaluate how Hispanic respondents viewed the Birch interview. Personal interviews were conducted in San Antonio, Texas, and Miami, Florida, to determine (1) how well the respondents understood the Birch interview; (2) how they recalled their listening habits from the previous day; (3) which language they preferred to use during the interview; and (4) how the language used affected their responses. This case study was also used to gather other comments about the Birch survey.

Despite its status at the time as the nation's second-largest market research company, the Birch Radio Ratings Service was discontinued in 1992. Birch Scarborough attributed the move

to financial losses. Scarborough Consumer Media and Retail Services continued, and a marketing arrangement made Arbitron the exclusive provider of Scarborough's qualitative data to radio and television stations. This precluded any further competition between the two companies.

MATT TAYLOR

See also A.C. Nielsen Company; Arbitron; Audience Research Methods; Electronic Media Rating Council

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Blacklisting

Blacklisting was a highly organized, institutionalized effort to deny employment to individuals assumed to be members of the Communist Party or to have communist sympathies. Begun shortly after the end of World War II, blacklisting in radio was a by-product of the larger hunt for communists led by Senator Joseph McCarthy and others. The senator was not, however, a major figure in the radio version of this witch-hunt. The entertainment industry had its own inspired group.

Some researchers trace the beginnings of blacklisting in radio to the founding in 1947 of *Counterattack: The Newsletter of Facts on Communism*. Three former Federal Bureau of Investigation agents, Theodore Kirkpatrick, Kenneth Bierly, and John Keenan, founded American Business Consultants and began publishing the aforementioned newsletter. They sent copies to advertising agencies, broadcasting executives, and sponsors along with offers to do special investigations. The newsletter listed entertainers of all types along with their supposed communist activities.

Others date the beginnings of blacklisting a little earlier, just after the end of World War II. Evidently a list of between 80 and 100 "undesirables" was circulated among broadcasting executives and shown to directors. At one network, the list came with a memo advising, "For Your Information: Keep these names in mind when casting."

Context

In order to understand blacklisting and why it worked, it is first necessary to understand the political climate of the post-World War II world. The war ended in 1945 with the Soviet Union in control of Eastern Europe. Within four years, communists came to power in China. The atomic bomb became a shared weapon. Alger Hiss and the Rosenbergs became front-page news when Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin first

proclaimed that there were spies in the State Department in 1950, the same year the Korean War started. In short, it was a time ripe for demagoguery and exploitation. Into this climate of fear stepped the blacklisters.

Blacklisters needed the help of both the general public and the broadcasting industry to succeed. They needed the general public to be afraid of communism as of a mortal enemy. This meant that any method used to defeat such an enemy was allowable. If the public could be convinced of the danger, then the firing of the occasional innocent actor, writer, and so on would be understandable and permissible. This was, after all, a life-and-death struggle with an enemy who would use any means at his disposal to succeed. Therefore, one must be willing to use any means available to defeat him—including the sacrificing of some civil rights. This "end justifies the means" argument was a relatively strong one, considering the political state of the world. Finally, one also needed the public to believe that the entertainment industry was a prime target of an international communist conspiracy.

Blacklisters needed the broadcast industry, including advertisers and advertising agencies, to believe something else entirely. They needed the industry to believe that they, the blacklisters, could institute product boycotts and that such boycotts could ruin an advertiser, agency, or product. From the late 1940s through the middle 1950s, broadcasters, advertisers, and agencies all acted as if this were possible. From a distance of half a century, it is possible to wonder why broadcasters failed to truly question such assumptions (although some did, at great personal risk), but it is always necessary to remember time and place when discussing blacklisting. What the acceptance of such assumptions meant, however, was that instead of discussing whether blacklisting itself was morally correct, people argued over whether a particular individual should or should not be included on one of the

many lists being circulated. Few asked whether the lists should be published to begin with.

Although the impression is often of a large, corporate force instituting blacklisting throughout the entertainment industry, the opposite is closer to the truth. There were Bierly, Keenen, and Kirkpatrick, who founded American Business Consultants and published the regular newsletter, *Counterattack*. In 1950 they would also be responsible for publishing *Red Channels*. There was Lawrence Johnson, a Syracuse supermarket owner; Vincent Hartnett, a talent agent associated with AWARE; Daniel T. O'Shea at the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS); Jack Wren at Batton, Barton, Durston, and Osborne; and George Sokolsky of the Hearst papers. In addition to the publications of American Business Consultants, there was the American Legion's *Firing Line*, the *Brooklyn Tablet*, and the *American Mercury*. Although not all-inclusive, this list includes many of the major groups and individuals involved in the process.

The avowed goal of blacklisters was to root out communists in the entertainment industry. The following is from the September 1947 issue of *Counterattack*:

The most important thing of all is to base your whole policy on a firmly moral foundation. Space should not be rented to the Communist Party or to any Communist front. Supplies should not be sold to them. They should not be allowed to participate in meetings or to have time on the air or to advertise in the press. No concession should ever be made to them for any business reason. Communist actors, announcers, directors, writers, producers, etc., whether in radio, theater, or movies, should be barred to the extent permissible by law and union contracts.

How It Worked

The way blacklisting worked was relatively simple. Entertainers of all types were listed along with their supposed communist affiliations. Networks and advertising agencies then used the lists when deciding whom to hire. The names were gathered from a number of different sources. Old editions of the *Daily Worker* were searched for incriminating references. Office stationery, letters, publicity, and the like from groups labeled communist fronts by the U.S. Attorney General's Office or by the blacklisters themselves were also scoured for names. Names were also supplied by friendly witnesses to governmental agencies that were supposedly searching for communist infiltration of the entertainment industry. Prominent among these groups were the Tenney Committee in California and the House Un-American Activities Committee of the United States House of Representatives. Sometimes, as was eventually shown in court, the listings contained half-truths. Sometimes they were outright lies. Always, the blacklisters were after "names."

Once an entertainer was "listed" in one of the blacklisters' publications, it became almost impossible to find work. The problem was in the way radio was supported. In theater or film, there is a direct correlation between success and people attending the event, but that was not true in radio. Advertisers placed commercials, often in programs they themselves produced, with the idea that people would hear the advertisement and buy the product. Any negative publicity surrounding the program was thought to reflect on the product itself. Advertisers feared listener boycotts of their products if the programs they produced used actors listed in blacklisting publications.

Lawrence Johnson, a Syracuse supermarket owner and active supporter of blacklisting, was excellent at instilling the fear of a boycott into an advertiser's mind. When notified that a program was using actors listed in *Counterattack* or by AWARE, Johnson would write a letter to the program's sponsor. Johnson would offer to hold a test in his supermarkets. A sign in front of a competitor's brand would say that it sponsored programs that used only pro-American artists and shunned "Stalin's Little Creatures"—a phrase for which Johnson was famous. The sign in front of the sponsor's product was to explain why its maker chose to use communist fronters on its program. Johnson then said he would hold the letter for a few days awaiting a reply. He threatened that if he received no reply, he would send a copy to the United States Chamber of Commerce, the Sons of the American Revolution, the Catholic War Veterans, the Super Market Institute in Chicago, and others. The goal was to scare the sponsor into believing that blacklisters could really create a meaningful product boycott. No one at the network level ever called the bluff.

The year 1950 became a high-water mark for blacklisting in the United States when American Business Consultants published what may be the most successful blacklist. Appearing just before the outbreak of the Korean War, *Red Channels* listed 151 artists in the entertainment field and their communist affiliations. Although many broadcast executives claimed to be appalled by the names included on the list, the book nevertheless became known as the "Bible of Madison Avenue." Two examples should prove the book's effectiveness.

Irene Wicker was one of those listed in *Red Channels*. Kellogg's had sponsored her *Singing Lady* program. The sponsor dropped the program after the publication showed she had one listing. Her sole citation was that she had sponsored a petition for the reelection of Benjamin J. Davis to Congress. The citation was based on an item in the *Daily Worker*. Wicker claimed she had never heard of Davis and went to great lengths to prove she had never sponsored a petition for his reelection. Her lawyer even got a court order to examine all 30,000 names on Davis's petitions. Wicker's was not among them. Although this "cleared" her, it still did not make her employable, for now she had become controversial.

Another of those listed by *Red Channels* was Jean Muir. A former movie actress, she had been hired by the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) to play the role of the mother in *The Aldrich Family*—a former radio drama being developed for television. *Red Channels* included nine listings for her. When Kirkpatrick was informed that NBC was going to use an actor listed in *Red Channels*, he organized a protest over her hiring. The end result was that Muir was paid in full for her contract but was never seen on the program. The industry never attempted to determine how widespread the protest was. The concern was that there was a protest at all. General Foods, the program's sponsor, issued a press release stating, "The use of controversial personalities or the discussion of controversial subjects in our advertising may provide unfavorable criticism and even antagonism among sizeable groups of customers." The sponsor did not want its product placed in any negative light at all. The publicity surrounding the Muir case had made the whole issue of blacklisting much more public than either the networks or the advertising agencies wanted it to be. As a result of the Muir case, blacklisting became institutionalized. The networks and agencies developed a system whereby all those involved in programs were screened ahead of time. Those found to have some sort of "communist affiliation" were simply never offered employment, rather than fired later. This cut back on some of the negative publicity.

Like Wicker, Muir also tried to clear herself, but she remained unemployable. The real point of the Muir case is that by the end of 1950, the industry had accepted the blacklisters' standard on employability. If someone was listed, the networks would not employ him or her. NBC had tried with Muir, but when confronted with a token protest, NBC caved in, thus allowing *Red Channels* and publications like it to set the standards by which performers would be judged. Understand that Muir was not a part of a communist plot, nor was she a member of the Communist Party. She had merely participated in liberal political activities in the 1930s. For those actions, her career was destroyed.

To speak out against the blacklisters was to put one's own career in jeopardy. Raymond Swing was chief commentator for Voice of America when he was invited to debate blacklisting with Kirkpatrick before the Radio Executives Club of New York. While vigorously defending the American system of government, he attacked those in charge of the radio industry:

If, by some bleak and dreadful tragedy, American radio should come under the control of persons intent on producing a single conformity of thinking in America, it will not be the pressure groups or the blacklisters who will be to blame, but those now in charge of radio. They have it in their keeping, and what happens to it will be their doing.

After his appearance, Swing found himself under attack by both the blacklisters at *Counterattack* and by Senator Joseph McCarthy. Although it was reported that industry executives applauded Swing's role, they did nothing to change blacklisting in radio. That would be left to a single radio personality—John Henry Faulk.

Blacklisters, and to some degree sponsors and networks, believed themselves to be immune from prosecution. After all, blacklisters merely transcribed their information from other publications. If there was a mistake, it was the fault of the publication from which the information had been gathered. Those listed should sue those publications. Sponsors and networks felt immune because they certainly had a right to hire those people they felt best suited the job. This was to change.

John Henry Faulk

In 1956 John Henry Faulk was elected second vice president of the New York Chapter of the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists (AFTRA). Charles Collingwood was elected President and Orsen Bean first vice president. All had made their anti-blacklisting beliefs known. AWARE was particularly upset and sought to get both Bean and Faulk fired. Bean became unemployed almost immediately but was able to rely on his club work as a stand-up comedian. Faulk, however, was vulnerable. He was an employee of CBS Radio and had been doing some television at the time of his election. Shortly after his election, his name appeared in the publications of AWARE, which accused him of collusion and fellow-traveling. His radio sponsors deserted him, and CBS fired him. Faulk then took the unusual step of suing AWARE and Vincent Hartnett. It took six years before the case came to trial. Hartnett eventually admitted, "I was sold a barrel of false information," when questioned about the listings next to Faulk's name. Many of the citations on Faulk were incorrect, and others were intentionally misleading. In 1962 the jury awarded Faulk \$3,500,000. The award was later reduced to approximately half a million dollars, and Faulk saw little of the money. Lawrence Johnson, who had avoided testifying, died of an overdose of barbiturates the day the verdict was announced. Thanks to the publicity from this case, blacklisting was, more or less, officially dead.

It was not just a single lawsuit that ended blacklisting but several things that came together in the late 1950s. First, the Faulk lawsuit placed advertisers and networks alike on notice that to maintain an official blacklist was to court financial disaster. Second, advertisers were moving away from the program production end of broadcasting. This removed them from the day-to-day hiring of entertainment personnel and made them less vulnerable to threats. Third, it became widely known that many blacklisted individuals had continued to work under assumed identities with no negative consequences

for networks or advertisers. By the late 1950s blacklisters were no longer able to raise the same level of response from the public over their allegations. Combined, these factors helped end the effective reign of blacklisters.

Looking back, the real goal of the blacklisters seems to have been publicity. They were constantly after names. No plot was ever uncovered to use radio to convert the masses to communism. No evidence was ever found of a left-wing conspiracy to blacklist anticommunist actors. No spies were found in the radio industry. Blacklisting became a self-perpetuating effort at continued publicity. It destroyed careers and, in some cases, lives.

The real issue was whether there should have been a blacklist at all. Unfortunately, that particular issue was rarely raised. Yes, there was some editorializing during and after the Muir case, but the bottom line is that *Red Channels* was both accepted and used by networks and advertising agencies alike. Some, such as Edward R. Murrow, raised the issue, but they had difficulty sustaining it. Although on the one hand, Murrow was allowed to fight Senator Joseph McCarthy on his CBS program *See It Now*, on the other hand, the network was running its own in-house blacklisting organization headed by Daniel T. O'Shea.

It is also true that the relative number affected was really quite small when compared with the number of people employed in radio and television. This was of no consolation, however, to the Muirs, Wickers, and others who were ruined by the process. The real conclusion is that the broadcasting industry lacked the will to fight blacklisting. Although it is possible to find exceptions to this pattern, they are most notable

because they are exceptions. The industry as a whole allowed both itself and the First Amendment to be battered at the hands of blacklisters.

DAVID E. TUCKER

See also Aldrich Family; Cold War Radio; Faulk, John Henry; Red Channels; Swing, Raymond Graham

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Black-Oriented Radio

Although African-Americans have participated in radio since its inception in the early 1920s, specific programs directed to blacks did not develop in any appreciable form until the late 1940s and early 1950s. Historically, black-oriented radio first provided music and comedy. Later, public affairs, news, and programming for the entire community made their way to the airwaves.

Early Black Radio

The first African-American to have a commercially sustained radio program was Jack Leroy Cooper, a former vaudevillian and entrepreneur who began announcing on Washington,

D.C.'s WCAP radio station in 1925. Later, in Chicago, Cooper worked at WSBC, where he started the *All Negro Hour* in 1929. Among Cooper's many accomplishments were hiring African-Americans to work as announcers and salespeople, playing gospel music, broadcasting sports, and developing a missing persons program to help individuals find loved ones. Moreover, Cooper created the concept of the disc jockey when his studio musician walked out: Cooper began playing records and talking between them when a local musician's union demanded that his pianist go on strike. In 1947 *Ebony Magazine* called Cooper the "Dean of African-American Disc Jockeys." By that time he was responsible for more than 50 programs broadcast on four Chicago radio stations.

Early network radio developed programs that included black characters; however, these were often in stereotypical roles. On some shows, such as *Amos 'n' Andy*, whites portrayed blacks on the air in stereotypical fashion, and in other programs African-Americans portrayed themselves in this manner. Most often, African-Americans were featured as maids, butlers, and gardeners and in other vocational or domestic-helper roles.

Amos 'n' Andy became one of the most popular radio programs of all time. African-Americans listened to the show and probably laughed at the antics of its characters, even though the program often portrayed blacks in an unfavorable light. Nevertheless, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and some other organizations believed that the program demeaned African-Americans and urged the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) to cancel the show.

In the many comedies broadcast on network radio, African-Americans played key roles in the success of the programs. Eddie Anderson earned fame as "Rochester" on the *Jack Benny Show*. Hattie McDaniel played "mammy" roles on the *Optimistic Doughnut Hour* and in the radio series *Showboat*. Later, McDaniel played the lead role in *Beulah*.

During the early years of radio, black music such as jazz and blues was often heard on network radio. Bessie Smith's live blues performance was broadcast from a Memphis radio station in 1924. In addition, groups such as the Hampton Singers performed on radio in that same year. Jazz, especially, received a great deal of airplay through the 1940s. Bandleaders such as Cab Calloway, Duke Ellington, and Thomas "Fats" Waller were among the many African-American musicians who made regular broadcasts on early radio. Marian Anderson, Roland Hayes, and Paul Robeson were among the African-American vocalists heard on early radio broadcasts.

Early non-entertainment programming such as public-affairs programs reported on the status of the black family, educational activities in the black community, farming techniques, and occasionally racial issues. In 1933 CBS broadcast *John Henry*, *Black River Boat Giant*, a positive drama featuring African-Americans. By the 1940s the National Broadcasting Company's (NBC) *Freedom's People*, an eight-part series featuring dramatic vignettes by African-Americans such as Paul Robeson, Joe Louis, and A. Philip Randolph, was broadcast. Non-network radio broadcasts included Roy Ottley's *New World a'Comin'* and Richard Durham's *Destination Freedom*, which focused on historical treatments of African-American experiences. These programs provided positive portrayals of African-Americans to radio audiences. In addition, radio stations began gospel music and church-service broadcasts in the 1940s.

NBC's Blue network broadcast *America's Negro Soldiers* in 1941. Sponsored by the U.S. Department of War, *America's Negro Soldiers* included patriotic vignettes that highlighted the

historical contributions black soldiers made to the U.S. Army. Other program components included music, singing, and tap dancing, but the program omitted references to racial discrimination in American society. CBS's *Open Letter on Race Hatred*, however, examined the causes and consequences of the Detroit Race Riot of 1943. Other radio programs developed for African-American listeners during World War II were "Judgment Day" (1942), "Beyond the Call of Duty" (1943), "Fighting Men" (1943), "Gallant Black Eagle" (1943), and "The Negro in War" (1945).

Postwar Rise of Black-Oriented Radio

By the late 1940s radio began to broadcast programs targeted directly to predominantly African-American audiences. For example, in 1946 CBS and NBC produced specials that highlighted significant events in the African-American community. The CBS program shed a spotlight on "National Negro Newspaper Week," and the NBC program focused on Nat King Cole, the famous singer. Two major factors had an impact on the networks' attempts to reach African-American listeners. First, national advertisers recognized African-American economic power. Thus, companies that produced products such as canned milk, flour, and lard directed their advertising messages directly to black consumers via radio.

Second, television began to siphon off advertising dollars, audiences, and top-name performers from network radio. Aside from the money involved, radio performers soon realized that they would also receive greater exposure to larger audiences on television than on radio. Station owners responded to these developments by changing their formats and playing jazz, rhythm and blues, blues, rock and roll, and other black musical forms to appeal to African-American listeners. They also hired disc jockeys whose words, personalities, and music dramatically increased the number of black listeners. When first introduced, radio stations broadcast rhythm and blues, blues, and other black music formats in segments. A few hours during the day was set aside for these broadcasts. Eventually, stations began to build their entire formats around "black-appeal" programming.

In 1948, for example, WDIA in Memphis, Tennessee, broadcast its first program to black audiences. Nat D. Williams, pioneer black disc jockey at WDIA, hosted this show and many others for years to come. Soon after the initial broadcast, WDIA began an all-black programming format. Prior to WDIA's efforts, few black-appeal radio stations or programs existed. Notable exceptions included Cooper's *All Negro Hour* and Chicago disc jockey Al Benson's programs. WDIA's programming included public affairs, news, public service announcements, and other community service announcements and promotions.

Radio stations across the United States quickly imitated WDIA, which also became known as the "Mid-South Giant," because of its broadcast signal. The station reached audiences in Mississippi, Tennessee, and Arkansas. Other black-oriented stations hired flamboyant black disc jockeys such as "Jockey" Jack Gibson, also known as "Jack the Rapper"; Maurice "Hot Rod" Hulbert; and Peggy Mitchell Beckwith to play music, advertise and promote products, and especially to communicate with African-American listeners. Their unique personalities and knowledge of black music and recording artists catapulted black-appeal radio stations to unprecedented popularity among listeners.

Black disc jockeys in northern urban areas performed a number of other functions at the radio station. They often provided useful public service advice and served as counselors to many of the newly arrived migrants from the South, informing them about where best to shop and how to avoid the dangers in their new urban environments.

The popularity of their radio presentations, sometimes referred to as "personality" radio, began to decline in the late 1950s, mainly as a consequence of the payola scandal and the movement toward formatting in radio. Payola, or the payment of unreported money to play records, was legal but became rampant in the industry. The U.S. government outlawed the practice in the late 1950s. Thus, disc jockeys lost the opportunity to play records they deemed popular or attractive to listeners. Instead, that role eventually became one for program directors and other managers to take over.

Moreover, black-oriented radio stations began using a more tightly controlled music format, which did not allow disc jockeys to express themselves as they had in the past. Instead, black-oriented radio stations began to promote call letters, dial positions, and themes, such as "The Quiet Storm" and "the Black experience in sound."

In addition to the disc jockeys who worked for black-oriented radio stations during these years, African-American news reporters and public-affairs announcers also found jobs. Eddie Castleberry and Roy Woods, Sr., became well known for their announcing and reporting skills.

Throughout the civil rights movement, black-oriented radio stations assisted in the struggle for African-American human rights. Broadcasts from these stations provided listeners with accounts of newsworthy events, such as marches, boycotts, and voter registration drives. Additionally, black-oriented stations were often in the forefront in bringing attention to societal ills suffered by African-Americans, including police brutality and violence directed at them. The Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.'s sermons and speeches were widely broadcast on black radio stations. Message music from black recording artists such as Curtis Mayfield and Little Milton found airplay on black-oriented radio stations.

Black Music and Black Ownership

Although hundreds of radio stations played black music, hired African-American announcers, and used promotions that appealed directly to black listeners, few of these stations were actually owned by African-Americans. J.B. Blayton bought WERD in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1948, becoming the first African-American to own a commercial radio station. WERD played black music and employed disc jockeys such as Jack Gibson, "Joltin' Joe Howard," and Helen Lawrence to appeal to African-American listeners.

By 1970 African-Americans owned only 16 stations out of more than 7,000 commercially operated facilities. Throughout the 1970s, the number of black-owned radio stations increased to 140. During the late 1980s and 1990s, the number of black-owned radio stations further increased but then started to decline to levels approximating those of the late 1970s.

Several factors contributed to this decline, among them greater consolidation in the radio industry, broadcast deregulation, and advertising practices that had a negative impact on the overall dollars generated by black-owned stations. The combination of consolidation in the radio industry and group owners' greater control over the advertising dollars in local markets left the often poorly financed black-owned radio stations unable to compete economically in today's marketplace, forcing many owners to sell.

In addition, some studies have cited the lack of access to investment capital and the lack of policies and incentives that promote African-American ownership of radio stations. One change adversely affecting black ownership was a Federal Communications Commission (FCC) decision not to "extend enhancement credits" for African-American ownership. Enhancement credits helped make African-American applications more competitive in comparative hearings. Other deregulatory actions adversely affecting black radio station ownership included the relaxing of ownership caps. In 1992, for instance, the FCC relaxed national ownership limits, allowing a broadcaster to own up to 18 AM and FM stations nationally.

Moreover, in 1995 Congress repealed the FCC's tax certificate program. This industry incentive had provided tax benefits to the seller of a media property that was sold to a minority broadcaster. Finally, the passage of the Telecommunications Act of 1996 further deregulated the industry. The act removed all national caps on radio station ownership. On the local level, ownership restrictions were considerably liberalized, allowing increased ownership of stations, up to 50 percent of stations in a market, up to a maximum of eight, depending on market size.

The combined impact of these changes has made it difficult for African-American owners to generate revenues to compete

successfully with group-owned stations. These changes, however, do not necessarily affect advertising revenues for all black-oriented radio stations, because many are owned by conglomerates and use scale economies to achieve efficiencies and revenue generation.

Finally, African-American ownership, or the lack thereof, does not affect the number of black formats available to listeners. Black-oriented radio stations play music that African-Americans expect to hear. Many of these stations developed into outlets that emphasized music programming and used promotional slogans such as "Soul Music" stations, "The Total Black experience in Sound," and "The Quiet Storm" to appeal to listeners. Non-entertainment programming on some of these stations, however, suffers when local ownership disappears.

Black-Oriented Radio Formats Today

There are nearly 500 black-oriented radio stations operating in the United States today. The most popular format on these radio stations is urban contemporary. This format plays music from several genres, including rhythm and blues, urban adult contemporary, dance, urban gospel, rap music, and jazz. Fifty-seven percent of all African-Americans aged 12 and older listen to urban contemporary formatted radio stations. Moreover, black-oriented radio has popular appeal among other ethnic groups, including Asians, whites, and Hispanics. The majority of its listeners, however, are African-Americans—indeed, 90 percent of the listeners to black-oriented stations are minorities. Eighty percent of listeners to the urban contemporary format are minority group members. Other black-oriented formats include "black talk" and blues. General market radio stations attract a 21 percent minority audience.

Whether black-owned or not, most black-oriented radio stations attempt to establish ties with the local communities in which they are licensed. In addition to the music these stations play, they also offer public-affairs programming, news, and public service announcements.

Black-oriented noncommercial radio stations also play an important role in entertaining and informing the African-American community. Sometimes called "community stations," these stations schedule programs with the idea of helping communities create strong identities. Most of these stations allow the public access to the airwaves, especially those who may not otherwise have an opportunity to play their styles of music, such as jazz, reggae, or other Caribbean sounds. These

stations also give individuals an opportunity to voice controversial and unpopular opinions.

For example, noncommercial stations provide forums to discuss issues such as police brutality, racism, disparities in incarceration rates, poverty, and other forms of racial discrimination. Moreover, black-oriented noncommercial radio stations are often staffed and operated by "activists" who argue that "mainstream" commercial black-oriented radio stations fail to adequately educate and inform African-Americans on such issues as AIDS, the U.S. legal system, and racial discrimination. Thus, black-oriented noncommercial radio stations provide news, public affairs, and other information often excluded from black-oriented commercial radio stations.

GILBERT A. WILLIAMS

See also African Americans in Radio; Amos 'n' Andy; Black Radio Networks; Blues Format; Community Radio; Cooper, Jack L.; Durham, Richard; Hulbert, Maurice "Hot Rod"; Jazz Format; Joyner, Tom; Payola; Urban Contemporary Format; Williams, Nat; WDIA

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Black Radio Networks

Although the major national radio networks got their start in the 1920s, a network dedicated to African-American listeners did not make its debut until 1954, when the National Negro network (NNN) went on the air. It differed from the older networks in that it did not own any radio stations, but it resembled them in providing programs to affiliate stations.

Origins

Two driving forces helped launch the NNN. The first impetus had to do with finding a way of reaching African-American consumers. National advertisers, seeking ways to increase market share, decided that by using "Negro-appeal" radio stations they could better achieve their goals. For many national companies, sales to African-American consumers often represented the difference between breaking even and increased sales, and finding a way to reach them with advertising was thus an important goal.

Another driving force for the creation and development of a national black radio network came from a desire of African-American entertainers to reach a national black audience with their programs. Toward those two ends, Leonard Evans, publisher of a black radio trade magazine, organized the NNN in 1954 in order to distribute programming to affiliates. The NNN, for example, produced and distributed *The Story of Ruby Valentine*, a soap opera starring Ruby Dee and Juanita Hall. African-American entertainers Cab Calloway and Ethel Waters also produced NNN programs. Moreover, other programming on the network represented a range: there was high-brow fare, such as symphony concerts broadcast from black colleges, for example a concert at North Carolina College in Durham hosted by African-American disc jockey Norfley Whitted. There was also personality radio, featuring the latest rhythm and blues, blues, and jazz music. These music programs were hosted by African-American disc jockeys at the various NNN affiliates around the country.

Ruby Valentine was broadcast on 45 radio stations. Pulse ratings indicated that the show received a 2.0 rating among African-Americans in 1954. The show and its network lasted three years. National advertisers pulled away from the network, realizing that local black DJs had probably more appeal than national DJs.

After the demise of NNN, other attempts to create a black radio network were led by Chicago disc jockey Sid McCoy, whose syndicated programs were heard in 61 markets in 1957. McCoy's programs featured interviews with well-known personalities from the world of music. In 1958 McCoy's *Showcase*, a talk program aimed at African-American listeners, became a staple on radio stations in 32 markets.

Norman Spaulding organized Feature Broadcasting Company in 1960. Feature produced radio programs that covered sports, domestic issues, and black history; it also produced a program moderated by Ethel Waters called *Advice to the Housewife*. These syndicated efforts laid the foundation for more ambitious developments in black radio networking.

Developments in the 1970s

The Mutual Broadcasting System helped launch the first black all-news radio network in 1972, the Mutual Black network (MBN). The MBN had two principal bases of operation, New York and Washington, D.C. The network produced five-minute news and sports reports and distributed them to its affiliates daily. The New York office was led by veteran broadcast journalist Sheldon Lewis, and long-time news reporter Ed Castleberry headed up MBN's Washington, D.C., office. MBN distributed programming to approximately 90 affiliates, using telephone lines subleased from the Mutual Broadcasting Service. Later, as the number and types of programs increased and changed, MBN used leased satellite transmission facilities to distribute its programming. MBN employed approximately 50 people, with about half working in each of its two main offices.

Another black all-news radio network got its start just a few months after the MBN operation began. The Sheridan Broadcasting network (SBN) in Pittsburgh was developed as part of the Sheridan Broadcasting Corporation. Ron Davenport, Philadelphia native and entrepreneur, along with other investors purchased four radio stations—WAMO AM/FM (Pittsburgh), WUFO-AM (Buffalo, New York), and WILD-AM (Boston). These stations formed the initial media investments of the Sheridan Broadcasting Corporation.

In 1976 MBN, which had been struggling financially, merged with Davenport's Sheridan Broadcasting Corporation when the latter purchased 49 percent of MBN. In 1979 Sheridan bought the remaining 51 percent of the shares, and it became part of SBN. Upon gaining control of MBN, Sheridan expanded its programming offerings to affiliates to include *Money Smarts*, a financial report broadcast daily, and *Coming Soon*, a movie review program. In addition, the network produced *Major League Baseball Notebook*, *NFL Playbook*, and the *NBA Report* to provide listeners with coverage of the nation's professional athletes in those sports. In addition to sports coverage, the SBN also broadcast Lou Rawls's *Parade of Stars* telethon, an annual fund-raiser for the United Negro College Fund. By 1990 SBN boasted more than 150 affiliates and grossed more than \$15 million in annual revenues.

A third black-owned radio news network was established in 1973 in New York City. The National Black Network (NBN)

employed 50 people. NBN used a combination of telephone lines, satellite interconnection, and microwave relays to distribute its programming nationally. NBN broadcast its news to affiliates in Los Angeles, New York, and five other major U.S. cities. Eugene D. Jackson became NBN's first president. Sidney Small played a significant role in securing financing for the organization, and Del Racee, another founding member, brought radio station operations and know-how to the group of founding members.

NBN's initial offerings included *Black Issues and the Black Press*, a weekly 30-minute news show, and *One Black Man's Opinion*, which featured the commentaries of veteran newsman Roy Wood, Sr., and aired five days a week. Also in its lineup of programs was the *Ossie Davis and Ruby Dee Story Hour*, a one-hour weekly series hosted by this husband-and-wife team, featuring poetry, historical anecdotes, interviews, and music. By 1977 NBN served 80 affiliate stations.

Aside from the information and entertainment NBN provided to affiliates and listeners, the network also increased the available options of national advertisers to reach African-American consumers. NBN's demographic profile indicated that it had a 54 percent audience share among African-American women, a 47 percent share of African-American men, and a 73 percent share of the listening audience of African-American teens aged 12–17.

Modern Black Radio Networks

By the end of the 1980s, NBN served 94 affiliates, reaching nearly 20 million African-American listeners each week with news, sports, and information programming. NBN had gross revenues exceeding \$10 million by the late 1980s. Its expanded programming services included such shows as *Energy Insight*, a consumers' program, and *Short Cuts*. In addition, the network added a late-night talk show, *Night Talk*, hosted by Bob Law. Its parent company, Unity Broadcasting, continued to expand and purchased two radio stations, WDAS AM/FM.

In 1991 SBN bought NBN, creating the American Urban Radio network (AURN). By 2000 this network had more than 250 affiliates and reached nearly 90 percent of African-American listeners. The network was headquartered in Pittsburgh and was the only black radio network in America at the beginning of the 21st century. AURN offers affiliates news; public-affairs programs; and syndicated features on finance and money, health, and minority business ventures. In addition, AURN produces and distributes sports features, entertainment, and cultural offerings, including programs that focus on black music, comedy, media, and women.

By the late 1990s, AURN had become the third largest radio network operating in the United States. Its five divisions—entertainment, marketing and promotion, news, public affairs, and sports—produce programs especially designed for African-American listeners. For example, its STRZ Entertainment network offers programs on black music (*USA Music Magazine*), media, comedy (*STRZ Funline*), and shows for women (*Cameos of Black Women*). The news division, American Urban News (AUN)/SBN News, distributes two separate news reports. AUN news is a three-and-a-half-minute news summary, delivered on the hour from 6 A.M. to 10 P.M. each day. The SBN newscast is broadcast in five-minute segments at half past the hour. These satellite-delivered newscasts reach approximately 8 million listeners each week.

The Urban Public Affairs network (UPAN) is responsible for special programs, such as those developed for Black History Month, and for regular features covering consumer issues, health, minority business activities, and financial matters. Special programs on UPAN include, for example, memorials created for the Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. birthday holiday and for the national elections (*Election Day: America*).

The Sports network on SBN offers the same programming that it offered prior to the merger of the two black radio groups. The SBN Urban network programs are new, however. This AURN network distributes to affiliates marketing and promotional materials and services, including direct-mail campaigns and sweepstakes promotions.

GILBERT A. WILLIAMS

See also African-Americans in Radio; Black-Oriented Radio; Mutual Broadcasting System

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Block, Martin 1903–1967

U.S. Radio Announcer and Disk Jockey

The show most often credited with initiating the modern disc jockey movement was Martin Block's *Make Believe Ballroom* on WNEW in New York City. Block's *Ballroom* began in February 1935, during the trial of Bruno Hauptmann for the kidnapping of the Lindbergh baby. Block, who had started working at WNEW in December 1934 after moving to New York from California, was a \$20-a-week staff announcer engineering the station's broadcasts of the trial.

Block convinced station manager Bernice Judis to let him use phonograph records to fill some of the gaps between trial segments. When the next recess arrived, Block introduced and played several records. His manner of presentation, however, was unique: Block pretended that the show was a live broad-

cast from a giant dance hall with a glittering chandelier. He played a master of ceremonies role, introducing songs as if the bands were actually there. The public was intensely interested in the Hauptmann trial, and Block found a ready-made audience. He located a sponsor, Retardo Weight Reducing Pills, and convinced the station to add the show to its regular schedule.

In time, Block's *Make Believe Ballroom* became the nation's preeminent disc jockey show, and during various periods it was broadcast over the Mutual and American Broadcasting Companies (ABC) networks. It was even syndicated over the Voice of America briefly. Thus Block became the first popular icon of the disc jockey genre and also its first millionaire.

Two important elements in Block's success were his voice, the tonal qualities of which evoked a physical sensation in some listeners, and his on-air personality. Because he had held various jobs as a salesperson prior to his radio career, Block could be quite persuasive. One New York bakery credited him with increasing their sales by 144,000 doughnuts in one week, and an appliance dealer in New Jersey claimed that his show helped the store sell 109 refrigerators during one of the state's worst snowstorms. Others have suggested that Block helped establish the careers of both Spike Jones and Dinah Shore.

Although the press labeled him "Block the Jock" and "the Lord High Admiral of the Whirling Disk," some radio personalities challenge Block's claim to being the first platter pilot. Al Jarvis was one. Jarvis was in radio on the West Coast when Block worked at XEFD in Tijuana and at KMPC in Beverly Hills, and Jarvis claimed to have had a record program on KFWB that premiered in March 1932 called *The World's Largest Make Believe Ballroom*.

Although others may have originally pioneered disc jockey programs, Block was the first record spinner to gain national recognition. By the end of World War II, he was making \$100,000 a year at WNEW in New York. *Variety* celebrated the 15th anniversary of *Make Believe Ballroom* in 1950 with a number of specially dedicated articles, including tributes from Perry Como and Guy Lombardo. Block's work presaged the programming specialization, clock segmentation, and reliance on recorded music that would prevail in radio following television's arrival. Block's son Joel followed his father's footsteps in part: he co-hosts the *Earth and Sky* feature carried on public radio stations.



Martin Block

Courtesy Library of American Broadcasting

CHARLES F. GANZERT

Martin Block. Born in Los Angeles, California, 1903. Moved with his mother to Baltimore and New York after his father's death; began working at age 13 as an office boy for General Electric Vice President Own Young; worked as traveling salesman and pitchman selling razor blades, candy bars, and vacuum cleaners as a young man; moved back to the West Coast in 1930; began working in radio at XEFD in Tijuana and KMPC in Beverly Hills; hired at WNEW in New York City, 1934; later broadcast for WABC and WOR. Died in New York City, 19 September 1967.

Radio Series

- 1935-54 *Make Believe Ballroom*
 1944-50 *Chesterfield Supper Club*
 1954-61 *The Martin Block Show*

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Blore, Chuck 1930-

U.S. Advertising Agency Executive and Innovator of Radio Promotion

Chuck Blore was hooked by radio early in life. As an adult, he applied his infatuation with the medium to programming, promotion, and advertising for radio stations. His advertising expertise was later used in campaigns for a variety of products and services. One of the commercial concepts he created to advertise radio stations on television was still in use 25 years after he first introduced it. Another campaign ran a record 11 years in one city.

Blore claimed he was raking leaves at his East Los Angeles home at age 11 when his mother asked, "What do you want to do when you grow up?" At the time he hadn't given the idea any thought. "But Al Jarvis was on the radio while I was raking," he said, "and I realized that's what I wanted to do. I told my mother, 'I want to talk on the radio.'" Radio became so much a part of his teenage life that Blore quit high school at age 17 to join the Navy to learn more about the medium. The Navy led him to El Paso, Texas, where he programmed KELP radio and achieved a 74 share of the listening audience.

Blore became well known in the radio industry for his innovative work as program manager for KFWB in Los Angeles, where he introduced "Color Radio" in 1958. The sound included elaborate singing logos and songs about the station, all mixed with Top 40 music. KFWB was one of the first stations to adopt a consistent, 24-hour-a-day sound that made it easily identifiable, especially against the "block programming" of the era. As "Color Channel 98," KFWB earned audience shares in the 30 range in southern California from the inception of the concept through the mid-1960s.

KFWB earned Blore a place among the originators of the Top 40 format and won him the "Man of the Year" awards from three trade publications in 1961—*The Gavin Report*,

Billboard magazine, and *Broadcasting* magazine. Blore says he lists the award from *The Gavin Report* first because it was the most respected music publication of its time. Not long after those awards, Blore was named National Program Director for the Crowell-Collier radio group, overseeing the programming and branding concepts for KDWB in Minneapolis and KEWB in San Francisco, as well as for the Los Angeles station.

He held that position until mid-1964 when he stepped away from day to day radio to form Chuck Blore Creative Services. In partnership with writer Don Richman, Blore applied his ideas to other radio stations. Blore and Richman produced jingles and singing logos for radio stations and advertising and marketing campaigns for consumer products and services. They enlisted the Johnny Mann Singers to provide the vocals, and Johnny Mann wrote the musical arrangements. Blore had first worked with Mann and his singers on music for "Color Radio" at KFWB. By the time the new venture began, Mann had achieved a national hit record, "Love Me With All Your Heart," and that added value to his performance on the Blore jingles.

Among Blore's first work for radio were jingles for WCAR in Detroit and WKYC in Cincinnati using the theme, "Here is Love in Your Ear." Other packages were developed for KRLA in Los Angeles, KYA in San Francisco, and for CBS Radio. Blore's most famous jingles, however, are the ones he conceived for WCFL in Chicago, using lyrics that can only be termed hyperbolic:

Chicago is saved! Hurray and hallelujah—Chicago is saved! WCFL!

Another ran:

Never was your radio so radiant, never has your set had
so much sun,
What we have for your ears is ear-resistible, sounds of
love and sounds of fun,
You can tell it's CFL . . . WCFL!

Blore also included in the package a song for St. Swithin's Day, giving WCFL music that was noticeably out of the ordinary. The WCFL jingle packages were first produced in 1966 and updated each of the following two years. Radio memorabilia collectors still buy, sell, and trade copies of Blore's WCFL productions at several internet sites.

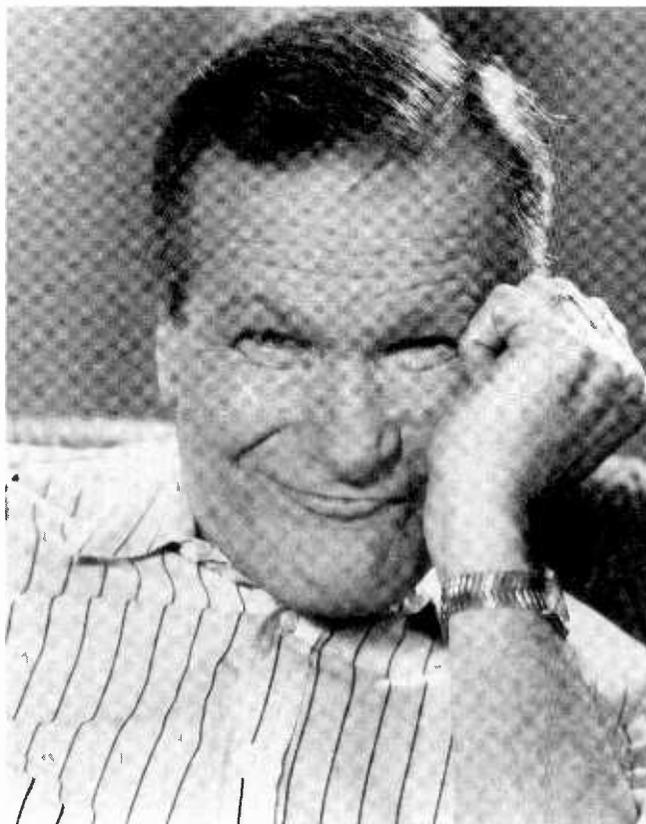
For a brief period in the early 1970s, Blore returned to day-to-day radio to develop a concept called "Entertainment Radio" for KIIS-AM in Los Angeles. Instead of relying on disc jockies and announcers, Entertainment Radio used the talents of the KIIS creative department to produce "mini-dramas" that picked up the theme of a song as an introduction—dialog of a couple falling in love, for instance, followed by the Carpenters' "We've Only Just Begun." KIIS also allowed listeners to become involved on the air by doing tasks usually reserved for disc jockies. A typical KIIS weather forecast would have a listener commenting, "The smog looks like pea soup."

In 1975, Blore created a television commercial called "The Remarkable Mouth"—a close up of an attractive woman's mouth from which emanates the music, announcers, jingles, and logos of a radio station. At the end of the commercial, an announcer says, "You have a remarkable mouth." The woman replies, "You have a remarkable radio station."

The first Remarkable Mouth commercial was produced for WTAE Radio in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Because WTAE was co-owned with a television station, the radio operation received free airtime. A WTAE executive had previously worked with Blore in Los Angeles and asked him for ideas to promote radio on TV.

Blore said he could not believe a radio station wanted to advertise on TV because radio and TV were so competitive at the time; such cross promotion just was not done. He leapt at the opportunity to create a commercial to advertise his favorite medium. Blore's company had just completed a series of commercials for the Hollywood Bowl concert venue in which a male actor appeared to have the music and the cheering audiences coming from his mouth as he spoke. Blore and Richman adapted the idea to radio and hired a female model they had used in a billboard campaign in Los Angeles.

Since its introduction, the "Remarkable Mouth" commercial has been on the air somewhere in the world. Blore produced versions of the commercial for broadcasters in Lithuania, Russia, Ireland, England, and Venezuela, and a long list of other countries. In early 2001, "Remarkable Mouth"



Chuck Blore
Courtesy The Chuck Blore Company

was revived in Los Angeles for KCBS-FM and its Classic Rock format called "The Arrow."

Two other Blore commercials also became radio promotion classics. "The Janitor," an adaptation of "Remarkable Mouth," showed a late-night janitor interrupting his work at a radio station to step into a studio and pretend to be on the air. From his mouth came all the programming broadcast during the previous day on that station. The commercial, first produced for KABC, Los Angeles, was syndicated to news and talk stations across the U.S.

Blore's "Deborah" commercial was also a simple concept: A woman's face was on screen as she acted as spokesperson for the station. She recited the benefits of the radio station while quick video cuts attracted the viewer's eye to the screen. "Deborah" was also syndicated nationally and achieved one of the longest runs of any single commercial for any product when it was played for 11 years on Atlanta television to promote WKHX, the Country station known as "Kicks."

The success of his advertising campaigns for radio led to Blore's induction into the PROMAX Hall of Fame, established by the organization of radio and television promotion and marketing managers.

Blore companies have produced branding, imaging, and advertising for broadcast and cable television networks including ABC, CBS, Fox, NBC, CNBC, The Discovery Channel, and The Learning Channel. The company also provides imaging and advertising for internet sites such as MTV's SonicNet, Hit-Comedy.com, and WB's Entertaindom. Now known as the Chuck Blore Company, Blore's organization has won more than 400 major advertising awards. *Adweek* magazine called the firm "the most honored company in broadcast advertising history."

ED SHANE

See also DJs; Promotion on Radio; WCFL

Chuck Blore. Born in Los Angeles, California, 10 April 1930. Joined the U.S. Navy in 1948. After discharge from the Navy in 1950, joined KGAN, Kingman, Arizona; left after three

months to join KTKT, Tucson, Arizona. In 1955, recruited by Gordon McLendon to be Program Director for KELP, El Paso, Texas. Introduced "Color Radio" on KFVB, Los Angeles, 1958. Named "Man of the Year" in 1961 by *The Gavin Report*, *Billboard* and *Broadcasting*. National Program Director, Crowell-Collier Stations, 1962-64. Founded Chuck Blore Creative Services, 1964. Inducted into PROMAX Hall of Fame, 1995.

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Blue Book

Broadcast Policy Statement

More formally titled *Public Service Responsibility of Broadcast Licensees*, this 1946 Federal Communications Commission (FCC) report on radio's program and advertising shortcomings gave rise to a lasting controversy concerning the agency's supervisory role over broadcasting's practices.

Background

FCC concerns about radio advertising and programming were anything but new—they had been a part of commission discussion and some legal cases since the commission's creation in 1934. With the approaching end of World War II, the FCC was better able to focus on domestic issues, and incoming chairman Paul Porter proposed a study of radio program practices on which the commission might base overall policy guidelines that could assist in its station licensing decisions. What several commissioners felt was needed was a comprehensive analysis of program and advertising promises stations made in applying for licenses versus their actual performance three years later when that license came up for renewal.

In mid-1945 former British Broadcasting Company (BBC) official Charles A. Siepmann was hired to work with attorney Elinor Bonteque and the FCC staff to develop a workable study of "promise versus performance" measures, including

such measures as the amount of advertising a station carried per hour or week, the proportion of locally produced programs provided, and the proportion of sustaining (non-sponsored) programs offered. Because it was too costly and time consuming to survey all 900 AM radio stations then on the air, a few sample cases would have to be relied on to provide a picture of current industry practices. Even before the study got under way, the commission began to hold up once-routine license renewals in cases where there was evidence of serious promise-versus-performance problems. By early 1946 more than 300 stations—nearly a third of all those on the air—were in license limbo.

What It Said

On 7 March 1946, the FCC released a 149-page mimeographed report in light blue covers titled *Public Service Responsibilities of Broadcast Licensees*. Demand for copies led to a printed version of 59 pages, and it is these that are usually found in libraries and archives today. The "Blue Book" (as it was quickly dubbed by all parties) was divided into five parts: (1) a discussion of the commission's concern with program service (which presented five case studies of specific stations found wanting); (2) the FCC's legal jurisdiction with respect to

program service; (3) four specific aspects of the public interest in program service; (4) a review of relevant economic issues; and (5) a summary and conclusion including proposals for future commission policy.

The five case studies in Part 1 each pinpointed a different problem. KIEV in Glendale, California, was found to have promised considerable local cultural and public service programming and limited advertising—but instead to have provided a largely sponsored recorded music service, meeting almost none of its original promises. WSNY in Schenectady, New York, had been granted a license in a comparative hearing based on programming promises that, at renewal time some years later, had not been fulfilled. Station WTOL in Toledo, Ohio, had obtained a full-time authorization (it had been a daytime-only operation), again based on certain promises concerning local public service programs, which were found “conspicuous by their absence” four years later. Baltimore station WBAL changed ownership in the mid-1930s, and a decade later it was found to be providing a service largely bereft of promised local sustaining programs. And finally, station KHMO in Hannibal, Missouri, obtained a license in a court action in the mid-1930s, based in part on programming commitments that it was not fulfilling by early 1945.

The second part of the Blue Book, concerning the “commission jurisdiction with respect to program service,” focused on legal issues raised at the time of the FCC’s creation from the former Federal Radio Commission. Written by Bontequé, this section concluded that the FCC “is under an affirmative duty, in its public interest determinations, to give full consideration to program service.”

The specifics of that determination were spelled out in Part 3. The Blue Book defined the public interest to include four specific requirements of all radio stations. The first was to carry sustaining programs—those not paid for by commercial sponsors—because such programs provided a vital balance to advertiser-supported programs, especially for minority audiences and program experimentation. Including several full-page charts illustrating station practices, this was the longest single part (nearly 24 pages in the printed version) of the Blue Book. The second requirement was to carry local and live programs to reflect local community concerns and interests. Excessive reliance on national commercial programs was held to be an example of poor practice. Carrying discussion of public issues was the third requirement. Another lengthy section of eight pages was devoted to the fourth requirement—not carrying too much advertising.

The fourth portion of the Blue Book focused on economic aspects—essentially the profits made by the industry. Here 14 tables demonstrated the substantial returns stations had made during the war, suggesting that a profitable business like radio broadcasting could easily support a larger public service role.

Finally, the Blue Book turned to the role of the public and government with some specific procedural proposals for future regulation (some of this section was written by Siepmann). Among these proposals were creation of uniform definitions of program types, segments of the broadcast day, selection of a composite week on which program reports would be based, some revisions in license and renewal application forms, and procedures on renewal actions. All of these proposals were designed to allow ready comparison of practice across stations. The same section also called for more radio criticism, self-regulation, radio listener councils, and education about radio in colleges and universities.

Impact

Publication of the Blue Book brought forth an instant negative radio industry response, including rhetoric that the government was trying to take control of radio or censor broadcasters. At the least, industry figures argued, they should have had a chance to comment upon the cases and methods used and the findings reached before the report was released. Along with other critics, they also held that the FCC had no authority to regulate as it seemed to intend; at the same time, the report was criticized for emphasizing a few bad actors in an otherwise well-meaning and effective industry. Even some of those sympathetic to the report’s intent felt the distinction concerning benefits of sustaining and commercial programming was overstated. And the financial section probably overstated the industry’s profits, because the war years, in retrospect, were clearly an unusual period (given wartime limits on newspaper advertising to save paper and tax provisions making it beneficial for companies making war products to keep their names in the public eye with radio advertising).

Did the publication have any lasting effect? In the end, no station lost its license for the kind of transgressions described in the Blue Book. Virtually all the licensees designated for renewal hearings because of Blue Book issues were eventually renewed—and hundreds of new stations took to the air as well. Yet the FCC never withdrew or replaced the document, which remained in place as a statement of policy thinking for years to come. Still, a decade later, radio broadcasters were carrying even fewer sustaining programs in what had become a “local,” although heavily commercialized, music service. By 1959 the trade weekly *Broadcasting* noted that the report was long out of print and was “now something of a collector’s item.”

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Federal Communications Commission; Regulation; Siepmann, Charles A.

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Blue Network

The Blue network was one of two radio networks operated by the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) from 1927 until 1943. After its sale in 1943, this network continued using the Blue network name for a year, until it was renamed the American Broadcasting Companies (ABC).

Origins

The Blue network, predecessor of the ABC Radio network, traces its roots to the early 1920s, when two informal networks linked a few radio stations in the U.S. Northeast to carry broadcasts from New York. The American Telephone and Telegraph (AT&T) network was the stronger of the two, feeding sponsored programs and special events from the company's New York station, WEAF (later WNBC, now WFAN). Starting in 1923, the second network fed programs from New York station WJZ (now WABC) to other Northeastern stations of the "Radio Group" operated by the Radio Corporation of America (RCA), General Electric, and Westinghouse Electric.

In 1926 a patent agreement reached between the Radio Group and AT&T heralded the beginning of serious network broadcasting in the United States. The agreement provided that the Radio Group would operate radio stations and networks, and AT&T would provide telephone lines to connect stations for network broadcasting. RCA established the National Broadcasting Company, a new corporation, in 1926 to operate local stations and radio networks. In turn, NBC bought WEAF and the telephone company's network from AT&T for \$1 million to complete the settlement. NBC then announced that it would provide the best programs available

for broadcasting in the United States and that it would provide these programs to other stations throughout the country. NBC was launched with a gala inaugural broadcast from New York on 15 November 1926.

At the time of its establishment, NBC had two stations in both New York (WEAF and WJZ) and Washington, D.C. (WRC and WMAL) as well as two affiliates in several other cities. Instead of duplicating the same program on both stations in the same community, NBC devised a plan starting in early 1927 for two semi-independent networks that would carry separate programs most of the time. These two networks, known as the NBC Red and NBC Blue networks, were originated by NBC's two New York flagship stations, WEAF, the former AT&T station, and RCA's station WJZ. On 23 December 1928, NBC linked together its eastern and Pacific coastal stations, known as the "Orange" network, establishing the first transcontinental network service.

As 1927 began, a number of lavish sponsored programs were on the air. Concerts, classical or semi-classical, were presented by several orchestras. Live radio drama was attempted as early as 1928 by the *Eveready Hour*. Remote pickups of dance bands from New York's hotel ballrooms continued to be a prominent feature of both the Red and Blue networks during late night.

When NBC began in 1927, there were 10 stations on each network. At the end of six months of operation, NBC's Red network had a chain of 15 stations, including WEAF in the East, and NBC Blue had 10 stations including WJZ. Eight additional stations were affiliated with both networks. In January 1928, one year after the network began regular daily ser-

vice, NBC had 48 affiliates. Ten years later, in 1938, there were 154 NBC affiliates, including 23 on the Red network and 24 on the Blue, with the remainder choosing programs from both. However, NBC Red had considerably more of the high-power clear channel stations, making it the stronger competitor.

Mode of Operation

From the start, the Red network outstripped the Blue network in terms of popular programming. The NBC Red network enjoyed the heritage of the AT&T chain, whose pre-merger advertisers paid performing talent well, whereas the Radio Group's WJZ had largely used free talent. With the Red network's lineup of powerful stations and strong popular programming, many sponsors insisted on placing their programs on NBC Red. Furthermore, to placate the government during the rapid growth of commercialism on radio, NBC deliberately programmed NBC Blue as a complementary service to the Red network, providing extensive news, public service, and cultural programming. Although NBC Blue had some popular sponsored shows, its schedules consisted largely of sustaining (non-sponsored) public-affairs talk programs, concert music, classic drama, and late-night dance bands. New programs often made their debut on NBC Blue and were moved to the Red network when they became popular. Because the Red network stations carried about three-fourths of NBC's commercial programs, industry observers commented that NBC, from 1927 until 1943, used the Blue network more as a foil than as an all-out competitor with the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS).

Despite its secondary role, the NBC Blue network launched what was to become radio's first sensationally popular serial drama. In 1929 NBC Blue began carrying the nightly *Amos 'n' Andy* comedy show, which depicted the activities of a group of affable black characters living in Harlem. *Amos 'n' Andy* soon dominated all radio listening in the early evening hour of 7:00 Eastern time. The Cooperative Analysis of Broadcasting reported that more than half of all radio homes in the nation regularly tuned to this program during the 1930-31 season.

During the 1930s, NBC Blue also carried additional five- and six-day-a-week serialized dramas, including *Little Orphan Annie*, *Lum 'n' Abner*, *Vic and Sade*, *Clara Lu and Em*, and *Betty and Bob*. Several news commentators, including Lowell Thomas, also were heard five nights a week on the network. Other regular NBC Blue network programs included concerts by the NBC Symphony Orchestra, *Sherlock Holmes* and other mystery dramas, and the popular *Quiz Kids* program featuring gifted youngsters. NBC Blue served rural audiences with its *National Farm and Home Hour*, offered adaptations of classic drama on *Radio Guild*, and provided the *Walter Damrosch Music Appreciation Hour* for students.

NBC's main competitor during the 1930s was CBS, which was founded in 1927. NBC and CBS together controlled almost all of the most powerful clear channel and regional stations—so much so that a third rival, the Mutual Broadcasting System (MBS), found it extremely difficult to obtain competitive station affiliations after its founding in 1934. Mutual's complaints to the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) resulted in an investigation of radio network practices beginning in 1938. The FCC concluded that the extent of control exercised by NBC and CBS over the radio network industry was not in the public interest; in 1941 the Commission issued a new set of "Chain Broadcasting Regulations" that made it illegal for one company to operate more than one national radio network.

Separation from the National Broadcasting Company and Network Sale

In January 1942, NBC officially split the operation of the two networks, making the Blue network a separate subsidiary of RCA. After bitter litigation, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the FCC's action, forcing NBC to sell one of its networks. In October 1943, the FCC approved the \$8 million purchase of the Blue network by Edward J. Noble, whose fortune was derived from Life Savers candy. The new company was named the Blue Network, Incorporated. One year later, the network was renamed the American Broadcasting Company (ABC).

In the 1940s, the Blue Network/ABC became a more aggressive competitor of NBC and CBS but continued the public service traditions of NBC Blue. ABC hired conductor Paul Whiteman as its musical director and substituted the Boston Symphony for the NBC Symphony Orchestra and the *Blue Theatre Players* for the *Radio Guild*. The Blue network began carrying the Saturday matinee performances of the Metropolitan Opera early in the 1940s. It also carried a Sunday night blues/jazz show called the *Chamber Music Society of Lower Basin Street*. Both the Opera and *Basin Street* were hosted by famous opera announcer Milton J. Cross. The Blue network was also known for its stable of mystery programs, including *Sherlock Holmes*, *Gangbusters*, and *Counterspy*, as well as for its series of children's adventure shows in the late afternoons, including *Jack Armstrong, the All-American Boy*. During the daytime hours, the Blue network also counter-programmed the NBC and CBS soap operas with variety shows, the most famous of which was *Don McNeal's Breakfast Club*, a long-running morning show originating from Chicago.

During the war years of the 1940s, the Blue network was heavily engaged in news broadcasting. However, lacking the resources to maintain a worldwide news operation, the Blue network instead hired a number of commentators who presented a spectrum of views on current events. In this unique arrangement, the network's newsmen ranged from ultraconservative to

ultraliberal. However, none was more controversial, nor more sensationally popular than columnist-commentator Walter Winchell, who attracted a huge audience for his Sunday night news and gossip programs. Serious public-affairs programming included the weekly *America's Town Meeting of the Air*, which featured speakers both for and against issues of the day. In another business innovation, the Blue network (and Mutual) offered some of its news programs to local advertisers in an effort to broaden the network's sponsorship and revenue base.

The separation of the Blue network from NBC in 1943 introduced a new and more competitive era for the radio networks. NBC and CBS continued to be the strongest rivals, but the Blue network, no longer subsidized by NBC, had to struggle (with Mutual) for third place in the network industry. Both had growing strength in programming but limited resources for competing in the radio and the soon-to-come television network field. Eventually, in 1953, ABC merged with Paramount Theatres and became a much stronger organization in preparation for the coming of television.

HERBERT H. HOWARD

See also American Broadcasting Company; American Telephone and Telegraph; McNeal, Don; Mutual Broadcasting System; National Broadcasting Company; Network Monopoly Probe; Radio Corporation of America; WEAf

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Blues Format

The blues radio format is defined most eloquently by blues music itself. Blues songwriters often explore subjects that deal with real-life situations, and it is not uncommon for listeners to contact a blues host between selections to share their testimony after hearing a certain blues selection. Says renowned *King Biscuit Time* disc jockey Sonny Payne, it is the “history of the African-American people” surviving enslavement, post-reconstruction, and legal segregation, songs of human beings just dealing with life. The unsugarcoated “facts of life” themes often found in the lyrics can be beneficial, nonetheless. The music helps people forget their problems, and it imbues the human spirit with strength. Like other musical genres, the blues format can serve as a cathartic experience. “The blues is the truth,” according to the late legendary record promoter Dave Clark.

Radio Blues and Disc Jockeys

Bessie Smith sang the blues live on WMC, a Memphis, Tennessee, radio station, as early as 1924. The regular remote broadcasts from The Palace on Beal Street appear to have continued until sometime in the 1930s. The legacy of blues presence on

Memphis radio programming eventually influenced the owners of WDIA radio, the shape of black radio, and lives of legendary listeners such as B.B. King, Rufus Thomas, and Elvis Presley, whose first commercial success was the recording of Arthur Crudup’s “That’s Alright Mama.”

In the early 2000s, WMPR-FM in Jackson, Mississippi, devoted 11 hours per day to blues. Most blues programs are limited to certain time blocks during a radio station’s weekly air schedule. One exception is WAVN-AM in Memphis, which in 2003 devoted its entire program schedule to blues. Many noncommercial radio stations (public, community, and college) have increasingly programmed blues for the past 30 years. At least one radio station in many major markets and college communities can be found devoting selected block schedules to blues. National Public Radio downlinks via satellite a blues program, *Portraits in Blue*, to its affiliates each week. The Handy Foundation in Memphis circles the globe to record live blues concerts and syndicates the performances in a magazine format called *Beal St. Caravan*. Blues programming can be heard on the internet, and the trend is growing rapidly. Emerging satellite services such as Sirius and XM had begun to provide continuous blues programming by the early 21st century.

Disc jockeys who work in the radio blues format often travel to blues festivals around the country to keep up with current trends and developments. They exchange ideas, conduct interviews with historical and leading artists, and then broadcast them on their local blues programs back home. Such periodicals as *Living Blues* and *Big City Blues* can provide invaluable cultural information for the program producer. It is fair to say that most men and women who join the still loose network of blues programmers take that step seriously. In essence, they become part of a respected culture that was pioneered by men and women who struggled valiantly to regain their human dignity and make life better for everyone. A serious blues disc jockey will know—and play—the music of Sonny Boy Williamson, Robert Lockwood, Muddy Waters, or B.B. King. And the blues enthusiast—whether disc jockey or listener—might consider revisiting or discovering the rich origin of the blues radio format, which began in the Mississippi Delta “On the Arkansas Side.”

Chicago: Al Benson

During the early 1940s in Chicago, Al Benson (following the precedent of Jack L. Cooper, another Chicago entrepreneur) began purchasing blocks of time on several different radio stations to program black music, much of which was blues. An important key to Benson's success was the format he designed, which permitted him and his hired announcers to speak the language of many transplanted Southerners and to promote the products of sponsors. His use of recorded blues music and his training of young broadcasters such as Vivian Carter and Sid McCoy appears to have accompanied the rise in popularity of black disc jockeys and blues programming. Carter later co-founded Vee Jay Records and helped develop the legendary Jimmy Reed. She launched the Beatles' first recordings in the United States. Benson's block programs, broadcast on various stations, remain a major contribution to the blues radio format. By 1947 there were at least 17 blues-oriented radio programs being broadcast in the United States. Several programs aired on various stations in Los Angeles, and Leroy White and others were very popular in Detroit.

Helena, Arkansas: *King Biscuit Time*

Helena, Arkansas, located on the west bank of the Mississippi River, is a small city that became home to the longest-running blues program on radio, *King Biscuit Time*. Shortly after KFFA Radio was established in 1941, bluesmen Sonny Boy Williamson and Robert Lockwood, Jr., met with their white childhood friend, Sonny Payne, who worked at the station and helped get them on the air. Sam Anderson, the station manager and part owner, agreed to sell Williamson and Lockwood a block of air-time, but the blues duo had no money. Anderson referred them

to a potential sponsor, Max Moore, a wholesale grocer who needed to sell a huge backlog of flour from his warehouse. A financial deal was struck, and a tight program structure was agreed upon.

Williamson and Lockwood opened their 15-minute show Monday through Friday with a theme song that was followed by an Anderson voice-over announcement: “Pass the biscuits boys, it's King Biscuit Time.” Mixing performances of blues songs with casual conversation about where the duo would be performing in the area, Williamson and Lockwood were a success. Listeners in a 100-mile radius of KFFA's transmitter embraced the blues program and quickly purchased all of Moore's existing supply of King Biscuit Flour.

KFFA Radio has continued broadcasting *King Biscuit Time*, uninterrupted, for six decades and had logged nearly 14,000 blues shows by the turn of the century. Robert Lockwood, Jr., and the late Sonny Boy Williamson have grown into legends in both the blues and radio programming history. The show made Max Moore wealthy and the late Sam Anderson's KFFA world famous. Sonny Payne now hosts *King Biscuit Time* in a half-hour disc jockey format. Visitors from around the world frequently stop in at the Delta Cultural Center in Helena to catch the program, 12:00 to 12:30 P.M. Some guests even get a chance to be interviewed live by Payne. Each year up to 90,000 blues lovers from around the world flock to Helena, Arkansas, to attend a blues festival in honor of *King Biscuit Time* and the return of Robert Lockwood, Jr., to center stage.

Nashville: WLAC Radio

Francis Hill, a white woman, sang the blues live on WLAC in the late 1930s. Then, sometime in the mid-1940s two black record promoters were welcomed into the WLAC studios by Gene Nobles. One of the promoters is believed to have been Dave Clark. Nobles, white and handicapped, held down the night shift for WLAC's 50,000-watt clear channel signal, which blanketed the South, Midwest, parts of Canada, and the Caribbean. After Nobles began playing a few of the promoters' black records several nights a week, listeners began writing from as far away as Detroit, Michigan, and the Bahamas for more blues and boogie. Nobles came to the attention of Randy Wood, a white businessman in Gallatin, Tennessee, about 40 miles away. Wood bought some advertising spots to promote the sale of several thousand records by black artists that he discovered after purchasing an appliance store. Again, the audience responded and bought out Wood's phonograph stock.

Gene Nobles was soon hosting a blues-oriented program on a radio station that many African-Americans referred to simply as “Randy's” (WLAC). The disc jockey-run show focused on promoting a C.O.D. mail-order system operated by Randy's Record Shop in Gallatin, Tennessee. The primary pitch involved promoting sets of phonograph records made up of

five or six unrelated 78-rpm singles. To promote sales, one or two records were played each night from various sets called "specials" (e.g., "The Treasure of Love Special" or "The Old Time Gospel Special").

Ernie's Record Mart and Buckley's Record Shop, both in Nashville, soon imitated the successful Randy Wood format. Each store bought time blocks, which were spread among WLAC's additional blues-oriented programming with traditional spots and per-inquiry advertisements. By the early 1950s WLAC Radio's entire night-time schedule was bought out. John Richburg, Bill Allen, and Herman Grizzard joined Nobles to formulate a powerful programming block from 9:00 P.M. to early morning, Monday through Sunday. All of the disc jockeys were white, but they addressed the audience fairly, respected the culture, and won acceptance and trust from a largely, though not exclusively, black audience. Don Whitehead, an African-American, joined the news staff in the 1960s.

Memphis: WDIA Radio

John Pepper and Bert Ferguson, two white businessmen, found themselves unable to attract white listeners or money to their newly built WDIA Radio just as Randy Wood was gaining success. While on a trip to New Orleans, Ferguson encountered a copy of *Negro Digest* and read a success story about Al Benson. The magazine caused him to recall the 1930s live radio broadcasts from Beale Street featuring the skillful Nat D. Williams. When he returned to Memphis, he sought the assistance of Williams, a black educator, journalist, and Beal Street impresario. In an afternoon block of time, Monday through Friday, Williams developed and hosted a blues-oriented show, and the radio audience bonded with his style, laughter, and cultural knowledge. Williams' success led to the hiring of other black announcers until WDIA's entire programming schedule consisted of blues, rhythm and blues, and gospel. It was the birth of full-time radio devoted to these genres.

WDIA Radio intermingled its music with several public service announcements, called "Goodwill Announcements" by the station, to help educate and inform African-Americans living in the mid-South's tristate region: Tennessee, Arkansas, and Mississippi. A.C. Williams, another educator turned WDIA radio announcer, maintains that the foundation of black political achievement in Memphis, which is now very organized, began with public-affairs programming on WDIA Radio. The station's 1950s programming model remains at the pinnacle of

blues radio formats. WDIA's programming philosophy served as a model for other radio legends who continued to promote or program the blues wherever their career paths led them: Maurice "Hot Rod" Hulbert in Baltimore; Martha Jean Steinberg in Detroit; and Rufus Thomas and B.B. King as performers around the world.

Blues Radio Format Diffused

The blues format was still strong in 1953 when more than 500 black disc jockeys were reported to be working in radio, mostly in block formats or part-time situations. A few years later, black military veterans returning home from service brought reports that Europeans loved the "real blues." They cited John Lee Hooker, Howlin' Wolf, Muddy Waters, Sonny Boy Williamson, and others as being revered. Indeed, the Animals, the Rolling Stones, and Canned Heat advanced blues programming on white commercial radio stations in the 1960s after they included blues songs by the great African-American masters on their early albums. Curious fans who studied the origins of English rock performers became more aware of the blues. In addition, 1960s FM radio, in need of program material and open to experimentation, also began playing blues. Many young white soul radio station listeners who became attracted to rhythm and blues made additional cultural explorations and discovered the blues. The blues format increasingly made its way onto the programming schedules of noncommercial radio as the number of FM public, college, and community radio stations expanded.

LAWRENCE N. REDD

See also Black-Oriented Radio; Black Radio Networks; Hulbert, Maurice "Hot Rod"; KFFA; King Biscuit Flower Hour; Thomas, Rufus; WDIA; Williams, Nat D.; WLAC

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Board for International Broadcasting

Directing Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty

The Board for International Broadcasting (BIB) was created in 1973 to oversee and fund Radio Free Europe (RFE) and Radio Liberty (RL), two surrogate radio stations that broadcast into countries behind the Iron Curtain. In 1994 the BIB's oversight responsibilities were turned over to the Broadcasting Board of Governors when the United States' international broadcasting operations were reorganized and all nonmilitary government-financed international operations were consolidated.

RFE had been established in 1949 as a nonprofit private corporation to broadcast news and current-affairs programs to Central and Eastern European countries in the Soviet political and military orbit (Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Yugoslavia, as well as three Baltic countries that had been absorbed into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] in 1940 but that the United States did not recognize as part of the USSR—Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania). RL was created in 1951 to broadcast the same type of programs into what was then the USSR. These two operations were called "surrogate" stations because they broadcast news and public-affairs programs about the target countries themselves and considered themselves competitors of the domestic services in their target areas, rather than programs primarily about the United States and the West, which was the responsibility of the Voice of America.

Originally both RFE and RL had been funded principally and covertly by the U.S. Congress through the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), but they also received some private funding, thanks to publicity campaigns that made it seem that private money was all that kept the stations afloat. Suspicions of CIA involvement in the activities of the two stations grew over time, and in 1972 CIA involvement in their operations was acknowledged and ended, and the two stations were put under the direction of the Department of State. But the State Department did not want to oversee their operations.

In 1973 the Presidential Study Commission on International Radio Broadcasting, headed by Milton Eisenhower, officially recognized the prior role of the CIA and the fiction that all of RFE/RL's funding had come from private sources and recommended that a separate board be established to oversee the two services' operations. This recommendation resulted in the Act for the Board for International Broadcasting in 1973. This act declared that the purpose of RFE and RL would be to provide "an independent broadcast media operating in a manner not inconsistent with the broad foreign policy objectives of the United States and in accordance with high professional standards" and that their operations were "in the national interest." The BIB was authorized to make grants to RFE/RL,

to review their mission and operations, to evaluate their effectiveness, to encourage efficient use of resources, to conduct audits, and to make sure that their operations were in no way inconsistent with the foreign policy objectives of the United States. The board was to make an annual report to the president and to Congress through the foreign relations committees of the House and Senate.

The BIB was founded solely to oversee and serve as the conduit for funding RFE and RL. It was composed of nine bipartisan members appointed by the president of the United States and confirmed by the U.S. Senate. Terms were three years in length, with one-third of the BIB members changing each year; no more than five members could be of the same political party. The BIB continued to function in this capacity when the two broadcasting organizations were merged into RFE/RL in 1975. Struggles between the BIB and the RFE/RL board of directors resulted in continuing conflict. In 1982 new congressional legislation under the Pell Amendment eliminated the private corporate board and made the members of the BIB also the board of directors of RFE/RL: there were essentially two separate and parallel boards but with the same members.

The collapse of the Soviet Union following the so-called Velvet Revolution in Eastern Europe, which resulted in the collapse of Soviet hegemony and the destruction of the Berlin Wall in 1989, led to a new reassessment of the extent of American international broadcasting activities and to a questioning of whether or not surrogate radio stations were still necessary. With the ardent support of many leaders in the newly democratic states of Eastern and Central Europe, RFE/RL survived, but another reorganization occurred, and a new oversight agency was created. The BIB's duties were transferred to this new agency, the Broadcasting Board of Governors, in 1994.

ROBERT S. FORTNER

See also Broadcasting Board of Governors; Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty

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Bob and Ray

Bob Elliott (1923–)
Ray Goulding (1922–1990)

U.S. Radio Comedians

From their base in New York City, Bob and Ray affirmed that radio comedy was alive and well, despite the emergence of television, in the late 20th century. Bob Elliott (1923–) and Ray Goulding (1922–1990) were both born in Massachusetts, where they worked at local radio stations before World War II. Coincidentally, after the war they ended up at WHDH, Boston. Elliott was a morning disc jockey, and Goulding did the news. They developed an instant comedic chemistry. “I began staying in the studio,” Goulding said, “and bailing him out with some chatter, what with all the awful records he had to play.” Soon, the program director asked them to do a 25-minute comedy show before baseball games called *Matinée with Bob and Ray*. Elliott recalled, “They had to have that rhyme, and it’s the only reason we’re Bob and Ray and not Ray and Bob.”

In 1951 Bob and Ray sat in for Goulding’s older brother Phil and Morey Amsterdam on WMGM, New York. That stint led to a successful audition for the National Broadcasting Company (NBC). The network offered them a 15-minute show each evening, and Bob and Ray moved to New York, where they remained for nearly 40 years. Soon they had a two-and-a-half-hour morning show, a half-hour evening show, and a 15-minute live television program in addition to their original show. Early on the duo decided to call their program *The Bob and Ray Show*, a simple title that they continued to use throughout their career at NBC, which lasted until 1973, and on other stations and networks. The only exception was a TV game show, *The Name’s the Same*, which they hosted for ABC television briefly in 1955.

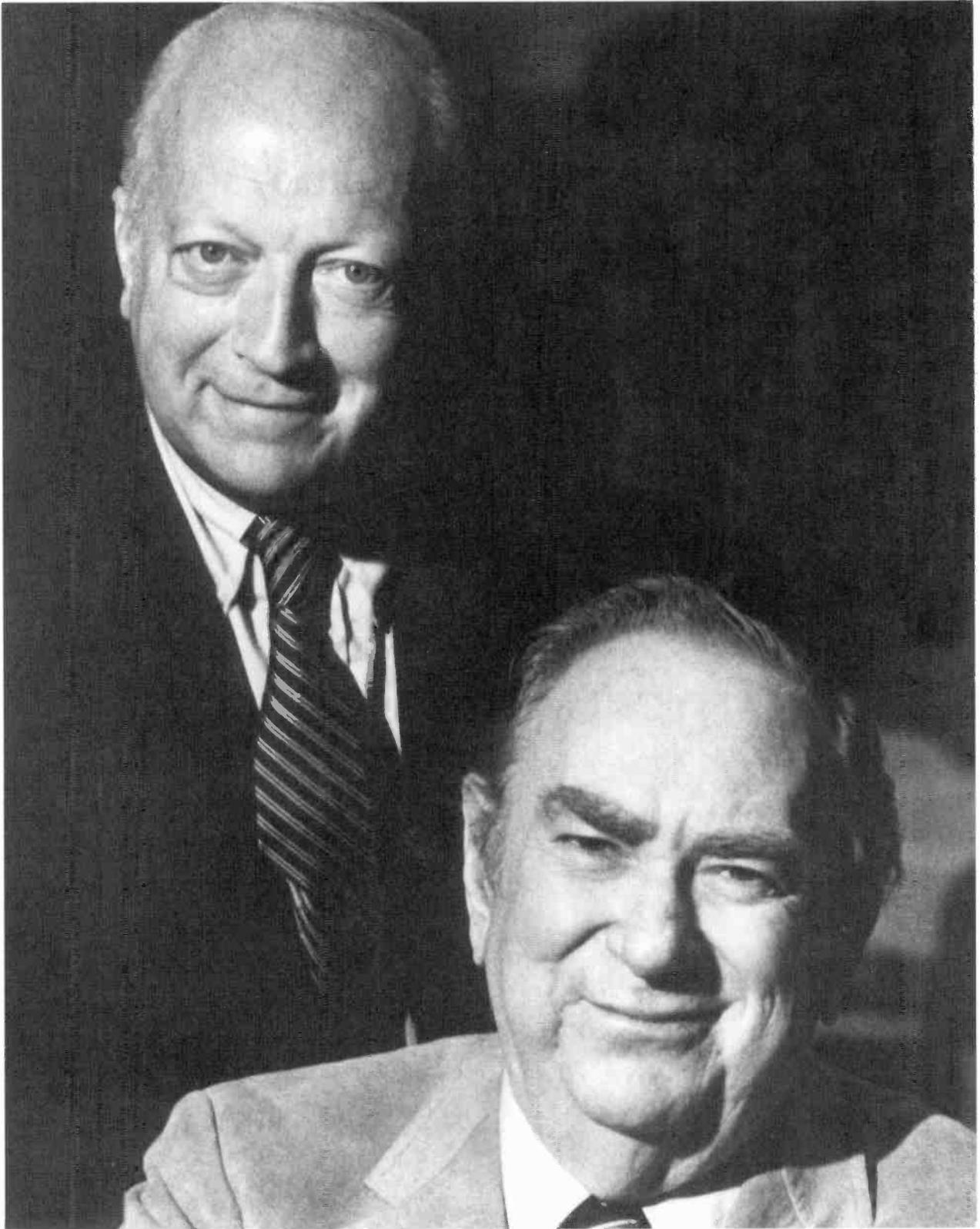
In 1953 Bob and Ray moved their television show to American Broadcasting Companies (ABC) and jumped to WINS radio for the next three years. They began a regular feature on the NBC Radio network program *Monitor* and developed an afternoon show for the Mutual Radio network. By 1956 they had landed at WOR, where they stayed off and on for more

than 20 years. They also had a show on the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) Radio network in the late 1950s.

Although radio was their primary medium, Bob and Ray also starred as “Bert and Harry” in a long-running series of television commercials for Piels Beer and became regular guests on both the *Today* and *Tonight* shows on NBC television. In 1970 they opened on Broadway with *Bob and Ray: The Two and Only*, a revue based on characters from the radio skits; they subsequently took the show on tour and released a live album of the performance. They appeared in two movies, *Cold Turkey* (1971) and *Author, Author* (1982), and published three books of scripts from their radio shows. They returned to the stage briefly in 1984 with sold-out performances at Carnegie Hall.

In 1981 Bob and Ray were inducted into the National Association of Broadcasters Hall of Fame and were named “Men of the Year” by the Broadcast Pioneers. The next year, the Museum of Broadcasting in New York presented a retrospective of Bob and Ray’s career that set attendance records and was held over for four months. During the 1980s more than 200 National Public Radio (NPR) affiliates carried *The Bob and Ray Public Radio Show*. They continued regular radio broadcasts until Goulding’s death in 1990. Elliott still plays occasional bit parts on television, often in productions written by and starring his son Chris. Many classic Bob and Ray performances were recorded and remain in circulation.

Humorists as diverse as Bob Newhart, Phil Proctor, and Roy Blount Jr. have paid homage to Bob and Ray. Their comedy has been described as wry, low-key, elegant, restrained, and seductive. The *New York Times* once called them “a couple of master comedians who live in a large, comfortable, friendly house right next door to reality.” *Kirkus Review* applauded their ability “to take the stupid words right out of our mouths and, with sweet innocence, toss them in our faces.”



Bob Elliott and Ray Goulding, "Bob and Ray"
Courtesy of "Bob and Ray" (Bob Elliott-Ray Goulding)

Typical Bob and Ray routines feature normal people who do bizarre things—the lighthouse keeper whose lighthouse is 40 miles inland, the professor of penmanship who teaches executives to write *illegibly*, a world champion low jumper, or the editor of *Wasting Time* magazine. Often the skit involves an interview in which the comedy hinges on one absurdity—the frustration of waiting for answers from the president of the Slow Talkers of America, or the misprint on a script that causes the oblivious host to ask questions that his guest just answered. Recurring characters include the casts of the soap opera “Mary Backstayge, Noble Wife” and of the adventure serial “Tippy, the Wonder Dog”; pompous sportscaster Biff Burns; and the intrepid reporter on the beat, Wally Ballou, who always upcut his cue and thus began each feature:

—ly Ballou standing here with a gentleman my staff tells me is one of the most unusual and interesting interviews we’ve ever lined up. I wonder if you’d tell us your name, sir?

Man: No, I’m afraid I can’t do that . . .

Ballou: You hiding from the police or something like that?

Man: No, I can’t tell you my name because I am one of the very few people in America with a name that is completely unpronounceable.

Ballou: Well . . . could you spell it for us?

Man: That’s all you can do with it. It’s spelled: W-W-Q-L-C-W.

Ballou: W-W-Q-L-C-W. Are you sure that’s a name and not the call letters of some radio station?

Man: No, it’s my name all right. But there’s no way to pronounce it. I’ve been trying for years and it’s got me beat.

Ballou: I certainly never heard it before. What nationality is it?

Man: Well, my grandfather came from Iraq, originally. And I’ve got a hunch that when he changed the letters from the Arabic alphabet into English, he goofed something awful.

Ballou: I guess that could be. Do you still have relatives back in the old country?

Man: Oh yeah. Cousins . . . and things like that.

Ballou: And how do they pronounce the name?

Man: They pronounce it Abernathy. (Elliott and Goulding, 1985)

See also Comedy; WOR

Robert B. (Bob) Elliott. Born in Boston, Massachusetts, 26 May 1923. Studied at the Feagin School of Drama and Radio, New York City; served in the U.S. Army in Europe, 1943–1946; worked at WHDH Boston, 1946–1951, where he met longtime partner Ray Goulding and began writing and performing radio comedy routines. Elliott and Goulding moved to New York in 1951, and their daily comedy programs became a staple of network and local radio for nearly 40 years. During the period, *The Bob and Ray Show* and the duo’s sketches were heard on the NBC, ABC, Mutual, and CBS radio networks, as well as National Public Radio. Elliott and Goulding won George Foster Peabody Awards for their work in 1952 and 1957, and were nominated for Grammy Awards for recorded comedy in 1987 and 1988.

Raymond Chester (Ray) Goulding. Born in Lowell, Massachusetts, 20 March 1922. Served in the U.S. Army from 1942–1946, rising to the rank of 1st Lieutenant. His career was closely connected to that of Bob Elliott, above. Died 24 March 1990, in Manhasset, New York.

Radio Series

- 1946–51 *Matinee with Bob and Ray*
 1951–77 *The Bob and Ray Show*
 1983–90 *The Bob and Ray Public Radio Show*

Television Series

The Bob and Ray Show, 1952–53; *The Name’s the Same*, 1955

Selected Recordings

Bob and Ray, the Two and Only, 1970; *Vintage Bob and Ray*, 1974; *A Night of Two Stars Recorded Live at Carnegie Hall*, 1987; *The Best of Bob and Ray, Vol. 1*, 1988

Selected Publications

Write if You Get Work: The Best of Bob and Ray, 1975
From Approximately Coast to Coast . . . It’s the Bob and Ray Show, 1983
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ROBERT HENRY LOCHTE

Border Radio

Mexican-Based Stations Aimed at the United States

Mexico-based radio stations, located in cities near the United States border and often beaming signals of great wattage, offered programs and advertising not always found on U.S. radio stations licensed by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC). At various times in radio history, these “border blasters” temporarily filled programming gaps and advertiser needs that stations licensed in the United States could not or would not provide. But United States-based stations always adapted, and border radio stations would fade into obscurity until the next time that they could successfully counter-program.

Origins

Border radio stations, located in Mexican cities bordering the United States from California to Texas, came into being in the 1930s, when broadcasting became big business and U.S. network programming defined itself through specific genres of programming and advertising. Border stations could transmit more powerful signals than U.S. law permitted, could and did advertise products considered fraudulent under U.S. law, and could and did offer programming—particularly “hillbilly” music—that U.S. networks failed to offer.

Although the U.S. government officially worked through a dominant U.S. network—the National Broadcasting Company (NBC)—and its powerful owner, the Radio Corporation of America (RCA), to expand global markets, “border blasters” looked to fill unserved market niches. Although actual audience comparisons are impossible to make since border stations did not subscribe to ratings services such as Hooper, the border stations’ own records of selling products in the 1930s are indeed impressive. The official authorities on both sides of the border never liked these clever entrepreneurs but often could do little about directly shutting them down. Border stations such as XED-AM—located across the border from Laredo, Texas—successfully sold Mexican lottery tickets by mail to listeners in the United States, who could also listen to XED-AM for the results. Lottery promotion was at that time strictly forbidden under U.S. radio law.

The Mexican authorities accommodated “outlaw” radio entrepreneurs—some of whom, such as Dr. John Brinkley, had been denied broadcasting licenses in the United States—because it seemed to them that the United States and Canada had divided up all the long-range frequencies between themselves, allocating none for Mexico. In 1931 Dr. Brinkley opened XER-AM (called XERA-AM by 1935) in Villa Acuna,

Mexico; later in the 1930s, Brinkley also bought XED-AM, changing its name to XEAW-AM. Indeed, these constant changes were one of the key traits of border radio, because entrepreneurs knew that they risked prosecution if and when Mexican and U.S. authorities came to some agreement.

Brinkley used border radio and its hillbilly music to make money by selling “medical miracles” that the American Medical Association (AMA) deemed fraudulent. (The AMA had pressured the Federal Radio Commission to get Brinkley off the air.) He built a transmitter with 300-foot towers. Out of the range of American restriction, station XER-AM started broadcasting with a power of 75,000 watts, with a remote studio linked by phone lines to the Rosewell Hotel in Brinkley’s new headquarters in Del Rio, Texas. The station started operating in October 1931, with gala celebrations in both towns. XER-AM offered more than just hours of pseudoscientific lectures from Dr. Brinkley: it also featured the stars of country music of the day—singing cowboys, fiddlers, a Mexican studio orchestra, and many guests.

Thanks to XER-AM’s amazing power, Brinkley could be heard as far away as Chicago. His busy Mexican lobbyists succeeded in allowing him to boost power, which made XER-AM for a time the most powerful radio station in the world at a shattering 1 million watts, a signal that for a short time smashed everything in its path and could be heard in New York and Philadelphia—sometimes to the exclusion of all other channels.

Even broadcasting at *only* 100,000 watts (twice the power of the largest American stations), Brinkley was able to reach his potential customers. Significant in radio history, he pioneered the use of electrical transcription discs, even as NBC and the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) were insisting that listeners preferred live broadcasts. Brinkley also deserves a place in the history of country music, because he kept alive the career of the fabled Carter Family. But in time both U.S. and Mexican authorities took away his radio stations under the provisions of the North American Regional Broadcasting Agreement treaty, which mandated which country got to use which frequencies. Brinkley died in 1942 before the U.S. Internal Revenue Service could finish suing him for failure to pay taxes.

Although Brinkley was surely the most extreme case, border stations’ power generally ranged from 50,000 to 500,000 watts. Listeners reported hearing Mexico-based signals in all parts of the United States and even in Canada. Network affiliates located near a border signal on the AM dial were often drowned out, or at least interfered with, as border stations

overwhelmed them. And since border stations were beyond any code of good conduct that network radio or U.S. law required, they could sell and say almost anything they wanted; indeed, border stations hawked items and made claims that would have been disallowed and even prosecuted in the United States, such as pitches for miracle medicines and sexual stimulants and the hawking of donations for phony religious institutions.

Consider the case of Crazy Water Crystals, owned by Carr P. Collins, entrepreneur and political adviser to Texas politician W. Lee "Pappy" O'Daniel (elected governor in 1938 and 1940). Crazy Water Crystals promised to revive a sluggish system; the crystals were produced in Mineral Wells, Texas, by evaporation of the town's fabled "Crazy" water. In 1941, when the United States and Mexico began to cooperate as part of the efforts surrounding World War II, Mexican authorities confiscated Collins' station.

Country Music

Border radio fulfilled the needs of the audience for hillbilly music, needs that the networks only partially met with *The Grand Ole Opry* and *The National Barn Dance*. In the 1930s there were many local hillbilly radio shows, but the supply never matched the demand, so border stations often blanketed the United States with songs by the Carter Family, Cowboy Slim Rinehart, Patsy Montana, and others.

The greatest beneficiaries were the Carter Family. To call the Carter Family—A.P. Carter, Sara Carter, and Maybelle Carter—the first family of country music is a historical truth, because their famed Bristol, Tennessee, recording sessions in 1928 established country music as a recording, and later as a radio, musical genre. But by the mid-1930s, their style had been supplanted by that of singing cowboys such as *The National Barn Dance*'s Gene Autry and the rising stars of the *Grand Ole Opry*, such as Roy Acuff and Ernest Tubb. Thus, few were surprised that the Carters were tempted by the lucrative contract offered by XERA-AM from 1938 to 1942 to work for Brinkley. They needed the money, and Brinkley gave them unparalleled exposure. Jimmie Rodgers, a nascent country star, helped inaugurate XED-AM in Reynosa, Mexico, for similar reasons.

More obscure hillbilly stars benefited as well. Nolan "Cowboy Slim" Rinehart, often called the "king of border radio," was border radio's answer to Gene Autry and the other singing cowboys. Rinehart began his singing career just as border radio was beginning, and although he first appeared on KSKY-AM from Dallas, he gravitated to XEPN-AM in Piedras Negras, Mexico, across the Rio Grande from Eagle Pass, Texas. After his initial appearances on XEPN-AM, the station was deluged with mail, and soon Rinehart was being electri-

cally transcribed and then played on all border stations from Tijuana east to Reynosa. Rinehart had no contract with a U.S. record label, and so he made his additional monies on tour selling songbooks. This was a marginal existence, with few of the paths to fame and fortune enjoyed by those on the *Grand Ole Opry*.

Listeners were dedicated, and some even became country music stars. The case of Hank Thompson is instructive. Born in 1925, Thompson loved these border stations while he was growing up in Waco, Texas: they alone played and programmed country music nearly all day. Border radio should be remembered not only for creating stars, but also as an inspiration for future stars, who as children had access to inspiration around the clock from border stations. Webb Pierce, Jim Reeves, and other stars of the 1950s appeared live on XERF-AM with country disc jockey Paul Kallinger partially as a payback. Border stations helped develop the music that would later become known as "country and western," which would by the year 2000 be simply known as country, the most popular format on radio.

Rock and Roll

Top-40 pioneered rock music on U.S. radio. But since U.S. stations avoided playing rock's raunchier records, border stations in Mexico filled the gaps. This phenomenon is exemplified by the career of disc jockey Wolfman Jack, who, in the late 1950s, after a series of disc jockey jobs in the United States, appeared on XERF-AM, across from Del Rio, Texas, and sold collections of hit records while "spinning rock" in his own unique style. Although Wolfman Jack's broadcasts hardly constituted anything new in format radio, other than their utter outrageousness, they became far more famous after the fact as a result of the hit movie *American Graffiti*, a tribute song by the Guess Who, and a nationally syndicated radio program in the United States.

All-News Format

But border radio should not be remembered solely for fostering interest in country and rock music. The first commercially successful all-news radio operation in North America went on the air in May 1961 from XETRA-AM (pronounced "x-tra") from Tijuana, Mexico, and was aimed at southern California, not at Mexican audiences. This 50,000-watt AM station was operated by radio pioneer Gordon McLendon. Before McLendon took over, it was border station XEAK-AM, which played rock music aimed at southern California teenagers. By 1961 there was a glut of rock format stations in southern California, so McLendon tried an all-news format instead. XETRA-AM

was a headline service, with a 15-minute rotation that was later stretched to 30 minutes when McLendon discovered that Los Angeles commuters were trapped in their cars for far more than a quarter hour. McLendon went to great lengths to disguise XETRA-AM's Mexican base and tried to make it seem like just another Los Angeles AM radio station. Jingles repeated over and over: "The world's first and only all-news radio station. In the air everywhere over Los Angeles." The only address announced was that of the Los Angeles sales office. The station was required to give its call letters and location every hour, so McLendon ran a tape spoken in Spanish in a soft, feminine voice that was backed by Hispanic music, followed in English by a description of Mexico's tourist attractions, suggesting to listeners that XETRA-AM was running an advertisement for vacations in Mexico rather than the required call letters and station location.

Los Angeles radio competitors complained to the FCC, contending that such masking was certainly unethical and possibly illegal. At first, because of Gordon McLendon's reputation as a radio pioneer, XETRA-AM was able to draw even national advertisers. By 1962 the station was making a profit, in part because it was strictly a "rip-and-read" station employing no actual reporters, only a dozen announcers who rewrote wire and newspaper copy and who frequently rotated shifts so as to make the broadcasts seem fresh and new. In the background the teletype's tick-tick-ticking was ever-present. XETRA-AM sounded as though its announcers were sitting in a busy, active newspaper office. But in the end, like the rock format, this format proved too easy to copy, and with competition came lower profits. Eventually McLendon turned to other, more profitable ventures.

Later Incarnations

In the 1980s, the United States and Mexico reached an international agreement that allowed shared use of clear channel stations. U.S. radio owners now cared less, however, because FM's limited-distance signals had become audience favorites, and AM's long-range radio was less valuable. The border stations went the way of the clear channel AM stations that had

once blanketed much of the United States, and with common U.S. owners and all-recorded sounds, the niche programming of FM radio fulfilled the needs of the marketplace far better than the limited number of AM stations that broadcast from the 1930s through the 1960s. There are still border stations, but now nearly all of them create programs in Spanish for audiences in nearby U.S. communities and compete in the major radio markets with dozens of other stations.

DOUGLAS GOMERY

See also All News Format; Brinkley, John R.; Country Radio Format; Grand Ole Opry; Music; National Barn Dance; North American Regional Broadcast Agreement

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Bose, Amar G. 1929–

U.S. Inventor and Acoustic Researcher

The world listens to audio differently because an M.I.T. graduate student was disappointed with what he heard in stereo systems. While pursuing a graduate degree in the 1950s, Amar Bose shopped for stereo speakers, but found none that could reproduce the realism of a live concert hall performance. Not even speakers with impressive technical specifications satisfied Bose. That fact led him to conduct extensive research into speaker design and acoustics, to pursue the field of psychoacoustics—the human perception of sound—and, ultimately, to found the company synonymous with quality audio systems.

As a teenager, Bose earned money by repairing model trains, gaining practical experience that helped prepare him for the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, where he studied electrical engineering. Bose later worked on a series of consulting projects for a variety of companies including Standard Oil of New Jersey; Edgerton, Germeshausen and Grier; and the Epsco Corporation. From 1962 to 1964 he was in charge of research on prosthetics in a project for Liberty Mutual Insurance, Harvard University and Massachusetts General Hospital. The work led to development of the Boston Arm for amputees. Bose holds numerous patents in the fields of acoustics, electronics, nonlinear systems and communications theory.

Bose's research and patents led to the formation of the Bose Corporation in 1964. The company introduced significantly new design concepts that helped to recreate the impact of live music by reflecting an audio speaker's sound off walls and ceilings, creating a "bigger" sound. Among the products that Bose Corporation points to with pride are the 901® Direct/Reflecting® speaker system, introduced in 1968; it brought international acclaim to the company and to Bose himself. Then in 1972 Bose entered the professional ranks, producing a loud-speaker system designed exclusively for professional musicians. A direct descendant of the 901® speaker system was introduced in 1975. Known as the 301® Direct/Reflecting® speaker system, it became one of the world's best-selling speakers. In 1982 Bose introduced a custom-designed, factory-installed audio system specifically for automobiles. The introduction of Acoustimass® speaker technology in 1986 changed conventional thinking about the relationship between speaker size and sound. Speakers small enough to fit in the palm of a hand produced sound quality previously thought impossible. At the other end of the size spectrum, Bose's Auditor® audio demonstration technology allowed builders, architects, and facility managers to hear precisely what an audio system will sound like in their arenas and other large-scale venues as early as the blueprint stage.

Fourteen years of research led to the development of acoustic waveguide speaker technology, found in the Bose Wave® radio, introduced in 1993. The Wave radio was launched with an advertising campaign that depended upon network radio commercials and print advertising in national magazines. The campaign made the product well known and introduced the public to Amar Bose, thanks primarily to personal endorsements by radio commentator Paul Harvey who spoke of Bose as an old friend. The advertising was so pervasive that *Monitoring Times* magazine claimed, "You would have to be Amish not to have been bombarded by TV and print ads trumpeting the extraordinary sound of the Bose Wave radio. It's depicted as transforming a room into a concert hall and rising up into a looming entertainment presence by simply turning it on." The comment was followed by a positive review of the new technology, as *Monitoring Times* reported that the Wave radio "astounded audiophiles and set a new standard for the nearly forgotten table radio."

Since most consumers don't know what to do with typical stereo receiver functions such as equalization, tone control, and balance, Bose dispensed with them entirely. Instead, automatic signal processing and active electronic equalization were performed by special circuitry in the radio.

Bose became the world's number one speaker manufacturer, commanding nearly 25% of the market. The company makes its products in North America and Ireland and has nearly 90 stores worldwide.

Amar Bose is Chairman of the Board and Technical Director of the Bose Corporation and is the company's largest shareholder. He continues as a Professor at M.I.T. Bose is a fellow of the Institute of Electrical and Electronic Engineers and a member of the Audio Engineering Society. He holds honorary doctorates from Berkley College of Music and from Framingham State College. In 1987, Intellectual Property Owners named him Inventor of the Year; in 1991 he was elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; and in 2000 he was inducted into the Radio Hall of Fame. Bose's personal wealth, estimated at more than half a billion dollars, earned him a ranking in *Forbes* magazine's list of the wealthiest people in the United States. The Bose Foundation, which he also runs, has donated more than \$6 million to M.I.T.

ED SHANE

See also High Fidelity; Receivers

Amar G. Bose. Born 2 November 1929 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, son of Noni Gopal, a political dissident who had immigrated from Calcutta, India, and Charlotte Mechlin Bose.

B.S. and B.M., 1952; Doctor of Science, Electrical Engineering 1956, all MIT. MIT faculty (assistant professor, 1957; associate professor, 1960; professor, 1966). Fulbright scholar, India, 1957. Founded Bose Corporation, 1964. Honorary doctorates from Berkeley College of Music, Framingham State College. Fellow, Institute of Electrical and Electronic Engineers; member, Audio Engineering Society; elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1991; elected to Radio Hall of Fame, 2000. Holds patents in acoustics, nonlinear systems, and communication.

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Brazil

Pioneer radio experimentation occurred in Brazil during the last decade of the 19th and the first decade of the 20th centuries. From the early 1920s to the mid-1930s, radio's technical, legal, and commercial foundations were laid. From the end of that period until the early 1960s, radio reigned as a major media power and enjoyed its golden age. Since the 1960s, it has become one among many different kinds of media in Brazil, dwarfed now by television and the internet.

Beginnings

The "Marconi of Brazil" was a priest, Fr. Roberto Landell de Moura (1861–1928), who experimented extensively and incessantly with wireless communication. By the early 1890s, he had already anticipated or accompanied several European and American inventions for wireless sound transmission. For a time, he lived in New York City, and in October 1904, he obtained U.S. Patent No. 771,917 for a "wave-transmitter." Quite unfortunately, however, not only was there no interest in his work in Brazil, there was even suspicion of it. With his technical genius spurned by the people he sought to help, he died a disappointed man.

During the rubber boom in the Amazon at the beginning of the 20th century, an American company, Amazon Wireless, attempted to set up radio service similar to others that had been successful in Central America. The endeavor failed because of legal complications and poorly understood equatorial conditions for radio operations. Nevertheless, by the following decade, Brazilian ships and coastal stations had wireless communication.

The first Brazilian radio broadcast station was the *Rádio Sociedade do Rio de Janeiro* (Radio Society of Rio de Janeiro), with the call letters PRA-2. The station was founded on 20 April 1923 by Professor Edgard Roquette Pinto of the Brazilian Academy of Science, an anthropologist who knew the value of radio from his participation in pioneering expeditions to indigenous regions. The station programmed news and sedate music.

Because of strictures remaining from World War I, Brazil, like other countries, legally prohibited ownership of radio equipment. These restrictions were loosened as radio became a national craze, one that started in 1922, during the international exhibition commemorating the centennial of Brazilian independence. On Independence Day (7 September), the

Westinghouse company mounted a 500-watt transmitter atop Corcovado Mountain, the high peak near the capital, Rio de Janeiro. The equipment broadcast a presidential address down into the city's few but "magical" receivers.

The craze saw radio clubs spread throughout the country, into the northeastern states of Pernambuco and Bahia, into the Amazon region, and into the southern states of Rio Grande do Sul, Paraná, and São Paulo. The club format allowed financing of broadcasting stations through membership fees. Such membership authorized individuals to purchase a receiver. Additional costs included government fees and taxes. By 1927 twelve stations broadcast daily in the country.

By the end of the 1920s Brazil was second to Argentina as the largest importer of radio equipment from the United States, the main provider. The volume of business was worth more than half a million dollars annually. So that they could withstand tropical conditions, American manufacturers built sets with reinforced metal parts. U.S. diplomatic personnel aided not only in the sale of U.S. equipment but also in the promotion of U.S. program style. Before World War II, U.S. radio faced serious competition from British (Marconi) and German (Telefunken) interests. By the early 1930s Brazil itself began manufacturing radios.

Although nominally prohibited, advertising increasingly became an issue for station owners as their audiences grew faster than their income, which was limited to members' fees. On-air commercials, along with conditions and standards for equipment, training of personnel, control of technical operations, and responsibility for program content, were addressed in the establishment by federal decree in 1932 of the national *Comissão Técnica de Rádio* (Radio Technical Commission).

The dictates of this agency required some radio clubs to close, because they could not afford to meet the new equipment standards. This was true of Brazil's first radio station, which was donated to the newly established Ministry of Education and Culture. It would soon become one of the most renowned broadcasters in the country.

Most important was that the new legislation allowed for advertising. By the mid-1930s growing commercial revenue allowed radio to become an important media power, competing with newspapers and later with the mass magazines that were to emerge the following decade. For the next two decades, this income would finance a golden age of radio, creating a renaissance of popular culture in sports, music, drama, and comedy. Advertising changed the very purpose of radio as perceived by its Brazilian founders. They, like others around the world, envisioned radio as a sober, refined vehicle for the communication of education and culture, the "British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) model." The competition among stations for listeners (to generate the highest possible advertising revenue) produced a more raucous model, which came to prevail in Brazil.

Radio's Golden Age

In 1930 the rural planter aristocracy was removed from power by President Getúlio Vargas. He would remain in power, using increasingly authoritarian tactics, until he was ousted in 1945. Radio was required by the government to carry a daily program of government news, the *Hora do Brasil* (*Hour of Brazil*). Vargas installed a propaganda and censorship bureau that controlled radio, film, and newspapers. Prohibited from engaging in politics, the new media amply compensated by producing the hallmarks of modern Brazilian popular culture.

Thanks to radio, soccer and samba became definitive marks of Brazilian culture. Soccer achieved its first international fame with the broadcast in 1938 of the World Cup match in France. The programming of music and the rise of the recording industry encouraged the popularization of the samba along with other types of Brazilian song. From this radio music environment emerged singers such as Carmen Miranda and samba composers such as Noel Rosa and Ary Barroso. Radio made the samba schools and carnival of Rio de Janeiro popular throughout the country, enhancing the city's identity as the center of national popular culture.

Audiences were subsequently attracted to radio for drama and comedy programs, which began to be broadcast in the late 1930s. Stage actors and comedians now had opportunities not only in the emerging cinema industry but also in radio. Serial dramas, known as *novelas* in Portuguese, produced a generation of actors who contributed to the renaissance of the Brazilian theater after World War II and later provided the talent for television drama.

Comedy programs, especially satire, which were played before live audiences, became a vital part of radio during the 1940s in the development of variety programs. Radio also affected the Portuguese language, helping to create a popular national style for expressing narrative (news reports), hyperbole (advertising), and deeply felt sentiments (soccer). In a country in which slavery continued until almost 1900, radio was both a vehicle and promotor of modernization. Its advertisements unveiled the glittering products of the modern age: movies, records, cars, electrical appliances, and more. It projected a Brazil that was industrializing, urbanizing, and modernizing.

The competition for advertising revenue provoked by radio caused newspapers to begin acquiring radio stations and forming national networks. The prime example of this kind of consolidation was *O Globo* newspaper, established in the 1920s: it created *Radio Globo* a decade later and then founded today's huge Brazilian-European television conglomerate, *TV Globo*. The radio station most fondly remembered from the golden age, however, the one that attracted the largest audiences and produced some of the most innovative and elaborate programming, was the Rio station *Radio Nacional*.

Modern Radio

The advent of television in the 1950s began the decline of radio, a decline that accelerated with the inauguration of color TV in the early 1970s. Nonetheless, because almost all Brazilians could afford to own a transistor radio, the number of radio stations continued to increase, and radio remained a stable part of everyday Brazilian life. Offering more economical advertising than television, it competed quite well.

An armed forces coup in 1964 inaugurated a military regime that endured until 1985 and that established a number of organizational changes in telecommunications. The Ministry of Communications was established in 1967. Under its auspices was created the state radio broadcasting company, the *Empresa Brasileira de Radiodifusão* (RADIOBRÁS), which was given responsibility for maintaining the technical quality and national coordination of the radio system. During the 1990s, Brazil launched several telecommunications satellites.

By the turn of the century, half of the Brazilian population of 170 million (the fifth largest population in the world) owned a radio. Brazil has nearly 3,000 radio stations—40 percent FM, 60 percent AM. Some stations broadcast using what in Brazil is termed an *onda tropical* (tropical wave) at 2,300 to 5,060 kilohertz. Radio programming involves mainly music, news, and sports. Since 1985, “phone-in” programs allowing listeners free expression have become very popular.

Radio has been a fundamental contributor to the modern technical and cultural development of Brazil. The development of Brazilian radio laid the technical foundations for Brazil to

create its television industry, the largest in South America. That development in turn formed the basis for Brazil's achieving the largest computer industry on the continent.

EDWARD A. RIEDINGER

See also Landell de Moura, Roberto; South America

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Brice, Fanny 1891–1951

U.S. Stage and Radio Comedian

Fanny Brice played a key role in the history of radio. Not only was she one of the earliest women to headline a major prime-time show, but her portrayal of the inquisitive, mischievous Baby Snooks innovated the child-centered situation comedy, later to be developed by radio and television shows such as *The Aldrich Family* and *Dennis the Menace*.

Brice was born Fannie Borach on 29 October 1891 on New York's Lower East Side to Jewish immigrant parents, Charles Borach and Rose Stern. In the lively local vaudeville scene, where Fanny earned a small but steady income appearing in amateur nights from the age of 14, she learned the “Yiddish” accent so common to the ethnic humor of the time.

Her first professional successes occurred in the field of burlesque, in humorous singing and dancing acts. One of her earliest hits was the song “Sadie Salome,” composed by Irving Berlin, which Florenz Ziegfeld brought to a larger venue in his *Ziegfeld Follies of 1910*. Brice appeared in the *Follies* steadily from 1910 through 1923, diversifying also into vaudeville on the Orpheum and RKO circuits and into light comedy both in the United States and in Europe. The song “My Man,” first performed in the 1921 *Follies*, became her biggest hit and trademark vehicle. Brice's stage popularity peaked with two Broadway vehicles produced by her soon-to-be ex-husband, Billy Rose, *Sweet and Low* and *Crazy*

Quilt, which toured across the United States from 1930 through early 1932.

Though Brice developed many comic personae and acts, she is best known (aside from the perennial “My Man”) for songs such as “Sadie Salome,” “Second Hand Rose,” and “I’m an Indian” and for routines such as “Mrs. Cohen at the Beach,” which drew from the vaudeville tradition of Yiddish dialect and humor. Her function in the *Ziegfeld Follies* may have been to embody, under a “disguise” of ethnicity, the working-class elements of burlesque that Ziegfeld had so carefully excised from his elevated “celebration of the American girl.” Brice was adept at negotiating the double-edged weapon of ethnic humor, at once taking possession of the “othered” characterization while simultaneously disavowing or disarming it, notably through the physical, almost slapstick quality of her performance. Impersonating head-injured ballet dancers (“Becky Is Back in the Ballet”), Jewish evangelists (“Soul-Saving Sadie,” a takeoff on Aimee Semple McPherson), graceless fan dancers, or the hypersexual movie vamp (“I’m Bad”), Brice’s genius for physical satire both took the edge off her ethnic and sexual humor and marked out a performance space unique to Brice—a daring one for a female comedian. Often earthy and sometimes slightly bawdy, full of double entendres and subtle references, Brice’s combination of ethnic humor and physical satire earned her the highest acclaim from stage critics and audiences alike.

Brice’s fortunes in radio, however, would be another matter. Brice first ventured onto the air on the *Philco Hour* in February 1930, a stint that proved unsuccessful. She returned to the stage, but in 1933 she agreed to appear as a guest on J. Walter Thompson’s *Fleischmann Yeast Hour* (*The Rudy Vallee Show*). This led to a contract with Standard Brands for the prestigious *Chase and Sanborn Hour* with host Eddie Cantor. Here her brash, bawdy humor, emanating as it did from a woman, proved troublesome to the National Broadcasting Company’s (NBC) Continuity Acceptance Department. After a flurry of censoring memos and script deletions, Brice came up with a new strategy designed to allow her the comic freedom that her persona as a mature, sexual woman could not: the precocious child, Baby Snooks. Snooks had been introduced earlier, as “Babykins” in the stage show *Corned Beef and Roses*, but Brice built her character into a continuing role on radio. In the *Ziegfeld Follies of 1934* she brought Snooks onstage into the spotlight of national fame, which then carried back onto radio in the *Ziegfeld Follies of the Air*, sponsored by Colgate-Palmolive on the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) in 1936. Brice subsequently took Snooks to MGM/Maxwell House’s *Good News of 1938* on NBC with Hanley Stafford as Daddy. Finally, in 1949, after a few more shifts in program and a brief return to the stage, the Dancer Fitzgerald Sample agency brought the *Baby Snooks Show* to NBC, where it ran to great popular acclaim until Brice’s untimely death in May 1951.

“Schnooks,” as Brice always called her, offered listeners a good-natured critique of adult hypocrisies, an exploration of the pitfalls of the English language, and an inverted world seen through the eyes of a precociously resistant and troublesome child, whose deflation of some of the most respected traditions, concepts, and institutions of American culture provoked sympathetic laughter while remaining safely contained and corrected by her age and innocence. In a 1939 skit, Daddy, upset by Snooks’ terrible grades in school, decides to hire a tutor. In the opening lines, Snooks parodies a common attribution of schooling for women:

Daddy: I’m hiring a private teacher to *make* you work.
 Snooks: Waaahhh! . . . I don’t want no private teacher.
 Daddy: Oh now listen, dear, it’s for your own good.
 She’ll make you a little lady.
 Snooks: I don’t wanna be a lady . . . and I don’t wanna go to school.
 Daddy (voice rising): Well, what *do* you want to do!
 Snooks (smugly): I want to get married.

When the teacher arrives, speaking with a pretentious upper-class accent, Snooks refuses to be intimidated or to cooperate.

Teacher: Now come here and kiss me, little one.
 Snooks: What for? I ain’t done nothin’.
 Daddy: Now kiss your teacher, Snooksie.
 Snooks: *You* kiss her, Daddy . . .
 Teacher: Come here.
 Snooks: Leave me alone.
 Teacher (threateningly): When I beckon like this, it means I want you to come.
 Snooks: When I stick out my tongue like this, it means I ain’t comin’!

Finally the teacher, at the end of her patience, turns Snooks over her knee and spansks her.

Teacher: There! That’ll impress it on your mind.
 Snooks: That ain’t where my mind is!

This last line is a reworking of one that Brice attempted to use in 1933 on the *Chase and Sanborn* show:

Fanny: Abe, why do you spank the boy like that?
 Abe: I spanked him to impress it on his mind.
 Fanny: Where do you think his mind is?

That time, network continuity acceptance editors objected and deleted the line immediately. Now, from the mouth of a child, it could be uttered over the air without repercussions.



Fanny Brice as "Baby Snooks"
Courtesy CBS Photo Archive

Having not quite made it to television—and it is doubtful whether the 59-year-old actress could have carried Snooks to television without the grotesque overwhelming the humorous—Brice faded slowly from memory, her contributions to the development of broadcast program forms recalled in brief asides but never deeply assessed. However, her child-centered situation comedy would soon become the staple of television. And Snooks is the character with whom Brice spent more of her life and on whom she expended more of her comic energy than any of her justly famous stage routines—despite what later semi-biographical works such as Barbra Streisand's two films choose to remember. She deserves a more prominent place in the history of broadcasting than past accounts have permitted. Brice's Snooks marks a significant moment in the movement of women's humor from the private sphere to the public arena. Once heard, Baby Snooks speaks in a voice that is hard to forget.

MICHELE HILMES

See also Vaudeville; Women in Radio

Fanny Brice. Born Fannie Borach in New York City, 29 October 1891. Appeared on vaudeville stage starting at age 14, with regular employment starting at 15; played in New York burlesque; headlined *Ziegfeld Follies of 1910* and several other years, 1911–34; played in light theater in London, 1914; back to New York stage, 1913–18; numerous film roles, 1928–46; married Billy Rose, Broadway producer, in 1929 (divorced 1938); starred in two Billy Rose-produced revues, *Sweet and Low*, 1930, and *Crazy Quilt*, 1931; radio debut on *The Fleischmann Yeast Hour*, 1930; appeared on *Ziegfeld Follies of the Air*, 1936; toured on stage in *The New Ziegfeld Follies of 1936–37*; returned to radio as Baby Snooks, 1938–51. Died in Los Angeles, California, 29 May 1951.

Radio Series

1930	<i>The Fleischmann Yeast Hour</i>
1933	<i>The Royal Vagabonds</i>
1933–34	<i>The Chase and Sanborn Hour</i>
1936	<i>Ziegfeld Follies of the Air</i>
1938–40	<i>Good News of 1938, 1939, 1940</i>
1940–44	<i>Maxwell House Coffee Time</i>
1944–45	<i>Toasties Time</i>
1945–48; 1949–51	<i>The Baby Snooks Show</i>

Films

My Man, 1928; *Night Club*, 1929; *Be Yourself!* 1930; *Crime without Passion*, 1934; *The Great Ziegfeld*, 1936; *Everybody Sing*, 1938; and *Ziegfeld Follies*, 1946

Stage

Ziegfeld Follies of 1910, 1911, 1916, 1917, 1920, 1921, and 1923; *The Honeymoon Express*, 1913; *Why Worry?* 1918; *Music Box Revue*, 1924; *Fanny*, 1926; *Fioretta*, 1929; *Sweet and Low*, 1930; *Crazy Quilt*, 1931; *Ziegfeld Follies of 1934, 1934*; *The New Ziegfeld Follies of 1936–1937, 1936–37*

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Brinkley, John R. 1885–1942

U.S. Radio Broadcaster

John Brinkley's broadcasts in the 1920s provided one of the first benchmark tests of the power of the federal government to control radio. A medical quack who used radio to promote his fraudulent products, Brinkley was forced off the air in the United States, only to continue his popular programs from a Mexican station for another decade.

Origins

Born in North Carolina, John Richard Brinkley came to Milford, Kansas, a town of several hundred persons, after World War I in response to an ad for a town doctor. He had graduated from the Eclectic Medical University of Kansas City and

the Kansas City College of Medicine and Surgery. Dr. Morris Fishbein, head of the American Medical Association at the time, labeled both schools “diploma mills.”

Brinkley began broadcasting in 1923 and quickly made his KFKB (Kansas First, Kansas Best) one of the most popular stations in Kansas and the Midwest. In addition to the station, Brinkley owned the Brinkley Hospital and the Brinkley Pharmaceutical Association. Three times each day for an hour or more, Brinkley hosted a program, *Medical Question Box*, over KFKB. During the program he answered letters from listeners and prescribed cures for their ailments, generally advising them to use Brinkley pharmaceutical medicines. These talks included his now-notorious claims to restore potency in men by grafting live tissue from goats.

Over-the-air prescriptions brought Brinkley between \$15,000 and \$20,000 each month. Brinkley and his staff performed thousands of “goat gland” operations at fees ranging from \$250 to \$1,500. Brinkley made himself popular by distributing large amounts of money to the town and financing building projects that employed residents. Among his projects were a large sanitarium and the Brinkley Methodist Memorial Church.

Landmark Legal Case

Complaints from the medical establishment against “radio quacks” reached the Federal Radio Commission (FRC) in 1929 and focused attention on the hazards to public health of these broadcasts. Although the FRC initially ruled that it had no authority to act under the Radio Act of 1927, by early 1930 commissioners changed their minds. Fearing negative consequences of widespread dispersal of questionable medical information, the commission decided it could determine whether programs were in the public interest, convenience, or necessity.

In hearings in 1930, the commissioners noted that KFKB carried Brinkley’s talks and Brinkley Hospital programming about 3 hours out of each 15-hour broadcast day. Other station programs included music, lectures, weather broadcasts, political discussions, baseball reports, and coverage of national events. They also noted that Brinkley’s *Medical Question Box* contained material of a possibly sexual nature, bordering on indecency. Under the Radio Act, the FRC could revoke a license for obscene, indecent, or profane broadcasts. After the hearings, the FRC refused to renew Brinkley’s license on the ground that the station was being operated for his personal and financial interest and not in the public interest. Brinkley appealed.

The Court of Appeals upheld the FRC on 2 February 1931. The court ruled that KFKB was operated solely for Brinkley’s personal interest and that the *Medical Question Box* was “inimical” to public health and safety, as it was devoted to

“diagnosing and prescribing treatments of cases from symptoms given in letters” written by patients he had never seen. The court held that in license renewal, an important consideration was past performance. The court noted that censorship was not involved, because the FRC did not subject Brinkley’s broadcasts to scrutiny prior to release, but the court added that the commission had a right to note a station’s past conduct.

The Kansas Medical Board revoked Brinkley’s medical license for “unprofessional conduct.” Afterward, he ran for governor of Kansas in both 1930 and 1932 and nearly won as a write-in candidate. Although interested in the governorship itself, Brinkley undoubtedly also wanted the right to choose members of the State Board of Medical Examiners, which had revoked his license. Meanwhile, he headed to Texas and Mexico, where he continued his broadcasts.

Broadcasting from Mexico

In 1931 Mexican authorities banned his physical entry, but by using Mexican citizens as a front Brinkley was able to erect a station in Villa Acuna, Coahila, Mexico, opposite his new hometown of Del Rio, Texas. Using telephone hookups from his home in Del Rio, he began broadcasting from station XER in October. Again, he gave medical advice over the airwaves and answered letters sent to his *Medical Question Box*. He directed people to contact his hospital in Milford, Kansas, for further treatment. Broadcasting at 50,000 watts on 735 kilocycles, XER drowned out U.S. stations close to it on the dial and interfered with CKAC in Montreal, Canada.

Protests came from Mexican citizens and focused on station employees, who were all U.S. citizens, and broadcasts, which were rarely in Spanish. Criticism of this “Yankee imperialism” grew, as did complaints by U.S. officials, until the Mexican government forced Brinkley to close XER by mid-1934. Brinkley then continued his broadcasts by purchasing broadcast time over XEPN in Piedras Negras, Mexico, and using telephone hookups to both Mexico and Abilene, Kansas, from Del Rio, Texas. Other broadcasts were carried through a studio at Eagle Pass, Texas, just across the Rio Grande from Piedras Negras.

Mexico, meanwhile, promulgated a set of regulations for Mexican broadcasters that eliminated a number of conflicts with U.S. broadcasters. Commercial stations could be licensed only to Mexicans, had to be operated by Mexicans, and had to employ a staff comprising no less than 80 percent Mexican citizens. All advertising rates had to be approved by Mexico’s Department of Commerce, and all medical advertising had to receive approval of the Minister of Health. All programs were to be in Spanish, unless the station received special permission from the government. These laws were aimed not only at Brinkley but also at the radio mystics, astrologers, and fortune tellers who transferred their activities to stations south of the

border when FRC pressure halted such broadcasts in the United States.

In January 1935 Brinkley was charged with violating Section 325(b) of the newly passed Communications Act of 1934. This provision made it illegal to maintain, use, or locate a studio or apparatus in the United States for the purpose of transmitting sound waves electrically to a radio station in a foreign country for rebroadcast back to the United States without first securing a permit from the Federal Communications Commission. Brinkley, however, continued to sidestep the law for five more years until the Mexican government finally forced him off the air in 1940 with the signing of the North American Regional Broadcasting Agreement.

Demise

In 1941 Brinkley suffered a series of heart attacks, and one of his legs was amputated. By then, his fortune had disappeared, and he was forced to declare bankruptcy. He was also charged with mail fraud, but he never came to trial, as he died in San Antonio, Texas, on 26 May 1942.

Brinkley's widespread popularity was abundantly evident in his two campaigns to become governor of Kansas, as well as in the large audiences for his Kansas and later Mexican radio stations. His importance to radio history hinges on the FRC and Court of Appeals decisions denying KFKB's license renewal on the basis of his past programming record and how it compared to the public interest, convenience, or necessity measure of the 1927 Radio Act. The court decision was the first judicial affirmation of the FRC's right to make such decisions.

LOUISE BENJAMIN

See also Border Radio; Federal Radio Commission; First Amendment and Radio; North American Regional Broadcasting Agreement

John R. Brinkley. Born in Beta, North Carolina, 8 July 1885. Graduated from Eclectic Medical University of Kansas City, May 1914, and Kansas City College of Medicine and Surgery (honorary degree), 1919; began broadcasting on KFKB, 1923; famous for promoting "goat gland" surgery to aid male virility; FRC ordered him off air in United States, 1931; moved broadcast operations to Mexico; forced off air in 1940 with signing of North American Regional Broadcasting Agreement. Died in San Antonio, Texas, 26 May 1942.

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British Broadcasting Corporation

The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) has dominated the history of U.K. radio, operating as a monopoly until the early 1970s. Since 1973, when commercial radio stations were licensed for the first time, independent local, regional, and national radio expanded to the point that by 1997 more people listened to commercial radio in an average week than to the BBC. Nevertheless, BBC influence and presence

remains pervasive and compelling, although more direct competition has been an agent for reform, more rapid evolution, and diversification. Certainly competition from illegal "pirate" services in the 1960s was a major factor in transforming the national networks and brought into being a national popular music network responding to the needs of postwar youth culture.

Character and Issues

The BBC was an important prototype of a public corporation operating as the mechanism for state broadcasting (often as a monopoly), a model since replicated in many countries. Radio broadcasting emerged in the early 1920s when Britain was still a global imperial power. Radio technology was initially utilized by amateurs as an enthusiastic hobby, and inventors, engineers, and commercial entrepreneurs saw the potential to make money. Government intervention determined the future and development of radio, but other factors shaping the BBC included influences from abroad, individual people, and existing forms of mass media. Government saw radio as a potential tool or even a weapon. The British mass media audience was literate, gaining in disposable income, and lived within a society where political and social pressures sought a more equal distribution of wealth. The notion of “equality” had finally won the vote for women over thirty.

BBC history has been heavily colored by powerful cultural and political myths. For one thing the British Broadcasting *Company* began in 1922 as a private entity before it became (in 1927) a public corporation and with a Royal Charter and statutory license agreement. It is wrongly assumed that there was political and social consensus that the one-company private monopoly concept was “the right way forward.” It is also wrongly assumed that this regulated one company monopoly was a “civilized” reaction to the capitalist and market driven chaos of American radio in the early 1920s and that the planning and introduction of approved radio in Britain was based on the public interest. In fact the trademark centralism of BBC radio, with power vested in London, was only imposed after the BBC became a public corporation. Until 1929 BBC Radio was something of a network of local stations with culturally autonomous production centers and a lively and creative partnership of local broadcasters and loyal listeners.

One of the remarkable aspects of BBC history is that the 1927 model remained the status quo until 1973, while the structure and constitution of BBC funding has remained remarkably consistent. This stability has laid the ground for the BBC’s transformation into a powerful cultural and political force in British society.

The BBC as a public corporation can be described in many ways:

Funding: While the government decides the cost of the annual listener license, the BBC has maximum independence concerning the spending of the resulting revenue. Initially its sole income was derived from the collection of the license fee, which has become a legally enforceable taxation on any U.K. citizen who wishes to listen to the radio or watch television using a receiver. The separate license for radio was abolished in 1971. The BBC has always operated commercial “hybrid” activities such as selling programs abroad, merchandising

products, and publishing in other media such as magazines, cassettes, CDs, the internet, books, videos, DVDs, and satellite television. From the outset the BBC cross-promoted the media linked products such as *The Radio Times*, *The Listener*, and other publishing products that carried considerable amounts of advertising.

Governance: The Chairman and Board of Governors constitute the legal personality of the BBC. They are supposed by convention to be chosen by the government not as representatives of sectional political interests but on the basis of their experience and standing. Although political parties in office are supposed to avoid political prejudice in these appointments, it can be argued that this convention has often been undermined. The problem has been to achieve reform of the BBC in line with reforms in the public sector without making the BBC subject at any time to the political policies of the party in power.

For example, BBC Director-General Alisdair Milne officially resigned in 1987, but in subsequent interviews it became clear he was dismissed on the initiative of a new chairman (Marmaduke Hussey) who had been deliberately selected by the Conservative government to “sort out the BBC.” The trigger for the dismissal had been a public controversy over government anger and opposition to BBC programming policy on the Northern Ireland troubles. It can also be argued that he had an inability to see the need for root and branch management reforms to make the BBC more efficient.

Government is allowed to intervene only in BBC decision-making during a national emergency or if it is clearly shown that the BBC has not abided by the Charter and terms of the license granted by Parliament. The Corporation has complete editorial independence in the production and scheduling of its programs, although its history shows frequent incidents and periods of self-censorship and compromising political influence.

These basic descriptors raise any number of issues. For example, why did British radio begin as a monopoly devoid of competition and regulated by the state? Why was Britain behind the U.S. in the development of radio as a business? Despite this, why was radio so successful in building audiences given the lack of listener choice? And whose interests did BBC broadcasting serve—the government, the BBC, or the audience? Finally, how has the development of the BBC matched broader changes and developments in British society?

Origins

In 1912 the Marconi Company’s energetic managing director, Godfrey Isaacs, persuaded the Postmaster General (the minister responsible for posts and telecommunications in the Liberal Government) to present a plan to link the British Empire with a network of 18 radio stations. Marconi was granted the contract. Isaacs pulled off a stroke of commercial opportunism by

buying the troubled American United Wireless Company, which held the rights to Lee de Forest's vital triode vacuum tube. However, allegations of government corruption undermined an imaginative and developmental scheme for global expansion of radio by British interests. Meanwhile, other countries accelerated both government and private radio development. These included not only the United States but such European countries as France, the Netherlands, and Belgium. In response, the British Postmaster General dispatched a senior civil servant, F.J. Brown, to the United States to study the American scene and make appropriate recommendations for the best course of licensing and regulating the growth of radio in Britain.

There is a wide discrepancy between what Brown observed and what he actually reported. He was in the U.S. during the winter of 1921–22. American stations had not yet discovered the potential of radio advertising (the WEAF experiments selling real estate did not air until August 1922). The radio Brown observed was then dominated by educational objectives as the 400 stations on the air were largely run by public, civic, and religious institutions. Their funding depended on donations, selling radio sets, or other funding *not* including the sale of advertising. Radio was widely perceived as a public democratic medium, not as a commercial free for all. But Brown downplayed this American radio diversity and emphasized the “dangers” of “a large number of firms broadcasting.” He concluded it was impossible to have a variety of broadcasting stations in Britain because “it would result only in a sort of chaos, only in a much more aggravated form than that which arises in the United States.”

While it can be argued that the political imperative in Britain in the early 1920s was social and political control, Brown seems to have ignored that American radio was characterized by an explosion of freedom of expression in the arts, entertainment, in education, opinion and even the potential for radio journalism. Thus British civil servants and commissions of enquiry for decades to come also overlooked this reality. The government and the BBC had the advantage that few people then traveled abroad to experience alternative approaches to radio.

Brown and his Post Office superiors invited proposals from interested parties to develop one or two private stations to provide national broadcasting, although it was made very clear they preferred the idea of only one. Despite a subsequent battle between Marconi and the American-controlled Metropolitan Vickers company (Westinghouse was a major shareholder) a single station company soon emerged out of a coalition of interests and government inspired/cajoled compromises. While it seems bizarre in hindsight, the cultural imperative of British radio broadcasting was set by one civil servant, F.J. Brown, who defined the following statutory brief for the BBC: “to educate, inform, and entertain the British public, but with no

newsgathering, advertising or controversial content to be originated by the company.”

Reith's Influence

The BBC's first director general, John C.W. Reith, was appointed in 1922 and two years later produced a book, *Broadcast Over Britain*, which became an influential blueprint for public corporatism. Reith wrote: “in these days, when efforts are being made towards the nationalization of the public services and of certain essential industries of the country, the progress of broadcasting has been cited as the most outstanding example of the potentiality of a combination of private enterprise and of public control.” As Asa Briggs later recognized, Reith argued that the BBC should exercise the “brute force of monopoly” which would reinforce the other three fundamentals of broadcasting: public service, a sense of moral obligation, and assured finance. Although Reith and his supporters would never recognize it at the time, what was being proposed for the BBC was a totalitarian institution constructed out of a reform of a socialist concept and serving within a capitalist economy.

Reith quickly established four objectives in public service broadcasting: information, education, entertainment, and high standards. He wrote in *Broadcast Over Britain*, “It is occasionally indicated to us that we are apparently setting out to give the public what we think they need—and not what they want—but few know what they want and very few what they need. . . . In any case it is better to over-estimate the mentality of the public than to under-estimate it.” A year later the Crawford Parliamentary Committee was appointed to investigate the future of British broadcasting. If Reith could persuade them to adopt public corporatism as a monopoly, he would have achieved his aims. By maneuvering the broadcasting organization away from private commerce into the public sphere, Reith argued that the BBC would be insulated from the ravages of competitive market economy which would undermine his determination to give the public what he believed would be good for them.

But could government and Parliament trust the BBC to serve the public interest? The British General Strike of 1926 became the supreme test. In order to win the confidence of the political establishment, Reith ensured the BBC was the voice of the British state. He did so by retaining the dignity of acquiescent autonomy and pretending that it was the voice of the British Constitution. His eye was on the prize of public corporation and not on the right of any other voice of moderation to broadcast its point of view. The next year saw the creation of the British Broadcasting Corporation, answerable ultimately to Parliament but with day-to-day control left to the judgment of a Board of Governors that were supposed to be appointed on the basis of their standing and experience.

Still, and despite Reith's best efforts, the BBC was continually attacked in Parliament and in newspapers such as the *Daily Mail* and *The Times* for disseminating "left-wing propaganda." These papers remain today among the strongest critics of the BBC. It was claimed that "pink Bolshevism" was prevalent in the BBC's interpretation of news, in talks, addresses to school children, and entertainment programs. The pressure of this newspaper criticism generated self-censorship. (For example, a storm over a plan by Filson Young to write a play called *Titanic* led to the BBC withdrawing the commission in 1932 without the author having put one word to paper.) Accusations of bias were often combined with a threat that the BBC's funding should be remodeled, its Charter reconstituted, and competition introduced to break up the existing monopoly.

In January 1924 newspapers first reported on the need to crack down on illegal broadcasters. It was clear that the maintenance of the monopoly in radio broadcasting demanded investigative and enforcement machinery. The Radio Society of Great Britain assisted the Post Office by forming a broadcasting "flying squad" which sought to track down the owners of the unlicensed transmitting sets in the North Surrey area who had been "interrupting the official broadcast programs by howling and making other disturbances expressive of disapproval of certain items sent out." This effort was clearly a precursor to the Post Office's radio detector vans, which from 1932 roamed the streets of Britain in search of households that had not paid the required license fee. By October 1932 criminal prosecutions for non-license payments had begun. The hunt for "radio pirates" was undertaken by the Post Office. The threat of detection and prosecution resulted in a record 154,000 wireless licenses being taken out in the first 11 days of that month, with an average of 14,000 a day (compared with September's figure of only 2,800 licenses being issued daily). The new war on "pirates" was planned on the assumption that there had been at least 5 million wireless sets in the country, and the number of unlicensed sets had even been placed as high as 2 million.

Despite the 1930s Depression, the BBC grew steadily larger in the prewar years. The BBC employed nearly 800 people when it became a Corporation in 1927, and had expanded to almost 5,000 by 1939, one year after Reith left. As occurred with many other industries, World War II accelerated investment and activity in the BBC. By 1945 the staff had grown to 11,500.

Programs

During the first decade of BBC development, the organization was essentially a middle-class institution with a commitment to education as an agent of social advancement. Supplementing Reith's early call for the on-air use of a standardized "received pronunciation," the BBC began to present regional accents in

features, documentary programs and continuity in the 1930s as it began to intersect with the British working class and demonstrate the potential of the developing meritocracy. BBC radio offered a wider canvas for the rhetoric of politics and during election campaigns connected a growing electorate with the body politic. For the 1929 General Election the BBC had begun to broadcast views of party political leaders and reported election results faster than newspapers could.

The BBC became the voice of cultural and political consensus as well as a location for those voices. This paradox was evident in 1929 when *The Radio Times*, the BBC's weekly listing magazine, which now lists all radio and TV services available in the U.K., promoted the racist stereotyping of black Americans using such language as "Hear Dem Darkies Singin'" (to promote a program of "minstrel plantation singing") yet at the same time celebrated Paul Robeson with a live broadcast of his singing at a concert in Bournemouth, and published a critique of African-American classical music by the Harlem Renaissance poet Countee Cullen. A similar ambiguity was evident in the irrelevant identification of alleged and convicted criminals as Jews. Arthur Koestler's brother changed his name to Green and pursued an on-air career at the BBC with all traces of his Jewish heritage expunged.

Despite silencing far-left political voices during the 1930s, the BBC has tended to adopt a more moderate position during periods of political and cultural paranoia. During the 1920s and 1930s it had to negotiate an ideological struggle between communism and fascism. It took its cue from government policy so that during the Spanish Civil War, General Franco's forces were described as "insurgents" rather than "rebels." In 1927 the BBC censored a commissioned play entitled *Machines* by Reginald Berkeley because it was deemed politically controversial in its criticism of the social and spiritual impact of capitalism on the individual. During and after World War II, BBC radio would become a rich and lively location for a wide range of artistic and documentary programming that articulated political, cultural, and social dissent. In the later Cold War, left-wing American writers would participate in BBC arts and cultural programming after moving to a more liberal Europe. BBC radio commissioned, produced, and broadcast to large audiences material that was restricted on the stage in terms of language and content.

The BBC has also responded to the gradual, though slow development of sexual equality through the acceptance of women in various areas of work. In the 1920s and 1930s women began to have a noticeable presence in broadcasting. U.S. born Elizabeth Welch had her own radio program in the 1930s and became Britain's first black television presenter at Alexandria Palace in 1936. Joan Littlewood and Olive Shapely participated in the pioneering BBC radio features movement at Manchester in the 1930s. Audrey Russell became the BBC's first roving radio correspondent during World War II. The war

accelerated further the participation of women in male dominated arenas of work and professional culture. By the 1950s women were taking leading editorial roles in prestigious radio programs, and two decades later they were being appointed to senior BBC executive positions in BBC radio.

From 1955, live programs began to abandon their reliance on the scripting of every word. Radio performance began to sound more natural and no longer depended on the acting ability of program participants. The BBC became a location for the origination and dissemination of popular culture through comedy and satire such as *The Goon Show* and the subversive utterances of disc jockeys such as Kenny Everett. More cost-effective recording processes introduced in the late 1950s meant that a live production culture with half of all programs providing a live audio theatre gave way to a schedule with 90 percent pre-recorded programming on BBC national networks in 1975.

Changing Networks

Development of a "General Forces Programme" during World War II, where entertainment was more evident than information and education, helped to set the stage for the creation of "The Light Programme" after the war. The presence of over a million U.S. service personnel, including a substantial number of African Americans, and exposure to the programs of the American Forces Radio Network resulted in American styles of radio presentation and formats being adopted by the BBC. Demand for a greater variety of music and popular entertainment formats was evident in the 1945 inception of "The Light Programme." A year later "The Third Programme" provided a sound stage for highbrow programming, while the "Home Service" continued to offer mainstream news, drama, and cultural programming.

The changing identity of national regions in Northern Ireland, Scotland, and Wales was maintained by separate services for these areas. Their existence could be regarded as an influential factor in the establishment of a parliament for Scotland, and national assemblies for Northern Ireland and Wales between 1997 and 1999.

In 1967 the networks were added to and redrawn as BBC Radio 1, BBC Radio 2, BBC Radio 3 and BBC Radio 4. BBC Radio 1 was set up to cater to the national youth culture audience for music and Radio 2 tended to serve the evolving demand for popular music for people aged over 40. As the state began to recognize the democratic nature of popular culture and have more confidence in diverse voices participating in the public sphere of media debate, the BBC changed its rules on program preparation and production. In 1994, following the success of a temporary radio news service during the 1991 Gulf War, the BBC recognized the growing demand for more concentrated news and sports programming with the establish-

ment of the national *Radio Five Live* service making use of vacant BBC AM frequencies.

By the early 2000s there were five BBC national radio networks, three national BBC stations for Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland, and a network of 39 BBC local radio services in England. By 2003 the BBC had established a portfolio of digital radio services serving more targeted "narrowcast" markets in music, light entertainment, speech, and ethnic minority programming. Two years earlier the BBC had positive public feedback for projected national digital stations that included a service focusing on black music, news, and speech aimed at a young audience (1Xtra), a station focusing on the music that helped shape the generation from the 1970s to the 1990s (6 Music), a new speech-based service mixing old and new comedy, drama, stories, and features and also focusing on storytelling for children (BBC 7), a niche sports service widening the radio coverage of live sport (*Five Live Sports Plus*), the delivery of the BBC World Service to the domestic audience, and an upgrading of an embryonic Asian Network into a national station focusing on news and sports for British Asians.

Tuning In

The need for BBC listener research developed out of commercial competition from abroad in the 1930s, which soon professionalized BBC links between programming and audience. The audience research section, led by Robert Silvey after 1936, highlighted the impact of overseas commercial programming from Luxembourg and Normandy in northern France. The dour BBC symphony of religious services, talks, and classical music on Sundays was rapidly abandoned by U.K. listeners who preferred the light band music and bright lights of consumer advertising on the English speaking commercial radio services from the continent targeted at British audiences. The dry biscuit of Holy Communion on the BBC Sabbath offering was a poor second to the Cadburys Chocolate sponsorship on Radio Luxembourg by a ratio of 2:8. Audience research soon contributed to the adoption of more "fixed point" scheduling. The BBC realized its programs needed to follow the social habits of its audience.

The evolution of domestic radio technology aided this process. By the late 1920s there was a change from using crystal sets that required the use of headphones (and which tended to be home-made and largely used by males) to manufactured tube-powered receivers that enabled housebound women to listen during the day. Later, car radios served the demand for programs that followed commuting habits at breakfast and drive-time. The 1950s development of the portable transistor radio became a fashionable tool of reception by young people and underlined the need for the BBC to respond to their interest in popular musical formats.

Competitive Pressure

BBC Radio began to lose its monopoly position through the 1950s as audiences tuned to commercial music services from Europe and various offshore pirate stations. This process was hastened after the beginning of independent television in 1956, although domestic commercial local radio began only in 1973, and a commercial national radio service two decades later. The explosion of consumer youth culture and popular rock and roll music meant that radio offered a new platform for retaining a mass audience.

The BBC more recently came under pressure from changes in the political-economic consensus as government control and direction of the economy gave way to market economics. The BBC was urged to generate some of its own income rather than depend on license fee funding. Staff levels were reduced by almost a third. However, despite the ferocity of political criticism, mainly from the right, and regular Parliamentary enquiries into BBC funding and operations, the BBC's constitution today remains very similar to that of 1927, surely an unprecedented record in the world's public service radio.

By 2003 most BBC radio services had internet dimensions by way of live audio streaming or lateral levels of text, audio, and video accompaniment that was downloadable on demand. In addition, many established programs on networks such as Radio 4, Radio 3 and BBC Five Live were being archived with a back catalogue available to listeners from the BBC website. BBC Radio's share of total listening was 51.6 percent, an increase of 5.6 percent from 1998. Radio had overtaken television as the most consumed medium in the U.K.

Radio 3 continued its public service role in supporting the Promenade concerts, World Music, and five orchestras. Radio 4 was the largest commissioner of new writing in the world. Radio 1 was reaching over half of the country's 15 to 24 year olds. BBC radio comedy was feeding the television medium with the successful transfer from sound to vision of series such as *Dead Ringers*, *Alan Partridge*, *Goodness Gracious Me*, and *The League of Gentlemen*.

Out of a total license fee income in the year 2001–2002 of nearly £2.6 billion, £302 million was being spent on domestic radio services. The Foreign and Commonwealth Office funded the BBC World Service through Grant-in-Aid with £205 million. The number of people being jailed for defaulting on license fee prosecution fines had dropped to 17 compared to 148 in 1998–99. These figures indicate that BBC Radio is at the time of writing the most generously public funded radio organization in the world. The only comparable level of funding was NHK in Japan and the regional German public radio stations.

In 2003 the U.K. government was seeking to consolidate its regulation of communications under one body known as Ofcom. The BBC had successfully lobbied to resist its absorption into this framework. However, Ofcom will take over the

Broadcasting Standards Commission role of adjudicating on complaints about taste, invasion of privacy, and fairness. The BBC has also been under pressure to submit its financial auditing to greater external scrutiny.

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See also Archers; Cooke, Alistair; Gillard, Frank; Promenade Concerts; Reith, John

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British Broadcasting Corporation: Broadcasting House

BBC London Headquarters

Broadcasting House, also known as BH, is the headquarters of the British Broadcasting Corporation. The BH is a 1932 building in Portland Place, London. It originally cost £350,000 and was regarded by many critics as formal, cold, and pretentious. The shiplike shape was the second choice, after a “top hat” design. *Architectural Review*’s description of “the labyrinthine pokiness of the interior” added to the general condemnation of the building’s human and aesthetic qualities. Even the “Rhapsody to Broadcasting House” specially composed to celebrate its inauguration was panned by the music critics.

Lord Asa Briggs, in his monumental history of the BBC, says that the BBC’s 1932 move from Savoy Hill (behind the famous Savoy Hotel), to the new custom-built Broadcasting House represented the myth that, before, all was “intimacy and harmony” and that everything after was “bureaucracy and conflict.”

The architect Lieutenant Colonel G. Val Mayer was given the task of replacing Savoy Hill, a charming Georgian house and garden designed by John Nash, with a modern building that would provide office accommodation and a complex of sound studios for production and broadcast. Although BH contained 12 floors and 350 offices for 700 people, within its first year of using the facility the BBC found itself too big for its new headquarters. The original BH was expanded by a large extension, projected before the war, but only opened in 1961. It contains both offices and studios and interconnects with the original 1932 building.

Val Mayer created something that the press at the time compared to a beached ocean liner. Mayer had to respect the unusual shape of the plot and the function of broadcasting. A central “boiler-house” of soundproofed studios was wrapped in an exterior of concrete offices. Three floors were below ground level, and some of the studios were bomb-proof. BH had the fastest elevators in London and became the first London building to install central air conditioning, because the central tower of silent sound studios in the middle had no natural ventilation.

From the beginning, nearly every aspect of the building’s existence was associated with controversy. The staff did not like their new home, and BBC Director General John Reith asked his colleagues to “ring to the inconveniences a good heart.” Reith himself expressed his dislike of the BBC’s new home and was embarrassed when his name was included in a confident Latin dedication in the entrance hall: “Deo Omnipotenti.”

Sculptor Eric Gill’s external carvings and reliefs led to a complaint in the House of Commons. In March 1933 a Member of Parliament asked the home secretary if he would make

the police compel the BBC to remove immediately the statue placed over the front entrance, as it was “objectionable to public morals and decency.” He was referring to “Prospero and Ariel,” and in particular to the display of Ariel’s genitalia, which, according to oral history, had been reduced in size after the BBC’s governors had inspected the work by looking up from the pavement. It is claimed that one of the governors climbed the scaffolding with a notebook and tape measure and informed Eric Gill, “In my view this young man is uncommonly well hung.” Gill was the celebrity artist of his time; he was known as “the married monk” and carved the statue in situ wearing medieval dress; he refused to accept a free wireless set.

A major eccentricity of the building is that there appears to be no logical connection between the stairs and the number of floors. This is because the original design had to be compromised in a “rights to light” dispute with neighbors (meaning the new BH could not cut off all the natural light to the existing buildings nearby), so that from the sixth floor upwards, the top of the building was narrowed by a mansard roof. Staff complaints led to an internal inquiry, and the report presented on 1 January 1934 savaged the building’s functional features, complaining of noise leakage between studios, not enough lighting to read scripts and scores, doors that were not wide enough for pianos, and the fact that the Bakerloo Line underground could be heard in the studios that were below ground level. The concert hall was supposed to be a superstudio that would accommodate 100 musicians. Acoustic problems meant that it could only cope with 30 to 35.

The only appreciation for the pioneering modernism of Australian Raymond MacGrath’s interior design was to be found in *Architectural Review*, the editor of which described the art deco and jazz age colors and curves as the “New Tower of London.” Apart from the council chamber, an auditorium, and the entrance hall, with Gill’s symbolic figure of the Sower scattering seeds as a man might broadcast ideas that grow wherever they are heard, virtually nothing of the original interior has survived—not even the mock chapel, with an altar and cross projected electronically for religious broadcasts. Other than several contemporaneous publications, the 1930s film “Death at Broadcasting House” in black and white is one of the few records available of the building’s original interior.

The first broadcast from the building by Henry Hall’s new BBC Dance Orchestra on 15 March 1932 was also captured on newsreel. The BH survived the Blitz, even though a 500-pound delayed-action bomb killed seven people on 15 October 1940. The sound was recorded during the nine o’clock news,

but newsreader Bruce Belfrage paused and had to continue for security reasons. More damage was caused by a land mine exploding in Portland Place on 8 December 1940.

The steady increase in space needs led the BBC to take over the old Langham Hotel, across Portland Place from BH, for offices. In the 1980s, the BBC held an architectural competition, won by Foster Associates, to build a modern Radio Centre on the same site. It was never built because of financial restrictions, and plans to expand BBC facilities near the BBC's television centre at White City. In 1988 the BBC was prosecuted and fined because inadequate maintenance of a cooling tower on top of the building had caused the deaths from Legionnaires' disease of three people.

BH has been made a "listed" (historic) building. BBC radio news and current affairs programs including the network *BBC Five Live* were moved to a purpose built bi-media news center at White City in West London in 1995. But the move was unpopular. The radio dimension of programming felt dominated by the size, ego, and costs of television. The BBC's Director of Radio and Music at the time of writing, Jenny Abramsky, observed that the radio program teams did not agree that synergies would emerge and would ensure that the BBC spoke with one voice.

White City was also an unpopular location for journalism. It was far from Central London and the seat of power and decision-making. The lease on Bush House, the headquarters of BBC External Services was also due to expire. In 2001, the BBC decided to redevelop BH into a new home for BBC Radio & Music, BBC News, and the BBC World Service. The structure of the original 1932 building and surviving features such as the entrance hall and council chamber would be preserved in an integrated complex of 140 studios, a central atrium, and a newsroom half the size of a football pitch. Two streets have been closed to the public as four adjacent buildings are demolished and excavated to within three meters of a London underground tunnel. The scheme seeks to transform BH into the

world's largest broadcasting news hub accommodating over 5,000 members of staff.

The plan has been designed by British architect Sir Richard MacCormac and his team and is described by the BBC as "a remarkable combination of the old and the new." The British *Observer* newspaper on 3 January 2003 described it as "a glass and marble palace," expected to be completed by 2008. The studios of old BH have been redesigned for the digital age. The BBC claims the new complex will include public spaces and amenities "to make the BBC more accessible and welcoming to visitors." The new "BBC Palace" is being equipped for national and international radio, television, and online services. During the late 1990s it accommodated an interactive "BBC Experience" exhibition, which purported to inform paying customers about the history of the corporation.

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British Broadcasting Corporation: BBC Local Radio

It is not widely known that the BBC in its early years (to 1929) was really a network of local radio stations. The original private company had been the result of a merger of stations in London, Manchester, and Birmingham, some of which had been owned originally by American companies such as Westinghouse and Western Electric.

Origins

The limited reach of early transmitters meant that it was only feasible to broadcast locally produced programming. In 1923 a further six main stations were added to the network, Newcastle, Cardiff, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Bournemouth, and Belfast.

Between 1924 and 1925 more “relay stations” were set up at Sheffield, Plymouth, Edinburgh, Liverpool, Leeds-Bradford, Hull, Nottingham, Dundee, Stoke-on-Trent, and Swansea. Telephone lines linked the stations, allowing a pool of national programming to be received and relayed from London. In 1925 London programs would be provided on two complete evenings every week. Frequently stations would pool their resources and stage simultaneous broadcasts.

There do not appear to be any sound archives that would enable the modern listener to appreciate the local flavor of the broadcasting from this period. But early issues of the *Radio Times* and other magazines for radio enthusiasts present a picture of a warm relationship between early broadcasters and their audiences and of programming that was both popular and cultural. Scannell and Cardiff (1991) report that local stations originated programs ranging from early quiz shows and phone-in programs to live interactive dramas with listeners winning prizes for supplying the best endings. Writer Patrick Campbell recalled that his first introduction to radio was in 1924 when he went to the Bournemouth studio every Wednesday to talk in *Children's Hour* on behalf of a young person's charity group. The edition of the *Radio Times* for 30 August 1929 reveals the preparations for a play called *The Pennillion Singer*, which “deals with an exciting time in the ‘Hungry Forties’ when the small farmers and yeoman of South Wales were up against adverse fate in many ways, and specially against the tyranny of the toll-gate.” This play about an armed rebellion with farmers disguising themselves as “Rebecca's Daughters” touched local political sensitivities and was originated and broadcast from the BBC's Cardiff station 5WA. In the same week listeners could hear Professor Patchett from Bournemouth's 6BM on his summer holiday experiences in the “New Germany,” and Captain H. La Chard at Plymouth's 5PY on “various aspects of life in Borneo.” A lively local radio culture generated a rich exchange of local music, storytelling, entertainment, and information, but Scannell and Cardiff (1991) argue that between 1927 and 1930 this would be “quite deliberately eradicated by the policy of centralization.”

By 1929 the BBC's Director-General Sir John Reith and his executives at the London station 2LO had already embarked on a process of centralization and control. It took the form of regular meetings between London and local station directors, touring by London inspectors, and the submission of program schedules to London in advance of broadcast. Soon the BBC eradicated the high cost of local radio repertoires and orchestras through centralization. The savings enabled the concentration of budgets in London, which was thought better suited to producing expensive concerts, variety shows, and extravagant drama productions. Head of Talks Charles Siepmann and Director of Drama Productions Val Gielgud were given full authority over their regional strands of programming to maintain “London standards” throughout the country. Local radio

gave way to “regionalization,” with production centers at Glasgow, Manchester, Birmingham, Cardiff, and London. The call signs of the smaller stations had disappeared by 1930, and the spontaneity of their programs and loyalty of their audiences were quickly forgotten.

U.S. Radio Inspires a Revival

A proposal for reviving local radio appeared in the report of the Beveridge Broadcasting Committee in 1949. VHF (FM) radio extended the spectrum of wavelengths. The former BBC war correspondent Frank Gillard was now climbing up the ladder of BBC management, and in 1954 he had submitted a report on his observations of U.S. radio. He was impressed by WVPO Stroudsburg, in the Pocono Mountains of Pennsylvania, which operated in daylight hours only, served a community of 15,000 people with a staff of 13, and, according to Gillard, “spoke to its listeners as a familiar friend and neighbour.” He noticed that the whole operation was conducted “with the utmost informality.” When he became responsible for BBC radio programming, Gillard campaigned passionately for a local dimension to BBC broadcasting. He was responsible for the BBC promise to the Pilkington Committee's enquiry into broadcasting in 1961 that “BBC Local Radio will be friendly, reliable and in touch with people's lives.” In the same year Gillard had arranged 16 closed-circuit radio experiments in towns such as Dumfries, Dundee, the Isle of Wight, and at Bournemouth on the South Coast, which had been the location of the BBC's first local stations started in 1923. When he realized that nobody on the Pilkington Committee seemed sympathetic to the idea of local radio, Gillard impressed some of the members by playing recordings of the closed circuit experiment.

By 1966 the government had approved the start of nine BBC local stations as a two-year experiment. Initially some of the funding came from local authorities. The first of the new BBC local radio stations started in Leicester because the local City Council was prepared to contribute £104,000 toward its costs. The notion of “radio on the rates,” or tax-supported radio, would not last, however, and local radio is now wholly funded by a share of the BBC's license fee income. Unlike public radio in the USA and Australia, there is no listener subscription, and any pledges for money from listeners are reserved for charitable projects such as the annual “Children in Need.”

BBC Radio Leicester first aired on 8 November 1967 with a pledge from a government minister that the station “should never forget that it is home town radio with its own Leicester individuality and that it must always be bright and attractive.” The first audience figures disclosed that 25 percent of local listeners were tuning in.

It is important to emphasize that the BBC's commitment to local radio was not simply a romantic celebration of the diversity of local cultures. Gillard's ambitious plan for a network of

more than 90 BBC local stations was a political tactic to head off the clamor for legalizing commercial radio. It enabled the BBC to justify its monopolistic control of all license fee funds. Leicester was followed by seven other local services in Brighton, Durham, Leeds, Merseyside, Nottingham, Sheffield, and Stoke-on-Trent. The BBC's Chief Correspondent Kate Adie was then one of the first reporters working at the station in Durham. Local radio pioneered live and unscripted programming. It tended to be a mixture of news, local current affairs, sport, and record request programs. The first charter for local radio, written by Frank Gillard, declared: "Station managers will be free to provide programmes, which in their judgement best meet the needs of their communities."

A second wave of BBC local stations was opened in 1969, in Birmingham, Blackburn, Bristol, Derby, Humberside, London, Manchester, Medway, Newcastle, Oxford, Solent, and Teesside. By 1978, 22 local stations were broadcasting at least six hours of programming every day with news on the hour, talk at breakfast, and sports coverage on Saturdays. Some stations were able to originate drama. BBC Merseyside in Liverpool became a platform for local dramatists. Merseyside and other stations such as BBC Stoke originated soap operas, which were funded by police and health authorities. Although BBC services are not permitted to receive commercial sponsorship or sell air time for advertising, the BBC Charter does permit the receipt of funding from government/public bodies for educational and public information services. Using entertainment and dramatic formats to educate listeners became an imaginative mechanism to secure funding from outside the license fee.

Competition with Commercial Local Radio

Britain's first licensed independent station, the news and speech service LBC in London, began broadcasting in October 1973. A week later the music format station Capital opened. British independent radio was legislated on a local basis with a public service broadcasting remit. A proportion of profits was "taxed" and reinvested in training, engineering, and prestigious programming projects. In its early days Capital was able to include a range of program styles such as news features at breakfast, a soap opera, and a daily social action campaign. The BBC stations found themselves in a head-to-head competition even though the program schedules of Independent Local Radio stations were primarily music based.

The impact on BBC Radio London was catastrophic, and since the inception and expansion of commercial radio the BBC's local London service has never been able to establish any significant market share. It has repeatedly reinvented itself. Radio London became GLR (Greater London Radio, "London Live") and more recently "BBC London." In the provinces, however, BBC local services were able to sustain a commanding share of listeners.

By 1997 the weekly audience for BBC local stations was in the region of 7 million listeners. By 2003 the weekly reach had increased to 10.7 million listeners per week—over 20 percent of the population. It saw itself as providing a service to those over the age of 55 with a speech-based programming format, which provided space for local comment and opinion. In view of the fact that BBC local radio's 39 stations compete with more than 250 local commercial stations, the desire to target people over 55 might be seen as a decision to cater to marketing categories not prioritized by Independent Local Radio. The early ambition to establish a network of more than 90 stations had to be tempered by the periodical financial crises affecting the BBC in the 1980s and 1990s. The relatively unfashionable arena of local radio was an easy target for staff cutbacks and cancelled capital projects. There were occasional aberrations of management judgment that had to be reversed, such as merging BBC Berkshire with BBC Oxford to form the station BBC Thames Valley. The fusion of these two stations liquidated the reflection of the separate cultural dimensions and social identities of a significant city and town in southern England. It caused resentment. It was the equivalent of expecting the respective soccer teams for Oxford and Reading to merge under a different name. The current policy of respecting "localness" has resulted in stations with regional reaches such as Southern Counties, Wiltshire Sound, and Radio Devon introducing separate output at key times of the day from the major towns and cities of their catchment areas. Merging BBC Guildford and BBC Brighton created BBC Southern Counties. The effective closure of the station in Brighton, which is a thriving town on the South Coast and in a different county, and running the programming from Guildford, which is in the county of Surrey, was the antithesis of the spirit of "localness."

By the 1980s the U.K. Home Office had given approval for the establishment of 38 local stations that could broadcast to 90 percent of the population. As independent commercial radio became both regional and national, with a substantial diversification into niche musical formats, it could be argued that BBC local radio found itself being marginalized into providing programming for marketing categories in the upper middle-age range that did not interest advertisers.

Deregulation of commercial radio and the reduction of newsrooms by independent stations increased the importance of BBC local radio journalism. BBC local stations perfected the technique of "snowline" services during weather crises, and they have been given official roles in future emergency plans. The BBC saw its local services as "a helping hand in times of trial, a smiling friend in times of success, and a questioning intelligence in times of controversy. And at all times it was to be ambassador, inquisitor, commentator and reporter."

By 1990 a new charter, primarily written by Ronald Neil, the then Managing Director of Regional Broadcasting, committed BBC local radio to a minimum speech/music ratio of

60/40 between 6 AM and 6 PM, with speech rising to 100 percent at the peak periods of breakfast and afternoon commute—wide-ranging speech, addressing local concerns and interests, and journalism as the bedrock that should be respected in local radio as it is on the programs *World at One* and *Panorama*.

Social and Cultural Objectives

By 1997 commercial radio had overtaken the BBC with a 50.6 percent share of all listeners. By 2002 BBC radio's share had bounced back to 51.6 percent, and radio had overtaken television as the most used medium in the U.K. The loyalty of many BBC local listeners has now been challenged by the rich offerings of formats elsewhere. Audiences in most metropolitan markets have shrunk, although the Birmingham station BBC Radio WM has been a notable exception. With the commercial stations abandoning their public service speech-based programming, and concentrating on music from the pop charts, contemporary, and "gold" nostalgia hits, the BBC local stations have catered to an older audience that prefers a speech format. Simulcast "regional" programs share costs, and a sustaining overnight service of the national network BBC Radio Five Live has provided for 24-hour broadcasting. The BBC seems to see those over 55 as its main audience for local radio; 30 percent of its audience under 45 tunes in for shorter periods, to cherry pick specific programs and information services such as news, sports, travel, and weather. The remit is therefore overwhelmingly public service. A survey by the BBC has discovered that 91 percent of the population think it is important to continue with public service radio and over 80 percent thought this genre of radio should be informative, educational, entertaining, and catering to all age groups and tastes. The BBC's Head of Radio at the time of writing, Jenny Abramsky, believes public service radio should have range, ambition, and "a duty to contribute to culture—both popular and high." This may be the case with the national networks such as Radio 4 where programming is budgeted on the basis of £11,000 an hour. BBC local radio costs £300 an hour.

In 2002 all of the BBC's local stations were underwritten by a budget of £108 million. This means that the costs and resources are not available to deliver significant educational objectives. However, the local stations have made some contribution to the collection of oral history. In 1999 BBC local staff interviewed over 6,000 people about their lives over the 20th century. In conclusion, the profile of the audience and the very style of broadcasting do not encourage the expression of non-mainstream views in either the arts or journalism.

A BBC poll of listeners between 1994 and 1997 sought to determine local radio's strengths and weaknesses. BBC local stations were often seen as "a phone-in Citizens Advice Bureau." Listeners' loyalty was based on the absence of adver-

tising, their perception of better presented, more in-depth news, presenters asking more intelligent questions, a calmer texture of programming, and a feeling that BBC local stations offered better coverage of local affairs. Criticisms were that BBC local radio was too parochial, sounded like institutional radio at times, was amateurish, and transmitted badly researched interviews and uninteresting chat.

The BBC has encouraged its local stations to be more upbeat, to broadcast more interesting and varied content, as it tries to meet the challenge of increasing competition in the 21st century. A key objective is radio programming with an element of fun and professional presenters who seem to be more accessible than their national counterparts. Its public service role is also centered on serving specialist subject areas such as religion output, serving ethnic communities, and presenting sports and social action broadcasting. BBC local stations are firmly committed to digital radio and multi-media provision through the internet, and many BBC local radio services are now establishing and exploring their presence on the internet.

Many commentators feel that BBC local radio is well placed to meet the social demands of contemporary Britain. Demographic trends indicate an increasing older population, one with a continuing appetite for local radio services, for news about "where I live," which is consistent with sociological research that reveals a stability in communities and a sense of the importance of local identity and attachment.

Although Britain has become a much more multi-racial, multi-cultural and multi-religious society, the BBC was shaken by 1994 research indicating that listeners from ethnic communities found the license fee poor value for money. The BBC responded with improved ethnic representation in BBC local stations, and the BBC local service in London has since then certainly maintained a better record for employing non-white broadcasters and journalists. The BBC Asian Network in the Midlands is regarded as a success story: it tries to meet the needs of a substantial British Asian population in Central England and connects them with BBC World Service broadcasts in English and Asian languages.

In October 2002 the BBC Asian Network went nationwide when it was launched as a digital station dedicated to broadcasting a mix of speech and music to second and third generation British Asians. Vijay Sharma said it would become "a one stop shop for Asian communities where they can get daily national news, top international stories, big consumer stories, and music ranging from the latest in British Asian sounds to old favourites." This development indicates that the BBC's interpretation of "localness" is coming to terms with social associations that go beyond geographical locations and recognizes the diversity of social and cultural communities.

TIM CROOK

See also Gillard, Frank; Reith, John C.W.

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British Broadcasting Corporation: BBC Monitoring Service

The British Broadcasting Corporation Monitoring Service was formed just before World War II in order to listen to enemy radio stations and report their contents to the government and to other departments of the BBC. By the end of the century, 60 years later, the service was monitoring, in conjunction with its American partner the Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS), 100 languages from over 150 countries and serving a variety of customers. Its main sources are radio, television, news agencies, the foreign press, and, increasingly, the internet. The service has often brought the first news of important developments and has become in effect a news agency, but one that simply reports words without any gloss.

The need for such a service became apparent in the 1930s. As fascist powers Germany and Italy broadcast violent anti-British propaganda, both the Foreign Office and the BBC did some listening in, using shorthand typists wearing headphones. In the summer of 1939, with war approaching, the new Ministry of Information formally asked the BBC to undertake the task on a wider, more professional basis and agreed to cover the cost.

Because it was feared that London might be heavily bombed, the service was at first based in the Midlands, in the town of Evesham in Worcestershire. In 1943 it was moved to Caversham Park, near Reading, west of London, where it remains.

The first surviving report, dated 27 August 1939, said that the highlight of German news programs in German was “the new ration decree.” News in English for Africa the same day “suggested that Poland was in a nervous, anxious and bellicose state and that the army chiefs were losing control over the lower army groups.”

Monitoring in Wartime

A few days later, the German army invaded Poland, and Britain and France declared war. The early wartime experiences of monitors were described later by retired members of staff. One of them said

I was sent almost immediately . . . to the hut which housed the engineers. There was a long table down the centre of the room and on it stood a row of big black boxes. They turned out to be radio sets, most delicate instruments, each with about half a dozen coils representing a range of frequencies (a term then still unknown to most of us). Housed in movable boxes, these were tuned by large calibrated dials. The engineers were rightly very proud of these sets and also protective of them; it was months before they allowed us to operate them ourselves.

During the war, monitoring became a 24-hour, seven-days-a-week operation. Verbatim texts of speeches by Nazi leaders and lists of prisoners of war were provided. One notable coup was the “eavesdropping” on the weekly article written by the Nazi propaganda chief, Josef Goebbels, for the periodical *Das Reich*. The article was transmitted in advance to the German authorities in Norway on the Hellschreiber, the German tape machine. The Monitoring Service picked it up and transmitted it to the BBC German Service, which wrote a commentary on the article before it appeared—much to the amazement of the Nazis.

In 1942, shortly after the United States had entered the war, its own monitoring service, the FBIS, began a collaboration with the BBC service, which was formalized in 1947 and lasts to this day. The two services divide the world between them, which allows them to operate more economically than if they both tried to cover everything. The BBC concentrates on Russia, Central Asia, Iran, parts of Europe and Africa, and a few other areas, and the FBIS concentrates on the rest of the world; there is some overlapping. The arrangement has been described as a shining example of international cooperation.

Cold War

After the war, the service began to look farther afield, particularly to the communist world. Because so many official pronouncements are first made on radio, it picked up many

developments that it reported to the world either through the BBC World Service or one of the news agencies that subscribe to the Monitoring Service; these include the death of Stalin in 1953, the nationalization of the Suez Canal in 1956, and the crushing of the Hungarian revolution by Soviet tanks the same year. In 1962 the Monitoring Service played a part in bringing the Cuban missile crisis to an end. At a dangerous stage in the crisis, it monitored a Moscow Radio broadcast in which the Soviet leader, Nikita Khrushchev, replying to a message from President Kennedy, said, “The Soviet government has ordered the dismantling of the bases and the despatch of the equipment to the USSR. I appreciate your assurance that the United States will not invade Cuba.”

The message was flashed to Washington via the FBIS. Kennedy replied immediately, even though he had not received the official text, because, he said, “I attach tremendous significance to acting quickly with a view to solving the Cuban crisis.”

Sometimes the behavior of radio stations gave a hint that an important announcement was on its way. On the evening of 26 August 1968, for example, it seemed that momentous events were in the offing in Czechoslovakia. The Czech monitor on evening duty stayed on to listen to the first bulletin after midnight, which normally repeated old news. At 12:50 A.M. he heard this: “In a short while the Czechoslovak radio will be broadcasting an extremely important news item. Stay at your receivers, wake all your fellow citizens.” This was followed by an interval of music, then an announcement that Warsaw Pact troops had invaded the country to put an end to the experiment of “communism with a human face,” the so-called Prague spring.

The Monitoring Service received a foreshadowing of the overthrow of President Ceauçescu of Romania in 1989. Listening to a live relay of a rally Ceauçescu was addressing, the monitor noticed what sounded like a scream. The relay went silent, to be resumed later. The recording was played over and over again for checking, and finally the BBC correspondent in Central Europe was alerted. The president was overthrown, but the scream was never identified.

The attempted coup against Russian leader Mikhail Gorbachev in 1991 was heralded by radio. Just before three o'clock in the morning on 19 August, all the separate radio channels were merged into one, a break with the normal pattern. Ten minutes later, the Soviet news agency announced the formation of a state emergency committee to run the country because, according to the agency, of Mr. Gorbachev's state of health. Once the Monitoring Service heard this, the BBC broke the news.

The Gulf War in the same year provided the Monitoring Service with a severe test. There was a proliferation of new radio stations, such as the “Mother of Battles,” “The Voice of Free Iraq,” “Holy Mecca,” “Voice of Peace,” and “Voice of the Gulf,” as well as Baghdad Radio and other stations in the area.

The Monitoring Service became the main source of news from within Iraq, and Caversham Park was visited by journalists and TV crews from many parts of the world, including Japan, Canada, the United States, the Netherlands, and Britain itself.

Monitoring Today

The tasks of the Monitoring Service and its working arrangements altered considerably over the first 60 years of its existence. Caversham Park itself remains a pleasant environment, with extensive grounds and graceful vistas over the Thames valley. The building dates from the 19th century but has been enlarged since then. The receiving aerials are in an old deer park a few miles away (Crowsley Park), an electrically quiet area in which the local electricity company has agreed not to station any overhead power cables. Here there are aerials suited to the whole range of radio frequencies and a number of satellite receiving dishes. There are more dishes in Caversham Park itself. The first dish went into operation in 1981, covering one of the Soviet television channels. Since then, there has been a huge increase in the number of satellite TV and radio channels, and they now account for over 70 percent of the services received.

The monitors themselves are foreign nationals living in Britain or at Monitoring's overseas units or British graduates with a good grasp of languages. They listen on headphones, but transmissions are recorded, and it is from the recordings that translations are made, which can be checked for accuracy and archived. The monitors have been described as sedentary correspondents, gathering news by sitting and listening.

In a booklet written in 1979, a former member of the service made the point that, in addition to good hearing, a monitor needs "a wide knowledge of current affairs, politics, economics, history, world geography, a knowledge in depth of the language or languages being monitored, and a fluent and idiomatic command of English." Accuracy and speed, he said, were the keynotes; he continues: "The monitor wages a constant struggle against the unreliability of sound. In that struggle background knowledge and an intuitive gift for mental association are major allies."

The use of satellites has made transmissions easier to hear since those days, but there are still problems. Mishearing can lead to a mistranslation, and even if the words are clear, their meaning may be obscure. Television presents its own problems: pictures can be open to subjective interpretations.

In 1994 the Foreign Office undertook a review of the whole operation, which changed its direction and the arrangements for funding. The service now has "stakeholders," customers who specify their requirements and who are serviced in various ways. Stakeholders are major government departments concerned with foreign policy and international security and the BBC itself. British diplomatic missions abroad that are on-line



Listeners in Eritrea with clockwork radio
Courtesy BBC World Press Office

can receive the service direct. Material is also available to the public by commercial subscription to hard-copy publications and tailored on-line services. Customers include the media, major corporations and investment houses, consultants, charities, academic institutions, and freelance researchers. The stakeholders require that the service receive as much commercial income as possible.

The Monitoring Service and the FBIS between them select about 150,000 words a day from the millions they receive. The selection process still depends on the knowledge, skills, and judgment of the individual men and women who make up the service, but it is conveyed to the customers in radically different ways from the past. At one time, information was conveyed by teleprinter or the printed word.

Printed information from the Monitoring Service continues in several forms. There is the *Summary of World Broadcasts*, a regular publication that developed from the wartime *Digest*. The *Summary* is divided geographically—the former Soviet Union and Baltic states; Central Europe and the Balkans; Asia and the Pacific; the Middle East and North Africa; and Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean. A weekly publication called *World Media* gives a complete picture of developments in radio, television, satellite communications, and news agencies. Another weekly publication, *Inside Central Asia*, is in the form of a briefing document covering the various states in the region. However, the trend is for an increasing amount of material to be supplied in soft-copy form. It can be accessed either by searching the worldwide web database (with a password, or "pull" service) or by means of a profiled e-mail service from the database (a "push" service). This service enables customers to extract only information relevant to them, meaning that material can be passed much more quickly.

The Monitoring Service has always been able to provide up-to-the-minute news, and this continues with the Newsfile. This is a 24-hour-a-day service that now provides a concise headline for each story, a summary of the main points, acknowledgment of the source, and relevant quotes. Audio and video material from a wide range of countries is available for actuality inserts—a useful service for broadcasters, in particular the BBC World Service, one of Monitoring's main customers.

There is constant consultation with customers to ascertain their requirements. There is still high interest in a number of geographical areas, such as the former Soviet Union, but there is also increasing interest in specific subjects, including developments in the foreign media, reaction to British policies, energy, human rights, crime, telecommunications, and terrorism. Some services are targeted for customers according to criteria they provide and are sent by fax or e-mail. Some are packaged to meet particular requirements on an ad hoc basis. The service also provides reference material, such as cabinet lists and biographies, consultations and radio and TV interviews with in-house specialists, and monitoring of the use made of radio frequencies.

There has been a major retraining program to raise standards of English among the monitors in order to improve their understanding of customer needs and their basic skills, including use of the internet. This is to enable them to release material directly to the newsroom or to external customers instead of having to pass it through a process of editing.

The end of communism in Europe and technical developments have meant that instead of dealing with state-controlled media with a single voice, the Monitoring Service now deals with a huge proliferation of media. The challenge now is to select the most authoritative, authentic, and representative of these many different voices. Caversham Park remains the headquarters, but the Monitoring Service has set up a number of regional sites to gain access to the increasing range of local sources. This began in 1961, when a unit was established in Nairobi to cover East and Central Africa. Much later came others—Moscow and Tashkent in 1994, Baku in 1997, Kiev in 1998, and Rabat in 2000.

ANDREW WALKER

See also Foreign Broadcast Information Service

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British Broadcasting Corporation: BBC Orchestras

For all of its history, the British Broadcasting Corporation has operated under a mandate to provide information, entertainment, and culture for citizens of the United Kingdom and beyond. As the BBC's programming has not been driven exclusively by ratings, its original programming has been oriented toward cultural quality rather than commercial appeal. This focus on cultural quality has often been given expression in the presentation of classical and symphonic musical performances, and the stars of those performances have most often been the BBC Orchestras. Several different orchestras provide original music programming for the BBC, including the BBC Symphony Orchestra, the BBC Philharmonic Orchestra, the BBC Concert Orchestra, the BBC Scottish Symphony Orchestra, and the BBC National Orchestra of Wales.

The BBC Symphony Orchestra is considered the flagship orchestra of the BBC. Based in London, it was formed in 1930

under Sir Adrian Boult, only three years after the incorporation of the BBC. Its primary purpose was to serve as a permanent, full-time orchestra performing music for broadcast. The orchestra developed a reputation for performing new music and has provided premier performances of hundreds of musical pieces, many of which were specifically written for broadcast on the BBC. One very significant charge given to the orchestra was to provide much of the music for the world-famous Henry Woods Promenade Concerts (the "Proms"), a two-month festival held each summer in London's Royal Albert Hall and broadcast over the BBC's Radio 3. The orchestra also performs another festival each January, recognizing and celebrating the work of a 20th-century composer. In addition to these performances for broadcast, the BBC Symphony Orchestra stays busy with concert appearances, recording sessions, and international tours.

The BBC Philharmonic Orchestra, based in Manchester, originated as a small ensemble of 12 players assembled to perform music for Manchester's first radio station, which began broadcasting in 1922 and was known by the call sign 2ZY. Consequently, the orchestra was first called the 2ZY Orchestra. Typically, the 2ZY Orchestra performed lighter music because of its smaller size. On occasion, however, extra players were brought in and more elaborate concertos and even symphonies were offered. After a few years, the radio station 2ZY became part of what is now the BBC. 2ZY's station manager, Dan Godfrey, Jr., had so impressed the BBC that he was moved to London to oversee the orchestra there. Shortly thereafter, under a new leader, T.H. Morrison, the 2ZY Orchestra was renamed the Northern Wireless Orchestra (NWO).

The BBC established the BBC Symphony Orchestra in 1930 to serve the entire BBC system, a decision that led to a reduction in support of regional orchestras such as the Northern Wireless Orchestra. To the public's dismay, the NWO became a nine-piece ensemble, the Northern Studio Orchestra. But it soon became clear that one orchestra could not meet the level of demand for broadcast music, and the regional orchestras were restored. The Manchester orchestra was re-established as the BBC Northern Orchestra, and in spite of continuing threats to its existence, the orchestra endured. During the second half of the 20th century, it achieved symphonic strength, found new prestige leading to invitations to perform at events such as the Proms, and embraced its new name, the BBC Philharmonic Orchestra. The philharmonic performs for a number of festivals in the United Kingdom and internationally. It also makes studio recordings that are available to the public.

The BBC Concert Orchestra, based in North London, was established in 1952, in part to supplement the broadcast work of the symphony orchestra and the regional groups. Its repertoire combined traditional classical music with light, popular works. The concert orchestra performs regularly for BBC Radio 2, as it is featured each Friday evening on the program *Friday Night Is Music Night*. Other performances include broadcast music for BBC Radio 3 and BBC Television, studio recordings, and annual appearances at the Proms. In addition, the concert orchestra hosts its own festival of popular classics at the Royal Festival Hall in London and makes other concert appearances throughout the United Kingdom and the world.

The BBC Scottish Symphony Orchestra is another of the BBC's regional performing groups. Established in 1935 as the BBC Scottish Orchestra, it was Scotland's first full-time orchestra. Its primary role was performing music for broadcast over BBC Scotland. Early on, however, the BBC Scottish Orchestra also became involved with the Edinburgh Festival, which allowed the public to enjoy the orchestra in person and offered players an opportunity to perform with many internationally acclaimed musicians and artists. As the orchestra grew in fame

and stature, its name was changed in 1967 to the BBC Scottish Symphony Orchestra. Since the 1960s, the BBC Scottish Symphony Orchestra has regularly performed at the Proms in London, toured internationally, and—more recently—recorded a number of popular, award-winning compact discs.

The BBC National Orchestra of Wales is another regional symphony orchestra that was created to perform music for broadcast over the BBC. Its music is heard frequently on BBC Radio 3, BBC Radio Cymru/Wales, and BBC Television. The National Orchestra of Wales performs several times each year at the Proms, as the other BBC orchestras do; it also tours internationally and makes recordings.

A sixth "orchestra," the BBC Big Band, features jazz music and is the only remaining survivor of several popular and light music orchestras that were discontinued during the 1960s and 1970s.

Each of the BBC orchestras continues to pursue its primary purpose of providing music for broadcast over the BBC, especially for BBC Radio 3, the classical music channel. But each orchestra also has broadened its output to include international tours, concert appearances, studio recordings, and even educational efforts to teach young people about fine music. In every case, the BBC through its orchestras fulfills its mission of informing, entertaining, and providing cultural enrichment to citizens of the United Kingdom and many other parts of the world.

RICHARD TINER

See also Promenade Concerts

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British Broadcasting Corporation: BBC Radio Programming

BBC radio programming presents a rich and complex mixture of old-style and modern formats. Sequential format stations based on the personality of presenters and reflecting changing fashions in music, such as Radio Five Live and Radio 1, were established to compete with commercial radio services. Radio 1 was created in 1967 as a response to the success of pirate music services. Radio Five Live, concentrating on news and sports, was established as a response to the success of the London Broadcasting Company and to preempt the expected development of national talk commercial services. BBC Radio 4 and Radio 3 and to a lesser extent Radio 2 have preserved an output based on individual and separate programs, some of which have a heritage going back several decades.

The key changes in the content of the BBC's national radio stations and the development of BBC local radio came about as a result of implementing the policy document *Broadcasting in the Seventies*, published in 1969. The idea was to establish a coherency of programming. Radio 4 was transformed from its old Home Service style of mixed speech and music into a wholly speech-oriented station where journalism would be allowed to bloom, current affairs would have a central role, and drama, comedy, science, and coverage of the arts would have a national platform. The current affairs and discussion programs *The World Tonight*, *PM*, and *Start The Week* all began in 1970. Radio 3 tried to abandon some of the aspects of its previous incarnation in 1946 as the Third Programme. It would become a national station concentrating on music and the arts. In 1969 BBC Radio 1 and BBC Radio 2 simulcast programming during many periods of the day. From 1970 the stations developed separate identities for different audiences. Radio 1 targeted the youth culture audience in popular music. Radio 2 tried to keep in step with the musical tastes of people in their forties and fifties. Stations in Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland have maintained separate centers for radio programming that seek to reflect the politics and concerns of their communities.

At the time of writing the development of digital radio has resulted in the addition of five more national stations. 1Xtra, launched in August 2002, is dedicated to playing the very best in contemporary black music for a young audience. 6 Music launched in March 2002 with a remit to draw on the best music from the past through to today and look for the best music of tomorrow. The station claimed it played contemporary songs that other networks would deem too daring. Five Live Sport Extra launched in January 2002 as a supplement to Radio Five Live and offers sports fans the option of listening to more football, rugby, cricket, tennis, and Formula 1 racing. The Asian Network was launched as a national digital channel in October 2002 providing speech and music to Britain's Asian

communities that are concentrated mainly in the Midlands and South East. BBC 7 launched in December 2002 and specialized in a mix of BBC comedy, drama, book readings, and children's radio programs.

In its 1949 *BBC Year Book*, an attempt was made to set out the objectives for originating and commissioning BBC radio drama. This manifesto or "cultural agenda" provides a useful framework to define, evaluate, and categorize the history and contemporary nature of many aspects of BBC radio programming. First, the BBC sought "to maintain whatever the basic quality, interest, or importance of the individual production may be, a generally high professional level both of acting and technical interpretation." Second, it sought to provide a balanced schedule of plays and drama programming. This includes classical plays of established international repute, which are "susceptible to microphone treatment," and have entertainment as well as cultural value. Third, BBC radio has sought to encourage interested authors to write plays conceived specially in terms of the broadcasting medium. Fourth, BBC radio has striven to fulfill the demand of the listening public for "popular dramatic entertainment," and this has been developed through Listener Research and the continued investment and maintenance of soaps, series, and serials as well as adaptations of successful stage plays and films. BBC radio has also been committed to presenting dramatized serials or single productions of novels and short stories for radio "without unreasonable distortion either of form or of spirit." And fifth, the BBC expressed the desire to give to "the English listener some of the more outstanding examples of contemporary dramatic work from the Continent of Europe."

These worthy aims do not give us much of a flavor of what it was like to make programs and how they sounded, particularly in the decades before systematic archiving. Most of the established histories of the BBC depend on the dry and rather stuffy content of the official written archives. The human side to the program making and listening is more likely to be found in private papers, manuscripts, and autobiographies. George Orwell worked as a producer in the BBC during World War II and described his time as trying to exist in a cross between a public (privately funded) girl's school and lunatic asylum. The actor Maurice Gorham in *Sound & Fury: Twenty-One Years in the BBC* (1948) said the BBC was blighted by petty hierarchies and suffocating bureaucracy. He described the 1930s as "the era of the stuffed shirts." The rather pompous and imperious image of John Reith and his colleagues is balanced by Gorham's moving observation that many of these survivors of World War I still suffered from shell-shock and tried to cope through excess drinking and clandestine affairs with their secretaries.

Drama and Literature

The 1949 five-streamed approach to drama can be observed in other categories of BBC programming. The tensions of establishing these aims, or failing to achieve them, can also account for controversies over the development of BBC radio programming since 1922. The BBC has also extended the presentation of alternative cultures by producing plays and literature from Africa, Asia, South America and others parts of the world. BBC Drama director Val Gielgud established a regular drama slot, *World Theatre*, in the 1950s which is representative of the role the BBC played in fostering a creative reception of dramatic literature from overseas.

Radio programming developed parallel to the modern movement in both art and literature. Authors such as H G Wells, James Joyce, and Virginia Woolf not only set up a new story telling vision and rhythm, but also were dramatized and vocalized by the new radio medium. Joyce was exploring the phonetic qualities and resonance of written language in an era which was rediscovering the acoustic space of the oral tradition through radio. Socialist authors including Jack London and George Orwell introduced an increasingly iconoclastic and political style of writing. Modern poetry and prose were debated and introduced to a wider cultural constituency through BBC radio programming.

Radio was found to be a natural medium for exploring the inner world of humans. The radio plays of Samuel Beckett on the Third Programme in 1957 formed a new genre of psychological subjectivity in audio drama. The director of such early Beckett radio plays as *All That Fall* and *Embers*, Donald McWhinnie, deliberately eschewed the production fashion of realism or pseudo-naturalism to paint a soundscape that used new electronic techniques, including the stylistic use of actors' voices to make animal and mechanical sounds. Thus the texture of the program's content articulated the abstract qualities of Beckett's absurd theater of the mind.

BBC cultural programs were influenced by the way Bertolt Brecht and his Berliner Ensemble revolutionized the relationship between performance and audience in theater. This shift in the philosophical center of gravity could be identified in the development of more experimental, irreverent, and satirical forms and content in some BBC programming.

Radio drama programming was initially derived from live theater and novels. A sketch from *Cyrano de Bergerac* and a telescoping of Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* in 1922 are among the first radio drama events. The first British play especially written for the microphone was *Danger* by Richard Hughes, first aired in 1924. The first head of radio drama R.E. Jeffrey developed the genre at the BBC until early 1929, when 28-year-old Val Gielgud took over from him as Director of Productions. Jeffrey may have been a casualty of a public row over the commissioning of Reginald Berkeley's play *Machines*,

which was regarded as a breach of the BBC's then statutory prohibition on broadcasting matters of "political controversy." *Machines* had been commissioned by the BBC, but in 1927 they were reluctant to produce a drama that blatantly criticized industrial assembly line capitalism. The BBC clumsily tried to reject the work by implying it was badly written. Berkeley responded by publishing his play and the correspondence he had had with BBC executives. The row was a devastating embarrassment for the BBC. Questions were raised in Parliament. Berkeley fired a ringing condemnation of BBC cowardice: "A great instrument of intellectual development is being blunted and misused for want of courage. It is no good replying that British broadcasting is better than any other. It ought to be. And it ought to be better than it is."

The dramatist George Bernard Shaw created another storm when he took advantage of his role in chairing a live BBC radio debate in 1927 and declared: "If you find, then, an energetic force of military and police breaking into this hall, destroying the microphone and leading me away in custody, I must ask you not to offer any resistance. (Laughter.) Your remedy is a constitutional one. You must vote against the Government at the next election. (Laughter and cheers.)" The BBC tried to suppress reporting of his remarks, but the American journalist César Saerchinger tracked down a shorthand note and published Shaw's witty attack on BBC censorship in *Hello America!: Radio Adventures in Europe* (1938).

Landmarks in script development for the microphone play before World War II included Berkeley's *The White Chateau*, which dramatized the suffering and tragedy of World War I and became somewhat iconic for the veterans and their families when broadcast on Armistice Night 1925. It also became the first full-length radio play published in book form and promoted by the BBC. Tyrone Guthrie was another early radio drama pioneer. His play *The Squirrel's Cage*, broadcast in 1929, was about childhood fear and adult monotony with suburbanites getting no further than the animal rotating on its wheel. The lead actors were Mabel Constanduros and Michael Hogan, themselves accomplished radio dramatic writers. They had devised and acted all the parts in the BBC's first radio soap based on a London cockney family called *The Buggins*. Mabel Constanduros has been somewhat neglected by broadcast historians. Her ability to deliver improvised stand-up and scripted comedy and mimic a gallery of characters became evident during her first broadcast at the BBC's Savoy Hill studios in 1925. *The Buggins* series began in 1928 and was so successful it generated spin-offs in book and record sales. Constanduros helped found the British tradition of soap opera and situation comedy in both radio and television.

More sound-based styles of dramatization and production also developed through adaptation of novels such as Compton Mackenzie's *Carnival* and Joseph Conrad's *Lord Jim*. A faster paced, short scene-based structure of juxtaposing realistic

sound backdrops and locations also contributed to advances in audio drama writing and performance. The BBC also supported the production of epic and literary stage classics. The 12-part *Great Play* series of 1928–29 introduced traditional texts from foreign cultures.

During the 1920s and 1930s, Peter Cresswell, Howard Rose, Val Gielgud, and Mary Hope Allen nurtured the development of radio drama as an art form. Gielgud transcended the period between 1929 and 1963. Donald MacWinnie, Barbara Bray, Nesta Pain, and Douglas Cleverdon are but a few examples of significant figures who combined with the talents of Martin Esslin, John Tydeman, William Ash, Jeremy Mortimer, Kate Rowland, and many others to populate a powerful culture of director/editors in BBC radio drama over the 50-year period between 1950 and 2000.

Despite Val Gielgud's prejudices against popular soap operas, many series and serials became established during World War II, including *Frontline Family*, which became *The Robinsons*, and *Mrs Dale's Diary*, which became *The Dales*. *The Archers*, which began in 1951, has become the world's longest running soap opera. The program is a remarkable phenomenon in radio history. It attracts Radio 4's largest audiences, and through a constant process of reinventing itself with new characters and plot-lines it sustains substantial audiences and listener loyalty.

The popular genre has also been represented in the adventure serial as *Dick Barton, Special Agent* (1946), *Send For Paul Temple* (1938), and in the comic science-fiction *The Hitchhiker's Guide To the Galaxy* (1978). The latter, created by the late Douglas Adams, became an instant cult classic after its first broadcast in 1978. Radio aficionados claimed the transfer to television was never as good. The series will be remembered for ironic and melancholic characters such as Marvin, the Paranoid Android, and Zaphod Beeblebrox.

From 1939 onwards BBC radio drama was often described as "A National Theatre of the Air." During World War II, Dorothy L. Sayers' *The Man Born To Be King* had a major impact as a radio drama event. In twelve parts between December 1941 and October 1942, Sayers dramatized the story of Jesus Christ in modern language. It was the first time Christ had been portrayed in a publicly broadcast serial. Sayers used colloquialisms to make sense of the New Testament. The Elders of the Synagogue were described as like those "found in every parish council, always highly respectable, often quarrelsome and sometimes in a crucifying mood." Matthew the Publican was "a contemptible little Quisling official fleecing his own countrymen in the name of the occupying power and enriching himself in the process till something came to change his heart, and not presumably his social status or his pronunciation."

The postwar period was also rich in the number and variety of distinctive and original radio playwrights who were recognized as making a literary contribution through their radio

plays. The poet and classical scholar Louis MacNeice specialized in writing and producing poetic features. *Christopher Columbus*, starring Laurence Olivier as Columbus, celebrated the 450th anniversary of the transatlantic voyage in 1942. MacNeice said he used vocal music to concentrate on "the emotional truth of the legend rather than let it dissolve into a maelstrom of historical details." *The Dark Tower* in 1946 was an imaginative fantasy about suffering and salvation with music composed by Benjamin Britten. MacNeice described his work as a parable of spiritual quest "concerned with real questions of faith and doubt, of doom and free will, of temptation and self-sacrifice."

Dylan Thomas' *Under Milk Wood*, first broadcast in January 1954, is probably Britain's most celebrated piece of radio. Described as "a play for voices," it captures the thoughts, emotions, and dreams of the inhabitants of a small Welsh village, Llareggub. Many radio listeners are familiar with the rich and mellifluous voice of Richard Burton as the narrator purring the opening lines: "To begin at the beginning: It is spring, moonless night in the small town, starless and Bible-black, the cobblestreets silent and the hunched, courtiers' and rabbits' wood limping invisible down to the sloeback, slow, black, crowblack, fishing boat bobbing sea."

The radio plays of Angela Carter (1940–1992), directed by Glyn Dearman, have begun to attract considerable critical attention. Carter said she wrote for radio because it retains "the atavistic lure, the atavistic power, of voices in the dark, and the writer who gives the word to those voices retains some of the authority of the most antique tellers of tales." *Vampirella* (1976) creates the nightmarish world of a female vampire. *Come unto These Yellow Sands* (1979) is a creative drama-documentary on the Victorian painter Richard Dadd. *The Company of Wolves* (1980) is a surreal reworking of the Red Riding Hood folk-tale, and *Puss in Boots* (1982) is an old comedy for radio that features a multiple orgasm accompaniment to the *1812 Overture* (the program had to be approved by the controller of Radio 4 for transmission). *A Self-Made Man* (1984) is a fake radio documentary on the life of Edwardian novelist Ronald Firbank. Carter described herself as a child of the radio age and she believed "it is *par excellence*, the medium for the depiction of madness; for the exploration of the private worlds of the old, the alienated, the lonely." While her scripts are readily available, the sound of her radio plays can only be heard by appointment at the National Sound Archive in London.

The originality of voice in radio drama is certainly represented in the contemporary work of Tom Stoppard, David Pownall, and Lee Hall. Stoppard's successful stage play *Indian Ink* was an original radio drama commission and broadcast by the BBC as *In The Native State* in 1991. *In the Native State* explores the relationship between an Indian painter and the European woman who poses naked for him. The story

switches between England in the present day and India in 1930. Lee Hall's radio play *Spoonface Steinberg* became a best-selling audiocassette and has been successfully adapted in film and theater. It presents the monologue of a 7-year-old autistic girl dying from cancer.

BBC radio programming has also introduced literature and storytelling to the mass audience through such programs as *A Book at Bedtime*, which began on the Light Programme in January 1949 with a reading of John Buchan's *The Three Hostages*. The 15-minute episodic readings now broadcast at night on BBC Radio 4 have also provided a platform for popular and prestigious writers. Eight continuous hours of BBC Radio 4 on FM were given over to a reading by Stephen Fry of one of J.K. Rowling's *Harry Potter* novels on a December day in 2000.

The Feature

The idea of the radio feature was pioneered by BBC radio through the 1930s as a hybrid of drama and documentary, equivocating between reality and fantasy. In Manchester a production center including D.G. Bridson, Archie Harding, Joan Littlewood, and Olive Shapely extended an iconoclastic approach so that the feature form adapted itself to the social stresses experienced by the BBC audience during times of mass unemployment, insecurity, and depression.

More mobile recording techniques enabled radio to reproduce phonically the dynamics of the documentary photography movement. Poetic features wove drama and music to provide creative representations of historical events such as *The March of the '45* (1936). Dramatic features also engaged with contemporary crises such as *Crisis in Spain* (1931) on the abdication of the Spanish monarchy, the six part *Shadow of the Swastika* (1940) on German anti-Semitism, and in historical commemoration such as *Bomber* (1995), an eight-part series blending documentary interview with a dramatization of Len Deighton's novel about the final mission of an RAF Lancaster bomber.

A separate features department headed by Laurence Gilliam continued to cultivate avant-garde creativity up until its closure in 1965. The work of Charles Parker and Dennis Mitchell was recognized in international festivals such as Prix Italia. Parker's *Radio Ballads* were inspired by the work of the U.S. radio documentarian and dramatist Norman Corwin. Human dignity and sympathetic characterization are the hallmarks of radio features produced by Piers Plowright and John Theocaris. Editors such as Peter Everett and Richard Bannerman have originated new approaches to radio documentary form and content such as the *Soundtrack* series for BBC Radio 4 in 1983 and *Take The Plunge* in the 1990s, which empowered documentary subjects with audio-diary technology. Brian King and Sarah Rowlands have produced a genre of audio-vérité that sought to tell the stories of institutions and professions

through "microphone on the wall" montage, revealing secrets within those institutions. Human voice and musicology have been blended in the work of Alan Hall, which again has flown the BBC banner in international awards and festivals.

Talks

Talks and cultural magazine programs have in the context of public service broadcasting made BBC radio a "university of the air." Beginning in 1941, *The Brain's Trust* explored complex philosophical and scientific concepts with brightness, spontaneity, and entertainment. The program was built around listeners' questions and with a panel that started with Dr Julian Huxley, Commander A.B. Campbell, and C.E.M. Joad. Although the radio version was last broadcast in May 1949, it has left its legacy in discussion programs such as *Night Waves* on BBC Radio 3 and *Front Row* on BBC Radio 4. The dramatist Arnold Wesker once said that for a working class boy without qualifications BBC Radio "was my university education."

Music: Classical

The BBC's early commitment to "serving as a standard of excellence" meant that music programming policy was dominated in the early days through the celebration and promotion of classical music and opera. In 1928-29, the BBC mounted a special season of 12 Great Operas, accompanied by the sale of the score and libretto in published booklets. Before centralization of programming in 1927, the several centers of local production spawned a variety of orchestras and chamber groups that performed a rich and varied schedule of live concerts and series. The BBC assumed sponsorship of Sir Henry Wood's annual Promenade Concerts at the Albert Hall in 1927 (known as "The Proms") and founded its own symphony orchestra in 1930.

The BBC became the most significant patron of classical music in Great Britain. The intensity of orchestral performance in programming was combined with explication and criticism through "Talks" series given by Percy Scholes and Sir Walford Davies. The 15-minute series *The Foundations of Music* ran between 1927 and 1937. The early foundation of a policy on "World Music" can be identified in 1929 with the inception of programs celebrating "The Negro Spiritual" and Paul Robeson's BBC debut in a live concert from Bournemouth. BBC radio used documentary to investigate and introduce new developments in modern music. BBC Radio 3 is now a platform for covering the pioneering and adventurous promotion of world music through programs such as *Late Junction* and the enthusiastic presentation of Andy Kershaw.

The postwar establishment of the Third Programme guaranteed a location for high culture in musical expression and so enabled the BBC to serve the growing demand for separate

formats of popular music on the Light Programme network as well as maintaining its cultural commitment to what was described as “the urbane and cosmopolitan.” There was an undoubted overlapping in music genre and programming formats. In one set of circumstances the classical could become very popular and in another, popular styles of music could be contextualized with classical legitimacy. The BBC Concert Orchestra founded in 1952 maintained a repertoire of classical, light opera, light music, and popular song. For example in 1989 it performed the entire Gilbert and Sullivan canon.

Music: Popular

BBC Radio 1 in 1967 was a response to the cultural assault of pirate offshore broadcasters, which powerfully served the baby boom youth generation that had expanded the record market for rock and roll. The Light Programme (later BBC Radio 2) was a response to the World War II-era influence of Jazz and Big Band Swing music broadcast by the American Services Network in Britain and Europe.

Most of the leading pirate DJs of the early 1960s were eventually paraded as BBC Radio 1’s first line-up of presenters. They included Tony Blackburn, Keith Skues, Dave Cash, Kenny Everett, and John Peel. The pirate dance music station Kiss 100 in London became legitimized by regulation and licensing and its success led to an acquisition of much of its DJ talent and music format in a reinvention of BBC Radio 1 in the middle 1990s. Advances in recording technology and reproduction and agreements on needle-time became a disincentive for the BBC to maintain a large range of live orchestras, and many BBC “light” orchestras were shut down in 1980.

The writer Compton Mackenzie is sometimes referred to as the first DJ because he selected music discs and put together a live program from Savoy Hill in 1924. In 1927 the BBC’s first regularly scheduled disc jockey, Christopher Stone, would present recitals rather than “gigs” or “jam sessions.” His programs were a mix of recorded music and talk.

A key musical program in BBC history is *Music While You Work*, which began in June 1940 as a non-stop medley of popular tunes played by a different live band each day. The objective was to provide light musical entertainment to a round-the-clock sequence of shifts in the factories. Since many male workers had been called up during the war, many of the listeners were women; newsreels from the time depict them singing along to the hits heard in the program. *Music While You Work* continued on the Light Programme until 1967.

BBC popular music programmers would battle with the music publishing and record industries over rights and royalties. This would lead to conflict and boycotts, but eventually they cooperated for mutual benefit. As in the U.S., there were payola scandals and legal disputes. But this would not stop the broadcasting of popular music from becoming a launch pad

for the modern celebrity. Early bandleader Jack Payne was appointed Director of BBC Dance Music in 1926 and formed the BBC Dance Orchestra in 1928, two years before the creation of the BBC’s first classical orchestra. When Payne left in 1932 to earn greater riches through touring and record sales, Henry Hall took over the role of BBC heart-throb and musical celebrity.

Sports

Some of the early attempts to provide sports by means of radio were such events as the Derby for flat horse racing in 1921 and a prize boxing fight between Kid Lewis and George Carpentier at Olympia in May 1922. Lobbying by newspapers against the coverage by radio of sports meant that many attempts to organize such coverage during the early years of the BBC were frustrated. However, Royal Charter and incorporation in 1927 was followed by a breakthrough in outside broadcasts. Credit for this should go to producer Lance Sieveking, who successfully recruited Captain H.B.T. Wakelam. Wakelam brought spontaneity and excitement to ad-libbed sports commentary. This was evident at the first live coverage of a Rugby International between England and Wales at Twickenham in January 1927.

Most media histories have a tendency to neglect the contribution of BBC sports broadcasting in enhancing the popularity of the medium and emblemizing local, regional, and national identity through sports. *Sports Report* became a broadcasting institution. This hour-long roundup of sports news and results started on the Light Programme in January 1948, moved to Radio 2, to Radio 5, and to Radio Five Live. It retained its popular signature tune *Out of the Blue* for more than 40 years. One of the BBC’s Directors-General, John Birt, once said: “The jaunty signature tune of *Sports Report* would summon the unpunctual from all parts of the home to hear the Everton and Liverpool scores before tea.” Sports has also formed the basis for a wide range of popular quiz programs such as *Sporting Chance*, refereed by the popular cricket commentator Brian Johnston; the program aired Saturday afternoons on the Light Programme during the 1950s and 60s. The commentator John Arlott became known as “the voice of English summer” because of his cricket commentaries for more than 30 years. One of his producers once said: “You could smell the grass when he was talking.”

Arlott and Brian Johnston became associated with *Test Match Special*, the live, ball-by-ball BBC radio coverage of cricket Test matches. The BBC would assign an entire frequency from one of its national networks to accommodate an “institution in the sporting world.” The competitive bidding for sporting rights in a more fragmented media landscape in the 1990s has made it difficult for the BBC to hold onto its exclusive commentary presence in a number of sporting events.

Competition increases the costs, but at the time of writing, BBC Radio Five Live still dominated radio coverage of British soccer.

News and Public Affairs

There is no doubt that World War II was the catalyst for building substantial audience loyalty for news programs. Prior to 1939 the BBC had to break away from its dependence on the national news agencies and the successful lobbying by newspapers to block radio news broadcasting in the morning and during the day. The BBC had to indulge in independent news-gathering during the General Strike of 1926 because the national newspapers could not be printed. Gradually the BBC acquired "observers" to act as reporters. During the Munich crisis of 1938, the BBC was allowed to run bulletins during the morning and throughout the day.

The crisis of world war enabled news to acquire a social value because it was a source of information. *The Nine O'clock News* in the evening, followed by *War Report*, built up record audience ratings. The BBC's reputation in journalism in Britain has been established around key programs established after the war on the Home Service, which became BBC Radio 4 in 1967. The Radio 4 schedule for news is punctuated by the strength and quality of the *News Briefing* at 6 A.M. followed by the *Today* breakfast program, *The World at One* at lunchtime, *PM* for drivetime, *The Six O'clock News* for evening listeners, *The World Tonight* at ten P.M., and *News at Midnight*, which has become a half-hour program of reports from correspondents and reporters on the day's events. Authority, variety, and quality in radio journalism were further extended when the Radio Five network became BBC Radio Five Live, a dedicated news and sports service, in 1994. Its first controller, Jenny Abramsky, successfully established popularity and reputation for a more rapid response to news events within Britain and abroad. Radio Five Live harnessed the global resources of BBC news gathering through the use of foreign correspondents and news bureaus.

The Week in Westminster was established in November 1929 to meet the expanded franchise of women voters and the first generation of women MPs in Parliament. *From Our Own Correspondent* began in 1955 as a forum for BBC reporters to give more personal firsthand accounts of their experiences of crisis and developing news stories. Alistair Cooke's *Letter From America* is in some respects a permanent *From Our Own Correspondent* despatch from the U.S. *Woman's Hour* has developed a journalistic agenda for women since its inception in 1946. The first edition had a male presenter and contained a talk on *Mother's Midday Meal* and *Putting Your Best Face Forward*. However, with a growing confidence in women's rights and as feminist issues began to take center stage in mainstream media, *Woman's Hour* was able to bring a

range of taboo subjects into the open. The magazine format has been a vehicle for establishing the broadcasting reputations of Jean Metcalfe, Marjorie Anderson, Sue Macgregor, and Jenni Murray.

Vaudeville, Variety, and Light Entertainment

Light entertainment is the BBC's phrase that broadly defines show business, quiz, and entertainment programs. In BBC radio it owed its traditions and much of its early programming to theatrical vaudeville. In the early years the theater industry and vaudeville artists were wary of the new medium, just as they were in the U.S. Sketches, jokes, and routines that could be performed repeatedly on stage would be exhausted in the moment of only one broadcast. The racist stereotyping inherent in the genre of black faced minstrelling transferred to radio through the series *Kentucky Minstrels*, which ran from 1933 to 1950 and was the precursor for the TV *Black and White Minstrel Show*.

Landmarks in BBC radio variety programming have been identified as *In Town Tonight* and *Band Waggon*, featuring comedians Arthur Askey and Richard Murdoch. Between 1938 and 1939 Askey and Murdoch developed the world of an imaginary top floor apartment at Broadcasting House and built comic routines around sound motifs such as the Greenwich Time Signal. During World War II, *ITMA* ("It's That Man Again") became a vehicle for ideological entertainment. The comedian Tommy Handley was a master of ceremonies for an ensemble of surreal characters such as Mrs. Mopp, the cleaning woman with the bottomless bucket, Colonel Chinstrap, Funf the German spy, Ali Oop and others. Mrs Mopp's catchphrase was 'Can I do yer now, Sir?' *ITMA* attracted a peak audience of 15 million listeners a week and each show captured the attention of 40 percent of the population.

The Goon Show, which began airing in May 1951, marked an exquisite extension of radio's potential for surreal comedy. *Round The Horne* written mainly by Barry Took and Marty Feldman and featuring performances by Kenneth Horne and Kenneth Williams, would be an example of a successor to the *Goon Show* tradition. Other postwar light entertainment programs that attracted large followings include *Much Binding In The Marsh*, *The Glums*, *Take it From Here*, *Educating Archie*, *The Navy Lark*, *Beyond Our Ken*, and *Tony Hancock*.

Most of the successful contemporary artists in British television comedy were first established on BBC radio through weekly satire programs such as *Weekending*, which ceased airing in 1997. Chris Morris collaborated with Peter Cook on improvised sequences on BBC Radio 3, co-wrote a series which satirized the clichés and conventions of news coverage on BBC Radio 4, and at the time of writing has established a large following of younger listeners with a surreal ambient world of

dysfunctional characters in the series *Blue Jam*, broadcast on BBC Radio 1 after midnight.

TIM CROOK

See also Archers; Cooke, Alistair; Cooper, Giles; Desert Island Discs; Drama, Worldwide; Goon Show

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British Broadcasting Corporation: BBC World Service

In 2003 the British Broadcasting Corporation World Service broadcast for 24 hours a day in English and for varying periods in 43 other languages. Founded in 1932, it has been known by different names over time. It gained a reputation for integrity during World War II, when it put heart into the peoples of Nazi-occupied Europe. It claims the largest audience of any international broadcaster, with 150 million regular listeners in 2003, and it was described by the United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan (in October 1998) as “perhaps Britain’s greatest gift to the world this century.”

The mission statement of the World Service says that its main aims are “to deliver objective information and reflect the values of a free and democratic society; to help meet the need for education and English-language teaching; and to give access to the best of British culture and entertainment.”

Origins

The origins of the World Service were modest enough. The development of radio in Britain came later than in the United States and took a different form. BBC Director General John Reith was interested in broadcasting as a way of linking the British Empire. Technical developments in shortwave transmission over long distances made this possible in the mid-1920s, but the BBC did not immediately take advantage of

them. This was partly due to the conservatism of its engineers but mainly attributable to disputes over funding. The government was in favor of the idea but not of paying for it. Reith argued at first that the British license payers should not be asked to cover the expense. However, in the financial crisis of 1931, when sacrifices were called for all around, he changed his mind, citing the national interest. A shortwave transmitter was built, and the Empire Service, as it was called, opened on 19 December 1932. A few days later it carried a historic broadcast by King George V, speaking to his empire for the first time:

Through one of the marvels of modern science I am enabled this Christmas Day to speak to all my peoples throughout the empire. . . . I speak now from my home and from my heart to you all, to men and women so cut off by the snows and the deserts or the seas that only voices out of the air can reach them.

In the beginning, the Empire Service had five separate transmissions, each lasting two hours, that were directed to areas of the world where it was evening, peak listening time. In the following years transmissions increased, until by the outbreak of war in 1939 the Empire Service was broadcasting for 18 hours a day.

Much of the output was taken from the domestic BBC service, but there were some specially produced programs, and in 1934 the Empire Service established its own news section. The programs were not universally popular: “flabby and uninspiring” was one description. The BBC had a monopoly at home, but not abroad, and fascist Italy and Germany saw radio as an ideal medium for propaganda, using it in an effective and innovative way. The Nazis concentrated their efforts at first on German immigrants in America, both North and South, hoping to convert them to the cause.

The Italians broadcast mainly in Arabic to the Middle East, where Britain had considerable political and economic interests, including a League of Nations mandate over Palestine. The Italian radio mixed entertainment with tales of alleged British atrocities and such choice items of invective as “The empire of the British is decadent” and “Eden [the Foreign Secretary] is a clown in the hands of the Freemasons.”

The Nazis later turned their attention to the Middle East in similar terms; faced with such a barrage of hostility, the British government considered how best to counter it and determined not to reply in kind but rather to put forth the British view. After toying with the idea of a government radio station based in Cyprus, the government turned in the end to the BBC. Senior executives in the Empire Service were not enthusiastic about broadcasting in foreign languages; they saw it as a form of propaganda, alien to the traditionally objective tone of the BBC.

Reith overcame management objections and extracted conditions from the government. Services in foreign languages would have to be paid for with government funds, and, crucially, the BBC would have to have the same editorial freedom as it did with services for home listeners. Prestige, Reith said, depended on broadcasting that was both truthful and comprehensive, in other words, not leaving out items that might be embarrassing or critical of government policy. On these terms, the BBC began broadcasting in foreign languages, first in Arabic in January 1938, then a few months later in Spanish and Portuguese for Latin America.

Later the same year, the Munich crisis served to increase the number of languages used. At one point, the government decided in a last-minute policy decision to broadcast a speech by Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain in German, Italian, and French translations. The BBC undertook the broadcasts. It is unlikely that the broadcasts were heard by the intended recipients, but from then on, those three languages were added to the list.

Wartime Expansion

By the time Britain and France went to war in September 1939, the BBC had added Afrikaans language broadcasting to try to influence the people of South Africa, and the BBC was

broadcasting in Spanish and Portuguese to Europe as well as Latin America. When the war ended six years later, it was broadcasting in more than 40 languages, ranging from Albanian to Welsh (for Welsh-speaking inhabitants of Patagonia in Argentina).

The broadcasts had been a source of hope and inspiration to millions of people in Nazi-occupied Europe and had actively helped the resistance movement. The Empire Service had acquired a reputation for truth and was acknowledged as the foremost international broadcaster in the world. This reputation did not come easily. From the beginning, the external service followed a policy of not trying to conceal military defeats, on the argument that it would thus be more readily believed when there were victories to report. The course of the war proved the case, but the first three years produced virtually nothing but defeats, and the BBC was accused of lowering morale—“an enemy within the gates,” as Winston Churchill described it once. Europe was occupied from the north of Norway to the south of France, and Hitler’s propaganda machine was able to make use of all the radio stations in this large area.

The BBC responded with a huge expansion of broadcasting abroad, decreed by the government. New transmitters were ordered—some from the United States—and new staff were recruited; personnel numbers went up by more than 500 percent in the first 18 months of the war. To accommodate the extra staff, the BBC rented offices in Bush House, a building in central London erected in the 1920s by Irving T. Bush of New York and dedicated to the friendship of the English-speaking peoples, as an inscription on the top of the building still proclaims. Bush House continued to be used after the war as the headquarters of all BBC services directed abroad.

London at that time was host to a large number of governments in exile, and several of them used BBC facilities to broadcast to their own people. General Charles de Gaulle arrived in June 1940, an obscure junior minister in the French government. After France surrendered, he broadcast to the country’s armed forces, calling on them to continue the fight. At first his words had little effect, but as the war continued his voice became well-known in France; his reputation was founded by radio. Winston Churchill himself spoke in French over the BBC. “*Français, prenez garde, c’est moi, Churchill, qui vous parle !*” [French, be on guard, it is I, Churchill, who speaks to you!] he growled in his distinctive voice, which elderly French people still remembered with emotion decades later.

Much of the wartime work of the BBC went unreported at the time, but one initiative that was widely publicized was the “V for Victory” campaign, which began in 1941. It was the brainchild of the man producing programs for Belgium, who noted that V was the initial letter of *Victoire* in French and *Vrijheid* (freedom) in Flemish, thus encompassing both languages of his country. He encouraged people to chalk the letter

on walls, doors, and other suitable surfaces, and its use spread to other countries. The Morse code for V, three dots and dash, corresponds to the opening notes of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, and this rhythm also became part of the act: people were encouraged to simulate it in ordinary life—a teacher clapping her hands to summon schoolchildren, for example, or customers calling a waiter.

Winston Churchill encouraged the campaign by adopting the V sign with two upraised fingers. But the campaign lasted little more than a year: it was criticized then and later for having risked lives for no obvious end—there was no strategic follow-up. The Nazis adopted it for their own ends by claiming that V stood for victory against Bolshevism and the German word *Viktoria* and by pointing out that Beethoven was German anyway.

More practical methods of encouraging resistance included broadcasting news at dictation speed or by Morse code for the clandestine newspapers that sprang up all over occupied Europe and passing coded messages to resistance groups. These messages gave notice of impending operations, including D day, or the arrival of agents or documents, and they were always repeated. For example, “Le diable jongle avec les âmes, nous disons le diable jongle avec les âmes” [The devil juggles with souls, we say the devil juggles with souls] had a precise meaning for somebody crouched in a cellar with headphones clamped to his ears.

During the war, the BBC also expanded its transmissions outside Europe. The Empire Service vanished to become the General Overseas Service in English. It developed regional offshoots for the Pacific, the Caribbean, and North America. The North American Service began in 1940 when the United States was still neutral, and it was intended to be an important medium for putting forward the British case. Presentation and contents were adapted to meet the requirements of a North American audience. Canadian presenters were hired, and leading British literary and artistic figures were used as speakers.

A new type of program, *Radio Newsreel*, was devised, which consisted of eyewitness accounts by reporters and ordinary men and women, bringing the sounds of war home to the American people. *Radio Newsreel* was later taken up by other parts of the BBC, and it continued in the World Service until the 1990s, when the cinema newsreels from which it took its name were long forgotten.

The Persian Service also began in 1940, and in the following year British troops moved into the country to forestall German expansion. The Shah abdicated, and an excitable journalist claimed that this was the first time a ruler had been toppled by radio. Broadcasting also began to India in both English and Hindi. The programs in English were intended to show that, whatever the evils of British rule, it was preferable

to that of the Nazis. T.S. Eliot, E.M. Forster, and George Orwell (under his real name of Eric Blair) were among the speakers hoping to appeal to the Indian intelligentsia. After much government prodding, transmissions in Japanese were started in 1943. Since the Japanese people were forbidden to own shortwave sets, however, nobody heard them.

Postwar Activities

With the end of the war, the new Labour government decided to continue with broadcasting abroad and put the various language services, which had grown up haphazardly, on a regular footing. The government stipulated that the Foreign Office should determine the languages and the amount of time devoted to each one (and pay for them) but that the BBC should be entirely responsible for the contents. A new director general, Sir William Haley, set out guidelines that have been followed ever since. The External Services, as they were called then, should provide “an accurate, dispassionate and impartial” flow of news, seen through British eyes but international in scope. In matters of international controversy, the official British view would be given due prominence, but opposing foreign views were to be carefully explained, and conflicting opinions with serious backing in Britain itself were to be given due weight.

One of the fruits of peace was the opening of a service in Russian. The BBC had wanted to start such a service in 1941, when Hitler's invasion turned the Soviet Union into an ally, but the Soviet response was that it would be pointless because all private radio sets that could receive the service had been confiscated. After the war, the restriction was removed, and the service began in March 1946. It was intended to express the friendship of the British people for the Russian people after the great victory of 1945, but before long the Cold War changed the nature of the dialogue. Critics in Britain accused the service of “moral compromise and appeasement” in its transmissions—not being tough enough on the Soviets. But Moscow attacked the service in violent terms—as “mad agitators and disruptionists,” for example, and “a crying radio crocodile”—and jammed it from 1949 to 1987, with occasional breaks in periods of détente.

The immediate postwar years were not happy ones for the External Services. Economic problems led to cuts in government spending, particularly during the Korean War of 1950–53. Services in English and other languages were slashed, and some were abolished altogether. Important capital expenditure projects were postponed. At the same time, other countries were increasing their efforts in international broadcasting: the United States, the Soviet Union, and China all overtook the BBC in hours of broadcasting, and Egypt and West Germany were not far behind.

Relations with the government were soured temporarily over the Suez crisis of 1956. President Nasser of Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal. Some months later, Britain and France invaded his country, ostensibly to separate Egyptian and Israeli forces that had attacked across the Sinai desert—a so-called police action. There was an international outcry and vocal opposition in Britain itself, all of which the BBC reported. Prime Minister Anthony Eden felt that since Britain was effectively at war, a radio station financed by the government should not publicize antigovernment sentiments. He talked of taking the BBC over, and there was strong criticism of the corporation in Parliament. However, the crisis was quickly resolved. British and French troops called a cease-fire, and Eden resigned. The BBC argued that if it had failed to report the criticism of the government's action, which was publicized everywhere else, it would have lost all credibility abroad. It has also argued since then that the episode shows its independence of the government.

However, there have been occasions when the World Service has acceded to requests—not orders—from the government. When Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) declared illegal independence in 1965, the government asked the BBC to mount a special program for white Rhodesians to bring home to them their isolation and the consequences of their government's action. A transmitter was set up near the border, but transmissions were jammed, and the few Rhodesians who did hear the program dismissed it as propaganda.

On the eve of the Arab-Israeli war in 1967, the Soviet Union threatened to break off talks with the British Foreign Secretary if the Russian Service went ahead with plans to broadcast excerpts from a book by Stalin's daughter, Svetlana, who had fled to the West. Since the talks had been set up to try to avert the war, the BBC agreed at the highest level to postpone the broadcast. However, the talks proved unsuccessful, the Foreign Secretary returned home, and the broadcast went out 48 hours later.

In 1975, when Idi Amin was in power in Uganda, the World Service postponed a review of a book about him by a British expatriate living in Uganda. This was at the request of the Foreign Office, which said that it would infuriate Amin and so endanger the lives of Britons living there.

New Horizons

After the Suez episode, the BBC expanded its Arabic Service and began broadcasting in African languages—Hausa for West Africa, Swahili and Somali for East Africa. Transmissions in Afrikaans were dropped. This was the prelude to a change in attitudes and priorities in a world that was itself changing. Britain shed most of its remaining colonial possessions in the 1960s. Many of these new nations—in Africa and the Carib-

bean—set up their own radio networks with the help of people seconded from the BBC.

The radio audience was increasing enormously thanks to the invention of the transistor. This tiny device revolutionized radio by making possible small, lightweight portable sets. Before the transistor appeared on the scene in the 1950s, most radios were in Europe and North America. In the 20 or so years after 1956, the number of radios in sub-Saharan Africa grew from under half a million to over 22 million, in China from 1 million to about 50 million, and in India from 1 million to 18 million.

New listeners meant new types of programs. The General Overseas Service was no longer seen as aimed at the expatriate Briton but at anyone who could hear it. It became the World Service in 1965, and the short news program *Home News from Britain* was renamed *News about Britain*. The title of *World Service* was given to all the External Services in 1988.

The BBC was one of a number of Western services broadcasting to the Soviet bloc during the Cold War—collectively known in Russia as “The Voices” and widely listened to. Their efforts clearly helped in bringing about the fall of communism there by showing that a more attractive alternative existed in the West and by reporting events ignored by Soviet official media. The biggest and most popular stations were American: Radio Liberty (for the Soviet Union), Radio Free Europe (for the satellite countries), and Voice of America. The U.S. approach was harder than that of the BBC; the latter adopted a “Give them the facts and let them make up their own minds” attitude, which some Russian exiles, such as Alexander Solzhenitsyn, criticized as “wishy washy.” However, when Solzhenitsyn was expelled from the Soviet Union, the first interview he gave was to a member of the BBC Russian Service whose voice he recognized.

The World Service was singled out for praise by former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev at a press conference on his return to Moscow after an attempted coup against him in 1991. He was told that nobody from the BBC was present. “Never mind,” said Gorbachev with a smile, “The BBC knows everything already.” The breakup of the Soviet Union, with its monolithic structure, created problems in broadcasting terms. For example, with the creation of a separate Ukrainian state, it became necessary to add that language, because the people there could not be expected to listen to programs in Russian any longer. Other languages added since then have included Azeri, Kazakh, and Uzbek for Central Asia.

Similarly, the fragmentation of Yugoslavia meant that Serbo-Croatian was no longer an acceptable language, as it had been since the war; the BBC had to broadcast separately in Serbian and Croatian, and it also added Macedonian. The regimes that succeeded communism in Europe are of variable quality, and not all are wedded to the idea of free expression in

the media; it has remained necessary to continue broadcasts to them. There are still Third World countries, too, with state-controlled media, whose people rely on outside broadcasters such as the BBC to inform them about what is going on inside their own boundaries as well as the rest of the world.

This has often led to complaints from the regimes affected. For example, in the late 1970s, the Shah of Iran, remembering the fate of his father, convinced himself and others that the Persian Service was encouraging revolution by reporting the increasing opposition to his regime. A campaign was launched against the service, with British businessmen, politicians, and others being provided with fake transcripts and encouraged to put pressure on the BBC. There was even a proposal to sabotage the transmitters (in Cyprus and Oman), which was fortunately vetoed by the Shah. Independent investigation showed there was no evidence of bias against the Shah. Reports of opposition were balanced by statements of support for him. The British ambassador at the time, who had been critical of the BBC, agreed years later that its only fault had been telling the people what their own media were concealing.

The government of Burma went so far as to produce a book in 1988 called *A Skyful of Lies*, outlining what it said was the misinformation disseminated by the BBC and the Voice of America. "That the BBC is particularly trying to subvert Burma is especially clear," the book says. The country was run by a military regime that cracked down on any dissent, and the Burmese Service was very popular. In the following year, it received 98,000 letters, the highest number received by any language service; one of the letter writers wrote, "Tuning into the BBC is like sharing a bit of its freedom as our own."

Television and Restructuring

The World Service began television services in 1991. It had been planning the move for several years, but the government refused its request for a subsidy to start the service, and in the end the BBC went ahead on its own. BBC World, as it is now called, is sent by satellite and is received either directly or through cable companies; it is financed by local advertising.

The BBC underwent a restructuring in 1996 that involved the merging of all news and program output in English, whether for domestic or overseas broadcasting. A number of prominent people expressed fears about the continued distinctiveness of the World Service and the link between the foreign language departments and the news operation under these conditions. A campaign, "Save the World Service," was launched with three former managing directors of the service taking part. In the end, a compromise was reached and a number of safeguards put in place. The World Service now commissions programs in English from other departments of the BBC but retains its own newsroom in Bush House, preparing bulletins in English and foreign languages.

Reception Difficulties

Since the earliest days, radio reception has been a constant concern. Direct shortwave broadcasting has limitations: it is overcrowded, it is affected by such uncontrollable phenomena as sunspots, it weakens over long distances, and it is subject to jamming. The Soviet Union, China, Libya, Iraq, and Argentina are among the countries that have jammed BBC transmissions at various times. The original Empire Service sought a solution to reception difficulties by transcribing programs onto discs and mailing them for local rebroadcasting.

However, this method is not suitable for topical material, particularly news. Even before World War II, it was recognized that the signal needed to be boosted by relay stations in various parts of the world. The war held up progress, but the first relay was set up in Tebrau, Malaya, in 1949; it later moved to Singapore. Delays in the provision of funds for capital expenditure, already noted, held up the work, but other relays opened in the 1950s and 1960s in Cyprus, Ascension Island in the Atlantic, and the Omani island of Masirah.

However, the BBC still lagged behind the expansion plans of other international broadcasters. In 1981 a program costing £100 million was undertaken to improve audibility worldwide, although the government insisted that some language services should be closed to help pay for it. Transmitters were modernized, including some in Britain itself that dated from the war, and new relays were opened in, for example, Hong Kong and the Seychelles, and transmissions to them were conveyed by satellite.

Satellites have also made it possible for World Service programs to be broadcast on FM stations throughout the world. The 1990s saw a huge increase in this development, starting with a handful and ending with over 1,000 rebroadcasters. Some are on the air for 24 hours a day, others for only an hour or two. The broadcasts are in English or the local language. In some cases, they involve joint programming with the local broadcaster. The rapid growth of this form of broadcasting now in 130 capital cities all over the world has helped to boost the audience for the World Service.

The World Service first went on-line in 1995, in Polish, followed by English. This has been increased to all 43 languages, with nine of them having an update every 24 hours.

Since the war, the World Service has taught English by radio and then by television as well as audio- and videocassettes. The service began training broadcasters in other parts of the world in 1989 and has since set up a Training Trust, which undertakes training in more than 30 countries, including three schools of broadcast journalism in Eastern Europe.

The World Service has cooperated with the International Red Cross to help reunite refugee families in Rwanda, Burundi, and Kosovo. These programs are in the local languages, Kinyarwanda and Albanian, and are transmitted by

both FM and shortwave. Training and humanitarian activities are funded separately from broadcasting, which continues to be paid for by a government grant. For 2003–04, this amounted to £201 million, to increase to £239 in 2005–06.

ANDREW WALKER

See also Cold War Radio; International Radio Broadcasting; Jamming; Propaganda by Radio; Shortwave Radio; World War II and U.S. Radio

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British Commercial Radio

In the second half of the 1990s, commercial radio was the fastest growing advertising medium in the United Kingdom. Only a quarter of a century earlier, however, commercial radio did not exist, and for its first two decades it had to struggle to convince advertisers and agencies that radio advertising works. The dramatic change in its fortunes was brought about by a happy confluence of events: regulation was substantially relaxed, the number of commercial services rapidly increased, and the industry at last found a way of winning the confidence of the advertising world.

Some countries have had commercial radio systems for as long as they have had radio, but for over half a century the only legitimate radio services in the United Kingdom were those of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), which began sound broadcasting in 1922. Even commercial television in the United Kingdom predated commercial radio by some 18 years. In these facts are found some of the reasons why, when it belatedly arrived in 1973, commercial radio struggled to become established. But the first stations also had other severe handicaps: heavy-handed regulation, high costs, and a repressive music copyright regime.

Origins

During the long period when British radio consisted solely of BBC public service radio, commercial radio was being introduced and developed in some other countries, but others had to wait even longer than the U.K. for the public ownership monopoly to be broken. The BBC monopoly of sound broadcasting might have gone on even longer, but two developments paved the way for the introduction of commercial radio. One was the emergence of the offshore pirate stations in the 1960s, which not only spurred the BBC into creating its first pop music service, Radio 1 (1967), but demonstrated that there was an audience for commercial services. The second development was an increasingly insistent lobby for commercial radio to be introduced.

Commercial television had begun in 1955, regulated by the Independent Television Authority (ITA). After the 1972 Broadcasting Act performed a neat (as the government of the day saw it) double shuffle, the ITA changed one initial and added an embryo “radio division” to become the IBA (Independent Broadcasting Authority). As with commercial television, the

IBA was to be technically “the broadcaster”—building, owning, and operating the transmitters—and the independent radio stations, as they were known, would be holders of franchises to supply program services. Regulation of radio mirrored that of commercial television in many respects: it was detailed, severe, and costly. The commercial television contractors lived with this system because they had what the first Lord Thomson of Fleet once described as “a licence to print money.” But it was to be almost two decades before government accepted that commercial radio needed to be much more lightly regulated than television if it was to prosper.

The first radio franchises were offered in 1972, and the first stations began broadcasting in the autumn of 1973. The first two were in London: Capital Radio, designated a “general entertainment” station, and London Broadcasting (LBC), designated “news and information.” More stations came on the air over the next few months in Glasgow (appropriately on New Year’s Eve), Birmingham, and Manchester, and within a year others in Newcastle, Swansea, Sheffield, and Liverpool brought the total to nine. Over the next three years the system grew to 19 stations, each separately owned and locally funded, for these were the franchise conditions.

Then there was a gap of four years while the government commissioned and then digested the report of a royal commission under the chairmanship of Lord Annan, which looked at the future of all broadcasting. The franchising of commercial radio stations was not resumed until 1980 and then proceeded at the rate of four or five a year until 1985, by which time there were 49 stations.

Independent radio, like independent television 18 years earlier, was conceived as public service broadcasting, to be funded by advertising instead of the license fee that sustains the BBC. Thus many obligations were imposed on the companies that won franchises. They had to produce schedules that offered a wide range of programming designed to appeal to all tastes and age groups. They had to carry a news service approved by the IBA. They had to produce programs on religion and for children. And they had to pay “rentals” for their franchises that averaged 10 percent of their incomes.

Independent radio struggled in its early years. With bright and breezy programming and close identification with the life of the areas they served, independent radio stations soon began winning large numbers of listeners from both the BBC local services (which had begun in 1967) and from the BBC national networks, but they found it very difficult to attract sufficient advertising revenue to meet their substantial costs. In addition to the rentals paid to the IBA, copyright royalties were the highest in the world, averaging 12 to 13 percent, and the IBA (pressured by the Musicians’ Union) insisted that stations spend another 3 percent of their revenue on providing employment for musicians. So no less than 25 percent of a station’s

income was committed before it had paid one employee or met any of the usual costs of running a business.

Remarkably, only one of the early radio companies went bankrupt, Centre Radio (Leicester), which closed in 1983 with debts of more than £1 million, but others were in dire straits. In fact, in the early 1980s managing a commercial radio station in Britain was regarded as being about as secure as managing a soccer team; in the years 1981–83, when there were just over 30 stations, there were 20 changes of managing directors.

Turnaround

In 1984, by which time there were 33 commercial radio companies of which more than half were losing money, the managements of the companies decided that something had to be done. All were members of the Association of Independent Radio Contractors (AIRC; now the Commercial Radio Companies Association), and on 23 June 1984, AIRC called a “council of war.” On that hot summer afternoon, the chairmen and managing directors of all 33 companies locked themselves in a hotel room near Heathrow Airport and made a series of decisions that were to change the whole thrust of radio development in the United Kingdom. In the shorter term—which was of more immediate concern to those companies clinging to existence—they stopped an industry from collapse.

The AIRC made three key decisions: to force the IBA to reduce rentals substantially and to remove some of its more irksome rules; to press the government for revision of the Broadcasting Act; and to commission an independent report demonstrating the scope for deregulating radio. All three initiatives succeeded: within 18 months, the IBA had cut rentals by 35 percent and had dropped many of its most petty rules. Within two years the Home Office (then the government department responsible for broadcasting) was actively reviewing the broadcasting legislation, and the report, by the Economist Informatics Ltd., showed clearly and authoritatively that radio could be largely deregulated.

The reform process is never a swift one. AIRC made its first formal submission to the government on what a new Broadcasting Act should contain in January 1986. The AIRC made another submission in October, and in February 1987, the government published a Green Paper, “Radio: Choices and Opportunities,” which was widely welcomed and contained nearly all the industry’s proposals. However, it was a further three years before new broadcasting legislation was enacted. The delay—caused largely by indecision over structural changes for television—was frustrating for a radio industry that was totally clear about its needs; fortunately, business improved in the late 1980s, and over the four years to 1989, revenue increased by 85 percent.

Then there was another downturn, not because radio had lost its way, but because the general economic situation had deteriorated. Retailing was an inevitable early casualty, and all media soon felt the trickle-down effect. In fact, radio was somewhat better placed to withstand recession than it had been a few years earlier, and although national sales were hit hard in 1990, local revenues held up well for most stations thanks to the success story radio had created in the preceding four years and the increased professionalism of station managements and sales teams.

In parallel with the somewhat slow-moving legislative developments and the financial adventures, much was happening to the radio services during this period. British radio—both the BBC and the commercial sector—had always simulcast, transmitting each service on at least two frequencies, one on medium wave (now more widely known as AM, or amplitude modulation) and one on VHF (FM or frequency modulation). The commercial services had been conceived as FM stations (the BBC already had FM frequencies for all its medium wave services), but in the early 1970s, the bulk of radio listening was still AM, so to give the fledgling services a better chance they were also allocated AM frequencies.

Simulcasting continued until 1988. By then the Green Paper had been published and the government's intention to create many more commercial radio services had been announced. A long-standing excuse for the limited number of radio services in the United Kingdom (as compared, say, to the United States and to most European countries) was shortage of radio spectrum. Under international agreements, Britain was due to get more FM spectrum in the 1990s, but to hasten the government's objective of widening listener choice simulcasting had to go. The then-home secretary, Douglas Hurd, coined the injunction, "Use it or lose it," and said that the commercial radio companies could each effectively become two stations by having separate programming on their AM and FM frequencies—"splitting," as it became known. If they didn't do so, they would run the risk at the next franchise renewal of losing one of them.

Between 1988 and 1990, all the larger stations and a number of the smaller ones began broadcasting two services where previously there had been one. The pattern was fairly general. The station's existing service, perhaps slightly modified to appeal even more to younger listeners, was retained on FM (which by this time was being used by about two-thirds of all listeners), and a new service, broadly labeled "Gold" and aimed at those over age 35, was started on AM. There were one or two exceptions to the general trend: LBC was required by the IBA to stay with speech, although they would have preferred to make one of their services music oriented. Piccadilly (Manchester) put its existing output on AM and sought a yuppie audience on FM (which didn't work and was eventually

abandoned), and Radio City (Liverpool) initially went for a talk service on AM, but within six months the station had dropped it for the Gold music format.

In under two years, "splitting" dramatically increased the number of commercial services, from 60 in 1988 to over 100 in the autumn of 1990. At the same time, several new services were launched. The pattern of development of the first 15 years had been for all new stations to be in "white space"—areas not previously allocated a commercial station—with the object of eventually covering the whole country. In 1988, although it was known that new legislation was on its way that would provide for many more stations, such was the pressure from would-be new broadcasters on ministers that the Home Office asked the IBA, "Is there anything you can do in the meantime?"

The IBA came up with "incremental" contracts—additional franchises within areas that had a commercial service (or perhaps two, if the original station had "split"). The IBA claimed that these incremental contracts would widen listener choice ahead of the new act, because they would be awarded to groups whose programming plans offered services markedly different from those already available.

The IBA eventually offered 26 such franchises. One was never applied for, one was awarded but then surrendered when the winners failed to raise enough cash, one had its license withdrawn, and 23 went on air. For the most part, the incrementals struggled, much as the first stations had 16 years earlier, but for different reasons. The incremental franchises were supposed to bring new blood into the commercial radio business (existing contractors were told they could not apply, and some of the new entrants actually described themselves as "the new wave"), but within a short time the established stations had to come to the rescue with cash injections and management know-how. Many of the new stations struggled, some because they came into existence when the economy was entering a downturn and, others because they underestimated the cost and complexity of launching even a small station. Happily, the majority survived, aided in some cases by refinancing and changes of ownership.

The largest number of incremental franchises was created in London, where there had always been the greatest clamor from entrepreneurs for the chance to broadcast. In 1988 London had just two commercial stations; two years later it had 12, and by 1999 the figure was 23. Although this number may seem small compared with the major U.S. markets, London also receives the three national commercial stations and the five BBC national networks, and it has its own BBC local station. The commercial services now have 61 percent of the total radio audience in the capital, to the BBC's 36 percent.

By the end of February 2003, there were 266 analogue commercial radio services broadcasting in the U.K., comprised

of three national stations, 16 regional stations, and 247 local stations. A majority of these stations also broadcast digitally, and there were also digital-only services.

There was one national digital multiplex (carrying eight radio services) and 41 local digital multiplexes which between them carried over 250 services. All these were licensed by the Radio Authority and were, of course, additional to the BBC's digital services. There were also 78 satellite and 13 cable radio services.

Shares of listening for the survey period ending in December 2002, were: BBC 52.5 percent; commercial 45.5 percent. Commercial's share had been marginally ahead for a time at the end of the 1990s, but BBC Radio has come back strongly in recent years.

Radio Authority

The new legislation, for which the industry had fought so hard and so long, was the 1990 Broadcasting Act, which saw the end of the IBA and the introduction of separate regulators for commercial radio and commercial television. Since 1 January 1991, commercial radio has been the responsibility of the Radio Authority. Although it has had its detractors, the Radio Authority has operated with a minimal level of interference with stations' operations and has steadily created many more opportunities to broadcast. The 1990 act swept away the concept of the regulator as technically the broadcaster; stations now hold licenses instead of franchises and are now responsible for their own transmission arrangements.

New ownership rules were introduced in the 1990 act and modified in the 1996 Broadcasting Act, and these have allowed groups to develop, although there is still a ceiling on the proportion of the industry that any one company can control. This is based on a somewhat complex formula of ownership "points." Every license has a point score that depends on the potential audience, that is, the number of adults in its predicted coverage area. No group can hold licenses that add up to more than 15 percent of the total points in issue at any one time, but of course, as the Radio Authority issues more and more licenses, the total, and the 15 percent ceiling, rises.

Unlike the U.S. system, there is still not the freedom for owners to determine what formats their stations will follow or to change them at will. When a license is awarded, it is for a specific format. Subsequent minor adjustments to the content can be made with the Radio Authority's approval, but total change is not possible.

The major groupings of stations that have emerged in recent years include GWR, which holds 36 local station licenses and also owns the national station Classic FM; EMAP Radio, which owns 18 stations, including market leaders in five major cities; Capital Radio (14 stations); and Scottish Radio Holdings, which among its 15 licenses owns the leading

stations in all the main cities and towns in Scotland and Northern Ireland. There are more than a dozen smaller groups, each owning a handful of stations, of which the most significant is Chrysalis Radio, which owns 6 of the regional stations.

Music copyright—both the level of royalties and the restrictions imposed by the record companies—was a major problem for the industry throughout its first two decades. Even before the first commercial stations came on air toward the end of 1973, the regulator, the IBA (technically the broadcaster) made deals with the Performing Rights Society (PRS; a composers' organization) and Phonographic Performance Limited (PPL; record companies) to which the stations were bound for the first five years. These agreements delivered very high royalties (much higher than the BBC had ever paid) to both PRS and PPL and also allowed the latter to limit stations to playing eight hours of records a day, the infamous "needle-time" restriction.

The moment those first five-year contracts expired, the radio trade association, AIRC, referred both agreements to the Performing Rights Tribunal (now the Copyright Tribunal). There followed no fewer than 15 years of litigation—costing the industry millions of pounds in legal fees—and on-off negotiation before, in 1993, AIRC won a significant victory over the record companies at the Copyright Tribunal and peace broke out. PPL had wanted up to 20 percent of a station's revenue on a sliding scale that would rise with both usage and revenue. The tribunal decision broadly gave PPL a flat rate of 5 percent of a station's net advertising and sponsorship revenue (still high by other countries' standards and, of course, the United States has no such right) and gave the stations the unfettered right to play as many records as they wished. Two years later AIRC struck a deal with PRS at a slightly higher figure.

Of course, with royalties linked to revenue and with the industry expanding so rapidly in the second half of the 1990s, both in terms of number of stations and of revenues earned, the copyright organizations can have no complaints: they have seen their incomes from commercial radio increase spectacularly with no extra effort on their parts.

Digital Radio

After a difficult start and a long period of struggle against restrictive regulation, punitive royalties, and advertiser indifference, commercial radio in the United Kingdom enters the new century as an undoubted success story. However, in the modern world every industry faces new challenges, usually of a technological nature, and radio is no exception. The new challenge is digital radio.

Current transmissions, whether in AM or FM, are analog, and the signals pass through the ether from transmitter to receiver in wave forms that are all too easily affected by topog-

raphy, especially by high buildings in towns and cities. Digital transmissions turn the sounds from the studio into data, which is not subject to such interference and which, when turned back into sound by the receiver, is almost as clear as the sound from a compact disc. Not only this, but digital radio makes much better use of spectrum, with six or more high-quality channels able to be radiated from the one transmitter.

These “advantages” of digital radio have encouraged broadcasters across Europe, and especially the public broadcasters, to develop a single European standard, known as Eureka 147, which all countries have adopted, and to press forward with the building of transmitters and the testing of new program services. All the countries have had to find new blocks of spectrum for digital radio, and there is no overall uniformity: some place it in Band III, and others choose the much higher frequencies of the L-Band. In the United Kingdom, spectrum in the L-Band will not be available until about 2007, and so the limited allocation made so far in Band III means that at present not all local commercial radio services will be able to begin digital transmission even if they wish to. The intention is that once the bulk of radio listeners have switched to digital, the spectrum currently occupied by analog FM services will be released—either for more digital radio or for other uses, such as mobile phones. However, even the most bullish advocates of digital radio accept that such a switch-over is a decade or more away.

A major delaying factor is that new receivers are required to be able to receive digital broadcasts, but unfortunately, the receiver manufacturers have not moved as fast as the broadcasters. They decided that initially they would cater primarily to the more expensive end of the market and produced only receivers for automobiles or hi-fi systems that sold for many hundreds of pounds. As a result of this, public interest in digital radio was slow to develop, but when a cheaper digital tuner, which could be linked to a home PC, became available interest rapidly picked up, and by the end of 2002 portable digital receivers costing around £100 were on sale, but not in huge quantities.

In the United Kingdom, the prime mover into digital radio was the BBC, and by 1999 it had built a digital transmitter network covering 60 percent of the population at a cost of £14 million. Its existing five national networks and several new services, including a sports channel and Parliamentary channel, are being transmitted digitally.

The commercial sector, inevitably, has had to be more cautious, because its revenues are not guaranteed as are those of the public broadcaster, and it has to make profits to satisfy shareholders. For a commercial station to embrace the Eureka 147 system of digital radio, it has to bite the bullet of doubled transmission costs for at least ten years with no immediate prospect of increasing its audience and therefore its revenue.

A national digital network has been launched by the commercial sector—with the largest radio group, GWR, the prime mover—and in 1999 the Radio Authority began offering licenses to run local digital radio systems, but managements are decidedly nervous about the implications of the digital revolution. For example, there was only one application to run the digital multiplex for England’s second city, Birmingham, and that was a combined effort by two of the largest radio groups, Capital and EMAP. However, by the beginning of 2003 there was a national commercial multiplex carrying eight stations, and the Radio Authority had licensed 41 local digital multiplexes carrying over 250 services. The overwhelming majority of digital services, both locally and nationally, are simulcasts of established analogue services.

Digital is unquestionably a bigger advance for radio than the introduction of FM broadcasting in Britain in the 1960s. In addition to vastly improved reception (especially in cars), the Eureka 147 system offers exciting opportunities for the operators to add value to their sound broadcasts with text and to make money from separate and additional data services. But for commercial radio, there are the two major headaches of long-term additional transmission costs and getting listeners to buy new receivers. The digital era will come for radio—as it has for all other forms of electronic communications—and commercial radio stations will eventually be beneficiaries. Only the timing is in doubt at the beginning of the 21st century.

BRIAN WEST

See also Capital Radio; Digital Audio Broadcasting; London Broadcasting Company

Websites

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GWR Group: The UK’s Leading Commercial Radio
Broadcasting Company, <www.gwrgroup.musicradio.com>
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British Disk Jockeys

It would be easy but incorrect to assume that British disc jockeys were essentially pale imitations of a style of radio presenter most often associated with the United States. Certainly, many British disc jockeys—including some of the best known and most enduring in the profession—consciously copied attributes heard from across the Atlantic. Because British commercial radio modeled its programming largely on what had been heard in the United States—promoted by station identification jingles created and recorded in the United States—and played much of the same recorded material, it would be surprising if the people who linked the program material did not also sound similar to those in North America.

Origins

One of the key distinctions between the British and U.S. systems is the dominance—made real by an official monopoly for more than 50 years—of the noncommercial British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). The distinction was made even greater by the strict limits on the amount of play of “commercial gramophone records” imposed by the copyright authorities and the Musicians’ Union—the so-called needletime agreements. For decades, this limited the scope for presentation of true “disc” programs: popular music shows either were all live or contained a mixture of “live” or specially recorded tracks interspersed with occasional gramophone discs. It was the active determination of the BBC’s senior managers not to follow the U.S. style of commercial programming, which, until the mid-1960s, pushed the informal and youth-oriented style of music presentation to the margins. In the pre-World War II era, the main outlet for disc jockey-type programs on the BBC were those that specialized in playing American jazz and blues records (music genres that, like rock and roll some 20 years later, were viewed by the corporation’s hierarchy with deep suspicion and even hostility; some subgenres of music were regarded as entirely beyond the pale—scat singing was officially banned in 1936). When such records were played, they were introduced with typical BBC solemnity by BBC announcers, the best known from this period being Christopher Stone.

On continental Europe, though, unhindered by the BBC’s cultural and stylistic attitudes, a number of entrepreneurs set up commercial radio services in the 1930s targeted at the British audience. Record request programs became established in this period, and some of the programs and stations were very popular indeed, especially on Sundays, when the BBC, reacting to religious sensibilities (not least those of its first director-general, John Reith), broadcast “serious” music and talk programs. Such was the dominance of the BBC’s approach that even the continental commercial stations often pretended that music on discs was being played by live singers and dance band orchestras.

As with so much else of British life, World War II had a major effect on the public’s attitude and forced the Corporation to encompass more record programs—notably *Family Favourites* (which developed from the wartime *Forces’ Favourites*) and the weekday *Housewives’ Choice*. Many of the presenters on the latter were taken from the world of variety or were even recording stars themselves: programs were scrupulously scripted and rehearsed, and the records were played by a team of technical operators and engineers—the concept of the record presenter operating his own “board” was fiercely resisted on the BBC, as it was for the first 30 years or so of the postwar Radio Luxembourg. Therefore, the concept of the “art” and technique of the disc jockey—which is generally thought to include technical competence as well as broadcasting ability and appeal—remained a “foreign” concept in both senses of the word. Nevertheless, it was Radio Luxembourg that again introduced the U.K. audience to rock and roll—the exciting new youth-appeal music from the United States—and presented it in a way that can certainly be identified with the term *disc jockey*.

The most influential and most idiosyncratic disc jockey from the late 1950s to early 1960s era on Luxembourg was Jimmy Savile. Like his rather more conservative colleagues Pete Murray, David Jacobs, and Jimmy Young, he was to find a home on the BBC networks. The latter is thought to have presented the BBC’s first unscripted record show—in 1963.

Another figure who had an enormous influence on the “education” and emerging music tastes of British youth was

Brian Matthew, who, from 1958, presented *Saturday Club*, a program that emerged from *Skiffle Club* and featured a mixture of recorded and live music—notable and regular guests were the Beatles. The show became required listening for a whole generation of young Brits, the first to come of age after postwar austerity. Matthew—who, over 45 years later, continues to present a Saturday show on the Light Programme's successor, Radio 2—had an avuncular style, which provided a comforting context for BBC bosses who, like their predecessors in the 1920s and 1930s, were extremely perturbed by the new musical “fad” from the United States. Another important broadcaster from this period was Jack Jackson, who established a style that has been much imitated—a carefully constructed program linking “pop” records with comedy clips. Jackson provided much of the inspiration for the country's most innovative and admired disc jockey, Kenny Everett.

However, the offshore “pirate” stations—which established Everett and numerous other disc jockeys—were what really exposed British audiences to the true concept of the disc jockey and established the disc jockey as a distinct part of the entertainment business: as a role model, an arbiter of taste, a spokesperson for young people, and a mediator between the music industry and the listener. The good disc jockey, it was recognized, though neither comedian, commentator, nor journalist as such, often utilized the attributes of these to create something unique. The test of this uniqueness was that when a disc jockey was on vacation, the substitute, although playing the same records and broadcasting the same features, nevertheless would sound very different from the usual host. Not only did these presenters operate their own equipment, but they also consciously adopted many of the mannerisms and styles—and even, like Johnnie Walker, Dave Cash, and many others—the names of their counterparts in the United States. Although most of the stations adopted—and to some extent adapted—the Top 40 radio model from America, there were also “beautiful music” stations and, by 1967, the adoption of “underground” rock radio. The best-known and enduring figures of the Top 40 and “progressive rock” styles, both of whom continue to broadcast into the 21st century, are, respectively, Tony Blackburn and John Peel. For a while both broadcast on the same “pirate” station—the enormously successful Radio London, which was backed and programmed by Texans. Blackburn is a particularly interesting example of the disc jockey's art, because, although he has presented programs with very different musical styles—Top 40, soul, “oldies,” jazz, and blues (he has been a consistent champion of soul music and continues to present a weekly soul show for “Jazz FM”)—his style—bright, upbeat, and interlaced with the corny jokes for which he is notorious—has remained virtually unchanged in nearly 40 years of broadcasting. Peel also, after a brief imposed flirtation with an upbeat Top 40 style when he worked in Texas in the early 1960s, has also maintained the

same slow, ironic, and somewhat lugubrious style. Peel is perhaps the great British disc jockey survivor—he is the only disc jockey from the original lineup when the BBC launched its pop and rock network Radio 1 in 1967 who was still broadcasting on the station in 2003.

Opposition to Radio 1's Dominance

If the cult of the disc jockey needed any further entrenchment in the United Kingdom, Radio 1 established the profession in the consciousness of the British public. For over six years after the “pirate” stations were effectively made illegal, in 1967 Radio 1 had a national monopoly, and its disc jockeys became every bit as famous—indeed in many cases more so—than the recording artists they were playing. For the first time in Britain, it became legitimate to aspire to the role of radio disc jockey in its own right, rather than being a disc jockey as an adjunct to a career based in show business or journalism.

A variety of broadcasting styles were heard, from the frantic, fast-talking, wise-cracking Top 40 style to more contemplative and “credible” but still mainstream approaches to the music, with the latter approach perhaps personified by Johnnie Walker, who stayed on the pirate Radio Caroline after the government's new Antipirate legislation came into effect but who, after a brief hiatus, established himself on daytime Radio 1. In 1976, however, frustrated by being forced to play Top 40 “teenybop” music such as the Bay City Rollers, he quit the United Kingdom for the United States and secured a place on San Francisco's KSAN. He returned to the United Kingdom and in the late 1990s began presenting the *Drivetime* show on BBC Radio 2. Walker was also notable for criticizing the attitude of many disc jockeys before and since of regarding the music they play as being an almost irritating irrelevance to their shows—most were more than happy to let their producers decide on their playlists and indeed had no engagement with the music industry and certainly rarely went to live “gigs.” Walker also rejected the desired common career path of many Radio 1 and commercial disc jockeys, who saw their radio work as merely a stepping-stone to the more glamorous and better-paid world of television presenting. Walker, like John Peel, had no such ambitions and indeed found his obligatory appearances on the BBC's hugely popular television chart show *Top of the Pops* to be an embarrassing ordeal.

Commercial Radio DJs

In the mid-1970s local commercial radio, legally established in 1972, sprouted up in conurbations across the United Kingdom, and the disc jockey became a familiar sound and sight to the public—disc jockeys were now accessible as well as famous. The regulatory requirements of the new commercial

system required these disc jockeys to do more than spin discs and spout trivial chat: they had to be able to be part-journalists and community activists as well. The dominance of the standard BBC speech patterns and accent was also undermined by the local stations. Regional accents—and to some extent attitudes—were often not only tolerated but positively encouraged as station managements sought to capitalize on their “localness” in contrast to the seeming remoteness of their national BBC rivals.

A good example of this type of disc jockey—who in fact began his career on his local BBC station in 1970 but moved to the commercial service BRMB a few years later—is Les Ross, who maintains a pronounced Birmingham accent and continues to broadcast in the city in 2003, switching to Saga FM, which targets the over-50 demographic. Ross’ style has remained unchanged in its fundamentals over this 33-year period, yet when exposed to U.S. radio in the mid-1970s, he introduced more scripted gags and produced comedy along with his trademark sharp, ad-libbed wit. In recent years, along with most local commercial FM stations—and again something that has been copied directly from the United States—he has developed a “zoo” format on his show.

The deregulation of British commercial radio led to more diverse music formats: disc jockeys who specialized in particular music genres often were able to break out from the “ghetto” evening slots to which they had been confined on mainstream stations, to niche format services. Nevertheless, one of the main criticisms of British commercial radio—and the disc jockeys who present on it—is the blandness and similarity of stations in both style and content. Many critics have pointed to a “mid-Atlantic” sound that owes nothing to the locality—or even the nation—in which the station is situated. Certainly the vast majority of commercial radio disc jockeys have little or no control over the music they present, which is usually selected using computer software, supervised by a head of music or programme controller, who is sometimes based many miles away.

Career Patterns

The career origins of British disc jockeys have changed significantly. The early disc jockeys were mostly drawn from either an announcing or general entertainment background and, occasionally, from journalism; from the late 1970s an increasingly common background was the club scene, although the approach needed in a noisy discotheque where the audience can be seen and its reactions gauged is clearly very different from that required in the intimate, personal medium of radio, with its invisible audience. An increasingly common source of talent has been children’s television, and many television “youth” programs have a style, structure, and attitude that owe a lot to personality disc jockey programs.

A new phenomenon emerged in the early 1990s that had its echo in the old variety background of disc jockeys: the burgeoning “alternative comedy” scene in Britain (it was sometimes said that comedy was “the new rock and roll”) launched several disc jockeys, especially in the high-profile breakfast shows on big-city stations, as management sought to find something different and marketable for their services. Coupled with this trend has been the development of what might be called the “postmodern/ironic” style of disc jockey, especially on Radio 1 and the larger commercial FM stations: disc jockeys who, like John Peel and Johnnie Walker, eschew the traditional terminally cheerful, positive, showbiz-obsessed, glamorous lifestyle disc jockey and adopt, if not a sullen, then certainly a downbeat and often cynical “real” approach—being a disc jockey now means you can audibly have a “bad day.”

A Male-Dominated Profession

One enduring characteristic of British disc jockeys is that the vast majority continue to be male. Although the situation is now slightly more balanced than it was in the pre-1970s days, when less than a handful of women earned their livings as radio disc jockeys, a survey carried out by the University of Sunderland in 1999 suggested that only 11 percent of disc jockeys in England, Scotland, and Wales were women—and nearly two-fifths of commercial stations had no female disc jockeys. Antiquated attitudes of management formed in the days when women stayed at home and therefore constituted the main daytime audience—and, it was presumed, would on the whole rather listen to a male, with his vicarious seductive approach, than another woman—may also be partly responsible for this disparity.

In her autobiography, Anne Nightingale (who after John Peel has probably presented for more years on Radio 1 than any other disc jockey) describes how the network’s early controllers regarded disc jockeys as “substitute husbands.” Most of the female presenters who have made it to the corporation’s pop and rock network share a common characteristic: they are “ladettes”—that is, they have the same attitudes, style, and approach as their male counterparts. As Anne Nightingale puts it, “I wanted to *be* a DJ, *be* one of them, *be* one of the boys” (emphasis in original). It is certainly the case that many more men than women seek work as radio disc jockeys: audition tapes from men typically outnumber those from women by a factor of at least 25 to 1. The BBC can be fairly praised in this area for allowing two women in succession to host its key breakfast show slot on Radio 1. Zoe Ball (solo from 1998, after a year cohosting with a male disc jockey) and Sara Cox (from 2000) followed a previously unbroken line of male disc jockeys from the start of the station in 1967.

A role model for the aspiring British disc jockey in the new century might be Chris Evans. He began as “gofer” in Manchester’s Piccadilly Radio, went on to BBC local radio and quickly moved over to Radio 1, where he eventually won the coveted breakfast show produced by his own company while simultaneously establishing himself as a major television presenter and producer. After quitting Radio 1, he switched to national commercial rival Virgin Radio, which his company then bought—then sold, at an enormous profit—while Evans continued to present the breakfast show there.

RICHARD RUDIN

See also BBC Local Radio; Capital Radio; Everett, Kenny; London Broadcasting Company; Radio Luxembourg

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British Forces Broadcasting Service

The British Forces Broadcasting Service (BFBS) has its roots in the establishment of the British Forces’ Experimental Service in Algiers, which began broadcasting on 1 January 1944. The first transmitter was a German model captured in Tunisia. By the end of 1944, 74 officers and people of other ranks were divided between five stations, often broadcasting from positions that had been occupied by the retreating German army just a few days previously. In Rome, station B5 even claimed to broadcast the first phone-in request show.

On 10 May 1945—just 48 hours after Germany’s surrender—the words “The British Forces network” (BFN) were heard for the first time, and a studio center—a true radio *station*—was quickly established at the famous Musikhalle in Hamburg. The programs became increasingly sophisticated and varied—the BFN dance orchestra made its debut in May 1946—and original drama productions became a regular feature. Some of the best-known British postwar actors, musicians, scriptwriters, and singers gained their first experience with BFN Hamburg.

In the same period, the All Forces Programme was established in India; the British Pacific Programme broadcast over the transmitter of Radio Australia, which could also be heard in Singapore; and a Forces Broadcasting Service continued to

develop in the Middle East and in several European locations, including Trieste and Austria. By the late 1940s and early 1950s, major stations had been established in Kenya, Malta, Cyprus, Libya, and Gibraltar. In short, the precedent was established that wherever in the world British troops were to be found in any quantity, a Forces radio service would be established to serve them, providing a mixture of vital information, education, morale-boosting entertainment, and a “link with home.”

For millions of civilians “back home,” the existence of BFN was indelibly linked in the mind with Sunday lunchtimes through an enormously popular record request program, which was cohosted by a British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) presenter in London and a BFN announcer in Hamburg (later Cologne) and broadcast simultaneously over both the BBC’s Light Programme and BFN. *Family Favourites* began in October 1945, and at its peak the show had a U.K. audience of some 16 million. The program survived, in slightly varied formats and time slots, until January 1980, by which time direct communications between troops and their families and friends back home had largely become easy and routine. The most famous of the on-air partnerships, from 1949, was between Jean Metcalfe for the BBC and the then Royal Air Force Squadron Leader

Cliff Micheltore, who was to become one of the best-known broadcasters in the United Kingdom. The two met for the first time during Micheltore's visit to London a couple of months after their on-air relationship began, and, much to the fascination of the British public and popular press, this quickly turned into a "radio romance," and the couple married.

In 1953 BFN was forced to give up its AM (mediumwave) frequency of 274 meters—which had been "commandeered" toward the end of the war but which was now reallocated under the Copenhagen Plan—and share the 247-meter frequency with the BBC's Light Programme. Because AM radio waves travel further at night, programming output was reduced to just a couple of hours a day in the winter months so as not to interfere with reception of the BBC's programs in the United Kingdom. The farsighted and technically innovative solution to this problem was to move transmissions to a new waveband and transmission standard. Thus, in February 1956, BFN became the first English-speaking network to move wholly to the very-high-frequency (VHF) band, using frequency modulation (FM) transmission. Two years before this, the main broadcasting studios had moved from Hamburg to a modern studio complex in two renovated villas in a high-class district of Cologne. By this time it was estimated that several million German civilians were tuning in to the BFN.

At the beginning of the 1960s, a standard name for the multiple services across the globe—BFBS—was mandated by headquarters. This period also saw the end of military conscription ("the draft") in the United Kingdom, and, increasingly, broadcasting staff were recruited directly from civilian life in the United Kingdom rather than being "seconded" from their military duties. Throughout the rapidly changing background of both the United Kingdom's military commitments and broadcasting styles in the 1960s and 1970s, BFBS continued to serve its special audience wherever they were stationed. Major locations provided stations with local output, backed by network programming taped at the BFBS London studios that featured some of the best-known U.K. presenters and journalists. Where radio transmissions were impractical—such as at very small military outposts and on board navy ships and submarines—programs were recorded on cassette and posted out for local relay.

In September 1975 the radio network in Germany was augmented by a television service, although it was a further seven years before TV programs could be broadcast "live" from the United Kingdom.

The biggest shake-up of the organization since its inception came about in 1982, when BFBS, which had been a branch of the Ministry of Defence (with U.K. staff treated as civil servants), became part of the new Services Sound and Vision Corporation (SSVC), a self-supporting registered charity formed by a merger between BFBS and the Services Kinema Corporation (SKC). Income is derived from a mixture of grants from

the U.K. government and commercial activities. Any surpluses are donated to welfare support for the armed forces.

With the "peace dividend" following the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s, British troops were massively cut back in West Germany, which had always been the largest BFBS overseas operation. Even before these political and military upheavals, however, it had been decided to move BFBS Germany's main studios from Cologne—which for years had been some distance from the main garrisons—to Herford, supported by a number of smaller contribution and "opt out" studios. The Berlin station closed in 1994 after 33 years of operation, as the World War II Allies withdrew from the formerly divided city, which was once more to be capital of a united Germany. During the Cold War, a substantial and loyal audience—at considerable risk—had listened to the service from behind the Iron Curtain.

Today, two BFBS radio stations and the television service are available to British Forces personnel in Germany, the Balkans, Cyprus, Gibraltar, Brunei, the Falklands, and Belize. Temporary stations were also set up in Afghanistan in 2001 and Kuwait in 2003—the latter also gaining a large and appreciative audience of U.S. service personnel—in response to the U.K.'s military involvement in the conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq. Northern Ireland now also has its own radio service, and in 1999 local radio stations were set up at a number of army garrisons in England, using the old name of BFN. The major overseas BFBS radio services broadcast a mixture of locally originated programming of information and entertainment combined with network programs, both from the BBC and those specially made for a services audience, produced at state-of-the-art digital studios in Buckinghamshire, England, and transmitted by satellite around the clock.

RICHARD RUDIN

See also *Armed Forces Radio Service*

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British Pirate Radio

Operating Without a License

Pirate radio is a phrase used to describe broadcasts from stations operating without government licenses. Offshore commercial stations lacking licenses sought from the mid-1950s through the 1960s to break the British Broadcasting Corporation's (BBC) monopoly of radio broadcasting. Similar pirate stations operated offshore from other nations in Europe and elsewhere. The British pirate stations helped to galvanize change in BBC radio, paving the way for British commercial radio and constituting a milestone in the international spread of commercialized broadcasting, the result of Britain's leadership in world broadcasting during that period.

Factors Leading to Pirate Radio

Four elements were important in the development of the British pirate stations. First was the continued monopoly of domestic British radio by the BBC (though Radio Luxembourg was widely tuned as well), despite the availability of commercial television since 1955. Although commercial radio was not licensed nationally until 1973, the logical disparity between the availability of commercial options for one medium and not the other presented a wedge for proponents of commercial radio.

The second significant factor was the territorial jurisdiction of Britain (and other European nations) at the time, which was defined as ending three miles offshore. A ship anchored just a few miles off the coast was not subject to British laws, and a radio transmitter could be set up in such a ship or on any of a handful of derelict offshore forts without formally contravening the BBC's monopoly.

Third was the ongoing struggle in British broadcasting between the elitists and the popularizers, or—depending on one's viewpoint—the public educators and the crass commercializers. World War II had forced concessions to the musical tastes of enlisted troops in the shape of the General Forces Programme, a BBC service later retitled the Light Programme. However, these concessions were fought every step of the way within the BBC and by other traditionalists, so that by the 1950s the Light Programme was losing the younger, postwar-generation audience.

The grimly staid public atmosphere of the 1950s was the fourth major contributor to the development of pirate stations. This social climate resulted from two wars in which the British had taken a tremendous pounding, from the intervening Depression years of the 1930s, and also from the years of severe austerity that followed World War II. The British people had faced the necessity of sacrifice and had then gone on to

make a virtue of it. For the younger generation, this public culture seemed impossibly stifling. Dramatic signals that a turning point had been reached included *The Goon Show*, the "Angry Young Man" theater and "Northern social realist" cinema of that decade, the victorious Conservative Party's slogan for its third election victory in 1959 ("You never had it so good!"), and the thrilling music of such American rock and roll stars as Bill Haley and the Comets and Elvis Presley. Popular music, and therefore a different kind of radio, were at the heart of the transition. Yet the BBC's agreement with the Musicians' Union considerably limited the needle time for this music.

Pirate Radio Stations

Pirate stations broadcasting principally to other European countries preceded the development of pirate operations directed at British audiences. In 1958 Radio Mercur began broadcasting a few miles off the Danish coast. In 1960 Radio Nord went on the air off the Swedish coast, and in the same year Radio Veronica started transmitting off the Dutch coast. Veronica, which lasted until 1974, began an English-language service in 1961. These ventures broadcast popular music overwhelmingly targeting the youth audience, playing to that generation's growing budget for leisure products and its impatience at older styles of music. Rock and roll music from the United States had great appeal, partly because of its energy and partly because of the images it projected of a consumption-oriented culture with plenty of space for pleasurable activities.

In Britain as elsewhere in Europe, the pirate stations' distinctive programming feature was their use of the U.S. Top 40 format, then quite foreign to European radio. Inevitably there was considerable interest in these stations on the part of U.S. record company executives, who recognized a new avenue for getting their products heard and thus sold. Some of these stations were directly backed by U.S. entrepreneurs such as Gordon McLendon, one of those originally responsible for the Top 40 format. Radio London, one of the major British pirate stations, was backed by Texas automobile dealers and an oil baron. These stations were not exclusively musical outlets, nor did they feature just rock and roll. But rock and roll was the element of their programming that drew the most attention, both from those who loved them and those who were alarmed at their potential to influence the morals of the younger generation.

Ronan O'Rahilly, an Irish citizen and somewhat flamboyant music entrepreneur at home in very smart and trendy Chelsea circles, spearheaded the most prominent of all the British pirate stations, Radio Caroline. Caroline began transmitting in

1964 and was named after President Kennedy's daughter. In Britain, the youthful-looking president had symbolically represented a refreshing new age, and his daughter's name was symptomatic of the fresh tide in British life of which O'Rahilly himself was part. Radio Caroline was emblematic of London's "Swinging Sixties."

Radio Caroline's sponsors quickly established two ship-based stations, Caroline North and Caroline South. Caroline North was more original in its programming, attuned both to the Merseyside (Liverpool) beat then made famous by the Beatles and to new trends in African-American music such as the hits from Motown. Caroline South found itself in increasing financial trouble for a variety of reasons and had to be rescued in 1966 by Tom Lodge, one of the key figures from Caroline North. His most important contribution to the development of British radio and popular music was the establishment of disc jockeys as the pivotal cultural entrepreneurs of the stations, with their musical intuition providing the stations' heartbeat.

The other leading British pirate station of that period was Radio London, also established in 1964. Its format was considerably less freewheeling than Radio Caroline's and served as a model for Radio One, the BBC pop music channel begun by the BBC in July 1967 in direct response to the pirates' popularity (and also due to some internal pressure to develop a more audience-responsive programming policy). Radio London's programming was always much more culturally conservative than Radio Caroline's, and thus it attracted considerably more support from elite circles.

A number of problematic conditions challenged the pirate station developers. The North Sea, where most of the pirate station ships were positioned, is subject to very powerful gales and stormy weather. In a number of cases there was a sharp disparity between the disc jockeys' spartan and dangerous working conditions and the ritzy administration offices in central London. A number of investors saw the pirate station ventures as instant cash cows, with predictable effects on financial policies and stability. They often wildly inflated their audience size. Only about a half-dozen syndicates owned all 21 pirate stations available to British listeners.

Decline

A number of other troubling events shadowed the stations. Harry Featherbee, director and one of the three founders of Radio Invicta in June 1964, drowned in circumstances that

some found suspicious. Radio City, previously Radio Sutch, became the target of a control battle between Reginald Calvert and Oliver Smedley. The former launched a military-style boarding party to repossess his transmitter and was later shot dead in Smedley's home.

These and other factors resulted in a loss of popularity of the pirate stations that enabled the British government to reassert its authority and monopoly of the airwaves. Beginning in August 1966, the Marine Offences Act effectively choked off the pirates' revenue stream by outlawing the use of their channels by British advertisers.

Despite their relatively short term of operation and shadowy dimensions, these rebels against British radio authorities had a lasting impact on British broadcasting and culture. In addition to the change in focus from traditional music to a format that appealed to younger listeners, the language used in music radio changed from a carefully articulated southern English accent and vocabulary to a mid-Atlantic intonation and patter. In Britain, the debate continues (mostly along generational lines) as to whether this change signified the reverse cultural colonization of the United Kingdom or its welcome introduction to the dynamism of U.S.—and especially African-American—popular culture.

British pirate stations continued to operate in the 21st century—mainly urban and carrying ethnic minority content. Such stations appear and disappear rapidly and are difficult to track down. Many operate only on the weekends.

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British Radio Journalism

Changing Styles of Radio News

Radio offered British journalists an opportunity to develop a new genre of journalism to supplement and eventually compete with the traditional press. Reporting opportunities associated with economic, social, and military crises such as the general strike of 1926, Mussolini's invasion of Abyssinia and the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936, the Munich crisis in 1938, World War II (1939–45), the Suez Crisis of 1956, and the Falklands War of 1982 have marked highlights in the development of British radio journalism.

On the other hand, British radio news was slower to evolve than American broadcast journalism. Elegance and journalistic edge through microphone reporting did not emerge so quickly as in the U.S. because of the hostility of the established newspaper media, which successfully lobbied the government to restrict early British radio news to operate as a mere replication of news agency copy. Radio news transmissions were restricted to other than peak listening periods to avoid competition with either morning or evening newspapers. Because it depended on Parliament for its royal charter to be renewed, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) was also limited by its perceived need to avoid political controversy and maintain a neutral stance. The lack of competition between public and private broadcasters (until 1955 for television, and 1973 for radio) may well have been an additional reason for the slow development of radio news.

Given this historical situation, the selection of journalists made in this entry is based primarily on the contributions they made in originating and developing radio journalistic practice. Attention is also paid to the social, cultural, and political impact of their journalism. Evaluation of the importance of an individual radio journalist is partially determined by peer recognition as well as whether his or her work has been seriously analyzed by either academic or professional critics.

Apart from the multi-volume BBC history by Lord Asa Briggs (1961–95), *A Social History of British Broadcasting* by Scannell and Cardiff (1991), and several autobiographies and biographies of major broadcasting figures, there is little published information on the subject. In addition to reporters, editorial figures that advanced the form and content of radio journalism also merit consideration. Apart from significant reporters such as Richard Dimpleby and Audrey Russell, important news editors included R.T. Clark, William Hardcastle, and Isa Benzie. Radio journalism has also been present in some dramatic programs. For example, the 1931 feature *Crisis in Spain* used actors and story-telling techniques. Produced and written by Lance Sieveking and Archie Harding, the

drama was journalistic in both its approach and its impact on political and public opinion.

Founders and Pioneers

Apart from some early experiments sponsored by the *Daily Mail*, the first significant official, licensed news broadcast was broadcast by the then-private British Broadcasting Company on 14 November 1922. Presented by the first director of programs, Arthur Burrows, the bulletin was based on news agency copy and was somewhat self-consciously read twice to give listeners the chance to make notes. Scannell and Cardiff credit Burrows with establishing general BBC principles of taste and editorial policy on the basis of letters he wrote to Reuters that sought to distinguish a different “socio-psychology of reception” on the part of listeners compared with newspaper readers. He argued that BBC news copy from agencies should eliminate those crimes and tragedies that did not have national and international importance. In perhaps the first indication of sensitivity to racial representation, he also held there was no need to mention the Jewish origin of people in the news.

During the British general strike of 1926, the absence of most newspapers led to the broadcasting of news bulletins throughout the day. Some BBC staff began their own independent “newsgathering.” The BBC's managing director, John Reith, helped to establish radio's journalistic role as a newscaster. His was the voice that announced the inception of the strike by interrupting normal programming—and also announced its end. Although Reith believed that the BBC should aspire to be a neutral integrator, in reality BBC coverage was biased on the government side and Reith conceded that the Corporation was “for the government in the crisis.” Cautious judgment in news selection was demonstrated on 12 May 1926 while Reith was reading the 1 P.M. news and Stuart Hibberd crept into the studio with agency tape announcing the end of the strike. On it Reith scribbled, “Get this confirmed from No. 10 [Downing Street].” He also lobbied hard for an end of a statutory BBC ban concerning the broadcast of “matters of controversy.” The BBC had been censored by a minister called the Postmaster General who prevented the broadcasting of matters of political, industrial, or religious controversy. The campaign by Reith succeeded when the ban was suspended in 1928 as an experiment. The policy of leaving this to the discretion of the director-general and the governors eventually became an established convention that made the broadcasting of political news possible.

Although not a journalist by training, Hilda Matheson established a small independent "News Section" in 1927 while she was Head of Talks. She also commissioned a former newspaper journalist, Philip Macer-Wright, to carry out a feasibility study on whether the BBC could become a major provider of news. Macer-Wright's report, produced in 1928, advocated accredited journalistic experts on finance, sports, law, and science. To make an independent BBC news service attractive he also urged human-interest news that was simply and attractively conveyed. He set out the idea of "radio news values" with a consecutive flow of home, overseas, and sports news. He agreed with Matheson that the news needed to be written specifically for listeners' ears as opposed to merely using stories written for newspaper readers.

Crises of the 1930s

Events of the 1930s were significant in the development of news form, content, and style. Reith negotiated the BBC's gradual development of its own independent newsgathering as well as more flexibility in providing a greater number of radio news broadcasts. In so doing, Reith gradually eased the BBC into a position whereby it could readily report both domestic and international news stories. He accomplished this, however, by what today would be regarded as fatally compromising BBC journalistic integrity. If an unemployment march was reported, for example, he would assure the government that only its statements would be broadcast. The concept of journalistic independence and "integrity" had yet to evolve. There was no room for journalism of conviction. News content followed the conventions of the established news agencies. Political events had to represent a balance of mainstream opinion. Journalists who overstepped the mark into editorializing would be criticized and find that their contracts would not be renewed.

By 1933 Vernon Bartlett was operating as the BBC's first foreign correspondent. Following German withdrawal from a League of Nations Disarmament conference, he broadcast an analysis arguing that the German decision flowed from the injustices of the Versailles Treaty. This was condemned as editorializing. As Scannell and Cardiff state, "The BBC quietly dispensed with Bartlett's services, and he was not asked to talk again for several years."

In 1930 John Watt, a producer in the Talks Department, originated the idea of a newsreel program that would include commentary and dramatization of news events. Lionel Fielden produced such a program in 1933. Two years later the first separate News Department was established under the editorship of John Coatman. He recruited such journalists as Kenneth Adam, R.T. Clark, Michael Balkwill, Ralph Murray, Tony Wigan, Richard Dimpleby, Charles Gardner, and David Howarth. R.T. Clark succeeded Coatman in 1937, though on

taking a firm stand against political pressure about how the BBC was covering the Spanish Civil War, he became involved in a row with the director-general, was dismissed, and later reinstated thanks to a successful petition by concerned BBC staff.

Ralph Murray succeeded in covering some key stories in Europe as a BBC correspondent/observer, but the cultural and political shackles of trying to mesh with the government's appeasement policy prevented the developing news service from sending reporters to Abyssinia or Spain, or matching the on-the-spot, dramatic Columbia Broadcasting System coverage of the German *Anschluss* of Austria.

Richard Dimpleby's live and unscripted reports from the French-Spanish border in 1939 were emotionally moving and an indication of progress in style. Although not acknowledged at the time, Dimpleby demonstrated the advantages of combining emotion, verbal pictures, dramatic sound, and authoritative command of spoken English in radio journalism. His enthusiastic letter of application to the BBC, often quoted in media history publications, pays homage to American methods of radio journalism. Likewise, his telephone report from the scene of the Crystal Palace fire in 1936 was markedly superior in style and confidence to the self-conscious and halting performances of other BBC broadcasters.

Several academics have emphasized coverage of the 1938 Munich crisis as a crucial event in BBC radio journalism. There was a relaxation of restrictive rules on bulletin timings plus a series of live remote broadcasts of Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain's statements from Heston airport and Downing Street in an unfolding and developing story. On the other hand, the BBC did not accord equal coverage to critical voices. Its failure to warn the country of the inevitability of war led John Coatman to write a lengthy memorandum, "The BBC and National Defence," which was highly critical of the lack of balance in news coverage and the exclusion of anti-appeasement voices. Coatman wrote: "I say, with a full sense of responsibility and, since I was for over three years Chief News Editor, with a certain authority, that in the past we have not played the part which our duty to the people of this country called us to play. We have, in fact, taken part in a conspiracy of silence." Winston Churchill's eloquent calls for rearmament were heard on U.S. radio networks but not over the BBC. Instead, the BBC presented a solidly governmental slant on events.

World War II

World War II marked another turning point in the development of the technology, style, and importance of radio news. The war saw an acceleration in the use of portable technology, from cumbersome mobile recording vans to "midget" recorders, which were introduced during the D-Day invasion of June 1944.

The pool of BBC radio journalists expanded and a number of individuals developed distinctive styles of vivid broadcasting, including the construction of word pictures in dramatic contexts. They included Frank Gillard, Audrey Russell, Edward Ward, Wynford Vaughan-Thomas, Godfrey Talbot, Colin Wills, Doug Willis, Thomas Cadette, and Patrick Gordon-Walker and correspondents such as Richard Dimbleby recruited just before the war.

A decision by the BBC to provide greater accuracy than German or Italian broadcasters resulted in an increase in audiences for radio journalism programs, such as *War Report*, beyond all previous measurements. The war correspondents became a fundamental link between the home population and service people overseas. The resulting journalism was still primarily patriotic cheerleading. There was rigorous censorship of reporters (at the same time, Audrey Russell challenged—albeit unsuccessfully—male dominance of this field and her inability to report from the front).

Richard Dimbleby's report from the Belsen concentration camp in April 1945 carries historical significance for the poetic and humanistic quality of its writing and performance. He had to challenge an attempt to censor it from editors who feared the report was too shocking and would be disbelieved. Dimbleby threatened resignation. Unlike Edward R. Murrow's famous report on the liberation of the Buchenwald concentration camp, Dimbleby reported that some of the inmates were Jewish and, more than other journalists, made clear the reality of the Nazi's Final Solution against European Jewry.

Postwar News

The postwar period is something of a black hole in BBC programming history and is substantially under-researched. British radio journalism played a significant role in disseminating news of key world events from the late 1940s into the 1970s. As in World War II, some journalists, such as John Nixen during the Palestine Mandate emergency of 1949, paid with their lives. A BBC radio journalist witnessed and reported the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi. James Cameron's and Rene Cutforth's broadcasts during the 1950–53 Korean War were distinctive in their highlighting of the injustice of war and the suffering of civilian noncombatants. Foreign correspondents served both BBC news and current affairs programs, which retained their authority and cultural resonance even with growing competition from television. The BBC's inflexible editorial conservatism gave way to a more relaxed style of using actuality sound and informal language as modern youth culture and counter-culture movements emerged amid postwar prosperity.

The New Zealand-born head of BBC news, Tahu Hole, is held up as a symbol of conservatism and unpopular editorial judgment during the 1950s. He earned his nickname, "Hole

and Perfect," because he had a reputation for maintaining a policy of safety first. In an unflattering profile of Hole, the BBC Foreign Correspondent Leonard Miall said that his reign was characterized by insecure and uncertain news judgment. His fear of making mistakes led to slow and pedestrian bulletins where all items broadcast had to be supported by at least two sources. Under him, some limited progress was made recruiting women. After Audrey Russell became a freelance commentator, the BBC advertised for a trained, experienced female journalist and in 1951 Sally Holloway was selected from among nearly 400 applicants. Briggs evaluates the BBC's radio journalistic coverage of the 1956 Suez crisis as a mark of greater editorial independence and resistance to government pressure.

Postwar Competition

Postwar expansion of television in Britain did not cause a diminution in the resources and output of BBC radio journalism. Continuity of funding and arm's length regulation of the BBC (through its royal charter and a board of governors) may account for the political and cultural stability that has led to a continuity in quality radio journalism through long-running programs. The monopoly of BBC radio until 1973 was financed by a license fee—a compulsory taxation on owning a radio or television receiver. The separate license for radio was abolished in April 1971. Now BBC radio journalism is funded by a share-out from television license fee revenue. For over four decades the government took a diminishing cut from license fee income. Eventually all license fee income went directly to the BBC and payment was enforced through criminal prosecution. Failure to pay fines could lead to imprisonment.

For example, *From Our Own Correspondent*, started in 1955, has given space to a more personal and creative expression of reporter opinions than regular BBC newscasts. A series of published volumes of correspondents' scripts from this program has given this genre of radio a literary textual value, since the scripts can be read by the listeners as a permanent record. Other news programs, such as *The World At One*, *Today*, BBC Radio 4's breakfast news and current affairs program, *P.M.*, *The World Tonight*, and BBC World Service programs such as *News Hour* and *Outlook*, are also examples of longevity and continuity creating influential environments for radio reporting. The *Today* program was originated and editorially pioneered by women journalists including Isa Benzie, Janet Quigley, and Elisabeth Rowley.

Andrew Boyle and William Hardcastle, former editor of the *Daily Mail* newspaper, originated *The World At One* in 1965. Many of the leading broadcast journalists of the last 40 years had associations with this program, including both Margaret Howard and Sue Macgregor.

Some radio journalistic traditions at the BBC are linked to much earlier programs such as *The Week in Westminster*, which began in November 1929 and was launched by producer Marjorie Wace. Other BBC programs are characterized by the individual associated with them, such as Alistair Cooke's long-running and highly popular commentary *Letter from America* (begun in 1946), and Roger Cook's *Checkpoint*, which was a vigorous investigative program championing the victims of swindles and social injustice. Other successful formats supporting investigative radio journalism include *File on Four*, which nurtured the editorial talents of Helen Boaden, who was appointed BBC Radio 4 controller in 2000.

By 1973 the BBC found itself competing with licensed commercial radio for the first time and this generated expansion and experimentation in style, formats, and the number of radio news programs. Despite the realities of market economics, radio news from the United Kingdom's first independent station (LBC in London), as well as the independent radio news agency IRN encouraged the greater use of actuality (on-the-spot sound) on the air and a return to greater reporter spontaneity as had been exemplified by such pioneers as Richard Dimbleby. LBC was inspired by the New York-based all-news station WINS. The more flexible programming response to crises such as the 1982 Falklands War by LBC/IRN journalists prompted the BBC to explore its own presentation of longer radio journalistic formats such as the national network *Radio Five Live* initiated in 1994.

The ITN multimedia group now produces most independent British radio journalism, and a large proportion of ITN broadcasters emerged from the generation of reporters who worked at LBC/IRN during the 1970s and 1980s and were engaged in a lively competition with the BBC. They include Jo Andrews, Jon Snow, Paul Davies, Mark Easton, Julian Rush, Lindsay Taylor, and Simon Israel.

British radio journalism has been slow to represent the changing nature of the communities it serves. Early black and ethnic programming tended to be ghettoized in terms of token programs for blacks and Asians. Only Choice FM and Sunrise in London and the BBC's Asian Network, based in the Midlands, could be said to reflect the diversity and depth of coverage evident in the ethnic press. The craft of radio journalism has been an entry point for iconic figures in British broadcasting such as the ITN newscaster Trevor MacDonald, but at the time of writing, Britain's nonwhite communities were substantially underrepresented in radio news.

British radio journalism is a continuing story without a conclusion. The ability of radio news to spawn individual reporting and writing that has profound cultural resonance is demonstrated by the work of BBC journalist Fergal Keane, whose published volume of foreign correspondent dispatches, *Letter to Daniel*, was an international bestseller. Editorial figures such as Jenny Abramsky have brought about significant

changes in the way British radio journalism is consumed and communicated. Abramsky presided over the launch of the national news and sports channel Radio Five Live, the launch of the global television channel BBC News 24, and as Director of Radio and Music has unraveled the subjugation of radio news from bi-media fusion.

Extensive use of the internet by both the BBC and ITN has extended the social and cultural reach of the radio medium. Digitalization has both accelerated and expanded the transmission of radio news programs. Radio journalists now work in an inter-media environment and are more engaged with their listeners within a global medium that has greater speed and distribution than ever before.

In 2003 the BBC's Head of Radio Jenny Abramsky asserted that "Radio paints pictures, conveys images, gets inside your head, stimulating your imagination. And it takes time to acquire those skills. And great radio reporting uses sound to convey the sense of place." She set about dismantling the bi-media production culture in 2000 because "put simply radio is about painting pictures, television is about shooting them." It can be argued that as a result BBC Radio 4's breakfast news and current affairs *Today* program now has more listeners than any radio format in Greater London. The political and cultural importance of BBC radio journalism was exemplified in 1989 when the new U.S. Ambassador to London Henry Catto was advised: "In the States the most important program you must appear on is on television, in Britain it's on radio."

TIM CROOK

See also British Broadcasting Corporation; Cooke, Alistair; Gillard, Frank; Reith, John C.W.

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Broadcast Education Association

Serving College and University Faculty

The Broadcast Education Association (BEA), located in Washington, D.C., is a U.S. organization for professors, students, and electronic media professionals who prepare college students to learn more about, and possibly enter, the broadcasting, electronic media, and emerging technologies industries when they graduate. By 2000, the BEA had more than 1,450 individual members (professors, students, and professionals), 250 institutional members (colleges and universities), and more than 85 associate members (associations and companies), as well as several important corporate contributors. The BEA is a 501 (c) 3 not-for-profit higher education association and is primarily funded through membership dues, corporate contributions, industry grants, and publications.

Origins

The association traces its lineage back to 1948, when the University Association for Professional Radio Education (UAPRE) was established with members representing ten colleges and

universities. The organization was dissolved in 1955, and a new organization, the Association for Professional Broadcasting Education (APBE), was created. At the APBE's first annual meeting in Chicago in 1956, the organization established the *Journal of Broadcasting*, the first scholarly research periodical about radio and television, which produced its first quarterly issue the following winter. The APBE was established with close ties to the professional broadcasting community through the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB). Membership consisted of academic institutions and NAB member broadcasting stations. The Association's connection to NAB remained very close in the following years. NAB provided an executive secretary, office space, and a substantial yearly cash grant to maintain APBE's operation. The APBE became the Broadcast Education Association in 1973. In 1985 the *Journal of Broadcasting* was renamed the *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*. The BEA has grown over the years and today includes members from all around the world; it publishes two scholarly journals (it added the *Journal of Radio Studies* in 1998), a quarterly membership magazine, *Feedback*,

and issues a variety of student scholarships and holds a vibrant annual national convention.

In its initial years, UAPRE and APBE focused substantially on radio issues and training, just as college and university academic departments did. Published research was largely descriptive and historical, with little focus on the audience and less on research methodology. The emphasis was on educating students for professional careers. The growing focus on television in the 1950s left radio concerns behind. Early annual conventions—well into the 1960s—attracted about 100 faculty and student participants for a day of educational sessions.

As the field matured, so did its research output. NAB and APBE cooperated in a series of annual research grants beginning in 1966. In 1968 the annual convention expanded to two days, and research paper sessions made their appearance, attracting more attendees. By the mid-1970s, articles in the *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media* increasingly reflected more social science research into audience patterns and uses of both radio and television.

The Broadcast Education Association Today

The BEA publishes two respected journals. The *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media* is a quarterly research journal considered to be one of the leading publications in the communication field, with articles about new developments, trends, and research in electronic media. The *Journal of Radio Studies*, officially adopted by BEA in 1998, is published biannually and is the first and only publication exclusively dedicated to industry and academic radio research. Additionally, *Feedback*, a membership publication, appears quarterly with articles on pedagogy and industry analysis and reviews of books and instructional materials.

The Association has a paid staff of two (its first part-time executive secretary, Dr. Harold Niven, began work in 1963; he became a full-time paid president in 1984): an executive director and an assistant to the executive director. BEA is governed by a board of directors comprising mainly electronic media faculty and industry professionals. The BEA holds an annual convention in Las Vegas each spring that spans three days and

is attended by more than 1,000 people. The convention is held in the days immediately preceding the NAB convention, and on the last day there are sessions cosponsored by both BEA and NAB.

The Association is made up of divisions representing various areas of interest to members. The BEA administers scholarships, a new faculty research grant, and a dissertation award. The Distinguished Education Service Award recognizes someone who has made a significant and lasting contribution to the American system of electronic media education by virtue of a singular achievement or through continuing service on behalf of electronic media education.

The Association serves as a repository for information about teaching and research through its website. Among the resources available is the “BEA Syllabus Project,” in which professors can access sample syllabi, course outlines, and textbook choices for a variety of classes in radio, television, and new media. Another popular feature is the website’s listing of academic job openings.

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See also College Radio; Education about Radio; Intercollegiate Broadcasting System; National Association of Educational Broadcasters

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Broadcast Music Incorporated

Broadcast Music Incorporated (BMI) brought competition to the business of music performance rights licensing in the United States. Established in reaction to what was perceived by radio broadcasters as predatory pricing by the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers (ASCAP), BMI gradually rose to parity with ASCAP and its songs now dominate the playlists of most contemporary music formats.

Origins

In the years following the 1923 negotiation of its first broadcast performance rights license, ASCAP demanded higher and higher copyright fees from stations for airing the music the public expected to hear. As ASCAP controlled the performance rights to virtually all songs being played by U.S. radio stations, broadcasters believed that they had no choice but to pay the rates ASCAP demanded. But in 1939, faced with the onset of yet another price increase, the broadcasting industry rebelled. Sidney M. Kaye, a young CBS copyright attorney, designed the blueprint for a new licensing agency to be called Broadcast Music Incorporated. As presented to key radio executives in Chicago in the autumn of 1939, broadcasters would, under Kaye's plan, pledge sums equal to 50 percent of their 1937 ASCAP copyright payments as seed money to launch the new organization. In exchange for these payments, participating broadcasters received non-dividend-paying BMI stock (most of which they or their successor companies still hold). On 14 October 1939, BMI's charter as a nonprofit venture was filed, and the agency's offices opened in New York on 15 February 1940.

ASCAP did not take the new effort seriously and soon announced a 100-percent rate increase for 1941 (which would amount to five to ten percent of a station's advertising revenues). In response, 650 broadcasters signed BMI licenses by the end of the year, with only 200 primarily small stations re-signing with ASCAP. Broadcasters who were anxious about what the loss of ASCAP material would do to their programming were encouraged to buy BMI stock by a BMI pamphlet that observed, "The public selects its favorites from the music which it hears and does not miss what it does not hear." On 1 January 1941, the broadcasters' boycott of ASCAP officially began.

Setting up a new rights agency was one thing; acquiring music for it to license was quite another. BMI began life with only eight songs, all of which had been commissioned specifically for its catalog from non-ASCAP composers. While BMI sought to find and sign nonaffiliated writers, radio stations that had turned in their ASCAP licenses had no music to program except these eight tunes and songs with expired copy-

rights. American radio thus entered the "Jeanie with the Light Brown Hair" era, so named for an incessantly aired public domain tune by 19th-century composer Stephen Foster.

As Foster and folk songs filled the ether, BMI looked for new sources of material to license. The popular works of George Gershwin, Cole Porter, Irving Berlin, and scores of others were all ASCAP-licensed. Music from Britain and the rest of Europe could not be used because foreign composers were members of rights organizations that had signed reciprocal agreements with ASCAP. ASCAP had not entered the South American market in any significant way, however; consequently, the music of Latin America soon came to dominate radio program schedules. The sudden and widespread popularity of sambas, tangos, and rumbas during the early 1940s was thus the result of legal necessity rather than of intrinsic musical merit. Faced with a growing competitive threat from BMI, ASCAP agreed to roll back its rates late in 1941, but it was too late to repair the damage.

ASCAP v. BMI

BMI was now firmly established as a licensing rival. Over the next 15 years, BMI rose to parity with ASCAP principally by signing songwriters that ASCAP had ignored: young mainstream composers rebelling against ASCAP's royalty payout system, which favored more established writers; country-and-western composers from the hinterlands; and later, rock-and-roll songsters who combined black blues and white country stylings into a new, rhythmically pulsating phenomenon. Soon, a number of major publishers such as E.B. Marks and M.M. Cole affiliated with BMI. The organization also advanced seed money to new publishers who agreed to be represented by it. BMI prospered under Kaye, who rose from vice president and general counsel to chairman of the board. He was assisted by Carl Haverlin, a former vice president of the Mutual Broadcasting System who began his BMI career as director of station relations and became its president in 1947.

ASCAP and its select members counterattacked with charges that BMI and the broadcasters were conspiring to promote musical trash. Broadway legend Oscar Hammerstein charged that "BMI songs have been rammed down the public's ears," and other detractors asserted that BMI stood for "Bad Music, Inc." Nevertheless, buoyed by broadcasters' resentment of past ASCAP arrogance and the growing 1950s appeal of the rock-and-roll songwriters whom BMI discovered and nurtured, the new organization came to dominate the radio pop charts.

In 1959 when the payola scandal (illegal payment for record promotion) was fully disclosed, ASCAP sought to make it a BMI issue by maintaining that BMI-dominated

rock-and-roll music would never have become popular without under-the-table bribes. With a few high-profile disk jockey firings and the passage of federal anti-payola legislation, the radio industry weathered the storm and so did BMI. The organization further insulated itself against future attacks on the quality of its catalog by broadening its musical base. Within a few years, BMI had signed affiliation agreements with jazz composers such as Thelonius Monk, folk writers such as Pete Seeger, classical icons such as William Schuman, and Broadway mainstays Sheldon Harnick and Jerry Bock.

BMI Today

Nevertheless, as a primarily broadcaster-owned-and-directed enterprise, BMI remains vulnerable to the undocumented charge that it is more sympathetic to broadcaster interests than to those of its affiliated composers and publishers. BMI's 2002 rates, however, were very close to those assessed by ASCAP: 1.605 percent of adjusted net revenue for stations billing more than \$150,000 and 1.445 percent for stations billing less than that figure. BMI also offers stations both blanket and per-program license options, as does ASCAP, and negotiates with the radio industry through the Radio Music License Committee (RMLC), whose members are appointed by the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB).

Under their BMI license agreements, radio stations periodically fill out BMI logs listing the music played during a given week. Outlets logging at any particular time are selected as part of a sample designed to reflect all sizes, formats, and geographic locales. This sample is then used to project national usage of individual BMI-licensed tunes, with license fee payments accordingly divided among member composers and publishers.

PETER B. ORLIK

See also American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers; Copyright

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Broadcasting Board of Governors

Oversees U.S. International Radio Services

By the early 21st century, more than 100 million listeners, viewers, and internet users around the world tuned to U.S. international broadcasting programs on a weekly basis. Since 1995, the Broadcasting Board of Governors has been the federal entity supervising all these international services. The board developed out of a series of government reorganizations, brought about in part by the end of the Cold War, although listeners to the various radio services probably noticed little change.

Origin

The inception of the Broadcasting Board of Governors came with the International Broadcasting Act (Public Law 103-236),

which President Bill Clinton signed on 30 April 1994. The new law established an International Broadcasting Bureau (IBB) within the U.S. Information Agency (USIA). The IBB was designed to administer the formerly separate Voice of America, Worldnet TV and film services, the Office of Cuba Broadcasting (operating Radio and TV Martí), and a supporting Office of Engineering and Technical Services. The formation of the IBB was intended to generate economic savings through greater administrative efficiency. The same act created a president-appointed Broadcasting Board of Governors (BBG), also within the U.S. Information Agency, to exercise jurisdiction over all U.S. government international broadcasting efforts, radio and television. The BBG held its first organizational meeting in early September 1995.

The BBG was designed to oversee IBB operations (such as appointing its director) as well as to supervise the two separate international radio organizations receiving federal funding: Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL), and the new Radio Free Asia (RFA), authorized in the same legislation. RFE/RL had been supervised by the Board for International Broadcasting (BIB) for the previous two decades. The IBB was dissolved and plans were made to privatize all aspects of both RFE and RL by the turn of the century (though that did not, in the end, take place).

Operations

The final organizational step came three years later (21 October 1998), when President Clinton approved the Foreign Affairs Reform and Restructuring Act (Public Law 105-277), said by many observers to be the single most important legislation affecting U. S. government international broadcasting in nearly a half century. Under its provisions the USIA was dissolved and the BBG became a fully independent federal agency operation on 1 October 1999. The BBG's eight bipartisan members are appointed by the president (and confirmed by the Senate) and the secretary of state serves as a ninth ex officio member. Early in 2002 the BBG created a wholly new radio service to serve the Middle East, Radio Sawa.

The BBG is intended to act as a "firewall" to protect the professional independence and integrity of the several broadcast services from the political process. It is also authorized to evaluate the mission, operation, and quality of each of the broadcasting activities; to allocate funds among the various broadcast services; to ensure compliance with broadcasting standards (especially with regard to news and public affairs); to determine addition and deletion of language services; and to submit annual reports on its activities (and those of the individual broadcast services) to the president and Congress.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Board for International Broadcasting; International Radio Broadcasting; Radio Free Asia; Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty; Radio Martí; Radio Sawa/Middle East Radio Network; Voice of America

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Broadcasting House. *See* **British Broadcasting Corporation: Broadcasting House**

Broadcasting Rating Council. *See* **Media Rating Council**

Brokerage in Radio

Buying and Selling Stations

Radio station brokers specialize in the buying and selling of radio stations, representing one side or the other in such transactions. As more stations change hands each year, especially in recent years, the role of the broker is an increasingly impor-

tant one. Commercial radio station licenses in the United States are issued for a finite period, but after each license term there is an expectation of license renewal. Because the expiration of a radio station's license does not usually correspond to

the timing of a station's sale, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) will readily grant a license transfer from a current licensee to a prospective owner, provided that the prospective owner is an acceptable licensee under the FCC ownership rules. The licensee and the prospective owner must submit a request to the FCC for a license transfer.

The assets associated with a station are sold or transferred to another entity either through a conventional sale or through an exchange of assets commonly called a "swap." Just as is true with the sale of any other business, a variety of external or internal events can cause an owner to consider the sale of a station. Externally, a radio station's geographic market or audience may change in a manner that is incompatible with a particular owner's goals. Internally, the particular financial structure that supports a given station may require that the station be "refinanced" in a manner so comprehensive as to require a sale. Other factors that commonly trigger the decision by a station owner to sell include death and consequent estate issues for shareholders, as well as disagreement among principal owners.

Role of Brokers

Radio station sales can be handled by the owners themselves, their attorneys, accountants, small business brokers, investment banking firms, or specialists such as radio station brokers. As the name implies, radio station brokers are industry-specific agents, and, as such, these brokers specialize in representing buyers or sellers of radio stations. After years of specializing in these kinds of transactions, radio station brokers are often also able to assist their clients in refining the future economic projections for a station's operation. One of a broker's main tasks is to properly guide and manage the expectations of his or her clients. Because station brokers are especially familiar with the radio industry, they can often spot unrealistic economic assumptions made by their clients. When a radio station broker is working for a seller, it is his or her responsibility to coordinate efforts with the station's owner, lawyers, and/or accountants to help ensure a desired economic or strategic result. In those instances when radio station brokers work for buyers, the broker's responsibility is to assist the buying principals and their financial advisers in locating and purchasing radio stations that fit the buyers' criteria.

After a definitive agreement is reached between station buyers and sellers, all radio station license transfers must be approved by the FCC. Radio station brokers will usually encourage owners to obtain legal advice from attorneys who are familiar with the execution and submission of the proper forms required by the FCC. Following correct FCC procedure is imperative, because failure to do so can result in severe fines or even in license revocation by the FCC.

Professional radio station brokers attempt the marketing and sale of radio stations so as to create minimum disruption

to a station's personnel, revenue, and profitability. This challenge can be difficult to meet. In order for a station to benefit from being sold at the highest price, it is in the seller's best interest that the greatest number of potential buyers be approached; however, the larger the number of buyers contacted, the more likely it is that the employees of the station will learn that the station is being offered for sale. This awareness can create unpleasant instability among the station's staff. Similarly, station advertisers may also learn that the station's ownership is expected to change, and, as a result, the advertisers may be inclined to limit or change the plans for their advertising expenditures in a manner adverse to the station's economic well-being. Radio station brokers are paid to navigate this difficult road.

How Sales Are Made

The normal procedure followed by a station owner who anticipates selling his or her station first includes the choice of a radio station broker or others experienced in the selling of businesses similar to radio stations. Most radio station brokers are known to station owners and are listed in various radio industry publications. Once a broker is selected, a fee structure is negotiated. Fee structures vary depending on the nature and anticipated price for the property being sold. Most frequently, brokerage fees range from 6 percent to as low as 1 percent of the sale price. The resulting percentage is related to the size of the transaction, with the larger transactions paying lower percentages to the brokers. The seller should confer with the broker and with various advisers in setting an asking price for the radio station, because a wide array of factors must be considered in the price-setting process. Pricing considerations should include data from comparable sales, past economic performance of the specific assets being sold, and the anticipated future earnings performance for the assets.

Most sellers instruct their brokers to secure assurances of confidentiality from the prospects being approached during the sales process. Such assurances are often contained within a confidentiality agreement that is signed by potential buyers before they are given specific information with respect to a purchase opportunity. Potential buyers are furnished with certain information by the radio station broker about the station being offered for sale, commonly referred to as a "book." The book usually contains general information about the station, economic facts pertaining to the market being served, the station's competition, its audience, and its historical financial performance. The prospective buyer will review the book and based on its information will prepare various financial projections with respect to what the buyer feels the station may earn for its owners over a future period of time. Such future projections are called "pro forma estimates," and each may contain a different set of assumptions with regard to items such as com-

petition, ratings, and revenue. Each buyer typically has his or her own set of pro forma objectives and will measure the relative attractiveness of each acquisition opportunity against these objectives.

Once a buyer becomes relatively comfortable with the material he or she has reviewed, the buyer may seek to enter into a written agreement with the licensee. This document is typically called a "letter of intent." The letter of intent usually sets forth various terms and conditions under which the buyer will proceed. This agreement also sets forth the intent of the buyer with respect to confidentiality, pricing, and timing of the contemplated transaction. The letter of intent typically also includes agreement on the procedure and responsibility for the preparation and negotiation of a definitive purchase and sale agreement to be used in the sale. The letter of intent will frequently provide the buyer with an *exclusive* period of time during which time only this buyer or his or her agents can conduct a thorough investigation of the various factors influencing the station's operation. This period is commonly referred to as the buyer's opportunity to conduct "due diligence." Either at the conclusion of such investigation or at the same time such investigation is progressing, the buyer and seller frequently agree to move cooperatively toward the formulation of a definitive purchase and sale agreement. Sometimes, for various reasons, the seller and buyer eliminate the step that involves a letter of intent and instead move directly to a definitive purchase and sale agreement.

There are a number of factors influencing a buyer's and a seller's decision on whether or not to include a letter of intent in the purchase process. Among the consideration for sellers is whether or not they wish to "encumber" their flexibility in negotiating the sale of the station with other potential buyers during the time a letter of intent is in force. Sellers are also frequently concerned that, notwithstanding an agreement as to confidentiality, word of the possible transaction might "leak" during the period that the station is under a letter of intent. Included in the decision process regarding letters of intent for buyers is whether or not a buyer wishes to expend the money and effort to perform due diligence and to continue contemplating the purchase of a specific station, without any firm rights to actually compel a sale of the station to this particular buyer.

Once a definitive purchase and sale agreement is executed, it is filed for consideration with the FCC. The FCC review process includes an opportunity for the public, the FCC, and other governmental agencies to register any objections to the license transfer. If there are no objections, the FCC will typically render its "preliminary" approval within a generally predictable number of days. Thereafter, there is an additional period of time before the FCC approval automatically becomes a "Final Order." The closing on a station's sale transaction usually

takes place within a reasonably short period of time following issuance of the Final Order.

There are many strategies that drive the desire to purchase or sell a particular radio station. The radio station broker becomes conversant with the client's plans with respect to economic goals. FCC legal limitations on station ownership, as well as Department of Justice considerations with respect to market dominance leading to unfair competition, are among the factors that constrain buying and selling strategies. Informed radio station brokers assist their clients in conceptualizing and implementing their acquisition or exit strategies.

Sales Trends

In the 38 years from 1954 through 1992, FCC files indicate that nearly 20,000 radio stations changed ownership—some of them several times. The volume of radio station sales exploded with passage of the Telecommunications Reform Act of 1996. The sudden heated demand for the ownership of radio station "clusters" occurred simultaneous with an extremely robust public stock market, which provided large amounts of investment capital to those companies that were able to take advantage of an unprecedented opportunity to rapidly amass a large number of radio stations. In the four-year period following passage of the act, ownership of 7,839 radio stations changed hands, with well-capitalized radio companies emerging as highly acquisitive in markets of all sizes. As these clustered acquisitions continued, the single- or two-station owners came under increased competitive pressure. In 1996 nearly 21 percent, or 2,157 stations, changed hands. In 1997 a similar number, 2,250 stations, were sold. In 1998 the number of stations changing hands went down only slightly, to 1,740 stations. Consolidation of radio station ownership extended into even the smaller markets as the beneficial economics of consolidation were clearly established. In 1997 the average station sold for about \$8 million; this price dropped to about \$5 million in 1998, as stations in the smaller markets began to represent more of the sales.

JACK MINKOW

See also Consultants; Licensing; Ownership, Mergers, and Acquisition

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Brown, Himan 1910–

U.S. Radio Producer

Himan Brown directed and produced some of the most memorable dramas in radio history. His opening signatures are classics: the steam train of *Grand Central Station*, the urgent “calling all cars” and sirens of *Dick Tracy*, and the creaking door of *Inner Sanctum* and *CBS Radio Mystery Theater*. The latter sound effect was the first sound to be trademarked. Brown’s longevity in the business is remarkable: his program creation and directing credits span eight decades (1920s–90s), and he has directed more than 30,000 shows.

Brown was born in Brooklyn, New York, in 1910 to poor parents who had immigrated from Odessa (in what is now Ukraine). Brown could not speak English when he started school; he remained fluent in Yiddish throughout his life. He became involved in theater as a teenager, performing at the Brooklyn Jewish Center under the direction of Moss Hart. He also assisted with his father’s dress contracting business throughout his school years, which culminated in a law degree from Brooklyn College in 1931 when he was just 21.

Like many who became successful in the embryonic days of radio, Brown’s chutzpah played a role. In 1927 he convinced the licensee of WRNY at the Roosevelt Hotel to let him read poetry (billed as *Hi Brow Readings*). He then landed an audition at the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), where his Jewish dialect characterizations, honed on the Borscht Circuit and drawn from Milt Gross’ cartoons, resulted in a month-long stint on the network. First, however, he had to secure, through determined, repeated visits, Gross’ permission to use the work.

Gertrude Berg, creator of *The Goldbergs*, heard Brown’s performance and asked for help in selling her concept. He sold the series, first called *The Rise of the Goldbergs*, to NBC and played the part of Jake Goldberg in early episodes. Brown later claimed that Berg pushed him out of the show, abrogating their joint partnership agreement. The experience soured Brown but taught him that his forte was program packaging and sales.

Functioning as an independent packager during an era in which advertising agencies predominated, Brown matched sponsors with program ideas. He acted in, cast, and directed his earliest serials, *Little Italy* and *Bronx Marriage Bureau*, which were seasonal runs for sponsors Blue Coal and Goodman’s Matzos.

Brown began working in the early 1930s with Anne Ashenurst, who, with Frank Hummert—later her husband—produced nearly half of the woman-oriented serials in the mid-1930s. Brown produced and directed the Hummert serials *Marie, the Little French Princess*; *David Harum*; *John’s Other*

Wife; and *Way Down East*. He often directed as many as four productions daily.

Some of Brown’s shows became well known for the premiums they offered. *David Harum* gave away a horse every week during one promotion. Listeners were also asked to suggest names for Harum’s horse; 400,000 suggestions poured in—all attached to sponsor Bab-O’s labels. The program was also notable because it was one of the first in which the main character, rather than the announcer, pitched the product.

Brown gave many talented people their first break in radio: the actress Agnes Morehead, writer Irwin Shaw (who wrote *Dick Tracy* and *The Gumps* for two years), lyricist and composer Frank Loesser, and others.

His works were sometimes criticized for being too sexy (*The Thin Man*), too violent (*Dick Tracy*), or too scary (*Inner Sanctum*). *Inner Sanctum* was especially popular, ranking in the top 20 shows for more than 10 years.

During World War II, he worked with the Office of War Information and the Writers War Board. He integrated conservation and war bond appeals into his programs (such as the children’s pledge to save paper on *Terry and the Pirates*: “Turn in every scrap you can, to lick the Nazis and Japan”) and produced patriotic home-front serials such as *Green Valley, U.S.A.* Before America even entered the war, Brown coproduced a series called *Main Street, U.S.A.* to dramatize the fascist threat.

Brown was blacklisted in *Red Channels* in 1950, along with many notables in the broadcast industry. Years later, he testified in John Henry Faulk’s libel trial that he himself had been pressured to drop a blacklisted cast member.

Brown produced public service films (such as *A Morning for Jimmy* for the Urban League), televised mystery shows (the syndicated *Inner Sanctum Mysteries*), and a handful of movies in the 1950 and 1960s. He also produced several star-studded televised specials called *The Stars Salute* to raise money for the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies. He directed spectacular Hanukkah festivals held in Madison Square Garden for 18 years running, raising \$500 million in bonds for the new nation of Israel.

His signature series, *CBS Radio Mystery Theater*, debuted in 1974. Brown received more than 100,000 letters when he called for early signs of support for the show. Recognized in 1975 with a Peabody Award, the program ran seven days a week for nine years—an amazing record of almost 1,500 original episodes. At its apex, it aired on 350 stations and drew an audience of 5 million—in an era in which radio drama was thought to be extinct.



Himan Brown directing
 Courtesy CBS Photo Archive

In 1977, Brown created the children's program *The General Mills Adventure Theater*, dramas commended by the National Education Association for invigorating student interest in literature. Brown's later works (for example, *Americans All*) dramatized biographies of famous Americans for Voice of America. He donates his time to such projects, and his foundation, the Radio Drama Network, often finances production costs, working in conjunction with universities and groups such as the Freedom Forum.

Brown is a generous philanthropist and an avid art collector. Still going strong at the beginning of the new millennium, he participated in radio drama workshops around the country, directed live dramas, and worked tirelessly to revive radio drama.

PATRICIA JOYNER PRIEST

See also Blacklisting; Faulk, John Henry; Goldbergs; Inner Sanctum Mysteries; Jewish Radio; Red Channels; Stereotypes

Himan Brown. Born in Brooklyn, New York, 21 July 1910. B.A. in Liberal Arts, Brooklyn College, and L.L.B., Brooklyn Law School, jointly awarded in 1931; radio debut in *Hi Brow Readings*, 1927. Recipient: Mystery Writers of America Raven Award for *Inner Sanctum*, 1948; Radio and Television Editors' Director of the Year Award, 1958; American Federation of Television and Radio Artists commendation, Writers Guild Award, Mystery Writers of America Raven Award, and Peabody Award, 1974, for *CBS Radio Mystery Theater*; Public Relations Society of America/New York's Big Apple Award for work on behalf of the United Jewish Appeal/Federation of New York, 1994; inducted into Emerson Radio Hall of Fame, 1988, and Museum of Broadcast Communication's Radio Hall of Fame, 1995; designated American Broadcast Pioneer, 1997.

Radio Series

1927	<i>The Hi Brow Readings; Milt Gross' Nize Baby Readings</i>
1929-34, 1936-45, 1949-50	<i>The Rise of the Goldbergs</i> (later titled <i>The Goldbergs</i>)
1931, 1934-37	<i>The Gumps</i>
1932-34	<i>The Bronx Marriage Bureau</i>
1933-34	<i>Little Italy</i>
1933	<i>Jack Dempsey's Gymnasium</i>
1933-35	<i>Marie, the Little French Princess</i>
1934-35	<i>Peggy's Doctor</i>
1934-39, 1943-48	<i>Dick Tracy</i>
1935-36	<i>Flash Gordon</i>
1935	<i>Captain Tom's Log</i>
1936-37	<i>Way Down East</i>
1936-42	<i>John's Other Wife</i>
1936-51	<i>David Harum</i>
1936-38	<i>Thatcher Colt Mysteries</i>
1937-39, 1941-48	<i>Terry and the Pirates</i>
1937-42, 1944-54	<i>Grand Central Station</i>
1937	<i>Dr. Friendly</i>
1938	<i>Main Street, U.S.A.</i>
1938-48, 1951-52, 1955	<i>Joyce Jordan, Girl Interne</i> (became <i>Joyce Jordan, M.D.</i> , in 1942)
1938-40	<i>Your Family and Mine</i>
1939-40	<i>Hilda Hope, M.D.</i>
1941	<i>City Desk</i>
1941-50	<i>The Adventures of the Thin Man</i>
1941-52	<i>Inner Sanctum Mysteries</i>
1941-49, 1954	<i>Bulldog Drummond</i>
1941-44, 1948-49, 1951	<i>Philip Morris Playhouse</i>
1942-44	<i>Green Valley, U.S.A.</i>
1943-44, 1946, 1950-51	<i>The Adventures of Nero Wolfe</i>
1947	<i>International Airport</i>

- 1949-53 *The Affairs of Peter Salem*
 1951 *The Private Files of Rex Saunders*
 1951-55 *Barrie Craig, Confidential Investigator*
 1955-56, 1959-60 *The NBC Radio Theater (Morning Matinee)*
 1974-82 *CBS Radio Mystery Theater*
 1977-78 *The General Mills Adventure Theater*
 1984 *Americans All*
 1988 *We, the People*
 1990 *A More Perfect Union*
 1998-99 *They Were Giants*
 1999 *They Made Headlines*

Television

Lights Out, 1949-52; *Inner Sanctum Mysteries*, 1954; *His Honor, Homer Bell*, 1955; *The Chevy Mystery Show*, 1960; *The Stars Salute*, 1960-66

Films

That Night, 1957; *The Violators*, 1957

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C

Cable Radio

Cable radio is a program service offered by a cable television system. Usually providing many different talk and music program types, the service is typically offered as an extra feature to television cable subscribers.

Technology

Technically, cable radio is relatively easy to offer. At a cable system head-end, one or more FM antennae are aimed toward stations that can be received by the cable operator. In the past, most such systems used an all-band approach. That is, local stations across the entire FM radio spectrum (88 to 108 MHz) are received, amplified, and carried on the cable system.

To receive cable radio, a signal splitter at the subscriber's location provides a second connection for the FM tuner. Although many systems charge an extra fee for the service (most are low—\$1 or \$2 per month), seldom are security measures taken that would require payment before the cable radio feed could be used.

With the introduction of multiple channels on such premium services as Home Box Office (HBO), cable operators often use cable channel space to carry the stereo audio signal of such services to subscribers' homes. Audio from the satellite is fed to an FM modulator located on a locally unused FM channel. Before availability of television sets that supported stereo audio, such schemes were popular among television fans.

Economics

Just as television superstations developed with a national cable television audience in mind, so have a few radio superstations. Classical station WFMT in Chicago is a notable pioneer in this area. Some cable systems even allow local FM signal origination. This is usually done in conjunction with a nearby college or university. For example, WDBS, a long-time "closed carrier current" station on the campus of the University of Illinois,

(Champaign-Urbana) has a spot on the local cable system. Additionally, such local origination is often carried on the audio carrier of locally originated television channels.

The relative ease of hooking home receivers into cable radio service has discouraged its active promotion by cable systems. Subscribers soon learn that they can hook up their cable through an easily purchased splitter and not have to pay a monthly subscriber fee. A few cable systems attempt to eliminate this theft of services either by trapping the range of frequencies through a filter or by using a cable audio converter to shift the service first to an unused frequency range and then to convert it back once the subscriber pays to rent the necessary equipment.

Policy

As cable delivery grew—from only 70 U.S. communities in 1950 to more than 32,000 communities in 1995—over-the-air broadcasters came to believe that they were being denied potential revenue from cable operators. Provisions of the Communications Act of 1934 require that a station that desires to rebroadcast the signal of another outlet must first obtain permission from the originating station. As amended, the Communications Act now prohibits cable operators (and other multichannel video program distributors) from retransmitting commercial television, low-power television, or radio broadcast signals without first obtaining consent.

In mid-1993, faced with the daunting task under new rules of obtaining permission from every FM station within a 57-mile radius of their receiving antennae, many cable systems curtailed their cable radio offerings. Only the locally originated channels, generally stereo audio for a few premium services, remain on the systems.

In 1982 National Public Radio (NPR) commissioned a study on the future of cable audio as a possible revenue stream to support other NPR operations. The report concluded that the future of cable audio, although bright, would

only be profitable if such services generated revenue for both the cable operator and, of course, NPR. Three models were proposed. The first relied on advertiser support, very much like traditional over-the-air radio stations. Another model suggested that cable operators might be willing to pay for audio services as long as they could sell them as premium services with an appropriate profit margin built in. The model used for public television, where services are supported by corporate sponsorships and individual donations, was also suggested. In the NPR report, an important element for the success of cable audio was the restriction of access to services through secure channels. The report also noted the superior quality of the processed FM signals it proposed to deliver, as compared to the signals of the all-band FM approach. At the time of the NPR report, digital audio, although technically feasible, was not in wide use because it was cost-prohibitive. And, of course, audio streaming on the internet was years into the future.

The Future

Although NPR provided the vision, it took commercial interests and a breakthrough in technology to actually capitalize on the concept of cable audio services. Especially with the introduction of digital, multichannel, CD-quality audio streams such as those in the Digital Music Express (DMX) and Music Choice (formerly Digital Cable Radio) services—services not available over the air—a small but eager audience signed up for service. The set-top digital converter box is similar to that used for pay-per-view video events, and it is addressable. In recent years, American Telephone and Telegraph (AT&T) cable services, among others, have included a variety of such audio services as part of their tier of digitally transmitted services.

Although it appears that some form of cable radio will continue into the future, according to Dwight Brooks, a contributing author to textbooks on broadcast programming, cable operators are skeptical about growth for this medium, citing a figure of only 15 percent penetration among basic cable subscribers for audio services. With proper copyright clearance,

such services are being effectively marketed to business locations to provide background music services.

The internet has the ability to translate the essence of cable radio into a viable service. However, broadband connections are required to achieve similar fidelity, and the introduction of the Digital Millennium Copyright Act (DMCA) has had a chilling effect on internet radio by imposing significant fees for internet transmission of copyrighted material.

A variation on the pay cable radio approach proposed by NPR is now available to consumers via direct satellite connection. The XM Satellite Radio Service and Sirius Satellite Radio Network deliver dozens of channels of audio programming directly to consumers who subscribe to their services and who have purchased a proprietary receiver. Some XM services include commercials; Sirius programming is entirely commercial free and carries a slightly higher subscription fee.

JIM GRUBBS

See also Digital Audio Broadcasting; Digital Satellite Radio; Internet Radio

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Call Letters

WJCU. KCBS. WRR. Unique combinations of alphabetic letters such as these, known as *call letters*, are used to identify individual radio (and television) stations. In addition to when they sign on or off, broadcast stations must give an identification

announcement each hour—near the top of the hour and during a natural break in their programming. Radio stations give an aural identification, usually an announcer voicing the information, but sometimes a station jingle or musical identification.

According to FCC regulations, legal station identification consists of the station's call letters followed by the location of the station. Nothing can be placed between the call letters and the city of license, with the exception of the name of the licensee and/or the station's frequency or channel number. Station identification regulations (Section 73.1201) are found in the *Code of Federal Regulations*, Title 47, Part 73, Subpart H—"Rules Applicable to All Broadcast Stations."

Current policy assigns call letters east of the Mississippi River with a beginning *W* and those west of the Mississippi with a *K*. All modern call signs consist of the appropriate beginning letter plus three additional letters, and they can have a suffix, such as *-AM* or *-FM*, to denote the actual type of radio station. At one time, the FCC would not release objectionable call letter combinations; even the "mild" *SEX* combination was withheld. However, during the deregulatory 1980s, the FCC became less concerned about this and deferred to the courts in disputes regarding call signs that might be objectionable or too similar to another station's.

In the late 1990s the procedures regarding the designation of call letters were altered when the FCC replaced the existing manual system with an on-line system for electronic submission of requests for new or modified call signs. Through the FCC's website (www.fcc.gov), stations can determine the availability of call letters, request specific call letters or modify an existing call sign, and determine and submit the appropriate fees.

Historical Origins

The concept of radio station identification has its roots in the maritime industry, for which an International Code of Signals noted in the 1850s that signal flags, which included letters, were to be used to identify vessels. As radio, or rather wireless, developed in the late 1890s and early 1900s, telegraph operators used informal, one- or two-letter call signs as a condensed way to identify their stations. The 1906 Berlin International Wireless Telegraph Convention attempted to formalize a system of three-letter call signs, but at the time there was little cooperation. Individual wireless operators or wireless companies merely chose their own identification, which often consisted of one or two letters or a combination of letters and numbers with little consideration for duplicate calls.

The 1912 London International Radiotelegraphic Convention continued to formalize a system of station identification that was the beginning of the *K* and *W* series assigned to U.S. ships; other letters were assigned to vessels from other nations. The Radio Act of 1912 gave responsibility for licensing of U.S. ships and shore radio stations to the Bureau of Navigation in the Department of Commerce. Call signs were designated as a three-letter random sequence, with *K* calls for the west and *W* calls for the east. What would become early "radio stations"

actually fell under the status of Amateur and Special Land Stations, which had a different call-sign system. Nine Radio Inspection Districts were established, and call letters were assigned with the District Number plus two alphabetic letters, such as 6XE, 9XM, or 8MK.

As more and more stations went on the air, the international agreements of 1912 were employed for all stations, and many pioneer radio stations were assigned three-letter *K* or *W* call letters. The dividing line for *K* and *W* stations was originally the eastern state boundaries of New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming, and Montana; however, this was moved to the Mississippi River in early 1923. Existing stations were allowed to keep their previously assigned call letters. Because of this change and a few quirky assignments, some pioneer stations do not follow the current *K/W* demarcation, notably KDKA in Pittsburgh, KYW in Philadelphia, and WOW in Omaha. The move to four-letter call signs took place in the early 1920s as the number of radio stations coming on the air escalated rapidly and additional call letters were needed.

Call Letters Used to Promote Station Image

Although early call letter combinations were merely random assignments, many modern call signs have been carefully chosen and have a specific context for the particular station. In fact, many stations trademark their call signs. In addition to being the legal identification for a radio station, call letters have become an important artistic or imaging statement used to help market the station. From WAAA (Winston-Salem, North Carolina) to KZZZ (Bullhead City, Arizona), stations have tried to dream up memorable call signs. Even a casual examination of radio call letters will reveal several categories that these station identifiers fall into.

Many stations use their call letters to recognize a current or past station owner or licensee. KABC (Los Angeles) and WCBS (New York) denote the network organization associated with each station. Chicago's WGN stands for "World's Greatest Newspaper," which in turn refers to *The Chicago Tribune* and the station owner, the Tribune Company. KLBJ (AM) and (FM) licensee, The LBJ's Broadcasting Company in Austin, Texas, recognizes owner and former first lady Lady Bird Johnson.

Besides the station licensee, a station's format offers a logical reason to request a certain set of call letters. For example, WINS (New York) stands for the basic programming elements of "information, news, and sports." Just as WJZZ (Roswell, Georgia; Smooth Jazz) and WHZ (Newark, New Jersey; Top 40/Hits) readily describe music formats, WFAN (New York) is the monogram for an all-sports station. WGOD (Charlotte Amalie, Virgin Islands) makes it pretty clear it's a religious station; however, you need to know that WBFC (Stanton, Kentucky) stands for "We Broadcast For Christ." And if you really

just don't want to bother with a format description, you could be like WGR (Buffalo, New York) and be the "World's Greatest Radio" station.

From dogs (WDOG, Allendale, South Carolina) and cats (KCAT, Pine Bluff, Arkansas) to frogs (WFRG, Utica, New York) and pigs (KPIG, Freedom, California), station call letters that denote animals are quite common. Even less ordinary beasts make an appearance with WFOX (Gainesville, Georgia); Chandler, Arizona's camel, KMLE; and KEGL, the Eagle, in Fort Worth, Texas. Animal-based call signs are not only memorable, but they make it easy for the station to add an appropriate mascot to their marketing efforts. Even the lowly WORM (Savannah, Tennessee) is accounted for, and the human species isn't left out either, with KMAN (Manhattan, Kansas); KBOY (Medford, Oregon), and WGRL (Noblesville, Indiana).

A station's location—either its city of license or its frequency—has been a prevalent theme for clever call letters. WARE—found in Ware, Massachusetts—is the only current set of call letters that is exactly the same as the city of license. For a number of years WACO in Waco, Texas, was another, but radio station WACO is now KKTK (although there is still a WACO-FM in Waco). Stations in cities of more than four letters have had to settle for using just the first few letters, so we find WPRO in Providence, Rhode Island; WORC in Worcester, Massachusetts; KSTP in St. Paul, Minnesota; and KSL in Salt Lake City, Utah. AM stations using frequency-based call signs, especially at the upper end of the band, include WTOP (Washington, D.C.) near the "top" of the dial at 1500 and WXVI in Montgomery, Alabama, at 1600. KIOI (San Francisco) is found at 101.3 FM, and near the end of the FM band at 106.5 is KEND in Roswell, New Mexico.

Many radio stations request call letters that help define a characteristic of the locale where the station is found. Pioneer station WSB in Atlanta stands for "Welcome South, Brother." KABL refers to San Francisco's cable car; KSPD to Boise, Idaho's potato or "spud"; and in what better market than Detroit would you find station WCAR? Cow country territory gives us KATL (Miles City, Montana), WCOW (Sparta, Wisconsin), and KMOO (Mineola, Texas). You could also do a

weather forecast with call signs—from WSUN (Tampa, Florida) and WSNO (Barre, Vermont) to KICY (Nome, Alaska) and KFOG (San Francisco). There's also WWET (Valdosta, Georgia), KDRY (Alamo Heights, Texas), and WIND (Chicago).

Finally, there is another group of call signs that are colorful because the sound or spelling of the letter combination is memorable. For example, there is a WHAK (Rogers City, Michigan), a WHAM (Rochester, New York), and a WOMP (Bellare, Ohio), as well as a KRAK (Hesperia, California), a KICK (Palmyra, Missouri), and a KPOW (Powell Wyoming). Broadcast journalists will be pleased to learn there is a WHO (Des Moines, Iowa), a WHAT (Philadelphia), a WHEN (Syracuse, New York), a WHER (Heidelberg, Mississippi), and a WHYY (Philadelphia).

Maybe all this call letter image information is making you think WOW (Omaha) and WVEE (McMinnville, Tennessee), but there are many more creative call signs yet to be devised. With a K or W combined with three other alphabetic letters, there are over 35,000 unique call letter combinations possible, which is almost three times as many as there are current radio stations.

DAVID E. REESE

See also Frequency Allocation; Licensing

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Can You Top This?

U.S. Comedy Panel Program

Perhaps not believable in an era of fast-changing television program tastes, this simple half-hour (15 minutes in its final NBC season) panel program of three men telling jokes lasted nearly 15 years on network radio. The title came from the attempts of the joke tellers to “top” the previous joke and get a louder measured laugh from a studio audience.

Known as the “Knights of the Clown Table,” the program’s three starring personalities all shared great joke-telling memories and abilities. Ed Ford had been given the title of “Senator” at a political gathering some years previous (Ford also produced and owned the program); Harry Hershfield was already a well-known cartoonist and after-dinner speaker; and Joe Laurie, Jr., had knocked around vaudeville and other jobs before eventually migrating to radio. Ford was said to be the hardest man to get to crack a smile. Radio program authority John Dunning reports that between the three of them, they probably knew something like 15,000 jokes. And all three (plus joke teller Peter Donald) could and did employ a variety of funny dialects and odd-ball characters.

And indeed, the program did not thrive on originality; many of the jokes used were old. To tie the program to its listeners, the audience was encouraged to send in their best jokes (for which they received \$10 for each one used on the air) to be told on the air by joke teller Peter Donald. These were followed by the panelists telling their own jokes in the same vein. Audience applause was judged on a score of from one to a thousand by a “laugh/applause meter” displayed so the panel and studio audience could see it. The joke getting the loudest response (the most decibels on the meter) won. Listeners could win up to \$25 if their joke was not successfully topped by the panel.

The series later transferred to television, for five months on ABC (1950–51) and then as a syndicated series two decades

later, hosted by Wink Martindale and later Dennis James. The radio series was inducted into the Radio Hall of Fame in 1989.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Comedy; Radio Hall of Fame

Cast

Jokesters	“Senator” Ed Ford, Harry Hershfield, Joe Laurie, Jr.
Host	Ward Wilson
Joke-Teller	Peter Donald
Announcer	Charles Stark

Programming History

WOR, New York	1940–1945
NBC	1942–48
Mutual	1948–50
ABC	1950–51
NBC	1953–54

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Canada

Canadian radio history offers a case study of the development of a communications medium in a country with a very large territory but a relatively small (and linguistically divided) population. That the Canadian federal government has always been interested in fostering the growth of a technology with

such potential to draw Canadians together is not surprising. But the question of how best to accomplish that goal has been constantly debated, particularly given the enormous challenge posed by Canada’s contiguity to the United States, a world leader in broadcasting from the earliest days. The history of

Canadian radio is the story of the creation of a mixed public/private system mandated to fulfill certain national goals, constantly struggling against both economic and social forces favoring continentalism.

Early Growth and Regulation

As in other countries, wireless telegraphy and telephony (radio) developed in Canada in the early 20th century as an experimental technology for ship-to-shore and other point-to-point communications. Guglielmo Marconi's first wireless transmission across the Atlantic Ocean was received in St. John's, Newfoundland, in late 1901. The first broadcast of music by wireless was originated by Canadian-born Reginald Fessenden, an employee of the National Electric Signalling Company, from Brant Rock, Massachusetts, in December 1906. As these milestones indicate, the evolution of radio in Canada was part of an international undertaking, instituted mainly by electrical companies, that progressed rapidly in the first two decades of the 20th century. By the beginning of World War I, there were also in Canada, as in other countries, a number of amateurs ("hams"), mainly boys and young men, experimenting with home-built crystal sets and transmitters. During the war, the technology was further developed for military purposes, and many soldiers and aviators, in Canada as elsewhere, learned how to use radio equipment.

The first broadcast in Canada, on 20 May 1920, was an experiment conducted by the Marconi Company of Canada, sending a concert by a soprano soloist from the company's Montreal laboratory to a listening audience of distinguished members of the Royal Society of Canada over 100 miles away in Ottawa. Subsequently, Marconi engineers demonstrated their equipment at exhibitions and trade shows, and by the winter of 1920–21, the company was broadcasting two hours a week of musical programming under their experimental license XWA (later CFCF) Montreal. As interest mounted and other companies began marketing their radio equipment this way, more experimental licenses were issued, until in April 1922 the federal government began licensing stations dedicated specifically to private commercial broadcasting.

Canadian radio was regulated from 1905 by the Radio Branch of the Department of Marine and Fisheries, for reasons of national security and to prevent interference between transmitters. Once broadcasting began, the Branch's policy was to encourage private enterprises to build radio stations, in the belief that this was the only way to provide service quickly to Canada's large territory and scattered population. Moreover, as in the United States, other predecessor technologies such as the telegraph, telephone, and undersea cable systems were privately owned. Canada thus opted for competition in radio development, choosing not to follow the British model of monopoly.

About 80 radio stations were set up in Canada in the 1920s, mainly by electrical companies, newspapers, and retailers. Most of the stations were small and struggled to survive on the still-meager income from advertising (which was allowed after 1923). Two national networks created in the late 1920s, one operated by the government-owned Canadian National Railways and the other privately owned (the Trans-Canada Broadcasting Company), also struggled to make a go of providing service to such a far-flung territory.

The financial difficulties of the early broadcasters were exacerbated by the fact that Canada lacked large electrical manufacturing companies; its electrical industry since the late 19th century had largely been a branch-plant operation of American firms. Companies such as General Electric and Westinghouse set up factories in Canada to circumvent Canadian tariff walls, but they did not set up radio stations because Canadians could hear their powerful flagship stations in the northern United States. As Canadian listeners became more demanding of high-quality programming (partly because of their familiarity with American offerings), Canadian stations fell further behind in their ability to offer comparable service profitably.

By 1931 approximately one in three Canadian homes had radio receivers. Radio ownership tended to cluster in cities and in the more prosperous areas. The largely French-speaking province of Quebec lagged in radio ownership, partly because of poverty but more importantly because there were few French-language stations of quality (the exception being CKAC Montreal, owned by *La Presse* newspaper). Although musical programs from English-language and American stations held some appeal, the reluctance of the Quebecois to purchase radios is understandable from this perspective.

Like broadcasting stations, radio receivers were also licensed by the Radio Branch. Owners were required to purchase a license annually, the cost of which ranged from \$1 in the early years to \$2.50 in the 1940s. This policy, instituted to enable officials to track down sets causing interference, also provided the Radio Branch with most of its income. Many radio owners evaded paying the license fee, however, complaining that it was unfair that they had to pay this tariff when their American neighbors got their radio "free."

Creating a Public Broadcasting Body

By 1930 four Canadian stations had become affiliates of the U.S. networks, because affiliation provided them with popular programs that attracted lucrative advertising. This situation raised alarm bells in some nationalist cultural and political circles in Canada. Although Canadians have for the most part accepted the liberal and free-speech assumptions on which private-enterprise media ownership is based, by the end of the 1920s the case of radio began to be considered unique. Not

only did radio penetrate into homes, but its coverage, simultaneity, and emotional impact offered important opportunities for nation building.

The worries of the English-Canadian cultural nationalists were given an airing when in 1928 the Liberal government of Mackenzie King set up a Royal Commission on Broadcasting headed by retired banker Sir John Aird. Although the origins of the Commission lay in a controversy over the nonrenewal of the licenses of some religious stations owned by the Jehovah's Witnesses, its deliberations opened up for the public the debate about the "Canadianness" of radio. The Aird Commission's principal recommendation was that *all* broadcasting stations in Canada should come under the ownership of the federal government. This idea of course met with opposition from many of the private station owners, but they did admit to wanting the government to subsidize their operations, either by supplying them with programs or by financing network hookups.

Although the recommendations of many Canadian Royal Commissions languish unfulfilled, in this case intense lobbying by a group of cultural activists called the Canadian Radio League kept the issue of public radio alive. The two young leaders of the Radio League, Alan Plaunt and Graham Spry, organized individuals and voluntary associations across the country to support the concept of a Canadian radio network that would be national, noncommercial, and public service-oriented. In Spry's famous phrase, Canada's choice lay between "the State and the United States." Finally, in 1932 the government of Conservative Prime Minister R.B. Bennett acceded to the argument that Canadian radio must not be allowed to fall into American hands, as it was likely to do if it remained underfinanced by Canadian private enterprise. The Bennett government passed the Radio Broadcasting Act establishing the government-owned Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission (CRBC) in May 1932. The Act was a compromise: although the CRBC was to be the government broadcasting body, it would not be a monopoly. Private stations would continue to exist, at least in the medium term. Nor would the CRBC be completely noncommercial; to supplement its income and provide outlets for Canadian businesses, a certain amount of advertising was allowed on local CRBC stations.

The CRBC had two main functions. First, it was a network (the *only* national network) financed by the fees collected from radio owners, providing programming in both English and French and network connections for a few government-owned and many affiliated private stations from coast to coast. (Affiliated stations either reserved some of their time for CRBC programs or aired them on a discretionary ad hoc basis. This arrangement provided inexpensive programming for needy private stations and coverage for the CRBC.) Second, the CRBC became the regulatory body for all Canadian broadcasters.

In its brief existence, the CRBC ran into many organizational, financial, and political problems. But it was successful enough in regulating and enhancing the national distribution of Canadian programming that in 1936, rather than killing it, the newly elected Liberal government of Mackenzie King replaced it with a structurally sounder successor, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). The CBC remains Canada's public broadcaster, still operating alongside a strong private sector.

Although Canadian radio began exclusively in the private sector, the system set up in 1932, which continues to this day, is a mixed public/private one. Through the affiliate system, the public and private elements have been intertwined and interdependent. They have also, inevitably perhaps, been competitors, both for advertising dollars and for audiences.

The Balance Shifts

Just before World War II, an internal reorganization of the CBC separated the French and English language services, and the *Société Radio-Canada* grew alongside the English language network, providing significant indigenous French-language programming to Quebec and, to some extent, to French speakers outside Quebec. During the war, both the CBC and the private broadcasters came into their own, and receiving set ownership became almost universal. The CBC established a news service in 1941 that played a very important role in informing Canadians about the war effort; the CBC also established many successful and celebrated talks, drama, and musical programs. Network advertising time on the CBC (about 15 percent of its income came from advertising) was in such demand that the Corporation set up a second national English-language network in 1944.

Meanwhile, as advertising income enriched the private broadcasters, especially in large cities such as Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver, they became more aggressive in seeking increases in power and better frequencies and began to challenge the CBC's dual role as their competitor and regulator. By 1948 total operating revenues of the private stations were twice those of the CBC. As of 1956 there were 20 CBC-owned and -operated stations in Canada, almost 100 privately owned stations affiliated with the CBC, and another 70 private independent (nonaffiliated) stations, the latter group including some of the wealthiest and most powerful stations in the country.

In 1949 the federal government appointed a Royal Commission (known as the Massey Commission after its chairman, Vincent Massey) to examine the state of Canadian cultural and intellectual life. Broadcasting was one of the Commission's major focuses, especially given the imminent arrival of television. The commissioners concluded that the CBC played an essential role in Canadian society, that it

needed greater financial support, and that it should be given priority jurisdiction over the development of television in Canada. However, the 1950s brought changes that in the end moved Canadian broadcasting in almost the opposite direction. The Conservative government that was elected in the late 1950s, much less sympathetic to the CBC than previous Liberal administrations had been, acceded to various long-standing demands of the private broadcasters, most importantly the ending of the CBC's regulatory authority in favor of an independent body, first the Board of Broadcast Governors and now the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC). The "balance" built into the mixed broadcasting system in the early 1930s, a balance that gave predominance to the CBC, began to shift toward the private broadcasters, and the CBC gradually became a smaller player in the system. Today CBC radio attracts only 10 percent of the listening audience.

During the 1950s, as television wooed away sponsors and programs, all of Canadian radio changed dramatically. As in the United States, the principal dramas, comedies, and variety shows moved to television, and radio quickly lost much of its evening audience. Radio stations changed their formats, first to music and then in some cases to talk, with prime time becoming the drive times in the morning and late afternoon.

Historically, both private and public radio in Canada have aired a mixture of Canadian and American material. Responding to listener demand, popular American shows such as *Fibber McGee and Molly* were picked up from the U.S. networks and broadcast across Canada on the CBC national network in the late 1930s and 1940s. Much of the popular music on Canadian stations has been American, although content rules introduced in the 1970s have increased the percentage of Canadian music. Today, a growing amount of other kinds of American content is heard on Canadian private radio, especially syndicated talk shows. CBC radio's content is, on the other hand, mostly Canadian in origin.

In the early 1950s the government decided to cancel the unpopular receiving-license fee, partly because enforcement for television set owners was deemed too difficult. The early years of television development by the CBC were financed by a special tax on the purchase of TV sets, but subsequently the CBC has been dependent on annual parliamentary grants supplemented by advertising income from the TV network (CBC radio has been commercial-free since 1975). This dependence has made the public broadcaster peculiarly vulnerable to political criticism and to the effects of budgetary ups and downs. In the 1990s the budget for the radio service of the CBC and *Radio-Canada* has been slashed dramatically.

Meanwhile, private radio stations, especially AM stations, have been exposed to economic fluctuations as well. The competition for advertising dollars has been intense, and many stations have experimented with innumerable format changes in

desperate survival ploys. In the late 1990s the CRTC eased some ownership and advertising rules and allowed more private station networks in order to enable private stations to regain their profitability.

Probably the most significant factor in explaining the development of Canadian radio is the country's proximity to the United States, the world leader in broadcasting technology and programming. There is little doubt, for example, that the principal motive for the creation of the public broadcaster in the 1930s was to provide an alternative to the previously purely private commercial broadcasting system that was destined for financial reasons to become increasingly American owned and Americanized. Similarly, whether listening directly to United States stations beaming across the border or to American network programs picked up for transmission by Canadian outlets, Canadian audiences have always been captivated by American radio. Canadian governments would not—indeed could not—prevent Canadians from listening to their favorite American shows. They have, however, attempted by various positive measures, such as the creation of the CRBC/CBC and the introduction of content regulations, to make room for some Canadian programming on Canada's airwaves. Thus, although the historical development of Canadian radio paralleled and imitated that of the United States in many ways, it also possessed a number of unique features, the most important of which has been the nationalistically inspired desire to use the medium of radio to foster Canadian cultural identity, and the consequent activism of the federal government in the radio field. Whether this unique mixed system can prevail in a climate of government retreat and commercialized globalization remains a key question for the future.

MARY VIPOND

See also CFCF; CHED; CHUM; CKAC; CKLW; Fessenden, Reginald; *as well as essays immediately following this essay treating specific aspects of Canadian radio broadcasting*

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Canadian Radio Archives

The largest radio archives in Canada are the production archives of the state-run Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). The CBC maintains archives at its English network production headquarters in Toronto and at its French network production headquarters in Montreal, as well as in regional production centers and local stations across Canada. The CBC's extensive collection of programs is primarily for rebroadcast and research by CBC staff. In order to make this substantial cache of Canada's radio broadcasting heritage more accessible to the public, the CBC has donated copies to public archives across Canada.

The first formal radio archives at the CBC began in Toronto in 1959. The English and French networks subsequently gathered, organized, and cataloged disc recordings from the late 1930s to the 1960s as well as the magnetic tape masters that gradually replaced discs as the production and archiving format. The CBC has also been actively acquiring a selection of contemporary programs. The high cost of archiving broadcast recordings means that the CBC is not able to keep tapes of everything it broadcasts. The emphasis is on news and current affairs, drama and other arts programming. In the case of music broadcasts, the archives maintain a smaller selection of recordings, restricted to those of Canadian content.

The largest Canadian public archives collection of radio broadcasts is at the National Archives of Canada. Most of the radio recordings are of CBC radio programs on disc and tape. The CBC has donated almost all of its discs to the Archives but retains tape copies of a large selection. The earliest broadcast recording at the Archives is coverage of the official celebration of Canada's 60th anniversary in 1927, broadcast by the radio network of the Canadian National Railway, a predecessor to the CBC. Another highlight is an excerpt of the round-the-clock coverage of the rescue of three men trapped in a mine in Moose River, Nova Scotia, in April 1936, which was broadcast by the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission several months before that entity was replaced by the CBC. The

Moose River Mine broadcast captured the attention of radio listeners across Canada and the United States, demonstrating that radio had an immediacy that newspapers and newsreels could not equal.

Among the most historically valuable programs in the CBC disc collection are the thousands of reports in French and English by war correspondents for the CBC Overseas Broadcast Unit, among them Matthew Halton and Marcel Ouimet. The war recordings cover the contribution of the Canadian military overseas and in some postwar events. Many reports are enlivened by actual battle sounds, recorded by the cumbersome portable disc recording equipment of the era.

The CBC disc collection also provides a cross-section of the range of program types available to Canadian listeners, especially from the 1940s to the 1960s. By the 1950s, when radio faced increasing competition from television, news and current affairs held onto their place on the schedule, but many drama and entertainment programs gradually disappeared. It is possible to trace this shift in the radio schedule through the types of programs represented in the CBC disc collection.

The CBC collection at the National Archives of Canada also includes some more recent programming, but the best source of network programs from the 1970s onward are the CBC's own archives. The National Archives of Canada has disc and tape copies of spoken-word CBC shortwave broadcasts, in English, French, German, and other languages.

Recordings of broadcasts by privately owned Canadian radio stations are considerably rarer, not only at the National Archives of Canada but also at other archives across the country. This reflects the fact that private radio broadcasters have never had financial resources on the scale of those enjoyed by the publicly funded CBC to create and maintain archives. Radio stations have, however, made recordings of programs for their own research and rebroadcast and to preserve noteworthy broadcasts as part of a station's history. The archival record of private radio, especially, exists thanks to the efforts

of historically-minded behind-the-scenes individuals who, without prodding by any official station archival policy, recorded an often eclectic selection of private radio broadcasts, saved them, and donated them to public archives. Despite the growing appreciation in recent decades of the historical value of radio broadcasting, most contemporary private-sector radio broadcasting in Canada is still not being saved. The risk to the broadcasting heritage is compounded by frequent changes in station ownership and personnel as radio struggles to compete with television, the internet, and other means of mass communication.

Among the holdings of private radio at the National Archives of Canada are discs from Toronto station CFRB from the 1940s and 1950s and discs dating from 1938 to 1956 from Montreal station CFCF, the oldest radio station in Canada. There are some examples of day-to-day programming originated by the stations, but many recordings are of speeches by major public figures, often transmissions picked up from British and American sources, of which the CBC and private stations tended to save disc copies. The U.S. network affiliations of major Canadian radio stations are reflected in the occasional copies of American shows from the 1940s and 1950s. The Harry E. Foster collection consists of discs, tapes, and scripts for hundreds of radio programs broadcast on private radio stations in the 1940s and 1950s, from such series as *Men in Scarlet* and *The Adventures of Jimmy Dale*; from a news highlights program entitled *Headliners*; and from *The Northern Electric Hour*, a program of orchestral music. The hundreds of discs and tapes donated by Joseph Cardin, who worked at radio station CJSO in Sorel, Quebec, provide a rich resource for the study of French private radio from the 1940s to the 1980s.

Another source of private radio recordings are tapes donated by public figures, notably politicians. Interviews and speeches predominate, but examples of radio's democratic impact are illustrated by radio phone-in shows in which listeners were able to express their opinions and sometimes to vent at a hapless politician. The National Archives of Canada collection also includes examples from the 1970s and 1980s of news reports fed by private-sector news services, such as Standard Broadcast News, to member radio stations. There are also copies of radio programs submitted by stations across Canada to awards competitions such as those held by the Canadian Association of Broadcasters.

The National Library of Canada acquires published recordings, including an extensive collection of the transcription discs of music performances issued by the CBC shortwave service.

Other public archives across the country have smaller but nonetheless significant collections of radio broadcast recordings, often primarily from the CBC. There are collections of recordings in provincial and territorial archives, university

archives, local historical societies, and other organizations. The Folklore and Language Archives at Memorial University of Newfoundland in St. John's, Newfoundland, has hundreds of hours of programs broadcast by Newfoundland radio stations from the late 1930s to the early 1960s. Included are programs in the series *The Doyle Bulletin*, which relayed personal messages from people to their friends and relatives in an era when transportation was more difficult and many people did not have telephones. Political events, music, some local drama, and even sound effects of fishing boats are also in the collection. The university also acquires contemporary recordings of local CBC arts programs. The provincial archives in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Alberta are among the government-run regional archives with collections of CBC broadcasts produced in their geographical areas. Most regional public archives in Canada also have small collections from private radio stations, often providing a unique archival record of local news and music. The Saskatchewan Archives Board actively does what many archives talk about doing but seldom carry out: they regularly contact radio stations to record one full day of programming, thus documenting the flow of the broadcast day as a listener experiences it. The Centre for Broadcasting Studies at Concordia University in Montreal has an extensive collection of CBC radio drama scripts.

Archives in Canada still have considerable work to do to make it easier for researchers to find out what still exists for particular radio stations and networks. Slowly, information about radio archives is becoming more accessible through in-house databases and on-line catalogs. These automated tools provide a mix of general and detailed information and also alert researchers to a wide range of other archival records necessary for the study of broadcasting history. They include oral history interviews with people who worked in Canadian radio from its earliest days, photographs, and administrative files. Access to copies of the actual broadcasts is more limited. In most cases, the broadcaster has retained copyright to the recordings, and researchers wishing to obtain copies must first obtain the permission of the copyright owner.

ROSEMARY BERGERON

See also Canadian Broadcasting Corporation; CFCF; Museums and Archives of Radio

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Canadian Radio Policy

Canadian radio policy is among the world's most complex. This peculiar situation may be explained in a number of ways. Historically, Canadian radio has encountered numerous challenges in the context of vast geography and low-density demography. On the economic front, it had to survive hardship and to distinguish itself from the powerful U.S. broadcasting system. Culturally, Canadian radio has been, and still is, challenged by the constant attraction foreign productions hold for most Canadian citizens. Furthermore, the federal government's involvement in the radio industry has resulted in a particular broadcasting structure in which the public element has to coexist with the ever-growing private element. Therefore, regulation has various results: the Canadian radio industry is viable, but the creation of a truly Canadian culture remains an objective to be attained. The challenges Canadian radio faced 80 years ago are still very evident.

Development

Preceded by the Wireless Telegraphy Act of 1905, the Radiotelegraph Act of 1913 gave the Canadian government power to license the use of airwaves—considered public property just like other natural resources. During the 1920s, stations popped up everywhere, but radio broadcasting remained without strong direction from the federal government, which was only mandated to issue licenses and to manage the frequency spectrum allocated to Canada under the terms of international agreements. Canadian radio was soon threatened with being integrated into the U.S. broadcasting system, in spite of a 1923 amendment to the Radiotelegraph Act that gave only British citizens (this included Canadians) the right to obtain broadcasting licenses. Radio program content, however, remained nearly free of any constraints. This situation resulted in an abundant use of foreign (i.e., U.S.) programs, mostly in English-speaking Canada. Canadian content nevertheless became part of the debate over the future of Canadian broadcasting, and commercial stations' freedom became an issue of national debate.

Laws and Commissions

The report of the 1929 Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting, formed under the chairmanship of John Aird, directly supported the centralizing movement that characterized the formation of the Canadian state, and it recommended a governmental takeover of private radio. The Canadian Association of Broadcasters, which had been created in 1926 to foster and protect the interests of existing radio stations, strongly opposed this recommendation. Nevertheless, the Broadcasting

Act in 1932 created the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission (CRBC), which was empowered to decide upon the numbers and locations of radio stations in Canada. The CRBC was also mandated to establish a national radio service by creating a Canada-wide network. National private radio networks were forbidden, but private regional chain broadcasting was tolerated.

The Broadcasting Act of 1936 replaced the CRBC with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) and mandated it to establish a national radio service and to control the broadcasting system as a whole. During the next two decades, the CBC was successful with the first assignment, but less so with the second: private stations grew and became financially secure, although they were forbidden to amalgamate into private networks. Always facing potential conflicts of interest, the CBC—as both the national broadcaster and system regulator—imposed little regulation on its affiliates (or on private independent stations).

The Canadian broadcasting system took form as a compromise between nationalistic and commercial objectives. This mixed system of public and private ownership was to cease when the CBC would be capable of becoming the dominant actor in the national radio service, but this too was not an easy challenge to meet. Before long, installation and production costs exceeded the CBC's resources. In order to expand broadcasting coverage, the corporation issued many licenses to private interests.

The main objectives of the Canadian system were in fact hardly realizable. This was already evident in reports of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters, and Sciences (led by Massey and released in 1951) and of the Royal Commission on Broadcasting (led by Fowler and released in 1957), which examined the problem of radio (and television) commercialization, a problem closely linked with the so-called Americanization of private radio's cultural content. Their reports also revealed that public broadcasting was overloaded with responsibilities, such as the promotion of national unity and Canadian identity.

The Broadcasting Act of 1958 was a very liberal interpretation of the Fowler report; it placed the private sector—henceforth allowed to create its own networks—and the public sector on equal grounds in terms of legal recognition. To manage this major change in public policy, both sectors were to be refereed by an independent regulatory institution, the Board of Broadcast Governors (BBG), which was responsible for the application of the act. This decision demonstrates a substantial evolution of the Canadian broadcasting system: the 1932 act foresaw the nationalization of private undertakings, the 1936 act made them complementary to the national service, and the

1958 act gave commercial stations enough autonomy to compete openly with the CBC.

To satisfy popular demand, notably for television coverage after 1952, private enterprises became inevitable. The creation of commercial networks, allowed by the 1958 act, was definitely authorized by the Broadcasting Act of 1968. Its concept of a *single broadcasting system* was a paradox, because the system in reality comprised two distinct components, with somehow different—if not contradictory—objectives.

On a regular basis, the regulatory body, the government, or private stations (if not all three) have been blamed for the failure to provide Canadians with a truly Canadian system: the 1965 Advisory Committee on Broadcasting, the 1969 Special Senate Committee on the Mass Media, the 1979 Consultative Committee on the Implications of Telecommunications for Canadian Sovereignty, the 1982 Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee, and the 1986 Task Force on Broadcasting Policy all deplored in one way or another the inefficiency of Canadian content regulation, the lack of goodwill by private stations toward the spirit of the Canadian policy, and the abuse of broadcasting as a profit-making instrument. And they all agreed on the absolute necessity for Canada to preserve a distinctive broadcasting system. Since 1968 the foreign ownership of broadcasting undertakings, limited to 20 percent of voting shares, has continued to guarantee Canadian economic interests without necessarily supporting Canadian cultural content.

The Regulatory Body

Control over broadcasting in Canada is carried out by a single authority: like the BBG before 1968, the Canadian Radio Television Commission (CRTC), which became the Canadian Radio–Television and Telecommunications Commission in 1976, exerts its power through the licensing process, because the license terms and conditions are, in principle, compulsory requirements assigned to each station or network. As an administrative tribunal, the CRTC must also regulate the whole radio industry according to the Broadcasting Act, which, after many unsuccessful attempts, was reformulated in 1991 without changing its structure and main orientations. Interestingly enough, the 1991 act states that “the Commission [CRTC] shall regulate and supervise all aspects of the Canadian broadcasting system set [by the act],” but also that “[t]he Canadian broadcasting system should be regulated and supervised in a flexible manner that . . . facilitates the provision of Canadian programs to Canadians.”

Although the CRTC plays an important role, because it regulates every station by its licensing process, it has been preoccupied with deregulation since the mid-1980s. In this context, the very essence of the rationale for government intervention—a national cultural identity—is jeopardized. Many federal cultural institutions (including the CBC) have declined because of

budget constraints and the relative failure of governmental involvement. Notwithstanding the recent conjuncture, the government is limited by commercial realities that render imports of foreign cultural products more profitable than the production of comparable domestic goods. Such a situation arises from the severe reaction brought about by most attempts to exert additional control. The CRTC, like many similar institutions, must manage the clash between national cultural objectives and pragmatic economic concerns.

Public Radio

Public service radio belongs to the CBC. Canadian public radio is in reality government broadcasting with a specific agenda, as shown in some provisions of the Broadcasting Act, such as subsection 3(m)(vi), which states that the programming of the CBC should “contribute to shared national consciousness and identity.” Since 1975 commercial advertising has almost completely vanished from CBC radio as a voluntary measure ratified by the CRTC. Therefore, the CBC can present a more original (some would say a better-quality) program, which does not have to compete with the private sector’s program for the large and popular audience shares, an otherwise vital precondition for generating revenues. Nevertheless, its relative marginal situation with the Canadian audience (and income tax payers) renders the CBC vulnerable to budget cuts in an era of governmental downsizing. The CBC possesses and operates its own stations, but to ensure its total coverage it also depends on private independent stations, which as affiliates broadcast a mix of national and local programs.

Even more marginal than public radio, community radio is collective property and is mandated to serve a defined clientele: campus, native, and ethnic stations are among this group. Community radio is not profitable and is financed mainly by governmental subsidies.

Private Broadcasters

In raw numbers, as well as in financial terms, the private independent stations together make up by far the most important group in the Canadian radio industry. Private radio is essentially a commercial undertaking whose mandate is to serve local markets. Private radio is more flexible than the CBC, but the broadcasting legislation nevertheless encourages private radio’s participation in the main national objectives, such as the creation and presentation of Canadian programming. Nevertheless, the CRTC, as the regulatory body, must take into account the financial viability of private undertakings.

Since the end of the 1980s, the radio industry has suffered from low profitability, an overall phenomenon especially obvious in the AM sector. A long-term decline in radio’s share of advertising and increased competition among stations are the

predominant factors here. In the mid-1980s, marketing expenditures shifted from media advertising to promotional activities on local markets, which made up 75 percent of the total advertising revenue base for radio stations; at the national level, among several factors responsible for the loss of advertising revenue is the overflow of U.S. advertising into Canada and the scant use of media advertising by emerging large retail stores of U.S. origin. At the same time, the net increase of new licenses significantly reduced the advertising revenue per station.

Traditionally, the private stations complained about the so-called unfair competition generated by direct federal involvement, but, unlike television, CBC radio has not impinged on the advertising market since the mid-1970s. As revenues cannot increase, it has been suggested that expenses, such as the payment of license fees, might be reduced. This solution is hardly acceptable for the CRTC, which is a financially autonomous institution. The CRTC is nevertheless preoccupied with private stations' financial situation, particularly that of the AM radio: since 1986 AM stations have been free to advertise as much as they wish. Under previous regulations, AM stations were restricted to 250 minutes of commercial content per day and 1,500 minutes per week. Noting that such regulation did not increase advertisements to an unacceptable level in AM radio, the CRTC in 1993 removed the limit of 150 minutes of commercial message during the broadcast day imposed on FM licensees.

Canadian Content Regulation

Canadian nationalists have long been preoccupied with preserving and enhancing the country's political, economic, and cultural sovereignty. Since the 1930s, the challenge has been presented as the protection of Canadian mass media against the powerful U.S. system by means of a cultural boundary. Therefore, the federal government's intervention has been aimed at creating cultural identity as a mean of national defense and national unity.

Encouraging Canadian content is undoubtedly the ultimate objective of the broadcasting system. Surprisingly, the first regulation imposing foreign import quotas on AM stations was not introduced until the 1970s. The situation was then critical. For example, in 1968, Canadian musical selections accounted for between 4 and 7 percent of all music played. The 1970 regulation imposed a 30 percent minimum of Canadian content. In 1986, new regulations were introduced covering both AM and FM radio, although different requirements applied. For example, in spite of common objectives pertaining to political broadcasts, AM radio had to respect the 30 percent Canadian content rule, whereas, for the rising FM sector, requirements varied from 10 percent for the "easy listening" format to 30 percent for "country" stations. Subjected to a daily limit on commercial advertising (150 minutes), FM radio on the other

hand benefited from an incentive to encourage Canadian content, because the CRTC's radio regulation stated that commercial messages broadcast during Canadian feature segments would not be considered as commercial messages. Since 1991 every popular FM station must program a minimum of 30 percent of Canadian selections scheduled in a reasonable manner throughout each broadcast day. In 1998 this radio regulation was redefined: every commercial station, AM or FM, must devote at least 35 percent of its musical content to Canadian selections, especially between 6:00 A.M. and 6:00 P.M. from Monday to Friday. Any musical selection that meets two of the following conditions is deemed to be "Canadian": the music or lyrics are performed by a Canadian, the music is composed by a Canadian, the lyrics are written by a Canadian, or the musical selection is a live performance recorded or broadcast in Canada.

This regulation aims to expose Canadian audiences to Canadian musical performers and thus to strengthen the Canadian music industry. Cultural and industrial objectives are closely interrelated. In addition, stations licensed to operate in the French language, either on the AM or FM bands, must devote at least 65 percent of their weekly vocal selections (at least 55 percent from Monday to Friday between 6:00 A.M. and 6:00 P.M.) to musical selections in French. This regulation aims to preserve language diversity, particularly in metropolitan markets such as Montreal, where English language stations are over-represented. Furthermore, French language popular music broadcasters are encouraged to strive for a Canadian content level of 50 percent. Conversely, English language stations are invited to promote and financially assist Canadian talent.

A Canadian Culture?

Throughout the history of Canadian radio, U.S. influence has been considered a major threat. On the one hand, economic imperialism jeopardized the emerging Canadian radio system as major American networks could have easily overwhelmed stations north of the border before the Broadcasting Act of 1932 (and its subsequent versions) put an end to this movement. On the other hand, cultural imperialism—a more subtle form of influence—is probably as strong as ever today, notwithstanding the Canadian content regulation and the incentives to Canadian talent development.

Has radio in fact succeeded in nurturing Canadian culture? If the Canadianization of radio broadcasting has been a success in terms of ownership, because only Canadian citizens or corporations (in which at least four-fifths of owners or controlling persons are Canadians) are issued licenses, it has been less so in terms of Canadian content. The approximately 30 percent quota hardly meets the spirit and the letter of the act. Although Canadian content quotas provide only a minimum limit, very few stations broadcast more Canadian music than

the imposed minimum. It should be stressed that CBC targets of 50 percent Canadian content for popular music and 20 percent for classical music are sometimes attained, but these outstanding results must be tempered by considering the CBC audience share, which includes only about one-tenth of the listening population.

Furthermore, subsection 3(s) of the Broadcasting Act remains ambiguous, as it states that "private networks and programming undertakings should, to an extent consistent with the financial and other resources available to them, (i) contribute significantly to the creation and presentation of Canadian programming, and (ii) be responsive to the evolving demands of the public." Yet it still has to be demonstrated that Canadians prefer Canadian cultural products. The case of prime-time television and the success of private radio in terms of audience share are obvious enough to suggest that many Canadian consumers (or listeners) are not reluctant to buy (or listen to) foreign products. In this sense, their role in whether or not the creation of a distinct Canadian society remains an objective to be pursued is still far from over. Market globalization and new technologies such as audio digital transmission might very well revolutionize the entire radio environment early in the 21st century. Canadian nationalists can still fear for the country's cultural sovereignty, because there is little reason to believe that the permeability of Canada's southern boundary will not increase.

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Canadian Radio Programming

Continuing French and English Traditions

Much of the development of Canada's radio programming may be seen in light of the country's wish to avoid total dominance by U.S. radio. Although Canada's French tradition in Quebec made distinct programming easier, English-language programming faced a stiff challenge from the beginning.

French-Language Programs

The Beginning Years

Radio broadcasting as a medium of social communication appeared in Quebec and Canada in 1922. The federal Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries established a new code of

communications and created a new category of licenses, known as “private commercial broadcasting licenses.” Many enterprises in Quebec and Canada applied for and obtained broadcasting licenses. During the month of April, the federal Minister of Maritime Affairs granted about 20 broadcasting licenses, including the French-language station CKAC (*La Presse*) as well as CFCF (Marconi, Montreal), CFCA (*Toronto Star*), CHCB (Marconi, Toronto), CJSC (*Evening Telegram*), CJCG (*Winnipeg Free Press*), CJCA (*Edmonton Journal*), and CJCE (*Vancouver Sun*).

The creation of radio station CKAC in 1922 by the major French-language newspaper *La Presse* created the link between the technological dimension and journalistic expertise. This harmonious fusion was made possible by the founder of CKAC, Jacques-Narcisse Cartier, an expert technician as well as a seasoned journalist with experience in Montreal and at British and American newspapers. Cartier—pilot in the Royal Air Force, collaborator with Guglielmo Marconi and technician at Marconi stations in Nova Scotia and New York, personal friend of the Radio Corporation of America’s (RCA) David Sarnoff, technician at Telefunken, and a businessman and corporate leader who would later take the helm of two major Montreal newspapers—represented the spirit of initiative that a French Quebecer could bring to the avant-garde technologies of his time.

Radio’s early use of live music led to links between radio and all the musical groups, vocalists, composers, teachers, and hosts who formed the core of Montreal’s very active cultural life. Cartier was a musician himself, a pianist and organist; his social milieu included musicians and contacts with the designers at the Casavant organ manufacturing company. This is why, in December 1922, Cartier had a Casavant organ installed in the CKAC studio. In spring 1923 Raoul Vennat, musicologist and importer of music, began a weekly series of concerts in which musicians and singers performed the most recent works of French music. In 1923 an operetta, “*Les Cloches de Corneville*,” was aired with an orchestra of 25 musicians and a choir of 38 singers. In 1925 CKAC offered a series of live piano lessons given by Emiliano Renaud, a teacher of international reputation back from a career in New York. In 1929 J.-Arthur Dupont negotiated an association with the American Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) network. This was done to connect CKAC into a circuit of concerts aired live by a group of American stations, which CKAC then joined in 1930 when it created its own symphony orchestra. Creation of the “*Quatuor Alouette*” allowed for original harmonizations of international folkloric music to be broadcast on the radio. In 1933 Dupont, now the program director at the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission, arranged for the airing in Canada of live opera from the Metropolitan Opera in New York, which had already been broadcasting on

American stations for two years. Quebec-crafted songs were introduced to radio by Lionel Daunais, who had a regular broadcast of French-language songs at the CCR and who regularly hosted *L’Heure provinciale* at CKAC, a cultural and educational biweekly magazine financially supported by the Quebec government. It became the model for educational radio; over ten years, it broadcast close to a thousand scientific and cultural lecture programs. But *L’Heure provinciale* was also a privileged forum for introducing musicians, singers, and other Quebec artists who became regularly featured artists on radio and in the theater in the decades that followed. All the great artists of this period got their start on radio. The group that best symbolized this sociocultural dynamic was without a doubt the operetta troupe of the “*Variétés lyriques*,” founded by Charles Goulet and Lionel Daunais, whose artistic activity would span 30 years, integrating artists from Quebec as well as singers from Europe into their productions.

But Quebec radio also wanted to be an information service from its very beginnings, as expressed by Cartier in 1925 before a committee of the federal parliament in a statement on “the true role of radio in the life of a people.” He was thus developing a strong position that *La Presse* had presented in an editorial as early as May 1922. For Cartier, radio had a triple mission of information, education, and entertainment.

From the beginning, CKAC systematically integrated information programs, news bulletins, and entertainment, or “magazines.” By 1925 Cartier established a tradition of live reports from the scene of major political and sports events: hockey (broadcast from Boston, because the Montreal Forum refused to give its permission) and, more importantly, the federal electoral campaign of October 1925, during which Cartier and Dupont, with the collaboration of the Marconi Company, developed a mobile unit for live reports and covered electoral assemblies all over Montreal and the medium-sized towns across the region. News programs became more elaborate by the beginning of the 1930s, despite the prohibitions of the Canadian Press agency. As an alternative, Dupont negotiated an association with CBS whereby he received news bulletins that were then translated and aired in French.

In June 1938, in time for the Fête Nationale in Quebec, CKAC launched the first important radio-journal, *Les nouvelles de chez-nous* (Local News), which was hosted until 1954 by one of the best actors and communicators of the period, Albert Duquesne. This was a coup for CKAC, which took a commanding lead over the public broadcaster, Radio-Canada, where the news (mostly foreign and from distant places) was only broadcast late in the evenings. There was a major difference between the translated news items from American or English-Canadian agencies and the network of reporters that CKAC had put in place to cover news across Quebec: important information could also be about the goings-on in Quebec.

Radio Development in Quebec

By the 1940s the population of Quebec, some 3 million, was served by 30 radio stations, the most powerful of which, CKAC, covered a large portion of the territory as well as the French-Canadian populations of New England. Radio became an essential service for public culture, independent of both political and religious influences. Closely associated with the professional milieu of music and theater, radio brought society a multifaceted and original discourse and an openness to information, values, and models circulating everywhere in the Western world.

Radio of the 1940s and 1950s was primarily a concert hall as well as a music-hall stage, and it served as an intimate venue for original Quebec singer-songwriters. Radio-Canada took over and became the producer of concerts for large and smaller ensembles. These broadcasts were, of course, aired live. In certain radio music halls, where sketches and songs, humor and editorial comments alternated, the background environment was always that of music played by an orchestra. Even late-morning variety programs such as *Les joyeux troubadours* were accompanied by a small orchestra in the studio.

Radio in this period was also an editorial room for daily news. It was at the beginning of the 1940s that radio became a major source of information. CKAC's Information Service had been created in 1939, station CHRC in Quebec City had specialized in news broadcasts, and in 1941 Radio-Canada created its own Information Service. At the outbreak of World War II in September 1939 Radio-Canada stayed on the air for a month in order to ensure that the news was continually updated, 24 hours a day. In 1941 the Canadian Press agency created an affiliate for radio news, *Press News Ltd.* Journalist Jovette Bernier created a daily humorous program, *Quelles nouvelles*, as an antidote to the anxieties generated by the daily news.

Around 1960 the presence of parliamentary correspondents became the trademark of various stations, with slogans such as "the news as it happens" or "news on the hour."

Radio also recognized its educational mission. Following the British model, and undoubtedly inspired by educational stations in the United States, Quebec radio proposed a programming schedule offering a broad range of programs geared toward adult education and the development of more advanced students. The resulting university of the airwaves was called "Radio Collège." However, school broadcasts for students at the elementary and high school levels were not developed as quickly and would only appear in the 1960s.

Quebec radio was also the proving ground for an important cultural innovation: the invention of an original form of radio-based literature. Authors of great talent produced original works for the radio medium as a means of experimentation and of reaching a large audience. Unlike other countries

(France in particular), where literary broadcasts on the radio consisted mostly of adaptations of published works, in Quebec a body of original works was created. The most diverse forms were used— theater, dramatic serials, historical works, humorous sketches, tales, memoirs, monologues, essays, and poetry. Between 1930 and 1970, half a million pages of literary texts were written for radio by about 1,000 authors. The serial or radio-novel, because of its structure, based on chapters broadcast over many years—often 10 or 20—became a major building block of the collective imagination. Works such as *Un homme et son péché*, *Métropole*, *Faubourg à m'lasse*, *Le survivant*, *Jeunesse dorée*, *Le curé de village*, *Madeleine et Pierre*, *La rue des pignons*, *La famille Plouffe*, *Le ciel par-dessus les toits*, *Nazaire et Barnabé*, and many others became daily meeting places for the general public. These radio-novels were works by *auteurs*, in the full literary sense of the term within the European tradition, rather than industrial productions on the American model.

Long-running and important series transformed radio into a creative laboratory or a theatrical repertory company for the benefit of the general public. One must note the cultural influence of the following series in terms of their contribution to artistic creativity: *Le théâtre de chez-nous*, *Radio-théâtre*, *Radio-théâtre miniature*, *Radio-théâtre Ford*, *Théâtre dans un fauteuil*, *Le radio-théâtre de Radio-Canada*, and *Nouveautés dramatiques*. Providing an opening toward the international classical and modern repertoires, the very long-running series *Sur toutes les scènes du monde* introduced the public for over 30 years to European authors writing in many languages (in French translations), to American authors, and to major classical and modern French authors.

Three humorous works stood out for their literary value: *Carte blanche*, a satire on society and its traditional culture; *Chez Miville*, a parody of the ideologies of change of the 1960s; and *D'une certaine manière*, an ironic look at the new currents of thought of the period.

Since 1970: More Stations and Missions

In the last quarter of the 20th century, the number of Quebec French-language radio stations more than doubled, from 70 to nearly 150. Radio broadcasting was no longer considered by the Canadian Radio Television Commission (CRTC, the federal regulation agency) as a service but as a business to be opened up to free-market competition. The concept of serving the needs of a territory to ensure communication has given way to the notion of markets to conquer, develop, and consolidate. For all commercial stations, radio is first and foremost an enterprise that has to provide a return on investments comparable to that of any other business. Only public radio has escaped this definition, but it is also under attack, forced to restrict its field of action so as not to interfere with the private

sector, and every successful program that it broadcasts is perceived by the private sector as unfair competition. The very legitimacy of the public sector meets with such opposition that in Quebec and elsewhere, associations have been formed to bolster public opinion in favor of governmental financing of public radio.

In Quebec, community radio stations appeared in the mid-1970s. With limited means and relying on financing from associations and on voluntary involvement, they came to reach out to diverse audiences, specialized in major cities and generalized in many of the more remote regions.

Therefore, during this period, Quebec radio went through not only a fragmentation of its audience, but also a profound modification of the social consensus on the role of radio in society. Private stations, rooted in their networks, closed their news offices, no longer hired journalists, and rebroadcast news bulletins written by a central agency. The content on private radio stations, in Canada as in the United States, became polarized into talk or music-based radio. In both cases, the music aired was imposed by the record companies and by the commercial circuits of the distributors. Radio was no longer an experimental stage for young Quebec artists, but a link in the distribution chain of the major producers.

Within the domain of talk radio, however, certain stations maintained a format that continued, in a manner acceptable to today's popular culture, missions geared toward information and education. Whether it be through in-depth interviews, exchanges between hosts and audience members, the formula of on-air telephone polls, or commentary on daily events, certain stations kept elements of what had defined the originality of Quebec radio.

On public radio, this culture of analysis of and commentary on current affairs occupied a privileged niche. Public radio remained, especially in drive time, the most practical medium as well as the most economical.

Community radio stations reached out to more specific audiences. They also allowed for the broadcast of international news related to countries of origin, especially news not circulated by the major news agencies or commercial stations. Encouraging solidarity within or among specific groups, discussions on social questions, and the expression of more traditional values were the characteristics of many community radio stations. Also, in many regions, community radio stations were the instrument for the dissemination of a regional identity, as well as an experimental stage for nonprofessional creators and communicators.

During the 1980s a broad range of missions was offered by radio to the variety of Quebec audiences. Young audiences interested in pop culture, young adults at the university level, retired persons concerned by issues related to volunteer work, working audiences seeking to travel efficiently through the city, exhausted listeners seeking calmness—all these audiences

could, at any time of the day, find their own type of radio. They could find rock music, classical music, ballads, American music from the Anglophone stations, familiar conversations with the audience, hosts specializing in provoking strong reactions by commenting on current affairs of major and minor importance, religious programs, university courses, and sports—all kinds of sports, live and in rebroadcasts, described and commented upon. Within all these types of content, advertising is in control of the selection of major time slots and their content. It is this very busy landscape, a type of untamed wilderness, that has become the popular cultural environment of Canadian French-language radio for the last few decades.

PIERRE-C. PAGÉ

English-Language Programming

On the evening of 20 May 1920, singer Dorothy Lutton strolled to a microphone in the Chateau Laurier Hotel in Canada's capital city of Ottawa. Her audience consisted of Prime Minister Sir Robert Borden, the future prime minister William Lyon MacKenzie King, the Duke of Devonshire, and Arctic explorer Vilhjalmur Steffansson. The four dignitaries and assorted guests had been part of an audience listening to a lecture on war inventions. Now they were to be treated to Miss Lutton's songs, as were a number of others in and around the Montreal area. The singer's voice was being carried to radio station XWA by telegraph wires. Those fortunate enough to have access to receiving sets were about to hear the first organized radio program to be broadcast in Canada.

Radio penetration and the consequent appetite for programming characterized much of the 1920s. Regulations were few; facilities ranged from small studios in the back of retail stores to state-of-the-art facilities in big cities. Programs were experimental and erratic. Until the early 1930s, radio licenses remained exclusively in private hands, and the private sector determined program tastes.

Nearly nine out of ten Canadians lived within ninety miles of the U.S. border, much as they do today. Large American corporations such as RCA and CBS took an early interest in broadcasting, with the consequence that they had a head start in developing popular and marketable programming. American tastes in programming soon became Canadian tastes. Canadians quickly demonstrated their preferences for popular American programs. Throughout the late 1920s and early 1930s, NBC's *Amos 'n' Andy* was the most popular radio program in Canada. In 1925 the Toronto newspaper the *Telegram* asked readers to report on their favorite radio stations. The first 17 places were filled by stations in Pittsburgh, Schenectady, Buffalo, and New York City. U.S. programs dominated Canadian radio sets, which were seldom tuned to the Canadian National Railways (CNR) network, which began producing dramatic

programs, high-quality musical shows, children's programs, and some information programming in 1925.

Canadian stations were more than willing to affiliate with American networks. CFCF joined NBC—the program schedule was top-heavy with musical programming, and CFCF broadcast no news. The station carried only one Canadian network show, *Melody Mike's Music Shop*. Together, CFRB and CKGW in Toronto, along with CFCF and CKAC in Montreal, turned over one-third of their cumulative broadcast day to American-produced programming. CFRB, affiliated with CBS, joined the network for half its broadcast day. By 1931 nearly all radio comedy and drama was being produced by advertising agencies with business offices in both Canada and the United States. There were virtually no dramatic programs produced in Canada. Only one serious dramatic program appeared on the airwaves during the early 1930s. The CNR historical series *Romance of Canada*, written by Merrill Denison and directed by Tyrone Guthrie, was a harbinger of things to come in Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) radio drama.

The late 1920s witnessed a number of significant events in program development. When Canada celebrated the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation on 1 July 1927, a number of stations hooked up in the country's first network to broadcast the celebration program. In March 1928 the Department of Marine and Fisheries turned its attention to what Canadians were hearing on Canadian radio and canceled the licenses of a number of stations operated by the International Bible Students Association (Jehovah's Witnesses).

After its creation in 1936, the CBC enjoyed legal protection as the only national radio network. As a consequence, programming became divided: CBC programming was more national in character, and the private stations designed programs for local tastes. Whereas the CBC broadcast hockey games and live drama from coast to coast, local stations developed talk shows, some local drama, and live dance music programs. In spite of their subservient place in the broadcasting universe, private stations continued to attract huge audiences, built mainly on American imports, such as the *Jack Benny Show*, *Gangbusters*, and *Green Hornet*. After many of these programs had either ceased to exist or moved into television, Toronto's CFRB continued to broadcast *Yours Truly*, *Johnny Dollar* into the early 1960s.

When World War II broke out, CBC Radio joined the war effort with a stream of carefully composed propaganda programs intended to keep up spirits at home. The war effort permeated information, entertainment, and musical programming. The CBC established a second network in 1944: the founding network became the Trans-Canada and the new operation the Dominion network. Most serious programming remained with Trans-Canada stations. In 1947 CBC Radio launched *CBC Wednesday Night*, an eclectic mixture of music and informa-

tion aimed at a high-end audience. The Dominion network was established to act as a commercially based programming source for Canadian productions of a lighter nature. It was hoped that privately owned stations would join the Dominion network. The network was a marginal success. With the increasing reach of television, it closed in 1962 and converted its Toronto flagship station to a French language operation.

Following World War II, the CBC continued in its dual role of broadcaster and regulator. Private broadcasters never accepted their subservient role and finally, in 1958, the newly elected federal government of John Diefenbaker revised the Broadcasting Act and removed the regulatory powers from the CBC, turning them over to a new agency, the Board of Broadcast Governors. When the Board began to move into programming questions, the private broadcasters resisted.

The conflict pointed out a number of weaknesses in the Broadcasting Act, which in turn led to revisions in 1968, when the Board of Broadcast Governors was replaced by the CRTC with a much stronger nationalist mandate. The agency imposed Canadian content requirements on not only television but AM radio as well. Although FM radio did not have to meet specific targets during its formative years, the CRTC dictated how much spoken-word programming had to be carried, as well as news and sports content. Application forms for licenses and license renewals contained pages on which broadcasters had to calculate down to the second each kind of broadcasting endeavor that would be undertaken during a week of programming. Once accepted, the CRTC treated this Promise of Performance as a contract, not a guideline.

The CRTC was created when broadcasting in Canada was entering the first phases of extensive expansion. FM radio was beginning to erode the base that AM radio had enjoyed since the 1920s. Private radio defined a survival agenda based on local news, popular music, and in some cases phone-in shows.

The CBC was one of the first organizations to respond to the new environment. Faced with collapsing audiences, the radio service underwent radical programming changes. The new CBC programming was to be based on information on the AM side (now Radio One) and music on the FM side (now Radio Two). Shows such as *Morningside* (now *This Morning*), *As It Happens*, *Metro Morning*, and others focused on current affairs. The new stereo service offered an eclectic mix of what it now calls "Classics and Beyond." In the early 1990s CBC radio began to abandon many of its AM stations across the country, opting to place Radio One programs on FM channels as well. Private AM stations started to abandon music programming near the end of the 1980s, opting instead for a variety of talk formats, including phone-in shows and all-news or sports formats. Many AM stations followed the CBC lead and abandoned their channels for FM alternatives.

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Canadian Broadcasting Corporation

Canada's Public Broadcaster

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) is a public resource that operates under the 1991 Broadcasting Act and is accountable to the Parliament of Canada through the Minister of Canadian Heritage, to whom it reports annually. Financing comes mainly through public funds supplied by advertising revenue on television, as well as various other revenue sources.

Origins

The CBC was created by an Act of Parliament on 2 November 1936. It took over the facilities and staff of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission, which had been the first attempt to provide a national broadcasting service. The CBC offered programs of mainly Canadian content in English and French. A few programs were relayed from the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), which had introduced its Empire Service in 1932.

Shortly after the CBC's formation, a study of coverage and reception conditions across Canada showed that only 49 percent of listeners, mostly in the large cities, could receive the CBC. A start was therefore made on network expansion. In 1937 two high-power stations were installed—CBL at Hornby near Toronto and CBF at Verchères near Montreal—which increased coverage to 76 percent of the population. These stations were followed by CBK Watrous, Saskatchewan, and CBA Sackville, New Brunswick. These and subsequent high-power stations were publicly owned, with private stations used as supplementary outlets.

In 1947 the Corporation broadcast the first *CBC Wednesday Night*, a program concept that was new to North America—a full evening of ambitious and more serious programming. The idea was borrowed from the BBC, and the program included operas and classical drama. But since most listeners preferred the popular music offered by private commercial stations, the program was short-lived. In the Montreal-Windsor corridor where most Canadians live, American stations offered a greater variety of program formats and choices. This is still true today.

During World War II, listeners heard some of the most spectacular and successful news reporting in Canadian radio history. CBC was the first broadcaster to use broadcast vans, known as "Big Betsy," to make disc recordings on location. Some American correspondents also made use of these facilities for their own news reports. Art Holmes made the best recordings of the sounds of battle from the London Blitz, as well as from remote and dangerous warfronts. Listeners were glued to their radios each evening to hear news from correspondents such as Matthew Halton, Bob Bowman, Peter Sturberg, and Marcel Ouimet.

After World War II, many private stations began to press for networks of their own, for better facilities, and for increased coverage by using high-power frequencies originally allocated to the CBC. They also believed that regulatory authority on licensing should not belong to a body that was itself engaged in broadcasting. Between 1936 and 1958 the CBC had also regulated private broadcasting, and therefore

the Broadcasting Act of 1958 established the Board of Broadcast Governors. A further Act in 1968 established what is now known as the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) to "regulate and supervise all aspects of the Canadian broadcasting system." The CRTC has wide regulatory powers and also has the authority to issue broadcasting licenses and prescribe their terms. It is located in Gatineau, Quebec, adjacent to Ottawa.

After television was launched in 1952, CBC Radio gradually lost much of its audience and popularity. In the 1970s CBC Vice President Laurent Picard launched a campaign to revive radio. Local news and feature programming were increased, and longer network shows were introduced. This strategy recaptured much of the audience. Nevertheless, during the last decade the CBC, in common with other public broadcasters such as the BBC and the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, has had to downsize some of its operations. Television and radio production facilities in smaller centers have either closed or reduced their output.

The CBC operates four radio services, two in English and two in French. The French division is known as *Société Radio-Canada* and has its head office in Montreal. The English networks originate from Toronto and are known as Radio One and Radio Two. Radio One provides a full service of general interest and information programs, whereas Radio Two offers mainly classical music and fine arts. In the far north there are periodic broadcasts in the various aboriginal languages throughout the day.

News and Current Affairs

From its foundation, the CBC had made use of the entire Canadian Press news service, because it was free. Following the outbreak of World War II, the Corporation felt the need to have its own independent news service. This was inaugurated on 1 January 1941, with Lorne Greene as its first anchor. Greene joined the CBC in 1939 and became known as the "voice of doom" because of his deep, ominous voice. He was best known for his role as Ben Cartwright in the American television series *Bonanza*.

Today, CBC Radio broadcasts news bulletins every hour. These are mostly five minutes in duration, but at peak listening times they run to ten minutes (e.g. *World Report* and *Canada at Five*). Each evening, the *World at Six* covers news stories in greater depth. Canadian politics is covered each weekend on *The House*.

Comedy and Variety

The Happy Gang was one of Canada's longest-running radio shows (1937-59). Hugh Bartlett was the program's first host. The show's music and comedy were a source of lighthearted

entertainment during the dark years of World War II, and the program caught the imagination of Canadian listeners over the years.

In 1946 the comedy team of *Wayne and Shuster* joined CBC Radio. Johnny Wayne and Frank Shuster were probably Canada's best-known comedians. They had already been performing for 15 years, initially with CFRB in Toronto and later touring Canada and entertaining Canadian troops during the war. The show was first called *Johnny Home*, and it ran for 52 weeks. The name was soon changed to *Wayne and Shuster*, the first time the Corporation had ever used performers' names in the title of a network show. The program was truly Canadian. One broadcast featured sportscaster Foster Hewitt and included a skit of a hockey game between the Toronto Maple Leafs and the "Mimico Mice." Wayne and Shuster also did several sketches from Shakespeare's plays. The program switched to television in 1954 and was often featured on American TV as well. Wayne died in 1990 and Shuster in 2002. The show may still be seen in reruns.

Royal Canadian Airforce was the CBC's premier comedy series, airing on radio from 1973 until 1997. Based on current news headlines, it is now carried only on television and stars Roger Abbott, John Morgan, Don Ferguson, and Luba Goy. In 1996 the CBC announced budget cuts that would seriously affect the show. Ivan Fecan, the former CBC executive who helped launch the television series, had left the Corporation and was an executive at Baton Broadcasting, one of Canada's major broadcasting groups. He offered the cast a lucrative contract with Baton. Realizing that this would cause a programming calamity, CBC decided to rescind the cuts. The show now has the highest rating on CBC television.

Telephone Call-in Programs

Cross Country Checkup, a national call-in program broadcast on Sundays, began in 1965 from Montreal. It is something of a tradition, having been broadcast almost without a break since 1965. It is a vehicle for listeners to air their views on various Canadian issues. The program got its name from the topic of the first broadcast, which asked whether there should be a national publicly funded health care system. People liked it, so the name was kept. Since 1995 Newfoundlander Rex Murphy has hosted the program. Nearly half a million listeners tune in each week to hear or take part in a lively discussion with invited guests. The program now originates from Toronto.

As It Happens debuted on 18 November 1968, initially as an experiment. The weekly program originated in Toronto and was broadcast "live" for two hours in each time zone across Canada. The first hosts were Harry Brown and William Ronald. They held a dialogue by telephone with politicians and newsmakers from across Canada and around the world. In 1971 Barbara Frum and Cy Strange joined the team. For the

next ten years, Frum attracted a large and loyal audience before moving on to television. She was one of Canada's best-known journalists and media personalities until her death in 1992 at the age of 54.

In 1973 *As It Happens* changed to its current 90-minute format each evening, still with two hosts. Some of the events covered in the 1980s and 1990s included the formation of new Canadian political parties and the Quebec separation referendum. Among those on the team over the years have been Alan Maitland, Elizabeth Gray, Dennis Trudeau, and Michael Enright. The present hosts are Mary Lou Finlay, one of Canada's most respected broadcast journalists, and Barbara Budd, broadcaster and actress.

Feature Programs

Ideas, originally called *The Best Ideas You'll Hear Tonight*, began in 1965 and is a program of contemporary thought with a listening audience of 350,000. It is presented by Paul Kennedy each weekday evening. The program includes the Massey Lectures, which are sponsored by CBC Radio in cooperation with Massey College in the University of Toronto and which were created to honor former Governor-General Vincent Massey.

Richardson's Roundup debuted in 1997 and is broadcast on weekday afternoons on Radio One. It is hosted by Bill Richardson and originates in Vancouver. Richardson is much loved by CBC Radio audiences for his work as a host on both Radio One and Radio Two. The heart of the *Roundup* is its listeners, with their stories, music requests, letters, and phone calls. The storytellers are entertaining and sometimes outrageous. The music can be anything from the latest pop melody to songs of long ago.

This Morning, hosted by Jennifer Westaway, is a show about Canada—a showcase of Canadian writers, musicians, and artists. It is a lively mix of drama, comedy, satire, and music. In the fall of 2002 the CBC revised its program schedule, and *This Morning* was reduced from a three-hour to a one-hour show.

This Morning is followed by *Sounds Like Canada*, a 2-hour mix of in-studio and on-location production, where former *This Morning* host Shelagh Rogers seeks to fill the airwaves with the voices and sounds from all over Canada and bring them into the listener's home. The highlights of each day's program are rebroadcast in *Sounds Like Canada Tonight*.

Science and the Environment

Quirks and Quarks, CBC's award-winning science program, has been on the air for more than 20 years. Each week, science journalist Bob McDonald features information about new scientific discoveries. He also looks at political, social, environ-

mental, and ethical issues. The program has an estimated audience of half a million in Canada, as well as an international audience on shortwave via Radio Canada International (RCI). It continues to be the most enjoyed program on CBC Radio and was recently chosen as one of the top ten programs in the world by an international shortwave radio journal.

Drama

CBC English Radio is a major producer of drama on Canadian radio. In 1998–99, close to 100 original radio drama episodes were broadcast, most of them by Canadian writers and all of them with Canadian casts. (For full discussion of Canadian drama programs, see the *Programming and Drama* sections of this survey.)

Sports

Live sports events are mainly featured on television; however, reports on games are covered throughout the day in the regular newscasts. *Inside Track* began in 1985 and includes interviews with Canadian and overseas sports personalities. The program covers topics ranging from the Olympics to national sports and has won several awards over the years for its documentaries.

Cross-Cultural Programs

Because Canada is a bilingual country, the CBC attempts to build bridges between the two official language communities by providing a number of cross-cultural programs. *C'est la vie* is a weekly current-affairs program on francophone issues and life in French-speaking Canada, including short vignettes and interviews with people in the news. A popular feature of the show is "Word of the Week," where listeners can improve their French vocabulary. The program is hosted by Bernard St.-Laurent, a former host on *Cross Country Checkup*. Another cross-cultural program is *À propos*, featuring francophone music for English-speaking audiences.

Other Programs

CBC Overnight, inaugurated in 1995, airs between 1:00 and 6:00 A.M. in each time zone. It includes information highlights from other public broadcasters around the world, such as the BBC, Deutsche Welle, Radio Australia, and South Africa's Channel Africa. There are CBC newscasts every hour. The program has become very popular, especially with night-shift workers.

Music and the Arts

In 1998 English Radio presented approximately 80 orchestral broadcasts and 120 chamber music concerts. Canadian choirs are also heard regularly on English Radio.

Gilmour's Albums was the longest-running CBC program hosted by one person. Every weekend for nearly half a century, the gentle, knowledgeable, and impeccable Clyde Gilmour presented a variety of music or spoken-word recordings, anything from Bob Newhart and Rosemary Clooney to the classics. Every record he featured on his show was from his own collection. Born in Alberta, Gilmour began his broadcasting and journalistic career as a movie critic, interviewing many famous personalities and reviewing movies. He died in 1997 at the age of 85, and his record collection now forms part of the CBC Music Library.

Music for A While is a Radio Two early-evening program of chamber and orchestral classical music, hosted by Danielle Charbonneau, a well-known French radio announcer from Montreal.

The *Vinyl Cafe* is an imaginary record store where the eccentric owner Dave lends program host Stuart McLean compact discs and vinyl albums for use on the show. A regular feature is the "Concert Series," where McLean visits concert halls across Canada and records material for broadcast each month.

Regional Broadcasting

Each CBC region has local programming during the morning and afternoon drive times and at lunchtime. One long-running weekend morning show in Ontario and Quebec is *Fresh Air*, currently hosted by Jeff Goodes. It features a variety of music and interviews. A popular segment, especially with seniors, is "Adrian's Music," in which CBC music archivist Adrian Shuman researches songs listeners have requested. The program lives up to its name, providing a breath of fresh air.

External Broadcasting

RCI is the overseas service of the CBC, originating from Montreal. It broadcasts mainly on shortwave, using high-powered transmitters from a 316-acre site at Sackville, New Brunswick, on Canada's Atlantic coast. This location provides an excellent transmission path to Europe and Africa. In parts of the world where reception is difficult, airtime is leased on other international stations as part of a reciprocal arrangement. The first test transmissions in English and French were made on 25 December 1944 for Canadian forces in Europe, and the station officially opened on 25 February 1945.

RCI's programming includes live relays of some domestic shows, such as the *World at Six* and *As It Happens*. Others, such as *Quirks and Quarks* and the *Vinyl Cafe*, are broadcast at prime-time hours in the listening area. RCI also produces its own programs, catering to an international audience. In addition to news, there is a weekly show, *Maple Leaf Mailbag*, in which listeners' letters and questions about Canada are answered. *Business Sense* takes an in-depth look at Canadian

companies that are making their mark in the global economy. In *Media Zone*, Canadian journalists express their ideas about topical issues facing Canadians. *Spotlight* focuses on all facets of artistic and cultural life in Canada. *Canada in the World* looks at Canadian initiatives around the world and considers how Canada deals with other countries on a multilateral basis.

RCI has an estimated audience of 5 million listeners each week and is heard in the Americas, Europe, the Middle East, Africa, and the Far East. It is on the air in seven languages: English, French, Spanish, Russian, Ukrainian, Chinese, and Arabic. Music and feature programs are also sent to about 200 radio stations in other countries.

RCI is funded by a grant from the Canadian government. In recent years it has faced a number of potential closures due to budget cuts, but it has managed to survive.

Strategic Directions

In recent years, many of the AM stations have moved to FM, which is cheaper to run and provides better audio quality. In 2002 the CBC's program services were distributed through satellite in combination with microwave and land lines, feeding 103 CBC-owned stations, 1,164 CBC rebroadcasters, 26 privately affiliated stations, and 282 affiliated or community rebroadcasters and stations.

As mentioned above, during 2002 CBC Radio made several changes to its program schedules in order to attract more listeners to Radio One and Radio Two. Some programs were reduced in length, others were discontinued and new programs introduced. *This Morning* and *Sounds Like Canada* have already been mentioned. Another example is *Dispatches*, a weekly program in which veteran reporter Rick McInnes-Rae takes listeners to places they may never see, hear voices of people from these places, and provides insights and issues that they might never have confronted before.

Radio 3 (note that the numeral is used here, unlike the other English networks) is unique. It was originally planned as the CBC's third off-air FM radio network, targeted at young people. In December 1999 it was felt that the timing was not favorable for the launch of a third off-air network, so in June 2000 Radio 3 was launched, producing on-air programming for 33 hours a week on Radio Two, and on the internet primarily as a small portal to several other core websites. Radio 3 programs carried on CBC Radio Two include weekend programs *RadioSonic*, *JustConcerts*, *NewMusic-Canada* and *Radio On*, along with the weekday program *BraveNewWaves*. Radio 3 is also exploring digital audio broadcasting in Vancouver from the existing DAB experimental transmitter.

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Canadian Radio and Multiculturalism

Over the last three decades radio, no less than other entertainment and information services, has responded to the fact of multicultural communities. Gender, sexual orientation, physical and mental disabilities, language, race, and ethnicity—each label signifying a category of people—have become the elements of a discourse focusing on equality, recognition, and identity. Since the inauguration of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in Canada during the early 1960s and the United States Congress' passage of the Ethnic Heritage Studies Program Act in 1974, broadcasting in general—and radio in particular—has had to recognize diversity in its content, in the composition of its workforce, and in its remuneration practices.

The Concept

As an adjective, *multicultural* may be used simply to describe the demographic realities of a state, region, or community. As a noun, *multiculturalism* may be used to refer to a particular ideology, wherein racial and ethnic diversity is highly valued in and of itself. The term *Multiculturalism* may also refer to social policies that recognize demographic realities, promote equality, and combat racism and discrimination.

A major difference between Canadian and American usage of the concept is that in Canada, the idea of multiculturalism has become a foundation for federal policy, whereas in the United States it remains a topic of heated debate in civil society. Multiculturalism in Canada assumed yet another nuance

of meaning when multiculturalism within a bilingual (French/English) framework became a policy of the federal government. Thus, the emergence of multicultural policies in Canada was rooted in the fact of French/English biculturalism. English and French language private radio stations were on air at the beginning of broadcasting in Canada. The national public broadcaster (CRBC, now the CBC) began programming in 1932 in both languages; by 1938 separate English and French networks were in place. The story of Canadian radio and multiculturalism is situated in the context of this duality.

A subsequent set of policies and constitutional changes occurred during the 1970s and the early 1980s. The Official Languages Act of 1969, the Multiculturalism Act of 1971, and the Canadian Human Rights Act of 1978 set the groundwork for the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which accompanied the Constitutional Act of 1982. Each of these acts added legitimacy to the application of multicultural policies in broadcasting.

In order to trace the path of multicultural policies in broadcasting, it is necessary to look at the interplay of four institutions: (1) the Broadcasting Act and the Canadian Broadcasting System, (2) the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission, (3) the Canadian Association of Broadcasters, and (4) the Canadian Broadcasting Standards Council. Each of these institutions is the locus of policies and regulations governing the recognition of diversity in broadcasting.

Although there have been several versions of the Broadcasting Act since 1932, references here are to the most recent

version, which was passed in 1991. It is significant that the act considers Canadian broadcasters, public and private alike, as a single system—the Canadian Broadcasting System—to which the act and all subsequent regulations apply. Furthermore, the intrusion of the act into the private sector is based on the premise that the airwaves are public property. It is within the general mandate of the “enhancement of national identity and cultural sovereignty . . . operating primarily in the English and French languages” that multicultural policies and regulations must find their niche. The act accents both employment equity and program content with respect to cultural diversity, noting gender, age, aboriginal status, language, and cultural and racial diversity.

The task of implementing this position was given to the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC). The CRTC’s mandate was originally provided for in the 1968 Broadcasting Act.

Guidelines for the development of employment equity are set out in the commission’s regulations, and licensees are required to report on progress. As for programming, the commission requires that it reflect the linguistic duality, cultural diversity, and social values of Canada, as well as national, regional, and community voices.

A good deal of the monitoring and vetting of complaints defers to the Canadian Association of Broadcasters (CAB) and its creation, the Canadian Broadcast Standards Council (CBSC). CAB members include 402 radio stations, 78 television stations, 1 network, and 15 specialty services. By February 1998, the CAB had two codes in place, one specific to violence on television and the other a general code of ethics. The human rights clause in the code stipulates that,

every person has a right to full and equal recognition and to enjoy certain fundamental rights and freedoms, broadcasters shall endeavor to ensure, to the best of their ability, that their programming contains no abusive or discriminatory material or comment that is based on matters of race, national or ethnic origin, color, religion, age, sex, marital status, or physical or mental handicap . . . [and, further, that] television and radio programming shall portray the wide spectrum of Canadian life. Women and men shall be portrayed with fair and equitable demographic diversity, taking into account age, civil status, race, ethnocultural origin, physical appearance, sexual orientation, background, religion, occupation, socioeconomic condition, and leisure activities, while actively pursuing a wide range of interests. Portrayals should also take into account the roles and contributions of the mentally, physically and socially challenged.

The articles of this code are the basis upon which complaints are received by the CBSC. The CBSC, an independent, nonprofit organization, was established by the CAB. Its mem-

bership includes 387 private-sector radio and television stations and networks programming in English, French, and other languages. With the approval of the CRTC, the council plays an intermediate regulatory role, free of government formalities and sanctions.

The Howard Stern Affair: A Case in Point

The response of the CBSC to complaints regarding Howard Stern’s appearance on Canadian radio and the response of the radio stations to the council provide a recent illustration of how the system operates within the regulatory field surrounding cultural diversity. The *Howard Stern Show* was first syndicated to Canada on 2 September 1997 and aired over CHOM-FM in Montreal and CILQ-FM in Toronto. Over the two weeks following the first broadcast, the CBSC received over 1,000 signed complaints in addition to complaints directed to the CRTC, which were forwarded to the CBSC. The CBSC, in turn, forwarded all complaints to the broadcasters, who, according to established procedures, were required to respond in writing to each of the complainants.

The complaints opened at least three lines of inquiry. First, the national origin of the broadcast brought into play sections of the Broadcasting Act limiting foreign content and talent. Second, the show appeared to violate the CAB Code of Ethics with respect to offensive statements directed to cultural groups, and third, it appeared to violate the code regarding sex-role stereotyping. The stations’ responses to the complainants noted that the content of the show did not reflect the views or opinions of the broadcasters and that on-air advisories were given; furthermore, the responses defended the content as comedy, not intended as serious commentary on social or political issues. The rationale presented by the broadcasters was insufficient to prevent an investigation by the CBSC’s regional councils in Quebec and Ontario. It is important to note that such an exercise emerges from voluntarily established codes drawn up by the CAB, an industry-wide trade association. The CBSC condemned the show. The sanctions were two-fold: first, the stations were required to announce the decisions during prime time and within 30 days of notification and to provide confirmation of the airing of the decisions to the CBSC and to each of the complainants. The CBSC can do no more. Second, the response of the stations will influence license renewal hearings before the CRTC, which has the authority to refuse renewal. CHOM-FM in Montreal canceled the show, and CILQ-FM in Toronto continued to carry it.

Radio Practices

Apart from employment equity, an improving situation in Canadian radio, and the curbing of bluntly offensive material, multicultural sensitivity in radio entails the broadcasting of

programs of special interest to minorities, of minority languages, and of popular music programming that meets minority needs, in other words, programming that permits members of minority groups to "hear themselves speak." Mainstream French- and English-language stations are weak in this respect. A few, very few, in metropolitan areas will broadcast alternative music and music specialized to the interests of various ethnic groups, and some will, in off hours, broadcast local community events in a language other than French or English. But for the most part, "ethnic" programming is to be found on alternative radio—community and internet radio.

Radio stations owned and operated by universities and colleges are the most notable in this respect. Most such stations broadcast directly to identified minorities in their region. For example, CJSW-FM, broadcasting from the University of Calgary, airs programs in German, Serbian, Croatian, and Chinese. CHSR-FM, operated by the University of New Brunswick in Fredericton, broadcasts multilingual programs sponsored by their South Asian, Muslim, and Chinese Student Associations. CISM-FM, owned by the University of Montreal and broadcasting in French, provides Afro-Haitian coverage. CHUO-FM, the station of the University of Ottawa, broadcasts in French and English, with coverage in several other languages, including German, Korean, and Cantonese.

In addition, independently owned and membership-supported community radio stations provide programming for a variety of minorities. CHIR-FM, Toronto, broadcasts regular programming in Greek and English over cable and the internet. CIBL-FM in Montreal, broadcasting principally in French, covers a wide variety of music meeting the interests of several local minority groups. CFRO-FM out of Vancouver presents programs in Spanish, Amharic, Farsi, Armenian, and Salish, a First Nations language. CKWR-FM of Waterloo, Ontario, broadcasts a newsmagazine on Monday evening featuring gay, lesbian, and bisexual issues. Several stations broadcast programs to the Mohawk people of Ontario, Quebec, and New York. These include, among others, CKON-FM, which straddles the three borders in Akwesasne; KWE-FM out of Tyendinaga, near Belleville, Ontario; and CKRK-FM out of Kahnawake, near Montreal. CFWE, "The Aboriginal Voice of Alberta," broadcasts via satellite to 200 communities across Canada. These are but a few of the several private and community stations broadcasting local programs to First Nation communities.

In addition, the CBC inaugurated broadcasting in the Arctic territories in 1960. Presently, CBC Nunavut broadcasts across

the eastern Arctic and northern Quebec in Inuktitut and English. In the west, CBC Northern Territories serves its listeners in six different languages with 48 hours of locally produced programming, 17 hours in aboriginal languages. CFRT, Radio Iqaluit, a French language station, serves its listeners in Nunavut and northern Quebec in French, Inuktitut, and English.

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See also Native American Radio

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Canadian Radio and the Music Industry

Preserving Canadian Culture

As is the case in many countries, relations between the radio and recording industries in Canada have been marked by ongoing tensions. Many of these, such as the desire by private broadcasters to reach audiences older than the adolescent population of active record buyers, are not unique to Canada. Others are rooted in the differences between the ownership and regulatory frameworks under which these two industries operate in the Canadian context. Although all radio stations in Canada are Canadian owned (as required by law), over 80 percent of all recordings sold in Canada are released by the Canadian subsidiaries of multinational music companies. Whereas the radio industry is subject to a high level of regulation, multinational record companies within Canada operate under few restrictions. Although radio broadcasters have no economic interest in the success of Canadian musicians and recordings, they have often taken the blame for the lack of such success and have been the vehicle for policies intended to remedy that lack.

The situation is further complicated in Canada by a broadcasting system that includes four public networks (all operated by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation [CBC]) and some 700 private radio stations. Although the CBC is committed, in its mandate and ongoing programming strategies, to the promotion of Canadian culture, music occupies a much less important place within its schedule than is the case for private broadcasters. Indeed, the prominence accorded to such commercially marginal forms as classical, jazz, and blues music within the programming of the CBC has, throughout much of its history, reduced its usefulness to a domestic recording industry that is oriented toward rock and other commercial forms. Although private radio has a much greater impact on the dissemination of music, it has no commitment to stimulating the sales of Canadian recordings beyond those measures imposed upon the industry by government regulators (discussed later).

Throughout most of the 20th century, the growth of the private radio industry in Canada has been intimately bound up with developments occurring in the United States. From the 1920s through the 1940s, connections between radio in the two countries were formal, as the most important English Canadian private radio stations (such as CFCF in Montreal and CFRB in Toronto) affiliated themselves with the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) or the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) and carried their programming. Although French-language radio, during this same period, broadcast concerts by francophone folksingers or country musicians (such as La Bolduc), music programming on English-language radio

included large numbers of music and variety shows originating in the United States. In the 1950s, Canadian radio programming was transformed along lines similar to those observable in the United States, away from network-based block programming and toward local station formats based on recorded music and on-air announcers. Although this development ended the direct affiliation of Canadian radio stations with U.S. networks, it also led to their adoption of music programming formats that were often identical to those developed in the United States and to playlists dominated by music from elsewhere.

In the 1960s private radio broadcasting in Canada came under increased criticism as musical performers and owners of Canadian-based recording companies blamed radio for the flight of Canadian musicians to the United States. Informal surveys made public during that decade showed alarmingly low levels of Canadian recordings on the playlists of Canadian radio stations. Among the journalists urging the Canadian government to take action to support Canadian music was Walter Greely, editor of the music industry trade magazine *RPM*, who pushed for the establishment of Canadian quotas for radio station playlists. Although many radio stations undertook voluntary campaigns to promote Canadian music during the late 1960s and early 1970s, the pressure to enact regulations to support a domestic recording industry mounted.

When implemented in 1971 by the Canadian Radio and Television Commission, Canadian content regulations required of radio stations that a significant percentage of their musical selections be Canadian. The Canadian character of recordings is determined by a point system, which assigns up to four points to selections depending on whether the artist, music composer, lyricist, or producer is Canadian. To qualify under Canadian content regulations, a musical selection must be accredited two points. Although the percentages of Canadian music programming required of broadcasters have increased several times since 1971 (by 1999 the required level for commercial broadcasters was 35 percent), these regulations have generated ongoing controversy over their fairness and effectiveness. For example, although certain recordings by the Canadian artist Bryan Adams have been disqualified (because their producer and composer or lyricist were not Canadian), others, such as U.S. singer Jennifer Warnes' renditions of Leonard Cohen compositions, have been deemed to have Canadian content (because the lyrics and music were by Cohen, a Canadian.) To many observers, this seems an unjust fixation on technical criteria at the expense of the obviously

greater "Canadian" quality of one national celebrity over another.

Throughout the 1970s, radio stations complained that a shortage of high-quality Canadian recordings limited their ability to meet these quotas while maintaining the interest of listeners. Nevertheless, this same period was one that saw a significant growth in the Canadian-owned sector of the domestic recording industry, as important record companies (such as Attic and Anthem) produced hit recordings and developed back catalogs. Although a causal link between radio quotas and the growth of a domestic recording industry has never been demonstrated in convincing statistical fashion, both are seen as having laid the groundwork for the enormous worldwide success of Canadian music in the 1990s, when Celine Dion, Shania Twain, Bryan Adams, and Alanis Morissette became among the world's best-selling recording artists.

As in the United States, relationships between the recording and radio industries have been marked by tension over conflicting objectives. Whereas record companies typically wish for radio stations to play new, youth-oriented music, Canadian radio stations since the 1970s have moved away from such music in an effort to reach older, more affluent audiences. A 1998 survey by Statistics Canada suggested that the most popular format on Canadian private radio stations was adult contemporary (at 25 percent of the total audience), followed by oldies, all-talk, and country formats, at approximately 12 percent each. Indeed, adult contemporary is even more popular in the predominantly French-speaking province of Quebec, where record companies often complain that the only forms of French-language music likely to receive airplay are those involving solo vocalists. Although long-term analyses of the Quebec music industries have stressed the need to develop a greater variety of musical genres in order to ensure that younger generations maintain an interest in francophone music, the homogeneity of radio formats in the province is seen as a significant barrier to such variety.

More specific tensions between the radio and recording industries have to do with the effects of repeated airplay on the sales of records. Here, there are significant differences between language groups. French-language record companies frequently complain that their recordings are overexposed on radio stations, played in high rotations that dissuade potential buyers from purchasing them. This overexposure is the result of government regulations that insist on a high level of French-language content for stations designated as French, and of audience tastes that favor locally produced French-language

music over music from France or other francophone companies. English-language record companies, in contrast, complain about low levels of rotation for new recordings, making it difficult for songs to "take off" and acquire hit status.

Because the allocation of frequencies to new radio stations in Canada is determined by a federal regulatory agency, following competitive public hearings, public debate over the musical needs of particular communities is often heated. A well-known (and unsuccessful) attempt to license a dance music station in Toronto, for example, involved lobbying on the part of African-Canadian community groups, associations of nightclub disc jockeys, and small record companies. Government regulators awarded the frequency to those proposing a country music format, citing the greater commercial viability of a country station and responding to a well-organized campaign on the part of the local country music industry. Nevertheless, radio stations, once licensed for a particular format, may usually shift formats in response to changing market conditions with relative ease. Since the late 1990s, the Toronto area has had dance-oriented formats as a result of strategic format changes by stations licensed for other purposes. This tension between a public service conception of radio broadcasting and market competition will likely become more acute with the introduction of digital radio. As radio-based music services become more specialized, it is difficult to imagine how formats devoted to tightly defined niches (such as Broadway musicals or cool jazz) will meet Canadian content quotas or other regulatory objectives intended to support local music industries.

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Canadian Radio Drama

Reflecting the country's largely two-language culture, Canadian radio drama exhibits a distinctly two-sided appearance. Quite different cadres of writers, actors, and producers developed often strikingly different dramatic traditions.

French Radio Drama

It is within the context of private radio, and more specifically at CKAC—the first French-language radio station in North America, launched in 1922—that the first experiments in radio drama writing were developed. There have been close to 100 French radio drama series aired since 1923, lasting from one to ten years, and nearly 300 radio drama serials, which were aired by various Quebec radio stations, particularly by CKAC (1923 to 1955), CKVL (1948 to 1968), and CBF (1937 to 1972). Nearly 500 authors and more than 5,000 of their Quebec creations had been broadcast up to 2000.

Origins of Radio Drama at CKAC

On 5 April 1923, less than one year after its inauguration, CKAC broadcast its first radio play, "*Félix Poutre*"—an 1871 classic of Quebec literature written by Louis Fréchette that was produced by Jacques-Narcisse Cartier, the president and founder of CKAC. The production used 13 actors placed around a microphone and presented eventful moments from the trial of a *Patriote* in the Canadian Revolution of 1837, who was condemned to death but was saved from hanging thanks to his convincing mimicry of madness.

The next step was to create a general cultural program, *L'Heure provinciale* (1929–39), funded by the Quebec government, which broadcast, aside from poetry and opera, excerpts from classical French and Quebec repertoires. The producer of this program, Henri Letondal, drew from various theatrical publications, such as *La Petite Illustration*, for his choice of contemporary plays. *La Demi-heure théâtrale du Docteur J.O. Lambert* (1933–37) also presented adaptations of European works and laid the ground for yet another phase, the development of a program dedicated to works from Quebec, *Le Théâtre de chez-nous* (1938–49), created by Henri Letondal. These radio plays explored typical Quebec situations, drawing from the comic, dramatic, psychological, and social essences of the culture and using a language marked by the vocabulary and accents of the 1930s.

Radio productions from Quebec can be grouped into three types of dramatic writing, each of which left its mark on various eras: (1) radio dramas, (2) radio serials, and (3) comic sketches. Radio dramas stemming from stage productions were established at the end of the 1930s with the series "*Le Théâtre*

de chez-nous"; the radio play *Un coucher de soleil* (1942) by Henri Letondal is a good example of this genre. The radio drama was defined more as a style of radio writing during the 1950s, and it became a more distinctly experimental and symbolic language within the scope of the radio serial. *Le Coureur de marathon* (1951) by Claude Gauvreau, *L'Homme qui regardait couler l'eau* (1951) by Yvette Naubert, and *Confession d'un héros* (1961) by Hubert Aquin, as well as the works of Louis Pelland, *Le Véridique procès de Barbe-bleue* (1954) and *Voltaire s'en va-t-en Canada* (1971), are models of this trend.

However, the first major works of radio were created within the genre of the serial: *Le Curé de village* (1935–38) and *La Pension Velder* (1937–42) by Robert Choquette, and *Un homme et son péché* (1939–65) by Claude-Henri Grignon. Then, during World War II, production increased, and works of note such as *Jeunesse dorée* (1940–65) by Jean Desprez and *La Fiancée du commando* (1942–47) by Paul Gury were aired. During the 1950s and 1960s, themes became more diverse; a work of anticommunist propaganda during the Cold War stands out—*Béni fut son berceau* (1951) by Françoise Lorange—as does a portrait of regional and maritime life in Quebec's Gaspé region—*Je vous ai tant aimé* (1951–54) by Jovette Bernier. The cycle of radio serials that developed from 1934 to 1974 included an original work based on criminal intrigue, *Marie Tellier, avocate* (1964–69) by Maurice Gagnon; crime shows were a genre rarely practiced at Radio-Canada. A characteristic of these radio serials was the use of short scenes that fragmented the plots and sectioned them into five 15-minute programs per week. The content was built around known character types, evolving within complex situations, which in turn were interlaced within several plots. A narrator explained the essential elements necessary for understanding the plot. The historical serial was generally built around a series of programs in which the plot was completed within each episode, but each of these smaller plots also fit into a longer chronological narrative. Each program was a 30- or 60-minute weekly event. *Le Ciel par-dessus les toits* (1947–55) by Guy Dufresne, *L'Histoire du Canada* (1957–60) by Jean Laforest, *Histoire de Montréal* (1967–68) by Yves Thériault, and *Les Visages de l'Amour* (1955–70) by Charlotte Savary are important works in this genre. Finally, comic sketches filled in certain daily niches, such as *Quelles nouvelles?* (1939–58) by Jovette Bernier or *Chez Miville* (1956–70) with the authors Albert Brie, Louis-Martin Tard, Louis Landry, and Michel Dudrigne. These authors developed a characteristic language and dialogue structure, making good use of witticisms, puns, irony, and situational comedy revolving around archetypal characters. The themes explored were sociopolitical and served as a focal point for a critique of Que-

bec society in the 1960s, the period of the Quiet Revolution in Quebec.

From Private Radio at CKAC to Public Radio at CRCM and CBF

By the end of the 1930s, the status of the principal radio genre was sufficiently strengthened that public radio in Canada could propose a programming schedule that contained the principal models already being used at CKAC. Between 1932 and 1936, the Canadian Broadcasting Commission (CBC) set in place an important programming schedule while Canada waited for the law that would create public radio, CBC/Société Radio-Canada (1936). Two series broadcast on CRCM are worth mentioning: *Promenades en Nouvelle-France* (1933–34) by Robert Choquette, which presented historical portraits, and *Le Fabuliste La Fontaine à Montréal* (1934) by the same author, which consisted of 15 half-hour comedies. These programs projected a humorous and ironic image of Montreal's bourgeois society. At CBF, launched on 3 November 1937, many years would go by before original Quebec creations would be broadcast within specially designed programs such as the series *Radio-théâtre canadien* (1951–53), even though radio serials were already being broadcast at CBF as early as 1938. During CBF's first 15 years, the station offered works principally by classical and contemporary authors from the international literary scene. These important radio drama series included *Le Radiothéâtre de Radio-Canada* (1943–56), the drama segment of *Radio-Collège* (1941–56), which in 1951 became *Sur toutes les scènes du monde* (1951–75).

Influences of the Massey Report on French Canadian Radio Drama at CBF

In the wake of the *Massey Report* (1951) on Canadian arts and culture, a program was developed, specifically dedicated to young authors, in order to encourage Quebec creations. The program *Nouveautés dramatiques* (1950–62), produced by Guy Beaulne, proposed works from numerous authors; some of these works were, from a dramatic perspective, of very high quality. Other works of note include *Zone interdite* (1950), a series written by Pierre Dagenais; *Flagrant délit, Billet de faveur* (1955), and *Les Ineffables* (1956), series produced by Hubert Aquin; and *Le Théâtre canadien* (1955). All of these series presented works by young authors such as Jacques Languirand, Luan Asllani, Marcel Blouin, and Georges Cartier, who explored, among other genres, the tradition of the Theatre of the Absurd at the urging of producer Aquin. During the 1960s, two series stood out: *Le Petit théâtre de poche* (1965) and *Studio d'essai* (1968), but one must note that their authors wrote more frequently for television. The 1970s ushered in a revival of radio drama broadcasting. *Premières* (1971–86)

became the major series, airing the plays of many Quebec authors whose inventiveness, research, and thematic development rejuvenated radio writing. The series *Escale* (1978–83) offered a variety of literary genres: radiophonic short stories, introspective radio dramas, and tales of fantasy or whimsy, as well as monologues and comedic dialogues. *La Feuillaison* (1972–87), produced by Jean-Pierre Saulnier, continued in the tradition of experimental theater. Each of these series submitted its best scripts to the international contest organized by *La Communauté radiophonique des Programmes de langue française*, which awards Le Prix Paul Gilson.

Rupture in Programming and Revival of Radio Drama

If the end of the 1980s marked a rupture in the programming of radio drama at CBF-FM, because the important series had ended by 1987, producers Claude Godin and Line Meloche, beginning in 1991, nevertheless returned to the airwaves with two experimental series: *Videoclip* and *Atelier de création radiophonique*. Jean-Pierre Saulnier proposed a historical series for the occasion of the 500th anniversary of the discovery of America; Saulnier produced a work by Yves Sioui-Durand and Catherine Joncas, *La Redécouverte de l'Amérique* (1992), a wonderfully poetic drama. The next year, Line Meloche produced another historical serial, *Les Fils de la liberté* (1993) by Louis Caron (scripted by Annie Piérard). By the mid-1990s, "radiofiction" opened up toward new aural and thematic aesthetics. Line Meloche was the originator of this change. Radio language in the 1990s was in a state of transformation: explorations included fantasy, tales of crime and espionage, and the new techniques of communication. Concurrently, another original experiment was undertaken by producer and author Cynthia Dubois on the theme of eroticism. The series *Je vais et je viens entre les mots* (1995–96) demonstrated the author's outstanding creativity. Dubois also wrote *L'Arbre de vie* (1997–), a very postmodern work, with its splintered structure incorporating diverse forms of dialogue within a theme in which the couple and the family are the two polar extremes. Between the acerbic dialogue of the conflicting lovers, an interview, an open-line show, or even a monologue could be interjected, all of which converge to create a new dynamic between the author, the characters, the actors, and the listeners.

In radio drama writing, particularly since the end of the 1980s, the treatment of sound has in many ways amplified the construction of meaning. The themes are increasingly supported by the sound effects and the musical selections, the role of which is just as important as scenery and costumes are for stage productions. Furthermore, it has been discovered that textual structure on the radio can support quoted aural inserts, flashbacks, superimposed sophisticated sound effects in the foreground, and very powerful musical sound environments

that at times can drown out the voices of the actors or bring about a reduction of the narrative function. Introspective narration has been used extensively in order to convey a particular sense of time and an interior or exterior space different from that of the main narrative voice—a traditional technique that has been given a new contextual function in recent productions. The statements become more complex, supported by more sophisticated technical processes (filters, vocal interplay, distances from the microphone) and by the use of nonlinear and ever more diversified dramatic structures.

Producers

After Jacques-Narcisse Cartier, the first radio producer, Henri Letondal, Robert Choquette, and Fred Barry followed; all of these laid the foundation for the first models of dramatic productions at CKAC. A few names should be added, because at CBF, Jacques Auger, Guy Mauffette, Lucien Thériault, Armand Plante, and Florent Forget all played determining roles in the success of certain productions between 1930 and 1950. In the 1950s and 1960s, producers continued a tradition of defining radio as an art form and leaning toward a more diverse aural aesthetic. Their experiments were all milestones on the road leading to an artistic vision of dramatic writing in Quebec. Their work was an exploration of the new technical means that opened the way to research into the modernity of the language of radio. The early 1970s were a watershed period in the history of Quebec radio theater, where a new interrogation of the specificity of sound began with Madeleine Gérôme, Jean-Pierre Saulnier, and Gérard Binet. One of Jacques Languirand's works, "Feed back" (1971), was significant in this respect because it used the resources of sound recording in order to give structure to the idea of the failure of communication—as it became obsession following a nuclear holocaust—by the repetition of the same aural and narrative motifs. The radio play by Monique Bosco, "Le Cri de la folle enfouie dans l'asile de la mort" (1978), produced by Madeleine Gérôme, presented a sound creation by musician Gabriel Carpentier and was proposed for the Italia Prize. "Belles de nuit" (1983) by Yolande Villemaire, produced by Jean-Pierre Saulnier, won an award, the Prix du concours des oeuvres radiophoniques de Radio-Canada. It must also be noted that producers experimented with new styles in a context of the production of meaning in which the symbolic system of sound participated as an equal partner. During the past decade, producers have explored freer forms and new musical and sound effect codes, which have served as support for new themes and acting techniques.

Since the autumn of 1996, and each season since, a dramatic series, *Radiofictions en direct*, has been broadcast live on the French network, CBF-FM, of La Société Radio-Canada. These radio events, played live in a concert hall, call upon the talents of musicians, a sound effects technician, and actors

whose experience ensures an exceptional level of quality to the broadcasts. The producer, Line Meloche, has succeeded in rekindling interest at the end of the century for an art form in which radio theater and stage theater find a common ground.

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English Radio Drama

Early English-Canadian radio drama was much influenced by radio drama in the United States as practiced by the pioneer networks the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) and the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) from the late 1920s. By the mid-1930s drama was American radio's most popular form: from the many popular dramatic series—mystery and adventure, soap opera, variety, and comedy—to the prestigious "sustaining" (unsponsored) anthology dramatic series, serious and experimental. The earliest of these were NBC's *Radio Guild*, which started in 1929, and the CBS *Columbia Workshop*, which began in 1931. Their experimental techniques were aimed at adapting the universal dramatic mode to the limitations and strengths of this new sound-based medium. By 1938, of the 26 leading American evening radio programs, 20 were dramatic. Radio drama was gaining recognition as a distinct creative and technical mode of theater.

Although there were some early radio-drama experiments in Canada starting in the mid-1920s, the most popular radio-

drama programs among English-speaking Canadians through the 1930s were the American dramatic series. These were received by Canadians from powerful distant American stations or were broadcast by Canadian affiliates of the major American radio networks. Some were even broadcast by the first Canadian network, the Canadian National Railways Radio Department (CNR Radio) from the late 1920s, and by the nationalized English-Canadian networks that followed it: the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission (CRBC) from 1933 until 1936 and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) thereafter. These pioneer American radio dramas had a strong influence on early Canadian dramas in this medium.

The golden age of American radio drama was the decade of the 1930s. Although there were some important American radio-drama achievements even until the mid-1950s, American television soon captured sponsors, budgets, and audiences, relegating American radio to a secondary role. This U.S. cultural and commercial transformation from radio to television was the opportunity for nationalized Canadian radio to complete its own network of radio-drama production centers in the 1940s and to achieve its own golden age. Unlike French-Canadian radio drama, important productions of which were broadcast on several private stations as well as on the French-language CBC (*Radio-Canada*), most significant English-language Canadian radio drama was produced on only the CBC. Although CBC drama “producers” (each one both produced and directed) learned many basic technical and creative lessons from American popular and serious radio dramas, CBC radio drama did develop original creative styles and techniques in the 1940s and 1950s, particularly under its senior producers, Andrew Allan and Esse W. Ljungh. The Canadian golden age of radio drama lasted until well into the 1960s.

The Beginnings of English-Canadian Radio Drama: CNR Radio, CKUA, and the CRBC

The earliest English-Canadian radio-drama network broadcasts were produced from mid-1925 at the Moncton, New Brunswick, station of CNR Radio. They were mainly popular post-Victorian stage plays, transposed to radio without much understanding of the need for adaptation to the sound medium, especially to its lack of visual dramatic cues. The first regular weekly anthology drama series in Canada, called the *CNRV Players*, began broadcasts over CNR Radio’s national network in 1926; it was written by Jack Gillmore and produced by him over station CNRV in Vancouver. These broadcasts included adaptations of Shakespeare and other classical plays and fictions, adaptations of many standard modern stage plays, and a few original radio plays commissioned by Gillmore. He grasped the distinctive nature of radio drama, and his radio adaptations for this new sound medium accommo-

dated its strengths and limitations, even before the 1929 start of the NBC *Radio Guild*. Gillmore’s series lasted until the 1932 nationalization of the CNR Network, which became the CRBC.

Another pioneer radio-drama series, the *CKUA Players*, was broadcast throughout the 1930s over CKUA, the independent radio station of the University of Alberta. Produced mainly by Sheila Marryat, it included some original plays by such Canadian writers as Gwen Pharis Ringwood and Elsie Park Gowan. From the late 1930s, this series was also broadcast over an informal western Canadian radio network and even over the CBC’s regional and national networks.

An ambitious series of dramatizations of Canadian history called *Romance of Canada* had been commissioned by CNR Radio in 1930. The dramatist chosen was Merrill Denison, a well-known Canadian stage writer. The producer was Tyrone Guthrie, a London theater director who had begun his career as a writer and producer of British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) radio dramas (and who would return 20 years later to found the Stratford, Ontario, Shakespeare Festival). Guthrie produced the first 14-play season of *Romance of Canada*. The plays of the second season were directed by his protégé Rupert Caplan, also a stage professional, who had just returned from acting at the Province Town Playhouse in New York. Caplan went on to a long career as a senior producer of radio drama—first for CNR Radio; then, after it was nationalized, for the CRBC; and finally for its successor, the CBC.

Between its founding in 1933 and its transformation in 1936, the CRBC increased the number of its weekly English-language radio-drama series to as many as 17. Its best-known national series was Rupert Caplan’s *Radio Theatre Guild* (a name echoing NBC’s *Radio Guild*), which broadcast original Canadian, American, and European plays. Also very popular were *The Youngbloods of Beaver Bend* and a series produced by Don Henshaw, *Forgotten Footsteps*.

CBC Radio Drama’s Golden Age

When the CRBC became the CBC in 1936 (mainly a political change of administration), its first national supervisor of drama, Rupert Lucas, further expanded the radio-drama offerings of the network, including not only adaptations from Shakespeare and the theater classics and from classical fiction, but also some original plays and documentaries written primarily for radio. Lucas established a national radio-drama series at CBC Toronto and set up parallel regional production units in Montreal, Winnipeg, and Vancouver, each with its own major regional series.

When Canada entered World War II in 1939, the CBC began to make educational and propaganda programs for its nationwide audiences, as the American networks were to do starting in 1941. On the other hand, the CBC never abandoned

its practice of ambitious original radio-drama productions, which survived the war to become, in effect, the National Canadian Theatre. The visionary who accomplished this was Andrew Allan, who had worked in Toronto from the mid-1930s as a radio producer of popular plays and variety shows; he worked in England from 1937 and returned to Canada in September 1939 to become regional drama producer in Vancouver. There he earned an impressive reputation as a producer of original play series, particularly *Vancouver Theatre*, and as the organizer of an excellent repertory company of writers and actors. With the departure of Rupert Lucas for NBC in New York in 1943, Allan was appointed national drama supervisor in his place, a position he held until 1955. He invited many of his Vancouver repertory team to work with him in Toronto, particularly the actor John Drainie and the writers Fletcher Markle, Len Peterson, and Lister Sinclair (who was also an excellent actor). Allan added to his CBC Toronto repertory company a number of other Canadian dramatists and actors as well as the composer-conductor Lucio Augustini. He also invited Esse W. Ljungh to Toronto to help produce the growing number of national series.

One of Allan's first acts as CBC drama supervisor in 1944 was to create an hour-long weekly national anthology series of original Canadian radio plays out of Toronto, called *Stage* (*Stage '44*, *Stage '45*, etc., later *CBC Stage*). The year *Stage* was founded—1944—marks the beginning of the Canadian golden age of radio drama. This was made possible partly because (as noted) American radio's golden age largely ended with the postwar introduction of television. Allan's major goal for the *Stage* series was to create a professional Canadian theater. Although there were many experienced Canadian actors and dramatists and an excellent semiprofessional Dominion Drama Festival, until 1944 there was no professional stage-theater institution in Canada, as existed in many other countries. This was mainly because professional American and British theater companies dominated (and often physically owned) the major stage theaters in Canadian cities, and these companies mainly offered popular American and British stage plays. Allan believed that the CBC offered a unique opportunity to lay the foundation for a professional Canadian theatre drawing on Canadian plays, producers, and actors. He conceived the idea that the CBC Radio Drama Department could become Canada's first professional national theater, and thus the subtitle he gave to *Stage: Canada's National Theatre on the Air*. Allan produced virtually every play in this premier national anthology series until he retired as national drama supervisor in 1955, and he produced other plays in this series until 1960. All were real-time, live-to-air productions. Among Allan's best playwrights were Peterson, Sinclair, and Markle, but other notable playwrights included W.O. Mitchell, Patricia Joudry, Gerald Nixon, Reuben Ship, Joseph Schull, and Tommy Tweed.

In 1947 Harry Boyle, CBC's program supervisor, created a second ambitious weekly national anthology series, called *CBC Wednesday Night*, which broadcast a schedule of original radio plays and important classical and modern European and American dramas and adaptations. Each lengthy *Wednesday Night* program also included related talks or documentaries and often music, providing a whole cultural evening. The plays in this series were produced by the four senior CBC producers, Allan, Esse Ljungh, J. Frank Willis (also CBC head of features), all out of Toronto, and Rupert Caplan (of *Romance of Canada* fame) from Montreal. That same year, the physical network of CBC regional drama production centers was completed, with facilities at Halifax and Calgary. By 1947, then, CBC was broadcasting weekly: two anthology series of full-length plays, plus a major half-hour drama series from each of its six regional studios. From the early 1940s to the early 1960s, some 600 serious dramas were produced by the CBC, at least half of them original dramas for radio. During the 1950s the CBC broadcast in total some 20 weekly CBC English-language radio-drama series, including also the whole panoply of popular dramatic forms lost to American radio with the coming of television to the United States in the mid-1940s.

Mature and Shrinking CBC Radio Drama after 1960

By the mid-1950s conditions became less ideal for Canadian radio drama. CBC Television's English network began in 1952, soon to be joined by a private television network, CTV, each with several drama series. As in the United States, television gradually began to steal away both drama professionals from CBC Radio and radio's audiences for drama. The Shakespeare Festival at Stratford, Ontario, one of the first professional Canadian stage companies, was also founded in the early 1950s by Tyrone Guthrie (the creator of *Romance of Canada*); it also lured away CBC Radio's drama-trained theater professionals. The Stratford Festival was soon joined by a growing number of other professional stage companies, beginning the movement toward a mature Canadian professional stage-theater institution, which burgeoned in the 1970s. Allan's vision was being realized, and, ironically but inevitably, it was weakening his original radio-drama creation. Nevertheless, Allan's successor, Esse W. Ljungh, produced and sponsored many notable plays in the mature CBC sound medium from 1955 to the mid-1970s.

By the late 1960s, the CBC Radio Drama Department, having lost its function as the only professional medium for Canadian drama, gradually reduced production. Being outside the spotlight was nevertheless an opportunity for the next generation of national producers, John Reeves in Toronto and Gerald Newman in Vancouver, to experiment with new dramatic forms and techniques. These experiments were aided by the 1960s move from live-to-air performances to taped pro-

ductions, which came to resemble the out-of-sequence recording practiced in film production; however, radio plays also lost the edge of the previous live productions. With the growth of television as the major entertainment medium, Canadian radio (like American radio almost a generation before) was gradually changing into a medium for mainly music, news, and talk. Although *Stage* and *Wednesday Night* (later known as *Tuesday Night*) continued until the mid-1970s, the institution of CBC radio drama built up in the first decades was slowly disappearing.

There was a revival of cultural radio in the 1980s, and the number of national anthology drama series grew again. A subtle change, though, was taking place in the way listeners were being addressed. As a policy decision, CBC English radio drama became more populist in form and content and was aimed at a more general audience. A new flagship series of original Canadian radio plays, *Sunday Matinee*, was founded, but there was also the more populist *Vanishing Point* and *Stereo Theatre* and the dramas on *Morningside*. By the early 1990s, partly because of drastic cuts in government funding, none of the above series had survived in its original forms, and CBC radio drama was once more shrinking. The 1990s witnessed the disappearance of the previous forms and functions of CBC's former "Senior Service," the Radio Drama Depart-

ment. Nevertheless, exemplary radio theater, serious and popular, is still being produced by the CBC in the new millennium. Canadian audiences can continue to experience the particular sound theater offered by radio and can learn how to use their imaginations to apprehend the sound images and the strong emotional communication of this unique dramatic form.

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See also Drama, U.S.; Drama, Worldwide; Playwrights on Radio

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Canadian Radio Satire

Radio satire is a continuation of an ancient tradition of humor that converges or collides the serious with the comic; ironically reverses social, linguistic, and bodily hierarchies; ridicules the traditional from the point of view of the contemporary; and addresses aspects of the human condition that range from the darkest, most cynical, and acerbic to the most lighthearted, mindless, and silly. Radio satire, like prose and poetry, needs to be understood in terms of its place within the scale of possible comic expression, which ranges from the serious to the light and the reception of which often crosses the boundaries of the scholarly and the popular.

Two Cultures

Radio satire provides countries around the world with entertainment in a familiar voice and accent that expresses cultures of laughter in their local communities and languages and that does so in ways that confirm or transgress complex political and moral issues. Canadian radio satire needs to be under-

stood as one example of how two distinct societies, English-speaking Canada and French-speaking Quebec, laugh at themselves and at each other (Nielsen, 1999). Most of the time, the two audiences are not aware of exactly what the other is laughing about, because the vast majority of English audiences have no knowledge of French programs and vice versa. Although French-language satire on the private networks and on *La Société de Radio-Canada* (the French public network) addresses the small number of French-speaking minorities across Canada, its primary audience lives in the province of Quebec, where the majority of French speakers reside. The distinctness of Quebec society is defined in terms of the French language and culture and its differences from the rest of Canada and North America. On the other hand, satire on the English-language private networks and on the publicly funded Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) addresses a distinctly English-Canadian society that is typically defined in terms of its differences from the United States rather than differences from French Quebec. As Nielsen suggests in his many

writings on this topic, when a French or English accent appears in radio satire on either network, it is almost always about laughing at the other or at differences with America.

A further difference in the way the two radio cultures within Canada have developed is readily identifiable. Although satire in English Canada has its origins in private radio networks in the 1930s, the public radio network has traditionally produced the majority of programs in this genre. This is explained by the possibility of filling the airwaves with programming from the United States. Although many early American satires were translated into French, the fact that most programs were not translated meant that a demand for local programming was stronger in French-speaking Quebec than in the rest of Canada (de la Garde, 1991). In Quebec, private networks have pursued commercial programs, whereas the public networks have tended to produce more seriously engaged cultural and social material.

English-Language Satire

The earliest examples in English-speaking Canada that mix serious and light radio satire themes were Jack Bawdry's Vancouver production of *Millie and Lizzy* (1930–35) and Art MacGregor and Frank Deaville's Calgary production of *Woodhouse and Hawkins* (1933–44). Bawdry's series was a political satire on the Great Depression from the point of view of two working-class women, and MacGregor and Deaville's series was a lighter satire on the theme of the "country bumpkin." The former celebrated working-class values and determination, and the latter used a mixture of accent and vernacular to poke fun at rural traditions from a contemporary urban viewpoint. Two other figures at the light end of the satirical scale that would go on to dominate English-Canadian comedy until the 1960s also began their careers in this period. Johnny Wayne and Frank Schuster began in private radio in the late 1930s before eventually hosting a regular satirical series that would run from 1947 to 1950 before moving on to a career on television that would end in 1989. Wayne and Schuster's satires followed the burlesque format. The first act featured light stand-up comedy routines, followed by word plays and songs and then a parody of a contemporary play or musical that often included sexual (and, by today's standards, sexist) references.

Toward the end of the 1930s, the publicly funded CBC came to dominate program production in almost all fields. From the outset, the CBC sought to bring together the best artistic talents from the various regions—Halifax, Vancouver, Winnipeg, Montreal—to create production teams for the national network based in Toronto. Between 1936 and 1961, the CBC produced more than 300 radio theater series, including more than 8,000 individual plays, of which half were original productions. Around 70 satiric radio theater plays were

broadcast between 1940 and 1952, of which 50 were written for the prestigious *Stage* series, directed by Andrew Allan. Allan produced over 450 shows during the first 12 years of the series. During the same period, more than 70 writers and over 150 actors and actresses were employed. A reading of the themes of all the plays produced by Allan suggests that the questioning of the social order was more evident at the beginning of the series (1943–48) than in the final period of production (1948–55).

The influence of western Canadian satirical writers in the production teams of the *Stage* series was especially marked in the first period. Len Peterson (Saskatchewan), W.O. Mitchell (Saskatchewan), and Tommy Tweed (Manitoba), along with Fletcher Markle, Lister Sinclair, Bernard Braden, Andrew Allan (the director who brought the others from Vancouver), and, somewhat later, Alan King, made up the key writers whose texts severely criticized society. The writers of *Stage* who were famous for their critical satirical spirit came from western Canada, and those who were associated mainly with light drama and comedy that were generally non-controversial originated in central Canada (Ontario and Quebec). Generally, critiques of social class and the economy—that is, the expression of an active opposition to the social order—were most evident between 1944 and 1948. After 1948 social criticism became more introspective and focused on the questioning of such cultural norms as traditional family values or gender roles, rather than on social classes or the economic system.

The distinction between serious and popular radio comedy has its origins in ancient forms, as was mentioned previously. However, it should be pointed out that the carnival origins of satire are heavily concentrated on grotesque elements and on reference to the lower bodily stratum. As one critic has remarked, "Vaudeville and music hall humour had been centered in the groin and heart. Radio humour located above the neckline" (Clark, 1997). In its first decades, radio satire presented a reified version of carnival laughter in the sense that there remained words that could not be uttered, comic reversals that could not be achieved, and levels of laughter that could never be expressed. In the golden age of radio, satire was sanitized. Nonetheless, certain of *Stage*'s ironic satires did carry out a hierarchical inversion, one of the most fundamental conditions of seriocomic satire. In principle, the inversion is based on the carnivalesque logic of opposition, the simultaneous process of negation and synthesis that links the worlds of the "serious" and the "comic" rather than substituting one for the other or replacing higher strata with lower ones. *Stage*'s radio literature is mediated by the moral horizon of the era and hence offered little or no swearing or grotesque realism.

A key early figure who would challenge the moral and political horizon of his day was Max Ferguson, whose comic stylings in *Rawhide* began on the English-language CBC in

1958. Ferguson blended impersonation, satiric political comedy, and music in a morning radio show. His goal exceeded the lighter version of seriocomedie and purposefully pushed the limits of the genre. He is quoted as having said, "My goal is to be taken off the air." In 1961 his wish came true when *Rawhide* was canceled following a particularly acerbic attack on a member of parliament.

Since 1960 CBC radio has produced over 80 satires in the form of one-hour radio plays and irregular mini-satires series. An example of the latter is the 15-minute weekly comedy series on the three-hour *Morning* program over the last 20 years. The *Morning* series also carried the Charley Farquhusan character, a send-up of the rural-urban theme played by Don Harron, one of the program's early hosts. By 1971 the main satirical program for the CBC became the weekly half-hour series the *Royal Canadian Air Farce*, created by Roger Abott and Don Ferguson. In its early years, the *Farce* was a marginal series that broadcast the studio radio performance of four comedians. In its fifth season it shifted toward a more vaudevillian style and took its show on the road to perform live broadcasts on location. It continued to develop the old vaudevillian technique, and in 1996—its final season in radio—it remained one of the only live traveling radio comedy series in North America. Its style grew from a wide mixture of the short sketch, stand-up comedy, English music hall, and theater of the absurd. The *Farce* is probably one of the most important programs in Canadian radio history, given its pioneering role in stretching the possibilities of what could be said or presented in the genre on a public medium.

In the 1990s the CBC produced a series of similar studio comedies such as the *Frantics* and *Double Exposure* and, more recently, live programs such as *Radio Free Vestibule* and *Madly off in All Directions*. All these series built on the farce's political satire, but none have retained the traveling live broadcast format in quite the same way. After 20 years on radio, the *Farce* transferred its production to the television studio, where it has enjoyed a successful run as a mainstream light and popular seriocomedie in the late 1990s.

Since the 1980s, English-Canadian seriocomedie has had a whole cycle of popular successes both nationally and in the United States. Historically, this flight of talent has been from the visual arts and not radio. The exodus to the United States entertainment industry began in the early days of cinema. The vaudeville-style physical comedians have had the most success in the American industry, and many of them did get their start in radio satire—from Mary Pickford to Allen Young, Leslie Nielsen, and Jim Carrey. Young was the first to leave the CBC to star in the second biggest budgeted television program to come out of Hollywood in 1949: *The Alan Young Show*. Wayne and Schuster also did American television in the 1950s, and since the 1960s a disproportionate Canadian influence has been clearly observable in seriocomedie in the United States—

from the late John Candy to Martin Short, Eugene Levy, Andrea Martin, Mike Myers, Howie Mandel, and many others (Pevere and Diamond, 1996).

French-Language Satire

French-language radio satire also has its origins in private radio during the 1930s. The earliest examples of mixing serious and light radio satire themes for popular audiences are Eduard Baudry's *Par le trou de la serrure* (1932–33) and Alfred Rousseau's *Les Amours de Ti-Jos et les mémoires de Max Potvin* (1938–45). Baudry's series was one of the first light cultural satires on day-to-day family life in Montreal, whereas Rousseau worked on one of the first burlesque-style variety programs, *Radio-Divertissement Molson* (1935–38), and developed it further in *Les Amours de Ti-Jos* (1938–45). Rousseau was the first to innovate through a burlesque and vaudevillian style that mixed songs, monologues, and character sketches. The celebrated Quebec radio dramatist Robert Choquette also began his career writing satirical series for private radio, as did Gatien Gélinais, who is considered to be one of Quebec's first indigenous playwrights. Choquette's first works, *La fabuliste La Fontaine à Montréal* (1934) and *Vacances d'artistes* (1935)—like those of Gélinais, *Le Carrousel de la gaieté* (1937–38) and *Le train de Plaisir* (1938–40)—were weekly social satires that played with the reversal of upper and lower social strata by satirizing the poverty of French Canadians while celebrating their ability to create and express themselves in vernacular language. The most popular radio satire in the history of Quebec, which satirized social themes in the rural-urban context by using vernacular language and elements from the theater of the absurd, was *Nazaire and Barnabie* (1939–58) by Olivier Légaré.

A standard theme across the history of social satires on Quebec radio established in these early series relates to language. Social satires draw from the deep tension between traditional and modern culture through the ironic use of subdialects, local oral traditions, and regional accents. Language is stratified from top to bottom and is defined through a struggle between the peripheral forces of popular speech and the centralizing pull of literary correctness. Language stratification plays a key role in establishing the scale of satire, which ranges from the serious to the light and which addresses audiences that are potentially both popular and scholarly. Historically in Quebec, private radio produced more of the lighter, "popular" entertainment and less of the more serious or "scholarly" radio plays. Radio-Canada does not produce as much popular entertainment as the private networks do, even though the public network often addresses a popular audience. Although private radio allows certain popular voices to speak in their own slang, Radio-Canada tends to treat the vernacular voice as something that can be innovated (as on private radio) but also,

and more frequently, as something negative that should be corrected. Like the reader or the spectator, the addressee of satirical works on Radio-Canada is most often a listener from the middle class. He or she can be part of the popular or the scholarly audience, but when a popular addressee appears in a role, he or she is often the object of satirical ridicule, parody, or irony.

Once we understand that the scale of narratives ranges from serious to light while the audience ranges from scholarly to popular, we can better situate the variety, burlesque, and satirical magazines that developed social satire from the 1940s to 1970. Among the best examples are the variety show *Radio-Carabin* (1944–53) by Émilien Labelle, Laurent Jodoin, and Paul Leduc; the cabaret show *Chez Miville* (1956–70) by Paul Legendre; and the satirical magazine *Carte blanche* (1951–53) by Fernand Seguin, André Roche, and Roger Rolland.

The variety show is composed of a mixture of songs, music, and light humorous skits. Each *Radio-Carabin* show lasted 30 minutes. The satirical skits often conveyed such serious social issues as housing problems and poverty and mocked “high society.” The cabaret series *Chez Miville*, which aired every morning between 8:00 and 9:00 A.M., differed from the variety show because it interspersed serious journalistic interviews or editorials on moral or political themes with periods of music and light skits. Comic stereotypes of the time were created through parody rather than political irony. Although the show avoided the most extreme versions of political satire and theater of the absurd, and although it was perhaps the most popular morning radio program throughout the 1960s, it ended very soon after the famous “October Crisis” in 1970. The federal government suspended civil liberties and sent orders for mass arrests of artists and intellectuals suspected of collaboration with the terrorist group le Front de la Libération de Québec, which had kidnapped and ransomed a federal politician and a British diplomat. Radio-Canada producers were reportedly very nervous about any political or moral satire, however light, that might be directed against the government of the day (Pagé and Legris, 1979).

In contrast to the variety show or cabaret, the satirical magazine *Carte blanche* was designed especially to be critical. It was composed of distinct sections oriented toward a totalizing satire of Quebec culture and society. Although it remained faithful to the entertainment principle, its aims were more serious than those of the variety show or the cabaret. The series as a whole satirized the predominant worldview of the early 1950s. The narrative scenes concerned paradoxes of the institutions of Quebec society. Theater, the novel, poetry, art, and music, as well as political parties, mass media, and educational and bureaucratic institutions, were all treated with irony and satire. The series addressed itself to a scholarly

audience of Quebec intellectuals and celebrities. Before the end of its third season, the writers (Seguin, Roche, and Rolland) decided to abandon the show rather than bow to the pressure of censorship.

Satire on public radio after 1970 became increasingly intertwined with information, sports, and music. These programs replaced the cycle of dramatic and satirical programs that flourished in the pre-television era. Unlike English Canada, where the *Royal Canadian Air Farce* dominated public radio satire from 1972 to 1996, Quebec radio satire has been much more broadly distributed across a variety of programs that extend elements of the genres discussed previously. A surprising amount of satire continues to be produced on Quebec radio, but it is no longer sustained in a series format. On the private networks, satire is most typically used to enhance the morning shows (*Y'é trop de bonne heure*, hosted by Norman Brathwaite) and the afternoon drive-time programs (*Y'é pas trop tard*, hosted by Patrice Lécuyer). The topics of discussion in these programs range from news to sports, weather, the arts, and entertainment. The radio announcer who discusses the issues of the day often slips into a satirical, lighthearted dialogue or comic improvisation with his sidekick or with the regular specialist who comes on air to talk about traffic or weather.

Radio satire on the private networks tends to have a secondary role, in the sense that it is “sprinkled” into the show to lighten it up and is therefore only a small part of a larger program. On the public networks, satirical slots or capsules are introduced rather than “sprinkled” into daily cultural magazines. The main difference from the programs broadcast on the private networks is that the satires are animated by comedians and have their own well-blocked slots within the programs. For example, satire can be heard on the program *Indicatif présent* in the sketch “*Si j'étais premier ministre*,” in which well-known comedians such as Yvon Duchamps are asked what they would do if they were elected to political office. The comedians don't miss the opportunity to mock politicians and their institutions. Other programs, such as *En direct*, satirize news clips from television and parody journalists and other “serious” professions.

Three of the most important seriocomedy radio satires from the 1970s into the 1990s were *Rock et belles oreilles* (1991–), *Le festival de l'humour* (1974–88), and *Les insolences d'un téléphone* (1968–96). All three were produced by Quebec's private radio stations. *Rock et belles oreilles*, a weekly one-hour satirical magazine in the tradition of *Carte blanche*, developed both light and serious parodies of language and of social conventions, advertisements, popular music, and television programs. *Le festival de l'humour* was a one-hour live satirical magazine that parodied the main news events each week. *Les insolences d'un téléphone* presented a new kind of direct satire. The key segment in the program has the comedian Tex Lecors

telephone people and pretend to be someone else in order to get a response and to engage the person in a mock dialogue. The show was a huge success and opened new ground, inspiring direct satire in various television programs, both French and English.

Contemporary French-language radio satires draw from a long tradition of the light variety of cabaret and burlesque forms as well as the serious magazine and social comedies of the 1930s and 1940s. The nihilism and theater of the absurd that entered French-language radio in the 1950s often informs contemporary direct satires. The early social comedies established a tradition of social satire around the stratification of the French language in Quebec. Many of Quebec's most famous writers began their careers writing social satires. The best generic example of social satire on the French side, one that pushed the limits of critique of its own society, is the series *Carte blanche* (1950–53).

Satire has a long history in private and public radio in Canada and Quebec. It is durable partly because of its capacity to adapt itself to any context and partly because its basic ingredients—critiquing tradition from the perspective of emerging contemporary values, reversing hierarchies, and stratifying language—have remained intact. Given radio's extraordinary durability as a means of communication, it seems reasonable to conclude that satire will develop new boundaries, which will in turn be challenged by new satires in response to new value orientations, generational contexts, and ever more innovative forms of experimentation in the local cultures of laughter around the world.

MARIE CUSSON AND GREG NIELSEN

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Canadian News and Sports Broadcasting

News-gathering organizations did not ignore the introduction of radio in the 1920s. In August 1922 the Radio branch of the Department of Marine and Fisheries revealed that 14 Canadian newspapers held radio licenses. Many insightful newspaper owners saw radio as a potentially profitable addendum to the business of supplying news and information. Others saw it purely as a medium of entertainment. No matter which view they took, the newspaper owners recognized early in the game

that radio, if held by other hands, had the potential to undermine their bottom lines. In a fashion similar to internet development today, the owners felt it better to be on the inside should the medium prosper, rather than watching from beyond. However, when promised profits failed to emerge, many newspapers, including the affluent *Toronto Daily Star*, abandoned their broadcasting activities, with the consequence that news and information suffered a decade-long setback.

The country's first major current-affairs information program was carried by the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission's (CRBC) predecessor, the Canadian National Railways network. Gratton O'Leary, editor of the *Ottawa Journal*, broadcast a 15-minute weekly program called *Canada Today*, in which he discussed major issues that had been reported the previous week in his newspaper. In spite of his ties to the federal Conservative Party, O'Leary promised to be impartial on the air. However, O'Leary never kept his promise. When the United States began turning up the heat to get Germany, France, and Italy to pay their war debts and reparation payments, O'Leary claimed that loans made to the United States for southern reconstruction after the Civil War by several European states had never been repaid. The American consul in Montreal, Wesley Frost, called for O'Leary to be forced to desist. In spite of the pressure, the program was not canceled.

Early Canadian radio broadcasters had developed an uneasy relationship with the country's largest news- and sports-gathering organization, the Canadian Press, by the early 1930s. In the 1920s, few if any stations carried significant news and sports programming. Reluctantly, the Canadian Press offered to allow radio stations access to its wire services free of charge on the provision that the stations would not sell newscasts to advertisers. The wire service itself had been constituted as a nonprofit cooperative with the precise mandate to serve Canadian newspapers with national and international news and sports. When the CRBC, Canada's first public broadcaster, took to the airwaves in 1933, it announced that it would sell newscasts to prospective advertisers. Much to the chagrin of Canadian Press, private stations soon followed suit.

In spite of the ongoing battles between broadcasters and the Canadian Press, the emergence of the publicly owned Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) did much to advance information programming on radio, mainly in the area of what we now call current affairs. During the late 1930s, the CBC launched farm programs, women's programs, political broadcasts, and extensive coverage of major events such as the 1939 royal tour of Canada by King George VI and his wife Elizabeth just before the outbreak of World War II. That same year Leonard Brockington, chairman of the CBC, asked the Board of Governors to approve a policy of nonpartisanship for what the CBC deemed controversial programming. This fairness doctrine still guides CBC news and current affairs to this day. However, spot news and sports coverage as a regular feature lagged well behind. That would change with the outbreak of World War II.

The Canadian Press realized that its battle with broadcasters seemed to be endless. As a consequence, the agency established Press News in 1941 for broadcasters. Young journalists such as Scott Young (father of singer Neil Young) and Jim Coleman (later an icon in the sports reporting community)

were hired to reduce the Canadian Press' wordy newspaper copy to broadcast format. Sam Ross, the first manager of Press News, was given a mandate to sell the service to any Canadian broadcaster willing to pay the fee. The days of free Canadian Press copy in the broadcast newsroom had ended. That same year, the CBC founded its first national news service by establishing five newsrooms across the country under the direction of Daniel McArthur. McArthur remained convinced throughout his career that reporting spot news and interpreting and analyzing current affairs, although related, were two separate activities. McArthur had a mandate to expand CBC news coverage, which in 1939 constituted only 9.4 percent of the national network's programming. By 1941 he managed to increase this amount to 20 percent. The bombing of Pearl Harbor was a turning point in news coverage in both Canada and the United States. The CBC broadcast its own bulletins adjacent to feeds it carried from the United States. In the week following the disaster, CBC Radio News broadcast bulletins every hour on the hour, establishing a pattern that would soon be copied by private radio.

In an ironic turn of fate, the war proved to be a boon to the goings-on in CBC news. Two CBC newsmen accompanied the first Canadian contingent to Europe. They followed the soldiers and reported from battles throughout the course of the war. A CBC reporter was assigned to the British Broadcasting Corporation in London to help develop shortwave broadcasts to North America. The CBC bought a six-ton van, which it converted into a mobile war reporting studio. In the winter of 1940, more than 1,000 reports were recorded on soft-cut discs during the six-month period. As CBC historian Austin Weir reported, three half-hour war programs were sent back to Canada weekly featuring interviews with service personnel, rides in war planes and tanks, and numerous notes of human interest.

The war coverage spawned other current-affairs shows at the CBC. The Talks Department produced several new programs covering a myriad of topics. By the end of the war, news and information were an essential part of radio programming on both public and private stations. In 1953 the Canadian Press severed its Press News service from the newspaper cooperative and launched Broadcast News. However, the publishers appointed one of their own, Roy Thomson, as the first president of the new entity. Gordon Love, a television executive from Calgary, was appointed vice president, and Charles Edwards was named manager. Edwards was well aware of the potential held by Broadcast News. Shortly after his appointment, he connected 27 Canadian stations with prerecorded news items. The system was called Tapex News and eventually evolved into the voice service of Broadcast News.

In spite of its bumpy start, information programming took on a life of its own at the CBC. Evening newscasts became a regular part of the schedule, and by the mid-1950s lively and sometimes controversial current-affairs programming began to

appear on CBC stations. Most privately owned affiliates broadcast short local newscasts during the supper hour and in the late evening following the network national news. In Toronto, producer Ross McLean launched *Close Up*. The local station CBLT produced the somewhat racy *Tabloid* program. A quiz show based on the weekly newspaper headlines was launched named *Front Page Challenge*. The CBC had begun to establish its reputation as a reliable and consistent purveyor of information programming. It certainly was aided by the fact that the Corporation had a monopoly on national network programming. Until the all news service CKO (which no longer exists) came on the air in the mid 1970s, CBC had a monopoly on radio networks. It also had a monopoly on television networks from 1952 until 1960.

In 1971 CBC Radio split its AM and FM services and revamped its program schedules. New shows such as *This Country in the Morning*, *Later That Same Day*, *Radio Noon*, *Metro Morning*, and *As It Happens*, all based on the delivery of news and information, became the mainstays of the AM network. *As It Happens*, which continues today, can also be heard on the shortwave service of the CBC Radio-Canada International and on selected National Public Radio stations in the United States. Its format of interview and call-out has been a leader in the international broadcast journalism field. It set a trend that more and more AM radio stations in Canada, faced with stiff competition with FM stations with superior sound quality, followed by turning to sports and information programming. However, the Canadian Radio and Television and Telecommunications Commission made one serious licensing mistake in the 1970s. It approved a coast-to-coast network of 12 all-news and -sports radio stations called CKO All Canada News Radio. With the exception of its Montreal license, all stations broadcast on FM. The network never turned a profit and closed its doors in late 1989.

CBC Radio provided an excellent model that was later used when television came to Canada. Initially the newsrooms, especially at the reporter level, tended to integrate television and radio personnel and facilities. As CBC budgets increased, so did the separation between the two media, but as finances declined in the mid 1980s, once again CBC reporters faced double duty.

Today, the CBC continues to be the leader in news and information programming. It offers an evening one-hour news and current-affairs program at 10 P.M. on the national network, one hour earlier on NewsWorld. Its competitors, CTV

and Global, also offer evening newscasts. The CBC broadcasts an investigative journalism program called *The Fifth Estate*, a business program called *Venture*, a consumer-oriented program called *Market Place*, and a documentary series entitled *Witness*. It operates a 24-hour all-news channel, CBC NewsWorld, and its French language affiliate, RDI. CTV operates a 24-hour news headline service, CTV News1, as well as CTV SportsNet. The network is also attempting a merger with TSN, the country's first all-sports television specialty channel. All-news radio made a major comeback when CFTR Radio 680 in Toronto dropped its pop music format and opted for news and information. It was followed by Canada's largest English-speaking private station, CFRB Toronto, with a mixed format of talk, news, and sports. Virtually every major city in the country now has access to broadcast news and information on a 24-hour, seven-day-a-week basis.

DAVID R. SPENCER

See also All News Format

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Canadian Talk Radio

Canadian radio stations provide listeners with a wide variety of spoken-word programs, from news and documentaries to talk radio formats consisting of discussions between hosts, guests, and listeners who telephone the show. Canadian talk radio reflects the two main influences of radio in Canada: the public broadcasting model of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) and the U.S. roots of private-sector radio formats.

Talk programs figure in the schedules of most private radio stations, but the amount of talk has varied from station to station over time. This shuffling has been especially active since the 1980s as AM and FM stations have competed for increasingly fragmented listener segments; AM has struggled to regain profitability, and radio overall has tried to fend off competition from other media. Talk programs sometimes form part of the programming mix of stations specializing in music. There are also all-talk/news stations in Toronto, Vancouver, Montreal, and other major cities.

Origins

Older forms of spoken-word programs conditioned Canadian radio listeners to expect an emphasis on information and education. In the face of frequent format change by private radio, the CBC has been the most consistent source of spoken-word programs. The CBC provides a varied schedule of music, drama, news, interviews, and discussions. It has been easier for the CBC to maintain a relatively stable percentage of spoken-word programs than it has been for the private sector because the government-owned CBC has a more constant source of funding than privately owned stations. The CBC has thus had the freedom to broadcast programs that often attract fewer listeners than would be acceptable for private stations, which are dependent on audience size and the resultant advertising revenues.

In 1937 the CBC appointed a director of talks to develop a series on issues of contemporary public concern, with programs done by experts skilled in speaking on the radio. By 1941 the CBC calculated that it had broadcast approximately 1,250 different speakers. Commentaries by individuals and discussions between several speakers were typical of the forms of talk on the CBC at that time. For listeners tired of serious talk about current affairs, the public network aired talks on other subjects such as consumer information, cooking, and literature.

Private radio also broadcast a range of spoken-word programs, especially before the 1950s. In the mid-1950s the popularity of disc jockeys and rock and roll began to push recorded music to the forefront. Some stations, then as now, felt that programming based heavily on recorded music was cheaper to produce than news and other spoken-word programs. Talk

programs were rejuvenated, however, as technology became better able to provide broadcast-quality reproduction of telephone calls. Borrowing a new talk format popular in the United States, private radio stations in Canada began broadcasting open-line call-in shows in the late 1950s. By the mid-1960s these call-in shows had become a fixture on stations across the country. The programs gave listeners a sense of participation, even though only some wanted to speak on the air and even fewer actually made it on to the air. Unlike the somewhat patronizing one-way lecture or in-studio interviews of experts, open-line shows gave ordinary people a chance to express their opinions. The call-in shows rapidly became a key ratings weapon.

In Vancouver, radio stations CJOR and CKNW competed for listeners by pitting abrasive open-line host Pat Burns against the equally controversial Jack Webster. Both Burns and Webster considered themselves muckraking reporters rather than mere entertainers. Burns also amused and irritated listeners with his phone-out format. Callers heard him telephone such major figures as former U.S. President Harry S. Truman and grill him about the bombing of Hiroshima. Burns' ambush-style telephone calls raised questions about ethics, but it made for compelling radio. Few Canadian radio talk show hosts then or since have managed to gain the fame of Burns and Webster, but most medium and large markets developed their own local hotline shows with loyal followings. The list of other longtime open-line hosts in Canada includes Rafe Mair, Gilles Proulx, Lucien Jarraud, Lowell Green, John Gilbert, Lorne Harasen, Peter Warren, Roger Delorme, Paul Arcand, and Tom Cherington.

In addition to the general-subject hotlines, where the topic for discussion changes from show to show, talk series devoted to specific subjects have also been a fixture of Canadian talk radio. In the late 1950s, for example, Montreal broadcaster Reine Charrier pioneered a show about love and sex, broadcasting under the name *Madame X*. As society became more open about sex, call-in shows became more explicit and hosts no longer felt the need to use pseudonyms. By the late 1990s Vancouver sex therapist Rhona Raskin's call-in show was syndicated on stations across Canada and the United States. Listeners in Canada can also tune in to shows specializing in gardening, computers, personal finance, health, home renovation, sports, car repair, and a wealth of other subjects.

Recent Trends

In October 1965 the CBC began a coast-to-coast network open-line show, *Cross Country Checkup*. At first, CBC officials were reluctant to adopt the popular phone-in format because

open-line shows already had a reputation for being too sensational. *Cross Country Checkup* hosts avoided the confrontational style adopted by Burns, Webster, and many of their fellow open-line hosts on the private stations. The live broadcast quickly became a national forum for serious discussion of issues in the public sphere, although it has occasionally allowed lighter discussions about such subjects as favorite books. Hosts over the years have included Betty Shapiro, Elizabeth Gray, and Rex Murphy. The CBC also produces regional call-in shows in French and English. For CBC listeners in northern Canada, talk programs in native languages feature news, interviews, and phone-ins, an important service, particularly in sparsely populated areas.

It has become common for politicians to be guests on call-in shows, particularly during election campaigns. Their comments make headlines, as Prime Minister Kim Campbell found out in 1993 when she underestimated the price of milk. Politicians run the risk of being caught in mistakes, but they also gain an opportunity to be on the air unedited. Talk radio has taken on a uniquely Canadian flavor at several crisis points in the nation's history. In 1964, for example, English-language station CHUM in Toronto and French-language station CJMS in Montreal used a bilingual call-in show to discuss the emotionally charged subjects of bilingualism and the growing independence movement in Quebec. In 1990 radio stations in Toronto and Montreal again shared an open-line show on which people discussed the Canadian government's controversial constitutional reforms and the resulting polarization of views between Quebec and the rest of Canada. A station in St. John's, Newfoundland, where the provincial government voted against the reforms, and a station in Vancouver, a part of Canada that usually feels excluded from such debates, shared a similar show.

The power of talk radio to bring strong opinion to the airwaves frequently attracts complaints by listeners angered by the opinions expressed or the host's treatment of guests and callers. The federal broadcast regulator, the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC), has guidelines for talk radio. The Canadian Broadcast Standards Council, an organization set up by Canada's private broadcasters, uses codes developed by the private broadcasters themselves to judge the validity of complaints. The CRTC guidelines and the private broadcasters' own codes both aim to ensure that broadcasters can continue to air spontaneous, entertaining, and informative forums for differing points of view, as long as those points of view do not convey racist, sexist, inaccurate, or other harmful commentary.

Satellite and internet technologies have made it easier to expand the broadcast reach of radio, nudging Canadian talk radio beyond the local to a national and international audience. Canadian radio stations have been quick to jump into internet broadcasting without losing sight of the essentially local appeal of much talk radio. Technology has also made it easier and cheaper for Canadian radio stations to carry programs originating outside Canada. Talk shows hosted by Dr. Laura Schlessinger, Dr. Joy Browne, and Mike Siegel are among the American imports heard in recent years on English-language private stations, alongside programs produced in Canada. The most publicized and controversial talk radio import has been *The Howard Stern Show*, which was picked up by radio stations in Montreal and Toronto in 1997, immediately attracting high ratings. In 1998 the Montreal station dropped the program amid complaints that Stern pushed talk radio beyond standards acceptable to Canadians, but this did not stop the Toronto station from continuing with the program until 2001.

Canadian talk radio has exhibited a U.S. influence principally by imitating the basic U.S. format. This is especially true of French radio, which, because of the language barrier, does not import U.S. programs. The durability of Canadian talk radio demonstrates that it succeeds as entertainment, but talk shows of Canadian origin tend to focus on information and not solely entertainment, a reflection to some extent on the CBC's traditional role as a national forum for current affairs.

ROSEMARY BERGERON

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Cantor, Eddie 1892–1964

U.S. Radio Comedian

Although few people are familiar with him today, Eddie Cantor was one of radio's most popular performers in the 1930s and 1940s. In those days he made between \$5,000 and \$10,000 a week and had consistently high ratings.

Origins

Born Isidor Iskowitz (there are several variant spellings) in 1892, Cantor was raised in poverty by his grandmother. He was attracted to performing at a very young age and was discovered by comedian Gus Edwards while working as a singing waiter in Coney Island, New York. By 1912 he was performing in vaudeville houses, touring with Edwards and George Jessel. Known for his bulging eyes—his nickname was “Banjo Eyes”—and his frenetic energy, at first Cantor performed in blackface, a common convention in vaudeville at that time. He was a close friend of Bert Williams, one of the highest-paid black performers in vaudeville, who was also expected to perform in blackface.

By 1917 Cantor was appearing in the Ziegfeld Follies of 1917, along with such famous performers as Fannie Brice, Will Rogers, W.C. Fields, and Bert Williams. His vaudeville performances won him top billing and critical acclaim; he set box office records with his starring role in *Make it Snappy* in 1923, and by 1926 he was featured in his first movie, a film version of his successful 1924 Broadway show *Kid Boots*.

Radio

Cantor had begun making occasional radio appearances as early as 1921 and would sometimes perform for a charitable event that was being broadcast (throughout his life, he was known for his philanthropy), but his radio success really began with a popular variety program—his first network show—on the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), in September 1931. *The Chase and Sanborn Hour*, sponsored by Chase and Sanborn coffee, lasted until late 1934.

In his program Cantor sang and told jokes and had a cast of talented performers who also took part. He especially enjoyed having the studio audience interact with the cast. According to Dunning (1976; 1998), this was quite unusual in 1931: “Before Cantor, audiences were sternly warned to make no noise . . . while the shows were on the air. [Not even] laughter was permitted.” But Cantor changed that: he wanted the audience to have a good time, and that attitude certainly contributed to his popularity. Not only did Cantor have a cast of regular performers, he also used his show to introduce new tal-

ent. Among the stars first heard on his program in the 1930s were comedienne Gracie Allen and dialect comic Harry Einstein, whose character “Nick Parkyakarkas” went over very well at a time when ethnic humor was popular. During the early 1940s Cantor helped launch the career of vocalist Dinah Shore. He also helped several black performers, such as singer Thelma Carpenter, at a time when black vocalists were not usually in the regular cast of the predominantly white variety shows.

The versatile Cantor was also successful in his own career as a singer; he had several hit songs, among them “*Ida*,” “(Potatoes are Cheaper, Tomatoes are Cheaper) Now’s the Time to Fall in Love,” and “If You Knew Susie.” He also continued appearing in movies; in 1934 *Kid Millions* grossed more than \$2 million even though America was in the midst of the Depression. He became so famous internationally that his testimonial advertisements could be seen in European magazines, and he was frequently on the cover of U.S. fan publications such as *Radio Stars*. “Looney Tunes and Merrie Melodies” used him as a character in a 1933 cartoon, a parody of the hit song “*Shuffle Off to Buffalo*,” in which the cartoon characters all chanted “We Want Cantor!” until the cartoon version of Eddie appeared.

In 1935 and again in 1940 and 1946 he had a new radio show with a new sponsor, but his style remained unchanged over the years; he was still the genial and energetic host with the clever one-liners and the topical humor. When not singing or performing skits about the events of the day, he made frequent jokes about his wife Ida and their five daughters; although today some critics find this misogynistic, back then the audience felt as if they were included in Eddie’s life, and people felt they really knew his family. His radio career lasted till 1949, at which time, along with many others, he moved to television.

In addition to his success as a performer, Eddie Cantor had the respect of his colleagues in the entertainment business. He was a founder of the Screen Actors Guild and served as its president from 1933 to 1935. In 1937 he became the first president of the American Federation of Radio Artists. He helped to start the March of Dimes to fight Infantile Paralysis, and he often gave benefit concerts for orphans’ homes and hospitals. He contributed time and money to help Jewish refugees during World War II. He was a guest on such talk shows as *America’s Town Meeting of the Air* and, although the stock market crash of 1929 cost him most of his fortune, he continued to help the poor. In a 1936 interview with *Radio Stars* magazine, he stressed the importance of giving to charity and feeding those



Eddie Cantor
Courtesy Radio Hall of Fame

who are hungry. At times, some of his critics said his perfectionism made him difficult to work with, but no one could ever dispute his dedication to charitable causes

Although Cantor's humor has not aged well, he deserves to be remembered as one of the most popular and influential performers during radio's golden age, a man who brought laughter to millions of devoted fans. A year before his death, he issued a book of essays, *As I Remember Them*, a retrospective about some of the celebrities he had worked with during his 50-year career. He had first written about his life in a 1928 autobiography, *My Life Is in Your Hands*, and in 1959 he wrote about his philosophy of living in *The Way I See It*. He died in October 1964; only a few months earlier he had received a medal from President Lyndon Johnson for his years of humanitarian work.

DONNA L. HALPER

See also Comedy; Vaudeville

Eddie Cantor. Born Isidor Iskowitz, New York City, 31 January 1892. Stage debut at the Clinton Music Hall, 1907; won his first vaudeville talent show and a \$5 prize, at Miner's Bowery Theater, 1908; toured with comedian Gus Edwards' *Kid Kabaret*, 1912-14; joined Ziegfeld's Follies 1917-19; made first radio appearance, 1921; first film appearance in the silent movie version of *Kid Boots*, 1926; wrote first edition of his autobiography, *My Life Is in Your Hands*, 1927; elected president of National Vaudeville Artists, 1928; had hit record, "Makin' Whoopee," from his Broadway show, 1929; suffered serious financial setback during the Depression which prompted his book, *Caught Short: A Saga of Wailing Wall Street*, 1929; starred in own radio program, 1931; first introduced comedienne Gracie Allen on his radio show, 1932; named first national president, Screen Actors' Guild, 1933-35; elected first national president of American Federation of Radio Artists, 1937; helped to create the March of Dimes, 1937-38; one-man show, "My Forty Years in Show Business," at Carnegie Hall. Recipient: Honorary Doctorate of Humane Letters, Temple University, 1951; special Academy Award for distinguished service to the motion picture industry, 1956; Medallion of Valor, State of Israel, 1962. Died in Hollywood, California, 10 October 1964.

Radio Series

- 1931-34 *The Chase and Sanborn Hour*
- 1935-54 *The Eddie Cantor Show*
- 1945 *Arch Oboler's Plays*
- 1948 *The Comedy Writers Show*
- 1949-50 *Take It or Leave It*
- 1950-52 *The Big Show*

Films

Kid Boots, 1926; *The Speed Hound*, 1927; *Follies*, 1927; *Special Delivery*, 1927; *Glorifying the American Girl*, 1929; *That Party in Person*, 1929; *Getting a Ticket*, 1929; *Whoopee!*, 1930; *Insurance*, 1930; *Mr. Lemon of Orange*, 1931; *Palmy Days*, 1931; *The Kid from Spain*, 1932; *Roman Scandals*, 1933; *Kid Millions*, 1934; *Hollywood Cavalcade*, 1934; *Screen Snapshots No. 11*, 1934; *Strike Me Pink*, 1936; *Ali Baba Goes to Town*, 1937; *Forty Little Mothers*, 1940; *Thank Your Lucky Stars*, 1943; *Hollywood Canteen*, 1944; *Show Business*, 1944; *Rhapsody in Blue*, 1945; *If You Knew Susie*, 1948; *The Story of Will Rogers*, 1952; *The Eddie Cantor Story*, 1953

Television

The Colgate Comedy Hour, 1950-54; *The Eddie Cantor Comedy Theatre*, 1955; *Seidman and Son*, 1956

Stage

Kid Kabaret, 1912–14; *Canary Cottage*, 1916; *Midnight Frolic*, 1917; *Ziegfeld's Follies*, 1917–19; *Midnight Rounders*, 1920–21; *Make It Snappy*, 1922; *Kid Boots*, 1923–26; *Ziegfeld's Follies*, 1927; *Ziegfeld's Whoopee*, 1928–30; *Banjo Eyes*, 1942

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Between the Acts, 1930
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Capehart Corporation

The history of the Capehart Corporation in Fort Wayne, Indiana, dates back to the late 1920s, when entrepreneur Homer Earl Capehart (1897–1970) established the foundations for the enterprise. Capehart was known for producing quality high-end phonographs, radios, radio-console combinations, and jukeboxes.

Homer E. Capehart was born 6 June 1897 in Algiers, Indiana, and he grew up on a farm. After high school he enlisted in the U.S. Army from 1917 to 1919 and advanced to the rank of sergeant. He joined the J.I. Case Corporation as a salesman and soon earned a reputation as a man who could sell anything. He moved from sales to entrepreneurship, at first manufacturing and selling popcorn poppers. In 1928 he established the Automatic Phonograph Corporation; by 1929 the company was manufacturing “talking machines” and was known as the Capehart Automatic Phonograph Corporation. Capehart served as founder and president from 1927 to 1932. During the 1930s Depression era, when other companies such as Philco and the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) were developing low-priced consumer radio sets to encourage sales, Capehart stood stubbornly behind the company’s high-quality, expensive receivers. This decision led the company to the brink of bankruptcy. In the early 1930s, at the height of the Depression, Capehart joined Wurlitzer, a producer of jukeboxes, and as a result the Capehart Corporation was saved.

Capehart himself served as vice president of the Wurlitzer Company from 1933 to 1938. The joining of the two companies was a complementary success: Wurlitzer sold jukeboxes, which in turn sold records, which in turn created a demand for the Capehart phonograph. The investment helped make Capehart a wealthy man. Despite success with Wurlitzer, Homer Capehart was forever the adventurer and entrepreneur, and by the end of the 1930s he was ready to move into real estate.

In 1938 the Capehart Company and all its “real estate, plants, factories . . . all patents, patent licenses and patent application rights, and trade marks” were sold to the Farnsworth Television and Radio Corporation. Farnsworth kept the name Capehart because of its reputation for quality radio and phonograph manufacturing. The Capehart manufacturing entities were retooled to manufacture both Farnsworth and Capehart brand-name radio and television receivers intended for consumer sale. The Farnsworth Corporation was banking on the Capehart organization’s reputation for quality to launch its entrance into the manufacturing business. However, World War II intervened, and the plants were converted a second time, this time for the manufacturing of armed forces communication equipment.

Following the war, the name Capehart surfaced again. By 1949 the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation

(ITT) had purchased the Farnsworth Television and Radio Corporation, and the Capehart-Farnsworth division of the company was returned to consumer manufacturing. However, even with the financial backing of ITT, the Capehart-Farnsworth sets were never able to capture a significant share of the radio and television manufacturing market. They were competing against the giants of radio manufacturing at the time—RCA, General Electric, Philco, and Westinghouse. By 1954 the Capehart-Farnsworth division of ITT was split. The Farnsworth Electronic division continued as a wholly owned subsidiary of ITT, but the Capehart manufacturing was sold in 1956 to the Ben Gross Corporation, a holding company. The manufacturing properties in Fort Wayne were retained by ITT,

the remaining assets were sold, and the Capehart name disappeared from the history of radio and television.

DONALD G. GODFREY

See also High Fidelity; Receivers

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Capital Radio

London Commercial Station

Capital Radio in London was the second authorized commercial radio station in the United Kingdom, going on air 16 October 1973, just eight days after the first such service, the London Broadcasting Company (LBC). Until then the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) had been the only organization allowed to operate radio stations within Britain for more than 50 years. London was unique in the first phase of development of what was officially called Independent Local Radio (ILR), in that two franchises were awarded by the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) to cover a defined geographical area, rather than the usual one. The “general and entertainment” franchise was—to some surprise—awarded to Capital, after a hard-fought contest against seven other consortia, to run what was expected to be the most lucrative and prestigious station in the ILR system. The chairman was the internationally renowned actor and film director Richard Attenborough.

Capital promised “quality pop,” making a virtue of the fact that, unlike the BBC’s pop network Radio 1, it was in FM stereo as well as on AM. Capital initially played a more adventurous and sophisticated selection of tracks, many of which were album cuts rather than Top 40 singles. The overall station style was largely modeled on adult contemporary FM stations in the United States. The station had some familiar voices, because many of the disc jockeys had previously worked for the BBC and for “pirate” radio; others had gained experience in commercial radio overseas. Nor was the station a continuous diet of popular music. In line with the IBA’s

demands and expectations, Capital’s early programming contained an ambitious schedule of specialist music shows, original drama, arts magazines, children’s shows, community action slots, and much more, as well as its own news service and a commitment to public-affairs programming, including phone-ins and documentaries.

Unfortunately, the station’s debut coincided with an economic recession that would have hit advertising revenues for even a successful station. Capital’s initial audience figures were disappointing: the first ratings, around Christmas 1973, indicated a weekly “reach” of about 1 million—about a tenth of the potential audience—and this created a financial crisis at the station. Richard Attenborough later admitted that the station had faced closure within a year of its launch and that he was only able to stave off bankruptcy by offering paintings from his private art collection as collateral against the company’s mounting debts. The shareholding structure of the company was also radically changed: in February 1975 the Canada-based Standard Broadcasting Company became the station’s largest shareholder, increasing its share of the company’s stock to just under 25 percent.

The music policy was switched to more or less pure Top 40; within a year the news service was scrapped (although it was restored some years later), to be replaced by the Independent Radio News (IRN) bulletin produced by London rival LBC, and drama was abandoned. The well-known BBC television and radio presenter Michael Aspel was hired to present the 9 A.M. to noon weekday slot aimed at housewives, and Kenny

Everett and Dave Cash re-created their successful on-air partnership of pirate radio days during the vital breakfast time period. Gradually these changes built a strong and loyal listener base. Although programming certainly became more populist, the station did not renege on commitments to its public service broadcasting and charitable commitments, which have endured through major changes in the company's development. By 2002 the Eastertime "Help a London Child" radiothon had raised some £14 million.

The Capital Radio group has three other charities of its own operated by its stations in different parts of the U.K. From its very early days, Capital Radio has run community social action initiatives, heavily promoted on-air but often providing confidential, personal, advice off-air. "Helpline" and "Jobfinder" were two of the services that helped justify the early "Cuddly Capital" promotional line. In the summer of 2002 the Capital FM network launched "Call a Course" aimed at helping students find appropriate college courses.

Public service commitments, it appeared, could co-exist happily with a profitable media business, because in 1987 Capital became the first U.K. radio company to float shares on the London Stock Exchange. The public company was in a position to fully exploit the changes in the media and business environment in the late 1980s caused by the government's decision to fundamentally change the licensing and regulatory structure of commercial radio: stations were allowed to target their program content to specific audiences and to drop much of their public service and "minority listening" obligations; many more stations were licensed, creating commercial competition in each area; and services were encouraged—then compelled—to end simulcasting and operate different services on their AM and FM transmitters. Accordingly, in 1988 the company split its services into Capital Gold—featuring oldies from the 1960s through the 1980s, with sport, comedy, and personality presenters—and Capital FM, aimed at a young adult audience and featuring a contemporary hit radio format and big-prize contests. This change had the effect of increasing the overall audience: Capital FM established a seemingly unassailable position as the most listened-to radio service in London (over all BBC and commercial network and local rivals), with Capital Gold often rated number two.

However, the new century saw this dominance compromised both by increasing ratings success of BBC network services and by other London commercial stations—including the Capital-owned rock service XFM. A new Head of Music for Capital FM was appointed in early 2003 and a more diverse music policy implemented. Press reports noted some spectacular losses to the FM service, especially in the key breakfast slot. This program, hosted since 1987 by Chris Tarrant (also a national TV personality through his hosting of such shows as *Who Wants To Be a Millionaire?*), became the company flag-

ship and was responsible for around 15 percent of the group's entire revenues. Increasingly lengthy and frequent vacations by Tarrant and rumors that he was about to quit the show contributed to a major fall in the company's share price. During this period, official listening figures showed Capital FM in third overall place in the London market—behind the BBC's speech network Radio 4 and music and personality service Radio 2—with the AM service, Capital Gold, failing to make even the top 10 in market share. Some media pundits even compared the downturn in Capital's position to that of the once dominant Independent Television (ITV) commercial TV network, which had been squeezed by newer commercial rivals and by a more ratings-conscious BBC television. Nevertheless, Capital FM's share was still around 50 percent greater than its nearest commercial rival, and the breakfast show—even though it was surveyed only in the greater London area—had a larger audience than was achieved across the whole country by the equivalent shows on two of the three national commercial stations.

Deregulation, among other things, meant that commercial radio groups were allowed to acquire other stations. In 1993 Capital bought the Birmingham stations BRMB FM and Xtra AM; a year later Capital added seven stations on the English south coast, followed by Fox FM in Oxford and Red Dragon FM and Touch Radio in South Wales. In 1997 Capital proposed to buy the national commercial rock station Virgin Radio from Richard Branson. However, the deal was referred to the Monopolies and Mergers Commission, and before this investigation could be completed, Virgin was bought by Chris Evans' Ginger Media Group. One of Capital's most controversial acquisitions came in 1999: XFM in London had been awarded a license as a "new music" station, and there were street demonstrations from fans of the original station sound when Capital made major changes to the music output and presenter lineup.

Capital has also been a major investor in digital radio. By the spring of 2003 it partly or wholly owned the licenses for eleven multiplexes, and provided more than 30 program services, including a simulcast of XFM, and a new children's station (in partnership with the Disney corporation), Capital Disney, to multiplex license-holders, as well as an Adult Contemporary service on the commercial Digital One network.

Nor are the company's business interests confined to radio services: in 1996 it acquired the My Kinda Town restaurant chain in London, which it renamed Capital Radio Restaurants. However, Capital's radio success was not matched in this venture, and the restaurants were abandoned less than three years later.

RICHARD RUDIN

See also British Commercial Radio; London Broadcasting Company

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Captain Midnight

Adventure Program

Among the many syndicated and network daily serials aimed at younger listeners was this aviation-related program of adventure that involved code-breaking and worldwide travels. The debut of *Captain Midnight* is generally given as 17 October 1938; however, since the show was originally syndicated under the sponsorship of Skelly Oil, it is possible that different stations first aired *Captain Midnight* on different start dates. The initial sponsor owned Spartan Aircraft, and had previously sponsored *The Air Adventures of Jimmie Allen*, another aviation oriented radio serial. The writers from *Jimmie Allen*, Robert Burtt and Wilfred Moore, both World War I pilots, were assigned to create the new show. With pilots scripting the show, the aviation content was accurate.

The initial adventures of the show involved the title character, Charles J. (“Jim” or “Red”) Albright, who was referred to primarily by his alias “Captain Midnight,” as an independent pilot who acted altruistically to fight wrongdoing, along with his ward, Chuck Ramsay, a girl sidekick, Patsy Donovan, and various others, including a mechanic, Ichabod Mudd. His chief adversary was a criminal, Ivan Shark, who led a gang with his daughter Fury, two aides, Fang and Gardo. Stories involved adventures in the western United States, Mexico, and Canada.

In 1940, the program changed sponsors and first aired on a national network, Mutual. Ovaltine had previously sponsored *Little Orphan Annie*, a 15-minute adventure serial based on the newspaper comic strip, since 1930. Ovaltine dropped sponsorship of that show in favor of *Captain Midnight*, possibly because the international tensions of the era required a mature hero in the eyes of the sponsor. The initial program under the new sponsor provided the hero with an “origin” story (he earned the code name Captain Midnight because of an exploit during World War I) and a secret organization to head. For *Orphan Annie*, Ovaltine had developed a club

(Radio Orphan Annie’s Secret Society) and a “Decoder Pin”; and these were concepts carried over to *Captain Midnight*. The hero headed a paramilitary organization, the Secret Squadron, which was supposedly set up by a high U.S. government official. Its identifying badge was a cipher device, the Code-O-Graph, which was used, like its *Orphan Annie* predecessors, to decrypt “secret messages” provided at the close of some episodes, to provide a hint of the next day’s broadcast.

Most of the main characters from the Skelly show were retained, including Chuck Ramsay, Ichabod Mudd, Ivan Shark, Fury Shark, Fang, and Gardo. One exception was that Patsy Donovan was dropped, and a new girl sidekick, Joyce Ryan, was added. The nature of the Secret Squadron, which was supposed to fight sabotage and espionage, enabled the program to have adventures around the world, including the Caribbean, Central and South America, and China, as well as in the United States. New villains were introduced: the Barracuda shortly before the U.S. entry into World War II, and Baron von Karp, Admiral Himakito, and Señor Schrecker during the war. (An interesting sidelight: well before the 1941 Japanese attack, Captain Midnight found plans for Pearl Harbor in The Barracuda’s headquarters in Japanese-occupied China.) After the war, the program continued to be set in locales across the world, and the major villain, Ivan Shark, became prominent again.

The program retained its 15-minute serial format through June of 1949. In September of that year, it changed format to half-hour, complete-in-one-program stories. These alternated with *Tom Mix Ralston Straight Shooters*, running on Tuesdays and Thursdays, until the middle of December, when it went off the air.

The first sponsor, Skelly Oil, aimed most of its products to adults—gasoline, bottled gas, and motor oil. The program attracted a fairly large minority of adult listeners, despite its

scheduled spot in the middle of the hour devoted to juvenile programs. This audience carried over to Ovaltine sponsorship. As a result, the vocabulary, dialog, and concepts were more mature than those normally found in a children's adventure show.

One notable aspect of *Captain Midnight* was that women were not relegated to stereotypical roles of the time. Joyce Ryan, a teenage Secret Squadron member, routinely faced the same dangers as her male counterparts, including going on commando raids and participating in aerial dogfights. Likewise, Fury Shark was as courageous as her father, and as scheming. Neither expected special treatment because of their gender. This was reflected in the handbooks that came with the Code-O-Graph premiums, where both genders were encouraged to go after exciting careers.

A television version of *Captain Midnight* was aired on CBS (1953–57), sponsored by Ovaltine, but it differed significantly from the radio program. When it was rereleased as a syndicated show, the hero's name was changed to Jet Jackson, and the new name was spliced into the sound track.

STEPHEN A. KALLIS, JR.

See also Premiums

Cast

Captain Midnight	Ed Prentiss (1938–39), Bill Bouchev (1939–40), Ed Prentiss (1940–49), Paul Barnes (1949)
Chuck Ramsay	Billy Rose (1938–41), Jack Bivans (1941–44), Johnny Coons (1944–46), Jack Bivans (1946–49)
Joyce Ryan	Marilou Neumayer (1940–46), Angeline Orr (1946–49)
Ivan Shark	Boris Aplon

Ichabod Mudd	Hugh Studebaker (1940–46), Sherman Marks (1946–48), Art Hern (1948–49)
Fury Shark	Rene Rodier (1938–40), Sharon Grainger (1940–1949)
Patsy Donovan Kelly, SS-11	Alice Sherry Gootkin Olan Soulé

Creators/Writers

Robert Burt and Wilfred Moore

Programming History

Syndicated	October 1938–March 1940
Mutual	September 1940–July 1942
NBC Blue	September 1942–June 1945
Mutual	September 1945–December 1949

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Car Radio. See Automobile Radio

Car Talk

Advice and Humor Call-in Program

Few radio programs can deliver on promotional announcements that promise advice on both car repair and human relationships. But then few programs blend the serious and the sophomoric into an hour-long show that is both funny and helpful. National Public Radio's (NPR) *Car Talk* is one.

The hosts, Tom and Ray Magliozzi, better known to their fans as "Click" and "Clack," are brothers who opened a do-it-yourself counterculture garage in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1973. As hippies evolved into people with real jobs and cars became more complicated, the brothers offered more conventional car repair.

In 1977 the Magliozzis were invited to appear on a talk show on WBUR-FM with other area mechanics. Tom accepted, and when he returned the following week, he brought Ray along. Later they were given their own WBUR talk show in which they gave advice and tried to drum up business for their garage. The show is produced by Dewey, Cheetham, and Howe—a company the Magliozzis named with the same self-deprecation that drives the program—and it still originates at WBUR.

In January 1987 NPR host Susan Stamberg invited the brothers to be weekly contributors to NPR's *Weekend Edition*. On October 31 of that same year, *Car Talk* premiered as a national program. After more than ten years on the air, NPR broadcasts *Car Talk* on more than 550 NPR stations nationwide to over 3.8 million laughing fans. The program received the George Foster Peabody Award in 1992. In 1998 the Museum of Broadcast Communications in Chicago inducted Tom and Ray Magliozzi into the Radio Hall of Fame.

Although cars and human responses to cars are the foundations of the show, *Car Talk* is about laughing. Tom and Ray are ready to laugh out loud at themselves, at cars, and at callers. Often the show begins with a humorous piece about a serious issue such as global warming or politics. Sometimes one of the brothers begins with a tirade against oversized automobile engines or people who drive while talking on cell phones.

Both brothers are graduates of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Tom has a doctorate in marketing and has taught at Boston and Suffolk Universities. Ray still runs the garage and is a consultant to the Consumer Affairs Division of the Massachusetts attorney general's office. Their education and work backgrounds provide fertile areas for them to make fun of each other, their schools, and all areas of higher education. They also make fun of each other's expertise or lack thereof. When one takes a caller's question, he will often say that the other doesn't know what he's talking about and can't

possibly give a good answer. Callers come in for their share of jibes, too, mostly in the form of gentle teasing.

Literary references, puns, and joking references to NPR news reporters and hosts spark the show: for example, reading the standard NPR underwriter line, the Magliozzis remind listeners that "Support for *Car Talk* comes from bogus parking tickets we put on cars all over the NPR parking lot" or that "Support for *Car Talk* comes from the small but regular deductions we make from Carl Kassell's retirement account." Callers are encouraged to banter and allowed to star as story tellers. In the midst of the fun and zany comments, real questions about spark plugs, used cars, problems with mechanics or dealer service shops, and personal issues with cars do get answered.

On the air, Ray is the one who actually tries to answer the automotive questions. He's the director of the show and keeps it moving. Tom make jokes, insults Ray and callers, and laughs



Tom and Ray Magliozzi, *Car Talk*
Courtesy National Public Radio

the most. Both men are honest to the point of bluntness when it comes to how to deal with bad mechanics or auto manufacturers. Ray says that they started cracking jokes the first time they were unable to answer a caller's questions. The more they laughed, the better they enjoyed the show. And the bigger the audience became. Producer Doug Berman, who has worked with the Magliozzis for 12 years, said in an interview in *Brill's Content*, "They're like the kids in the back of the class that used to joke and make you laugh, and you didn't want to laugh because you'd get in trouble" (Greenstein).

Car Talk is a tightly structured show: it begins with a thought piece, usually humorous. There are three segments that feature phone calls. Most weeks a puzzle is featured in the "third half" of the program. Music from many genres, as long as the lyrics mention something automotive, is used as audio bumpers to separate the segments.

"Stump the Chumps" is an irregular feature in which callers are brought back to reveal whether Click and Clack gave the correct answer to their automotive questions. This feature gives rise to much self-deprecating humor. It also establishes credibility, because most of the time the answer was correct and saved the caller both time and money.

During the show's closing credits, puns reign. From research statistician Marge Inoverra to pseudonym consultant Norm Deplume, the end of *Car Talk* is a high point. The

names are accompanied by the appropriate accent when required. Although the basic names repeat week after week, there's always a new one to catch the ear of the faithful and keep Tom laughing.

Car Talk closes with an underwriting statement that offers a final opportunity to make a joke about another NPR host: "And even though Scott Simon sends his resume to MTV every time he hears us say it, this is NPR, National Public Radio."

PAM SHANE

See also Comedy; National Public Radio

Programming History

WBUR-FM	1977-87
NPR (550 stations)	1987-present

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Cavalcade of America

U.S. Radio Drama

Sponsored by E.I. du Pont de Nemours and Company, *Cavalcade of America* established the dramatic anthology program format among a generation of public relations and advertising specialists, as well as its reluctant sponsor, in a period when continuous institutional promotion by radio was not generally practiced and when the value of radio in prosecuting even short-term public relations campaigns was not fully appreciated. Because the DuPont Company's previous radio use had been limited to the efforts of company officials who personally helped underwrite the anti-New Deal talks of the American Liberty League, the National Association of Manufacturers, and other pro-business groups, the debut of *Cavalcade* was a signal event in the conservative seedtime of modern broadcast entertainment. What became the longest-running radio program of its kind debuted 9 October 1935 and ran until 1953 with only two brief lapses. In 1952 *Cavalcade* moved to televi-

sion, where it remained until 1955. Although *Cavalcade's* sponsor never relinquished its editorial prerogative, by 1940 DuPont acceded to their specialists' attempts to bury the program's more troublesome aspects in the dramatic subtext of "Better Things for Better Living."

A positive expression of corporate social leadership supervised by the advertising and public relations specialists of Batten, Barton, Durstine, and Osborn (BBD&O), the *Cavalcade* exemplified the higher concepts of corporate public affairs, far removed from the give and take of American party politics, which by 1935 had become manifest in a daily cycle of reaction and attack. By the early 1950s, company advertising and public relations specialists proudly pointed to increasingly favorable opinion polling data associating DuPont with "Better Things for Better Living." Reflecting on BBD&O's long and successful relationship with DuPont, Bruce Barton attributed

the turnaround in part to two factors: women's nylons and the *Cavalcade of America*.

BBD&O's aggressive merchandising of *Cavalcade* involved celebrated authors, dramatists, actors, actresses, educators, and historians. From 1935 to 1938 the *Cavalcade's* historical advisers included Dixon Ryan Fox—the president of Union College and the New York Historical Association—and Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger of Harvard. The arrangement enabled BBD&O to merchandise the program as a contribution to the “new social history” with which Fox and Schlesinger had become identified as co-editors of the 12-volume *A History of American Life*. Suspended between the liberal sensibilities of the new social history, represented by the collaboration of Fox and Schlesinger, and the sponsor's predilection for rhetorical attacks upon Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal, the *Cavalcade* offered a counter-subversive drama of self-reliance, resourcefulness, and defiance animated by the misfortunes of typically natural phenomena: grasshopper plagues, flash floods, fire, drought, dust storms, blizzards, ice floes, and log jams. Successful resolution demanded heroic acts of voluntarism, community spirit, and the sterner stuff that defined a heritage. As one flinty character explained while he helped extinguish a forest fire threatening his town, “What we struggled to get, we fight to keep.”

The dramatization of the personal meaning of business enterprise played a role in the *Cavalcade's* striking use of female protagonists. In its first season, the *Cavalcade* presented a hierarchical schedule of broadcasts beginning with “Women's Emancipation,” the story of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott, William Lloyd Garrison, and Susan B. Anthony; “Women in Public Service,” the story of Jane Addams and Hull House; “Loyalty to Family,” the story of frontier widow Ann Harper; and “Self-Reliance,” the story of planter Eliza Lucas' efforts to establish indigo in Carolina. Many *Cavalcade* women turned up as agents of production. For example, “The Search for Iron,” broadcast in 1938, dramatized the story of the Merrit family's discovery of a massive iron ore deposit in Minnesota's Mesabi Range. The search, spanning three generations, featured matriarch Hepzabeth Merrit, log-hewn home life, and a frontier quest for resources. The concluding “story of chemistry” explained how miners used DuPont dynamite to excavate iron ore from “mother Earth,” an example of the modern world's extraordinary engineering feats and of dynamite's use for constructive projects. Not without lighter moments, the “Search for Iron” began, as did many early *Cavalcade* broadcasts, with a medley of popular show tunes, in this case “Some-day My Prince Will Come” and “Heigh Ho” from Walt Disney's *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*.

By the early 1940s, the *Cavalcade of America* had become the commitment to well-merchandised institutional entertainment that its specialists had long sought. Specialists attributed the *Cavalcade's* success to its capacity to assimilate the func-

tions of broadcast education and entertainment, with each adjusted to fit the circumstances of the changing leadership of the DuPont Company; the inroads of middle management using positivist audience research; and the onset of World War II, which made possible and even desirable the expression of democratic sensibilities.

After 1940 the *Cavalcade* featured a new mixture of amateur and academic historians who assumed greater program responsibilities. Professor Frank Monaghan of Yale delivered on-air story introductions. A memorable broadcast performance by poet and Lincoln biographer Carl Sandburg and the performance of poet Stephen Vincent Benét's *The People, Yes* signaled the relaxation of the program sponsor's editorial outlook. Thereafter, the formulaic dramatization of the American past culminating in “better living” distanced itself from the crisis of Depression-era business leadership that had called the *Cavalcade* into being. Ever so slowly, the *Cavalcade* decamped from the usable past for the intimate terrain of “more,” “new,” and “better living” merchandised in a build-up of stars and stories.

In concert with program producer BBD&O, the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) took the *Cavalcade* on the road for timely broadcast performances before the network's “pressure groups.” The first of three remote broadcasts originated from the Chicago Civic Opera House, starring Raymond Massey in Robert Sherwood's adaptation of Sandburg's *Abraham Lincoln: The War Years*. Another starred Helen Hayes in “Jane Addams of Hull House,” broadcast from the Milwaukee convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs. A third program, attended by DuPont's Richmond, Virginia, employees, featured Philip Merivale in “Robert E. Lee,” based on historian Douglas Southall Freeman's biography of the general.

Program specialists acknowledged the advantage of featuring characters already familiar to listeners, many of whom regarded historical figures as voices of authority. The ideal protagonist was heroic yet humble. Of the 750 *Cavalcade* radio programs broadcast from 1935 to 1953, biographical treatments of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln led the list (15 programs each), followed by Benjamin Franklin (9 programs) and Thomas Jefferson (8). Washington personified a recurring *Cavalcade* metaphor cementing America's revolutionary struggle for freedom with business' modern-day struggle to escape the regulatory tyranny of the New Deal. In a dramatization of the first inauguration entitled “Plain Mr. President,” for example, the *Cavalcade's* Washington invoked the “sacred fire of liberty and the destiny of the republican form of government . . . staked on the experiment entrusted to the American people.” Washington prayed that “the invisible hand of the almighty being guide the people of the United States to wise measures, for our free government must win the affection of its citizens and command the respect of the world.” The weekly “story of chemistry,” entitled “news of



Cavalcade of America, 1938
 Courtesy CBS Photo Archive

chemistry's work in our world," noted that "Washington, the practical economist, would no doubt have been pleased with modern house paints that actually clean themselves."

Gaining the confidence of their sponsor, who at last warmed to the idea of entertainment, the *Cavalcade's* producers found themselves able to take advantage of a wider range of story material. This new range of material expanded the program's original basis in the historical past and the world of letters to feature adaptations of Hollywood screenplays and original works for radio that dramatized democratic sensibilities. In fall 1940, the *Cavalcade* presented the story of "Wild Bill Hickok" woven around a ballad composed and performed by Woodie Guthrie; "Town Crier" Alexander Woolcott, on loan from the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), who performed his "word picture" of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic";

and a special Christmas night broadcast of Marc Connelly's "The Green Pastures" featuring the Hall Johnson Choir. The adaptation of popular screenplays the following season enlarged upon the plan. In November 1941 the *Cavalcade* presented Henry Fonda in "Drums along the Mohawk" and Errol Flynn in "They Died with Their Boots On"; in the weeks following Pearl Harbor, the program featured Orson Welles in "The Great Man Votes" and James Cagney in "Captains of the Clouds." The appearance of stars who volunteered personal feelings about the company at the conclusion of select broadcasts spoke volumes for the program sponsor's growing confidence in a corporate public relations strategy inconceivable in the early years of the program.

The *Cavalcade* signaled an appreciation among specialists and business leaders alike that carefully scripted investments in

dramatic anthology programming could, in the long run, reestablish a political climate conducive to the autonomous expansion of corporate enterprise. Business' contest with the administration for social and political leadership would continue, specialists hoped, divorced from rhetorical reaction and counterproductive short-term effects.

After World War II, the dramatic anthology became the preferred vehicle of corporate public relations among the clients of BBD&O, with tremendous significance for the television of the 1950s. BBD&O-produced programs included *Cavalcade of America*, *General Electric Theater*, *U.S. Steel Hour* (*Theater Guild on the Air*), and *Armstrong Circle Theater*. As the prototype of well-merchandised institutional entertainment, the *Cavalcade* set the precedent for them all, including the merchandising of programs undertaken by *General Electric Theater* host and program supervisor Ronald Reagan.

Ever responsive to the need of the moment, the free enterprise subtext of radio's *Cavalcade* continued unabated. At times, company public relations and advertising specialists seemed incapable of any other than dramaturgical expression. When the DuPont Company became entangled in an antitrust suit in 1949, for example, the *Cavalcade* dramatized the benefits of large-scale monopoly in "Wire to the West," the story of Western Union's consolidation of rival telegraph companies; in "Beyond Cheyenne," a story about "how the packing industry started as small business and became big business"; and in "The Immortal Blacksmith," "a story of the invention of the electric motor by Tom Davenport, . . . which never amounted to anything until big companies took hold of it and converted its power into conveniences for the millions." The *Cavalcade's* sponsor's reluctance to broadcast a more explicit defense spoke for a certain dramatic success.

WILLIAM L. BIRD, JR.

Narrator/Host

Walter Huston

Announcers

Frank Singiser, Gabriel Heatter, Basil Ruysdael, Clayton "Bud" Collyer, Gayne Whitman, Ted Pearson

Actors

John McIntire, Jeanette Nolan, Agnes Moorehead, Kenny Delmar, Edwin Jerome, Ray Collins, Orson Welles, Karl Swenson, Ted Jewett, Jack Smart, Paul Stewart, Bill Johnstone, Frank Readick, Raymon Edward Johnson, Ted de Corsia, Everett Sloane, Luis Van Rooten, Mickey Rooney, Cary Grant, Tyrone Power, and Ronald Reagan

Producer/Directors

Homer Fickett, Roger Pryor, Jack Zoller, Paul Stewart, and Bill Sweets

Writers

Arthur Miller, Norman Rosten, Robert Tallman, Peter Lyon, Robert Richards, Stuart Hawkins, Arthur Arent, Edith Sommer, Halsted Welles, Henry Denker, Priscilla Kent, Virginia Radcliffe, Frank Gabrielson, Margaret Lewerth, Morton Wishengrad, George Faulkner, Irv Tunick

Programming History

CBS 1935-39
NBC Blue January 1940-June 1940
NBC Red 1940-53

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Censorship

Censorship means prior restraint—stopping something from being published or broadcast before it can appear. Radio censorship often determines who gets to broadcast and what is broadcast. It can take many forms: state monopoly of radio facilities and political expression; program monitoring by military or civilian bodies; “private” censorship of controversial topics by station authorities; specific stipulations of what constitutes acceptable quality and good taste in radio programming; the denial of the right to broadcast to minority groups, religions, races, and ethnicities; the list goes on and on. If censorship is understood more broadly as the regulation of the transmission and reception of representations and opinions, it could be argued to transpire at all levels of the radio communication process—through the actions of governments, networks, stations, advertisers, producers, performers, parents, and listeners themselves.

Radio Censorship in Europe

From the 1920s to the present day, radio has been mobilized as a tool for the purposes of authoritarian governments and colonial authorities around the world. Internationally, radio censorship has most significantly and powerfully taken the form of its classic definition: to suppress unofficial and oppositional political voices before they can be heard and to prohibit unauthorized material and information.

Radio broadcasting in the former Yugoslavia, for example, was heavily controlled by the government prior to World War II. After the ascendance of a socialist regime in the 1940s, radio was coordinated by Jugoslavenska Radiotelevizija (JRT), although it was a highly federalized arrangement, with regional broadcasting networks located in the various republics serving the multilingual and culturally and ethnically pluralist populations included under the state. Yugoslavia’s relative autonomy from the Soviet Union resulted in a heavier infiltration of Western news and entertainment media and a more open news broadcasting policy. Local radio stations operated independently of JRT, but a basic censorship was exercised over all Yugoslav radio. Criticism of the basic communist system was prohibited, as was any personal attack directed toward Chief of State Marshall Tito. Nothing could be broadcast that might “exacerbate the troublesome animosities dividing the various Yugoslav nationalities” (Paulu, 1974). Negative viewpoints regarding the Soviet Union were not permitted, for fear that such views might antagonize Soviet leaders into military intervention.

Clandestine *samizdat* radio stations helped to propel the cultural and political reforms that swept across Eastern Europe in the early 1990s. But although most of those nations subse-

quently embraced privatized radio as a symbol of newfound democratization, Serbia’s troubled late 1990s history resulted in heavy-handed reassertions of state control. The Milosevic regime revoked operating licenses and physically dismantled independent radio stations during times of anti-government protests and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) military actions. Likewise, radio is closely controlled (censored, as need be) in most Third World countries, where the media are either a voice of the state or are held by those close to the party in power.

Great Britain

The censorship situation in the United Kingdom has been much different, but similarly complex. The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) was formed as an autonomous public monopoly in Britain in 1926 after four years of commercial operation. Although outright instances of radio censorship have been few, the organization has routinely encountered various pressures from the party and prime minister in power. Historically, the relations between Broadcasting House and Whitehall have been rather too cordial for many critics, raising questions about the political and cultural neutrality of the corporation. Although BBC News has earned a much-vaunted reputation for impartiality, during the General Strike of 1926 and over the course of World War II, “the BBC became an integral part of the state’s information machinery” (Schlesinger, 1978). Close government oversight of reporting was likewise maintained during the Falklands/Malvinas conflict with Argentina in the early 1980s.

Once established in 1955, commercial television was subject to the self-regulatory authority of the Independent Television Authority. Cat-and-mouse adventures between licensing authorities and pirate radio ships—unauthorized music stations transmitting from vessels in the North Sea—enlivened the regulatory scene in the 1970s and forced the BBC to adopt more popular programming. Despite the recent proliferation of independent and community radio stations in the United Kingdom, pirate outfits catering to fringe musical tastes are still common in metropolitan areas.

The primary government influence over U.K. radio has involved the coverage of events in Northern Ireland. Irish Republicans have long criticized the BBC and the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) stations for their biased or partial coverage of the “Troubles.” Unofficial agreements and tacit understandings between government and broadcasting establishments were the most common cause for this, although the relationship had clearly become strained in many areas by the late 1980s. The Conservative government responded with

extraordinary provisions, including prohibiting the direct reporting of Sinn Fein members—a measure that backfired, antagonizing journalists and garnering widespread condemnation as unwarranted government interference.

The “Absence” of Official Radio Censorship in the United States

Officially, no government censorship of regular radio programming has ever existed in the United States. The First Amendment’s prohibition of laws concerning speech and the press are the primary barrier to such activity. Under the Radio Act of 1912, the secretary of commerce and labor was obliged to issue radio licenses to all applicants. Section 29 of the Radio Act of 1927 stipulated that:

Nothing in this act shall be understood or construed to give the Commission the power of censorship over the radio communications or signals transmitted by any radio station, and no regulation or condition shall be promulgated or fixed by the Commission which shall interfere with the right of free speech by means of radio communication.

This clause was reproduced as Section 326 of the Communications Act of 1934, and it has been applied to the Federal Communications Commission’s (FCC) oversight of broadcasting ever since.

The real history of radio censorship in the United States, however, has been far less clear-cut than this official situation would suggest. The “no-censorship” clause was designed to allay fears that a government agency might impose its political will against the First Amendment rights of the press. The assumption that censorship was an act of “prior restraint” by the government on a private citizen, company, or organization was reiterated in this legislation. But if we understand censorship to constitute a more diverse set of limitations and restrictions, patterns of censorship have existed throughout the history of American radio broadcasting.

The no-censorship clause was crucial because it differentiated the “democratic” American system of broadcasting from the state-controlled or state-affiliated systems adopted by most other nations (such as Yugoslavia and Britain). The specter of political control loomed over early discussions about radio regulation and justified the adoption of a system that endorsed private commercial development of the airwaves. In the process, censorship was frequently regarded as a black-and-white issue: the presence or absence of government control. The broadcasting industry was highly successful in soliciting support for its two philosophies on the subject: (1) the argument that government censorship was a slippery slope (i.e., once established in any measure, it would tend toward the kind of

political despotism present in authoritarian media systems); and (2) the idea that the government should not be allowed to impose its elitist standards of taste and culture on the American public by determining program content (hence, a paternalist radio model was unacceptable).

In the early 1930s, the federal courts recognized the Federal Radio Commission’s (and subsequently the FCC’s) right to consider past programming performance when deciding whether to renew or revoke a broadcasting license. Because no radio station can legally broadcast without a license, this “subsequent review” power has long been recognized as an indirect form of censorship, producing the “chilling effect” on broadcasters of avoiding controversial material that might antagonize the commission. In truth, the commission has rarely revoked or failed to renew licenses.

The Emergence of Self-Censorship in the United States

Most censorship in American radio has consisted of self-regulation by networks, stations, advertisers, and performers. Except for certain situations involving political candidates, broadcasters can refuse anybody access to their facilities. This “editorial control” has inspired well-founded criticisms that particular political opinions, news items, and entertainment forms have been routinely excluded from the radio airwaves. *Market censorship*, where the commercial basis of the industry discourages the airing of certain “unpopular” topics or minority perspectives, is often responsible for these restrictions. Allegations have also surfaced that networks and station owners—controlled by wealthier, politically conservative individuals—have prohibited left-wing viewpoints and protests against the broadcasting industry from reaching the microphone. Conversely, throughout the 1930s, Republican congressmen and conservative commentators such as Boake Carter objected that stations and networks, fearing or favoring the Democratic administration, refused them equitable opportunities to air their perspectives.

Private censorship refers to the various program (or advertising) prohibitions undertaken by radio stations and networks. The most commonly restricted subjects during radio’s golden age were labor unrest, socialist politics, pacifism, political “radicalism,” birth control advocacy, criticism of advertising, anti-Prohibition speeches, unorthodox medical practices, unorthodox religious opinions, excessive excitement in children’s shows, “offensive” words, and suggestive situations. Private censorship often stemmed from stations’ unwillingness to offend advertisers or listeners (based upon feedback or the assumed preferences of their audience). Such actions were not always unfounded or irresponsible. Popular radio priest Father Charles Coughlin’s anti-Semitic remarks resulted in his program’s cancellation by a number of stations in the late 1930s and led to his eventual removal from the air. Significantly,

however, most networks and many stations responded to Coughlin by formalizing policies refusing to accept paid programming that addressed “controversial” issues. As a result, the limits of radio discourse were further circumscribed.

Obscenity and Indecency in Radio

In response to an outbreak of “radio vandalism,” in 1914 the Department of Commerce stipulated that amateur licensees must refrain from profane or obscene words. This preoccupation with maintaining standards of good taste and upholding the moral order continued into the broadcasting era. The one exception to the no-censorship clause of the Radio Act and the Communications Act is the following addendum: “No person within the jurisdiction of the United States shall utter any obscene, indecent, or profane language by means of radio communication.”

In other words, this was the one legislated area in which prior restraint was permissible: broadcasters airing obscene, indecent, or profane material could expect license revocation or nonrenewal. During its tenure, the Federal Radio Commission interpreted this clause broadly, arguing that because radio entered the home and was accessible by children, indiscretions in this area were unacceptable. Several licenses for smaller stations were revoked following “vulgar” and “offensive” broadcasts, encouraging a higher degree of caution among other broadcasters. Any mention of “sex” was avoided, leading to the widespread cancellation of academic lectures on venereal diseases and birth control methods.

Self-Regulation

In fact, the larger stations and the radio networks justified their dominance within the industry based upon their ability to uphold “good taste” in programming. The commission supported the notion that “quality radio service” was best represented by vigilant self-monitoring of programs and performers. The corroboration between official government regulation and industry self-regulation solidified in the 1930s. The National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) emerged as the primary industry lobbying group and developed continuing working relations with the FCC and Congress. Dominated by the larger commercial entities throughout its history, the NAB encouraged its members to more aggressively self-censor.

Without formal government outlines of what was permissible over the airwaves, program producers personally took on the obligations of unofficial censorship. Most stations codified their censorship policies, justifying them in terms of universal community interests. KSD, St. Louis, prided itself on its ability to exercise “an inflexible censorship over all programs offered for broadcasting . . . [to protect] listeners and advertisers against association with the unworthy.” In the early 1930s, the

trade magazine *Variety* described how the current policy, “somewhat along the lines of an honor system, makes a censor of everybody in the studio, from actors to control room engineers. Nobody has been taught what to avoid or bar and the material washing is left to personal discretion” (quoted in Rorty, 1934).

This gatekeeping function was formalized as the decade progressed, especially as the networks asserted their oversight functions. The Columbia Broadcasting System’s (CBS) 1935 policies focused on children’s programming, listing themes that would not be permitted:

The exalting, as modern heroes, of gangsters, criminals and racketeers will not be allowed. Disrespect for either parental or other proper authority must not be glorified or encouraged. Recklessness and abandon must not be falsely identified with a healthy spirit of adventure.

The National Broadcasting Company (NBC) likewise institutionalized restrictions, prohibiting such subjects as “off-color” songs and jokes, astrology and fortune-telling, irreverent references to the deity, and “questionable statements.” The NAB followed suit, issuing in 1939 a more stringent code of “accepted standards of good taste” for its members. CBS and NBC established “Standards and Practices” and “Continuity Acceptance” departments to enforce “courtesy and good taste” and to guarantee programming appropriate for “homes . . . of all types . . . and all members of the family.”

The self-censorship system was similar to that of the motion picture industry, but it differed in certain respects. The Hollywood movie studios submitted scripts and films to a semi-independent body to preview and approve. Radio censorship was less centralized; most radio programs were created (and self-censored) by sponsors and their advertising agencies. Networks and stations were therefore usually dealing with third parties, not their own productions. The sheer volume of radio programming meant that continuous monitoring of all stations’ output was impractical. Radio guidelines were also harder to enforce, because most broadcasts were transmitted live. The radio networks and stations required all programs and speakers to submit scripts in advance and forbade ad-libbing, but this cumbersome “blue-penciling” review process was never comprehensively enforced, and it failed to account for misinterpretations or unscheduled deviations from the script during broadcast. Writers and performers frequently challenged the networks’ censorship provisions, slipping in double entendres or tiptoeing on the brink of “tastelessness” with their gags and dramas. Nevertheless, major infractions of the self-regulatory codes were few and far between, and the FCC wholeheartedly supported the application of private censorship as a preferential alternative to official program supervision.

The close cooperation between government and big industry objectives in radio that had developed during the 1930s was indicated by the formal alliances forged during World War II. The administration's faith in the ideological integrity of radio business interests was confirmed when President Roosevelt appointed top radio journalists and executives to posts in the Office of War Information (OWI) and the Office of Censorship. Networks, stations, and sponsors obliged the OWI by providing hours of free airtime to government programs and bond drives. Dramatic scripts were rewritten to encourage patriotism, enlistment, and home front support for the war effort. The Office of Censorship issued guidelines of prohibited topics such as weather reports and troop movements, and it required the downplaying of racial antagonisms—all of which broadcasters followed willingly.

Radio Censorship in the United States after World War II

As the networks shifted their interests to television in the post-war period, the tight mechanisms of self-regulation that had developed in the 1930s and 1940s began to break down. Radio stations shifted away from a mass-appeal broadcasting model to a format-based system that targeted particular localities and audience groups. In the process, minority tastes, unorthodox political opinions, and non-mainstream moralities were serviced. In increasingly competitive urban radio markets, commercial broadcasters began to "push the envelope" and schedule controversial and sensational programming. A rise in noncommercial community radio stations resulted in programming that resonated with more politically and aesthetically progressive audiences. The NAB Code of Program Standards was abolished in the 1980s. Censorship reemerged around the fringes of the electromagnetic spectrum.

In the 1970s, the FCC reprimanded several "indecent" radio broadcasters. The trend toward "topless radio"—call-in talk shows inviting sexual anecdotes from listeners—resulted in fines and warnings from the Commission. Various stations associated with the Pacifica Foundation (a listener-supported organization serving avant-garde tastes and addressing political subjects) were chastised for their indiscretions. Most significantly, Pacifica member WBAI, New York, broadcast an unexpurgated sketch called "Seven Dirty Words" by comedian George Carlin. This resulted in a U.S. Supreme Court decision declaring that, although the sketch was constitutionally protected speech, the FCC had the right to restrict indecent expression over the airwaves. The FCC more aggressively reasserted this right in the 1990s, in response to the daytime scheduling of "shock jocks." The shock jocks were largely the employees of ratings-hungry radio networks and station conglomerates, who revamped their criticisms of the FCC's intervention into program content as First Amendment infringements.

A burgeoning "microradio" movement, which broadcasts to immediate localities using cheap, portable, low-power transmitters, more recently flustered the FCC. Advocates of microradio argue that it allows greater access to the airwaves for marginalized voices. The FCC long refused to license broadcasters under 100 watts and considered such microbroadcasting illegal. In 2000 the FCC began to license low-power FM transmitters; microradio proponents consider this an attempt by the commission to commercialize the movement and extend its authority over radio content.

A significant censorship issue for the future concerns internet radio, which many forecast will supersede broadcast radio if issues of listener access and portability can be resolved. The international implications are massive, because the delivery of audio over the internet renders discrepancies in signal strength and frequency allocation irrelevant. Censorship based upon geographical factors disappears as a result. Internet radio seemingly offers a solution to national/state censorship, representing a technological means to circumvent authoritarian attempts to prohibit or limit broadcast transmissions.

MATTHEW MURRAY

See also Communications Act of 1934; Controversial Issues; Equal Time Rule; Fairness Doctrine; Federal Communications Commission; First Amendment and Radio; Internet Radio; Licensing; Low-Power Radio; Obscenity and Indecency on Radio; Propaganda by Radio; Seven Dirty Words Case; Shock Jocks; Topless Radio; United States Supreme Court and Radio; Wireless Acts of 1910 and 1912/Radio Acts of 1912 and 1927

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CFCF

Montreal, Quebec Station

Based in Montreal, CFCF ("Canada's First, Canada's Finest") holds the distinction of being the country's oldest radio station and is arguably the first radio station in North America.

Origins

The foundations for CFCF were laid through a series of experiments with the transmission of electromagnetic signals. The Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company of Canada (hereafter referred to as Canadian Marconi) received a license from the Canadian government to conduct experiments with radio, including the erection and operation of wireless telegraph stations on ships for navigational and commercial purposes. *Report of the Department of the Naval Service* (the Canadian Department of Marine and Fisheries oversaw radio services at this time), dated 31 March 1915, lists CFCF's predecessor, XWA (Experimental Wireless Apparatus), as the sole experimental "wireless telephony" station.

Although many place the distinction of "oldest radio station" on KDKA Pittsburgh, an equally strong case can be made for the precedence of XWA. Both stations experimented with broadcasts to local ham operators in 1919, but there are no existing records indicating that signals were received. If the date when scheduled broadcast began is used as a starting point, XWA's broadcast of musical programming on 20 May 1920 occurred six months before KDKA's broadcast of the Harding-Cox election returns on 2 November 1920. XWA's inaugural program featured an orchestra and soloist Dorothy Lutton as part of a special meeting of the Royal Society of Canada at the Chateau Laurier Hotel in Ottawa. It was possible to receive the broadcast as far as Ottawa, more than 100 miles away. XWA was christened CFCF on 4 November 1920.

Early programming from XWA/CFCF consisted mainly of weather reports and the playing of gramophone records on a wind-up Victrola.

CFCF moved into its first real broadcast studios at the Canada Cement Building in Phillips Square in 1922. Performers heard regularly from the Phillips Square location included the dance bands of Joseph Smith from the Mount-Royal Hotel, Andy Tipaldi from the Ritz-Carlton, and Harold Leonard from the Windsor. In 1923 a yacht race from Lake St. Louis was described using a portable hand-held transmitter. Catering to the station's wealthier radio set owners, CFCF made arrangements with *The Financial Times* to provide bulletins from the Montreal Stock Exchange to be broadcast during the noon hour. By 1923, livestock and financial market reports also appeared.

In 1927, CFCF participated in the first coast-to-coast network radio experiment in Canada. A number of privately run stations were linked together using the telegraph lines from the Canadian National and Canadian Pacific railways along with local and provincially operated telephone lines. The network was arranged to cover a number of celebrations held in Ottawa to mark Canada's Diamond Jubilee. The broadcast also aired worldwide on CFCF's shortwave station, VE9DR (later CFCX).

By 1930 Canadian private radio stations began forming affiliate relationships with the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) and the National Broadcasting Company (NBC). Although the American networks used the Canadian stations on a station-by-station and program-by-program basis, the links became more frequent and regular. By 1932 CFCF had permanent affiliate status with NBC. The station's program lineup mixed American programming, such as *Miracles of*

Magnolia, *Gloom Chasers*, *Hotel New Yorker Concert Ensemble*, and *Amos 'n' Andy* with locally produced, sometimes bilingual programming. With the dissolution of the Canadian National Railway's radio service during the 1930s, CFCF's manager (and former CNR employee) Vic George negotiated a deal to use CNR telegraph circuits in the evenings so that stations from as far as London, Ontario and Halifax, Nova Scotia could exchange programming. By the end of World War II, CFCF switched its affiliation to the American Broadcasting Companies (ABC). One of the first ABC broadcasts heard on CFCF was the Saturday afternoon live broadcast from the Metropolitan Opera.

Between 1922 and 1935, the station moved its studios three times, from Phillips Square to the penthouse of the Mount Royal Hotel and finally to the King's Hall Building on St. Catherine Street East. However, their stay at the King's Hall location was short-lived, as an explosion and fire destroyed the building in January 1948. The station moved to a temporary studio on Cote des Neiges, and variety programs such as *Little Players on the Air* and *The Good Neighbour Club* were back on the air in a matter of weeks. The station was forced to move again in 1957 because of another fire. Within days, temporary studios were established in the penthouse of the Dominion Square building until a complete broadcast complex could be built on the 6th floor.

Ownership and Program Changes

In 1968 the federal government passed new legislation limiting foreign ownership of broadcasting entities. Because the ownership of Canadian Marconi was held by the English Electric Company of Britain, the company had to divest its holdings and find a new owner. In 1972 the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) approved the ownership of the station by Multiple Access, owned by the sons and daughters of Samuel Bronfman. CFCF remained in the broadcast division of Multiple Access until 31 August 1979, at which time Jean Adelard Pouillot purchased CFCF and all of its broadcasting assets. In 1985 CFCF radio moved to the Park Street Extension district in the city's north end, where the television station was located.

In 1988 the station was purchased by Mount Royal Broadcasting, operated by Pierre Berland and Pierre Arcand. On 1 May 1989 the station relocated downtown to 1200 McGill College Avenue. As a condition of sale, the station had to abandon its call letters in order to differentiate itself from the

television broadcaster CFCF-12. The condition was met on 9 September 1991, when CFCF became radio station CIQC. Upon the expiration of their lease in 1996, CIQC moved its studios to Gordon Street in the Montreal suburb of Verdun.

The change of call letters also resulted in a change of programming format, as the station moved from adult standards to country music. In 1993, CIQC switched formats again, towards a talk radio and community affairs format. The result was an eclectic mix of "Ask the Experts" programs (ranging in topics from automobiles to holistic medicine), phone-in programs featuring local celebrities (including Jim Duff, Ted Tevan, Mitch Melnick and Howard Galganov), and syndicated American programming. The station also broadcast Montreal Canadiens and Montreal Expos games. However, a dwindling Anglophone population, a weak frequency, and increased competition from rival English language stations eroded CFCF/CIQC's status within the Montreal radio environment. In late 1998 the station successfully applied to the CRTC to shift its frequency to the vacant, and stronger, 940 AM. The CRTC allowed the station to simulcast its broadcasts on both the 600 and 940 AM frequencies for a period of six months. In December 1999, the station became "News 940" and CIQC's call letters changed to CINW. In August 2000, the company was purchased by the Corus Entertainment company and has retained its all-news format.

IRA WAGMAN

See also CKAC; KDKA

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Chain Broadcasting. See Network Monopoly Probe

CHED

Edmonton, Alberta Station

In spite of its northern location, radio station CHED in Edmonton, Alberta, was an important force in the Canadian radio industry as one of the leading rock music stations in the country before the supremacy of FM radio. In January 1953 the Board of Broadcast Governors (BBG), the Canadian broadcasting regulator, granted a license to the station, which was to be owned and operated at 1080 kilohertz, to local businessman Hugh Sibbald and to Lloyd Moffatt, owner of a number of radio stations in the Canadian West. The station's application was vigorously opposed by the Alberta government, which had financed a competitor, station CKUA. The granting of the license by the BBG is indicative of the lack of authority by the provincial government in broadcasting—an area considered to be a matter of national interest.

On 13 July 1953 the station adopted the call letters CHED and shortly thereafter named Don McKay, a former chairman of the Edmonton Chamber of Commerce, as the general manager of the station. The station then hired local commentators Guy Vaughan (a former newsreader at the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation [CBC]), Ron Chase, and Bob McGavin as newsreaders. This was in part the station's attempt to provide, in the words of McKay, "a happy blend of familiar and new voices." Other members of the CHED staff included Warner Troyer, Stu Phillips, and Phil Floyd. The news director of the station was Allan Slaight, the future president of the Standard Broadcasting Network. During this time, the station moved into its first broadcasting location, at 10006 107th Street, in the city's downtown. The station would remain in that location until it moved into its present building at 5204 84th Street in 1982.

CHED first aired on 3 March 1954, the 50th anniversary of the city's founding. The emphasis of the early programming was on more familiar concert and show tunes, from Broadway musical scores to popular movie sound tracks, as well as music from swing bands of the era. This material was complemented by news every hour on the half hour and weather information on the hour, as well as periodic sports news and on-the-spot features announced by Bart Gibb. Full local, national, and international news came from wire services, including the Brit-

ish United Press and Broadcast News, as well as from CHED's city reporting staff. In 1955 then programmer and disc jockey and future station manager Murray McIntyre "Jerry" Forbes was responsible for spearheading the "Santas Anonymous" toy-drive campaign, which has become one of the largest Christmas toy drives in North America, currently delivering more than 26,000 toys to needy families in the Edmonton area.

On 1 November 1962, CHED underwent an important technical change, moving its frequency to 630 kHz and increasing its power to 10,000 watts day and night (originally, the station had only 1,000 watts of nighttime power). This gave the station substantial coverage throughout the northern region of Alberta and into Saskatchewan.

The change of frequency and subsequent increase in coverage marked the beginning of a substantial period of prosperity for the station, beginning in the late 1960s. The station had adopted a Top 50 rock format in 1957, but it achieved audience supremacy with the rise of rock and the development of "personality radio," which saw the development of old-time "boss jocks"—well-known local personalities—in prominent roles as disc jockeys who hosted a variety of local events, introduced concerts and other promotional opportunities for the station, and participated in community initiatives. An example of this occurred in 1967, when the local newspaper, the *Edmonton Journal*, temporarily discontinued the comic pages because of a newsprint shortage. In response to this development, CHED announcers read and described the comic strips to audiences over the air. Newsreader Bob McCord read *Peanuts*, and other local personalities appeared at the station to read other areas, including Mayor Ivor Dent's reading of the *Wizard of Id*. The rationale, according to McCord, was that "with all of this world's troubles, it's no time to be without the funnies."

The success of personality radio was most prominent among CHED's roster of disc jockeys. With a team that included Len Theusen, Bruce Bowie, Chuck Chandler, Wes Montgomery, and Keith James, CHED dominated the AM market with a morning show that occasionally posted a 50

percent share of the audience. Theusen's radio show, which aired evenings between 9 P.M. and midnight, was among the most popular shows on the dial. Theusen himself was not popular with everyone: the station was once forced off the air when he was attacked on the air by a former disc jockey. The station's local popularity did not go unnoticed by the music industry, and CHED was featured in a 1973 issue of *Billboard* magazine's spotlight on Canadian radio.

By the 1980s, changes in ownership, programming format, and the local broadcast landscape resulted in the substantial reorganization of the station. In 1989 Moffat's Edmonton division (630/CHED) formed a partnership with Maclean Hunter station CKNG-FM (Power-92). The CHED management team was responsible for the operation of both radio stations until their sale to Western International Communications Ltd. (WIC) on 1 September 1992. More than a year later, the station changed its format to news/talk with the slogan "Alberta's Information Superstation" on 1 December 1993. By 1995 CHED had secured a virtual monopoly on the broadcasting rights for major professional sports; the station now broadcasts Edmonton Oilers hockey and the Edmonton Eskimos of

the Canadian Football League. In late 1999, WIC's broadcasting (radio and television) holdings were divided up, and Corus Entertainment (a division of Shaw Communications) purchased the radio properties, including the operation of CHED.

IRA WAGMAN

See also Canadian Radio and the Music Industry

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Chenault, Gene 1919-

U.S. Station Owner and Manager, Top 40 Format Pioneer, Consultant, and Syndicator

Gene Chenault's name is less famous than that of his partner, programmer Bill Drake. Yet behind the impact of Drake's contributions to the Top 40 format were Chenault's management skills and his sales and marketing concepts. The two men altered U.S. radio and American popular culture in the 1960s. From a single radio station, Chenault and Drake spread their sales, programming, and promotion philosophies across California to stations in other major U.S. markets. The company they formed together, Drake-Chenault Enterprises, parlayed their success into one of the largest tape syndication services.

Early Years

Born Lester Eugene Chenault in 1919, Chenault spent his high school days as a radio actor in Los Angeles, including performances on national broadcasts via the Mutual network. He fell in love with radio, he said, when he and his father listened

together to the broadcast of the Jack Dempsey-Gene Tunney prize fight in 1926. It was then that he knew he wanted to pursue radio as a career. After graduation, he landed a job in Fresno at KFRE but interrupted that with service in the army in World War II.

At the end of the war, Chenault joined an engineer friend who was planning an application for a new station in Fresno. In October 1947 the new station, KYNO at 1300 kHz—Fresno's fourth signal—was on the air with Chenault as general manager and managing partner. Over time he would acquire sole ownership.

KYNO was affiliated with the Don Lee/Mutual Network, and into the 1950s the station relied heavily on network programming. When the arrival of television challenged radio, especially network affiliates, Chenault explored his options for KYNO and decided on rock and roll. He phased in the new sound during 1955 and 1956 as Mutual's programs grew fewer. The Top 40 format, coupled with big money giveaways,

captured the market: KYNO became dominant, achieving 60 shares in the Hooper Ratings.

By 1962 KYNO's huge shares had attracted a competitor. Fresno's KMAK was bought by a station group that owned KMEN in San Bernardino and a station in Hawaii, and that company installed a format called "Circus Radio" at KMAK, relying on outrageous disc jockey stunts to get attention.

Opening the checkbook was Chenault's strategy for defending KYNO. If KMAK staged a contest with a \$1,500 prize, KYNO upped the ante to \$2,000. The ultimate weapon at Chenault's disposal was programming. After a few short-term program directors at KYNO, Chenault imported the tall, soft-spoken Drake from San Francisco. Drake had made a name for himself at WAKE in Atlanta and had moved to WAKE's sister station, KYA in San Francisco. Chenault heard Drake's work and set up a meeting through a mutual friend.

As program director, Drake tightened the music policy to a short playlist with heavy repetition. Talk by disc jockeys was pared to a minimum, and the commercial load was reduced. Within a year KYNO had scored a decisive win in the battle, prompting challenger KMAK to change to country music.

Drake-Chenault

Chenault and Drake formed American Independent Radio in 1964 to provide consultation to stations that wished to model their success on the Fresno victory at KYNO. Chenault advised on sales and marketing while Drake advised on programming. Their first client was KGB in San Diego, owned by Willet Brown, a founder of the Mutual Broadcasting System. KGB was San Diego's oldest radio station. At the time Brown signed with Drake and Chenault, KGB was also last in the ratings.

As he had done in Fresno, Drake introduced a tightly formatted fast turnover of hit songs. For their staff Chenault and Drake relied on air talents they knew well: Les Turpin and K.O. Bayley from KYNO and Robert W. Morgan, who had competed with them as KMAK's morning man. Within a year there was another ratings and revenue victory. KGB rose to number one in the city, soundly defeating KCBQ and KDEO, the Top 40 competitors.

The success in San Diego proved that Chenault's and Drake's policies worked beyond Fresno. They were ready to take the next challenge, and Willet Brown made the introduction that would cause it to happen. Brown knew Thomas F. O'Neil, chairman of General Tire, owner of RKO Radio. That company's KHJ in Los Angeles was faring poorly in the market. O'Neil agreed to sign Chenault and Drake, and they moved the concept—and their team—to Los Angeles in 1965.

Drake called the approach at KHJ an offshoot of Fresno and San Diego with very few minor adjustments. A key difference in Los Angeles was the introduction of a new name, "Boss Radio." It gave the station an easily remembered verbal refer-

ence. It also resonated with the station's potential audience: the word *boss* came from California surfer slang for *good*, as in "That's a *boss* wave."

KHJ reached number one in the Los Angeles ratings within one year, and the feat provided decisive proof of the Drake and Chenault formula. As a result, RKO hired the team as consultants to KFRC in San Francisco. Further success led to a contract to add Boss Radio to additional RKO stations, including CKLW in Windsor, Ontario (serving Detroit); WRKO in Boston; and WHBQ in Memphis.

Stations outside the RKO chain sought the ratings and revenue gains they read about in trade publications, and Chenault accommodated them. The first non-RKO client was KAKC in Tulsa, which achieved the same positive results as Drake's and Chenault's first California stations. Not so for WUBE in Cincinnati, an inferior facility with poor coverage of the market. Competitor WSAI defeated WUBE soundly, and Drake and Chenault pulled out within a year. Observers said that Chenault's natural sales ability and his exuberance for making the deal caused him to overlook the station's deficiencies.

What came to be known as "the Drake format" soon included the number-one radio market in the United States: New York. RKO assigned Drake and Chenault the consulting job at WOR-FM to go against Top 40 powerhouses WABC and WMCA. In 1967 WABC remained the leading New York station and WOR-FM was number two.

WOR-FM proved that FM was not a secondary medium and that the Drake and Chenault policies could be effective on FM. Capitalizing on this success and on the knowledge that KHJ in Los Angeles was buying taped music services for its FM sister station, Chenault proposed that the consultancy begin creating the taped programming, directed by Drake. The two men created a syndication service called Drake-Chenault Enterprises (DCE).

Late in 1968 three RKO FM stations—KHJ-FM in Los Angeles, KFRC-FM in San Francisco, and WROR-FM in Boston—were programmed with the automated tape service "Hit Parade '68" from DCE. Tapes were recorded in Fresno at the facilities of KYNO. Robert W. Morgan and other KHJ personalities traveled to Fresno to record voice tracks.

DCE also debuted a taped service called "Stereo Rock," an attempt to capitalize on the trend to play longer, rock-oriented cuts. In essence, it was a "progressive rock" service, and one of DCE's few failures. "Bill [Drake] was never hot about it," said RKO Radio president Bruce Johnson. The idea was attributed to Chenault, who was looking for a new product to sell.

Johnson, who became president of RKO Radio in 1972, told an interviewer that he was upset that "some of the work that was being done by the music director [at KHJ] was going to Fresno and other places." He felt that Drake's programming team was working more for DCE than they were for RKO—60

percent DCE, 40 percent RKO, he said. In 1973 Johnson canceled the consultation agreement.

Later that same year Chenault and Drake entered a five-year contract to manage and program KIQQ-FM in Los Angeles, known as "K-100." They brought personalities Robert W. Morgan and "The Real" Don Steele from KHJ and attempted to replicate the Boss Radio formula. On the air they promoted the station as "the dawn of a new radio day," but there was little new about the sound. RKO's Johnson called the move "revenge" against KHJ and RKO. The project never reached the level of success that Drake and Chenault had enjoyed previously. In a 1976 interview Chenault characterized KIQQ as "behind target."

While KIQQ floundered, Drake-Chenault syndication flourished. Broadcast automation of the late 1960s and early 1970s was typically used by easy-listening formats because the hardware was not capable of the tight-paced cue needed for up-tempo formats. DCE engineers devised a way to put cue tones on their tapes one second earlier to start the next reel of tape in time for the segue to be tight. With that technology, DCE could supply a variety of contemporary-sounding formats.

The Fresno syndication operation moved in 1973 to Canoga Park, California. At that time DCE had two studios and 15 employees. The following year, the firm grew to 100 radio station clients. By 1976 clients increased to 350, and DCE's staff was at 50. The company built its own tape duplication facility in Canoga Park to maintain its strict audio standards.

In 1979 DCE produced *The History of Rock n Roll*, an ambitious 50-hour radio documentary. The program met with phenomenal success as radio stations clamored to schedule it, first as a blockbuster weekend special, then in repeat broadcasts of shorter segments. The response to the documentary caused Drake and Chenault to create a new division within DCE called "The History of Rock n Roll, Inc.," which produced additional programs for syndication, among them *The Motown Story*, a long-form history of Detroit's Motown Records.

Later Years

The introduction of satellite delivery and the compact disc combined to make reel-to-reel automation outmoded. Drake Chenault Enterprises felt the pinch with a gradual loss of radio station clients to services using newer technology. In 1986

DCE was sold to Wagontrain Enterprises. The Canoga Park studios and duplication facilities were dismantled and moved to Wagontrain's Albuquerque headquarters in 1987.

A year or so before the Wagontrain purchase, Bill Drake elected to retire from DCE. Chenault stayed with DCE until the transfer to Wagontrain was complete. He retired in 1986 to the home he bought in Encino, California, in 1967.

Wagontrain licensed the name "Drake-Chenault" and continued to produce tapes. It also purchased the reel-to-reel operation of TM Productions in Dallas and added satellite distribution in a partnership with Jones Intercable of Denver. The combined operations were later sold to Broadcast Programming, Inc., of Seattle, which ultimately merged with Jones to form Jones Radio Networks.

In 1996 both Chenault and Drake were inducted into the California Broadcasters Hall of Fame.

ED SHANE

See also Consultants; Contemporary Hit Radio Format/Top 40; Drake, Bill; Morgan, Robert W.

Lester Eugene Chenault. Born 1919. Radio actor in Los Angeles; general manager and managing partner, KYNO, Fresno, California, 1947-64; established consulting company, American Independent Radio, 1964, with partner Bill Drake; successful stations included KGB, San Diego; KHJ, Los Angeles; CKLW, Windsor, Ontario; WOR-FM, New York. With Drake, created Drake-Chenault Enterprises syndication service in 1967 to provide music programming to radio stations. Produced the documentary, *The History of Rock n Roll*, 1979. Retired to Encino, California, 1986. Inducted into California Broadcasters Hall of Fame, 1996.

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Children's Novels and Radio

Much of the excitement over the introduction of wireless communication and radio broadcasting is reflected in a host of books aimed at younger readers, several series of which appeared before 1930, most of them during the early days of broadcasting in the 1920s. Mistakenly referred to as "dime novels," a phrase more fitting to 19th-century magazine fiction, at least 160 separate volumes focusing on wireless or radio appeared from 1908 to as late as the 1960s. Written for an audience of young boys and girls, there were single titles and series, all promoting the use of wireless and radio technology to save lives, solve problems, win friends, and punish the lawless. The earliest books concentrated on shipboard wireless themes; the youthful characters employed the new invention to warn of storms, pirates, and smugglers. By the 1920s, stories of broadcasting to an audience appeared in a few titles, but mostly plots centered on the hobby of radio-set construction and sending and receiving messages—often in the service of law enforcement, with the moral of the story demonstrating that young people use radio for the greater good.

The earliest such volume, John Trowbridge's *Story of a Wireless Telegraph Boy* (1908) appears to be the first children's book focusing on radio. This was followed by Harrie Irving Hancock's *The Motor Boat Club and the Wireless; or, The Don, Dash and Dare Cruise* (1909); James Otis' *The Wireless Station at Silver Fox Farm* (1910); and one of the famous Tom Swift series—Victor Appleton's (pseudonym for Howard Garis) *Tom Swift and His Wireless Message; or, The Castaways of Earthquake Island* (1911). After 1912 the pace picked up, with several other wireless and radio-related boys titles, including the first multivolume radio series—the six-title *The Ocean Wireless Boys*, in which high school boy Jack Ready and friends use wireless to find a lost ocean liner, warn ships away from icebergs, and fight in World War I. Likely influenced by the *Titanic* disaster, many of the later wireless stories show how radio can help ensure the safety of ships at sea.

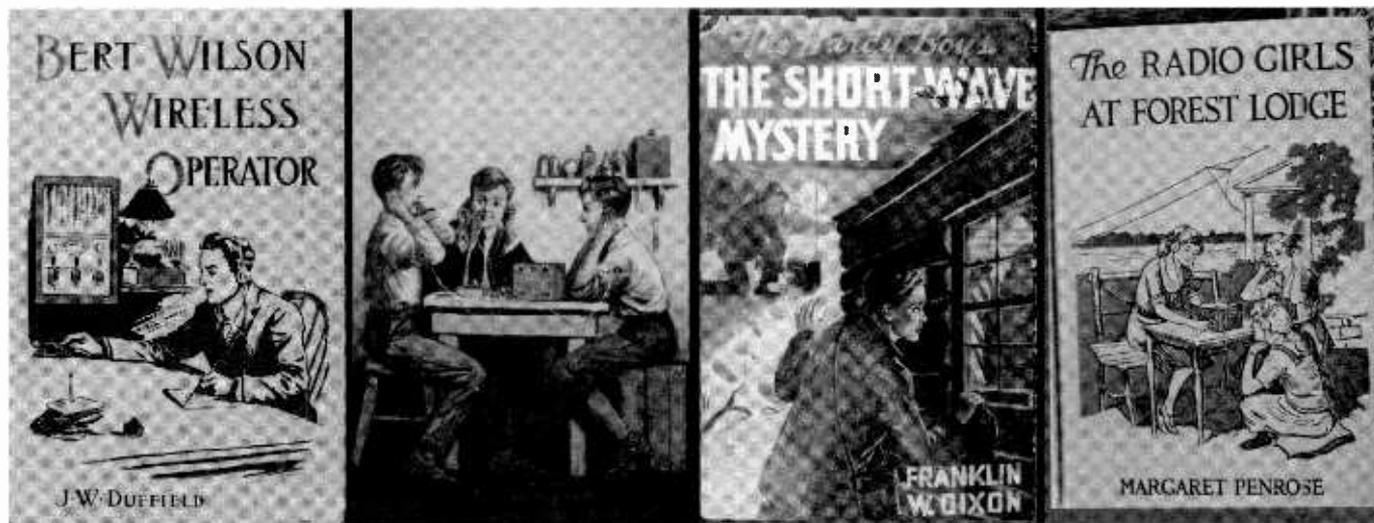
By far the best-known and most hotly collected titles today are the two *Radio Boys* series that appeared in the 1920s under the names of Gerald Breckenridge and Alan Chapman (the latter a pseudonym) for a number of different syndicate authors. Unlike the earlier wireless tales, most of the Chapman series took place on dry land (though each featured a different short preface by *S.S. Republic* wireless hero Jack Binns). The first volume had the boys building a radio in order to win a cash prize, and in others, the boys share their hobby by taking their radio equipment to homes for the aged, hospitals, and other venues where the less fortunate would not otherwise have access to this wondrous new device. Chapman's

radio boys were of working-class background, and many of their adventures took place near their small town in New York. In all 13 books of the Chapman series, the same two story elements are repeated and resolved: a local group of bullies is thwarted using nonviolent methods, and a criminal is brought to justice using radio, resulting in accolades from the community. During the eight-year run of the Chapman series, his boys remained the same age and in the same year in school.

The Breckenridge radio boys series is quite different. Though written during the same period, these boys are of upper-middle-class background: their fathers are doctors, lawyers, and bankers. The Breckenridge radio boys grow up, age, and progress in school during the series. And whereas the Chapman boys spend some time away from their small town, the Breckenridge youth travel the world, go to Yale, and become embroiled in foreign adventure. In a story very atypical of a juvenile series, *The Radio Boys as Soldiers of Fortune* (1925), radio boy-now-man Jack, having graduated from college, gets married and moves to Mexico to learn an aspect of the family business. Jack befriends local citizens who are trying to oust the current dictator and return a popular democracy to power. In a bizarre twist, Jack invents television, called a "televisor," and uses it to spy on the dictator and thus ensure his removal and replacement by democratic forces. This early portrayal of television is quite realistic.

What unites both series is the hobby of radio and its use in keeping communities safe while promoting law and order. What differentiates them is their focus and the career paths depicted in the stories. Whereas the Chapman boys stay in high school and experiment with radio locally, the Breckenridge boys graduate from college and go into banking, medicine, and the law. Not a career in radio for these savvy lads, but the hobby of radio as entertainment, as a way to spend their newfound wealth. Another difference may have been in the focus of the series publisher: Chapman was a pseudonym used by the Edward Stratemeyer Syndicate, the major owner of juvenile series in the first third of the 20th century. Stratemeyer would develop a story synopsis and then hire writers to do the book under the pseudonym, and so volumes in the same series were often written by different writers. Gerald Breckenridge was not part of the syndicate; he used his own name, and it is possible that he enjoyed writing about his boys' aging and progressing through life. Unlike the syndicate writers, Breckenridge likely had more artistic freedom, as long as he sold books.

At least two other *Radio Boys* series were published, and by 1922 a *Radio Girls* series, though of only four titles, appeared. By the next decade, when broadcasting was more



Several examples of juvenile children's stories involving radio
 Courtesy of Michael A. Adams

fully formed, Ruth S. Wheeler's *Janet Hardy in Radio City* (1935) featured a high school performer who gets the lead in a film, writes a radio script, and ends up in Radio City for its premiere. Betty Baxter Anderson's *Four Girls and a Radio* (1944) included broadcast entertainment consisting of accordion and vocal, and Julie Campbell's *Ginny Gordon and the Broadcast Mystery* (1956) featured a young woman who discovers she has talent as a radio interviewer and a solver of mysteries.

Radio broadcasting was commonplace when Franklin W. Dixon's *The Hardy Boys and the Short Wave Mystery* (1944) was introduced, but there was still hobby interest. Tracking down the source of an illegal transmission used in a smuggling operation, the boys aid law enforcement and further post-World War II interest in amateur radio. *The Hardy Boys* was but one of several longer juvenile fiction series that featured at least one story centering on radio; others included *The Bobbsey Twins*, *The Navy Boys*, *The Brighton Boys*, and *Bert Wilson*. Series that continued into the 1950s, such as *Tom Swift Jr.* and *Rick Brant Electronic Adventures*, used radio and combined it, actually overwhelmed it, with undersea adventure, microelectronics, space science, and robotics, but radio transmission was always at the basis of their experiments, and saving the day—for local law enforcement, the government, the armed services, and the community—was always the overriding use portrayed for radio.

Nearly all such books followed a basic pattern. Running 250 or more pages in most cases, with a frontispiece drawing or painting featuring the heroes at a key point in the story, the books offered fast-moving adventure stories wrapped in gaudy dust wrappers (few of which survive today). Their titles were

often formatted with a main title followed by *or* and a subtitle hinting at the excitement within. The writing was often exaggerated and certainly old-fashioned by today's standards, and stories sometimes ended with a cliff-hanging reference to the next book in the series. The heroes or heroines rarely aged, though a series might appear over nearly a decade. Using cheap paper and inexpensively bound, these books were intended to be enjoyed and discarded, and few survive today in good condition.

More than entertainment, the depiction of radio in early juvenile novels may have influenced and reinforced some of the cultural and social convictions held by young people. More than merely a technical device, radio in these novels was almost always related to the ideals and preservation of community and family, career choice, patriotism, and attitudes about law and crime, and the stories may have encouraged their young readers toward discovery and invention as adults. There is a clear "right and wrong" point of view in these books, and the books champion the radio hero who uses wireless and later broadcasting to do good for communities, to preserve a way of life, to promote a common good, and to save lives.

What was the real significance of radio as depicted in such novels? First, the simple stories mirrored the public fantasy and its knowledge and sometimes misunderstanding of communication and later entertainment using this 20th-century invention. The stories traced the evolution of radio from a spark-gapped, Morse-coded curiosity into a powerful medium to which everyone listened. These stories of young men and women of high school age mostly provided escape, but in the process, both the hobby and the business of radio

and broadcasting were portrayed as a force for public service, for the good of community, and a way to reinforce our view of ourselves. Overwritten though they are, these books remain a wonderful window on the excitement created first by wireless and later by radio broadcasting. The “gee-whiz” nature of the stories and the central role of radio in each is a good indicator of the general public fascination with cat’s whiskers, DXing, silent nights, and crystal sets.

MICHAEL H. ADAMS AND CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

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Children’s Programs

Children and teenagers have always been particular fans of radio (and targets for radio’s advertisers). From children’s programs in the “golden age” before television to the advent of rock and roll music programming through today’s diet of educational and entertainment options, radio has been a consistent element of youth culture.

Radio Before Television

Programs

The early days of radio offered a host of programs specially designed for young audiences, as well as several family-friendly options that encouraged parents and children alike to gather in front of the centrally located radio receiver. In the 1930s and 1940s, children everywhere rushed home from after-school activities and errands to listen closely to a series of three to five consecutively run quarter-hour serials largely sponsored by breakfast food companies, collectively called the *Children’s Hour*. In the ever-popular category of children’s adventure programs, young listeners followed the interplanetary exploits of *Buck Rogers in the Twenty-fifth Century*, the aviation adventures of *Captain Midnight*, the high school heroics of *Jack Armstrong, the All-American Boy*, or the daunting detective work of *Little Orphan Annie*. Westerns such as *Tom Mix*, *Sky King*, and the wildly popular *Lone Ranger* sparked the imaginations of children across the country and made “Kemo Sabe” a household phrase.

Science fiction was also a favorite genre for young radio listeners. Adapted from comic books was *Buck Rogers in the Twenty-fifth Century*, on which the hero Buck and his faithful assistant and love interest Wilma fought the evil powers of Killer Kane on the planet Niagara. Other early sci-fi favorites of children included *Flash Gordon*, *Tom Corbett*, *Space Patrol*, and *Space Cadet*.

Themes and Messages

Typical themes and messages in the wartime and immediate postwar programs included defending “good”—freedom, justice, honor, and other “American values”—from “evil.” A series of episodes, for instance, had Tom Mix fighting an enemy balloon perched over the plains or had Superman rushing off to rescue a captured Lois Lane. The Lone Ranger and Tonto battled the wilds of the desert, and Dick Tracy solved crimes and foiled villains in a number of contexts. Perils and pitfalls plagued characters but were expertly averted by the stars of the shows. The hero concept was omnipresent, with viewers left hoping that they would be as strong, as brave, and as principled as those largely male characters who saved the day time and time again.

In fact, during the period to 1948, the potential for violent and aggressive messages to influence child listeners was a prominent and controversial concern. Newspapers and magazines of the 1930s and 1940s invited experts to comment on the issue, with most suggesting there was little ground for con-

cern, citing psychoanalytic and cathartic theories. The discourse was very similar to the controversy that would later arise about television violence, yet it occurred well before the scholarly attention of psychologists and other researchers to the influence of the media and prior to the research and theories that were advanced to explain and demonstrate the influence of media violence on aggression.

When the country was at war, enemies on such programs as *Terry and the Pirates* and *Chandu the Magician* were from the Far East; in *Little Orphan Annie* or *Jack Armstrong, the All-American Boy*, villains had German, Russian, or Italian accents. Some were blatantly referred to as Nazis or obliquely called spies. The "damsel in distress" was a frequent theme, and often highly stereotypical gender representations prevailed. One exception was *Little Orphan Annie*, who solved crimes à la Nancy Drew and was even more adventurous and plucky than her comic strip character.

Program Openings and Sound Effects

Attention-getting introductions perked the ears and piqued the interest of youngsters across the country. "Look! Up in the sky . . . it's a bird . . . it's a plane . . . it's *Superman!*" heralded the beginning of a child favorite, as did the sing-along openings of *Little Orphan Annie* ("Who's that little chatter-box . . . The one with the pretty auburn locks . . . Who can it be? . . . It's *Little Orphan Annie!*") or *Jack Armstrong* ("Raise the flag for Hudson High, boys . . . Show them how we stand"). *Terry and the Pirates* opened to the waterfront sounds and hearty bel-lows of a busy harbor.

The artful use of sound characterized much of the radio offerings of the day, encouraging the "theater of the mind" that fed off young imaginations. The radio tower communications of *Hop Harrigan* added to the realism and authentic feel of the program. The sirens and screeching brakes of police squad cars in *Dick Tracy* sent many a pulse racing. And of course, the gun sound effect after "Faster than a speeding bullet" and the train sound effect following "More powerful than a locomotive" reinforced the power and strength of the visual image of *Superman* aroused in children's minds.

Sponsors, Premiums, Announcers

Almost equally entertaining were the commercial jingles and premium offers intertwined with children's adventure plots by such advertisers as Ralston Purina (sponsor of *Tom Mix*), General Mills' Wheaties (*Jack Armstrong*), Kellogg's Pep cereal (*Superman*), and Ovaltine (*Little Orphan Annie*, *Captain Midnight*). Children saved numerous box tops and anxiously awaited the arrival of program-associated toys and gadgets. Successful receipt of a nail from the shoe of *Tom Mix* horse Tony, a *Dick Tracy* badge, or a secret decoder ring that

made sense of encrypted messages in *Little Orphan Annie* instantly elevated a child to envied status in the neighborhood. Millions of boxes of hot or cold cereal and tons of hot cocoa and peanut butter were consumed with the ulterior motive of a *Captain Midnight* Key-O-Matic Code-A-Graph, a *Little Orphan Annie* Shake-Up Mug, a *Green Hornet* ring, or a *Tom Mix* Straight-Shooter Medal. Premiums also encouraged further listening and careful attention to the program, because secret messages were woven into the fabric of plots and called for premium decoders for deciphering. Many children's radio programs also offered club memberships to avid followers and follow-up premiums that complemented past offers.

The sponsorship of an entire radio program by a single advertiser allowed for a blending of program and ad copy that heightened the ability of the ad to entertain. Episodes of *Tom Mix* both began and ended with a musical message promoting the qualities of Ralston cereals. At the beginning of the show, the "Tom Mix Straight-Shooters" asked kids (in a Texas accent) to "Start the mornin' with Hot Ralston" amid the sounds of horse hooves and cowboy yips and yells. At the end of the show, the singers urged listeners to "Take a tip from Tom . . . go and tell your mom . . . Hot Ralston can't be beat." The characters, the music, the sound effects, and the sponsors' messages all contributed to the overall theme, in this case a Western, a strategy successfully pursued by many radio programs.

The announcer/host was often used to create a transition from the message of the sponsor to the program and back or even to speak the commercial message, as well as to introduce the program or unveil the latest premium offer. *The Lone Ranger* and *Tonto* were introduced by Fred Foy, Brace Beemer, and others, who occupied the announcer role by inviting audience members to "return with us now to those thrilling days of yesteryear. From out of the past come the thundering hoofbeats." Before his *60 Minutes* tenure, Mike Wallace was a convincing voice for *Sky King* and sponsor Peter Pan Peanut Butter on National Broadcasting Company (NBC) and Mutual in the mid-1940s. Announcer Pierre André read copy that persuaded young listeners to fully experience the escapades of *Captain Midnight* with membership into the Secret Squadron or the purchase of a decoder badge.

Weekend Programming

The programs for children during weekend hours generally involved storytelling, singing, and playing educational games. The target age group was often lower on the weekends as well, with many shows appealing to pre-kindergarten and early elementary school children.

Saturday mornings were populated by Archie, Jughead, Veronica, and friends on *Archie Andrews*, replete with story

lines featuring the harebrained hijinks of Jughead and the budding romances between the more suave characters. There was also *No School Today*, in which characters Big Jon and Sparkie would tell various adventure tales to very young listeners. Boston's WCOP ran the *Children's Song Bag* on Saturday mornings, while Mutual affiliates carried a show in which birds sang the notes of popular songs, called the *Hartz Mountain Canary Hour*, *Canary Pet Show*, and *American Radio Warblers* at various times during its 15-year history (late 1930s to early 1950s). Beginning on WGN in Chicago in 1932 was the *Singing Story Lady*, hosted by Irene Wicker who, true to her title, sang songs and told stories.

Sunday afternoon's gem was *Quiz Kids*, which offered brain-teasing knowledge questions asked of panelists under 16 years of age (aired from 1940–54). The series began on NBC Blue and ended on Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS): time slots changed, but it was generally broadcast on Sunday in late afternoon or early evening. Hosted by Joe Kelly, *Quiz Kids* featured very intelligent young panelists who defined difficult words and performed other mentally challenging tasks. Sponsors of the show included Alka Seltzer and One-a-Day vitamins.

In many markets, radio personalities and other prominent people (including New York City Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia during a newspaper strike in 1945) read the comics to children on Sunday mornings. Among the most beloved children's radio programs was *Let's Pretend*, which was hosted by Nila Mack and enjoyed a 20-year stint (1934–54) on CBS. In the program, a group of child actors (the "Pretenders") acted out a half-hour story built around the names of three objects sent in by young audience members. The actors also played roles in other charming fairy tales written by Mack. The precursor to *Let's Pretend*, a show called *Adventures of Helen and Mary*, had run for five years before Mack changed the name and made the concept more popular with children by involving more young actors. The enthusiastic opening included a theme song ("Hello, hello . . . Come on, let's go . . . It's time for *Let's Pretend*") and a rousing "Hello, Pretenders!" shouted by recurring host Uncle Bill Adams, to which the chorus of child actors would respond "Hello, Uncle Bill!"

Radio After Television (Since 1948)

Music Programming

After television arrived and radio came to be primarily devoted to music, teenage audiences remained among the most loyal fans to radio's new programming. Music is the primary force drawing young people to radio. The lure increases with age: 85 to 95 percent of those aged 2 to 18 who listen to the radio are listening to music programs. From rock and roll in the 1950s through alternative and rap in the 1990s and into the new mil-

lennium, teens and music have gone hand in hand. Teenagers use music for relaxation and entertainment as well as to keep up to date on popular trends. Another gratification teens derive from music is its social utility; it is something to talk about with their friends. But perhaps what is unique about teenagers and music is the relationship of music to self-identity. Young people use musical styles and favorite performing artists as ways of defining and expressing themselves in a manner that has no equivalent at any other time in life. Evidence for the relationship between music and identity is not limited to teenagers' uses of radio. It is also apparent in concert T-shirts and other styles of dress, posters and sometimes even lyrics displayed by teens in their bedrooms and school lockers, and their treasured compact disc collections. Research suggests that as teens move toward adulthood, their preferred means of listening to music will not be radio but their own sets of compact discs, tapes, and records.

Music programs such as *American Top 40* (launched in 1970) and *Rick Dees' Weekly Top 40* (launched in 1983) have long drawn faithful young audiences on weekends. The contemporary hit format (Top 40) is highly favored by children. When they become teens, also like album-oriented/classic rock, country, rap, and alternative.

In addition to Top 40 favorites, children's radio offers musical options not likely to be found on stations targeting an older audience, with a heavy emphasis on songs from Disney or other kids' movies and novelty tunes. A list of the top 30 songs on Radio Disney affiliate WSDZ in St. Louis for 20 January 2003 featured the songs of pop stars Britney Spears, Jennifer Lopez, and 'N Sync, as well as the child-friendly tunes "Hamsterdam Song" by Hampton and the Hampsters and "Who Let the Dogs Out" by Baha Men.

Talk, News, and Educational Programs

Young people also have a wide variety of non-music radio programming options. Statistics show that 11- to 18-year-olds in the United States spend an average of five to seven minutes with talk radio per day, five minutes with radio news, and six minutes with other types of radio programs. Many local markets offer their own version of WXPN Philadelphia's *Kid's Corner*, an entertaining combination of talk, games, and novelty songs for 8- to 14-year-olds. One of the most popular features of *Kid's Corner* is the news segment, in which 10- to 17-year-olds who have participated in reporter training workshops present stories they've gathered on such topics as women's issues and politics. Somewhat similarly, National Public Radio (NPR) features *Teenage Diaries*, a program in which teens act as newscasters reporting on themselves. They conduct interviews with friends and family and for several months chronicle many aspects of their lives on audiotape, providing reflections on what it means to be a teenager in con-

temporary society. The older children become, the more often they tune into such non-music radio programs.

Countless stations provide call-in or talk shows tackling youth-oriented issues and subjects of concern, including such diverse topics as cheating in school, romance and young crushes, and struggles with self-esteem and "fitting in." WXPN host Kathy O'Connell has encountered callers interested in talking about light-hearted issues such as their computers or their pets as well as those eager to discuss more weighty topics such as animal rights and AIDS. Other youngsters call in not to discuss issues but to sing a song, play an instrument, or tell a joke. The program has boasted some 400 attempted calls per night.

Educational children's radio enjoys a niche-market position. Endeavors such as the *Kinetic City Super Crew*, sponsored by the American Association for the Advancement of Science, have proven successful at stimulating children's interest in scientific concepts as well as provoking them to work on science projects at home. This particular 30-minute program was launched in 1993 on several public radio stations across the nation and targeted third to fifth graders. The program showcased four students' attempts at solving problems of the world using science, with the goal of encouraging interest in science as well as advancing knowledge and honing critical thinking skills. The Super Crew, comprising Annalee, Joaquin, Chantel, and Alvin, aged 12 to 16, solved mysteries by "traveling" to different locations around the world and gathering information. A scientific study of over 250 fourth graders found that there were educational benefits for both boys and girls in listening to *Kinetic City Super Crew*.

Radio can also be a source of information regarding politics. Studies have found that children turn to television and radio much more often than to newspapers or magazines when gathering information about politics and political campaigns. The national civics education program *Kids Voting USA* found that children overwhelmingly turn to broadcast media for current events and civics information gathering to complete their school assignments. Children and teenagers are often exposed to the news media when their parents tune in, and they are present in the broadcast news audience in surprisingly large numbers. They use radio and television to provide them with information about public figures, policies, and events. In turn, this knowledge helps shape their opinions, values, and behaviors.

As with adults, radio and other media can also set the agenda of youngsters by highlighting some occurrences as newsworthy while shunning others. Through news bias, be it intentional or inadvertent, radio can also influence young people's interpretations of events. Because children often lack first-hand information to counter media messages, these influences can be stronger and more dramatic for child than for adult audiences.

Cultural Programming and the Arts

Radio has been an outlet as well as a vehicle for appreciation of the arts, including theater and literature. Many radio plays are written for young performers or written by young playwrights. All encourage expression, imagination, and creativity. *Children's Radio Theater*, for example, began in 1977 at WPFW in Washington, D.C., and was picked up by more than 100 public radio affiliates by the mid-1980s. The series featured 30-minute plays written by children aged 5 to 17 and performed by professional actors of all ages. The scripts were chosen by teachers, librarians, and actors affiliated with the nationwide Henny Penny Playwriting Contest. The troupe broadcast its last performance in December 1997 on WPFW in New York City.

1994 saw the launch of *Rabbit Ears Radio*, a radio program founded by Rabbit Ears, the Connecticut-based publishers of video and book-and-tapes. It enjoyed a two-year run distributed by Public Radio International. It featured stories narrated by celebrities and was hosted by Mel Gibson and Meg Ryan, who described the history of the story and the music chosen to accompany it and also introduced the narrator. Examples included *John Henry*, narrated by Denzel Washington with music by B.B. King, and *The Velveteen Rabbit*, narrated by Meryl Streep with music by George Winston. Many local radio stations also offer programs in which stories are read to children over the air, often created through collaborations between stations and local libraries or colleges. Examples include Northeast Indiana Public Radio's "Folk Tales from the Briar Patch" offered on two weekday afternoons and "Magic Hat Storytime" broadcast on Sundays on the campus station at Rowan University in Glassboro, New Jersey.

Children's Radio Networks

In addition to individual children's programs, there have also been attempts—some successful, some not—at establishing children's radio networks. In 1990 an early entry into the all-children's radio scene was launched: Orlando-based Kid's Choice Broadcasting network boasted an advisory board at the time that included Peggy Charren of Action for Children's Television fame as well as Peter Yarrow of the musical group Peter, Paul, and Mary, who wrote original music and the theme song for the network. Among the programming alternatives offered by Kid's Choice were a 6 to 10 A.M. segment called *New Day Highway* (a family show with news, music, and special features), *Curbside Carnival* from 2 to 6 P.M. (offering story and exercise segments and music from around the globe), and a 10 A.M. to 2 P.M. slot targeted to preschoolers featuring music and information on numbers, colors, and shapes.

Foremost among obstacles preventing adoption of a kids' radio format cited by executives was the difficulty in providing potential advertisers with viable listenership data, because Arbitron didn't measure the presence of young children in the radio audience. Station owners and managers have noted that many advertisers, both local and national, would have welcomed the opportunity to address child audiences with their advertising messages. The potential of another outlet, in addition to television, for peddling the breakfast cereals, snack foods, clothing, and other products favored by a young audience was appealing to many advertisers. The tradition in the industry to base pricing, placement, and other crucial advertising decisions on ratings data that were lacking for children's radio was, however, a real impediment to the growth of children's radio at that time.

Therefore, the decision of Arbitron in 1993 to gather data on children aged 2 to 11 years had the potential to be groundbreaking. Arbitron contracted with the Children's Satellite network's Radio Aahs, the nation's only 24-hour children's network at the time. At the request of advertisers, then-president of the Children's Satellite network Bill Barnett arrived at an agreement with Arbitron whereby they would target households with children aged 2 to 11 in return for a subscription fee. To address the needs of the young audience, Arbitron adopted new strategies of training and assistance: older children filled out their own diaries, and Arbitron also conducted sessions to inform parents about completing surveys for younger children. For Radio Aahs, a network that had already been successful at reaching 15 percent of the nation just three years after its debut in Minneapolis, the ratings information offered the potential of additional growth and strengthening of advertising base for the future. Yet the Arbitron agreement turned out to be short-lived and Radio Aahs resumed the practice of relying on call-in statistics to woo advertisers.

Modern Networks and Programs

Despite the breaking of new ground by Arbitron and Radio Aahs, measuring the 2- to 11-year-old audience is still exceptionally rare today. Nevertheless, the 1990s spawned a remarkable growth spurt in children's radio. The growth was due in part to the mere possibility of obtaining ratings data for young child audiences. It was also attributed to the many pioneers and trailblazers whose occasional forays into children's radio had been largely successful. There was also a commonly held view that the nation's youngsters had been an underserved radio audience for too long. For all of these reasons, a resurgence of additional programs and networks geared toward children occurred in the mid-1990s. Some of these fledgling networks are presently enjoying growing financial success and increasing patronage by young audiences, while others have gone belly up.

One of the clear success stories is American Broadcasting Companies' (ABC) Radio Disney, launched in 1997 and targeting 2- to 11-year-olds, boasted 45 subscribing stations and an audience of 1.6 million nationwide in the year 2000, offering pop, soundtrack, and novelty songs as well as safety and education tips and news. Music programming accounts for the vast majority of Radio Disney's offerings, and the network showcases such kid-friendly acts as Weird Al Yankovic, 'N Sync, Backstreet Boys, and teen heartthrobs Christina Aguilera and Britney Spears. The network uses focus groups with parents to determine whether music is appropriate for its audience and has often aired edited or alternate versions of songs to ensure that the family-friendly principle is met. Reactions of audience members are monitored carefully through e-mail and phone calls to the station. Radio Disney also gives away prizes that range from the somewhat typical—compact discs, Pokémon cards, and concert tickets—to the downright luxurious, such as snowboarding trips, visits to space camp, and even a day with a recording artist. Audience research data is gathered by Statistical Research, Inc. and has helped attract sponsors.

Fox Kids network's weekly *Fox Kids Countdown* program had garnered well over 200 affiliates by 1997 and reached an estimated 3 million listeners, mostly in the 8- to 14-year-old age group. The host is Los Angeles disc jockey Chris Leary, who helps draw in the Sunday morning audience with movie promotions and spots advertising Fox television shows. Songs requested by kids, call-in shows, and guest celebrities help make the program, now called *Fox All Access Countdown*, appealing to its affiliates, 95 percent of which are FM outlets.

In the mid 1990s, the Children's Broadcasting Corporation delivered 24-hour programming through Radio Aahs via satellite to over 40 percent of the country, allowing children aged 2 to 11 to listen to young disc jockeys, games, contests, news, and educational or self-esteem messages. A glimpse at the Radio Aahs programming schedule revealed such educationally entertaining fare as *All-American Alarm Clock* (6 to 9 A.M.), *Alphabet Soup* (noon to 1 P.M.), and *Evening Theater* (8 to 9 P.M.). The network also featured weekly live broadcasts from Universal Studios Hollywood and Universal Studios Florida. Later nightly slots were designed for adults tackling parenting issues.

Yet the Children's Broadcasting Corporation soon faced stiff competition from the growing Radio Disney network. Indeed, the two companies were in litigation from 1996 to 2002 as Children's Broadcasting Corporation filed suit against Radio Disney for breach of contract and use of trade secrets, claiming that after the Corporation hired ABC as a consultant, ABC used that information to design Radio Disney. The Children's Broadcasting Corporation ultimately received an award of \$9.5 million, yet the judgment was too little, too late for the struggling network, which had gone off the air in 1998.

Despite new growth for more fortunate kid-friendly options, the late 1990s also saw the demise of a pioneer force in children's radio, KidStar Radio. The Seattle-based KidStar Interactive Media organization had distributed 24-hour children's programming from its home at KKDZ (AM) to AM stations in such major markets as San Francisco, Boston, Houston, and Detroit. The network made its debut in May 1993 and used 45 different interactive phone lines to record kids' input on songs, elicit their views on social issues, and even allow them to leave a message for their state senators. Sponsored programs included *Virtual Safari*, in which kids encountered adventures with animals (sponsored by GapKids), and *Zack and Zoey's Survival Guide*, in which the title characters were eighth graders who passed on words of wisdom from their experiences at school (sponsored by the Disney Channel). Citing the loss of a crucial investment deal, KidStar folded in 1997, leaving its affiliates scrambling to replace the child-oriented music (from disc jockeys ranging in age from 9 to 14), news, sports, and entertainment programming that KidStar Radio had provided.

Today, two- to seven-year-olds in the United States listen to the radio an average of 24 minutes per day. Eight to ten-year-olds listen for 26 minutes. From age 11 to 13, average radio use is 44 minutes per day, whereas for 14- to 18-year-olds it's 65 minutes per day. The most common times for radio listening among youngsters are after school on weekdays (3 to 7 P.M.) and on weekends from late morning through the afternoon (10 A.M. to 3 P.M.).

Radio is still an important and consistent presence in the lives of young people. Many fundamental characteristics of radio remain unchanged. In addition to musical programming, modern radio programs for children are still populated by heroes and villains, main characters and sidekicks, and the occasional presentations of aggression and gender stereotypes. The adventures and trials and tribulations deemed interesting or relevant to children and teens are still the focus of many shows, much like in the days of old-time radio. Radio is still used to inform young people of topics, events, and central figures in public life. It remains an outlet or a vehicle for creative expression and appreciation of the arts. And radio is still a source of distraction, a means of escape, and a companion. Frequently entertaining and often educational, radio remains a means of exercising the imagination of America's youth.

ERICA SCHARRER

See also American Top 40; Captain Midnight; The Green Hornet; Jack Armstrong, All American Boy; Let's Pretend; Little Orphan Annie; The Lone Ranger; Radio Disney; Science Fiction Programs; Westerns

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CHUM

Toronto, Ontario Station

For people growing up in Toronto and Southern Ontario during the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, listening to 1050 CHUM-AM was something of a religion, making it quite possibly Canada's most influential radio station at that time. It was also Canada's first "hit parade" outlet.

The station began broadcasting during the daylight hours from the Hermant Building at 21 Dundas Square on 28 October 1945 on 1050 kilohertz with 1,000 watts of power. Operated by York Broadcasters, the station was owned by entrepreneur Jack Q'Part, who saw it as providing an excellent avenue for marketing his patent medicine products. However, many feel that the station really didn't find its niche until ten years later when Allan Waters, president of a pharmaceutical company owned by Part, purchased the radio station in December 1954. His first task was to change the station's format to rock and roll. Waters was inspired by the success of stations owned by Todd Storz in the United States that were successfully reaching younger audiences through the repetitious play of new records. Waters altered the programming day to broadcast 24 hours a day, and he moved the station's transmitter, increasing power to 10,000 watts. On 27 May 1957, the station unveiled its Top 40 music format. It took two or three years before advertisers became interested in the station, as the Top 40 format was unproven in the Canadian marketplace. During this time the station moved twice, to 225 Mutual Street and 250 Adelaide Street West, before settling in 1959 at 1331 Yonge Street, where it remained at the beginning of the 21st century.

Among the most significant developments occurring during the 1950s was the establishment of the CHUM chart, a Top 50 list of hit singles issued weekly. The first CHUM chart appeared on 27 May 1957, with Elvis Presley's "All Shook Up" assuming the number one position, ahead of Pat Boone's "Love Letters in the Sand." CHUM's chart remained a Top 50 list until 1968 when it was reduced to 30 songs. It remained in that format until 1986. In 1984 the chart was converted to a television format with a program that aired weekly on CITY-TV, a local Toronto station owned by the CHUM radio group. The TV program incorporated (newly emerging) music videos. Available for listeners at local record stores and published in newspapers, the CHUM chart served as an important marketing tool to boost record sales, particularly of domestic acts such as Lighthouse and Blood, Sweat and Tears. (A complete list of CHUM charts is available at the station's website, www.1050chum.com.)

In the 1960s the station's prominence as Canada's strongest radio station continued. This was due largely to the emergence of rock and roll, the station's relentless promotional activities,

and its roster of popular disc jockeys. Before heading off on his long stint with American Bandstand, Dick Clark hosted a series of shows broadcast on CHUM. Other popular disc jockeys of the era include Dave Johnson, Mike Darrow, Bob Laine, Bob McAdorey, and Duff Roman. One of the biggest celebrities was "Jungle" Jay Nelson, who, after working as the host of an eclectic children's program on WKBW in Buffalo, New York, was recruited by CHUM in 1963 to replace the popular morning host Al Boliska.

On 1 September 1963 CHUM-FM opened at 104.5 megahertz with 18,000 watts of power, broadcast from the same Yonge Street location. Its program content was different from that of the AM station, as CHUM-FM broadcast classical and fine arts programming. In 1964 the station upgraded to 50,000 watts and started transmitting from Clarkston, Ontario. This transformed CHUM from a Toronto area radio station to an outlet that reached most of the population of Ontario and some U.S. cities on the Eastern seaboard, as well. By 1967 the station traded under the name of CHUM Limited on the Toronto Stock Exchange, and CHUM-FM began broadcasting 24 hours a day.

Owing to failing ratings and the superiority of FM radio by the 1980s, CHUM-AM underwent a number of format changes, moving away from the Top 40 format (Top 40 was moved, along with the CHUM chart, to the FM station) toward a format of "favorites of yesterday and today" in 1986. (That same year, the station was knocked off the air when the transmitter tower was sabotaged. There were rumors that this act was motivated by the unpopular change in musical format, but in fact one of the perpetrators had an ongoing grudge with the station because the tower interfered with his television reception.) The 1986 format change was followed by a change to soft rock in 1988. This strategy was also short-lived, and in 1989 the station adopted an all-oldies broadcast format. Previously, CHUM broadcast Toronto Argonaut football in the Canadian Football League, as well as the Toronto Blue Jays baseball games.

The station also featured a number of prominent personalities over the years. John Roberts, later an anchorman working with CBS television, began his career as night-time disc jockey J.D. Roberts on CHUM before moving to work on CITY-TV. Other prominent personalities formerly with CHUM include Bob McGee, Dick Smyth, Tom Rivers, and Allan Slaight, a CHUM program director and general manager in the 1960s and later president of the Standard Broadcasting Network, which owns a number of radio stations across Canada.

On 7 May 2000, 1050 CHUM signed off its popular oldies format and began an experiment in all-sports radio using a

number of CHUM-owned radio stations across Canada. 1050 CHUM became the anchor station in the fledgling TEAM sports network. On 27 August 2002, the station abruptly dropped the all-sports format, returning to a mix of hits from the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. On 29 November 2002, Allan Waters stepped down as chairman and president of the CHUM group, which now owns a number of television and radio outlets across Canada. His two sons, Jim and Ron, continued to hold other executive posts with the company.

IRA WAGMAN

See also Contemporary Hit Radio Format/Top 40

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Churchill, Winston Spencer 1874–1965

British Statesman and Political Broadcaster

Winston S. Churchill used the worldwide facilities of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) to deliver some of the most memorable speeches of the World War II era to the largest audience ever reached by a British politician. Between 1926 and 1954, his evocative phrases and magnificent epigrams helped encourage and inspire the enemies of militant fascism and postwar communism and proved to be the most powerful force for overcoming U.S. isolationism. Using Burke, Gibbon, and Cromwell as models, his "great flights of oratory" and "sudden swoops into the intimate and conversational" made him the most eloquent statesman of his day and were instrumental in ensuring his long political success. According to *Time*, "Few orators since Demosthenes have evoked the emotional quality of the prime minister's exhortations."

Early Use of Radio

Churchill first manifested an interest in the political uses of broadcasting when, as Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Baldwin government (1924–29), he attempted to use the BBC to end the General Strike of 1926 by presenting the government's position directly to the nation. Political motives also underlay his highly partisan annual budget speeches and his vigorous campaign for state-controlled radio, both of which

brought him into constant conflict with the BBC's director general, John Reith.

The Prime Minister's official residence, No. 10 Downing Street in London, was first wired for broadcasting in 1926, although equipment to allow broadcasts to originate from No. 10 was not put in place until late 1938. The nearby underground Cabinet War Rooms (now a museum) also had broadcast capability by the time the war began in September 1939. From one of these sites (or from Chequers, the country house of Prime Ministers, which received broadcasting equipment during the war), Churchill broadcast 24 times between June 1940 and May 1945.

The 1930s were Churchill's "wilderness years." He took to the air only four times between 1934 and 1939, generally as an opponent of Indian self-government and of German re-armament (both unpopular positions). After 1936 his broadcasts stressed the danger of appeasing Hitlerian expansionism. On 16 October 1938, after Prime Minister Chamberlain's failure at Munich to thwart German designs on Czechoslovakia, Churchill delivered a stinging rebuke of Hitler over the BBC and called attention to Britain's military unpreparedness. When the Nazi blitz into Poland ignited World War II, Churchill's warnings seemed vindicated, and he was rewarded with a return to his old post as First Lord of the Admiralty.

As First Lord, Churchill regularly broadcast to the nation on developments in the war at sea. In December 1939 he reported jubilantly on the sinking of the German pocket battleship *Graf Spee* in Montevideo harbor. In order to sustain morale during the bleak period of military inactivity (Phony War), he routinely exaggerated Germany's U-boat losses.

Finest Hour: 1940-45

In May 1940 Churchill replaced Chamberlain as prime minister. It was a dark hour for Britain. Allied forces had recently been driven from Norway and were in headlong retreat before the victorious Wehrmacht in France. Strong leadership and inspired guidance were necessary if Britain was to surmount the challenges of total war. During his premiership, Churchill would deliver 33 major wartime speeches by radio. All were carried by the BBC within Britain and shortwaved to North America and throughout the Empire. Many were translated into Danish, Dutch, Serbo-Croatian, and several other languages. As Britain confronted the gravest national crisis in its long history, Churchill employed his speeches for three purposes: to keep the nation abreast of the progress of Allied operations against the Axis; to rally and reassure Britons at times of disappointment and defeat; and to satisfy world opinion, especially in the United States, of Britain's resolve to persevere until victory was achieved. In the first few years of conflict, when British forces were on the defensive in all theaters, Churchill's "fighting words" seemed to be the most formidable weapon in the national arsenal. Edward R. Murrow marveled at the way in which Churchill "mobilized the English language and sent it into battle," and parliamentarian Josiah Wedgwood believed his speeches to be "worth a thousand guns." Most of Churchill's major addresses were broadcast, and the few that were not carried live from either the House of Commons, the BBC's Broadcast House, or Chequers were conveyed in summary form immediately afterwards. Complete transcripts were published in morning newspapers and collected in annual bound anthologies. Murrow reported on the prime minister's activities in his nightly transmissions from London, and Raymond Swing and H.V. Kaltenborn routinely analyzed his speeches on their programs. Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) correspondent Eric Severeid believed Churchill's voice was as familiar in the United States as it was in Britain, where it became an eagerly awaited wartime ritual to cluster around the living-room or pub set and hear Big Ben's nine chimes and the defiant and rousing words that followed.

In his first broadcast as prime minister on 19 May 1940, Churchill told the nation, "I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears and sweat." With Britain suffering grievous losses in France, he urged his countrymen to "be men of valor" and accept the sacrifices the developing war would soon require of them. The next day German forces reached the Channel coast

at Abbeville, effectively cutting the Allied armies in two. With his shaky French, Churchill took to the shortwaves and tried to rally General Weygand's beleaguered troops. By the beginning of June, Britain's expeditionary force was surrounded and lost 30,000 (and saved on the order of 300,000) men while evacuating the port of Dunkirk. In a 4 June 1940 speech, Churchill accepted this ignominious setback but confidently pledged that Britain would continue the struggle against Hitler "whatever the cost may be." "We shall fight on the beaches," he proclaimed, "we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets . . . we shall never surrender." The House of Commons was deeply moved by this speech, and Vita Sackville-West, listening at home, was "stirred by his Elizabethan phrases" and the "massive backing of power and resolve behind them."

On 17 June 1940, France sued for peace, and Britain found herself alone against the overwhelming might of Nazi Germany. The next evening, Churchill informed the world of the tragedy and once again asserted Britain's "inflexible resolve to continue the war." In what is often regarded as his greatest rhetorical performance, the prime minister defiantly stated:

The whole fury and might of the enemy must very soon be turned on us. Hitler knows that he will have to break us in this island or lose the war. If we can stand up to him, all Europe may be free and the life of the world may move forward into broad, sunlit uplands. But if we fail, then the whole world . . . will sink into the abyss of a new Dark Age . . . Let us therefore brace ourselves to our duties and so bear ourselves that, if the British Empire and its Commonwealth last for a thousand years, men will still say, "This was their finest hour."

In the summer of 1940, Hitler launched a massive air campaign against Britain and began preparations for "Operation Sea-Lion"—the cross-Channel invasion of the Home Islands. On 14 July, as the Luftwaffe attempted to bomb British cities into submission, Churchill told the 65 percent of the entire population listening to him that he "would rather see London laid in ruins and ashes than tamely and abjectly enslaved." In June and July, the Royal Air Force lost over 500 pilots successfully defending British airspace against the marauders. On 20 August Churchill expressed the sentiments of a grateful nation. "Never in the field of human conflict," he declared, "has so much been owed by so many to so few." Violet Bonham-Carter said of the prime minister's hour-long broadcast, "Nothing so simple, so majestic, so true has been said in so great a moment of human history."

The air engagements of the Battle of Britain and the Blitz strained Britain's resources to the breaking point and rendered her strategic situation perilous. If she was not to succumb, the economic and military assistance of the neutral United States

was imperative. Many of Churchill's 1940–41 broadcasts were geared toward securing greater U.S. involvement in the European war. In his 4 June 1940 broadcast, the prime minister spoke confidently of the "New World liberating the Old." On 20 August he likened Anglo-American unity to the irresistible flow of the Mississippi River, and on 11 September he urged the two nations to "join hands [and] rebuild the temples of man's freedom." On 9 February 1941 he transmitted a direct appeal to Franklin Roosevelt over BBC shortwave. "Put your confidence in us," he pleaded. "Give us the tools and we will finish the job." Churchill's rhetorical assault on American isolationism bore fruit, and within a month the U.S. Senate passed the Lend-Lease Act, guaranteeing Britain a regular supply of all required war material.

Despite America's increased material and moral commitment, Britain's war fortunes continued to deteriorate in the spring of 1941. By April, the Royal Army had been evicted from Greece, and German U-boats were inflicting appalling losses on Allied merchantmen in the Atlantic. On 27 April 1941 Churchill went on the air to overcome the pessimism that recent events had generated. "When we face with a steady eye the difficulties which lie before us," he assured, "we may derive new confidence from remembering those we have already overcome." Over 77 percent of the adult population heard this speech (the largest audience achieved by a British premier to that date), and most were heartened. When Churchill asked her if she had tuned in to the broadcast, his long-time friend Violet Bonham-Carter replied, "Of course. Everyone in England listens when you speak."

Churchill was considerably encouraged by diplomatic events in the second half of 1941. On 21 June, Hitler's "Operation Barbarossa" brought the Soviet Union into the anti-Nazi coalition. The following evening, Churchill broadcast to the world the news that Britain was no longer alone. During the same period, the United States was increasingly assuming the role of a cobelligerent. Churchill used the occasion of a 16 June broadcast accepting an honorary doctorate from the University of Rochester to praise Roosevelt's pro-Allied tendencies, and on 14 August he reported on the Anglo-American agreement on war aims achieved in the Atlantic Charter. *Time* magazine remarked of this latter broadcast: "Churchill told the world and the world hung on his words. . . . His timing was matchless [and] he lashed Britain's enemies with the splendor of Elizabethan arrogance." After America's formal entry into the war following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Churchill addressed a joint session of Congress. On 26 December, in a speech shortwaved as far as Singapore, Churchill proclaimed, "The U.S. has drawn the sword for freedom and cast away the scabbard . . . the subjugated peoples of Europe [can] lift up their heads again in hope."

Churchill remained optimistic when, in the spring of 1942, the Japanese overran British possessions in the Far East and



Winston Churchill, London, 28 March 1940
Courtesy AP/Wide World Photos

sank the battleships *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse*. In a 15 February 1942 broadcast, Churchill talked of "drawing from the heart of misfortune the vital impulses of victory," and on 10 May he reviewed Allied successes during the two years since he had become prime minister.

When the tide of war shifted decisively in Britain's favor after El Alamein and the American invasion of French North Africa in late 1942, Churchill was euphoric. On 11 November he told listeners: "This is not the end. It is not even the beginning of the end. But it is perhaps the end of the beginning." To those who feared that the war would hasten the disintegration of the Empire, he reassured Britons that he had not "become the King's First Minister in order to preside over [its] liquidation."

The majority of Churchill's broadcasts after 1943 emphasized the certainty of victory and the necessity of continued Allied cooperation in the postwar era. On 26 January 1943 he reported on the Casablanca conference and the "no compromise

peace” formula decided there. In a broadcast from London’s Guildhall in June 1943, Churchill remarked on the success of the Allied bombing offensive against Germany. “Those who sowed the wind are now reaping the whirlwind.” The year 1944 was, in his words, the “year of almost unbroken success.” On 26 March 1944 he discussed Allied preparations for the much-anticipated second front in France. In his 9 November broadcast, he announced the end of the U-boat threat, listed the European capitals recently liberated by Allied forces, and declared that the enemy had been “beaten back into his own lair.” On 23 November 1944 he gave a Thanksgiving Day speech from the Royal Albert Hall in honor of the United States’ massive war-winning contribution.

On 8 May 1945 Churchill delivered the news of Germany’s unconditional surrender, and on 13 May he made a 40-minute victory broadcast to the Empire and Commonwealth. In the general election that followed the end of the war in Europe, radio was Churchill’s principal campaign instrument. Unfortunately, his vicious attacks on Clement Atlee and his 4 June 1945 broadcast comparing the Labour Party to the Nazi Gestapo were highly unpopular and helped to ensure his eventual defeat at the polls.

Final Years

Despite being out of the Cabinet between 1945 and 1951, Churchill continued to make notable broadcast speeches. His most famous is certainly the one delivered in Fulton, Missouri, in March 1946, when his stark depiction of the communist takeover in Eastern Europe and his call for Anglo-American vigilance against Soviet expansionism were instrumental in escalating Cold War tension. “From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic,” he declared, “an iron curtain has descended across the Continent.” On 19 September 1946 another significant postwar speech was made in Zurich, where Churchill strongly advocated European integration.

In 1951 Churchill absorbed the lessons of his 1945 election defeat and adeptly used the airwaves to secure the Conservatives’ return to power. On 7 February 1952, as prime minister again, he delivered a magnificent eulogy of George VI over the BBC. His last major public address was made on 30 November 1954, on the occasion of his 80th birthday.

On 30 January 1965, Churchill’s elaborate London funeral was comprehensively covered by the BBC and American radio networks. For three and a half hours, CBS’s Alan Jackson and Morley Safer described the procession from Westminster Hall to St. Paul’s Cathedral, Robert Trout reflected on Churchill’s oratorical achievements, and ex-President Eisenhower delivered a moving tribute to his wartime friend.

ROBERT J. BROWN

See also British Broadcasting Corporation; Propaganda by Radio; Reith, John; Shortwave Radio

Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill. Born at Blenheim Palace, England, 30 November 1874. Eldest son of Lord Randolph Churchill and descendant of John Churchill, first Duke of Marlborough. Educated at Harrow School, 1888–92; cadet at Royal Military College, Sandhurst, 1893–94; Married Clementine Ogilvy Hozier, second daughter of Sir Henry and Lady Blanche Hozier, and grand-daughter of the Earl of Airlie, 1908; joined Queen’s Own Fourth Hussars, 1895; service in India and Sudan, 1896–98; war correspondent in South Africa during Boer War, 1899–1900; Conservative member of Parliament for Oldham, 1900–1906; joined Liberal Party, 1904; under-secretary of state for the colonies, 1905–08; member of Parliament for Northwest Manchester, 1906–08; president of the Board of Trade, 1908–10; member of Parliament for Dundee, 1908–22; home secretary, 1910–11; first lord of the admiralty, 1911–15; chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, 1915; war service in France, 1915–16; minister of munitions, 1917–18; secretary of state for war and air, 1919–21; secretary of state for colonies, 1921–22; not in Parliament, 1922–24; chancellor of the exchequer, 1924–29; member of Parliament for Epping, 1924–45; reentered Conservative Party, 1925; first lord of admiralty, 1939–40; prime minister and minister of defense, 1940–45; opposition leader, 1945–51; member of Parliament for Woodford, 1945–64; prime minister, 1951–55. Recipient of Order of Merit, 1946; Knight of the Garter, 1953; Nobel Prize for Literature, 1953; honorary U.S. citizenship, 1963. Died in London, 24 January 1965.

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Citizens Band Radio

Private Two-Way Radio Service

The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) defines “The Citizens Band Radio Service” (CB) as “a private, two-way, short-distance voice communications service for personal or business activities. The CB Radio Service may also be used for voice paging.” In the United States and several other countries, a license is not required. In other countries, a license must be obtained or a fee paid, but no examination is required. Other countries with similar services include Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy, and Russia. While not broadcasting, CB radio is one of the most widely recognized uses of wireless technology.

Stations in the CB service are limited to a power output of 4 watts, with additional restrictions on antenna height. Most stations use AM, but a single sideband (SSB) is allowed with a peak effective power of 12 watts output. In some countries, FM is used. CB radios are used for both fixed and mobile communication over relatively short distances. In the United States, communication at ranges greater than 250 kilometers is prohibited by law.

Prior to the rapid growth of the CB service in the United States during the early 1970s, a Class D license was required, and a small fee had to be paid. A federal court decision made the fees illegal. Faced with no revenue to support the administration of issuing licenses, the FCC issued a blanket authorization allowing the CB service to operate within the constraints of 28 simple rules.

In the early days of the CB service, the FCC was divided into 18 regions. So, for example, call signs beginning with 18W indicated a station was somewhere in region 18 (region 18’s central office was in Chicago, for example). The number of applications for CB licenses soon exhausted that call sign format. New call signs were issued that followed an alphabetical-numerical mix and were issued sequentially. As the service became even more popular, the FCC stopped issuing official call signs completely, but encourages users of the service to identify using the call sign form of *K* followed by the operator’s initials and zip code. This can lead to duplication of call signs, but the FCC doesn’t seem to be concerned about that.

The Original UHF Service

Citizens Radio is a family of services, not just the one that rose to great heights of popularity during the 1970s. As originally conceived of and defined by the FCC—long before cellular mobile telephony—hobby-type conversations were explicitly forbidden in the service. Small businesses, many of which pro-

vided a service of some type—locksmiths, delivery services, and plumbers, for example—used the Citizens Radio Service to expedite and run their businesses efficiently. No one “owned” or was assigned to a particular channel. All users shared the channels available.

The FCC established the first Citizens Radio service in 1947. A group of frequencies in the 460- to 470-megahertz range was assigned. This service still exists and is properly called the General Mobile Radio Service (GMRS). A license is required. Recently, the microwave band of 31.0–31.3 gigahertz was also opened for GMRS operation.

Although UHF frequencies were widely used in military equipment during World War II, the near-microwave nature of the technology involved made production of commercially manufactured equipment expensive. Hobbyists were capable of building the required equipment but faced stiff certification requirements in order to legally use their creations.

Even so, the new service was appealing to some early pioneers. John M. Mulligan, who was employed as a radio engineer, became the first recorded CB licensee in 1958. Mulligan, who had ties to industry, built his own equipment. By year’s end, 40 citizens in the United States held FCC licenses in the new service.

The same year, a single 3-watt experimental station heralded what would become Class D service, operating in the 27-megahertz range, often referred to by its wavelength of 11 meters. A total of 23 discrete channels were originally assigned to the Class D service. In 1977, to help relieve the congestion that had developed, The FCC increased the number of channels to 40. Several additional attempts to add more channels have not been successful.

For a few years in the 1950s, the 11-meter band was assigned to the Amateur Radio Service as compensation for other spectrum reassigned from the Amateur Service. Amateurs retained the nearby 10-meter frequency range.

By the 1960s, hobby magazines were filled with articles on building radio transceivers for the service as well as advertisements for kits that could be assembled. Heathkit, EICO, and Allied made many of the kits available. The EICO transceiver lives on today in reruns of television’s *Andy Griffith Show*—it’s one of the units seen in the Mayberry courthouse.

Gas Shortage Fuels Popularity

The 1972 gas shortage in the United States played a major role in making the CB service popular. Originally, truck drivers relied on their CB radios to help each other locate fuel. In a

short time, the general public caught on and began to purchase CB radios as well.

Seven million units were sold in one year during the peak years of the 1970s. Even though CB has returned to relative obscurity in recent years, an estimated 3.5 million units are still sold each year. Today, the service's value as a traveler's aid and means of emergency communication has largely been supplanted by cellular telephones. CB sales in the trucking and freight industry, however, have never slowed.

Popular culture embraced CB radio, including the jargon developed by truck drivers. Even the FCC has its own "handle"—Uncle Charlie. The song "Convoy," written and performed by C.W. McCall, a marketing executive, helped to fuel sales of CB units. A movie by the same name; another titled simply *Citizens Band*; and the popular movie series *Smokey and the Bandit*, starring Burt Reynolds, Jackie Gleason, Sally Fields, and Jerry Reed, are further evidence of the impact of CB during the period.

Public Service

Long before the advent of 911 emergency telephone systems and cellular phones, CB radio provided an effective emergency communication system. There are numerous examples of how CB radio has been used for public service.

On 23 January 1962, long before CB's rise to popular icon status, Henry B. "Pete" Kreer, a CB enthusiast, recruited the Hallicrafters Company (a manufacturer of radio equipment) to sponsor the REACT program. Kreer got the idea during a Chicago snowstorm after using his CB radio to help a family stuck on an expressway with a very sick child and a disabled car. The REACT concept was simple. Initially, a team consisting of three members agreed to monitor for CB emergencies. Today, there are thousands of teams, with teams in nearly every community, to monitor for emergencies around the clock.

In 1964, with 800 teams in place, it became apparent that trying to monitor all 23 channels was a difficult if not impossible task. REACT called for the establishment of a voluntary National CB Emergency Channel. Thanks to their efforts, in 1967 the FCC designated channel 9 as the CB emergency channel, restricting communication on the channel to that associated with emergency operations.

Although 9 is the only channel on which use is legally restricted, other channels have become de facto standards. Throughout California and western states, channel 17 is the unofficial "trucker's" channel. Nationwide, channel 19 is used by truckers and other motorists, especially for speed-trap advisories. Channels from 30 to 40 are used for SSB communication. Although most CB activity uses AM modulation, SSB is authorized with the advantage that all radiated power is concentrated on the information being transmitted, rather than having a large portion consumed by a carrier wave.

Over the years, some have attempted to make the CB service into an unlicensed version of the Amateur Radio Service by modifying equipment to operate on frequencies not officially assigned, boosting power beyond what is allowed, and erecting antennae at variance with the law. CB operators and amateur radio enthusiasts or "hams" are often indistinguishable in the public mind. Operators in both services assist in natural disasters and provide communication for public events. Although both serve as valuable communication assets, they remain distinct services with different primary purposes.

JIM GRUBBS

See also Ham Radio

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CKAC

Montreal, Quebec French-Language Station

CKAC is the oldest French-language radio station in Montreal and remains one of the most popular in the region.

Origins

On 3 May 1922, a Montreal newspaper, *La Presse*, the largest French-language daily in North America, announced the creation of its radio station, CKAC. *La Presse* had just obtained a broadcasting license from the Canadian government, as had 22 other private corporations. It was the dawn of commercial broadcasting in Canada, and CKAC entered the business with a substantial financial investment and an exceptional founder and director, Jacques-Narcisse Cartier.

Cartier was doubly qualified for the post. He was both an expert technician who had traveled around the world and a journalist who had written for Montreal, British, and U.S. daily newspapers. He had been a longtime close collaborator with Guglielmo Marconi in his Canadian and U.S. East Coast enterprises. He had also developed a close friendship with David Sarnoff of the Radio Corporation of America (RCA), whom he had introduced to the business in 1909. Cartier had served in World War I as an expert in communications for the Canadian Armed Forces and the British Royal Air Force and had worked in New York at American Marconi.

From 1922 to 1937, CKAC and a few other private Quebec radio stations took on all of the responsibilities of a public radio service in the absence of state-run radio, which was not introduced until 1932. CKAC, because it was owned by a major newspaper, soon developed a very diverse content directed toward a variety of social groups and interests, unlike Montreal's English-language radio station, CFCF, which was created at the same time (as an extension of Marconi Wireless). CKAC broadcast news programs, reports on North American stock exchanges, and concerts as early as 1922–23.

Before the 1930s, CKAC was still in a developmental stage and was creating its own audience as well as its own market. In 1929 popular enthusiasm was so strong and stable that *La Presse* built a new transmitter just outside of Montreal in Saint-Hyacinthe, increasing the station's power from 5,000 to 50,000 watts and making it the most powerful station in eastern Canada. An extensive programming schedule then became possible. The news service was consolidated and broadened. CKAC's second director, J.-Arthur Dupont, created a remote studio at a stock brokerage firm and broadcast financial bulletins twice daily. CKAC also became an associate of the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) in the United States in order to have the opportunity of exchanging CKAC sym-

phony orchestra concerts for concerts by U.S. orchestras broadcast by CBS. Owing to its affiliation with CBS, CKAC could also broadcast translated versions of news programs, which had been difficult previously because of limits set by the Canadian Press Agency with regard to radio transmission of its news briefs. In 1930 the transatlantic flight of the famous British airship R-100 was a major media event marked by live daily radio coverage from the airport. Even more significantly, when the R-100 made its return crossing to Great Britain, a single francophone journalist was on board, CKAC's J.-N. Cartier, who transmitted live daily reports from the dirigible. Thus CKAC was an enterprise bursting with potential when it was taken over by Louis-Philippe Lalonde in 1933. Lalonde would turn it into a financial success story for the next 30 years.

In 1938, CKAC became the news station of first choice for its program *Les nouvelles de chez-nous*. In 1939 the station created a complete news service.

During the same period, CKAC developed and implemented its educational mission, following the British and Western model. When the Quebec government decided, in 1929, to launch educational programming via radio, CKAC negotiated an agreement through which an important magazine-format program aimed at adult education was created and broadcast twice a week. The show was called *L'heure provinciale* and was produced by a renowned economist from the Université de Montréal, Édouard Montpetit. Its star was artist-musician-writer Henri Letondal. At about the same time, CKAC launched two other specialized educational programs, *L'heure universitaire* (The University Hour) and *L'heure catholique*, the latter being developed following the model of the U.S. program *The Catholic Hour*.

Development of Modern CKAC

In the early 1940s, cultural programs on CKAC were numerous and well structured, influenced by the arrival of Ferdinand Biondi who would be the pillar of the station's programming in music, literature, education, and news for 25 years. In the literary field, CKAC played an important role, complemented by state radio, in supporting the creation of a body of theatrical works and other dramatic forms. In 1938, the station launched *Théâtre de chez-nous*, which would present Quebec creations every week until 1947. During that same period, many authors whose work is now considered important were writing for the radio, including Robert Choquette, Gratien Gélinas, Jovette Bernier, Claude-Henri Grignon, and Ovilva Légaré.

In the musical field CKAC evolved with changes in the collective culture of Quebec as well as with more generalized changes in musical genres. From orchestral pieces to evenings of dance music, from religious concerts to the development of the Quebec popular song, all musical expressions typical of Quebec were integrated into CKAC's schedule, with the objective of highlighting the Quebec identity as a counterweight to the cultural influence of the United States. Thus CKAC, in collaboration with *La Presse*, created a weekly chart of Québécois songs in 1959. In addition, the station continued to broadcast popular U.S. songs during appropriate time periods.

In the 1970s, CKAC continued its role as an essential public service by broadcasting live reports from the scenes of major events, by being on the air around the clock, and by maintaining an important team of journalists, among whom was the famous reporter Pierre Pascau.

CKAC remained the property of *La Presse* until 1969, when it was sold to Philippe de Gaspé Beaubien, owner of other stations and creator of the Télémedia network, a subsidiary of Power Corporation. This network, whose flagship was now CKAC, signed an agreement in 1988 that enabled it to

rebroadcast programs from Radio France Internationale in Quebec.

CKAC has been broadcasting without interruption since 1922. It has always maintained a type of general programming that appeals to various strata of the population, with programs ranging from family listening to health care information to topics of benefit to underprivileged segments of society. It is still the most listened to station in the Montreal region as well as in Western Quebec. Audiences in Quebec still listen to radio regularly; their average is 23 hours per week per listener. And the station also continues to advance into the future, as demonstrated by its change to digital technology broadcasts in 1999.

PIERRE-C. PAGÉ

See also Canadian Radio and Multiculturalism

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CKLW

Windsor, Ontario Station

With 50,000 watts of power, CKLW (AM) was a ratings winner in several U.S. markets during its heyday, broadcasting from the small town of Windsor, Ontario, across the Detroit River from Detroit, Michigan. Despite content restrictions by the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC), CKLW programmed primarily a mixture of U.S. and British rock music to overpower even the major Detroit AM rocker, WKNR, in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Like many other AM outlets, however, CKLW later struggled for a new identity to hold its own with the increasingly popular FM band stations.

Origins

CKLW began its life as CKOK on 2 June 1932 with 5,000 watts of power at 540 kilohertz. CKOK was owned by Western Ontario Broadcasting Company, whose president and general manager until 1947 was M.G. Campbell. In 1933 the signal changed to 840 kilohertz and the call letters became CKLW. (The "LW" stands for London-Windsor, the Canadian

towns it was licensed to serve.) The following year the signal moved to 1030 and finally came to rest at 800 kilohertz in 1941. In 1949 CKLW's power was raised to 50,000 watts. At night, because of the nature of the sky wave propagation of AM signals, CKLW could often be heard in 28 U.S. states and four Canadian provinces.

The station began as a network affiliate of the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS). In 1935 CBS was dropped and an affiliation began with the Mutual Broadcasting System that lasted until 1960. A dual affiliation with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), a government-supported network, began in 1936 and lasted until 1950. Local programming during the 1930s and 1940s included *Vignettes of Melody* (light classical pieces from the station's staff) and the big band sound of *Make Believe Ballroom*. At one time in the 1950s different dayparts were dedicated to diverse genres of music, including classical, rock and roll, and country.

In the early 1960s program director John Gordon allowed his on-air talent considerable freedom in operating their shows. For instance, disc jockey Tom Shannon played and

introduced many rhythm-and-blues records. The hodgepodge of music ended, however, with Radio-Keith-Orpheum (RKO) general ownership in 1963 and subsequent use of the Drake consultancy (Drake-Chenault was a major industry consulting firm). The use of consultants coincided with the hiring of Paul Drew as program director in 1967. Drew is credited for establishing the tight Top 40 format that led CKLW to dominate regional ratings. CKLW became known as the "Big 8" for its booming sound at 800 kilohertz. Popular disc jockeys Tom Shannon and Dave Shafer hosted neighborhood record hops at which local celebrities such as Stevie Wonder or Bob Seger occasionally would appear to lip-sync one of their current hit songs.

Changing Roles

In 1970 a 20 percent foreign ownership interest limit established by the CRTC in the late 1960s forced RKO to sell the station to Baton Broadcasting, owned by John Bassette, who already was a force in publishing and television in Canada. The popularity of the station continued to rise with its contemporary sound, however, and CKLW made its own playlists available at record stores as a clever marketing ploy to instill listener loyalty.

CKLW was well known for its news, but its reputation for newscasts fluctuated between critical acclaim and disapproval. In 1967 it won the Radio Television News Directors Association international award for coverage of the race riots in Detroit. Also in the late 1960s, the Drake consultancy established "20-20 News" at CKLW and other RKO stations. This resulted in a sensationalistic presentation of news 20 minutes before and after each hour—a format that had its critics. Newscaster Byron McGregor read everything intensely and quickly, emphasizing the tragic and sensational. Weekly cash prizes were given to listeners who called in stories and a \$1,000 prize was awarded for the story of the year. In addition, Jo Jo Shutty-McGregor reported on traffic conditions from a helicopter in the busy Detroit area during the newscasts.

In the 1970s, in an attempt to appeal to an older demographic (ages 25 to 49 instead of its previous focus on the 12 to 35 age group), CKLW would drop the 20-20 format and deliver the news in a more conversational style. With FM taking away much of the younger audience from AM stations, program director Bill Gable created a type of adult contemporary/Top 40 hybrid. Dick Purtan from WXYZ-AM in Detroit joined CKLW in 1978 as their drive-time personality. He was

famous for his comedy, including (with sidekick Tom Ryan) "put-on" calls to unsuspecting listeners. In 1979 Purtan won *Billboard's* disc jockey of the year award.

In 1980 Gable left and disc jockey Pat Holiday became program director, taking a Top 40 approach. CKLW changed ownership a number of times throughout the 1980s as AM stations continued to seek their niche in the FM-dominated radio business. By the time a cable company in Toronto was ready to purchase CKLW, the station had changed to a big band format.

After 1970 CKLW and all Canadian outlets had to contend with the content regulations of the CRTC, which undertook to ensure a place for Canadian artists and culture in media increasingly dominated by the very popular U.S. music and influence. Initially the CRTC established that at least 30 percent of broadcast music must be by Canadians. CKLW music director Rosalie Trombley became known for her ability to pick both U.S. and Canadian hits in the 1970s (Bob Seger wrote about her in his song, "Rosalie"), as it was important for CKLW to be able to compete with the unrestricted U.S. stations across the river. By the late 1990s the percentage of required Canadian music was 35 percent with a 40 percent requirement looming on the horizon.

CHUM Limited, a Toronto-based company with multiple radio and television stations throughout Canada, bought CKLW in 1993. Its ownership of another AM radio station in the Windsor area made it a test case—the first duopoly in Canada. With CKLW's new ownership came a common format for AM stations: news/talk. Because of the Detroit market's importance to their survival, at the end of the 20th century the CHUM stations in Windsor (two FM and two AM, including CKLW) were required to play only a minimum of 20 percent Canadian music between 6:00 A.M. and 12:00 midnight.

Co-owned FM radio and television stations in Windsor have also used the call letters CKLW. CHUM owns the former CKLW-FM, now broadcasting as CIDR at 93.9 megahertz. CKLW television (Channel 9) was purchased by CBC in the 1970s. But the story of the original CKLW could be the story of the rise and fall of many AM stations, with its own subplot as a successful Canadian station in a major U.S. market.

LYNN SPANGLER

See also Canada; Canadian Radio and the Music Industry; Drake, Bill

Further Reading

CKLW website, <www.am800cklw.com>

Clandestine Radio

Illegal Radio Transmitters Supporting Propaganda or Political Movements

Clandestine radio stations are unlicensed transmitters that advocate civil war, revolution, or rebellion; they usually operate in secret. Because they desire to keep their actual identity unknown, they provide misleading information about their sponsorship, transmitter location, and goals. Sponsorship may be from one country that is funding broadcasting aimed at another country but concealing its activities. These stations represent political movements, guerrilla organizations, or one country at war with another that attempts to broadcast into the enemy nation under false pretenses. This type of radio is often confused with pirate stations, because neither uses a frequency assigned to them by a national authority or operates with authorization from the target country. International agreements consider both illegal. Clandestine broadcasts involve more than simple piracy, however: they are aimed at the overthrow of a government by revolutionary forces or by another state seeking to subvert an adversary without armed intervention. The Soviet Union considered the activities of United States–sponsored Radio Free Liberty and Radio Free Europe to be clandestine, especially during the 1956 Hungarian and 1968 Czechoslovak uprisings. Clandestine radio stations still operate in large numbers around the world, including stations in Asia, the Middle East, and Central America.

There are three categories of radio propaganda stations; two are considered clandestine (Soley, 1993). “Dark” (clandestine) and “white” are categories used by U.S. intelligence agencies. White radio stations are truthful about their location and purpose; examples are Radio Free Europe and Radio Martí (Voice of America–sponsored radio into Cuba). This category also includes foreign service and armed forces radio operations. Dark stations may be either “gray” or “black.” Gray stations are operated by or attributed to local dissident groups but are often sponsored by foreign governments. The Free Voice of Iran is an example. Black radio stations are operated by an enemy of the target country or by guerrilla groups, and they keep their location and operation secret. Radio Venceremos, which operated for 12 years in El Salvador as the underground voice of the antigovernment guerrillas, is an example of a black clandestine station.

Operations before and during World War II

Clandestine radio operations began before World War II in Europe on stations such as Radio Free Spain during the Spanish Civil War and in such broadcasts as those of the Irish Republican Army in Northern Ireland, secret Communist broadcasts in Czechoslovakia, and broadcasts by anti-Nazi Germans. Other countries involved in clandestine radio opera-

tions before World War II included Italy, Great Britain, and France. Beginning in September 1934, Rudolf Wormys ran the first anti-Nazi clandestine stations in Germany.

The Soviet Union, France, Austria, and Spain all operated clandestine stations during World War II. The Dutch operated a clandestine station, known as “The Bugbomb,” from England but claimed to be operating from within the Netherlands. The British began clandestine operations aimed at Germany in May 1940, which claimed untruthfully to be broadcasting from Germany. During World War II, Radio 1212 was operated by the psychological warfare branch of the U.S. 12th Army Group. It claimed to be operating in Germany but actually broadcast from Luxembourg. Truthful news and information were mixed with rumors and lies in an attempt to undermine German morale.

The Germans sponsored a gray clandestine operation named “New British Broadcasting,” which began in February 1940. The station claimed to be operated by a British peace organization, but it was actually located in Germany and used scripts written by William Joyce (“Lord Haw Haw”). There is not much evidence that it was listened to by the British. The Germans also directed clandestine radio at the Soviet Union and at the United States through Radio Debunk, which claimed to be broadcasting from the Midwest but actually operated from Bremen, Germany. There is no evidence of any effect of these operations.

Operations during the Cold War, 1945–89

Cold War demands led to clandestine radio, sponsored by both the U.S. and Soviet governments, that aimed at overthrowing unfriendly governments. United States operations included the Voice of Liberation in Guatemala, which called for the democratically elected president to resign because he was trying to make Guatemala a communist dictatorship. In the summer of 1954, the president did resign and fled the country. The actual location of the transmitters was on Swan Island, off Honduras and in Nicaragua. The station was operated by U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) agents and by Guatemalans trained at a CIA base in Miami. Another clandestine CIA-operated station located on Swan Island was Radio Swan, which claimed that it was privately owned. In 1960 Radio Swan demanded the resignation of Fidel Castro.

Other operations during the Cold War included The Voice of the National United Front of Kampuchea, which claimed to be operating in Cambodia on behalf of the deposed leader, Prince Sihanouk, but which was actually broadcasting from Laos and was run by the CIA. Other stations operating from the same

complex in Asia broadcast to North Vietnam, South Vietnam, Thailand, and Laos. In 1980 The Free Voice of Iran demanded that the Ayatollah Khomeini resign or face civil war. At first, it was reported that the station was operated by a general loyal to the deposed Shah. It was soon disclosed that the station's transmitters were in Egypt and were supported by the CIA.

Radio Quince de Septiembre (active from April 1981 to 1987) broadcast into Nicaragua and demanded the resignation of the newly installed Sandinista government. The station was run by contra guerillas based in Honduras and backed by money from the CIA. The funding was covert, because the U.S. Congress prohibited the use of funds to assist rebels. Covert radio operations were also conducted by other nations into Afghanistan, Angola, Cambodia, Ethiopia, Libya, Nicaragua, Poland, and Surinam.

During the Cold War, the Soviet Union also sponsored clandestine radio broadcasts. The Voice of the Turkish Communist Party and Our Radio (begun in 1958) broadcast from East Germany and Rumania to Turkey. The National Voice of Iran broadcast from the Soviet Union to Iran. In the 1970s, Radio Free Portugal transmitted from Romania and Hungary to Portugal against the latter's right-wing dictatorship. Other Soviet-sponsored clandestine radio stations included Ce Soir en France; Oggi in Italia; Radio España Independiente; and German Freedom Station 904, which broadcast from East to West Germany. None of these broadcasts ever disclosed that they transmitted from within the Soviet Union. Many, such as Greece's Voice of Truth (1975) and Radio Free Portugal (1974), went off the air during the 1970s. Radio España Independiente ended operations in 1977 after 36 years of operation and declared its mission accomplished. Those stations that survived into the 1980s were shut down by Soviet Premier Mikhail Gorbachev. The last clandestine broadcast from Soviet-backed stations to Europe ended in 1988. There have been no clandestine operations broadcast from Russia since the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

Operations after the Cold War

According to Soley (1993), the ending of the Cold War has led to *more*, not fewer, clandestine radio stations, as regional and ethnic conflicts have increased. Although Soviet-backed clandestine radio has largely disappeared, the United States continues to support clandestine stations in a number of countries, most notably those broadcasting into Panama and Iraq.

Clandestine radio operations are often conducted by indigenous groups fighting in a civil war. The Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) keeps people aware of progress in the war against Ethiopia using a clandestine radio service that began in May 1991. Radio has played a significant role in the movement's success. The broadcasts encouraged the voluntary participation of guerilla soldiers and enabled the movement to

fight successfully against Ethiopia. The EPLF used its own broadcasting station, called the Voice of the Broad Masses of Eritrea, to declare their ideas of self-determination. Two Marxist clandestine stations are The Radio of the Sudanese People's Liberation Army (Radio SPLA), broadcasting against the Islamic fundamentalist regime in Khartoum, and the Voice of the Sarbedaran, an antigovernment station broadcasting to Iran on behalf of the Union of Iranian Communists.

In 1980 Radio Venceremos (literally, "We shall overcome") was begun by the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) guerrillas in the mountains of El Salvador. During the civil war, broadcasts included war reports, messages for fighters, and political propaganda. The station called itself "the signal of freedom." With the acceptance of a peace plan in 1992, Radio Venceremos began legal operations and now reports everyday events and social and economic issues affecting the poor. One of the station's biggest problems is finding commercial support. During the war, the FMLN guerillas kidnapped many businessmen for ransom, and now they need the business community's support for advertising.

Other clandestine operations broadcast to Angola, Mozambique, Rwanda, and Afghanistan. Although these stations have roots in the Cold War, their continued operation may indicate ethnic rather than ideological war. For example, in Haiti, pro-Aristide stations continue to operate; in Algeria, La Radio de la Fidelité began after the government canceled elections that fundamentalists were predicted to win; and in Burma, a clandestine radio began broadcasting after the military leadership refused to hold elections.

Despite the end of the Cold War, clandestine radio stations will continue operations in societies where there is a lack of openness, whether the government is military, socialist, or democratic. Their use will probably continue, because authoritarian regimes, political conflict, and civil war continue to threaten world peace. Radio is an inexpensive and technologically easy way to spread propaganda. Radio can reach everyone and is an appropriate medium for expression of suppressed views or to foment revolution, liberation, and rebellion.

MARY E. BEADLE

See also Propaganda; Shortwave Radio

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Clark, Dick 1929–

U.S. Disc Jockey

During the middle and late 1950s, Dick Clark was one of the major figures pioneering rock music. An early career in radio enabled Clark to attain his position as disc jockey and host of television's *American Bandstand*, which propelled him to national fame and influence. The ever-boyish Clark—surely more than almost any other figure—symbolized the inescapable intersection between popular music styles, radio airplay, and television exposure used to create a new style of music and its new stars.

If rock music seemed to combine the big beat of rhythm and blues with the hick aspects of hillbilly music (indeed, Elvis Presley was originally known as the "Hillbilly Cat"), it was Clark who cleaned rock up, urbanizing it with clean-cut male talents who always appeared in suits and who kept themselves far from the scandal pages. In the 1950s, Clark signed talent to record labels that he owned and then promoted his stars on *American Bandstand*—Frankie Avalon, Fabian, and Bobby Rydell. He carefully watched over the careers of "his boys." Indeed, Clark marketed the clean-cut image throughout his career, as a glance at his published books reveals; he continually sold good behavior as well as music with a beat.

Through the late 1950s into the 1960s, Clark was a hot property. *American Bandstand* seemed to define what good young teens should listen to as acceptable rock music, certainly before the British invasion by the Beatles. His half-hour-long *Saturday Night Beechnut Show* defined what "good" teenaged baby boomers should be listening to—from Annette Funicello

to Connie Francis, from Fabian to Frankie Avalon, all lip-syncing their records.

Thus, within the larger context of radio broadcasting, Clark boosted Top 40 as a radio format exclusively through his work on television. Radio broadcasting also proved to be Clark's means of becoming a TV star and later a producer. His radio work during the expanding postwar years in small-town and small-city radio in upstate New York prepared him to move to a major market, Philadelphia. But once the American Broadcasting Companies (ABC) picked up *American Bandstand* in 1957, it was television that served as Clark's major vehicle, with radio falling into the category of "other interests."

Clark's other significant link to radio and music recording came as a result of his ownership of several minor music labels in the late 1950s, whose artists he shamelessly plugged on *American Bandstand*. He was then accused of paying radio stations to play his star's records, and in 1959 the U.S. government began to scrutinize this high-profile figure for payola, the practice of bribing disc jockeys and later radio program directors to play certain songs. Pressured by Leonard Goldenson, head of ABC-TV, to choose between *American Bandstand* and his music recording business, Clark went the way of television after he was forced to humiliate himself by testifying in front of a Congressional committee. He moved to Hollywood and became a mainstay on television and behind its cameras through the last third of the 20th century.

DOUGLAS GOMERY



Dick Clark
Courtesy of Dick Clark Productions

See also Classic Rock Format; Contemporary Hit Radio/Top 40 Format; Disk Jockeys; Oldies; Payola; Rock and Roll Format

Dick Clark. Born Richard Wagstaff Clark, 30 November 1929, in Mt. Vernon, New York. Graduated from Syracuse University, 1951. Began radio career while a student at Syracuse on campus radio station as well as on WRUN, Utica, and WOLF, Syracuse; television newscaster at WKTV in Utica, New York, 1950–52; disc jockey, WFIL (AM), Philadelphia, 1952; moved to television for *American Bandstand*, 1956; after investigation for payola by U.S. Congress, sold interests

in music publishing and recording companies and formed television production company, Dick Clark Productions, 1960; continued producing and hosting nostalgia weekly syndicated shows such as *Rock, Roll, and Remember*. Inducted into Rock and Roll Hall of Fame, 1993.

Radio Series

Dick Clark's Caravan of Music

Dick Clark's Music Machine

Dick Clark's National Music Survey

Dick Clark's Music Survey

Dick Clark's Rock, Roll, and Remember

Television Series

The Dick Clark Saturday Night Beechnut Show, 1958–60;

Dick Clark's World of Talent, 1959; *Missing Links*, host, 1964; *In Concert*, executive producer, 1973–75; \$10,000

Pyramid; \$20,000 *Pyramid*; \$25,000 *Pyramid*; \$50,000

Pyramid; \$100,000 *Pyramid*, host, 1973–89; *TV's Bloopers and Practical Jokes*, executive producer, cohost, 1984–86,

1988; *Puttin' on the Hits*, executive producer, 1985–89; *Live!*

Dick Clark Presents, host, executive producer, 1988; *The*

Challengers, host, executive producer, 1990–91; *Greed*,

producer, 1999–; *Winning Lines*, host, 2000–

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Your Happiest Years, 1959

To Goof or Not to Goof, 1963

Rock, Roll, and Remember (with Richard Robinson), 1976

Dick Clark's Program for Success in Your Business and Personal Life, 1980

Looking Great, Staying Young (with Bill Libby), 1980

Dick Clark's The First 25 Years of Rock and Roll (with Michael Uslan), 1981

The History of American Bandstand: It's Got a Great Beat and You Can Dance to It (with Michael Shore), 1985

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Classical Music Format

Once a radio program staple, classical music has in recent years been relegated to a relative handful of stations, most of them noncommercial FM outlets. Sometimes called “fine-arts” programming, the format combines the playing of classical music with interviews, cultural programs, and news commentary.

Origins

At the inception of radio, classical music was omnipresent. Even before there were formal programs, stations would broadcast singers or orchestras performing familiar classics. Most early studios had a piano, and a pianist on call, useful for last-minute fill-in performances when a scheduled program for some reason could not be broadcast. Although popular music was also played, the classics were relied upon to fill airtime.

Many stations in larger markets retained full orchestras and featured them regularly. Somewhat ironically in light of the situation decades later—when broadcasts of the classics have become increasingly rare—classical music was the first musical style to achieve large-scale exposure on radio. Many people were exposed to classical music for the first time on the radio, because few people could afford live concert hall performances in the few cities where they were available. The provision of such music over the air was also a way of gaining radio respectability among upper-class listeners.

Although a rather extreme example, when station KYW first broadcast in mid-1921 in Chicago, it offered almost nothing but opera from the Chicago Civic Opera. Unfortunately, KYW soon discovered that the audience that wanted to hear opera all the time was relatively small.

Network Classical Music

Radio’s golden age was certainly golden for classical music listeners as the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) and the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) vied to present prestigious orchestras in live performances from the late 1920s into the 1950s. A typical offering on a Sunday, such programs were also heard on other evenings, and virtually all of the broadcasts were live. Among the better known and longer-running program series were the following:

Voice of Firestone (1927–54, NBC; 1954–57, American Broadcasting Companies [ABC]) offered a mixture of popular and more serious music, becoming more focused on the classics after 1932. The program’s theme music was composed by the sponsor’s wife. The radio audience declined after the broadcasts were simulcast on television beginning in 1949.

Cities Service Concerts (1927–56, NBC) offered an hour-long program until 1940, then a half hour. The title varied, but for a seven-year period (1930–37) its top star did not. Young Jessica Dragonette (1910–80) became hugely popular with her renditions of classical solo works and developed a devoted following.

New York Philharmonic (1927–53, CBS) was the major offering of the second network. With the Philharmonic conducted by the noted Arturo Toscanini until 1936, the broadcasts from Carnegie Hall were useful exposure for the orchestra, helping to sell its growing number of recordings.

Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra (1931–57, largely on CBS) helped to popularize the lush “Philadelphia sound” developed first by Leopold Stokowski and after 1938 by long-time conductor Eugene Ormandy.

Music Appreciation Hour (1928–42, NBC Blue) featured conductor Walter Damrosch (1862–1950) providing and explaining classical music to a youthful audience. Broadcast on Fridays for an hour (the program ended when Damrosch refused to cut it to a half hour), the program was widely used in schools across the country.

Sinfonietta (1935–45, Mutual) was one of the few forays into classical music programming by the cooperative network. The orchestra was conducted by Alfred Wallenstein, and the program filled various half-hour time slots.

NBC Symphony Orchestra (1937–54, NBC) marked the epitome of network classical music presentations. Radio Corporation of America’s (RCA) David Sarnoff paid dearly to coax Arturo Toscanini (1867–1957) out of retirement by letting him establish his own orchestra and paying a handsome salary. Also featuring conductors Artur Rodzinski and Leopold Stokowski, some recordings of these broadcasts are still available. Regular broadcasts ceased when Toscanini finally retired in April 1954.

The Bell Telephone Hour (1940–58, NBC) was actually a half hour long and melded light classics and sometimes popular orchestral music selected by conductor Donald Vorhees. Sponsored by American Telephone and Telegraph (AT&T), the program helped promote the dignified view the company had of itself and its role in society.

The Longines Symphonette (1943–49, Mutual; 1949–57, CBS) was unusual among these programs in featuring prerecorded programs.

Classics on Local Stations

For most of radio, however, classical music from the 1930s into the 1950s was at best an occasional offering, usually from a network broadcast. A few university-owned stations (e.g.,

the University of Wisconsin's WHA in Madison) provided classical music among other educational and cultural programs. But, otherwise, classical music largely disappeared from AM stations.

The development of FM radio from the 1940s into the 1950s, however, offered a new lease on life for classical music. By offering the classics (usually with recordings plus some live performances), FM outlets could differentiate themselves from the more common AM stations. Well into the 1960s, to both broadcasters and listeners, classical music meant FM radio—and vice versa. FM stations often published program guides to help listeners (and to sell advertising, though few made money), and they thrived on audiences developed by the high-fidelity craze that began in the 1950s. Many offered musical performances uninterrupted by announcements or commercials (again distinguishing themselves from AM) for those who wished to tape broadcasts off the air.

Major cities soon enjoyed one or more classical music FM stations, including New York's WQXR (1939); Chicago's WEFM (1940), initially owned by Zenith with call letters featuring the chairman's initials), and WFMT (1951), which by 1958 became the first FM outlet reflected in local market audience ratings; WWDC (1947) and WGMS (1948) in Washington, D.C., WFLN (1949) in Philadelphia; WCRB (1954) just outside of Boston; and WFMR (1956) in Milwaukee, to name only a few examples.

With the appearance of the first AM-FM nonduplication rules from the Federal Communications Commission in the mid-1960s, however, FM's days as a bastion of classical music were numbered. As FM frequencies became more valuable, thanks to the larger audiences (and thus greater advertising income), they employed a wider variety of more widely popular musical formats. Small-audience classical music stations often either were sold or changed their formats to something more lucrative. Classics once again became relatively elusive.

By the turn of the century, classical music programs appealed to only a small portion of the audience and were predominant on only a few dozen commercial and several hundred public radio stations, all catering to audiences with more education and higher income than the norm (and to the adver-

tisers that want to reach them). A typical classical music station in the early 21st century provided not only music but also a blend of other cultural features designed to appeal to its audience.

For nearly three decades, Robert Lurtsema (1931–2000) hosted *Morning Pro Musica* each morning on Boston's WHDH, carried on public radio stations in New York and New England (and later by satellite to stations across the country). The program was broadcast five hours each day of the week (until 1993, when it shifted to weekends only) with musical selections introduced in Lurtsema's widely recognized slow and easy delivery. Programs often focused on a specific composer or theme, but music predominated. Along with Karl Haas' *Adventures in Good Music*, Lurtsema's program made classics readily available to sizeable audiences.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also *Adventures in Good Music*; BBC Orchestras; Desert Island Disks; FM Radio; Metropolitan Opera; Promenade Concerts; WQXR

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Classic Rock Format

Classic Rock is a music radio format that focuses on harder rock music from the late 1960s through the 1980s. It is a derivation of the Album-Oriented Rock (AOR) format that incorporates rock music from the same period along with current selections.

Classic Rock evolved from several earlier radio programming formulas that were attempts to provide alternatives to tightly formatted Top 40 radio stations of the 1950s and 1960s. One of the first was freeform radio, in which disk jockeys were given total control over the music played. Although music genres varied, freeform stations tended to feature music selections generally not heard on Top 40 stations. Freeform radio was also referred to as underground, progressive, or alternative radio.

The Progressive radio format emerged from freeform radio, but it had some structure designed by a music programmer. The Progressive format incorporated a rotation system for music categories. Disk jockeys followed the category rotation system but still had considerable latitude in the selection of specific songs. Progressive served as a bridge between freeform radio and the more mainstream AOR format that developed in the 1970s.

Like its predecessors, AOR was a rebellion against Top 40 in that it avoided chart hits in favor of longer album cuts by popular artists. It brought with it *music sweeps*—uninterrupted series of songs—and a less-structured, more laid-back announcer delivery style. Initially, AOR appealed to a young-adult, primarily male audience. During the 1970s AOR grew in popularity as Top 40 waned.

During the 1980s, however, AOR began to lose younger listeners as Top 40 regained popularity with the emergence of MTV. Younger listeners could no longer relate as well to standard AOR artists such as the Doors, the Grateful Dead, and the Moody Blues. As a result, a splinter of AOR, called classic rock, emerged to appeal to adult listeners. The format features hits of the past but with a harder musical edge than other popular music formats for adults. Typical artists in the Classic

Rock format include Bob Seger, ZZ Top, Bruce Springsteen, and the Rolling Stones.

The Classic Rock format first appeared in 1983 in Dallas on WFAA-FM. The format often is classified as part of the vintage rock category that also include the Oldies format. Classic Rock is different from Oldies in that it features rock hits with a harder edge and generally does not include music from the 1950s and early 1960s. Arbitron, a radio audience research firm, includes Classic Rock as one of the 15 formats it recognizes nationally and defines Classic Rock's content as "the same universe of music as Album Rock, but without much current rock."

Some radio programming analysts have predicted that the Classic Rock format will disappear within a decade. They see adult listeners shifting to modern rock or alternative formats in the future, but as the 1990s drew to a close Classic Rock was gaining in popularity among "baby boomer" listeners. According to Arbitron, the format's share of the national radio audience has continued to increase over the past few years, with a peak of 4.9 percent in 2002.

FREDERIC A. LEIGH

See also Album-Oriented Rock Format; Oldies Format; Progressive Rock Format; Rock and Roll Format

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Clear Channel Communications Inc.

Texas-based Clear Channel Communications Inc. had by the late 1990s become, through mergers and acquisitions, the largest single owner of radio stations in the world with nearly 1,000.

The company began with the 1972 purchase of a struggling San Antonio, Texas, FM station for \$130,000 by L. Lowry Mays and B.J. "Red" McCombs. Station KEEZ (later KAJA) operated for a number of years under San Antonio Broadcasting, the original company name. Three years later, Mays purchased WOAI-AM, a pioneering operation that had first gone on the air in 1922. (McCombs retains a 2.5% ownership in Clear Channel Communications. As of early 2003 he owned a number of car dealerships as well as the NFL Minnesota Vikings.)

Clear Channel Communications was incorporated in 1974 and grew quite slowly at first, becoming a publicly traded firm in 1984 and owning a dozen stations in several markets a year later. Clear Channel used a simple formula: buy low-priced stations, build up their revenues while controlling costs, and operate conservatively. By 1990, the company had expanded into television station ownership as well, but it was still just one of a host of group owners of broadcast stations.

Federal Communications Commission (FCC) deregulation of limits on radio station ownership after 1993 fueled the first burst of Clear Channel station purchases, but the 1996 Telecommunications Act provided the key for the huge expansion of Clear Channel. By June of that year, it became the first company to own more than 100 stations. Many of its takeovers involved one or two radio stations at a time; bigger multi-station deals would come late in the decade. By 1997, CEO Mays was about halfway up *Forbes* magazine's list of the 400 richest Americans.

The October 1998 takeover of Jacor Communications (then the second-largest owner of radio stations with 230 outlets) in a \$2.8 billion stock deal moved Clear Channel toward the front of the radio owner pack. The transaction made Clear Channel the country's second-largest owner in number of stations and the third in total radio revenues. By 1999, radio provided 53 percent of total company revenue; billboards brought in 47 percent. Clear Channel also held equity interests in about 240 foreign radio stations, including outlets in Australia, Denmark, Mexico, and New Zealand.

In an agreement announced in October 1999, Clear Channel paid \$23.5 billion to take over AMFM Inc. which owned 444 stations—320 FM and 124 AM stations. Combined with what Clear Channel already owned, this deal made it the largest group owner of stations in terms of numbers of outlets and revenues. But the deal also required the sale of about 110 stations collectively worth \$4.3 billion to meet government limits

on station ownership in individual markets. Early in 2000 the first 88 stations were sold to 17 companies, seven of which were minority-controlled. Early in 2000, Clear Channel Communications also purchased SFX Entertainment (a concert and sports producer and owner of a number of arenas) for \$3.3 billion. The 19 March 2000 issue of *The New York Times* noted that "the company will have operations in 32 countries, [including] . . . 550,000 billboards and 110 entertainment venues. It will also own all or part of 1,100 radio stations, though some are being sold to satisfy regulators."

Clear Channel's brand of advertising synergy—selling combined advertising packages across radio, television, and billboards, especially in markets where it owns stations and billboards (virtually all of the cities where it also owns theaters and arenas)—has clearly played a major factor in its success. Company business strategy, as stated in its 1999 10-K filing with the Securities and Exchange Commission, makes clear the value of growth through acquisition and ownership of multiple stations in the same market:

We believe that clustering broadcasting assets together in markets leads to substantial operating advantages. We attempt to cluster radio stations in each of our principal markets because we believe that we can offer advertisers more attractive packages of advertising options if we control a larger share of the total advertising inventory in a particular market. We also believe that by clustering we can operate our stations with more highly skilled local management teams and eliminate duplicative operating and overhead expenses. We believe that owning multiple broadcasting stations in a market allows us to provide a more diverse programming selection for our listeners.

While the company's very size (1,214 stations, of which 485 are in the 100 largest markets, with a total weekly audience of nearly 105 million as of mid-2002, generating \$8.4 billion in annual revenue) attracted criticism and not a little carping from industry competitors, Clear Channel attracted further attention early in 2003 when it co-sponsored more than a dozen political rallies supporting the American incursion into Iraq. Stories criticizing these "Rally for America!" events first appeared on the internet and soon broke into general press reports. They argued the company was supporting the Bush administration just as the FCC was considering changes in radio ownership rules. They also felt Clear Channel stations were programming in similar fashion—a criticism the company firmly denied.

ALAN B. ALBARRAN

See also Hicks, Tom; Ownership, Mergers, and Acquisitions

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Clear Channel Stations

Powerful Major-Market Radio Stations

Clear channels refers to a class of high-powered AM radio stations that from 1928 into the early 1980s operated with no (or only one or two) interfering stations broadcasting on their channels during evening hours. In other words, their operating channel was "cleared" of other outlets. The role and status of such stations was a matter of major radio industry controversy for decades. (Clear channel stations should not be confused with the Clear Channel Communications company, the owner of a large number of radio stations in the early 21st century.)

Origins

With its General Order No. 40 issued in August 1928, the Federal Radio Commission (FRC) reserved 40 of the then 96 AM channels to ensure listening options in rural areas. As the FRC put it: "On these 40 channels only one station will be permitted to operate any time during night hours, thus insuring clear reception of the station's program up to the extreme limit of its service range." First referred by the FRC as cleared or "clear channels" in a November 1931 order, these outlets came to represent the pinnacle of radio broadcasting.

All clear channels were located between 640 and 1200 kHz, and most were on or near the East and West coasts, with several in major Midwestern cities (four were located in Chicago). They were given the privilege of operating without other stations on the same channel in order to provide night-time service to so-called "white areas"—more than half the U.S. land mass—that could not receive a ground-wave primary local

radio signal and thus depended on night-time sky wave transmission to receive distant higher-powered outlets.

From the beginning, these elite stations were the focus of controversy. On the one hand they provided service in rural areas that could often receive no other radio signal at night. On the other, they strongly resisted the formation of new local stations to serve such areas. Yet in an indication of things to come, the first clear station was "broken" just six months after the 1928 order when the FRC allowed stations WGY and KGO (both owned by General Electric) to share the same frequency, partially because they were on nearly opposite coasts. Two other clear channels were assigned for use by Canadian stations. With other decisions, only 32 stations remained truly "clear" by the time of the Federal Communication Commission's (FCC) formation in 1934.

At the same time, clear channel stations became identified with requests for higher or "super" power above the 50 kw limit. Cincinnati clear-channel station WLW (700 kHz) was given an experimental authorization in 1934 to use 500 kw of power—ten times that of any other station. Using its experimental W8XO, at first only in evening hours, then full-time, the outlet quickly became first choice of listeners in 13 states and second in six others. Under pressure from competitors in the U.S. and from Canada (unhappy with the station's reach into that country), WLW's daytime use of super power ended in March 1939, although occasional night-time use continued until late 1942.

Soon other clear channels petitioned the FCC for "super power," arguing that they could thus better serve rural areas.

Clear channel station managers formed the Clear Channel Group (CCG) in 1934 to put forth the views of independent (not network-owned) stations. The CCG lobbied hard for the use of superpower, as well as to protect existing clear channels.

The CCG testified at extensive FCC allocation hearings from 1936 to 1938. The commission's resulting engineering report generally supported the retention of clear channels for their evening rural service. In the late 1930s negotiations that led to the North American Regional Broadcasting Agreement (NARBA), the U.S. was given priority use of 32 of a total of 59 clear channels, while Cuba received one, and Mexico and Canada each got six. By this time clear channels were dubbed class I-A, while clears that were duplicated by at least one station at night on the same channel were dubbed I-B outlets.

Needing a still stronger lobbying voice, the CCG was largely converted to the Clear Channel Broadcasting Service (CCBS) beginning in 1941. With a larger budget and full-time staff, it became more focused on lobbying and public relations efforts as well as representation of clear channel station owner views before the FCC and Congress. But it faced a growing split between network-owned I-A stations and independent I-A outlets. The CCBS also focused on building alliances with farmer groups to create a stronger lobbying front in favor of retaining the clear channel classification.

Breaking Down the Clears

With the end of World War II, the FCC was able to turn its attention to pressing domestic matters, among them what to do about the simmering clear channel controversy. In early 1945 the commission initiated Docket 6741 to focus discussion on the policy tradeoffs (a few national vs. many local services) raised by the continued operation of clear channel stations. This proceeding became the primary arena for continued debate on the future of the I-A stations, including their service role and how much power they would be allowed to use. Some 40 days of hearings were held from January 1946 to January 1948, allowing a host of witnesses on all sides of the controversy to be heard. Many critiqued the clear channel stations for their relative lack of farm and agricultural programming (located in major cities, the clear channel stations programmed chiefly for urban audiences). The FCC briefly considered plans to combine the use of more and smaller AM and FM stations to meet the "white area" unserved audience problem. The CCBS proposed that 20 stations (not surprisingly all CCBS members) be allowed to use up to 750 kw of power. Throughout the hearings, the radio networks argued for retention of the status quo, which had served their interests well.

When the hearings adjourned, the FCC considered two plans that were variations on that proposed by the CCBS plus a third that would break down the clears to allow many other stations on the same channels. Senate hearings on these ques-

tions largely repeated the same arguments but also delayed any definitive FCC decision. At that point the commission turned to television allocations and essentially ignored clear channel issues for a decade. Only at the urging of many affected parties did the FCC reopen the Docket in 1958. At this point virtually all the clears shared their frequencies in daytime hours; this final debate concerned only their retention of cleared status in evening hours when radio signals traveled much further.

Finally in mid-1961 came resolution of Docket 6741 with the FCC decision that 11 of the 25 Class I-A stations would now be required to share their frequency with at least one unlimited time regional (class II) station. This "breaking" of the clears brought an attempt by the CCBS stations to roll back the commission action in Congress, and long hearings on several bills to do just that resulted. FCC and other radio station opposition killed those potential laws, and, upheld on court appeal, the FCC moved to break down the clear channels over the next several years. In the meantime, the commission considered what to do with the remaining dozen clear channel outlets, including continuing proposals to allow them to operate with super power up to 750 kw. Faced with a continued lack of progress on the issue and continuation of the status quo, in 1968 CCBS closed down its Washington office.

Two decades later the FCC voted to end the long-lasting controversy by allowing up to 125 unlimited time AM stations to use either the remaining clear channels or adjacent channels during evening hours, while protecting a 750-mile coverage radius for the original clear channel outlets. Attempts to roll back this final assault also came to nothing. Clear channel stations, although often still called that and remaining among the most powerful AM outlets, no longer operate as the sole occupants of their frequencies in evening hours. Service to rural "white" areas is now largely provided by a host of regional and local stations.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also, in addition to individual stations mentioned, Farm/ Agricultural Radio; Federal Communications Commission; Federal Radio Commission; Frequency Allocation; Licensing; North American Regional Broadcasting Agreement

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Cold War Radio

For four decades during the Cold War, international short-wave channels were filled with dueling radio broadcasts from "the East" and "the West." The broadcasts both reflected and projected prevailing government viewpoints in the multi-stage conflict.

Origins

Most historians date the beginnings of the Cold War to early 1946. It is not easy to say exactly when it began, or even to obtain clear agreement on its causes, but factors contributing to its initiation included the following: disagreements between the Soviet Union and its wartime Western partners over the dismemberment of Germany to break its political and military power; the disposition of Polish borders and the creation of a new Polish state; and a variety of other Soviet moves in establishing new governments in Eastern and Central Europe, where it was the occupying force at the conclusion of World War II. In February 1946 Stalin openly attacked the Western powers in a strident speech, and in March 1946 British Prime Minister Winston Churchill declared in Fulton, Missouri, that an "Iron Curtain" had descended to divide Eastern and Western Europe. In June 1948 Soviet troops set up a blockade around the western sectors of Berlin; this act led to the Berlin airlift to keep the few thousand American, British, and French troops there supplied and to provide food and fuel to the blockaded civilians of West Berlin. The blockade lasted 324 days before being lifted in 1949. In August 1961 the Soviets began erecting the Berlin Wall, using barbed wire at first, but gradually reinforcing this most potent symbol of the Cold War until it was finally breached in 1989.

Throughout this period, the radio services of various states in what was known as the bipolar world attempted to influence one another. In the Eastern Bloc, radio services such as Radio Moscow (USSR), Radio Berlin (East Germany), Radio Bucharest (Rumania), Radio Budapest (Hungary), Radio Pra-

gue (Czechoslovakia), Radio Sofia (Bulgaria), and Radio Tirana (Albania) broadcast the communist version of events, commentaries, features, and cultural programs to both the Western Bloc and nonaligned countries, attempting to influence their citizens' opinions and ideological commitments. Likewise, radio services such as the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) World Service (United Kingdom), Radio France International, Deutsche Welle (West Germany), the Voice of America (VOA; United States), Radio Netherlands, and Radio Belgium all broadcast in a similar vein, though they used the news values of the West—such as objectivity and separation of news and editorial comment—in their programs. They broadcast into both Eastern and Central Europe and to the Soviet Union, as well as to the nonaligned countries, in an effort to win "hearts and minds." In addition, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency secretly funded the creation of two surrogate radio stations, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, which were programmed by émigrés from the Eastern Bloc in an effort to provide citizens of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries with news and commentary as they would have heard it if their media had been free to operate without ideological constraints. Still another service begun by the United States was called Radio in the American Sector (RIAS); this service ostensibly broadcast to the Allied occupation forces in Berlin, although its signal could easily be heard in much of East Germany, which surrounded the western enclave in the city.

American Radio Services

In the United States, at the end of World War II, the budget of the international wartime service, the VOA, was cut back significantly, just as all wartime budgets were. But the increasingly confrontational nature of the relations between the "superpowers" and their allies in NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) and the Warsaw Pact led Congress to

pass the Smith–Mundt Act in 1948, creating a permanent government information agency and providing increased funding for the VOA. With the outbreak of the Korean conflict in 1950, President Harry Truman initiated what he called a “Campaign of Truth” and called on the media to combat communist distortions of American actions and values by exposing them as lies and telling the truth about America. Various boards and agencies were created over the next couple of years to implement that request, and in 1953 Congress created the United States Information Agency as a permanent coordinating agency for all American information activities abroad. The VOA became the official voice of the United States. Three basic principles were adopted to govern its activities. First, the VOA was to become a consistently reliable and authoritative source of accurate, objective, and comprehensive news. Second, the VOA was to represent all aspects of American society and present a balanced and comprehensive view of significant American thought and institutions. It was not, in other words, to be merely a news service but was also to present programs about the arts, culture, science, and everyday life. Third, it would present the official policies of the U.S. government clearly and effectively and provide responsible discussion of and a venue for the expression of opinion about these policies.

Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty were not to represent the United States; instead, they were to represent those in their target audiences. The opinions of those with “free” opinions—that is, opinions not under the control of the communist governments in power—were broadcast, along with news about the internal events of the target countries themselves. These two stations were engaged in psychological warfare and sought to stop the spread of communism in Europe and to destabilize the Soviet Union. RIAS was a similar operation concentrating on East Germany and broadcasting the opinions, news, and successes of the West (and particularly West Germany) to the people of West Berlin. It broadcast using both medium wave and shortwave at first (neither of which was needed to reach West Berlin) and eventually began broadcasting in FM. The East Germans said that the service’s initials stood for “Revanchism, Intervention, Anti-Bolshevism, and Sabotage.”

Soviet and Related Services

On the Soviet side, in addition to Radio Moscow, the Soviet Union funded Radio Peace and Progress and Radio Kiev; all of them broadcast the Soviet version of history, reported the progress of socialism, and sought to influence opinion in both the West and the nonaligned world, particularly in Europe, Africa, the Middle East, and the Indian subcontinent. In addition to those in the capitals of the Eastern European countries that were part of the Warsaw Pact, there were such services in Cuba (Radio Havana), China (Radio Beijing), and North Korea (Radio Pyongyang).

ROBERT S. FORTNER

See also BBC World Service; Board for International Broadcasting; International Radio Broadcasting; Jammīng; Propaganda by Radio; Radio Free Asia; Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty; Radio Martí; Radio Moscow; Shortwave Radio; Voice of America

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College Radio

College radio has a long history. A significant number of the earliest radio stations in the United States, such as WHA (then 9XM) in Madison, Wisconsin, were college stations. Many evolved into large professional enterprises, exemplified by those that are members of National Public Radio. However, "college radio" today generally conjures up a different picture. It might be an image of committed volunteer student disc jockeys playing obscure but artistically valuable music for a small but loyal audience, or it might be of a ragtag bunch of kids playing songs that nobody outside their small circle of friends wants to hear. Regardless, it is safe to say that college radio stations play a significant role in many communities and within the music industry, while differing in numerous ways from their more visible professional counterparts and also among themselves.

Despite the great variety, there are some generalizations that can be made about the underlying purposes of most college stations. For many, the primary focus is educational. Colleges may see this role as including educational and informational programming for the community, but it nearly always means that these stations serve academic departments whose scope includes broadcasting or journalism. College radio provides a training laboratory for students in those disciplines, as well as those in business, marketing, and other fields. Some college broadcasters see their mission as providing an entertainment or information service to the listening public, but they usually define themselves as an alternative to professional, tightly formatted stations. Still others exist primarily as a student activity alongside the myriad other extracurricular clubs on campus. These stations generally have a faculty or professional staff adviser, but they are operated as a hobby by and for students. Whatever the station's foremost reason for being, nearly all college stations serve multiple purposes, a fact also reflected in the unique programming and structure of many stations.

College radio is often associated with programs that do not adhere to the rigid niche format structure of professional, commercial radio. Some stations adopt a free-form approach in which almost anything goes, from classical music to poetry to punk rock, at the discretion of the person on the air. Another popular option is block programming, airing shows in many different styles but at specified times. One might hear a three-hour heavy metal show, followed by two hours of blues, which then leads into a two-hour mainstream jazz program, and then a half-hour news magazine, followed by a 90-minute sports talk show, two hours of hip-hop, an hour of contemporary jazz, and so on. Limited only by the number of hours in the day and the availability of qualified and interested students, block programming offers the advantage of allowing a station

to serve many different constituencies both within the university and among the listening public. Even at stations that do program a single music format, there are often additional programs on the schedule. For example, college radio is often the outlet for play-by-play coverage of a school's athletic teams, particularly at smaller schools or for minor sports at large institutions. Many stations also make a significant commitment to local public-affairs and news programming.

The most popular single format in college radio is alternative rock. Approximately 70 percent of all college radio stations reportedly program the format; however, the specific execution can vary considerably from one station to another. Some stations concentrate on music far outside the mainstream, deliberately ignoring any release that gets played on MTV or professional radio stations, whereas others sound very much like typical commercial alternative rock stations.

However individual stations define *alternative*, college radio has a reputation for playing an important role in nurturing the careers of many top music stars by providing important early exposure. U2, R.E.M., and the Red Hot Chili Peppers are just a few of the many staples of commercial rock radio that first received attention via college radio. It was probably in the mid-to-late 1970s that the recording industry began to take college radio seriously. Record companies developed college radio marketing strategies and resources, including full-time college radio representatives. Radio and record industry trade press, such as *Gavin*, began to report college radio airplay, and college programming was of sufficient importance to attract its own trade journal. *CMJ New Music Report*, first published in 1979, is devoted exclusively to college programmers and the record promoters who target that market.

College radio has more in common with community radio than with professional, commercial broadcasting. However, finance, staffing, and the means of transmission also differ markedly from station to station. Money is a major concern for college radio, because inconsistent funding creates problems for all areas of the station's operation, from programming to engineering.

Most, but not all, college stations are noncommercial. In some cases, the station is licensed by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) as noncommercial in the part of the FM band below 92 megahertz that is specifically set aside for that purpose. Other stations adopt a noncommercial policy by their own choice. Noncommercial stations rely on various combinations of student activity fees, state or college support, listener contributions, and underwriting donations from local business to finance operation. College stations that sell commercial time may also rely in part on these other funding mechanisms for a portion of their budget.

Depending on the station's purpose(s) and budgetary support, a college radio station staff may be all or mostly volunteer; they may have one or more professionals, sometimes a faculty member, involved in a management or advisory capacity; or there may be paid student or professional staff handling day-to-day operations. Students also staff some stations in part or in whole as a requirement in specific classes.

Acquiring an FCC license and following all the rules that apply to broadcasting are beyond the reach of many schools and student organizations. Therefore, many schools have chosen to take advantage of more affordable, accessible, and flexible unlicensed alternatives. Derisively dubbed "radiator radio," these are not broadcast stations but facilities that use campus electric or power lines to distribute their signal. In most cases, these permit either commercial or noncommercial operation and also free the school from the record-keeping and public-interest programming obligations imposed on all licensed radio stations.

The FCC's rules explicitly allow some kinds of very low power broadcasting without a license. These include AM carrier current using the electrical system of campus buildings as the antenna; micropowered AM transmitters; or "leaky coax," an FM alternative utilizing coaxial cable throughout a building or campus as the transmitting antenna. Acceptable unlicensed signals cover an area measured in yards rather than miles, broadcasting to only a single block or even just a single building. Cable television provides another unlicensed alternative,

via cable FM or audio on regular cable television channels (perhaps as the audio background on a college or public access "bulletin board" channel). Some schools provide a signal through a public address system to reach audiences in a building's public spaces, a service dubbed "cafeteria" radio. Finally, the emergence of the internet as a means of transmitting programming presents colleges with an additional unlicensed radio outlet.

GREGORY D. NEWTON

See also Alternative Rock Format; Community Radio; Free Form Format; Low-Power Radio/Microradio; National Association of Educational Broadcasters; National Public Radio; Ten-Watt Stations

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U.S. Radio and Television Correspondent

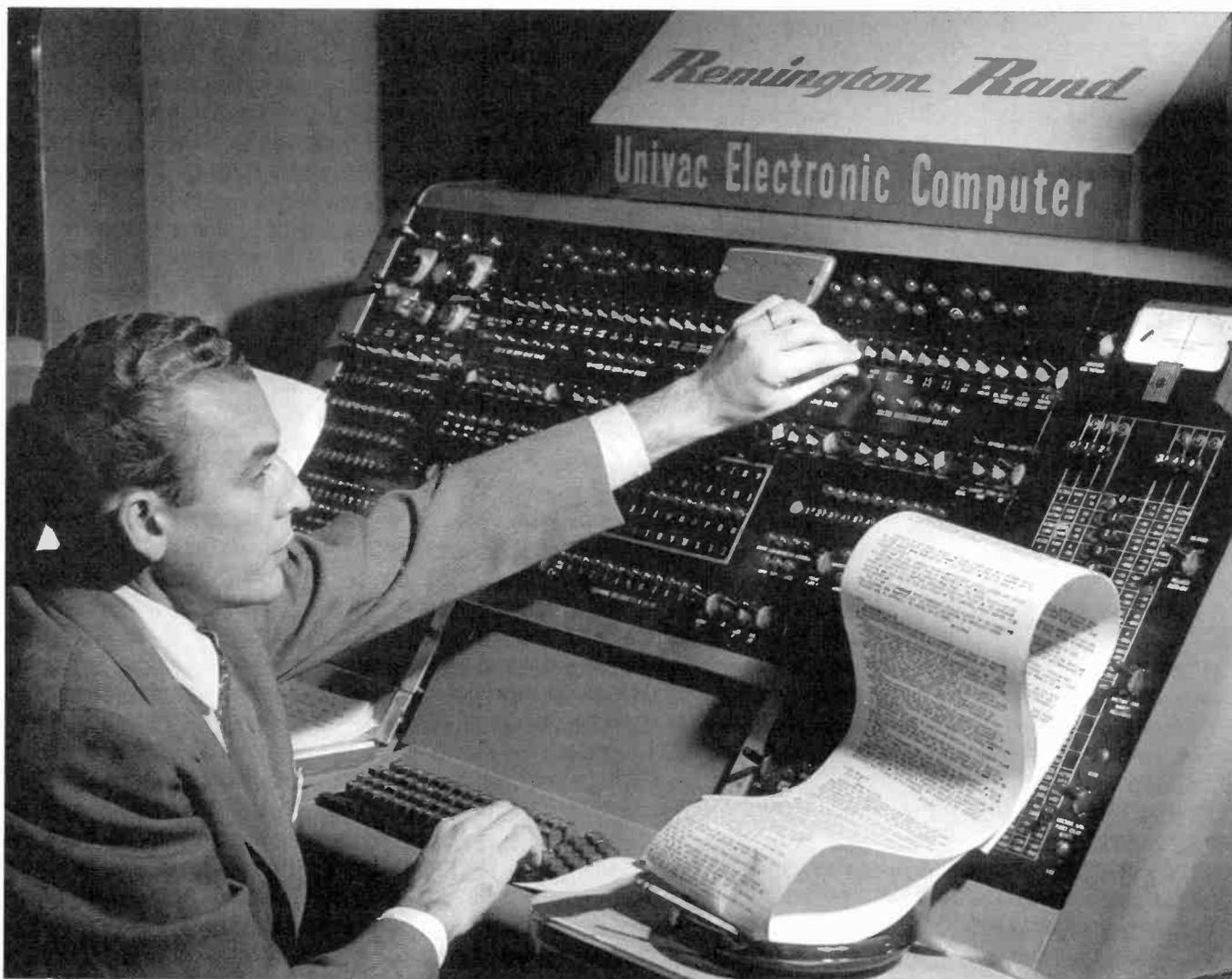
Charles Collingwood was the youngest of "Murrow's Boys," a group of reporters hired by Edward R. Murrow to cover World War II in Europe for the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS). Collingwood made a name for himself as a war correspondent by scooping his newspaper colleagues. By his 26th birthday, he was a top radio reporter with a great news sense and natural radio voice.

Collingwood was born in Three Rivers, Michigan, in 1917. Shortly thereafter, his father was appointed to a professorship of forestry at Cornell University in Ithaca, New York. This was one of many moves during his childhood. Despite this lack of stability, he was an outstanding student. In high school, he was president of the Student Council and a member of the National Honor Society. Upon graduation, he received a scholarship to

Deep Springs School in California, a ranch school that consisted of 20 students taught by five professors under the Oxford tutorial system.

In 1937 Collingwood attended Cornell University and majored in pre-law. While in school, during the summers, he traveled extensively, primarily in the United States and in southern Canada. However, one of his trips took him through the Panama Canal. He excelled in his studies, in athletics, and in leadership positions. He was made a member of the Telluride Association, a special foundation that gave scholarships to outstanding students. He received a B.A. degree *cum laude* in 1939 and was a Rhodes Scholar.

While in England attending Oxford University, Collingwood worked for United Press in London. When the Rhodes



Charles Collingwood during 1952 election coverage
Courtesy CBS Photo Archive

committee discovered this dual career, they informed Collingwood that he must choose between scholarship and journalism. He chose scholarship, at least temporarily. The mounting tensions in Europe and the need to be a part of the war effort finally resulted in Collingwood's leaving Oxford in June 1940. In March 1941 he was hired by Edward R. Murrow, the head of CBS correspondents in Europe. His job was to broadcast news analyses, first from London and then from North Africa. His reports from North Africa made him famous in the United States, because his voice conveyed a sense of urgency. He was the first to report on the assassination of an Algerian leader and often scooped his colleagues.

In 1943 Collingwood was awarded the George Foster Peabody Award for the outstanding reporting of news. The Pea-

body Award Committee selected him unanimously, remarking that he "with the tools of inference, and fact, has conveyed to us, through the screen of censorship, an understanding of the troublesome situation in North Africa." During his stay in North Africa, he broadcast for two-and-a-half minutes twice a day from Radio Algiers on the CBS network. In October 1943, after four years abroad, he returned to the United States and reported to government officials on the importance of the "invasion of ideas" as well as invasions by armies; he also emphasized the importance of British and American cooperation. He then made a two-month lecture tour of the United States.

After the war, Collingwood began working in television news; during the 1950s he was the first United Nations corre-

spondent for CBS News, the CBS White House correspondent, and the chief of the CBS London Bureau. In 1948 he covered the Republican National Convention for CBS radio and television. In 1959 he succeeded Murrow as host of *Person to Person*; for this show, he often left the studio and conducted interviews on location. He hosted a number of television specials, including "A Tour of the White House with Mrs. John F. Kennedy" in February 1962. From 1964 to 1975 he was the chief foreign correspondent for CBS News; in this capacity, Collingwood covered the war in Indochina and went to South Vietnam in 1965. In 1968 he was the first American network correspondent to be admitted to North Vietnam, and he appeared in broadcasts from Vietnam in late 1972 and early 1973.

Collingwood's work included a variety of other assignments that suggest his qualities as an educated and well-respected member of the CBS news team. He hosted *Adventure* (1953), a wildlife program. Following Charles Kuralt and Walter Cronkite in 1962–63, he anchored *Eyewitness to History*, which presented the cultural side of contemporary society. Other programs were *Chronicle*, a news program that alternated with *CBS Reports* from 1963 to 1964, and *Portrait* (1963), an interview show with guests as varied as Peter Sellers and General Curtis LeMay. At the same time that he was White House correspondent (1948–51), he hosted *The Big Question*, a live news discussion program. In the early 1950s, he appeared as a guest on *Youth Takes a Stand*, a discussion of current events with invited high school students and CBS correspondents, and he was a regular guest on *The Morning Show*, CBS's version of the National Broadcasting Company's (NBC) *Today* show.

Collingwood retired from CBS News in 1982 but served as special correspondent until his death. His many awards include the Peabody, the National Headliners Club award, and the Overseas Press Club award. In 1975 he was appointed a commander of the Order of the British Empire by Queen Elizabeth in recognition of his contribution to British–American friendship and understanding. He was also a chevalier of the French Legion of Honor.

He died of cancer on 4 October 1985 in New York City. William Paley, the founder of CBS, said at the time of Colling-

wood's death that he "represented . . . the highest standards of accuracy, honesty and integrity, leavened with humanity and sensitivity."

MARY E. BEADLE

See also Columbia Broadcasting System; Commentators; Murrow, Edward R.; News; Peabody Awards

Charles Cummings Collingwood. Born in Three Rivers, Michigan, 4 June 1917. United Press reporter, London, 1939–41; World War II correspondent for CBS in North Africa and Europe, 1941–46; first United Nations correspondent for CBS News, 1946–47; White House correspondent, 1948–51; chief of CBS London Bureau, 1957–59; correspondent, *CBS Reports*, 1961–71; chief foreign correspondent, CBS News, 1964–75; retired in 1982. Received Peabody Award; Overseas Press Club award; National Headliners Club Award; commander, Order of the British Empire; chevalier of French Legion of Honor. Died in New York City, 3 October 1985.

Television Series

Adventure, host, 1953–56; *The Big Question*, moderator, 1951–52; *CBS Reports*, correspondent, 1961–71; *Chronicle*, anchor, 1963–64; *Eyewitness to History*, anchor, 1962–63; *Person to Person*, anchor, 1959–61; *Portrait*, anchor, 1963; *A Tour of the White House with Mrs. John F. Kennedy*, 1962; anchor, Princess Anne's Wedding, 1973; anchor, President Nixon's Visit to China, 1972

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Columbia Broadcasting System

U.S. National Radio Network

The Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), America's second radio network, grew out of the United Independent Broadcasters (UIB) network, which was incorporated on 27 January 1927. It became CBS after it was purchased by William S. Paley in 1928, and in the decades that followed CBS played a leading role in the development of network radio and in the evolution of radio broadcasting following the establishment of television as a primary entertainment medium. Today, CBS Radio is part of the media conglomerate Viacom Inc. and serves nearly 1500 radio stations nationwide with a variety of news, public affairs, information, and sports programs through Westwood One, a program syndication company. Through its radio subsidiary, Infinity Broadcasting, Viacom owns some 180 radio stations in 40 of the nation's largest markets. Infinity manages and holds an equity position in Westwood One.

Origins

The UIB network went on the air on 18 September 1927 with a string of 16 radio stations in 11 states. The network was not well financed, however, losing more than \$200,000 in its first year of operation. In order to survive, UIB arranged for backing by the financially strong Columbia Phonograph Company, a leader in the record-pressing business. Columbia bought into UIB for \$163,000. UIB, in turn, changed the name of its broadcast arm to the Columbia Phonograph Broadcasting Company. Later, when the network continued to sustain substantial losses, Columbia Phonograph withdrew from the network and took free broadcast time as payment for what it was owed.

One of the early advertisers on UIB was the Congress Cigar Company, which produced and aired *The La Palina Smoker* on the network. The musical program, put together by William Paley (the son of the company's owner) and named after one of its cigars, proved quite a successful advertising tool for the company, doubling sales of the brand in less than six months. Paley was delighted with the results of the program and became fascinated with the radio medium. He spent a great deal of time on his project and learned all that he could about radio and the UIB network. Although UIB was losing money, Paley felt the network had a future, and eventually he decided to buy it. On 25 September 1928, the 27-year-old Paley made it official, purchasing the UIB network for a reported \$500,000 of his own money. His father soon bought into the network for \$100,000 as a show of support for his son's undertaking.

Paley saw that expansion was a must for his fledgling network and quickly renegotiated the contracts UIB had with its affiliates to achieve three goals: (1) to lower the amount that

the network paid stations for the broadcast time they provided; (2) to ensure a long-term association with the stations; and (3) to make sure that UIB was the only network carried by each affiliate. The stations were happy with the arrangement, because UIB was able to hire talent not available to them and to provide better and more programs than the stations could produce themselves locally.

With his existing affiliates taken care of, Paley invited other stations, mainly in the South, to join his new network with contracts similar to those he had just renegotiated. Twelve new stations joined. He later gained a few more affiliates in the Midwest, bringing the UIB network to 48 stations in 42 cities, but none on the West Coast.

By December 1928 UIB was broadcasting 21 hours a week from leased facilities at WABC in New York City and WOR in Newark, Delaware, and it desperately needed a station of its own from which to produce programs. For that purpose, Paley bought WABC in New York for \$390,000, after selling shares in the network and investing another \$200,000 of his own. WABC (which became WCBS in 1946) thus became the network's first company-owned station.

When Paley had taken over UIB three months earlier, it consisted of three companies: UIB, which supplied the airtime; the Columbia Broadcasting System (the old phonograph company unit), which sold the time to sponsors; and a unit that supplied programs. When Columbia Phonograph left UIB, it insisted that the word *phonograph* be removed from the name of the broadcast arm of the network but allowed UIB to keep the *Columbia* portion. As the on-air part of UIB, the Columbia Broadcasting System was what listeners were familiar with. To preserve this name recognition with radio audiences, Paley reorganized UIB, doing away with the broadcasting unit as a separate entity and merging all three UIB companies into one, named the Columbia Broadcasting System, Incorporated (CBS).

In the first six months of 1929 advertising sales picked up at CBS, and the movie studios began to take an interest in the new network. Just as the movie industry was to fear the impact television would have on theatergoing decades later, the industry was leery of radio broadcasting and decided that a link with the growing medium would be a good financial move. After lengthy negotiations, Paramount paid \$5 million for half of CBS in June 1929. As part of the sales contract, the studio agreed to buy back the stock it transferred to CBS to make its 50 percent purchase if CBS earned \$2 million within the next two years. Incredibly, CBS met the goal and bought out Paramount, even though the country was then in the depths of the Great Depression.

In 1929 CBS signed the Don Lee group of stations as network affiliates, giving CBS a West Coast link and making it a truly nationwide network. This was also the year it began its first daily news program and its first regular program of political analysis. Late in the year, the network moved into its newly completed headquarters on Madison Avenue in New York with 60 affiliates under contract and annual advertising sales of \$4 million.

Development

During the 1930s and 1940s, CBS radio grew from infancy to maturity through a process of trial and error. Programs, largely music, variety, and comedy at first, increased in variety to include drama, soap opera, audience participation and quiz shows and, by the late 1930s, fledgling news efforts.

Early in the decade, with 400 employees in his employ at CBS, William Paley hired a new assistant, Edward Klauber, a former *New York Times* editor who was to become the number-two man at CBS. Another addition to the CBS staff was Paul White, a wire-service reporter who established strong journalistic standards and ethics for the new CBS news organization.

Paley was quick to recognize that growth and revenue for CBS could only come by obtaining new talent and programs to offer to sponsors, and he became adept at finding and signing performers for radio shows. His first big talent coup was to get Will Rogers, America's most popular philosopher-comedian, to agree to do a 13-week series for CBS in the spring of 1930. With Rogers aboard, Paley was soon able to woo comedians Fred Allen, George Burns, and Jack Benny to CBS radio, as well as Morton Downey, Bing Crosby, Kate Smith, and the Mills Brothers, all of whom went on to great success and fame.

CBS acquired its second station, WBBM in Chicago, in 1931 and began laying claim to being the number-one news network by virtue of the number of news bulletins it was airing. The network also began airing the *March of Time*, a weekly dramatization of the major news events of the previous week that was sponsored by *Time* magazine. Although considered melodramatic by some, the program became very popular and remained on CBS until 1937, when it moved to NBC.

Classical music programs were also quite popular in the early 1930s, and CBS signed the New York Philharmonic for Sunday afternoon broadcasts. In addition, the network formed its own Columbia Symphony Orchestra and presented thousands of programs of classical music in the years that followed.

Another popular type of program, which emerged on CBS and NBC in the early 1930s and would enjoy loyal audiences for nearly three decades, was the daily romance serial. Sponsored by the giant soap firms of the day, such as Procter and Gamble, Colgate-Palmolive, and Lever Brothers, the shows became a part of the daily lives of housewives across the country.

In 1933, just as CBS became the largest network with 91 affiliates, a high-stakes battle broke out between the radio and newspaper industries that threatened the network's news function. The conflict grew out of radio's steady rise in popularity, which caused newspaper publishers to fear that the new medium was siphoning off advertising revenue and news audiences. The American Newspaper Publishers Association voted not to print the radio industry's daily program schedules in their papers except as paid advertising. The publishers next pressured the newswire services to stop serving radio stations and networks.

Left without wire-service news, CBS, with the help of sponsorship from General Mills, formed its own news-gathering organization, the Columbia News Service, and placed bureaus in New York, Washington, Chicago, and Los Angeles. It also lined up correspondents as "stringers" in nearly every major American city and negotiated exchange agreements with a number of overseas news agencies in an effort to keep news flowing to the radio audiences. Paul White and his staff prepared three news programs each day at CBS, many times with stories the papers did not yet have. By the time the press-radio war ended some time later, CBS had established a strong commitment to providing news and information to America, a commitment that remains at the core of its modern-day radio offerings.

CBS's *American School of the Air* was a noncommercial supplement to regular classroom instruction, complete with a teacher's manual. The program featured geography, history, English, music, and drama for young people. It was regularly heard by 6 million children, but it was not able to make CBS the most popular network. During the 1934-35 broadcast season, radio's top five programs were all on NBC.

With 91 stations, CBS had more affiliates than NBC, but it continued to trail NBC in popularity. New programs were produced, and a number of policy changes were made during 1935 in an effort to move the network into the top spot. CBS established standards for the amount of advertising time it would permit per program and for the type of products that it would and would not advertise. Standards were also set that dealt with "fairness and balance" in all news and public information programs.

The extra effort seemed to pay off when, by 1936-37, radio's top five programs were on CBS. This was due largely, however, to the fact that the network had enticed three of NBC's most popular entertainers to the network: variety show host Major Bowes, singer Al Jolson, and comedian Eddie Cantor. *Major Bowes' Original Amateur Hour* was the most popular program of the day. CBS also soon took the *Lux Radio Theater* from NBC.

In an effort to serve as many audiences as possible, CBS also began to present the *Church of the Air* on Sundays and formed an advisory board to set policy for its educational programs

and to choose shows suitable for children. In addition, it formed the Columbia Workshop in 1936 as an experimental theater of the air. CBS kept this program unsponsored to give it freedom and a chance to pioneer new radio techniques, especially in sound, electronic effects, and music, and many of the ideas the Workshop perfected later became broadcast industry standards. With many of its scripts written by the best-known writers of the day, such as Dorothy Parker, Irwin Shaw, and William Saroyan, the program achieved great critical acclaim.

Late in 1936, CBS established a base of operations in Hollywood in order to be able to originate radio shows from the West Coast. The move allowed the network to better serve that region and its time zone and gave CBS more access to Hollywood stars.

As the signs of war grew in Europe in 1937, Edward Klauber decided that CBS needed a European director, and the job went to Edward R. Murrow. Once overseas, Murrow hired journalist William L. Shirer, and the pair set about lining up cultural events, concerts, and other programs for CBS. When German troops entered Austria in 1938, Shirer, then in Vienna, flew to London to get the story out, and Murrow went to Austria. Shirer went on the air for CBS from the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) studios in London, and Murrow sent a shortwave broadcast from Vienna reporting the German takeover of Austria. The effort was the beginning of CBS's exemplary war coverage. Continuing to report from Europe, Murrow and Shirer put together the *CBS World News Roundup*, the first round-robin international radio news broadcast, with Murrow reporting from Vienna; Shirer from London; and other newsmen in Paris, Berlin, and Rome.

In the late 1930s CBS bought Columbia Records (the company from which it got its name) and opened its new \$1.75 million Columbia Square studio/office complex on Sunset Boulevard in Hollywood, California. The network also continued to give its growing audience exciting entertainment programs while providing increasing amounts of news and information.

The War Years

The CBS foreign news staff grew from 3, including Murrow and Shirer, to 14, and then to 60 in 1941 as the United States entered the war. Of the war years, CBS President William Paley, who became the Deputy Chief of the Office of Psychological Warfare under General Dwight Eisenhower, later noted,

[W]e adopted war themes on many of our programs. In dramatic shows, characters met wartime problems; the *American School of the Air* brought war news, information, and instruction to children; *Country Journal* gave farmers help in solving wartime agricultural problems; the *Garden Gate* promoted Victory gardens; *Church of the Air* broadcast talks by chaplains. There were also

many new series exclusively about the war: *They Live Forever*, *The Man Behind the Gun*, *Our Secret Weapon* (Paley, 1979).

Kate Smith also conducted hugely successful war bond drives, and some CBS company-owned stations began a 24-hour-a-day schedule, serving as part of an air raid defense system and providing entertainment for defense workers on the overnight shift. CBS's foreign correspondents were its stars of the air. Edward R. Murrow became a hero, even before the United States entered the war, through a series of "rooftop" broadcasts during the 1940 blitz in London; William L. Shirer covered the surrender of France to Germany at Compiègne; Larry Lesueur provided regular shortwave reports from Moscow; and Howard K. Smith provided coverage from Berlin. Others were stationed throughout Europe and in North Africa and Asia.

Paul White oversaw the international news organization on a daily basis with the help of a news team of some 50 members, including a staff of shortwave listeners who kept him abreast of what was happening around the world. Many of the team's members went on to achieve individual fame as writers and commentators: Eric Sevareid, Robert Trout, Charles Collingwood, John Daly, Howard K. Smith, and of course Edward R. Murrow all became well known and gave CBS News great credibility.

In 1943 CBS acquired WCBS-FM in New York, its first FM radio station, and WBBM-FM in Chicago. It also lost its number-two man when CBS Vice President Ed Klauber suffered a heart attack and resigned.

On 6 June 1944, CBS went on the air at 12:30 A.M. to begin special coverage of the D-Day invasion, utilizing several of its commentators in New York, print reports from Washington and overseas, and live transmissions from London. Additional coverage was provided by correspondents in other European capitals, who kept the listeners updated on the progress of the invasion, and CBS's Charles Collingwood, who crossed the English Channel in an LST to report on the invasion from the beach at Normandy.

Between 7 December 1941 and 2 September 1945, the day the Japanese surrendered, CBS broadcast 35,700 wartime news and entertainment programs, including Norman Corwin's commemorative show *On a Note of Triumph*, which aired at the end of hostilities in Europe. A similar program, entitled *14 August*, was aired following the Japanese surrender.

Postwar Transitions

As the war ended, Frank Stanton, who had been hired in the 1930s as a research specialist to determine CBS listenership, became the network's president; William Paley moved up to become chairman of the board; and Edward R. Murrow was

promoted to vice president and director of news and public affairs. By this time, CBS had once again fallen behind in the ratings battle, as 12 of the top 15 radio shows were on NBC.

By the end of 1947, CBS had put together 36 radio programs, but few were sponsored. It also established a news documentary unit to look at the subjects that were most affecting Americans at the time. In addition, Murrow resigned as a CBS vice president and returned to the air with *Hear It Now*, a talking history of World War II that evolved into the later television news-documentary program *See It Now*. As it gained popularity, the documentary became a mainstay of CBS programming. CBS also joined the other networks in providing live broadcasts of hearings of the House Un-American Activities Committee, which looked into the alleged presence of communist sympathizers in the motion picture industry.

The following year, CBS increased sponsorship for its own shows to 29, and 2 of the programs became among the nation's 10 most popular: *My Friend Irma* and *Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts*.

Near the end of the decade, CBS tax attorneys discovered a way for radio stars to save tax money by selling their programs as "properties," and CBS was able to "raid" the most popular NBC programs, including *Amos 'n' Andy* and Jack Benny. In January 1949 CBS signed other NBC stars: Bing Crosby; comedians Red Skelton, Edgar Bergen, George Burns and Gracie Allen, Ed Wynn, and Groucho Marx; singers Al Jolson and Frank Sinatra; and band leader Fred Warning. Soon, CBS had 12 of the Hooperating's "First 15," 16 of Nielsen's "Top 20," and an average audience rating that was 12 percent larger than that of any other network. CBS was definitely number one in American broadcasting. By the late 1940s, CBS and its rivals were able to use money made in radio to fund progress in television, with CBS allocating \$60 million to that cause.

Decline of CBS Radio Network

By the end of 1955, television's ability to attract radio's evening audience became clear when the Nielsen ratings listed no night-time programs among radio's top 10. Searching for a way to keep radio audiences, CBS beefed up its news offerings and premiered the *CBS Radio Workshop* as a revival of the earlier Columbia Workshop. It showcased some of the best talent of the day and used exceptional imagination and creativity in providing critically acclaimed but unsponsored radio drama.

Between 1957 and 1960, Jack Benny, Bing Crosby, and *Amos 'n' Andy* left the air; CBS radio shortened its schedule and turned over more time to the affiliates; and radio stations across the country began to offer more music and less network programming.

By 1960 all three radio networks hit bottom financially, losing 75 percent of the sales they had had in 1948. CBS began to offer even more news, sports, and information programming,

and in November 1960 it canceled its last surviving soap operas, putting an end to a chapter of radio history and relinquishing the genre to television.

As the 1960s progressed, CBS made new arrangements with its affiliates that allowed them to put "packages" of network programs together to meet their needs rather than having to take all the network offerings. With the move, profitability returned, and CBS radio changed fundamentally. No longer would the network be able to *tell* its affiliates what it would offer them; CBS would instead have to *ask* the stations what they needed and try to provide it. In 1974 CBS decided to hire E.G. Marshall to host the *CBS Radio Mystery Theater* in an attempt to reintroduce radio drama and the feel of programs from the golden age of radio. The hour-long show, which was run seven days a week using new scripts and some old production formulas, received mixed reviews, and many affiliates declined to carry it or aired it outside of prime time. It was clear that news, sports, and information programs were all stations wanted from the networks, and CBS vowed to provide it through its strong network news division. The decision has remained in place for nearly three decades.

Today CBS News serves both radio and television station affiliates. On the radio side, there are two entities, CBS Radio News and CBS Radio Sports, that produce news, information, and sports programming for distribution to more than 1,500 stations through Westwood One, a program syndication company.

CBS Radio News provides stations in nearly every major market with hourly newscasts, instant coverage of breaking stories, special reports, updates, features, customized reports, and newsfeed material that alerts the stations receiving CBS material to what will be available to them in the following hours. Among the CBS Radio News productions is the World News Roundup, first broadcast in 1940 and said to be the longest-running newscast in America. CBS Radio Sports provides the affiliated stations with regular sportscasts, customized reports, features, and sporting events coverage.

Early in 2000, CBS merged with Viacom Inc., a global media company with interests in broadcast and cable television, radio, outdoor advertising, online entities, and other media-related fields. Viacom's holdings include MTV, Nickelodeon, VH1, BET, Paramount Pictures, Viacom Outdoor, UPN, TV Land, The New TNN, CMT: Country Music Television, Showtime, Blockbuster, and Simon & Schuster.

As part of the merger, Viacom also became the parent company of the CBS-owned Infinity Broadcasting Corporation, which operates more than 180 radio stations, the majority of which are in the nation's largest markets. Infinity manages and holds an equity position in the syndicator Westwood One, which is the major CBS radio program distributor.

See also American School of the Air; Don Lee Network; Infinity Broadcasting; Karmazin, Mel; KCBS; Kesten, Paul; Klauber, Ed; March of Time; Murrow, Edward R.; Network Monopoly Probe; News; Paley, William S.; Press-Radio War; Shirer, William L.; Stanton, Frank; Talent Raids; WCBS; White, Paul

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Columnists

Writing About Radio

Many listeners first learned about radio's performers and the broadcasting industry through columns appearing in daily newspapers and popular magazines. At first largely technical, these columns soon melded comment, criticism, and interviews to feed the public fascination with radio.

Newspapers

As one read a typical 1920-21 newspaper, it was often difficult to tell that radio existed. Because the new medium was capable of taking a person to an event as it was happening, newspapers saw radio as competition, and most decided to ignore it. A few newspapers offered an amateur radio column once or twice a week, because ham radio had become a popular hobby, but these columns were mainly about technical matters (such as how to build the latest equipment) or news from local ham radio clubs. Events that today might seem worthy of a bold headline (such as KDKA's first broadcast) were either mentioned in a paid advertisement or relegated to a short article somewhere inside the newspaper.

Among the first big-city newspapers to have a regular radio column was the *Boston Traveler*; the column's author was Guy Entwistle, an executive with the American Radio Relay League, an important ham radio organization. As a student at Tufts College, he had earlier worked at pioneer station 1XE. His column appeared three times a week beginning in February 1921. But the *Traveler* was the exception, and none of the other Boston newspapers covered radio with any degree of thoroughness until early 1922, by which time most of America's newspapers finally accepted that radio was more than a mere fad. Newspapers realized that the public was interested not just in how to build a radio (because various brands were now sold retail) but in learning more about the voices they heard on the air.

The *Detroit News* was probably the first newspaper to own a radio station (WWJ), and the newspaper clearly saw radio's promotional value. Owning the station was a fine reason to mention radio, because it was not competition in this case. Other newspapers soon followed suit, accepting the fact that radio was here to stay. Some began offering a full page of radio

news by 1922, although at first it was mainly news of their own stations' programming. But even newspapers lacking a license began to offer radio coverage. For example, the *New York Tribune's* radio page was edited by ham radio expert (and maritime disaster hero) Jack Binns. The *Boston Globe's* radio editor, Lloyd Greene, also came from ham radio. Some of the first radio columns at the *Los Angeles Times* were written by John S. Daggett, who would soon become station manager of KHJ and who, as "Uncle John," would host a popular children's show. For those papers unable to afford a dedicated radio editor, several nationally known radio experts offered syndicated columns, usually of a technical nature—the best-known of these writers was Sidney Gernsback.

About this time, some newspapers decided to do more than operate and publicize their own stations. They began to allow their best columnists to read news (or to read from their own columns) on those stations. The famous editor of the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, H.V. Kaltenborn, was among the first journalists to not only read the news but also provide editorial commentary when he broadcast on the Signal Corps' New York station WVP (and later on WJZ) beginning in early April 1922.

As radio's popularity increased, the job of reporting about it became more essential. The development of radio networks certainly contributed to this increased interest: when the National Broadcasting Company (NBC; 1926) and the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS; 1927) came along, they enabled hit songs and hit performers to be enjoyed across the entire country and even into Canada (before the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation [CBC] was created, Canadian stations often affiliated with U.S. networks). Wherever there was a station, the public was eager to learn about the celebrities and the announcers, some of whom had begun their careers in local markets before passing the audition for the network. Fans sent letters and telegrams to their favorite shows, and they also contacted radio reporters, asking for more in-depth information about the most popular stars. Even those newspapers that had been hesitant to have a radio page jumped in enthusiastically by the mid- to late 1920s—and readers welcomed the thorough radio coverage of such prestigious newspapers as the *New York Times* (where radio editor Orrin E. Dunlap, Jr., kept readers up on the latest trends from 1922 through 1940).

The job of newspaper radio editor became a very stable one, as well as one with some excellent "perks"—the radio editor not only attended many live performances but could conduct interviews with the stars and take part in the annual vote for the best programs and personalities of the year. A number of the radio editors who began writing their columns in the 1920s were still doing so several decades later: Alton Cook of the *New York World-Telegram*, Larry Wolters of the *Chicago Tribune*, and Howard Fitzpatrick of the *Boston Post*, just to name a few. In fact, during the late 1920s and

early 1930s, some newspapers had two radio columnists, one specializing in musicians and the other writing mainly about air personalities and special events. A few key announcers wrote newspaper columns in the 1920s and later, usually promoting the relationship between the newspaper and their station: Boston's "Big Brother" Bob Emery and Kansas City's "Merry Old Chief" Leo Fitzpatrick were only two of the celebrity columnists. Bertha Brainard, who began her media career as a theater critic and then was hired by WJZ in New York to do theater reviews on radio, moved back and forth between radio and print, writing guest articles for both newspapers and magazines.

Unfortunately, it is difficult to acknowledge most radio columnists through the 1930s, because it was then customary to provide bylines to only a select few reporters, and these seldom included the radio columnist. There were exceptions, of course—some large newspapers, such as the *Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, and *Boston Globe*, did give credit to those who wrote about radio: at the *Post*, for example, we know that Elizabeth Poe (who also wrote about music and did some announcing on the *Post's* program on WRC) did some radio columns in the mid-1920s, and that the column known as "Dial Flashes" was written by Robert D. Heint into the early 1930s. The *Los Angeles Times* gave a byline to its succession of radio reporters, from 1920s writers such as John Daggett and Dr. Ralph Power to William Hamilton Cline, Doug Douglas, and Carroll Nye in the 1930s. At the *Boston Globe*, Lloyd Greene gave way to Willard De Lue in the late 1920s, and then to Elizabeth Sullivan in the 1930s. But more often than not, newspapers that had radio listings and even some commentary about radio shows did not identify who wrote the articles.

Early Radio Magazines

Magazines reacted to the growing radio craze in a way similar to newspapers: some saw radio as a threat and ignored it, and others were quick to embrace it. When *Time* first appeared in 1923, it lacked a radio page and only reported on trends in print journalism. Only 15 years later would this policy change when in late 1938 a radio page was finally added. On the other hand, in spring 1922, *Literary Digest* expanded its science and technology section by adding a radio page, with stories about the owners, announcers, and performers on the air in various cities.

Variety was one of the periodicals that was initially very negative about radio. This is understandable because *Variety* was known for its coverage of—and identification with—movies and vaudeville, both of which feared radio's competition. Yet even by *Variety's* admission, an increasing number of famous singers were already appearing on radio; one—Vaughn DeLeath, known as the "Original Radio Girl"—even became

program manager of New York's WDT in 1923. By the mid-1920s, it was impossible to ignore the obvious fact that vaudeville was dying, but radio was not. At the decade's end, *Variety*, too, would have a radio page, with columnists who mainly covered New York, but by the early 1930s, *Variety* began gathering reports about radio in other major cities. Music reviewer Abel Green was one of the first writers at *Variety* to include radio coverage in his columns.

Initially, the most authoritative place to read about radio was in magazines dedicated exclusively to the new medium. One of the earliest and best-known was *QST*, the ham magazine that is still published. In 1919 *Radio Amateur News* first appeared, and although it mainly covered the technology and people of amateur radio, by 1921 it had expanded to include the latest happenings in commercial broadcasting. It was founded by Hugo Gernsback, an immigrant from Luxembourg who became a successful inventor, entrepreneur, and publisher of numerous radio and science fiction magazines. As commercial radio's popularity grew, the magazine changed its name to *Radio News*; among those who wrote articles for it were Lee de Forest and Reginald Fessenden. In 1925, Gernsback put New York radio station WRNY on the air, and he often wrote about the station in his magazine.

1922 was a big year for radio magazines—*Popular Radio*, *Radio Digest*, *Radio Broadcast*, *Radio* (formerly *Pacific Radio News*), *Radio in the Home*, and *Radio World* were all available, and other magazines that previously had a technology focus (such as *Science and Invention* and *Wireless Age*) added radio pages. Most had pictures of announcers and performers, as well as interviews. Another new element of radio magazines was that a few had women columnists. Jennie Irene Mix, a published author and music critic, wrote for *Radio Broadcast* in 1924–25; former publicist and actress Nellie Revell not only wrote a column for *Variety* in the late 1920s but also wrote for *Radio Digest* in the early 1930s.

Billboard was available, but it was not a music industry magazine yet; back then, it was known as *The Billboard* and was devoted to coverage of county fairs, circuses, and expositions. It had little reason to mention radio and seldom did. But in the early 1920s, *Billboard* did have a unique column about black actors, actresses, and musicians that mentioned certain black performers who appeared on radio, such as Eubie Blake and Noble Sissle. However, *The Billboard* would not pay much attention to radio until the late 1930s, when the magazine gradually changed its focus toward more music industry reporting. By the early 1940s, radio coverage and articles about popular music occupied more of a place in the magazine.

A second wave of radio magazines appeared in the 1930s—most in the “fan” genre with a focus on programs and stars—with *Song Hits*, *Radio Stars*, *Radioland*, *Radio Guide*, and *Radio Mirror*, to name a few. Also, some local radio magazines

began to appear, such as *Radiolog*, which mainly covered New England, and *Microphone*, which began in Boston but had regional editions in other parts of the country. National magazines such as *Radio Guide* also produced locally written columns for each of the major regions they covered; some of these were written by the program directors of local stations whose personalities were being featured that month. (On the other hand, some magazines offered articles ostensibly written by the radio stars themselves; many of these were ghostwritten by publicists.)

Other Radio Publications

As radio stations began to achieve success and stability in radio's golden age, some began to put out their own publications. This enabled stations to reach out to their audience, offering photos of the announcers, columns written by various staff members, and even some contests; in cities where radio coverage in the newspaper was minimal, such magazines were especially welcome, but even in cities with thorough radio coverage, such as Chicago, stations used their magazines as vehicles for increased publicity. Beginning in the mid-1930s, for example, WLS radio published a weekly magazine called *Stand By*. Editor Julian Bentley interviewed station performers as well as national celebrities who had come to Chicago to perform. Station magazines were usually written by someone in the program department, with help from the networks, which provided photos and biographies of nationally known stars. Well into the 1940s, many stations put out their own “yearbooks,” with pictures of the biggest station events of the previous year, stories about what the station had done in news and public service, and friendly messages from the station's performers and announcers. And beginning in 1938, there was a reference book that covered all of broadcasting: *Radio Annual* (later *Radio Annual/Television Yearbook*), edited by Jack Ali-coate and Don Carle Gillette. Published by the staff of *Radio Daily*, it offered not only profiles of every station but afforded radio executives (the first edition featured columns by NBC's David Sarnoff, Professor of Education and CBS Adult Education Board member Lyman Bryson, and respected engineer Alfred N. Goldsmith, among others) to give their assessments of the state of the industry.

There were also many nonfiction (and nontechnical) books written by media critics or columnists of the 1930s and 1940s, offering their own view of radio's achievements and problems. These included Ruth Brindze's controversial *Not to Be Broadcast: The Truth about the Radio* (1937); Robert J. Landry's *Who, What, Why Is Radio* (1942); and Albert N. Williams' book of essays *Listening: A Collection of Critical Articles on Radio* (1948). In addition to his book, *Variety*'s radio editor, Robert J. Landry, also wrote several critical essays about radio for *Public Opinion Quarterly* in the early 1940s.

The 1933 college debate topic, “Resolved: That the United States should adopt the essential features of the British system of radio control and operation,” gave rise to a host of critical (and supportive) columns about American radio. Several serious journals, such as the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, devoted issues to the medium or featured regular columns and commentary. And writers especially concerned about radio’s role in education produced a host of booklets, talks, columns, and articles, which usually lamented the relative lack of serious programming, too much advertising, or other complaints. These were often reprinted and widely disseminated by various interest groups—including the radio industry itself.

Changes in Radio Reporting

With television’s arrival in the late 1940s, many critics predicted the rapid demise of radio. Radio coverage in newspapers had definitely diminished during World War II, with coverage of movie stars getting most of the attention; some radio magazines changed their name to “Radio/Movie” magazines to reflect the public’s strong interest in Hollywood. But writing about radio never disappeared: it could even be found in such top-drawer periodicals as *Atlantic Monthly*, *Harper’s*, and the *Saturday Review of Literature*, among others, and some newspapers continued to focus attention on local radio stars. In the early 1950s, as television became more available, major newspapers from Los Angeles to Boston began putting out a weekly *TV/Radio* magazine, which included at least one page about local stations and the people who worked there.

In the 1950s and 1960s, a new group of columnists appeared. Now columnists were not just responsible for writing about radio, of course, but were expected to cover television and also popular culture. Some of the veteran radio columnists were still writing in the 1950s, and as music changed, it was quite a problem for many of them to objectively cover the new Top 40 radio stations, because they did not understand or like rock music. The *Boston Record’s* highly respected Bill Buchanan, who much preferred jazz and big bands, interviewed Dick Clark and pronounced *American Bandstand* a total waste of time. In the 1950s radio columnists were of two camps—the veterans, who still recalled the golden age and lamented what sounded like noise to them, and the new columnists, who thought the changes were exciting and appreciated the high energy of Top 40 announcers. If nothing else, the arrival of Top 40 got radio back into the newspaper again, even if it was only so that certain columnists could criticize it. Younger writers, such as Gary Deeb (who wrote the radio and television column for the *Chicago Tribune* during the 1970s and early 1980s) had a much easier time writing about Top 40. And Jane Scott, who began her radio writing in the mid-1960s after first being the “Teen Editor” at the *Cleve-*

land Plain Dealer, would go on to write about radio and music in Cleveland well into the 1990s. As other formats, such as progressive rock, emerged in the late 1960s and into the 1970s, some new newspapers emerged too, so-called “alternative” weeklies, which adopted album rock as the music of rebellion and wrote about the stations that played it. Radio columns were not as easy to find as they had once been, but in cities where there was a dominant radio station (such as Cleveland, with first WIXY in the Top 40 days and then WMMS-FM in the album rock period), there was always a newspaper or magazine writing about it. And for some radio fans, especially those who hoped to go into the industry, the 1970s were the time when radio editor Claude Hall’s column in *Billboard* magazine was eagerly read.

Today

By 2000 few magazines are writing about disc jockeys, and those newspapers that have a radio/television editor also send him or her out to cover concerts and write about the club scene. The internet has taken up the slack, and many radio stations have developed their own webpages, where disc jockeys can write their own columns. Some stations still put out their own newsletters or publications, and popular industry publications such as *Billboard* and *Radio and Records* have columnists who write exclusively about radio; weekly newspapers such as Boston’s *Phoenix* or New York’s *Village Voice* have occasional articles about what’s on the air these days. Media critics still write magazine articles about such issues as radio consolidation, and controversial personalities such as Rush Limbaugh and Howard Stern have been the subject of numerous essays. And although it is more difficult to find radio columns in the newspaper (many newspapers have even stopped publishing radio listings, a trend that started in the late 1980s), certain stations still know how to get publicity, as do certain personalities, and certain reporters still enjoy writing about the achievements of local broadcasters. As the industry continues to change, it is safe to assume radio will keep being discussed and analyzed in the print media.

DONNA L. HALPER

See also Critics; Dunlap, Orrin E., Jr.; Fan Magazines; Kaltenborn, H.V.; Taishoff, Sol; Trade Publications

Further Reading

Many early radio magazines (and newspapers with radio columns) are available on microfilm or in actual copies at public and university libraries. The Library of American Broadcasting (University of Maryland) is one archive that holds an extensive pamphlet file including many reprinted critical articles and columns.

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Combo

Announcer-Engineer Combination

The term *combo* is short for combination. In the radio industry, the term refers to a combo announcer, one who combines announcing with engineering duties such as playing recorded music and announcements.

Like all businesses, the radio industry experienced growing pains brought by technological advances. For radio stations, one of the growing pains was a labor cost growing out of the need to hire several employees for a disc jockey program. In the early days of radio, three employees were often needed to broadcast a program: two engineers (one to operate the audio console and to play transcribed materials and another to operate the station's transmitter) and an announcer to present spoken materials. As the industry grew, and as the control room and transmitter operating equipment became more sophisticated, station managers concluded they could save money by using "combo" announcers who could also perform the functions of engineers.

In the infancy of radio, the control room of a radio station operated as follows: the announcer was positioned by a microphone to read, or possibly to ad-lib, material that went on the air. The written material was called continuity and consisted of a daily file of all commercials and public service announcements, in chronological order, to be broadcast by the station. The station log provided a schedule of the announcements and programs, notifying both the announcer and the engineer of what should be read when.

So that the announcer could read a given announcement on the air, the engineer operating the audio console would turn on the microphone using the proper switch and volume control. The volume control, more commonly known as a "fader," "pot," or "mixer," was used to control the volume of audio current. The console contained a number of these faders,

located in parallel series near the bottom of the unit. Each microphone, turntable, tape recorder, and network input had its corresponding fader. Another fader was used to control the input of a network into the console. The control room engineer had the responsibility of turning on the correct microphones or turntables and then using the fader to "ride gain," or maintain the appropriate volume for each microphone, each turntable, and so on.

The engineer at the audio control console was responsible for regulating the volume during a specific program or through a series of them. This was especially complex when radio stations broadcast live orchestras or bands, live vocalists, and live announcers. The engineer's responsibility was to regulate the volume so that the quality of transmission would not vary and so that distortion or inaudibility would not distract listeners.

In a relatively simple program, such as one in which an announcer hosted transcribed music, the engineer would turn on the switch for the correct microphone and then cue the announcer by pointing at him to begin reading or talking. During the message, the engineer would make certain the volume level was correct and would prepare to turn on the next microphone, turntable, and so on. Once the message had been read, the announcer would indicate completion of the message by pointing back at the engineer. This would be the signal for the engineer to turn off the microphone and to activate other switches for the next source of sound.

As broadcast equipment improved, stations adopted combo operations, and by the 1950s most small-market stations were combo. By "going combo," one person could operate the control room console, turntables, and tape recorders while also announcing live copy. A combo announcer had to combine several traits: an adequate voice to perform announcing duties

and sufficient manual dexterity to simultaneously operate the equipment. Not all people could fulfill both roles.

Station managers also had the combo announcer read and record meters on the station transmitter and make necessary adjustments. Because many AM stations were required to sign off at night or were required to prevent interference with other stations by using directional transmission patterns to control the station's signal, correct transmitter operation was essential.

To perform transmitter adjustments at stations transmitting a directional pattern, a Federal Communications Commission (FCC) First Class radiotelephone operator's license, known as "First Phone," was needed until 1981. Many announcers enrolled in schools that taught them the basic knowledge needed to obtain a First Phone. A person who acquired a First Phone could announce, operate control room equipment, and make transmitter adjustments. First Phone announcers were often paid more than announcers who did not have the First Class FCC license, but the financial savings were important to smaller stations. Paying one combo announcer somewhat more than an announcer without a First Phone was financially preferable to paying several staff members.

Not all AM (and eventually FM stations) employed combo announcers. Stations with union agreements generally continued to subdivide the announcing, engineering, and control room operations. However, the majority of nonunion AM and FM radio stations now use combo announcers.

The introduction of digital technology has further altered combo operations. At many stations, recorded material,

including music, commercials, and station promotional items, are placed on the hard drive of a computer. The announcer operates the audio console, but the computer controls the programming of the other items, that is, music, recorded commercials, and so on. The announcer only stops the computer for live inserts and then restarts it once the live insertion is complete. The rest of the time, the computer plays recorded music, recorded commercials, and so forth on the air in the correct order. In other cases, the announcer can also prerecord the verbal inserts he or she will include between commercials or recordings, and the computer can present the entire recorded program.

MIKE MEESKE

See also Automation; Control Board; Recording and Studio Equipment

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Comedy

Comedy on radio was a slow starter. Until the mid-1920s, music and various forms of talk provided most of the infant medium's programming. It is probably no coincidence that the most fertile period for radio comedy—and movie comedy, for that matter—was when times were hardest: the Great Depression and World War II. Americans needed the healthy release of laughter, and the young electronic medium was eager to oblige.

Vaudeville on the Air

Just as movies had first borrowed from the format of the proscenium stage—and later, television borrowed from radio—radio itself also initially borrowed from a preceding

medium, vaudeville. As the Depression deepened in the early 1930s, people had less money for live entertainment, and vaudeville performers found themselves increasingly out of work. Fortunately for them, radio was proving to have a voracious appetite for talent, and although it was a major contributor to vaudeville's demise—again, along with movies—it was also something of a savior for many of its performers. Nearly all of radio's first stars came from vaudeville: Ed Wynn, Eddie Cantor, Burns and Allen, Jack Benny, Fred Allen, and many more.

Probably radio's earliest paid entertainers were Billy Jones and Ernie Hare, a song-and-comedy-patter duo. First appearing in 1921, they were known by various names depending on their sponsors: The Happiness Boys (a candy company), The

Interwoven Pair (socks), The Best Food Boys (mayonnaise), or The Taystee Loafers (bread).

Not only did radio comedy get its performers from vaudeville, radio adopted vaudeville's form as well. A missing component was the audience itself. Initially, broadcasting executives thought that the sound of laughter might be a distraction to listeners, so members of the technical crew or other visitors to the studio were under strict orders to remain absolutely silent during the performance. This practice didn't last very long: comedians gauge their timing and modulate their acts based on audience reaction. Eddie Cantor was the first to insist that audience members not only be allowed to laugh, but *encouraged* to do so. Although there was some criticism thereafter that occasionally comedians played too much to the studio audience at the expense of listeners at home, for the most part the radio audience accepted and even came to expect a live audience's reactions.

Another missing element was, of course, sight. Whereas a comedian on stage could engage in all manner of leers, sight gags, takes and double takes, even dropping his pants if things got really desperate, all this was lost on radio. Ed Wynn, "The Perfect Fool," would dress up in costume for his radio shows, saying he thought if he looked and felt funny, he'd sound funny. Yet much of his appeal depended on the broad, physical comedy of the stage, and his radio career was only moderately successful. But once comedians and comedy writers adjusted to this limitation, they learned to exploit it, frequently using it as a magician uses misdirection. For example, in a scene from *The Jack Benny Program*, a nervous Jack is riding in his vintage Maxwell auto, nagging Rochester to watch where he's going. "But Boss," protests Rochester, "you're driving!"

Because it soon became apparent that lengthy monologs grew tiresome to home listeners, a second voice in the form of a foil or "stooge" came into vogue. Frequently it was the announcer who, after introducing the star, would stick around for a few minutes to engage in comedic dialog, usually as the straight man. Graham McNamee bantered with Ed Wynn, Jimmy Wallington with Eddie Cantor, Harry Von Zell and later Kenny Delmar with Fred Allen, and, for more than 30 years, Don Wilson sparred gently with Jack Benny. Sometimes other characters filled this role, often in dialect. Eddie Cantor played straight man to Bert Gordon's "the Mad Russian" whose frenzied opening line, "How do you doooo," never failed to get a laugh. Several comedians called upon their wives. Fred Allen's wife, Portland Hoffa, always entered off-mike screeching, "Mister Aaaallen! Mister Aaaallen!," before launching into a description of Momma's latest letter from home. Mary Livingston was always around to puncture husband Jack Benny's latest pomposity. And George Burns was the quintessential straight man to wife Gracie Allen's scatterbrained humor.

J. Fred MacDonald (1979) writes that this device allowed the comedian to better delineate his own personality. Without Mary, Jack Benny's foibles were less "real" and therefore less funny. Fred Allen—one of radio's all time great wits—needed someone to react to, establishing a kind of almost detached bemusement that was the basis for much of his observational humor.

During the 1930s, the big, expensive, star-driven comedy-variety shows were the most popular form of entertainment on the air. All had several elements in common: they usually opened with a musical number, followed by a monolog (or dialog), then more music, one or more comedy skits, usually featuring guest stars from other shows or the movies, still more music, and a short closing bit with the guest star before saying good night. This formula, with nominal variations, satisfied listeners for more than twenty years.

Ethnicity and Race

And what did audiences laugh about? Frequently they laughed at ethnicity. To the modern ear, much of the humor of that era can seem insensitive, sometimes even bordering on cruel. But this was an America still in the process of digesting the second great wave of immigration, predominantly from Southern and Eastern Europe. While immigrants themselves often listened to the radio to discover their place in the new culture, native-born Americans were tuning in to hear caricatures and stereotypes of the recent arrivals. The Irish were usually portrayed as a police officers, if not as drunks. Asians—usually Chinese—were either obsequious launderers or mysterious and inscrutable villains. Mexicans were lazy, the French were great lovers, the British insufferable prigs. These and other stereotypes were commonly understood by audiences and formed the basis for numerous jokes and comedic situations.

For example, Minerva Pious portrayed the "typical" urban Jewish housewife, Mrs. Nussbaum, who was constantly "Yid-dishizing" recognizable names, such as Emperor Shapiro-Hito (for Hirohito), Cecil B. Schlemiel (DeMille), Weinstein Churchill, and Heimie Wadsworth Longfellow. Other ethnic characters who would pop up on various shows were Jack Pearl's German Baron von Munchausen, Harry Einstein's Greek Parkyakarkas, and Mel Blanc's lazy Mexican known only as Si (pronounced sigh).

But in many ways, the ultimate ethnic stereotype was reserved for African-Americans. Just as movie audiences were accustomed to shiftless, superstitious, and subservient black characters like Stepin Fetchit, so were radio audiences offered a succession of black maids, handymen, and janitors whose foibles and frailties were often played for laughs.

But while movies at least provided employment for black actors, radio usually did not. The popular character Beulah, of *The Beulah Show*, was portrayed by a white man, Marlin

Hurt. Part of the studio presentation involved Hurt's standing among other actors with his back to the audience, turning around only to bellow his opening line in falsetto "colored" dialect, "Somebody bawl fo' Beulah?" Radio listeners could only wonder at the studio audience's astonished reaction.

The most popular, and longest running, black-impersonation act was the phenomenally successful *Amos 'n' Andy*. Freeman Gosden and Charles Correll, both white men, had come out of the minstrel tradition and they teamed up to create two black characters whose adventures spanned the entire life of radio's so-called "Golden Era." Their format eventually spawned the soap opera and the situation comedy. Another—and perhaps more revolutionary—innovation of *Amos 'n' Andy* was to create in listeners' minds a rich and varied black subculture filled with bankers, lawyers, doctors, and other professionals along with the more stereotypical scoundrels, braggarts, and ne'er-do-wells—all played by Gosden and Correll. In fact, take away the dialect, and one would be hard pressed to identify much that was particularly "black" about any of the program's plot lines or characterizations. Indeed, were it merely a minstrel show on radio, *Amos 'n' Andy* could hardly have riveted the nation's attention as it did. Listeners may have tuned in for the laughs, but they returned because of the fully developed characters and stories.

Amos 'n' Andy also influenced the creation of other programs, similar in form, if not in content. *Lum 'n' Abner* was a variation on the ethnic comedy known as the "rube" show. It featured two bumpkins who presided over the Jot 'em Down Store in the then-fictitious town of Pine Ridge, Arkansas. (In 1936, the town of Waters changed its name to Pine Ridge.) Creators Chester Lauck and Norris Goff played the title characters and everyone else who happened to come in to the store, such as Grandpappy Peabody, Snake Hogan, Doc Miller, and Squire Skimp. (Laureen Tuttle added female voices in 1937.) Sometimes the stories were complete in a single episode. Sometimes they could extend for weeks. When a woman asked Lum to watch her baby for a few moments, then disappeared, the story went on for 40 episodes.

The town of Cooper, Illinois, "40 miles from Peoria," was the setting for *Vic and Sade*. The Gooks were a so-called typical American couple who lived with their adopted son Rush "in a little house halfway up the next block." John Dunning calls the program an American original, in a category of its own making. Though it was a daily, daytime show, it was in no way a soap opera. In fact, it was not even a serial, but rather presented 10-minute sketches that individually stood on their own. In one episode, for example, Uncle Fletcher drops by the Gooks' house to make a long distance call to a family relative. But the then-complex process of getting a long distance line, coupled with the rest of the family's disputes on the proper telephone protocol, finally sends Fletcher home without ever making the call. Its creator, Paul Rhymer, populated the series

with such goofy characters as Dottie Brainfeeble, Smelly Clark, Ruthie Stembottom, and Vic's cousin Ishigan Fishigan who hailed from Sishigan, Michigan, most of whom were only referred to but never heard. It was an understated show that eschewed big laughs in favor of smiles punctuated by occasional chuckles.

Ethnic humor became considerably toned down once World War II was underway and Hitler's racist policy of Jewish extermination became more widely understood. Suddenly it was no longer quite as funny to single out a person's racial or national origins as the basis for laughs. For example, one notices a distinct difference between the prewar and postwar portrayals of Jack Benny's black valet, Rochester (Eddie Anderson). Before the war, Rochester was a razor-carrying, craps-shooting womanizer. After the war, those attributes had all but disappeared. When, in 1945, *The Abbott and Costello Show* aired a sketch involving a Jewish loan shark who wanted two quarts of Lou's blood for collateral, the public criticism was immediate and emphatic.

Character and Cliché

Early radio comedy had been based—as in vaudeville—on jokes or gags. From *The Joe Penner Show* came this exchange. Penner: "Waiter, I must say, this is not very good goulash." Waiter: "I can't understand it. I used a pair of your best goulashes." But within a very few years, radio writers' extensively cross-indexed joke reference files had been exhausted. In 1934 Eddie Cantor called for an end to gag-style comedy, saying the public was no longer fooled by dressing up the old jokes and calling them new. Eventually the gags were subordinated to comedy based on characterization. And no one was more adept at that than Jack Benny.

Benny's on-air personality developed slowly over the years. In his radio debut in 1932, he is a suave, somewhat self-deprecating host, serving up jokes and quips between musical numbers. By 1940 his character is fully realized: stingy and vain, he supposedly plays the violin badly and never admits to being older than 39. One of the most celebrated episodes of the series is particularly instructive if one listens to the audience reaction. Jack is being held up, and the pistol-wielding thief growls the immortal line, "Your money or your life." Jack's cheapness is so well understood by this time that the studio audience begins to laugh immediately, even *before* he can deliver the intended laugh line, "I'm thinking it over!"—and that only after a very long pause allowing the laughter to build.

Another comedy program that depended heavily on characterization was *The Edgar Bergen/Charlie McCarthy Show*. But the character in question wasn't even really a person—except in the minds of audiences—but rather a ventriloquist's dummy. Charlie McCarthy was depicted as a mischievous and sometimes lascivious 10-12 year old boy, with Edgar Bergen playing

a sort of ambiguous parent figure. Probably because he *was* a dummy, audiences accepted Charlie's sometimes lecherous come-ons to glamorous female guest stars. Had he actually been a child, this could have been highly objectionable.

Related to comedy based on character were the running gags or comedic clichés. These were situations or routines that became funnier by the very fact of their repetition. Audiences came to welcome each new variation on the familiar theme. Two of the most famous were the Benny-Allen feud and Fibber McGee's closet.

On one episode of his program in 1937, Fred Allen, following a dazzling guest performance by a ten-year-old violinist, ad-libbed, "Jack Benny should be ashamed of himself." Fortunately, Benny was listening and thought it was funny, so on his next program he reacted by defending his own prowess on the violin, making some disparaging remarks about Allen in the process, and the "feud" was on. The two programs played the supposed conflict for laughs until Allen finally left the air in 1949.

Fibber McGee and Molly was one of radio's longest running situation comedies. As played by real-life married couple Marian and Jim Jordan, Fibber was a lovable windbag and Molly his patient wife. This program may have had more running gags than any other, the most famous being a hall closet so stuffed full of junk that every time the door was opened everything would come crashing down in a nearly epic cacophony of sound. Listeners at home could either laugh at the closet of their imaginations or at the sound effects wizardry that went into its creation. At the end of the last clink, Fibber would inevitably say, "I've gotta clean out that closet one of these days."

War and Controversy

During World War II, radio comedy played its part in keeping homefront morale high. Most programs integrated war-related themes into their plotlines or sketches. The 1944 New Year's *Jack Benny Program* contains a sketch in which a metaphorical World Series baseball game is played between the Axis Polecats and the Allied All-Stars. Various military campaigns are transformed into hits, sacrifice flies, and walks. As the program ends, General Eisenhower is about to come to bat. Later in 1944, on *Fibber McGee and Molly*, Fibber thinks he has a brilliant idea that will revolutionize postwar travel, but he must travel from his home in Wistful Vista in order to pitch it to some government official. The trains are filled with servicemen either returning from or going on leave. No matter how hard he tries, Fibber can't get a ticket and is berated by everyone he meets for trying to take up valuable space that could be used by a soldier to get home. At the end of the program, the Jordans step out of character and appeal directly to the audience not to travel unless absolutely necessary. Comedy shows also addressed other top-

ics like scrap drives, War Bonds, victory gardens, the rubber shortage and anything else that helped out "our boys."

The war had another effect on radio comedy. During the 1930s, comedians and writers had avoided potentially controversial topics such as politics in their plots or sketches. The only notable exception to this rule was humorist Will Rogers, whose rural-flavored, good-natured ribbing made his jibes palatable. ("I don't belong to an organized political party," he would say. "I'm a Democrat.") But when Rogers was killed in a plane crash in 1935, radio comedy became essentially a controversy-free zone. For example, at one point in 1940, Fibber McGee apologized for inadvertently saying "china" on the air when he meant dishes, acknowledging that "we can't say anything controversial."

Once America was in the war in late 1941, however, radio comedy took a turn for the political: references to national and world events, governmental leaders, and current issues were woven into scripts. Among the most biting satirical of the newer generation of comedians was Henry Morgan, whose program, *Here's Morgan*, began on a local station in New York before getting a spot on the Mutual Network. He once "interviewed" a businessman in a mythical southern state who said the new governor of Georgia—formerly associated with the KKK—was great for his business, manufacturing bed sheets. On another show, in the postwar era when housing was tight, he presented a dialog between two landlords, one of whom expressed dismay that the eighth floor of his tenement had caved in. When asked if anyone was hurt, the landlord replied, "No, just tenants." He wasn't particularly kind to business institutions, either. "You know," he said, "most people think of banks as cold, heartless, large institutions. And they're wrong. There are small ones, too." This kind of humor on radio would have been almost unthinkable only a few years earlier.

Situation Comedy

The postwar era also saw the rise of the situation comedy. Aside from its pictures, the format of the modern-day TV sitcom is virtually indistinguishable from that of its radio progenitor of the 1940s. The American family was the central location for many of them—*The Great Gildersleeve*, *The Aldrich Family*, *Father Knows Best*, *Blondie*—but sitcoms also found comedy in high school (*Our Miss Brooks*), in the blue collar workplace (*The Life of Riley*), a restaurant (*Meet Me at Parky's*), and even a bar (*Duffy's Tavern*).

One of the most popular was *The Phil Harris-Alice Faye Show*, in which Jack Benny's band leader and his wife, a popular singer and film actress, played fictionalized versions of themselves. The versatile actor-director Elliot Lewis played Frankie Remley, an actual member of Harris' band. The program grew out of the many wisecracks from the Benny show about the band's supposed incompetence (though it was obvi-

ously first rate), Harris' presumed inability to read (words or music), and Remley's purported drinking. These characteristics were extended and enlarged in the sitcom, and placed within the context of the zany Harris-Faye home life and Phil and Frankie's misadventures.

MacDonald calls these shows middle-class morality tales with the family portrayed as *the* vital American institution. Plots tended to revolve around insignificant misunderstandings that were resolved by show's end. Such core values as trust, love, honesty, and tolerance always triumphed. Of the top 10 programs in the 1947 season chosen by Protestant churches as those most faithfully portraying American life, five were situation comedies.

Television Takes Charge

But by the end of the 1940s, the end of an era was drawing near. After having been postponed first by war, and then by technical problems, television was now ready to take its place as the center of family home entertainment. Radio fought its upstart competitor with, among other things, a weekly, 90-minute comedy-variety extravaganza on NBC called *The Big Show*, hosted by the Broadway and film star Tallulah Bankhead and featuring numerous guest stars from all points on the entertainment compass. But it was too *much* and too late. Though lavish and expensive, it only lasted two seasons.

Other comedians and sitcoms were rapidly jumping ship to try out the new medium. Most of the old line vaudevillians were unable to make the transition, except for occasional guest appearances on TV variety shows like *The Colgate Comedy Hour*. A few did well, however. Jack Benny first appeared on the small screen in 1950 but continued to do the radio program concurrently with television until 1955. Bob Hope also ended his radio series in 1955 and continued to perform on television for more than 30 years. Red Skelton was even more successful on television than on radio because so much of his humor was visual. His weekly television series ran from 1951 to 1971 and was usually among the highest-rated shows on the air. But the most spectacular transition from radio to television was made by Milton Berle. His radio career had been indifferent at best, but his broad, visual form of comedy was perfect for the tube. What *Amos 'n' Andy* had done for radio 20 years earlier, Berle did for television: create excitement about the new medium and sell receiving sets.

On the other hand, Fred Allen had retired from radio in 1949, a victim of falling ratings and his own poor health. He did guest spots on television but never seemed really comfortable there. Allen was a "word" man in a visual medium. His last job on the air was as a panelist on the TV game show, *What's My Line?*

One of radio's lasting legacies was the situation comedy format. Although the sitcom found success on radio, it has flour-

ished on television for even longer. Making their way to television from radio were, among others, *The Life of Riley*, *Father Knows Best*, *Burns and Allen*, *The Goldbergs*, *December Bride*, and a reworked form of Lucille Ball's radio series *My Favorite Husband*, retitled *I Love Lucy*.

Wit, Satire, and Shock

Although radio comedy on a national scale dwindled during the 1950s, replaced by local disc jockeys and personalities, there was still room for innovative young comics with a satirical edge to their humor. Bob Elliot and Ray Goulding, more familiarly known as *Bob and Ray*, had started their radio career in Boston, joining the NBC network for a daily 15-minute slot in 1951. Eventually they were heard on all the commercial networks at various times until 1960 and even did several limited series on National Public Radio in the 1980s. Their straight-faced, understated routines were frequently hilarious. They generally used no script, sometimes improvising absurd mock interviews as conducted by ace reporter Wally Ballou ("winner of seven international diction awards"), other times spoofing soap operas with scenes from *One Feller's Family* (a dig at the long-running *One Man's Family*) or *Mary Backstayge*, *Noble Wife*. The detective series, *Mr. Keen, Tracer of Lost Persons* became *Mr. Trace, Keener Than Most Persons*. They offered numerous ersatz premiums, such as the Bob and Ray Home Surgery Kit or membership in Heightwatcher's International ("six ample servings of low vitamins and nutrients in artificial colorings"). With parody, verbal nonsense, non sequitur, and wit they created what has been described as a surrealistic Dickensian repertory company, all of it clean, subtle and gentle.

Jean Shepherd's rambling, discursive, free-form style was a lineal audio descendant of that of Henry Morgan. Shepherd's program, *Night People*, was broadcast on New York's WOR from 1956 to 1977 and heard in 27 states, parts of Canada and as far south as Bermuda. He was a comic anthropologist, offering mock commentary on social and cultural trends and behavior. A radio raconteur, he would launch into a rambling chat with a central story in mind, often digressing wildly, sometimes playing "The Sheik of Araby" on the kazoo while rhythmically thumping his knuckles on his head, usually wandering back to his main point just as time was running out on his show. His extemporaneous storytelling has been compared to making pizza in the window of a restaurant.

When broadcasting was largely deregulated in the 1980s, standards for acceptable content were liberalized. This made way for so-called "shock jocks" like Morton Downey, Jr., Don Imus, and Andrew Dice Clay, radio personalities whose routine references to sex and use of crude language resulted in endless controversy, occasional fines from the FCC, and laments that the end of civilization was at hand. None have generated more notoriety than Howard Stern, self-styled King

of All Media (AKA Fartman), who parlayed a local show in New York into one of the highest-rated programs in national syndication. Stern's clownish, flamboyant brand of humor is the lowest of low brow. He frequently describes his own sexual fantasies, engages in personal attacks, and serves up his own bizarre take on current events (he once wondered how necrophiliac Jeffrey Dahmer could get a fair trial unless there were more guys on the jury who wanted to have sex with dead men). He is rude, crude, and, to fans, often very funny.

At the other end of the spectrum, both figuratively and literally (being at the bottom of the FM dial) is humor served up by public radio. *Car Talk* features Click and Clack, the Tappet Brothers (Tom and Ray Magliozzi), dispensing car advice between self-deprecating jokes, funny letters from listeners, puzzlers, and features like "Stump the Chumps," in which callers are asked if advice they got from Click and Clack some time previous was any good (frequently it wasn't, but nobody really seems to mind). Michael Feldman's *Whad'Ya Know?* is a two-hour comedy/quiz on which audience members and callers compete for whimsical prizes. *Wait Wait... Don't Tell Me* plays the week's news for laughs and offers callers who correctly answer questions the highly coveted prize of veteran newscaster Carl Castle's voice on their answering machine. *Rewind* also lampoons the news through comic skits and extemporaneous commentary from guest comedians.

The one real throwback to an earlier era is Garrison Keillor's *Prairie Home Companion*, which, ironically, has been on the air longer than any of the original comedy-variety shows. Broadcast live before a large theater audience, its form—if not its content—is somewhat reminiscent of *The Fred Allen Show*, circa 1940. Host Keillor banters with guests, introduces musical acts (and often sings himself), and performs with his troupe in various comedy sketches and fake commercials for "sponsors" like Powdermilk Bisquits and the Catsup Advisory Board. The centerpiece is a weekly 20-minute monolog, "News from Lake Wobegon," in which Keillor tells stories and ruminates on life in his mythical Minnesota home town.

Although radio has certainly not abandoned comedy, it has yielded to television its place as America's primary purveyor of laughter. Mostly gone, then, is a form of humor that depends on listeners' active participation through imagination. Susan Douglas calls this "dimensional listening." For example, Jack Benny's money vault was never as funny on television as it had been on radio, when listeners conjured up their own visions of moats, chains, gates, and a bearded guard who had not seen the light of day since the Civil War. This was radio's contribution to comedy and has since passed into aural history.

ALAN BELL

See also, in addition to performers and programs mentioned in this essay, British Radio Programming; Canadian Radio Satire; The Goon Show; Shock Jocks; Situation Comedy; Stereotypes on Radio; Variety Shows; Vaudeville

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Commentators

Expressing Opinions on News Events

During the golden age of network radio news commentary, from the late 1930s into the 1950s, some of the best known broadcast journalists regularly presented their views on domestic and world events. The term *commentator* usually refers to a journalist who provides insight, comment, or opinion about current news events or trends. Such comment may be interspersed with the news itself or, more commonly, may be presented as a separately identified program or segment. It is generally understood that such comment represents the commentator's own ideas rather than the editorial views of station or network management. In recent years, though, because of the popularity of talk radio hosts who express strong political views, the definition has become blurred.

Origins

Commentary occurred before regular radio news reports had become established. H.V. Kaltenborn was offering opinion (just as he did in his newspaper column) on New York stations in the early 1920s—as, more occasionally, did other reporters in other cities. Many were purely local in their coverage and appeal; others became nationally known names.

The agreement signed in 1933 between the radio networks and press associations to end the “Press-Radio War” served to limit the number of daily newscasts but did not affect daily commentaries “devoted to a generalization and general news situations, so long as the commentators do not report spot news.” Furthermore, unlike network newscasts, commentators could be sponsored. Many radio journalists were quickly reclassified as news commentators, and commentary got a new lease on life just as the world political situation cried for informed analysis.

Americans soon paid close attention to radio commentators, in part because they could identify more readily with the informed voice they could hear than with disembodied words on a newspaper or magazine page. Radio's commentators seemed to be reasoning with their listeners, not lecturing to them as they often seemed to be doing in print.

Determining Commentary's Place

By its nature, however, commentary deals with matters of controversy. Controversy creates diverse points of view and thus disagreements. The broadcasting industry has never been a particularly active presenter of diverse viewpoints: although they please some listeners, they will by their very nature anger others. So from the beginning, commentators faced unique pressures.

Early on, broadcasters sought a neutral or objective role in providing news and commentary. The National Association of Broadcasters added to its own code of good programming practices in 1939 a recommendation that

News shall not be selected for the purpose of furthering or hindering either side of any controversial public issue nor shall it be colored by the opinions or desires of the station or the network management, the editor or others engaged in its preparation, or the person actually delivering it over the air, or, in the case of sponsored news broadcasts, the advertiser. . . . News commentators as well as other newscasters shall be governed by those provisions.

Mutual took the loosest approach to the code, often providing commentators thought too harsh or one-sided by the other networks. National Broadcasting Company (NBC) News called for coverage devoid of all personal feeling, thought, or opinion. The Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) became the toughest of all when news head Paul White declared in 1943 that “the public interest cannot be served in radio by giving selected news analysts a preferred and one-sided position.” He went on to conclude that the news analyst's job is “to marshal the facts on any specific subject and out of his common or special knowledge to present those facts so as to inform his listeners rather than to persuade them. . . . Ideally in the case of controversial issues, the audience should be left with no impression as to which side the analyst himself actually favors.”

Kaltenborn's response to the CBS directive was that “no news analyst worth his salt could or would be completely neutral or objective. He shows his editorial bias by every selection or rejection from the vast mass of news material placed before him. Opinion is often expressed by the mere shading and emphasis.” Walter Winchell on NBC Blue huffed, “Aren't we lucky that Patrick Henry's message didn't have to be reported by the Columbia Broadcasting System.”

Pressures on commentators to tone down their message came from management (which always had a fear of alienating advertisers), from listeners unhappy with the views they heard, and often from politicians or others who were critiqued. Because advertisers paid the bills, they always had a strong say. The networks took different paths to solve the problem of perceived commentator bias. CBS and NBC attempted to stop any political slanting. On the other hand, Mutual and the American Broadcasting Companies (ABC) tried to offset bias (and, as

the weak networks, gather both listeners and sponsors) by adding more commentators with differing points of view. Reviewing commentator careers, one notes that many began on CBS or NBC and ended up on ABC or Mutual.

In 1942 an Association of Radio News Analysts (ARNA) was formed by a group of 31 New York-based commentators as a craft guild. The membership of the organization included most of the leading figures in the business. Kaltenborn was president, Elmer Davis and Raymond Gram Swing were vice presidents, and Quincy Howe became secretary-treasurer. A number of potential members were excluded because of some doubts about whether they were really offering commentary. ARNA fought for such things as a proposal by Swing to eliminate the "middle commercial" as an interruption of the analysis or commentary. On the other hand, some commentators read their own commercials and (it was reported) did so with some enthusiasm. Gabriel Heatter switched from the war against Germany "to the great war against gingivitis—gingivitis, that creeps in like a saboteur." But ARNA's primary concern focused on the right to offer commentary in the first place.

On behalf of his fellow commentators, H.V. Kaltenborn advised network and station owners to "hire the best men you can get with the money you can pay" and then

Tell them exactly what you expect, what you are trying to do with your station or network. Then give them their heads. If they get out of line, correct them. If they continually violate what you deem to be an essential policy, fire them. But don't pretend you are going to be able to prevent a commentator worth his salt from expressing his opinion.

Fang (1977) reports that the number of network news commentators rose from 6 in 1931 to about 20 when World War II began, whereas perhaps as many as 600 commentators were reporting news and analyzing events for networks and larger stations shortly after the war ended in 1945.

Examples of Radio Commentators

To supplement those radio commentators discussed in their own entries in this encyclopedia, here are brief summaries of the professional lives of a few more who were active from the 1930s to the 1960s.

Hilmar Robert Baukhage (1889–1976)

Beginning in 1932 on NBC Blue with a five-minute daily commentary, he identified himself simply as "Baukhage talking." By the 1940s, Baukhage was providing a 15-minute daily program on ABC, sometimes dealing with several topics but often focusing an extended essay on a single subject. He

added part-time broadcasts on Mutual beginning in 1948 and joined that network full-time from 1951 to 1953. He provided a no-nonsense tone to his broadcasts that many listeners appreciated.

Cecil Brown (1907–87)

Brown was one of those reporters who seemed at his best when in a struggle with someone else. Hired by Murrow in 1940 to cover Italy, he had a short fuse and thus a short network career. Paul White had trouble with Brown, who in 1943 had just returned from a national speaking tour and had commented on the air that the American people seemed to have lost interest in the war. White questioned why Brown had not qualified his statement with a comment such as "From information I received in those interviews, I gathered that Americans are losing interest in the war." The network was already concerned about Brown, who was losing his sponsors. Brown's response was to resign and to call a news conference to declare himself a victim of censorship. Quite liberal in his views (e.g., he favored racial integration earlier than most), Brown moved to ABC and then NBC and left journalism in 1967.

Boake Carter (1903–44)

In the mid-1930s, Boake (Harold Thomas Henry) Carter was for a period the most popular radio news commentator in the United States. Carter's first chance at broadcasting came in 1930, when WCAU (the CBS affiliate in Philadelphia) wanted someone to broadcast a rugby match. His big broadcast break came with the Lindbergh baby kidnapping in 1932. National exposure placed Carter on CBS radio in direct competition with other major commentators. He was soon a favorite with listeners. Carter spoke very fast and used metaphors and clichés to create images in his listeners' minds. He also liked to put himself into his stories. Despite his English background, he was a strong isolationist, developed a bitter dislike for British foreign policy, and accused the British of trying to drag the United States into the war. He increasingly attacked the Roosevelt administration. In April 1938 CBS took Carter off the air as his ratings were declining and his attacks on others had grown too harsh. He continued as a newspaper columnist until his death.

Upton Close (1894–1960)

Born Joseph Washington Hall, Close became a prominent right-wing commentator on network radio, but that is far from how he began. After early experience in and writing books about China, Close entered radio as a result of extensive public lecturing (much like Lowell Thomas at about the same time). He began offering occasional broadcasts on NBC as a Far East authority. In 1942 he began a weekly Sunday political commentary, also on NBC, called *Close-Ups of the News*. But he became more conservative and even shrill as the war went on,

and NBC, concerned with low ratings, took him off the air at the end of 1944. For another year he broadcast increasingly right-wing commentary for the Mutual network before retiring in 1946 and moving to Mexico.

Floyd Gibbons (1887–1939)

A traveler and a dashing foreign and war correspondent, Gibbons covered World War I for the *Chicago Tribune* and lost his left eye reporting on American forces fighting in Belleau Wood. For the rest of his life he wore an eye patch, which added to his adventurous image. He broadcast on the *Tribune's* WGN in 1926 and then on NBC as the *Headline Hunter* in 1929, but that program provided more entertainment than hard news. Gibbons became the first network daily newscaster in 1930 (still on NBC), sponsored by the *Literary Digest* for six months, but he was soon replaced by Lowell Thomas.

Gabriel Heatter (1890–1972)

Heatter had worked in print journalism for a number of years and had done occasional news broadcasts. As with Boake Carter, his big break came in 1933, when New York station WOR assigned him to both report and comment on the Lindbergh kidnapping murder trial on which public attention was focused at the time. Heatter continued to report and comment on world events as war broke out in 1939. His familiar catch phrase first appeared early in the war when things were not going well for the Allies. After American naval forces sank a Japanese destroyer, Heatter began his evening broadcast saying “there is good news tonight.” He continued to use the phrase throughout his career on the Mutual network, becoming known as a morale booster.

Edwin C. Hill (1884–1957)

Hill was another newspaperman (a feature writer for the *New York Sun* and King Features Syndicate) who later turned to motion pictures (his was the voice on Fox newsreels beginning in 1923) and in 1932 to radio. His *Human Side of the News* offered often sentimental features focused on people in the news. He became more politically conservative over time.

Don Hollenbeck (1905–54)

Hollenbeck worked as a print journalist, radio reporter, and photojournalist before he began broadcasting reports of World War II from London, North Africa, and Italy for the Office of War Information. He was sent to Algiers in time to join the Allied troops for the invasion of Salerno (1943). In Italy he was one of the first correspondents to begin broadcasting from Naples. On one occasion in 1946, Hollenbeck began a newscast following a singing commercial by saying, “The atrocity you have just heard is not part of this program.” Not surprisingly, by noon he was on the street looking for another job. Some years later, he lost another job for criti-

cizing Senator Joseph McCarthy. He joined CBS in 1948, but in 1954, ailing and depressed by attacks from McCarthy supporters, especially the Hearst newspapers, Hollenbeck took his own life.

Fulton Lewis Jr. (1903–66)

Lewis offered conservative commentary on the Mutual network for three decades. He worked for various Washington, D.C., newspapers in the 1920s and 1930s and became a substitute newscaster on Mutual's WOL in Washington in 1937. He was soon hotly popular on some 500 stations with his evening program touting his conservative and isolationist views, and radio became his primary medium. He led the successful battle to get broadcast reporters admitted to the congressional press galleries. He loved to feature the latest government boondoggle. He also loved to double up on adjectives to describe those he disagreed with (e.g., “an inexperienced, impractical, theoretical college professor”). He backed McCarthy in the early 1950s. He briefly tried television but was not successful. His audience began to diminish as his politics remained stuck in the far right.

Edward P. Morgan (1910–93)

After an early career in print media (newspapers and magazines), Morgan worked with CBS from 1951 to 1954 as both a broadcaster and producer, then with ABC (1955–75) where he offered commentary on radio and television. Sponsored by the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations in what was radio's last regular network evening news program, he began with news and then concluded with what he called “the shape of one man's opinion,” commenting on one or more issues in a script he prepared himself. Strongly incisive even when commenting on the media (as few in radio did), he often offered forthright, stinging critiques when he felt strongly about an event.

Drew Pearson (1897–1969)

Pearson began his journalism career as the diplomatic correspondent for both a magazine and a newspaper, where he gained extensive international experience. He was the co-author (with several others, for the longest period with Jack Anderson) of the “Washington Merry-Go-Round,” a widely syndicated newspaper column, beginning in 1932, generally taking on most conservatives and supporting liberals, all of this fed by good reporting and many leaks. In 1940 the success of the column led to his being offered a weekly NBC Blue half-hour Sunday commentary program, which carried the same kind of “hit-em-hard” investigative reporting, often about government mistakes or malfeasance. He fascinated listeners and readers alike with reports based on leaks or informants. Pearson had brief television stints on ABC and DuMont television in the early 1950s.

Howard K. Smith (1914–2002)

Smith was a Rhodes Scholar (1937–39) and worked for United Press International (1939–41). He was one of “Murrow’s Boys” when he joined CBS in Berlin in 1941 and was on the “last train” out in December 1941. Smith was the chief European correspondent for CBS after Murrow. After the war, he provided commentaries on Douglas Edwards’ television news in the 1950s on CBS. He resigned from CBS in 1961 over the degree of freedom to comment. ABC gave him a program and the freedom to comment, but the show lost its sponsor and Smith his program; he resigned from ABC in 1979.

Dorothy Thompson (1894–1961)

Dorothy Thompson began her career as a publicity writer for the women’s suffrage movement as well as for advertising agencies. She went to Europe, where she interviewed many world leaders and sold articles to the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* and the Chicago *Daily News*, becoming a permanent foreign correspondent for both—one of the earliest female foreign correspondents. She was outspoken opponent of Nazism, which led to her expulsion from Germany in 1934. She began as a radio news commentator with NBC during the 1936 political conventions and had her own weekly commentary program a year later, which lasted to early 1945. She spoke rapidly—her listeners got used to a torrent of words in her allotted 15-minute program. She was generally liberal but could be independent and sometimes confusing. She continued her newspaper column and speech-giving until the late 1950s.

Decline

With the decline of radio networks in the 1950s, commentary began to disappear. It had been a rarity on local stations even in the 1930s and 1940s. There was little room for a 15-minute news program (let alone commentary) on tightly formatted stations that tried to retain the same sound appeal at all times. Advertisers, always uncomfortable with riling up listeners with controversy, increasingly turned away from supporting such programs. A few television journalists, including Walter Cronkite, avoided commentary on their primary news medium but did offer it over radio.

What radio news survived by the 1980s and 1990s was more of a quick “rip and read” nature, “plus traffic and sports,” than anything providing in-depth reporting, let alone analysis. Talk shows with opinionated hosts (none of them journalists) replaced reasoned and thoughtful commentary, which could still be found in scattered moments on television but more consistently in the press. The quest for profit, which became stronger in the 1990s with industry consolidation, wiped out any chance that commentary might return.

Public radio offered an alternative that appealed to small but influential audiences. Daniel Schorr, for example, joined

National Public Radio in 1985 after a career on CBS and Cable News Network (CNN) and provided reasoned political and foreign affairs commentary on *All Things Considered*—thus providing a tiny remnant of what had once been a radio staple.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also All Things Considered; Collingwood, Charles; Davis, Elmer; Frederick, Pauline; Harvey, Paul; Hottel, Richard C.; Howe, Quincy; Kaltenborn, H.V.; Kuralt, Charles; Murrow, Edward R.; Osgood, Charles; Press-Radio War; Sevareid, Eric; Shirer, William L.; Swing, Raymond Gram; Thomas, Lowell; Totenberg, Nina; Trout, Robert; White, Paul

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Commercial Load

Amount of Advertising Carried on Radio

Commercial load refers to the total amount of time commercials are broadcast on radio during an hour or some other specific time period. Radio stations, unlike the print media, have a limited commercial inventory, a finite amount of time available for advertising “spots.” A broadcast hour cannot be longer than 60 minutes, and the broadcast day cannot be longer than 24 hours, whereas newspapers and magazines can add as many pages as necessary. Further, only so many commercials can be packed into each hour’s programming without losing a significant part of the audience.

At one time, the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) code recommended a limit of 18 minutes of commercials per hour on radio. But the NAB discarded the code when in 1984 the U.S. Justice Department alleged that the standards, although voluntary, violated antitrust laws by promoting limits that discouraged competition.

Historically, astute station management has carefully limited commercial load. When the legendary Bill Drake reinvented top 40 radio at KHJ in Los Angeles in the 1960s, he maintained an “iron-clad” hourly limit on commercials. Drake ordered that commercials should not exceed 13 minutes, 40 seconds per hour, nearly one-third less than the U.S. average at the time. When FM finally became successful in the late 1960s and early 1970s, listeners perceived it as the “less-commercials band,” and operators wanting to maintain their stations’ success instituted firm policies limiting the number of spot announcements per hour.

Since the top 40 hit-music format emerged in the 1950s, radio stations have grouped commercials in clusters called “spot sets” (or “stop sets”). A common approach has been to promote longer “sweeps” of uninterrupted music, a strategy that requires fewer but longer commercial breaks. However, an Arbitron/Edison Media Research study found strong support for more frequent, and shorter, spot sets. Fifty-two percent of those surveyed preferred more frequent stops with shorter blocks of commercials, while 39 percent prefer longer programming blocks and longer blocks of commercials. The findings led the report’s authors to recommend that radio stations consider changes in their spot-clustering paradigms, but only after conducting research of their own audience’s listening habits.

The number of commercial minutes each hour is entirely up to the management of each individual station. Increasingly, writers on the topic are concerned that a trend toward increasing the number of commercials per hour is having a negative effect on radio listenership. The Radio Advertising Bureau reported that radio-advertising revenue exceeded \$17 billion in 1999, up 15 percent from the previous year. However, radio

listenership had declined 12 percent over the past decade, according to the consulting firm Duncan’s American Radio, with only 15.4 percent of the national population age 12 and over listening in any quarter hour, 6 A.M. to midnight, down from 17.5 percent in 1989. One of the reasons for the decline, according to Duncan’s, is the trend toward higher spot loads. Some sources report stations airing up to 22 commercial minutes per hour.

A 2000 study by Empower MediaMarketing of Cincinnati found that the number of paid advertisements on radio stations grew by about 6 percent in the previous year. The greatest increase was in the San Francisco-Oakland-San Jose, California, market, where the number of 10-, 30-, and 60-second spots increased by 20 percent (see Kranhold, 2000). A 2001 Arbitron study found that advertisers perceived radio as the most “cluttered” mass communications medium. Although clutter (or the absence of clutter) was not considered a key criterion by most advertisers, the report recommended reducing spot loads.

Another Arbitron report suggests that higher commercial loads are turning off audiences. In the report titled “Will Your Audience Be Right Back After These Messages?” Arbitron and Edison found that 42 percent of radio listeners had noticed that stations are airing more commercials, although, interestingly, listeners are not as likely to believe that their own favorite station is playing more spots. Young listeners seem to be the most annoyed by the trend. The report found 31 percent of listeners ages 12–24 said they were listening to radio less, while 17 percent of listeners in the 25–54 demographic, and 11 percent of those 55 and older, said they were listening to less radio. The report suggests that the greater number of commercials is a major reason for the decline in time-spent-listening. Advertising agencies, on the other hand, suggest the results show the need for more entertaining commercials.

A Washington, D.C., station, WWVZ, seemingly took to heart Arbitron’s advice to reduce commercial spot loads. The station implemented a format with only two three-minute commercial breaks per hour. An advertising executive with Hill, Holliday in Boston, Karen Agresti, hailed the station’s decision. “Clutter is one of the biggest problems in radio. For a station to take a lower load is great, and I hope more will do it,” she said. WBLI-FM (Long Island, New York), a contemporary hits station, cut its commercial load from 16–17 minutes per hour to 10–11 minutes. The station gained 3.5 ratings points among its core audience, women 18–34.

In an attempt to make room for more commercials, some radio (and television) stations have begun using a device

called "Cash," which uses audio delay and "intelligent micro-editing" to create up to six minutes of additional commercial time per hour. The use of Cash drew criticism from the president of the American Association for Agencies, O. Burtch Drake. Drake said radio will not benefit in the long run from creating more clutter. "You can shoehorn more commercials in, but it hurts both the station and the advertiser," Drake said. "That's why we are taking a very strong stand against this kind of technology."

As a way to cut through the clutter, and as an alternative to hiring high-profile celebrity endorsers, some advertising agencies are advising clients to find popular local radio personalities to endorse their products.

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See also Advertising on Radio; Arbitron; Drake, Bill; National Association of Broadcasters

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Commercials. See Advertising

Commercial Tests

Determining Audience Preferences

Radio advertisers have been interested in documenting the effects of their commercials since the 1930s. And since the 1980s, when TV commercials promoting radio stations became a major advertising category for local television stations, radio broadcasters have been interested in testing the efficacy of their TV ads.

Commercials (on radio or television) may be tested at any stage in the process of developing a campaign. For example, concept testing is conducted during the planning and writing stages. The campaign's appeal or its basic assumptions may be studied in focus group discussions. *Focus groups* are groups of survey participants who are chosen for their relevance to the

research topic and guided through group discussions of that topic; for example, an advertiser wishing to test the potential effectiveness of a campaign to promote diapers would probably choose young mothers for participants in its focus group discussion.

Each version of an ad to be studied in commercial testing is referred to as an *execution*. If more than one execution has been created for a campaign, the object of commercial testing is to determine which execution will be more effective in producing the desired results for the advertiser. However, only relatively large advertisers produce more than one execution for a campaign. In terms of the number of commercials submitted to testing, the most common situation is a test of a single execution. In this case, the aim of commercial testing is to determine how well the commercial performs with each of its potential target audiences. In addition, testing may suggest the kind of media purchase justified by the effectiveness of the commercial. A poor commercial may not justify heavy spending on media.

What is measured in commercial testing? The most popular measures are called *scorecard measures*. They include recall, copy point recall, affinity toward brand or toward product and/or service, intent to purchase, and comparative brand preference.

Advertising strategists assume that *recall* (remembering) is produced by attention, so measurement of a subject's recall of advertisements is actually a measure of his/her attention to those ads at the time they were presented. Decades of research into advertising indicates that, by itself, consumer recall of a brand or product name is not a powerful inducement to purchase. Because of the relatively simple process for measuring recall and the straightforward analysis of data collected, however, the measure continues to be popular. A typical study to assess recall involves recruiting (by telephone) a sample of adults who watch television during known hours and who are interested in the kind of radio station portrayed in the TV commercial purchased to promote the radio station. Each recruited respondent is sent a videocassette containing a television program in which the test commercial and others are embedded. The morning after viewing the video, an interviewer calls to ask each study participant which products and services appeared in the video and what companies were represented. If 80 percent of respondents recall station KATT, then the recall score is 80 for KATT.

When using *copy point recall*, interviewers ask specific questions about features of the targeted product or features of the commercial. If 60 percent of all respondents can recall the key points from the commercial, the copy point recall is 60.

Affinity is a measure of what a person likes. It is assumed that when a consumer likes (has an affinity for) a product or sponsor, then he/she is more likely to purchase the product. Advertising research confirms a positive correlation between

liking and purchase, but the relationship is not strong. Researchers often suspect that liking comes from previous exposures to the product. If a listener tunes to only one call-in show host, even if that consumer rarely listens to that host, the listener may report liking the host out of proportion to the amount of actual listening that takes place. Affinity can also be measured by scales that reflect several dimensions of liking. There is a growing preference for this kind of measure, as it may explain what considerations affect the magnitude of affinity in general. In the case of a call-in show host, listeners may like the fairness of the host and his/her treatment of callers but dislike the topics chosen for discussion on the show. This dislike for topics is likely to account for a lower-than-expected general affinity. Also, liking a product is often quite different from liking its manufacturer or dealer. The owner of a particular brand of car may dislike the quality of service provided by the dealer, so on the general affinity measure, the consumer reflects dislike although he/she retains a strong affinity for the car brand.

The *intent to purchase* question asked of a respondent may be as simple as, "Are you more likely to listen to station KATT after hearing this promotion?" Or the question may be embedded in a scenario such as "Suppose that you go to the store because you have run out of milk. You are making a special trip just for this product. When you get to the store, your favorite brand is sold out. What are the odds that you will go to another store rather than try the brand in this commercial, which is available in your store?" Advertising research shows that intent to purchase is a complicated mental process for the consumer. If a young man has been wearing the same brand of jeans for a number of years and has been pleased with that brand, a long period of time will be required to effect a change of preference to another brand (assuming the brands are similar). So exposure to a test of a radio commercial for the new brand may produce very little change in the intent measure, but that small change may be significant because the consumer previously had never considered a change in brands. This is an especially important point when the products are radio stations, as a consumer's attachment to a radio station is rarely a rational process subject to logical argument. Transfer of emotional allegiances to radio stations may initially occur very slowly, then accelerate at surprising speed.

The commercial test measure of *comparative brand preference* has considerable face validity (that is, it appears to be quite useful and reliable) for advertisers. But it is sometimes complicated to incorporate into a commercial test, and advertising research firms have risen or fallen in the past based on their handling of this measure. A typical comparative preference item might be, "If the brand you currently use was priced at \$1.00 and you considered that price fair, what price would be fair for the product you heard about in the commercial?"

Tests of commercials can be performed by nearly all local market research firms. They can also be contracted for by large national firms known for commercial testing, such as Gallup and Robinson or Mapes and Ross.

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See also Audience Research Methods

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Communications Act of 1934

Since 19 June 1934, the often-amended Communications Act of 1934 has served as the basic federal statute governing most forms of interstate and foreign wireless and wired electronic communications originating in the United States. Currently codified in Title 47 of the *United States Code*, the Act created the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) as the expert administrator of the statute. The act sets basic standards for radio station ownership, licensing, and operation in the public interest in the United States and its possessions. Congress' authority to legislate in this area is based on the Commerce Clause of the U.S. Constitution (Article I, Sec. 8). Congress posits that all uses of the electromagnetic spectrum are inherently interstate in nature.

Statutory History

The Communications Act of 1934 repealed and replaced the earlier Radio Act of 1927, itself the first federal statute dealing with broadcasting. The 1934 Act, a quintessential example of "New Deal" legislation, grew from a 1933 Department of Commerce study aimed at assessing the adequacy of federal regulation of electronic media. Decrying the division of regulatory powers among various agencies, the study recommended that Congress consolidate authority over almost all forms of interstate electronic media in a single regulatory agency. The resulting act abolished the Federal Radio Commission, whose authority had been limited to users of the electromagnetic spectrum (including radio stations) and transferred authority to a reconstructed and enlarged entity, the Federal Communications Commission. It shifted responsibility for interstate

wired telephony and telegraphy from the Interstate Commerce Commission to the FCC. Portions of the 1934 Act dealing with broadcasting were, for the most part, unchanged from the earlier Radio Act of 1927. The primary purpose of the new law was to strengthen federal oversight of the telephone and telegraph industries and, by placing authority over radio, telephony, and telegraphy in a single agency, to recognize that the industries overlapped somewhat.

The act has been frequently amended since 1934. Most revisions modify just a few sections of the law. Congress, for example, has repeatedly changed parts of the act regulating how broadcasters treat candidates for public office. But Congress has also found it necessary to sometimes adapt the law to large changes in the field of telecommunications that were unanticipated in 1934. Major electronic media revisions have dealt with communications satellites (1962, 1999), public broadcasting (1968), and cable television (1984, 1992). Substantial revision with the Telecommunications Act of 1996 reflected congressional recognition that previously distinct parts of the electronic media were converging and sought to enhance competition between and within segments of the electronic media and, through reliance on marketplace-induced discipline, chipped away at the New Deal philosophy that the FCC's notion of what was in the public interest was inherently preferable to relying on what industry players would do in response to consumer demand. Although the act was written when television was in its infancy, it proved unnecessary to substantially amend it when television emerged in the 1940s and 1950s. For the most part, the radio provisions of the act were simply applied to television.

The Act, the FCC, and Related Agencies

In some respects, the act functions as a bare-bones framework for federal control of electronic media. The agency it created, the FCC, is frequently relied upon to fill in details through enactment of rules and regulations that must be consistent with the act. Radio broadcasters must comply with these FCC rules and regulations as well as with the language of the statute. Other federal laws, dealing with matters such as antitrust law, copyright law, and advertising law, also apply to radio, although they are not administered by the FCC. The federal statute preempts most state or local regulation of broadcasting, although general business, taxation, zoning, equal employment opportunity, and labor laws at the state level apply as long as they do not conflict with federal law.

Under the act, appeals of FCC decisions and actions are usually brought to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit, although appeals may sometimes begin in other circuits. Appeals of most FCC enforcement actions not involving licensing go to the U.S. District Courts. The U.S. Supreme Court has occasionally issued significant interpretations of the act. Only twice, however, has the Court found any part of the act unconstitutional: once, in 1996, when Congress tried to regulate indecent internet content, and earlier, in 1984, after Congress prohibited noncommercial educational broadcasters from supporting or opposing candidates for public office.

Major Provisions

Like the Radio Act of 1927, the 1934 Act mandates that the FCC regulate broadcasting in the “public interest, convenience or necessity” (Sec. 307[a]).

The act reenacted the parts of the Radio Act of 1927 that made the FCC a “technical traffic cop” of the air, so it authorizes the commission to set technical standards for radio. The FCC allocates spectrum space to all users except the federal government (whose spectrum use is overseen by the National Telecommunications and Information Administration, a part of the Department of Commerce). In times of national emergency, the act authorizes the president to assume control over all spectrum users, although that has never happened.

Under the act, radio station licenses can be granted for up to eight years. Since radio in the United States is a mature industry, with most licenses granted years ago, broadcasters rarely enter the industry by starting a new station. Rather, most enter the field by purchasing existing stations, a process that requires FCC approval. The act does not give the FCC power to directly regulate radio networks or program suppliers except insofar as those networks are also licensees of stations.

Prior to amendments in 1996, the act allowed for another party to file a competing application against a renewal applicant, and this often led to hearings in which the FCC com-

pared the incumbent to the challenger. In 1996, however, Congress amended the act and eliminated such comparative hearings. Now, the FCC cannot entertain competing applications unless it first finds the incumbent unqualified for renewal. Under the act, broadcasters must be renewed if the station has “served the public interest, convenience, and necessity,” if the station has not committed “serious violations . . . of [the] Act or the rules and regulations of the Commission; and . . . there have been no other violations by the licensee of [the] Act or the rules and regulations of the Commission which, taken together, would constitute a pattern of abuse” (Sec. 309[k][1]). It remains possible for outsiders to intervene in the licensing process, however, because the statute still allows anyone to file a Petition to Deny with the FCC, arguing that the incumbent’s application for renewal should not be granted. Absent grievous misbehavior, however, incumbents are nearly automatically renewed.

The licensing standards are a mixture of statutory requirements and regulatory requirements created by the FCC. Licensees must be legally, financially, and technically qualified. Under the statute, the ownership of radio licenses by foreigners remains strictly limited to no more than 20 percent of total stock.

The act has been amended to require that most users of the electromagnetic spectrum (e.g., cellular phone systems and common-carrier satellite services) pay spectrum use fees, usually set through spectrum auctions. Congress, however, generally prohibits the FCC from charging broadcasters for spectrum. The theory is that, in exchange for free use of the spectrum, broadcasters provide free over-the-air broadcast services that promote the public interest. Broadcasters do pay small regulatory fees for such things as the processing of license applications by the FCC. Congress expects the FCC, through such fees, to recover annually an amount equal to its own cost of operation. In an economic sense, the FCC is expected to be minimally self-sustaining and, through spectrum auctions where they do apply, to generate substantial surplus revenue for the U.S. treasury.

In 1996 Congress amended the act and greatly liberalized radio ownership. It prohibited the FCC from setting any national limit on the number of stations owned and directed the commission to study (and presumably relax) within-market radio ownership limits.

Regulating Content

The act has long been schizophrenic about the regulation of radio content. Concerned about how they were treated by radio broadcasters, Congress directed in the Radio Act of 1927 that broadcasters provide equal opportunities for opposing candidates for public office to use stations. These provisions, sometimes erroneously called “equal-time” laws,

were reenacted in the 1934 Act and, with some modifications, continue today. The provisions stipulate that radio (and television) broadcasters must treat legally qualified opposing candidates for all elected political offices alike. If a broadcaster, for example, sells advertising time to one candidate, the radio station must, within certain time limits, be prepared to sell equal amounts of time, with comparable audience potential, to opposing candidates at the same rate charged the first candidate. In 1959, however, Congress amended Sec. 315 of the act to exempt most news-related programming from these requirements. In 1971, Congress mandated in a new Sec. 312 [a] [7] that radio stations must provide for “reasonable access” to their stations by legally qualified candidates for federal elective office only—state and local offices such as governor or mayor are excluded—but commercial radio stations can fulfill this requirement exclusively through paid advertising time (Sec. 312[a][7]). During the 45 days before a primary election and the 60 days before a general election, the act specifies that candidates for any office cannot be charged more than the “lowest unit charge” for advertising on stations, and they can never be charged more than other commercial advertisers are charged for comparable uses. When candidates make use of stations under these sections of the act, broadcasters are powerless to censor what candidates say, even if their uses may be libelous, obscene, or offensive to viewers—and thus cannot be held legally liable for what a candidate says.

Despite this regulation of political content, the act’s Sec. 326, in language from the Radio Act of 1927, prohibits the FCC from exercising “censorship over the radio communications or signals transmitted by any radio station” and states that “no regulation or condition shall be promulgated or fixed by the commission which shall interfere with the right of free speech by means of radio communication.” But, in possibly contradictory terms, it also requires the FCC to regulate radio in the public interest. Between 1934 and 1984, the FCC—relying on the generic public-interest standard—exercised broad, categorical regulation of radio content. Congress has not interfered in the commission’s modern pursuit of marketplace-based deregulation and has agreed with the FCC that relying on the marketplace is consistent with the public-interest standard of the act.

The Radio Act of 1927 and the Communications Act of 1934 as originally enacted by Congress forbade the broadcast of “obscene, indecent or profane utterances” by radio. In 1948, however, these sections were moved by Congress from the Communications Act to the United States Criminal Code (18 U.S.C. sec. 1464). Acting under the public-interest por-

tions of the act, however, the FCC continues to enforce regulations that prohibit obscene radio broadcasts and that attempt to channel indecent broadcasts to times of day when few children are listening.

The statutory framework created by Congress in 1927 and 1934 has proven to be durable and flexible. Without major modification, it accommodated the displacement of AM radio by FM and the creation of satellite-delivered digital radio services. In the early 21st century, it appears that analog terrestrial radio broadcasting, a technology of the 1920s, can be replaced with DAB without major changes to this long-lived statute.

HERBERT A. TERRY

See also Equal Time Rule; Federal Communications Commission; Federal Radio Commission; Licensing; Obscenity/Indecency on Radio; Public Broadcasting Act; Regulation; Telecommunications Act of 1996; United States Congress and Radio; Wireless Acts of 1910 and 1912/Radio Acts of 1912 and 1927

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Community Radio

Small FM Noncommercial Stations

More than any other broadcast medium, community radio reflects the cultural diversity of a region. In the United States, for example, KILI in Porcupine, South Dakota, airs a morning drive program in the Native American Lakota language; Monterey, Virginia's WVLS broadcasts volunteer-produced community-affairs programs across the Shenandoah Valley. KRZA in Alamosa, New Mexico, offers bilingual programming to southern Colorado and northern New Mexico, and WWOZ fills the New Orleans airwaves with early and modern jazz, blues, gospel, and funk.

Community radio stations may be found in isolated hamlets and major cities. They may feature highly eclectic programming or be geared to serving one community exclusively. In spite of their differences, community stations have several qualities in common: they are governed by the communities they serve; they provide a sounding board for local politics and culture; and they are committed to reaching groups, particularly women and minorities, overlooked by other broadcasters. Community radio stations follow the Pacifica Foundation's practices of volunteer programming and listener sponsorship. Like the Pacifica stations, community stations often feature eclectic music and politically activist news and public-affairs programming. However, these stations tend to be smaller and less structured than Pacifica's high-profile stations. In addition, community stations are locally governed, whereas the licenses of Pacifica stations are held by a central board of directors.

Community radio's history began in 1962 when a former Pacifica KPFA station volunteer, Lorenzo Milam, founded KRAB-FM in Seattle, Washington. Whereas Pacifica was somewhat staid, with a more or less paternalistic approach to programming at the time, Milam embraced the then unheard of notion that radio stations should be run by the listeners themselves. Milam was a man of some financial means, and he eagerly committed his resources to his vision of a truly "public" radio system. In 1968 Milam and his partner, Jeremy Lansman, founded KBOO in Portland, Oregon, and KDNA in St. Louis, Missouri. Following a series of conflicts between the station's primarily white management and the African-American community, Milam and Lansman sold KDNA to a commercial firm in 1973 for more than \$1 million. They used the sale's proceeds to fund 14 community stations around the country in the early 1970s.

The whimsy of Milam's and Lansman's intentions is reflected in the call letters for stations in what they termed the "KRAB Nebula": WORT in Madison, Wisconsin; WDNA in Miami; KOTO in Telluride, Colorado; WAIF in Cincinnati, Ohio; and KCHU ("the wettest spot on the dial") in Dallas,

Texas. During the mid-1970s, a community station's typical broadcast day might consist of

... music from India blended with readings from esoteric magazines, blues and jazz from very old or very new recordings and the '50s rock and roll antics of Screamin' Jay Hawkins' "I Put a Spell On You," followed by a rare classical recording by Enrico Caruso. Later in the week [listeners] may have turned to a feminist talk program, a program for the gay community ... a 12-tone music program, poetry, a noon-hour interview with a flamenco guitarist, music of the Caribbean, news from the Reuters wire service and tapes of speeches by political activists of the '60s. Programs wouldn't necessarily appear at the right times, some announcers had difficulty pronouncing the titles of the works they were introducing, microphones wouldn't always be opened in time to allow a speaker to be heard, and much laughter was heard (Routt, et al., 1978).

Community conflicts at KCHU in Dallas led to Milam's withdrawal from the community radio movement. KCHU signed off the air on 1 September 1977, the first community station to cease broadcasting since KPFA's temporary sign-off in 1950.

Nevertheless, the community radio movement continued to grow. In 1975 the National Federation of Community Broadcasters (NFCB) was founded in Washington, D.C., as a professional support and advocacy group by 25 community stations. The community radio movement gradually moved beyond its counter-cultural past to embrace an array of minority-controlled stations serving Native American, Hispanic, and African-American communities. By the late 1990s the NFCB counted 140 member stations around the country. Of these stations, 46 percent are minority operated, and 41 percent serve rural communities. At the same time, many community radio stations in major metropolitan areas face the "mission versus audience" dilemma that plagues the public radio system. Do these stations stay true to their original mission of serving a variety of small audiences, or do they focus on capturing a single, larger, and more affluent audience? To ensure their financial survival, some large-market community radio stations have followed their Pacifica counterparts in abandoning their traditional, freewheeling eclecticism in favor of more homogeneous programming designed to attract "marketable" audiences.

At these and other community radio stations, debates over policy, programming, and funding are commonplace. Because

of the strong ideological commitment of their participants, relations between volunteers (as well as between volunteers and staffers) may be emotionally charged and highly fractious. Democracy has never been noted for its efficiency, and, at times, dominant factions within community radio stations have adopted authoritarian models of leadership that are the antithesis of community broadcasting. Yet, despite a chronic lack of funds and occasional internecine conflicts, community radio stations continue to erase the line between broadcasters and listeners. Their accessibility, as well as the range of their programming, makes community radio in the eyes of many people the closest approximation to the ideal of "public" broadcasting in the United States.

TOM MCCOURT

See also Alternative Format; Australian Aboriginal Radio; Canadian Radio and Multiculturalism; College Radio; Localism in Radio; Low-Power Radio/Microradio; Milam, Lorenzo; National Federation of Community Broadcasters; Native American Radio; Pacifica Foundation; Ten-Watt Stations

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CONELRAD

Emergency Warning System

Instituted in 1951, CONELRAD served as America's first mandated nationwide emergency broadcast notification program. It was a direct result of official fears that Russian planes might try striking the United States with atomic bombs.

Only a decade earlier, Japanese aircraft had devastated Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, thus pulling the United States into World War II. Later, members of the Japanese attack force admitted that they had easily navigated to their target by simply homing in on the AM radio signal of Honolulu station KGMB. American military leaders and civil defense planners would not soon forget such a *modus operandi*, and so they sought to develop a way to keep local broadcast communication flowing without providing a beacon for an enemy.

Soviet Russia's 1949 acquisition of nuclear weaponry reminded nervous U.S. officials that bombers poised to deliver nuclear warheads could adroitly locate any of the several thousand American communities that had an AM radio outlet. On any given day or night in the New York metropolitan area, for example, each Russian flyer in the attacking squadron would

have his choice of any one of over a dozen strong, standard broadcast stations. And to make matters worse, maps that ordinary folk, as well as spies, could buy from the federal government for a couple of dollars pinpointed the exact whereabouts of every significant AM transmitter tower.

In 1951 President Harry Truman approved a plan to control all domestic radio waves so that navigators in enemy aircraft could not be aided by listening to an American broadcast station. The plan for control of *electromagnetic radiation*, which was simplified into the acronym "CONELRAD," was in practice a complex scheme of transmitter sign-offs and sign-ons, power reductions, and frequency shifts designed to confound hostile bomber crews. It had the potential to confuse loyal Americans, too.

A civil defense pamphlet printed shortly after CONELRAD's implementation explained that "at the first indication of enemy bombers approaching the United States, [the Commanding Officer of the Air Division Defense or higher military authority will instruct] all television and FM radio stations to

go off the air.” In the days before portable, battery-powered TVs or FM personal or automobile radios, no one considered either service a reliable means of conveying emergency information. Typically, television and FM stations received their cue to sign off through a silence-sensor device that detected the sudden absence of key AM outlets, which had also been ordered to be quiet. In daisy-chain fashion, all television, FM, and AM stations would go silent. Along with the TV and FM facilities, many of these AM stations were required to stay dark in order to make way for certain designated CONELRAD AM stations that, during the brief shutdown, had quickly switched their transmitter frequency to either 640 or 1240 kilohertz (whichever was closest to each particular station’s regular Federal Communications Commission (FCC)-assigned dial position) and then returned to the air with less than normal output power. Understandably, antenna systems customized for, say, 1600 kilohertz, suffered efficiency loss when coupled to a jury-rigged 1240-kilohertz transmitter. Officials admitted that “the changeover to CONELRAD [frequency and power level] takes a few minutes” and suggested that the understandably anxious public “not be alarmed by the radio silence in the meanwhile.”

Once the participating CONELRAD stations resumed broadcasting on their new (640-kilohertz or 1240-kilohertz) wavelength, they were all required to air the same emergency programming instructing the citizenry what to do next. During this information transmission, the CONELRAD outlets would sequentially shut down momentarily. The idea was to have, at any given time during the crisis, ample operating CONELRAD stations to reach the public while making normal radio station frequency, city-of-origin guides, and transmitter tower maps completely useless from an air-navigational standpoint.

In theory, attempting to decipher the true identity of a CONELRAD station would be like trying to identify which person, in an auditorium filled with whisperers, was intermittently whispering. In practice, though, not all of these elaborately cloaked CONELRAD facilities were effective conduits for vital communication. This was especially true at 1240 kilohertz, to which many of the participating stations were switched. In CONELRAD test runs, suburbanites near New Brunswick, New Jersey, tuning to the 1240 spot occupied by local WCTC and not-too-distant WNEW (now WBBR) New York heard little there but unintelligible cross-talk interference. The 640-kilohertz CONELRAD setup was the better bet. On that less crowded lower dial position, the result included noticeable station overlapping and some heterodyne whistling, but it delivered readable signals to much of the country.

A young broadcast buff, Donald Browne, recalled rushing home in late April of 1961 from his Bridgeport, Connecticut, high school to catch a CONELRAD dress rehearsal. He described this final CONELRAD system-wide test as sounding

“real spooky,” like something from *The Twilight Zone* television show. Browne noted that “several primary stations could be heard simultaneously on 640, all with the same program, each slightly delayed or out of phase with the others, like one weird echo effect . . . and probably scaring more listeners than they informed.”

Most Cold War-era radio audiences took CONELRAD quite seriously. The government asked broadcasters to tout the warning system by ubiquitously airing public service announcements capped with a tiny jingle that went, “Six-forty, twelve-forty . . . Con-el-rad.” Then people were urged to “mark those numbers on [their] radio set, now!” Starting in 1953, though, every AM radio sold in America was required to have a civil defense logo triangle factory-printed on its dial at 640 and at 1240 kilohertz.

In addition, CONELRAD regulations touched the amateur or “ham” radio community. As with commercial broadcast outlets, amateur stations were required to cease transmitting at the first sign of a CONELRAD activation. The consumer electronics maker *Heathkit* offered an inexpensive automatic alarm unit that would ring a bell and immediately cut off one’s ham transmitter if any local broadcast station being monitored suddenly left the air. CONELRAD architects could take no chances with some unwitting 25-watt radio hobbyist who might innocently mention his backyard antenna’s whereabouts during an atomic enemy sortie. Hams as well as staff at non-participating CONELRAD radio and TV stations knew to listen closely to the official 640/1240 facilities for the “Radio All Clear.” Initiated by the Air Defense Commander (or higher military official), this relief meant that the CONELRAD emergency test had ended and heralded the resumption of normal transmissions over regular AM, FM, TV, amateur, and other FCC-licensed frequencies.

By the early 1960s, Soviet missiles, including those they briefly positioned in Cuba, made up a nuclear weapon delivery system far more sophisticated than an airplane navigated via some unsuspecting pop music radio station. Therefore, in 1963 CONELRAD was scrapped as obsolete. Its cumbersome 640/1240 frequency shifting, power reducing, and on/off sequencing went the way of the wind, but positive aspects of CONELRAD’s warning scheme (such as employing a series of primary, participating stations to reach the public) were revamped into the Emergency Broadcast System, which stayed in effect through 1996, when it, in turn, was superseded by the Emergency Alert System.

PETER E. HUNN

See also Emergency Broadcasting System

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Conrad, Frank 1874–1941

U.S. Engineer and Pioneer Broadcaster

Frank Conrad was an engineer working for the Westinghouse Company when he began experimental broadcasts that led to the development of historic radio station KDKA in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, often described as the birthplace of broadcasting.

Conrad had dropped out of school in the seventh grade, but his curiosity and determination led to employment as a bench assistant in the Pittsburgh laboratory of Westinghouse in 1890. Because of his unusual motivation and mathematical ability, Conrad was able to work his way up in the company's engineering department and was assigned to the testing of electronic equipment. Along with this technical work at Westinghouse, Conrad devoted much of his time at his home in Wilkesburg, near Pittsburgh, to electronic experimentation. Based on a wager concerning the accuracy of his watch, he constructed a wireless system in 1915 to receive time signals from the Naval Observatory station in Virginia. Becoming increasingly immersed in his radio interest, Conrad expanded the amateur wireless station located in his garage, licensing it as 8XK in 1916.

On 7 April 1917, following the entry of the United States into World War I, the government canceled the licenses of amateur stations, including that of 8XK, although Conrad did receive authorization to use the facility for periodic testing of Westinghouse military wireless equipment during the war. After the ban on amateur wireless was lifted in early October 1919, Conrad reestablished 8XK and began regular broadcasting. Much of the content of these early on-air efforts involved descriptions of the equipment being used by the station.

By mid-October 1919, Conrad was tiring of reading newspapers into the microphone and offering on-air recitations concerning the 8XK equipment, but he continued to be fascinated with broadcasting, especially with responses from listeners who described the strength of the 8XK signals. To minimize the need for constant talking and to further entice listeners, Conrad placed a phonograph in front of his microphone and began broadcasting recorded music. Listener response was

positive, and growing requests for specific selections led Conrad to turn to the Hamilton Music Store in Wilkesburg for additional recordings. The store complied, with the proviso that Conrad announce the availability of this music at the store. For two hours each Wednesday and Saturday, Conrad played his recordings, and the store reported increased sales of the music heard on 8XK. Thus radio, music, promotion, and advertising came together in a manner very foretelling of the future. This content was also supplemented with live music, both vocal and instrumental, and Conrad's two sons occasionally spelled their father as on-air hosts for this pioneer variety programming.

By September 1920, the station was drawing so many listeners that the Joseph Horne Department Store placed an announcement in the Pittsburgh *Sun* describing the Conrad broadcasts and advertising the availability of wireless sets for sale at the store, with prices starting at \$10.

Harry P. Davis, a Westinghouse vice president, took note of the announcement and conceived the idea that the future profitability of Westinghouse lay in the manufacture of receiving sets, the sales of which could be greatly stimulated if listeners were provided with reliable signals and programming designed to capture their interest and attention. Davis convinced other company executives of the value of this opportunity for a profitable Westinghouse role in electronic communication, and the company submitted an application for a license on 16 October 1920. The license, specifying the call letters KDKA, arrived on 27 October, and Westinghouse hastily constructed a station, locating a studio in a tent on the roof of a building near the KDKA transmitter. KDKA was on the air in time for the station to begin broadcasting on election night, 2 November 1920, a date used by some historians to mark the actual inauguration of broadcasting in the United States. Frank Conrad, however, was not on hand at KDKA for this momentous event. He was standing by, back in Wilkesburg at 8XK, ready to fill in on the air if trouble occurred at the Pittsburgh station.



Frank Conrad
 Courtesy Library of American Broadcasting

In 1921 Frank Conrad became assistant chief engineer at the Westinghouse Company and continued with experiments and improvements in radio, including work with signals of different frequencies and with the reflection of sky waves from an ionized layer above the Earth. At a conference in London in 1924, Conrad demonstrated the use of shortwaves for long-

distance broadcasting. He also directed Westinghouse efforts in the improvement of designs for transmitting and receiving equipment during the 1930s, earning 178 patents during his career.

B.R. SMITH

See also KDKA; Westinghouse

Frank Conrad. Born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 4 May 1874. Attended Starrett Grammar School through seventh grade; hired by Westinghouse in 1890; appointed general engineer at Westinghouse, 1904; received license to put experimental station 8XK on the air, 1916; KDKA licensed 27 October 1920 and began broadcasting 2 November 1920. Received Morris Liebmann Prize, Institute of Radio Engineers, 1926; honorary degree, University of Pittsburgh, 1928; Edison Medal, American Institute of Electrical Engineers, 1931; John Scott Medal, Institute of Philadelphia, 1933; Lamme Medal, American Institute of Electrical Engineers, 1936; Gold Medal, American Institute of the City of New York, 1940. Died in Miami, Florida, 10 December 1941.

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Conrad, William 1920–1994

U.S. Radio, Television, and Film Performer and Director

William Conrad's vocal ability and full bass voice were the key to his early and long-lasting success in radio. Unlike many other radio actors, however, Conrad also became a successful director and producer for film and television and had a long and varied career.

Conrad was born to a theater-owning family in Kentucky who moved to Southern California when he was still a small boy. His initial radio experience came at age 17 when he took on announcing and later writing and directing roles at Los Angeles (Beverly Hills) station KMPC. His bass voice was already very expressive, especially for a teenager. He attended but appears not to have graduated from Fullerton Junior College (now California State University, Fullerton). During World War II, Conrad served initially as a fighter pilot with the U.S. Army Air Force until he was grounded because of night blindness. He finished his military obligation as a producer and director for the Armed Forces Radio Service.

Radio Work

Conrad is best known in radio history for his appearance as U.S. Marshall Matt Dillon in 480 episodes of the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) series *Gunsmoke*, broadcast from 1952 to 1961. His opening statement (recorded in 1952 and reused for years) remains in the minds of listeners:

I'm that man, Matt Dillon, United States Marshall. The first man they look for and the last they want to meet . . . it's a chancy job, and it makes a man watchful, and a little lonely.

Before the program first appeared on television in 1955, the radio cast was given perfunctory auditions, but none of the radio performers transferred to the visual medium. Conrad had by then become a rotund man far different from the image he had created with his magnificent voice. He remained bitter for many years about the loss of the television role.

During this period, Conrad also played a variety of characters on many other radio series, including *The Whistler*, *Romance*, *The Lux Radio Theatre*, *Suspense*, *The Screen Guild Players*, and *The Philip Morris Playhouse*. His voice opened alternate weekly episodes of *Escape* (1947–54). For a period, he was appearing in 10 to 15 radio programs every week. Conrad later estimated he had appeared in no fewer than 7,500 radio broadcasts.

Film and Television Work

Beginning in the late 1940s, Conrad focused on film appearances, beginning with his film debut in *The Killers* in 1946. His success in performing the villain and other character roles obtained him roles in *Body and Soul* (1947), *Sorry, Wrong Number* (1948), and *East Side, West Side* (1949). His supporting roles continued more sporadically in the 1950s and included *The Naked Jungle* (1954) and *The Conqueror* (1956), but were too few and far between. Conrad thus began a related but more successful career as a producer or director of both films and television series. He was under contract to Warner Brothers as a producer and director for 15 years.

Conrad reached the peak of his career not in radio or films, but in television. He played the eponymous role of detective *Cannon* in the 1970s, appeared more briefly on *Nero Wolfe* in 1981, and finally played the older and more experienced man in the aptly named *Jake and the Fat Man* from 1987 to 1992. In the background Conrad undertook many television tasks, as narrator of various series and as the producer or director of others. He died on 11 February 1994 in North Hollywood, California.

EDD APPLGATE AND CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

William Conrad. Born in Louisville, Kentucky, 27 September 1920. Attended Fullerton (California) Junior College. Served as a fighter pilot in the U. S. Army Air Force, 1943–45. Worked as an announcer at radio station, KMPC, Los Angeles, California; actor-producer for radio series, *The Hermit's Cave*, 1935–mid 40s; film debut, *The Killers*, 1946; starred in radio series, *Gunsmoke*, 1952–61; directed television episodes of *Gunsmoke*, 1955; supporting actor in radio and television; directed and produced for radio, motion picture, and television; starred in several television series; well known narrator, including *The Bullwinkle Show* and *Buck Rogers in the 25th Century*. Died in Hollywood, California, 11 February 1994.

Radio Series

1935–mid 40s	<i>The Hermit's Cave</i>
1946–52	<i>The Count of Monte Cristo</i>
1947	<i>Johnny Modero: Pier 23</i>
1947–54	<i>Escape</i>
1948	<i>The Front Page</i>
1948–50	<i>The Damon Runyon Theater</i>

1948–53	<i>This is Your FBI</i>
1949–51	<i>The Adventures of Sam Spade, Detective</i>
1949–60	<i>Yours Truly, Johnny Dollar</i>
1950	<i>Romance</i>
1951–52	<i>The Silent Men</i>
1952–61	<i>Gunsmoke</i>
1952–53	<i>Jason and the Golden Fleece</i>
1956–57	<i>The CBS Radio Workshop</i>

Films

The Killers, 1946; *Body and Soul*, 1947; *Arc of Triumph*, 1948; *To The Victor*, 1948; *Joan of Arc*, 1948; *Sorry, Wrong Number*, 1948; *East Side, West Side*, 1949; *Cry Danger*, 1951; *The Naked Jungle*, 1954; *The Conqueror*, 1956; —30—, 1959; *The Man from Galveston* (director), 1964; *Two on a Guillotine* (producer/director), 1965; *Brainstorm* (producer/director), 1965; *An American Dream* (producer), 1966; *A Covenant with Death*, 1967; *First to Fight*, 1967; *The Cool Ones*, 1967; *Countdown* (producer), 1968; *Chubasco* (producer), 1968; *Assignment to Kill* (producer), 1969; *Moonshine County Express*, 1977

Television

Escape, 1950; *Gunsmoke* (director), 1955; *The Rifleman* (director), 1958; *Klondike* (producer/director), 1960–61; *The Bullwinkle Show* (actor/narrator), 1961–73; *General Electric True* (director), 1962–63; *77 Sunset Strip* (director), 1963–64;

The Fugitive (narrator), 1963–67; *George of the Jungle*, 1967; *D.A.: Conspiracy to Kill*, 1970; O'Hara, U. S. *Treasury*, 1971; *Cannon*, 1971–76; *The Wild, Wild World of Animals* (narrator), 1973–78; *Buck Rogers in the 25th Century* (actor/narrator), 1979–80; *The Return of Frank Cannon*, 1980; *Turnover Smith*, 1980; *Nero Wolfe*, 1981; *Jake and the Fat Man*, 1987–92

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Consultants

Radio consultants, also known as "radio doctors" or "hired guns," advise stations on how best to increase listenership and thereby strengthen ratings. Consultants focus on improving a station's image or "sound," refining music playlists, and conducting audience research, all with the end goal of bringing success to a given station.

Development of Radio Consultants

Radio consulting as a profession had its beginnings at the end of the 1950s. By that time, commercial radio had evolved to the point of encompassing distinct programming formats. Rock and roll music changed the radio landscape: formats aimed at specific audiences came into being, notably Top 40,

middle of the road, country, and beautiful music. According to Michael C. Keith (1987), radio consulting began in the U.S. Midwest. The first radio consultant, Mike Joseph, decided to start his own business after achieving success as a radio station program director. WMAX-AM in Grand Rapids, Michigan, was Joseph's first client; it found ratings success thanks to Joseph's expertise. More clients soon followed, including WROK in Rockford, Illinois; WKZO in Kalamazoo, Michigan; KDAL in Duluth, Minnesota; and WKBW in Buffalo, New York. Joseph's successive clients each achieved larger audiences, and the business of radio consulting took hold.

As a new subpart of the radio business, consultants initially faced a limited market. However, prospects for those who went into the radio consulting business, usually former station

program directors, increased dramatically during the 1960s. During that decade, genre programming blossomed as the number and styles of music programming expanded to meet the needs of specific audiences. Consequently, the resulting fragmentation of formats increased the need for consultants.

Consultants worked at both the individual and agency level; one could work freelance as a one-person operation or at a consulting firm. In addition to these “hired guns” stations brought in to improve their ratings and on-air presentation, program syndicators and station rep companies started to enter the consulting side of the business. Indeed, for the next several decades, many program syndicators would provide their client stations with both the advice and the programming to increase ratings in one convenient package.

The 1960s saw station management in larger markets searching for even larger audiences to attract big advertisers and thus big profits. “Numbers became the name of the game,” with a station’s goal in any given market to increase listenership: “To be number one was to be king of the hill” (Keith, 1987). With the number-one rating status serving as “the holy grail” of radio stations during that period of “frag-out” in programming formats, stations experiencing poor numbers for several ratings periods sought the advice of consultants. The importance of consultants in maintaining a modicum of ratings success became apparent. As Keith notes, “‘Call a consultant’ became a cry commonly heard when a station stood at the edge of the abyss” (1987).

Although the growth in radio as big business had expanded in the 1960s, the industry saw even more expansion with the rise in popularity of FM during the 1970s. FM contributed to the doubling in the number of stations and the tripling of programming formats—and, of course, to the expansion of consulting opportunities. One particular new format served as a notable example of the significance of the need for and power of the radio consultant: album-oriented rock (AOR). Prominent radio consultant Donna Halper, in *Radio Music Directing* (1991), relates the power given to consultants by station owners trying out the new format. She quotes Kent Burkhart, one of the industry’s best-known consultants and the one-time partner of Lee Abrams, an AOR expert:

Back in the 1970s, AOR was still a fairly new format, so owners wanted us to have total control. They didn’t want to leave anything to chance. . . . In fact, in those early days of Album Rock, many of the stations didn’t even have a music director. They just had a PD [program director] who often guessed what music should be played.

With clients nationwide, Burkhart and Abrams’ partnership, Burkhart/Abrams and Associates, became the most powerful consulting firm of the decade. Burkhart and Abrams provided

their AOR clients with a playlist based on research, adding new albums each week. Their influence became such that record promoters could count on sales of albums they approved because as many as 100 stations could potentially play them.

Whereas the ascent of FM and the proliferation of format and music genres during the 1970s provided increased employment for consultants, another development—audience research—provided consultants with more complicated tasks. Keith (1987) points out that stations began to rely more on results of surveys, notably those conducted by the Arbitron Company. As FM began luring away AM listeners, smaller AM stations trying to increase listener shares posed a major challenge to consultants, a “Herculean” task that “only a few master consultants were up to.”

Ironically, whereas stations had called on consultants to help them during FM’s “infancy,” the AM market was fertile for the consulting industry in the 1980s. With FM’s dominance firmly established by then, the field expanded now to AM: “Radio consultants, who found themselves an integral part of FM’s bid for prominence in the 1960s and 1970s, worked on the AM side with as much fervor in the 1980s in an attempt to reverse the misfortunes that befell the one-time ratings leader” (Keith, 1987).

By the mid-1980s, some three decades after Mike Joseph’s initial foray into the consulting business, about a third of all radio stations used consultants. There were about 50 individual consultants in 1986; though that number held constant, the consulting business involves a degree of turnaround in that consultants must show positive results in order to remain in business. This number remained constant into the 1990s; of the more than 100 broadcasting consultants listed in various media directories in the United States, more than half specialized in radio (Keith, 1987).

Just as stations had become specialists in certain program formats, with fragmentation and “narrowcasting” helping to stimulate the consulting industry in the 1970s, consultants themselves began to cater to stations’ particular program needs in the mid-1990s. Perhaps as an indication of the successes some consultants had achieved by that time, some stations brought in “niche consultants” to help boost ratings during specific dayparts as well as in specific formats. Morning shows in particular served as prime targets for consultants’ services (Keith, 1997).

Although Keith (1987) had predicted that increased competition resulting from deregulation all but guaranteed the future of radio consulting in the 1980s, *Billboard* reported a trend toward consolidation of consulting agencies beginning in 1995. For instance, Stark (1995) found that radio consultants started teaming up for long-term joint ventures and referred their clients to rival agencies. Consultant alliances became the product of individual agencies’ desire to do whatever it took

for a client to succeed. As stations downsized, the demand increased for highly specialized people from “the outside”—consultants—that stations could rent rather than hire full-time.

Consolidation among consultants continued into 1999, and increased competition for work resulted in a shakeout in the business, with some individual consultants being forced to join companies or take other jobs in programming. Media groups—broadcast companies owning several stations—increasingly relied on their own in-house programmers, who effectively took the place of consultants. Additionally, those working for large companies specializing in one format have better long-term prospects than do individual consultants, who must cover several formats. Industry experts predict that those consultants who stay independent will have to provide their clients with expanded services.

Consultant Services

Although radio consultants ultimately aim to improve station ratings, they also advise management on ways to implement a change in format, to gain higher visibility, and to achieve a higher quality of on-air presentation. As their nickname “radio doctors” implies, consultants “diagnose the problems that impair a station’s growth and then prescribe a plan of action designed to remedy the ills” (Keith, 1997). Initially, consultants treated ailments in programming, especially those involving playlists. As the industry increased in complexity, so, too, have the services offered by consultants. These range from making specific observations and suggestions regarding the performance of on-air talent to audience research. The array of services offered depends on the type of consultant.

There are two basic kinds of radio consultant: programming and full-service. Programming consultants focus primarily on the on-air aspect of a station’s product—such as playlists and execution of format. Traditionally, they come from the programming side of the business; program directors get into consulting when they have achieved a record of ratings success. One can find consultants who specialize in particular formats, such as country and adult contemporary.

Full-service consultants, in addition to providing clients with programming expertise, offer a “package” of services that covers virtually every aspect of radio station operations: staff training and motivation, music, audience and market trend research, drug and alcohol counseling, sales and management consulting, union and syndication, music suppliers, and record company negotiating. The range of full-service offerings also extends to the use of engineering consultants and advice regarding business operations. Some consulting companies provide clients with programming (program syndicators). Clients can use all the programming services, or just part, either as recorded material or via satellite in conjunction with live announcers (Keith, 1987).

In some cases, station managers give consultants total control, such as when a station changes format or ownership. In other cases, consultants simply give objective advice regarding a station’s performance. They also examine the competition and determine what other stations with the same format in a market present the best execution. Consultants also determine what call letters best reflect a station’s desired image.

With the consulting industry becoming more specialized, some agencies focus solely on research. Research consultants go through survey data, study a station’s market and target audience in terms of socio-economic and financial statistics, and may conduct music research to determine what most appeals to an audience.

Consultants also conduct research to discover what factors about a radio station the listening public likes and dislikes. To this end, consultants use three basic approaches: focus groups, callout research, and music testing. In focus group research, small groups of listeners or potential listeners serve as “sounding boards” regarding certain elements of programming. Researchers document the group’s attitudes and emotions concerning a station’s music, disc jockeys, news, and contests. Callout research refers to telephone surveys that measure respondents’ opinions in empirical form. Music testing involves paying participants to listen to and evaluate songs, usually in an auditorium-like setting. A station then creates its playlist based on the results. Based on these types of research, consultants can make recommendations that have the greatest potential for success in a given market.

Consultants’ duties include making in-house visits and examining a station’s physical plant. This includes technical assessment of the station’s signal strength and clarity. If needed, engineering consultants are brought in to make recommendations regarding the station’s equipment.

Consultants usually research their client stations’ performance and competition by listening to the station, either live or on tape. When a consultant arrives in the client’s market city or town, he or she monitors the station, usually from a hotel room. This leaves the consultant free from distractions in order to assess the client’s on-air presentation. Typically, a consultant takes notes on all aspects of a station’s “sound.” As described by Donna Halper, these include the following: music mix, “listenability,” announcer effectiveness, the match between proclaimed format and music played, technical quality, station image, times songs are played, front or back sells, and use of call letters. Consultant Jim Smith looks at certain other basics of on-air execution, including production values, stop sets, newscasts, features, and promotions (Keith, 1987).

In addition to assessing competing stations’ products, consultants compare what is aired during specific dayparts and even hours to what their client offers at those times. For example, a consultant would compare station A to station B in terms of songs played, times and lengths of commercial breaks,

and the like. The consultant then compiles the information and submits a comprehensive report to the station. As with any type of evaluation, consultants' reports not only include constructive criticism of their client, but also should provide some positive feedback as well.

Consultant Characteristics

Consultant companies can range in size from 2 or 3 people to 50, with fees ranging from \$500 to more than \$1,200 a day. Consultants base their fees on the services the client wants and the size of the station. Most consultants have backgrounds in broadcasting, usually as station program directors. Those who have broadcasting experience hold a considerable advantage over those who do not. Most also have a thorough knowledge and understanding of radio broadcasting at all levels, including programming, sales, marketing, and promotion. Some obtain formal training in college, notably through research methods and broadcast management courses.

The consulting business as a whole does face obstacles in the radio industry—notably, that of gaining acceptance among broadcasters, who consider consultants a “necessary evil.” Industry insiders cite negative perceptions held by some station managers and program directors regarding consultants; despite these perceptions, consultants are not all “charlatans intent on

cleaning house and selling fad formats” (Keith, 1987). A good consultant's effectiveness requires, first, that station management make clear to staff the reasons why it is bringing in a consultant. Station managers also need to implement the consultant's recommendations effectively. Those who do often benefit from their investment. As Keith contends, “Statistically, those stations that use programming consultants more often than not experience ratings success” (1997).

ERIKA ENGSTROM

See also Drake, Bill; Programming Strategies and Processes; Trade Organizations

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Contemporary Christian Music Format

Part of a growing U.S. trend of religious formats on the air, this development of the past few decades combines the basic tenants of Christianity with popular music approaches that appeal to a broader audience.

Origins

Contemporary Christian Music (CCM) has grown over a long period of time. Its foundations are evident in the early hymns of various Protestant faiths. Overtures of intimacy and sentimentality were mixed with Christian music in the 19th century as the feminine ideal of piety combined with the temperance crusade emerged. Even militaristic themes characterized hymns in the early 20th century as the world and the United States fought several major wars.

By the 1960s, however, Evangelicals began to realize that “Bringing in the Sheaves” on Sundays couldn't begin to compete with weekday broadcasts of “Hey Jude” and “I Can't Get

No Satisfaction,” especially among younger listeners. Composer Ralph Carmichael began the CCM renaissance with pieces such as “Pass It On” and “He's Everything to Me.” Musical creativity burst onto the Christian music scene as the younger generation brought its hippie culture, with music largely devoid of theological divisions, into various churches. Musicians such as Larry Norman, Andrae Crouch, Keith Green, Chuck Girard, and Randy Stonehill added the 1960s flavor of rock and roll to Christian music, thus creating the concept of Contemporary Christian Music.

Variations and Controversy

As with most musical formats, however, the genre of contemporary Christian music has splintered into many different kinds (15 different CCM types are listed in the 2001 *Directory of Religious Media*), and as a result a controversy arose within the evangelical community that continues today. How, some

ask, can Christian music be used to evangelize if it sounds just like secular music? One argument holds that there is nothing in music that makes it Christian. A related controversy is the ability of some Christian musicians to cross over to the secular music world. Radio stations with commercial formats and their audiences either accepted Christian music or Christian artists attempted to create music designed for them. Christian recording artist Amy Grant and the group Sixpence None the Richer both had hit singles in the 1990s that prompted the Gospel Music Association (GMA) to redefine Christian music in association with the annual Dove Awards, which honor Christian recording artists. The GMA's criteria for defining music as Christian is that in any style whose lyrics are

Substantially based upon historically orthodox Christian truth contained in or derived from the Holy Bible; and/or - An expression of worship of God or praise for His works; and/or - Testimony of relationship with God through Christ; and/or Obviously prompted and informed by a Christian world view.

GMA president Frank Breeden commented that "this statement is not intended to be the definition of gospel music for all time, nor is it meant to characterize music made by Christians that may not fit the criteria" (Grubbs, 1998).

These definitional controversies didn't prevent CCM from becoming a multi-million dollar industry by the mid-1990s. CCM's share of 1998 recording industry revenue exceeded the shares of jazz, classical, New Age, and soundtracks according to *Billboard* magazine. CCM record labels did not, however, escape the consolidation fever of the 1990s. By early 1997 three companies controlled all labels that produced CCM: Zomba Group (parent company of Benson Music Group), EMI (parent company of Sparrow, Star Song, ForeFront, and GospoCentric), and Gaylord Entertainment (parent company of Word Music). Other industries were also beneficiaries of CCM.

The 2001 *Directory of Religious Media* listed nearly 2,500 radio stations that provided some form of religious programming. Sixty-six percent of those were formatted with one of 15 different varieties of Christian music. Those formats included Adult Contemporary, Alternative, Christian Hit Radio, Contemporary Christian, Country, Gospel, Hispanic, Inspirational, Instrumental, Middle of the Road, Praise and Worship, Sacred,

Southern Gospel, Specialty, and Urban/R&B. The other religious stations' formats focused on Christian news, talk, or preaching.

Aspiring Christian musicians can even major in CCM at Greenville College, a Christian liberal arts college in south-central Illinois. Music Department Chair Ralph Montgomery began the program in 1987; the most notable alumni are members of the recording group Jars of Clay.

The internet is as pervasive a presence in CCM as it is elsewhere. Numerous sites deal with every aspect of CCM, from the controversies noted earlier to sites developed by fans of various artists. CCM fans can listen to their favorite artists through internet-only audio streaming sites or through radio stations streaming their signals on their websites.

LINWOOD A. HAGIN

See also Evangelists/Evangelical Radio; Gospel Music Format; Religion on Radio

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Contemporary Hit Radio/Top 40 Format

Contemporary hit radio (CHR) is a rock music format that plays the current best-selling records. The music is characterized as lively, upbeat rock or soft rock hits. The playlist generally consists of 20 to 40 songs played continuously throughout the day. Disc jockeys are often upbeat “personalities,” and the format emphasizes contests and promotions. CHR stations tend to target a young demographic of both men and women, aged 18–34, with listenership extending into the 35-to-44 demographic cell.

CHR grew out of Top 40, which was developed in the late 1950s by Todd Storz and Gordon McLendon, who found success in playing the 40 most popular records. By the mid-1960s, the rise of rock music and FM led to audience fragmentation and a revitalized, tighter format with less chatter, refined by programmer Bill Drake. The format was successful but was also criticized for being too slick and dehumanized. The move to FM was initially met with resistance, because FM was regarded as an alternative listening medium. As a result, Top 40 underwent another face-lift and became known as contemporary hit radio.

The trade periodical *Radio & Records (R&R)* began using the term *contemporary hit radio* in 1980. The retitling of the format was orchestrated by consulting pioneer Mike Joseph. Joseph’s CHR format featured a tight playlist of about 30 records with up-tempo sounds, fast rotations, limited recurrence, chart hit countdowns, and no more oldies and declining records. At that time, CHR songs were by such artists as Blondie, Billy Joel, Christopher Cross, Queen, Dan Fogelberg, and Pink Floyd. The format moved to FM and became virtually nonexistent on AM as most radio listening shifted to the higher-fidelity broadcast system. Soon many broadcasters abandoned their soft rock and album-oriented rock (AOR) formats in favor of CHR.

By the mid-1980s, CHR became the highest-rated format. There were two or more CHR stations in many medium to large markets. Close to 800 CHR stations were on the air in 1984, and this number increased to nearly 900 in 1985. In 1987 and 1988 CHR was the number-one format in both New York City and Los Angeles, according to Arbitron market reports.

As more stations flocked to the popular format, some turned to format segmentation as a way to broaden their core audience targets and to counterprogram against similar formats in their markets. In the mid-1980s CHR split into two directions. The basic CHR format became a mass-appeal, 12-plus format. A variation on that theme became “adult CHR,” which went with softer announcing and added some oldies songs to the musical mix, attempting to appeal to the 25-to-34 demographic and divert audiences from adult contemporary

(AC) stations. Some stations also went with hybrid formats, such as a Top 40/AOR format.

CHR has undergone even more fragmentation in recent years. Today the most common variations include CHR/pop, CHR/rhythmic, and adult CHR/hot AC. CHR/pop most closely resembles the original Top 40 format. It is the most current-based format, playing the hottest-selling popular songs of the day. As a result, the music may vary from rock and pop to dance and alternative, depending on what is most popular at the moment. The style is fast paced, with lots of audience interaction with on-air personalities. Examples of CHR/pop artists include Madonna, Sheryl Crow, Hootie and the Blowfish, and Red Hot Chili Peppers.

CHR/rhythmic is similarly fast paced and personality driven, but it is more dance oriented than CHR/pop is. More dance and urban hits are mixed into the format. Artists include Puff Daddy, En Vogue, Toni Braxton, and Baby Face.

Adult CHR/hot AC focuses on a slightly older demographic of 25- to 34-year-olds and is dominated more by female artists. The format includes a fair amount of pop alternative. The format includes pop-rock artists such as Alanis Morissette and Natalie Merchant, as well as such traditional hot AC artists as Phil Collins and Gloria Estefan.

Over the years, Top 40/CHR disc jockey announcing styles have changed. The early Top 40 jocks were heavy-voiced, shouting and cajoling their audiences. The mid-1960s change saw a reduction in disc jockey presence, with less chatter and more music. The 1970s saw even less aggressive, more mellow announcers. But with the reformation to CHR in the 1980s, the energetic, big-voiced personality reasserted itself. Irreverent morning shows grew in popularity. Still, audience loyalty is generally to the music and not to the disc jockey.

CHR has replaced and generally become synonymous with the term *Top 40*, although many still refer to hits-oriented music stations as Top 40, and CHR is sometimes distinguished as using a larger playlist than Top 40. CHR stations feature little, if any, news and public-affairs programming. Syndicated features that reflect the all-hit nature of the format, such as *American Top 40*, are typically aired to help attract listeners. Nonmusic features such as sporting events are rarely programmed, however. Contests and promotions are an integral element of programming at CHR stations. CHR audiences are perhaps more receptive than those of any other format to imaginative and entertaining promotions.

Its “more hits, more often” image led CHR stations to cluster commercials in spot sets after music sweeps. Commercials on CHR stations are designed to sound as slick and entertaining as the music they interrupt. Since CHR is production-intensive, liners and catch phrases are vital to the format.

Competition to CHR comes primarily from other CHR stations, which fragment the audience. Formats that share the highest percentages of CHR audiences include Spanish, alternative/modern rock, urban, and AC. AC attracts older demographics and women; AOR draws younger listeners and men. The prospects for CHR are good, however, because analysts believe radio listeners will always be interested in the hot new songs and artists of the day.

After being dismissed in the mid-1990s by some critics and advertisers as too teen oriented, CHR experienced a resurgence. An Interop Research study attributed its success to an increase in the median age of listeners and to a wide range of music available and suitable to the format. A crossover of playlists became a boon to CHR, as CHR stations were able to play many of the same hits that get airtime on other young adult formats, such as alternative, modern AC, and adult album alternative. Today there is a variation on the format called rhythmic or "Churban" (a blend of CHR and urban).

At the turn of the 21st century, CHR reached 14 million adults weekly in the 18-to-34 demographic. About 20 percent of the overall audience extends into the 35-44 range, and 8 percent are 45-54 years old. Most CHR listeners are female (56 percent). The CHR format audience is characterized as being active consumers of alcoholic beverages; restaurants; and all entertainment categories, especially movies; as well as of computers and electronic equipment. CHR has a fairly low cost per thousand (CPM), because its audience generally does not have much money, although the young demographic does have very active spending habits.

In 1998 CHR was the fourth most popular format, behind news/talk, country, and AC. Fall 1998 Arbitron ratings

showed Top 40 to be rebounding in all dayparts except midday. By 2002 there were 646 CHR/Top 40 stations in the United States. The format was the 11th most popular for stations to carry.

Laurie Thomas Lee

See also Adult Contemporary Format; Urban Contemporary Format

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Control Board/Audio Mixer

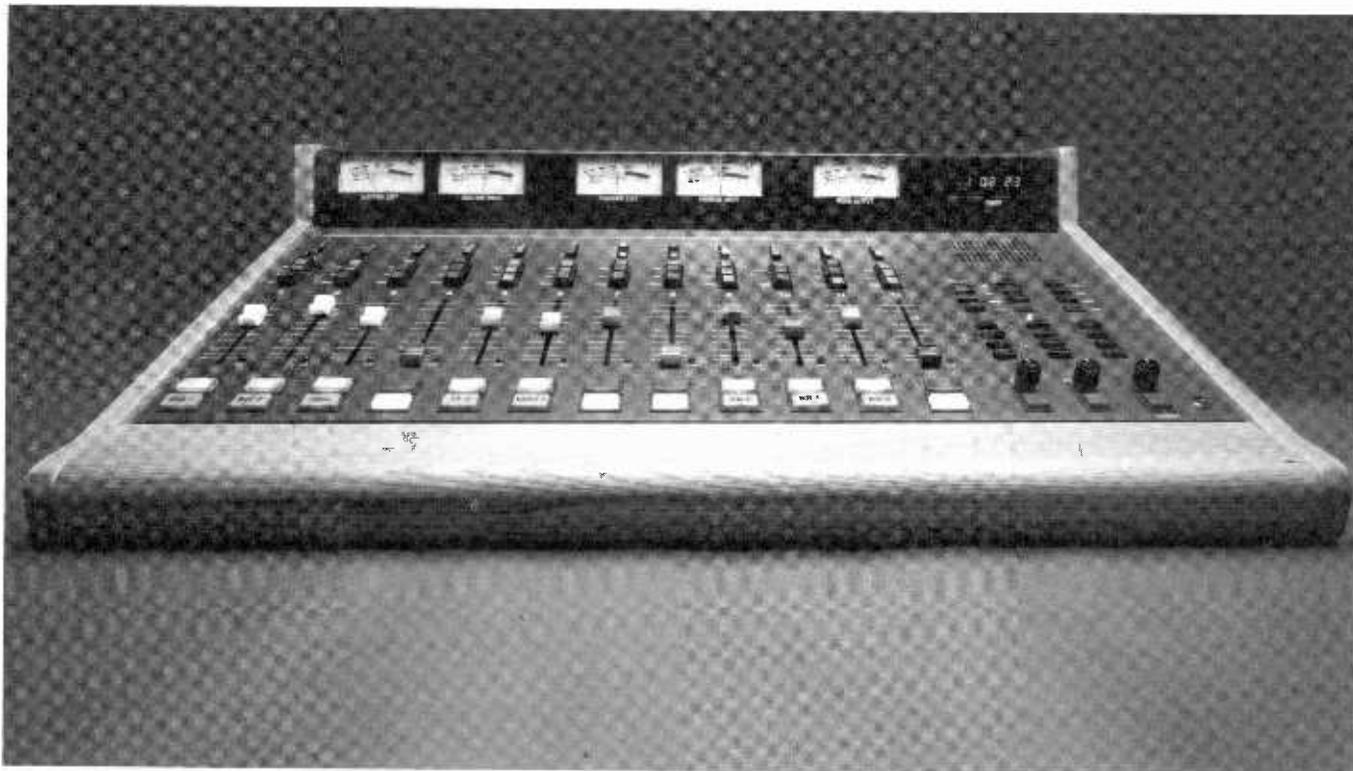
Device to Manipulate Audio Signals

A radio station's control board (or audio mixer or console, or simply a "board") is the primary piece of studio equipment. It allows for the use of multiple audio signals, such as from a microphone or compact disc (CD) player; allows an operator to manipulate those signals, such as controlling the volume or combining two or more together; and allows signals to be recorded or broadcast. During any of these processes, audio signals can be monitored through meters and speakers.

Functions

Any control board or console serves five basic functions: to select, mix, amplify, monitor, and route an audio signal.

An operator can select (input) various sounds at the same time. Most typical of the radio work accomplished with a board is to mix voice and music (or sound effects), as in production of a commercial.



Control Board
Courtesy of Logitek Electronic Systems

A board can also amplify any sound source. This allows an operator to properly balance sound levels, as when an announcer talks over music (where microphone volume must exceed music volume so the voice is clearly heard).

Monitoring an audio signal can be either visual (by watching volume unit [VU] meters) or aural (by listening to speakers or through headphones).

Finally, the control board is used to route (output) signals to a recorder, another studio, or the transmitter.

The easiest way to understand operation of any control board is to look at one of its individual sound channels. Such a channel includes a group of switches, faders, and knobs in vertical alignment; each group controls one or two sound sources. The number of channels (boards typically have between 12 and 36 or even more) defines its capacity to handle multiple signals. Most boards allow more than one input (microphones, etc.) to be assigned to a each channel, though only one can be selected at a time. Regardless of configuration, the first two channels (from the left) of any board are usually designed for microphones, which always need special amplification. CD players, audio recorders, and other equipment can be patched into the remaining channels.

For any channel, signals can be sent ("output") to one of three destinations: program, audition, or auxiliary. When

"program" is selected, a signal is directed to a recorder or transmitter. In the "audition" position, a signal can be previewed off-air. For example, a DJ may play a CD through channel 3 in the "program" position (in other words, on the air) while at the same time previewing another disc or tape through channel 4 in the "audition" position. The "auxiliary" (aux) or "utility" (utl) are often used in production, such as to send signals to another studio.

Volume Control and Monitoring

The volume or gain control is called a slider or fader. Such controls are variable resistors—much like water faucets in function. Raising the fader (pushing it away from you) increases the volume. Some older boards have rotary knobs called potentiometers ("pots") which fill the same function. Faders are easier to work with, as they provide a quick visual check of which channels are in use and at what level.

One way to judge volume is simply to listen, but this is a relative measure, and what one operator deems loud may seem quieter to another. To more objectively indicate volume, control boards include a volume unit indicator (VU meter). Most use a moving needle on a graduated scale, ideally registering between 80 and 100 percent. Above 100 percent the

signal is peaking “in the red” (because that portion of the VU meter scale is usually indicated by a red line) and may distort. On the other hand, a signal consistently below 20 percent—and thus too quiet—is said to be “in the mud.” Most newer boards offer VU meters with digital lights (LEDs) to indicate volume.

Sound can be monitored in different ways as it passes through a control board. A common mistake is to run studio monitors quite loud and think all is well, when in reality the program signal going through the audio board may be at too low a level. Most boards also have provision for monitoring their output through headphones. When microphones are on (“live”), monitor speakers in the same control or studio space are automatically muted to avoid feedback howls or squeals.

Another way to monitor (and preview) a sound source is to use a board’s “cue” function, which allows any input to be previewed. Shifting a volume control into the cue position, usually marked on the face of the console, routes the audio signal to a cue speaker rather than on the air.

Many control boards have additional features which make them more flexible. For example, some boards will automatically turn a channel on when its fader is moved upward. Others include built-in clocks and timers. Many boards have simple equalizer (EQ) controls that increase or decrease certain frequencies, thus altering the sound of the voice or music by changing the tonal quality. These most often affect a range of frequencies—high, midrange, and low.

Digital Future

Like other radio equipment, the control board is rapidly progressing from analog to digital mode. Incoming audio signals, if not already digital, are converted, and they remain in digital form while being manipulated through the mixer and ultimately output. Such digital boards begin to add new features and capabilities, such as hard disk audio storage. The most striking feature of the digital board is often the addition of an LCD display screen that provides status information for each channel.

Although a digital board offers all the traditional functions of an analog board, it is usually more flexible. For example, instead of just two inputs per channel, a digital board may allow any channel to be assigned to any input. Such user-defined functions allow a board to be custom-designed for a particular use. Another form of digital control board is the virtual audio console. Instead of a physical piece of equipment in the studio, an operator manipulates an image of a control

board on a computer screen. A virtual fader or other console control can be managed with simple point-and-click or drag-and-drop mouse commands.

Whether digital or analog, any control board is part mechanical contrivance and part creative component. While learning its technical operation is fairly easily accomplished, effective utilization of a board takes time and experience.

DAVID E. REESE

See also Audio Processing; Production for Radio; Recording and Studio Equipment

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Controversial Issues, Broadcasting of

Broadcasting programs concerning controversial issues of public importance has been a subject of continuing U.S. public policy debate for nearly as long as radio broadcasting has existed. The basic conflict has been between broadcasters, who are concerned about not offending their audiences and advertisers, and the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), who argue—and are often upheld in court decisions—that provision of time for such content is a vital part of the public-interest standard by which broadcast stations are licensed. In recent years much of the controversy has evaporated thanks to deregulation.

This entry *excludes* most discussion of commentators, political candidates, the fairness doctrine, or station editorializing—all directly related, but treated separately in the encyclopedia.

Basis for Concern

Consideration of broadcasts about controversial issues begins with an understanding of three related matters: the First Amendment, censorship, and access. The First Amendment (1791) makes clear that “Congress shall make no law” affecting freedom of speech, of the press, or of religion. Countless statements of political theory and policy as well as numberless court decisions (most having nothing to do with broadcasting) have made clear for decades that in order to be effective citizens and voters, the public needs to be informed about public issues and the various points of view concerning them. A number of Supreme Court decisions have held that robust public debate is a central component of effective freedom of speech and of the democratic system itself.

Strictly defined, censorship in the American context means *prior restraint* of publication, broadcast, or speech by an act of government. It does *not* usually include private actions (such as those by broadcasters or advertisers) that might limit speech or access to a microphone by others. The term is usually applied far more generally and is often applied to corporate actions to restrict access or debate.

Media access divides into two concerns: media access *to* places or people in order to report news or public (sometimes seemingly private) affairs, and access *by* people (other than a broadcaster or his or her staff) or their ideas to broadcast facilities. Discussion of controversial issues on radio almost always involves the latter.

Shaping a Policy

As the potential value of radio as a means of shedding light on public controversies first became clear in the 1920s, policy makers and broadcasters alike began to focus on just what

radio stations should or could do in support of public-affairs communication. Yet neither the Radio Act of 1927 nor the Communications Act of 1934 (until the latter was amended in 1959) said anything about radio coverage of controversial issues or fairness in doing so. Both acts *did* make clear that government had no right of censorship over radio content. The combination of having no clear statutory requirement to deal fairly with controversial issues on the one hand, with a very clear and firm statement of no censorship on the other hand, has made defining government policy-making in this field difficult.

The first important relevant policy statement—one often still referenced in modern decisions—is found in an early Federal Radio Commission licensing case in which the commission concluded, “In so far as a program consists of discussion of public questions, public interest requires ample play for the free and fair competition of opposing views, and the commission believes that the principle applies . . . to discussions of issues of importance to the public” (*Great Lakes Broadcasting Co.*, 1928; see Kahn, 1984).

In the late 1920s and early 1930s, a number of legal cases concerned broadcasters who sought either to obtain or to retain stations as personal mouthpieces (e.g., John Brinkley) or whose programs espoused strong political views with little or no chance for rebuttal by others (e.g., Father Charles Coughlin). In a few short years, most had been forced to share time with others of different views or to leave the air entirely.

Later cases and policy statements echoed the need to cover controversial issues, but to do so fairly. In March 1939, in an FCC statement on objectionable programming practices, one item listed was “refusal to give equal opportunity for the discussion of controversial subjects”; this statement underlines the twofold nature of the concern. First, stations should provide discussion of controversial subjects, and second, they should provide a fair balance of views on those subjects. Paralleling the government concern was the 1939 version of the National Association of Broadcasters’ (NAB) *Standards of Practice*, which held that “as part of their public service, networks and stations shall provide time for the discussion of public questions including those of a controversial nature.”

This relatively early version of the NAB radio self-regulatory code also made clear a long-standing industry practice of not *selling* airtime for the discussion of controversial issues. The code claimed that this was because broadcasters did not want a situation in which only those able to afford the time could be heard. But such a policy also avoided offending either audience members or advertisers with too much controversy. The no-sell provision was largely followed until relatively recently. The downside of all this was that such discussions

were nearly always provided as sustaining programs—meaning at the broadcaster's expense. The code provisions remained unchanged until 1948, when the restriction on sponsorship was dropped.

In the meantime, other FCC decisions helped to pin down policy still further. At the end of World War II, the commission held that a station could not establish a blanket policy of not providing any time for discussion of controversial issues (*United Broadcasting Company [WHKC]*, 10 FCC 515, 1945). A year later, three radio licenses in California were renewed despite the stations' refusal to allow a noted atheist to offer his views on the air. The commission reiterated that although "the criterion of the public interest in the field of broadcasting clearly precludes a policy of making radio wholly unavailable as a medium for the expression of any view which falls within the scope of the constitutional guarantee of freedom of speech," there was no obligation on the part of a station to grant the request of any specific person for time to state his or her views (*Robert H. Scott*, 11 FCC 372, 1946).

The FCC *Blue Book* issued in 1946 devoted several pages to the discussion of public issues, going so far as to raise 19 questions about such broadcasts—but answering none of them. The section concluded that in its decisions on whether a licensee had served in the public interest, the FCC "would take into consideration the amount of time which has been or will be devoted to the discussion of public issues" (*Blue Book*, 1946, 40). Clearly, trying to avoid such programming was not going to please the licensing authority. Thus, the licensee had to make judgments about what issues to cover and which points of view to present.

The seeming hole in the Communications Act of 1934 was finally filled when a 1959 amendment to Section 315 made clear that licensees had an affirmative obligation "to afford a reasonable opportunity for the discussion of conflicting views on issues of public importance." Nearly four decades after radio broadcasting began, the country's basic communications statute finally and specifically included coverage of controversial issues as being a part of the public interest stations were licensed to serve.

Modern Era: Selling Controversy

The dominance of television in American life by the 1950s naturally shifted regulatory attention to that medium. Most cases concerning controversial issues focused on television programs, though the concerns raised paralleled those first evident with radio. And as discussed elsewhere, most controversial issue program questions were now dealt with in the context of the FCC's fairness doctrine, issued in 1949 and rescinded in 1987. The demise of the fairness doctrine, however, was but one of several factors that changed the face of controversial issue programming.

The end of the doctrine in 1987 made possible substantial expansion of political and other controversial talk programs on radio, because they no longer faced private or government fairness doctrine-based requests for response time. Rush Limbaugh, Oliver North, and many others with decided (usually conservative) political views would have had a difficult time maintaining their controversial programming in the face of a constant barrage of requests from audience members to respond to what they had heard.

Nor did the FCC any longer seem concerned that many stations no longer provided time for discussion of controversial issues. Detailed license renewal forms that asked about station policies concerning the amount of time provided for controversial issue programming disappeared in the 1980s, to be replaced by simple postcard forms with no program-relevant queries whatever. The growing number of stations in most markets made regulation of individual outlets seem less relevant. Therefore, neither FCC commissioners nor their staff any longer felt that each station in a market had to provide such programs—as long as at least *some* stations did. Any nearby public radio station was often the selected "mark" to pick up the slack.

More important, the economic basis of radio time devoted to discussion of controversial issues has changed radically. Once shunned by broadcasters, as noted above, the selling of time for expression of points of view, whether in short spots ("editorial advertising" or "advertorials") or in programs, had by the 1990s become accepted practice. No longer did broadcasters have to pick and choose among the minefield of potential controversial issues without even the saving grace of selling time to support programs dealing with such topics. By the early 2000s, controversial issue programs almost always meant time *sold* for that purpose, usually to one or more syndicated talkers with an axe (or several) to grind or an audience large enough to attract advertisers.

Some have argued that radio is thus no longer providing a minimum of public-affairs service to its listeners—that points of view have simply become another commodity for sale to the highest bidder. Others hold that radio is but one information conduit to the modern household and that audiences can obtain as much controversy as they desire from a combination of radio, television, periodicals, and the internet, to name only a few key media. In any case, far more people agree that government supervision or regulation of radio content is not the most effective means of creating an informed electorate.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Blue Book; Brinkley, John R.; Censorship; Commentators; Coughlin, Father Charles; Critics; Editorializing; Equal Time Rule; Fairness Doctrine; First Amendment and Radio; Limbaugh, Rush; Politics and Radio

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Cooke, Alistair 1908–

American (British-Born) Journalist, Host, and Commentator

This British-born journalist is well known for his weekly radio talk series *Letter from America*, which at the time of writing has been broadcast continually by the British Broadcasting Company (BBC) since 1946, when it was originally titled *American Letter*. The weekly 15-minute journalistic talk on life in the United States became a unique institution in the history of radio journalism; it has been heard in 52 countries, and there have been more than 2,600 programs. Cooke's elegant style of writing and presentation gained huge popularity with listeners throughout the English-speaking world. Various critics have praised his ability to capture the human atmosphere of significant news events and, through anecdotes and concrete storytelling, to explain the importance of social, cultural, technological, and political changes. Essayist Harold Nicolson described him as "the best broadcaster on five continents." He has maintained a consistency that has ensured an almost uninterrupted delivery of his talks even when rare illness has meant confinement in the hospital or at his home. The first time the BBC had to use an old edition of the show because Cooke was incapacitated by illness was 17 December 1999.

Letter from America is very much in the genre of the commentaries of American radio network broadcasters of the 1930s and 1940s. In fact, Cooke's first journalistic success was with the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) network in 1936, when in live transmissions from London he provided daily radio reports on the abdication crisis involving Edward VIII and American divorcée Wallis Simpson. He continued to work as the network's London commentator until 1937, presenting a weekly broadcast called *London Letter* that had

many similarities to the style and content of the later *Letter from America* BBC series. His journalism has spanned most of the significant events of the 20th century and early 21st century, including World War II, the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, the Vietnam War, the fall of the Berlin Wall, President Bill Clinton's impeachment hearings, and the suicide attacks on the World Trade Center in New York.

Cooke's success can be traced back through his scholarship at Cambridge to his relatively humble origins in Blackpool, Lancashire, in northwest England. He left behind a brother who worked as an assistant in a butcher's shop. The "Oxbridge" environment enabled Cooke to establish contacts and use opportunities that took him to Yale, Harvard, and even to a collaboration in Hollywood with Charlie Chaplin. His career has been marked by the ability to reinvent himself, to transcend the British class system, and to eventually change nationality (he became an American citizen in 1941). Cooke had no formal training as a journalist and entered the trade via review writing for *Granta*, the *Nation and Athenaeum*, and the *Manchester Guardian* rather than by honing his reporting skills on local and regional newspapers and small town/university radio stations. He was fortunate that the insecurity of freelance life was subsidized by the wealth of his first wife's family.

Once in front of a microphone, his broadcasting talent and professionalism became self-evident. A similar blossoming of ability occurred in print journalism when he began writing articles for the *London Times*, *Daily Herald*, and the *Manchester Guardian*. Although Kenneth Tynan described him as "one of the great reporters," there is no evidence that



Alistair Cooke
 Courtesy AP/Wide World Photos

his journalism had any scoop value or political and social impact, because he was more of a chronicler and storyteller. It could be argued that Cooke became the most intelligent interpreter of American society and history for English-speaking people abroad. This was especially true of his memorable BBC television series *America—A Personal History*, first broadcast 1972–73, which has been compared to Kenneth Clark's *Civilisation*. During the 1950s, Cooke's popularity in America was also elevated through his hosting of the pioneer cultural television program *Omnibus*, which paralleled his later role on *Masterpiece Theatre* in the 1970s and 1980s on the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS).

He changed his Christian name from Alfred to Alistair in 1930, and he abandoned British citizenship in 1941 when he was young enough to enlist for Britain's war effort. His biographer argues that he had applied for American citizenship some years before, and the eventual granting of citizenship in 1941 was the result of a delay and not an unwillingness to

enlist in the British forces. His collaboration with Charlie Chaplin on a film project about Napoléon was not a success, although Chaplin did invite Cooke to be assistant director on *Modern Times*. Cooke turned down the opportunity and instead returned to Britain as the BBC's film critic. It has been suggested that he obtained his first radio job as the BBC's film critic in 1934 after he had spotted on a newspaper billboard in Boston that this predecessor, the then prime minister's son Nigel Baldwin, had been fired. In fact Cooke started lobbying the BBC for the job two months before Baldwin had somewhat courageously launched a public attack on BBC bureaucracy and philistinism. He had gone so far as to allege "Prussianism in the BBC." Cooke's self-confident assertion that cinema was in urgent need of "serious, unsolemn propaganda rather than analysis" was looked at rather favorably after Baldwin's attack. BBC historian Asa Briggs unearthed a telegram Cooke had sent the BBC in 1936 that read, "Script today would have to be about two good books and game of

ice hockey, for in 23 general releases and 6 new films nowhere to go for a laugh or a cry."

Cooke's radio debut was at Broadcasting House at 6:45 P.M. on 8 October 1934; his sympathetic (and official) biographer states that the surviving script of his first cinema talk suggests he had arrived "almost fully formed." After settling in America in 1937, he began producing short series of talks such as *Mainly about Manhattan* until a substantial investment by the BBC in wartime broadcasting to and from the United States led to a more regular commission for *American Commentary*.

Cooke has made a major contribution to musical and cultural programming in radio. His first series for BBC Radio was *The American Half Hour*, which ran for 13 episodes in 1935 and sought to dramatize various aspects of American life using actors and music. Cooke researched, wrote, and presented a 1938 series for the BBC titled *I Hear America Listening*, in which he traced the history of American folk music. It was the first serious attempt to mark the contribution of African Americans in the foundation of jazz music and involved acquiring rare recordings of workers on cotton fields and citrus plantations. In 1938 he was responsible for producing and commenting on a live performance of a jazz jam session from the roof garden of the St. Regis Hotel in Manhattan, New York, to BBC listeners in Britain.

His creative collaboration with the BBC producer Alan Owen between 1974 and 1987 resulted in several series investigating the origins and development of American popular music. A series for BBC Radio in 1986 and 1987 celebrated five significant American composers. *The Life and Music of George Gershwin* achieved considerable critical acclaim. In the six programs, Cooke argued that Gershwin deserved greater prominence as an original and important composer of American music.

By 2003 Cooke, at age 94, was still broadcasting with assurance. He took part in an end-of-millennium reflection on his series with his biographer Nick Clarke on BBC Radio 4.

TIM CROOK

See also British Broadcasting Corporation

Alistair Cooke. Born Alfred Cooke in Salford, near Manchester, 20 November 1908; second son of Samuel and Mary Cooke. Attended Blackpool Secondary School; Jesus College, Cambridge, Upper Second degree, 1930; studied at Yale and Harvard, 1932–34; film critic for the BBC, 1934–37; London correspondent for NBC, 1936–38; special correspondent on American Affairs for *The Times*, 1938–41; American feature writer for *The Daily Herald*, 1941–42; United Nations correspondent for *The Manchester Guardian*, 1945–48; chief correspondent for *The Guardian*, 1948–72;

writer and presenter of BBC Radio's *Letter from America*, 1946–present; writer and presenter of BBC television's *America*, 1972–73. Received Peabody Award for Radio's Outstanding Contribution to International Understanding, 1952; honorary KBE for broadcasting and outstanding contribution to Anglo-American mutual understanding, 1973; Ellis Island Medal of Honor for special contribution to the culture and ethnic mix of New York, 1986; BAFTA lifetime award for contribution to television, 1991; Benjamin Franklin Medal, RSA; Howland Medal, Yale University.

Radio Series

1935	<i>American Half-Hour</i> , BBC
1935	<i>English on Both Sides of the Atlantic</i> , BBC and NBC
1936	<i>New York City to the Golden Gate</i> , BBC
1936–37	<i>London Letter</i> , NBC
1938	<i>I Hear America Singing</i> , BBC; <i>The Day and the Tune</i> , BBC
1938–39	<i>Mainly about Manhattan</i> , BBC
1940–45	<i>American Commentary</i> , BBC
1946–50	<i>American Letter</i> , BBC
1950–present	<i>Letter from America</i> , BBC
1958	<i>Letter from England</i> , BBC
1984	<i>The First Fifty Years: A Personal View of Social Life in Britain and the USA from 1900–1950</i> , BBC
1985	<i>Alistair Cooke's American Collection</i> , BBC
1986, 1987	<i>Life and Times of George Gershwin</i> , BBC

Television Series

Omnibus, ABC, CBS, and NBC, 1952–61; *America*, BBC, 1972; *Masterpiece Theatre*, PBS, 1971–92

Selected Publications

Garbo and the Night Watchmen, 1937
Douglas Fairbanks, 1940
A Generation on Trial: U.S.A. v. Alger Hiss, 1950
Letters from America, 1951
Christmas Eve, 1952
A Commencement Address, 1954
Around the World in Fifty Years, 1966
Talk about America, 1968
General Eisenhower on the Military Churchill, 1970
America, 1973
Six Men, 1977
The Americans, 1979
Above London, 1980
The Patient Has the Floor, 1986
America Observed, 1988
Fun and Games, 1994

Masterpiece Theatre, 1995
Memories of the Great and the Good, 1999

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Cooper, Giles 1918–1966

British Playwright

Giles Cooper was an Irish-born dramatist whose radio plays have been celebrated by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) as innovative and experimental writing eminently suited to the sound medium. Such was his influence that for many years the BBC ran an annual radio playwriting awards program in his memory. His first broadcast play was *Thieves Rush In* on the Home Service in 1950. This was followed by more than 60 scripted programs of adaptations and original plays on the old Light, Home, and Third national radio networks. It is claimed that the creative use of sound in the play *The Disagreeable Oyster* on the Third Program in 1957 inspired the formation of the BBC Radiophonic Workshop. *Under the Loo-fah Tree* was the first play officially commissioned for it.

The Disagreeable Oyster is seen as the first of his radio plays to demonstrate the unusual quality of Cooper's imagination, fully utilizing the medium's capacity of facilitating leaps from objectivity to subjectivity. Cooper developed his voice and vision during a period when the Theatre of the Absurd and the phenomenology of existentialism were influential. This is reflected in the disquieting and pessimistic themes of horror expressed through hilarity in plays such as *Unman, Wittering, and Zigo*; *Pig In The Middle*; and *Without the Grail*. *Unman, Wittering, and Zigo* was later made into a film with David Hemmings and the other two were adapted for television.

Much of Cooper's work could be described as the investigation of meanings and motives beneath everyday normalities. He characterized a world or consciousness in which the sinister and the terrifying hid behind smooth polished surfaces of action and witty, hilarious dialogue. His *London Times* obituary writer stated that he showed "an almost frightening apprehension of the modern world and its ailments." The *Times* also claimed that he "was the most prolific and arguably the most original dramatist of our mass communications." As a stage

dramatist, his first success *Never Get Out!* and other plays, including in 1950, *Everything in the Garden*, *Out of the Crocodile*, *The Spies Are Singing*, and *Happy Family*, have not stood the test of time. Unlike younger contemporaries such as Harold Pinter, Tom Stoppard, and Joe Orton, Giles Cooper's literary dramatic reputation has not gathered the necessary momentum to achieve powerful cultural resonance. Despite attempts by BBC Radio Drama to keep his reputation alive, his work is virtually unknown outside the United Kingdom and has not enjoyed any renaissance through association with contemporary styles of production. However, it is worth noting that the British Chichester Literary Festival held a reading of his radio plays *Unman, Wittering, and Zigo* and *Under the Loo-fah Tree* in July 2000. *Unman, Wittering, and Zigo*, which is understood to have been based on memories of his former school, Lancing College, with its nearby racetracks and cliff-tops, was also produced by Charterhouse independent school students in 1999. His son Ric Cooper said at the time of writing that amateur royalties for *Everything in the Garden*, *Happy Family*, and *Out of the Crocodile* continue to be paid for performances around the world. The Edward Albee version of *Everything in the Garden* sells in the U.S. and the school version of *Unman, Wittering, and Zigo* generates several hundred sales a year.

Cooper's radio plays have also received limited academic attention, although what has appeared has been of high quality. It is somewhat ironic that his name is remembered primarily for the BBC awards given in his honor. On 9 December 1966, the *Times* published a tribute emphasizing that he was "kind and helpful to new writers learning their trade, he was a most sympathetic listener and conversationalist and he had one of the most generous laughs in London." It stated that "a half hour's chat with Giles was a wonderful tonic because of his infectious cheerfulness and good humour."

The radio drama producer Donald McWinnie wrote in his introduction to the collection of six Giles Cooper radio plays, published in 1966, that he was introduced to his work by the editor of BBC Radio Features, Lance Sieveking. McWinnie said Cooper was “usually several steps ahead of current fashion without being sensationally avant-garde.” McWinnie observed that Cooper “deals with inadequate human beings—or at least with people who by trying to resolve their problems create further problems for themselves.”

Frances Gray defines Cooper’s unique contribution to radio drama as creating a language “capable of depicting the twilight zones between illusion and disillusion.” She also said that Cooper could “move from the real to the unreal and back again; he can leave us unsure whether we are hearing illusion or reality, he can even, in seconds, change our perception of what has already happened.” She concluded that listening to a Giles Cooper radio play was akin to listening to a medium and that he demonstrated a “moral view in perfect harmony.” Radio drama enabled Cooper to exploit the vision of large scale nudity in *The Disagreeable Oyster* that would have been impossible on television at the time and to use the process of having a bath as an entire moral universe in *Under the Loofah Tree*.

Louise Cleveland compares Cooper’s radio plays with the works of Louis MacNeice and Samuel Beckett. Her analysis draws on interviews with BBC radio drama editors and directors Martin Esslin, John Tydeman, Richard Imison, and Donald MacWhinnie, and is based on reading and listening to hundreds of scripts and archive recordings. She also invests Cooper’s work with significance in the development of radio drama, proposing that his work led to the medium’s acquisition of styles and techniques that separate writing and production practice from the theatrical origins of the genre.

Gray points out some of the intertextual themes of Cooper’s writing across radio, television, and stage theater. Cooper’s adaptability was a key factor in BBC television’s successful introduction of Georges Simenon’s character “Maigret” to mainstream British television audiences as one of their *Sunday-Night Theatre* presentations—“Maigret and the Lost Life,” which debuted on 6 December 1959. Cooper adapted the first radio script from Simenon’s 1954 novel; the drama was produced/directed by Campbell Logan. The actual *Maigret* series began in October 1960, the first of what would become four series totaling 51 episodes, each 45 to 55 minutes in length. The BBC had acquired the rights, with Simenon’s blessing, against worldwide competition, making it their most ambitious series production to that date. Cooper’s work on the series (he wrote most of the television scripts) was recognized by a Guild of Television Producers’ and Directors’ Award in 1961. He also adapted Evelyn Waugh’s *Sword of Honour* trilogy of war novels and Victor Hugo’s *Les Misérables* for television, both of which were broadcast posthumously.

On 2 December 1966, Giles Cooper fell out of the open doorway of a fast-moving railway car near Surbiton. He had been returning home to Sussex from a writers’ dinner in Central London. Upon investigating the bizarre circumstances of his death, the inquest jury returned a verdict of misadventure after a pathologist revealed that Cooper had consumed the equivalent of half a bottle of whiskey that evening.

TIM CROOK

See also BBC Radio Programming; Playwrights on Radio

Giles Cooper. Born in Carrickmines, County Dublin, Ireland, 9 August 1918. Educated at Lancing College and Grenoble University; trained as actor at Webber Douglas School, London; seven years in the British Army as infantry officer, including 1939–45; stationed in Burma; actor and writer until 1966. OBE and Guild of Television Producers and Directors Award 1961. Died in London, 2 December 1966.

Radio Series

- 1950 *Thieves Rush In*
 1950s Adaptations of *Lord of the Flies*, *The Day of the Triffids*
 1956 *Mathry Beacon*
 1957 *The Disagreeable Oyster*
 1958 *Without the Grail*; *Under the Loofah Tree*; *Unman, Wittering, and Zigo*; *Dangerous Word*; *Before the Monday*; *Pig in the Middle*
 1961 *The Return of General Forefinger*

Stage

Never Get Out! 1950; *Everything in the Garden*, 1962; *Out of the Crocodile*, 1963; *The Spies Are Singing*, 1966; *Happy Family*, 1966

Film

Unman, Wittering, and Zigo, 1971

Television

Maigret and the Lost Life, 1959; *Maigret the Series*: Episode 1 *Murder in Montmartre*, 1960; *Pig in the Middle*, 1963; *Without the Grail*, 1962; *Loop*, 1963; *Carried by Storm*, 1964; *Kittens Are Grave*, 1967; *Sword of Honour*, 1967; *Les Misérables*, 1967; *To the Frontier*, 1968

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Cooper, Jack L. 1888–1970

U.S. Disc Jockey and Radio Entrepreneur

William Barlow has called Jack L. Cooper the "undisputed patriarch of black radio in the United States." Cooper, a Chicago-based radio entrepreneur and personality, debuted on the medium in 1925 and within five years had become the most influential black man in the radio industry. He would prove that blacks could succeed as radio personalities, programmers, and entrepreneurs, thereby helping to ignite the accelerated growth of black-appeal radio in the post-World War II era.

When Cooper entered radio in 1925 at the age of 36, he had played semi-professional baseball, managed boxers, sang and danced in black minstrel shows, and toured the nation in his own vaudeville troupe. In 1924 he was covering the theater scene for the *Chicago Defender* when the paper transferred him to Washington, D.C. It was in the nation's capital that Cooper heard a black singing group on radio station WCAP and realized that the only time he ever heard blacks on radio was when they were singing, never speaking. Hoping to correct this omission, he approached WCAP about performing comedy on the air. A producer there hired him, but racial attitudes of the day dictated that he would perform only in stereotypical black dialect. The confinement to dialect and other indignities he faced at the station frustrated Cooper so much that he returned to Chicago in 1926. But WCAP had marked a turning point in his career; he saw opportunity in radio, opportunity that would do much to break the color line in broadcasting. He returned to Chicago determined to produce radio programming by black people for black people.

While Cooper continued to write for the *Defender*, he found an announcing position with radio station WWAE. But he failed to find an outlet in Chicago that would allow him to broadcast black-appeal programming until he met Joseph Silverstein, who owned WSBC, a small station that featured various ethnic programs. Silverstein gave Cooper airtime and paid him with proceeds from advertising that Cooper himself sold. On 3 November 1929 at 5:00 P.M., Cooper launched *The All-*

Negro Hour, which featured vaudeville-like entertainment for the black audience. In producing and presenting *The All-Negro Hour*, Cooper pioneered black-appeal programming, beginning a trend that would spread with some vigor after World War II.

Within a year of *The All-Negro Hour's* premiere, Cooper introduced a number of new programs for the black audience, most of them religious in nature. The Great Depression of the 1930s limited the amount of advertising income Cooper generated from his programs, but by the late 1930s his income and influence grew when he began brokering time on Chicago radio. Cooper bought airtime, initially from WSBC only, and then resold it at a large profit to individuals and groups who used the time for various purposes. In addition, as he produced more programs through his Jack L. Cooper Presentations and as the Depression's grip loosened, black and white businesses, both local and national, began buying advertising from Cooper with increasing regularity.

By 1947 Jack L. Cooper Presentations was producing programs on Chicago's WSBC, WHFC, WBEE, and WAAF. He controlled some 40 hours of airtime on the Chicago stations. The shows reflected Cooper's panoply of interests: in addition to religious and variety programs, he produced public-affairs and public service shows, live broadcasts of sporting events, dramas, and comedies.

As Cooper's presence on Chicago radio expanded, so did the trails he was blazing for the black-appeal format. It was unheard of in the 1930s and 1940s for a black man to control any programming, but Cooper's production company (which was based in his home) at its peak produced some 50 programs primarily for black audiences and at the same time made a handsome profit. He would serve as a model for the white owners and program directors who would haltingly begin to woo the black audience in the 1940s. WDIA in Memphis, the first all-black-appeal station in America (1949)

would be the culmination of what Cooper had begun in the late 1920s.

Just as Cooper was making a way for the black format, he was also making a way for black employment in radio. The success of Cooper's programs hinged on the efforts of black employees: Cooper featured black actors and musicians and hired black writers and disc jockeys. In addition, blacks found employment on the operations side of his business. Barlow noted in 1999 that many of Cooper's "employee-trainees went on to successful careers in broadcasting; among the best known are Oliver Edwards, Eddie Plique, Manny Mauldin, William Kinnison, and Gertrude Roberts Cooper—the boss' third wife."

Among the other firsts in Jack L. Cooper's pioneering career was his status as America's first black disc jockey. One Sunday evening in 1932, *The All-Negro Hour's* pianist walked out on the show at the last minute to protest Cooper's refusal to give her a pay raise. In her absence, the boss improvised by putting a microphone by a small record player and spinning records. Over the years, Cooper would continue to rely on records for much of his musical programming, although, according to many of his contemporaries, he often eschewed the blues music so popular among blacks in favor of jazz and white dance music.

Jack L. Cooper built a small empire in black radio, controlling significant periods of airtime in one of America's largest markets and hiring many blacks to work in the industry during a time when virtually no other opportunities were available to blacks in radio. He demonstrated that blacks could succeed in radio and that black-appeal programming could be profitable. In the final analysis, Cooper's work proved to be an important factor leading to the substantial growth of black-appeal programming and black employment in radio during the late 1940s and 1950s.

Cooper continued to broadcast into the 1960s, when failing eyesight forced him to retire. He died in 1970.

MICHAEL STREISSGUTH

See also African-Americans in Radio; Black-Oriented Radio; Stereotypes on Radio

Jack L. Cooper. Born in Memphis, Tennessee, 18 September 1888. Born the last of ten children and raised by foster family in Cincinnati, Ohio. Boxed in 160 amateur bouts; from early 1900s, played semiprofessional baseball and performed as dancer, singer, actor, and comedian in traveling vaudeville shows; wrote for *Chicago Defender*, mid-1920s; producer, announcer, actor, comedian, disc jockey, 1925–1960s, for WCAP (Washington, D.C.), WWAE (Chicago), WSBC (Chicago), WHFC (Chicago), WBEE (Chicago), WAAF (Chicago); established radio production company (Jack L. Cooper Presentations), 1932; established advertising firm (Jack L. Cooper Advertising Company), 1937. Died in Chicago, 12 January 1970.

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Cooperative Analysis of Broadcasting

First U.S. Radio Ratings Service

The Cooperative Analysis of Broadcasting (CAB), a nonprofit organization, was the first company to provide regular studies of the radio audience on a continuing basis. From 1929 to 1933 the service belonged to Crossley, Inc., headed by

Archibald M. Crossley. With the emergence of the American Association of Advertising Agencies (AAAA) in 1934, Crossley turned over his service to a jointly financed cooperative venture consisting of national advertisers and agencies. By 1936

CAB was supported by the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) and by 1945 the four major networks.

CAB was a marketing research organization. Its interest was not just in radio listening but in what advertisers in general got out of advertising. Radio program ratings were but one means of answering a number of questions and concerns that CAB addressed. Radio program ratings provided an answer to the question of how large an audience was. During this period, radio advertisers were also program producers, purchasing time periods from the radio networks and filling these periods with their own programs. Sponsors used CAB information about radio's listening audience to build programs that attracted the type of listeners most likely to buy their products. Because radio audiences were broadly based and were not already predetermined as magazines were by editorial policy, most advertisers concentrated merely on attracting large numbers of listeners.

Origins

Because national advertisers were some of the first companies to explore the use of radio as a means of advertising, it was perhaps not surprising that the Association of National Advertisers (ANA), through its radio commission (or committee), made the first attempt to answer basic questions regarding radio's anonymous audience and the national advertisers' possible customers. Because advertisers created programs and purchased time from networks, the first question that served as the focus for the first generation of audience research was that of network programs' relative popularity: what network programs were the most popular; that is, which programs drew the largest audiences relative to other programs? This question of program ratings served as the focus for CAB.

Crossley had started Crossley Inc. in 1918; it was one of three major organizations (the others being Roper and Gallup) that engaged in political polling. Political polling results were ranked by percentage points, much like ratings. When the ANA returned to Crossley to repeat an earlier audit, Crossley suggested that he should instead study radio's listening audience and listeners' program preferences. Although the radio committee of the ANA decided not to finance the study, the ANA did agree to endorse it if Crossley would underwrite it. By 1929 Crossley had gained endorsement from 30 sponsors, and by 1930 he began field work. Crossley's service functioned primarily as a network program rating service. Crossley, in fact, coined the term *rating*, although initially he used only the "identified listening audience," or what is now called the share, as the base for his ratings. Because national advertisers and agencies had developed Crossley's service, it initially served the 33 cities where the radio networks had outlets.

CAB's Method: The Telephone Recall

Although Crossley used a variety of techniques for different clients, including printed roster, mechanical recorder, personal interview, and coincidental, he selected a simple "next-day recall" telephone method to provide the first regular measure of network program audiences. The coincidental method employs an interview method in which the respondent is asked to state his or her listening to radio at the precise time ("coincidental" with) the interview. By comparison, next-day recall required respondents to recall behavior for the previous 24 hours. The recall method raised questions about respondent memory. Crossley's technique was to dial a telephone-based list and interview respondents about their previous day's listening.

Crossley chose the telephone recall method for four primary reasons. First, radio and telephone ownership had originally exhibited a high degree of congruence when he began his radio work in 1929—though radio homes would soon outstrip those with telephones. Second, telephones covered a wide area quickly. Third, recall meant that a great deal of information about listeners could be collected at little expense. Finally, sponsor identification was an important concern during the period. As Daniel Yankelovich noted in 1938, for many years advertisers held the belief that recall or registration was the most useful index of advertising effectiveness. Because most sponsors or agencies typically developed their own programs during this period or at least sponsored an entire program, advertisers sought to know the degree of registration between the programs and their product. Recall measured conscious impression. The chief drawback, of course, was that not all homes had telephones. By the late 1930s, twice as many homes had radios as owned telephones, meaning a large proportion of the radio audience was not reached by CAB researchers. Still, over the years Crossley's sample size grew four-fold from its starting point of about 100,000 households.

Enter Hooperatings

Crossley's service, under stiff competition after 1934 with the up-and-coming Hooperatings service, gradually lost ground. The foundation of Crossley's survey technique was originally quota sampling. This was a type of nonprobability sampling, meaning that the degree of sampling error could not be calculated (sampling error is the difference between the sample's results and the results that would be obtained if the whole population were surveyed). Quotas were set as to the number of respondents of varying demographics, such as geographical areas, age, gender, economic levels, and so forth that interviewers were to obtain. The goal in setting quotas was to ensure that the sample was distributed with respect to these characteristics in proportion to presumably known population totals. In

response to attacks from C.E. Hooper of Hooperatings, Crossley changed to random sampling, a type of probability sample in which sampling error could be calculated. A random sample ensured that each unit used in the sample had an equal chance or probability of being selected. He also shifted to the coincidental method, or having interviewers call while the program audience was still tuned to their radios. Hooper also questioned CAB's tabulation procedures, the phrasing of questions asked, and distribution methods.

As the authority of CAB was whittled away by the compiler of a more convincing set of statistics, backers of CAB became alarmed. By January 1946 Hooper had substantial subscribers, and industry backers saw CAB's switch from telephone recall to Hooper's method of telephone coincidental as rendering CAB superfluous. The final straw for CAB was the financial withdrawal of ABC, CBS, and NBC, which left MBS as the only radio network member. The four networks had provided 40 percent of CAB revenues. The three advertising association backers, ANA, AAAA, and NAB, were left holding the bag. An attempt was made to cover this large operating cost gap through increasing dues and assessment. However, CAB had gradually lost more and more ground to Hooper, and in June 1946 CAB suspended its 17-year-old service.

Run as a cooperative membership organization, CAB was operated by a board of governors consisting of advertisers, agencies, and broadcasters. This cooperative structure led to a crucial difficulty that impaired CAB. This structure had hindered its efficient operation, making it much less responsive to the marketplace than Hooper. The committee's divergent idea and politics led to a bureaucratic situation that Crossley called "too many chiefs." Its committee structure meant that decisions were long in the making; decisions were typically compromises and were tied to interest rather than economic

considerations; furthermore, results were not measured in terms of profits or loss in the marketplace. Hooper's private enterprise, on the other hand, was conscious of cost, was aware of the degree of acceptance from its clients, and was more responsive in general to the marketplace.

Both CAB's and Hooper's rating services were rating indices limited to a handful of urban cities. Neither provided national size estimates of the number of listeners to a given program, but rather were limited to comparative figures. Neither was designed to measure a true national program audience but was instead limited to urban telephone homes.

KAREN S. BUZZARD

See also Advertising Agencies; Audience Research; Consultants; Hooperatings; Programming Strategies and Processes

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Copyright

Protecting Intellectual Property

Copyright is the legal principle that protects the intellectual property rights of the author of a work. Any original literary, audio, or video material can be copyrighted by the author. The author has the exclusive right to control the reproduction, distribution, performance, or adaptation of that work. In order for an author to claim copyright, the work must have been produced in a fixed medium (written on paper, tape-recorded,

or even typed onto a computer hard drive). Extemporaneous speeches or performances are not copyrighted.

There is a basic philosophy behind protecting copyright. Those who hope to make a profit from their creations are much more likely to be successful if others are prohibited from using the creations without paying for them. Copyright laws are created to encourage authors to write more with an assur-

ance that their material cannot be illegally reproduced or altered. The U.S. Constitution states that Congress has the authority to “promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors . . . the exclusive right to their respective writings.”

Most countries have some form of copyright law. In the United States, the 1976 Copyright Act is the law that provides much of the detail. There are a number of international copyright treaties and conventions, but there is not a single worldwide “copyright registration” that will protect an author’s work globally. The United States is a member of the Berne Convention and the Universal Copyright Convention, which recognize copyrights of residents of member nations. Some countries (most notably China) have been criticized for their unwillingness to enforce copyright claims in their country, allowing unlimited copying without compensating the author.

Copyright exists the moment an author creates a work in a tangible form, but without providing notice and registering the work, the author stands little chance of enforcing the copyright. Notice requires that the author provide the word *copyright* or the international symbol ©, the name of the copyright holder, and the date of the copyright. For audio recordings (whether CDs, cassettes, or vinyl), the © symbol is replaced with a ℗, for “phonorecord.” Without a notice, a copyright infringer may be able to claim an “innocent infringement.” The infringer may successfully claim to have been unaware that the work was copyrighted or may claim not to have known whom to approach to request copyright permission.

Registration with the Copyright Office is a relatively simple procedure. Although registration is not required to have copyright, trying to make a claim in court that copyright has been violated is impossible without registration. In order to register copyright, an author submits a form (available on-line), a \$30 registration fee, and two copies of the work. Although registration can be done months or years after a work is created, there are distinct legal advantages to registering the work within three months of its creation. Only those promptly registering copyright are entitled to recover attorney’s fees and statutory damages in a lawsuit.

Radio and Copyright

Radio stations use copyrighted material that they do not own every day. Almost all of the music they play was written by someone other than a station employee. Radio stations are required to pay royalties to the authors of the music they play. To simplify the process, performing rights organizations such as the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers (ASCAP) and Broadcast Music Incorporated (BMI) were created to collect royalties from stations and to distribute the

royalties equitably among authors. Stations pay annual blanket licensing fees, which cover the cost of playing any songs from those libraries. The fees are based on the benefit each station derives from the copyrighted music. Highly profitable stations that play a lot of music in large markets are charged much more than are all-talk stations in small markets. Those fees are then equitably divided by the rights organizations based on their own determination of which authors’ works were most used.

Not everything a radio station does is covered by music licensing fees. The annual fees paid to performing rights organizations only cover *performances* of the music. Those organizations do not collect fees for other uses of copyrighted material, such as reproducing the work or creating some kind of adaptation. If a radio station uses music in producing a commercial, that is not a performance but is instead the creation of a new, derivative work. Using a piece of copyrighted music in this way without permission of the author is a copyright violation. In order to comply with copyright law, stations or advertisers that use copyrighted music in their commercials need to seek the permission of the copyright holder, usually the author. From that point, it is all a matter of contract negotiation. The author can allow the use for a limited time, charge any fee for the use, or prohibit the use altogether.

Just as a radio station has to pay copyright fees for the music it plays, others might be obligated to pay copyright fees for playing music, even if the music comes from a radio station that has already paid copyright fees. Because the premise of copyright is to reward authors when others benefit from their work, retail establishments, restaurants, and other venues must pay for the use of copyrighted music. If a restaurant plays music that enhances the atmosphere, thereby contributing to its profitability, the restaurant might be responsible for paying a fee for the use of the music. In 1998 the U.S. Congress amended the law to exempt smaller establishments. Retail establishments under 2,000 gross square feet and restaurants under 3,750 gross square feet are exempt from having to pay copyright fees. Larger establishments are expected to pay fees much as a radio station would.

Limitations on Copyright

Copyright does not last forever. Under earlier copyright laws, rights were protected for 28 years and could be renewed for an additional 28 years. In 1978 the law was modified to protect copyright for the life of the author plus 50 years. A more recent modification extended the protection. For works created since 1978, copyright lasts for the life of the author plus 70 years. Because the legislation had to account for changes in existing copyright, duration can be somewhat more complicated for pre-1978 works. Works created before 1978 are

generally protected for 95 years, with some rare exceptions (e.g., if a work was created in 1940 and not reregistered 28 years later). Because copyright endures beyond the life of the author, it can be willed just like any other piece of real property that the author owns. In fact, authors can sell or give away their copyrights before death, but the duration is still based on the author's life plus 70 years.

There are instances in which copyright is held not by an individual but rather by a corporation. It would be impossible to calculate the life of the author plus 70 years, because the corporation might go on indefinitely. For these *works for hire*, copyright lasts for 95 years from publication or 120 years from creation, whichever is greater.

There are times when copyright owners have no control over the works they've created. The doctrine of *fair use* allows for certain types of uses without permission or payment to the copyright holder. In determining whether a use is fair, four elements need to be considered: (1) the nature of the use, (2) the nature of the copyrighted work, (3) the amount and substantiality of the original that is used, and (4) the impact of the use on the potential market for the original.

Nature of the Use

Section 107 of the Copyright Act of 1976 states that the fair use of copyrighted works "for purposes such as criticism, comment, news reporting, teaching (including multiple copies for classroom use), scholarship, or research, is not an infringement of copyright." A 1994 U.S. Supreme Court decision determined that parody is also an acceptable purpose for a fair use. The nature of the use can be the sole factor distinguishing a fair use from a copyright infringement. For example, a radio station using a piece of music as the sound bed for a commercial would be infringing copyright. The same piece of music used by the same station as a sound bed for a news story would be a fair use, because news reporting is considered a fair use and so the use of the song as a news story element would be protected. Ironically, the same song used by the same station, if used as production music (e.g., as the theme song for the newscast) would be a copyright infringement. The nature of the use is an important consideration.

Nature of the Copyrighted Work

Authors who don't publish their works have a greater interest in keeping their works out of public sight. A poet or composer who creates work but prefers not to share it has greater protection from a claim of fair use than does a poet or composer who constantly tries to reach the largest possible audience. It would be difficult to claim a fair use of an unpublished work, even if the nature of the use were acceptable.

Amount and Substantiality Used

In order for use of copyrighted material to be considered fair, the amount of the original used should not be excessive. Unfortunately, no legally defined line separates the quantity considered fair from the amount that would not be considered fair. What we do know is that the judgment is made based both on qualitative and quantitative information. Although copying an entire work is not likely to be a fair use, use of just a small percentage of an original might be determined unfair if the use contains the essential part of the copyrighted work. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the *Nation* magazine infringed the copyright of Gerald Ford's memoirs when it published "only" a few hundred words from the original: the portion published was at the heart of what people most wanted to know (regarding Ford's dealings with Nixon) and was therefore significant.

Impact on the Potential Market

This is probably the most important consideration in determining whether a use is fair. Uses that harm authors by denying them profits are not likely to be considered fair. The issue is not whether the user profits, but rather whether the copyright owner's profit is reduced. Not-for-profit educational radio stations still must pay to use copyrighted music on the air, even though no one profits from airing the music. Musical parodies are protected in part because they do not harm the market for the original copyrighted work. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled that a 2 Live Crew parody of Roy Orbison's "Pretty Woman" was a fair use, stating in its reasoning that it could not imagine a potential purchaser trying to choose between the two versions.

An area of fair use where there is still some uncertainty is in home recording. A U.S. Supreme Court decision in 1984 held that video recording of television programs for noncommercial, in-home viewing was a fair use. That decision, however, essentially authorized "time shifting" of TV programs, that is, the taping of a program in order to watch it later. The Court never really addressed the issue of whether an individual would be allowed to amass a collection of videotaped programs as a fair use. The issue will undoubtedly be revisited as advancing digital technology makes high-quality reproductions easier to obtain. The recording industry already fears the possible explosion of MP3 digital audio recordings, many of which are made without compensation to the author. Their reproduction and distribution is made more rapid by the expansion of the internet and the increase of more advanced home computers. If in-home recording is a fair use, and individuals can access thousands of audio files, the recording industry could be severely affected.

Enforcement

In terms of enforcement, the government has no agency charged with seeking out copyright infringements. It is the responsibility of individual authors to protect their own copyrights, and for this reason many copyright infringements are never punished. In the case of music, performing rights organizations seek out copyright violators and take legal action through the courts, if necessary. Commercial studios, publishing houses, and other industries with a vested interest in protecting their copyrights are active in seeking out violators. Major violations are easily caught: ASCAP and BMI know which stations pay their fees and can monitor those that don't and charge them with a violation. Disney Studios is likely to find out if someone releases a film that is substantially similar to one of their own. But there are thousands of small venues where music is performed, hundreds of thousands of photocopiers, and millions of tape recorders. It is impossible for copyright owners to be able to enforce their rights in every possible arena. This does not mean, however, that the laws are any less real. Violations, no matter how small, can still be legally prosecuted. An appropriate analogy might be a traffic light in a small town at 3:00 A.M. If the light is red, it is still illegal to go. Anyone who does go through the red light is not likely to be caught. Nonetheless, the law still exists. The same

is true of copyright. A number of copyright violations are unlikely to be discovered, but they are still violations and can be punished if discovered.

DOM CARISTI

See also American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers; Broadcast Music Incorporated

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Corporation for Public Broadcasting

The Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) was created by the passage of the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967. Conceived as a nonpartisan entity established to promote and protect public radio and television, the Corporation has been embroiled in controversies and conflicts with the very public broadcasting organizations it brought into existence. Despite the best intentions of Congress, the CPB has not been able to sustain a nonpartisan posture through most of its existence.

Origins

When Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Public Broadcasting Act into law on 7 November 1967, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting was created. This landmark legislation became Section 396 of the Communication Act of 1934. In his public remarks at the signing ceremony, President Johnson stated that the Corporation "will get part of its support from our Government. But it will be carefully guarded from Government or

from party control. It will be free, and it will be independent—and it will belong to all our people."

Contained in the Corporation's charter is a Congressional declaration of policy that provides, in part, that it is in the public interest to encourage the growth and development of educational radio and television broadcasting; that freedom, imagination, and initiative at both the local and national levels are necessary for high-quality, diverse programming for public broadcasting; that federal support for public broadcasting is appropriate; and that a private corporation should facilitate system development and afford maximum protection from extraneous interference and control. The Corporation's board of directors consists of 15 members appointed by the U.S. President, with the advice and consent of the Senate. No more than eight members may be of the same political party, and all members must be United States citizens. Board members are appointed for a six-year term of office. All officers of the Corporation serve at the pleasure of the board of directors. Each

year the CPB must submit an annual report to the President for transmittal to Congress that contains a detailed statement regarding its operations, activities, accomplishments, and financial condition.

CPB and Public Radio

The Corporation for Public Broadcasting was incorporated in 1968 and began the task of staff appointments in 1969. Although the Office of Radio Activities was organized in June 1969 with Albert Hulsen as its first director, the top priority for CPB was television and the formation of a TV interconnection system, the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS). Hulsen, and his successor Thomas Warnock, used this early period to gather information about the performance of public radio in the United States and to begin planning for what would become radio's interconnection system, National Public Radio (NPR), launched in 1971.

CPB and PBS began feuding soon after PBS was created. Lyndon Johnson had since left the White House and President Richard M. Nixon did not like much of what he saw on public television. The Nixon White House started applying pressure on CPB, and the board in turn started applying pressure on PBS. The resulting conflicts between CPB and PBS nearly destroyed the very public broadcasting system that the Corporation had been created to protect. Eventually a reorganization at PBS and a partnership agreement between CPB and PBS stabilized the system and left television much stronger than its radio counterpart. Public radio would need to engage in major reorganization itself if it hoped to get its share of the funding pie during joint negotiations between CPB, PBS, and NPR. That reorganization came as NPR merged with the Association of Public Radio Stations (APRS) to form a new NPR in May of 1977. This created a new political equation in public broadcasting. No longer could CPB and PBS make unilateral decisions about public broadcasting—whether funding allocations or system development—without considering public radio.

The overall prominence of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting that was witnessed during the first decade following the passage of the Public Broadcasting Act had clearly declined by the beginning of the 21st century. Revisions in Congressional appropriation procedures had substituted funding formulas for board room negotiations. Repeated calls for CPB to be a pass-through agent for the distribution of public monies rather than a policy-making organization for public broadcasting had stripped the Corporation of much of its public stature, and with its loss of image came a drain in talent. Partisan politics had inadvertently been built into the fabric of CPB regardless of the safeguards that had been written into the articles of incorporation. When the Republicans rule, the

board is more likely to find liberal political bias in the system's public affairs programming. When the Democrats are in charge, the system's critics decry insufficient minority programming and barriers to access by independent producers.

CPB was created to help put into practice the visions of public service broadcasting that existed only in the form of idealistic rhetoric. Congress was willing to craft lofty language that gave the Corporation its mandate, but lawmakers were never willing to grant the system the kind of fiscal independence that the original system framers envisioned for the fulfillment of the dream for an alternative system of public radio and television stations that were above partisan politics and commercial marketplace imperatives. Given the political, social, and economic environment in which CPB has been forced to function, it is not surprising that its performance record as a catalyst for the development and preservation of public broadcasting has been no more impressive. Indeed, when all of the political and economic handicaps placed on CPB are factored into the performance equation, one might wonder how the Corporation has been able to sustain the level of effectiveness that it has achieved. Whether the Corporation for Public Broadcasting will be able to fulfill its true potential as a positive agent on behalf of public radio and television in the 21st century will largely depend on whether Congress will at long last create the insulated funding mechanism that was envisioned as vital to the Corporation's functioning some 35 years ago.

ROBERT K. AVERY

See also National Public Radio; Public Broadcasting Act; Public Radio Since 1967; Public Service Radio

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Corwin, Norman 1910–

U.S. Radio Playwright and Producer

Norman Corwin is widely considered radio's most revered and celebrated dramatist and poet. His career began during the medium's late infancy at the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) and extended into the 21st century with critically acclaimed work for public radio. Corwin wrote, directed, and produced more than 200 original radio plays that featured many of the most prominent actors of the day.

For his extraordinary output and talents, spirit and sensibilities, Corwin has been honored and admired by heads-of-state as well as by the literary and broadcast communities worldwide. Among his most noted radio works are *We Hold These Truths*, *On A Note of Triumph*, *14 August*, *The Undecided Molecule*, *The Plot to Overthrow Christmas*, and *The Odyssey of Runyon Jones*. Along with countless awards, Corwin has the distinction of being the first writer inducted into the Radio Hall of Fame. In his landmark history of American broadcasting published several decades ago, Erik Barnouw proclaimed Corwin the "unofficial" poet laureate of radio. Today this designation has rightfully attained "official" status.

Words in the Air

Corwin was born to emigrant parents in Boston in 1910. Unlike his siblings, who pursued college studies after graduating from high school, Corwin chose to go to work. Enamored of the power and beauty of words since early childhood, he first sought and gained employment as a writer and reporter for newspapers. He landed his first job in 1927 at *The Recorder* in Greenfield, Massachusetts, and not long after he was able to transfer his growing skills to the pages of Springfield's *The Daily Republican*.

While at *The Daily Republican*, Corwin edited the news and produced a popular poetry feature for a local radio station, but he had not seriously considered a career in radio. Following a dispute with the station's management concerning its unwillingness to cover strike-related stories, Corwin headed for New York. After a brief stint as a film publicist for 20th Century Fox, he convinced experimental station W2XR (later WQXR) to let him offer a show called "Poetic License." Not long after the show's debut, Corwin was doing clever and witty recitations on NBC, and in 1937 these would capture the attention of CBS's William Lewis, who would hire him to direct the network's just formed *Columbia Workshop*.

Between 1938 and 1949, Corwin wrote, directed, and produced dozens of highly acclaimed radio plays as the CBS network provided him uncommon freedom to innovate during sustained (unsponsored) segments of its broadcast schedule.

Later Corwin would attribute his great success to CBS's willingness to allow him to work without interference and strictures. Through evocative and imaginative scripts and technological mastery of the medium wherein the use of sound effects and music were redefined, Corwin took the radio drama in new and extraordinary directions. In his hands it became a legitimate and respected art form. Not only were his works rich in meaning and scale, but his output was amazing as well. In order to meet airtime demands, he often turned out a new play every week for months on end. His great energy and creativity brought added prestige to CBS.

Among Corwin's early network successes were *The Plot to Overthrow Christmas* (1938), which became a holiday standard in both broadcast and published form, and his dramatic disquisition against fascism, *They Fly Through the Air with the Greatest of Ease* (1939). Corwin's vast range became immediately apparent, and he soon was the driving force behind the medium's most auspicious series of programs offered under the rubric *The Columbia Workshop*. This distinguished effort provided a venue for the works of prominent literary figures of the day, such as Archibald MacLeish and Stephen Vincent Benet, as well as for Corwin himself. Many critics view CBS's *Workshop* as radio's high water mark.

Themes and Works

Corwin wrote programs that challenged the listener's emotions and intellect. His were dramas that dealt with the principle issues and concerns of the common man. Hatred, prejudice, deceit, and injustice were familiar themes in his plays. Given the era in which he worked, war became his foremost subject. For some critics, Corwin proved to be too much of a flag waver. The propagandistic and nationalistic nature and quality of many of his war-related scripts may have concerned some people but it won the praise and admiration of many more. Corwin was unabashedly patriotic, this stemming from his deep-seated passion for fairness and justice for all people. His dramas served to bookend the World War II era. Shortly after the bombing of Pearl Harbor and President Roosevelt's declaration of war, his play *We Hold These Truths*—celebrating the 150th anniversary of the Bill of Rights—was broadcast to the nation and commanded the largest audience for a play in the medium's history.

During this dark period in world affairs, Corwin contributed extensively to series like *This Is War* in 1942 and a host of other network programs that zealously promoted the Allied cause. To mark the war's end, Corwin penned and presented



Norman Corwin (center) directing
Courtesy of Norman Corwin

what many consider his masterwork, *On a Note of Triumph* in 1945. So poignant was its affect and impact that many who heard its broadcast were able to recite lines and even whole passages from it decades later. His war dramas had a galvanizing effect on the American public during a time when it was most needed.

Global conflict was not the only recurring or prominent theme in his protean repertoire during this period. Corwin excelled as much when writing about other aspects of the human condition. The more mundane experiences and actions of mankind intrigued him as did the curious machinations of the biological, mythical, and spiritual worlds.

His plays, although nearly always intended to convey a serious or thought-provoking message, were not unrelentingly

somber in nature. Corwin possessed a wonderful comedic sense and loved to offer up delicious satires, fantasies, and parodies on politics, business, and human behavior. On the lighter side of Corwin's canon are *My Client Curley*, *A Soliloquy to Balance the Budget*, *Good Heavens*, *The Plot to Overthrow Christmas*, *The Cliche Expert*, and *The Undecided Molecule*. His keen humor and playful imagination are evident in dozens of other radio plays as well. Corwin also applied his pen to the making of operas, documentaries, and essays for consumption by network audiences. Versatility became one of his legendary hallmarks.

Perhaps the only person to have entered big time national radio through the portal of poetry, Corwin enjoyed writing in verse more than prose, and because of this most of his plays

assume a distinct poetic life of their own. Among those who most greatly influenced him as a writer were poets like Walt Whitman and Carl Sandburg. The latter greatly admired Corwin's work and considered him one of the country's best practitioners of the rhyme form.

As the bard of radio's golden age, Corwin helped to lift the medium from its adolescence to its adulthood. His high ideals and moral vision demanded that radio become more socially and culturally astute. His symphonic (music was an integral ingredient of his plays) and altruistic inscriptions raised the stakes for practiced and aspiring radio dramatists alike and provoked and schooled its audience. The poet Carl Van Doren wrote that "Corwin was to radio what Marlowe was to the Elizabethan stage." Indeed, Corwin's work held its listeners in thrall as it conveyed the enduring truths—albeit both sad and delightful—about the human condition in unforgettable words and sounds.

Global Reach

Corwin's acclaim as a radio dramatist spread to the international arena and ultimately made him the most produced radio writer worldwide. Presaging this distinction, he set out on a global expedition to record the perspectives of people in many nations for use in a CBS documentary. Subsidized by the bestowal of the first ever Wendell Wilkie Memorial Award in 1946, this became a 13 part series called *One World Flight*, wherein many of the most compelling personalities of the time were interviewed on a host of propitious questions about the status of mankind. During Corwin's four month fact-finding journey he met and recorded the thoughts of people from all walks of life—heads-of-state, generals, waiters, actors, farmers, writers, composers, artists, orphans, and scientists. Corwin narrated the series, which particularly focused on the war's tragic aftermath and hopes for the future.

In one program he interviewed a widowed Italian woman and observed: "This voice and the echo of guns only lately stilled, and the silence of the cemeteries . . . the begging of alms, and the whimper of hungry children; this voice, and the mute rubble of wasted towns and cities—these were the sounds of need: need for the hope and for the reality of a united world."

Corwin has been cited as the first radioman to circle the globe as a journalist, and his passion for world justice and peace have informed his creative efforts throughout the last half of his exceptional career. Since the fade of radio's much heralded golden age following the arrival of television in the late 1940s, he has contributed to the efforts of the Voice of America, U.S. State Department, and several other world organizations by speaking on behalf of the poor and disenfranchised. In the early 1950s Corwin served as Chief of Special

Projects for United Nations Radio. Over the decades many of his radio plays have been rebroadcast to underprivileged areas of the world, and he has been invited to conduct seminars on the medium in Europe, Africa, and Asia.

Golden Age to Graylist

In the 1950s, Corwin's star faded as television took over the American living room. The market for radio drama all but vanished as the networks pursued television's more lucrative bottom line. Within a few short years, Corwin's name was no longer a household word. Forced to seek work elsewhere, he wrote scripts for television and movies, where recognition for his writing gifts was soon forthcoming. In 1956, Corwin penned the screenplay *Lust for Life* and received an Academy Award nomination. In the years to follow, despite his appearance on the McCarthy era graylist of those suspected of associating with communists, he would be honored with several prominent awards and citations.

Corwin continued to earn the public's affection and attention with five stage plays and over a dozen books. Yet despite his foray into other writing venues, radio would still command his greatest attention. There would be a steady but modest flow of writing assignments for the medium even as it became dominated by pop music and deejays.

In the late 1990s, public radio would prompt a rediscovery of Corwin's ethereal artistry by digitally remastering and airing *13 by Corwin* and commissioning him to undertake a series of original works, culminating in his rousing salvo for New Years Eve 2000, *Memos to a New Millennium*, narrated by Walter Cronkite. At 90 years of age, the medium's grand "radio-wright" (a term coined by Corwin) was still an undisputed master of the airwaves.

MICHAEL C. KEITH

See also Drama, U.S.; Playwrights on Radio; Poetry and Radio

Norman Lewis Corwin. Born in Boston, Massachusetts, 3 May 1910, one of four children of emigrant parents. Newspaper journalist, 1927–36; writer, producer, director at WBZ-WBZA, 1934; WQXR, 1937–38; and CBS, 1938–49; chief of special projects for United Nations Radio, 1950–55; freelance writer, producer, and director for radio, television, stage, and film, 1955–93; book author; magazine columnist, 1973–80; college lecturer, University of Southern California, 1980–present. Received American Academy of Arts and Letters Citation, 1942; Golden Globe Award, 1958; Academy Award nomination, 1958; Peabody Award, 1941 and 1945; DuPont Award, 1996; member of the Board of Governors and first Vice President of the Motion Picture Academy of Arts and Sciences. Inducted into the Radio Hall of Fame, 1993.

Radio Programs

- 1938 *Words without Music* (one play)
- 1939 *Words without Music* (one play); *Columbia Workshop* (one play); *So This Is Radio* (six plays)
- 1940 *Columbia Workshop* (one play); *Pursuit of Happiness* (one play); *Forecast* (one play); *Cavalcade of America* (one play)
- 1941 *26 by Corwin* (26 plays); *We Hold These Truths* (one play)
- 1942 *This Is War!* (six plays); *An American in England* (ten plays)
- 1943 *Cresta Blanca Carnival* (one play); *America Salutes the President's Birthday Party* (one play); *Transatlantic Call* (three plays); *Passport for Adam* (four plays)
- 1944 *Columbia Presents Corwin* (20 plays); *Election Eve Special* (one play)
- 1945 *U.N. San Francisco Conference Special* (one play); *On a Note of Triumph* (one play); *Columbia Presents Corwin* (seven plays); *VJ-Day Special* (one play); *Day of Prayer Special* (one play); *CBS Promotion Special* (one play); *Special: Radio's 25th Anniversary* (one play)
- 1947 *One World Flight* (13 plays); *Special: Committee for the First Amendment* (one play)
- 1949 *CBS Documentary Unit* (one play); *Un Radio* (one play)
- 1950 *The Pursuit of Peace* (two plays)
- 1951 *United Nations Radio* (one play))
- 1955 *United Nations Radio* (one play)
- 1990s *With Corwin* (six plays for public radio)

Selected Publications

- They Fly through the Air with the Greatest of Ease*, 1939
- The Plot to Overthrow Christmas*, 1940
- Thirteen by Corwin*, 1942
- This Is War!*, 1942
- More by Corwin: 16 Radio Dramas*, 1944
- On a Note of Triumph*, 1945
- Untitled, and Other Radio Dramas*, 1947

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Coughlin, Father Charles 1891–1979**U.S. Roman Catholic Priest and Radio Commentator**

In the 1930s, Father Charles E. Coughlin, the “Radio Priest” from Royal Oak, Michigan, used radio broadcasts to assemble what was then the largest congregation in the history of Christianity. He also became the first Roman Catholic priest to make a serious impact on the U.S. political scene.

Early Years

Born of a Canadian mother and an Irish-American father in Ontario in 1891, Coughlin was ordained a Roman Catholic priest in 1916 as a member of the Basilian order. He assisted in several Michigan parishes, becoming a diocesan priest in Detroit in 1923. Already enjoying a reputation as a pulpit orator, his masses at the churches to which he was temporarily assigned regularly attracted overflow crowds.

In 1926 Coughlin became pastor of the just-dedicated Shrine of the Little Flower parish in Royal Oak, four miles up Woodward Avenue from Detroit's northern city limits. Although the parish had only 25 families at its inception, the enterprising young priest built a church to hold 600 people. The building process was anything but trouble-free. Raising funds for the new parish proved difficult, and the Ku Klux Klan, fearful of an increasing Roman Catholic populace in the area, burned a cross on the church lawn. Fortunately, Coughlin was introduced to Leo Fitzpatrick, station manager of powerful WJR radio, who was taken by the young pastor's plight. Fitzpatrick suggested that Coughlin employ his oratorical skills over WJR in order to create a more sympathetic climate for the Shrine parish and to appeal for financial support.



Father Charles Coughlin, 4 November 1938
 Courtesy AP/Wide World Photos

Persuasion by Radio

Originally entitled the *Golden Hour of the Little Flower*, Coughlin's first broadcast was relayed from the Shrine on 3 October 1926. Initially the program was intended for children but gradually shifted to adult topics on general economic and political perils facing the country. For Coughlin soon discovered that such subjects struck a responsive chord with listeners, resulting in correspondence that often contained financial contributions. He organized the Radio League of the Little Flower (annual membership fee: \$1) to stimulate donations that allowed him to purchase more radio exposure. In 1929 he bought time on Cincinnati's powerful clear-channel station WLW and began negotiations to add WMAQ (Chicago) as his enterprise's third station. Because WMAQ was a CBS-owned outlet, the matter was referred to network headquarters in New York. As a result, Coughlin was sold time on the CBS network. National visibility was at hand.

The cost of airtime soon was dwarfed by the rising tide of contributions that his widely distributed program elicited. As the Great Depression set in, Coughlin's offensive against the twin evils of communism and international banking resonated

with many and further increased the popularity of his broadcasts. But when his attacks became more specific and mentioned President Herbert Hoover by name, CBS became nervous. Edward Klauber, the network's executive vice president, requested that the priest submit scripts for advance clearance. Coughlin's response came in his 4 January 1931 broadcast when he asked his listeners whether or not CBS should be allowed to censor him. CBS was inundated with 1,250,000 letters of protest, and Coughlin's messages were never prescreened.

CBS still eased him off its network the following April and NBC was not interested in being Coughlin's replacement chain. So WJR's Fitzpatrick contacted Alfred McCosker, his counterpart at WOR, New York. Together they set up a telephone-linked group of 11 stations that expanded to 26 outlets from Maine to Colorado by the autumn of 1932. Weekly cost for the landlines and airtime was \$14,000.

Coughlin's program now openly laid blame for the Depression on President Hoover. Over a million letters of support poured in; Royal Oak's first post office was established to cope with his correspondence, and Father Coughlin became the subject of feature articles in radio fan magazines and newspapers across the country. His religious superior, Bishop Michael Gallagher, was a firm supporter of Coughlin's social justice agenda, so grumblings from prominent East Coast cardinals were of no concern. Thousands of visitors, Catholic and non-Catholic alike, made pilgrimages to the Shrine church, now graced by an imposing 150-foot stone tower upon which was carved a crucifix illuminated by floodlights. Coughlin's radio speeches, composed in a small study at the top of the tower, increased in both vehemence and popularity. A poll conducted by WOR named him the nation's most useful citizen of 1933, and when WCAU asked its Philadelphia listeners whether they wanted Father Coughlin or the New York Philharmonic on Sunday afternoon, there were 187,000 votes for the cleric and only 12,000 for the orchestra.

Controversy

Coughlin cheered the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt and remained a staunch New Deal supporter throughout 1933, FDR's first year in office. The priest's resonant brogue and passionate oratory advocated the nationalization of gold and revaluation of the dollar, policies that were originally favored by the Roosevelt administration as well. But Roosevelt never warmed to the "Radio Priest" and never extended to him the counselor status that Coughlin thought he deserved. So on 11 November 1934, Coughlin announced the formation of a National Union for Social Justice to lobby independently for his social and economic proposals. The break with Roosevelt became complete when the administration proposed joining the World Court, an entity Coughlin considered a tool of

international bankers. His 27 January 1935 broadcast was a blistering attack on the proposal, resulting in 200,000 protest letters to Congress, a key factor in the government's abandonment of the plan.

Coughlin's social justice movement now converged with the Share-Our-Wealth platform of Louisiana's bombastic Senator Huey Long. But in September 1935, Long was assassinated. The news reached President Roosevelt during a meeting with Coughlin and Joseph P. Kennedy (father of the future president), a conference Kennedy had arranged in an unsuccessful attempt to reconcile the priest and the president. The next year, Coughlin's National Union for Social Justice joined with Long's Share-Our-Wealth backers to create the Union Party and to endorse the presidential bid of North Dakota Congressman William Lemke. The priest also founded his own newspaper, *Social Justice Weekly*, which soon achieved a circulation of 1 million copies. Such success emboldened Coughlin to promise that he would leave radio if he could not deliver 9 million votes to Lemke. When Lemke garnered less than 1 million ballots, Coughlin honored his pledge and took leave of his broadcast audience on 7 November 1936.

Three months later, however, he was back on the air, rationalizing that this turnabout occurred because it was the dying wish of his supportive superior, Bishop Gallagher. For the next two years, Coughlin continued his broadcast attacks on Roosevelt's New Deal and its failure to adopt the monetary reforms that the priest advocated. Beginning in mid-1938, with European war clouds gathering, Coughlin began to focus more on international affairs. In his November 20th radio program, he excused German Nazism as a necessary defense mechanism against communism and supported the Nazi theory that Jewish bankers were behind the Russian Revolution. Over the next year his broadcasts took a more and more anti-Semitic tone.

In October 1939, fearing government retaliation for the strident broadcast oratory of Coughlin and other radical political voices, the National Association of Broadcasters' Code Committee placed strict limitations on the sale of radio time to "spokesmen of controversial public issues." As the priest's airtime was all purchased at commercial rates, this new self-policing edict gradually eroded his network as his contracts with stations expired. He canceled his 1940-41 season (the program had always taken a summer hiatus anyway) and never returned to the airwaves. On 1 May 1942, Coughlin's banishment from the public stage was complete when his new superior, Archbishop Francis Mooney, ordered him to cease all writings and nonreligious activities for the duration of the war. Acting upon a request relayed by Roosevelt emissary Leo Crowley and expressions of concern from the Vatican, Mooney threatened to revoke Father Coughlin's priestly authority if he did not comply.

Always the obedient priest, Coughlin immediately abandoned publication of *Social Justice*, allowed the government to

revoke its second-class mailing privilege, and retreated to the role of Shrine pastor. He served in that capacity until his retirement in 1966.

At the height of his prominence, Father Coughlin had a listenership of more than 30 million, received 400,000 letters per week, and was featured twice on the cover of *Newsweek*. In stark contrast, from 1966 until his death a decade later the "Radio Priest" lived unobtrusively, first in a small apartment behind his beloved Shrine of the Little Flower and then in a home he purchased in nearby Birmingham.

PETER B. ORLIK

See also Controversial Issues; Politics and Radio; Religion on Radio

Charles Edward Coughlin. Born in Hamilton, Ontario, Canada, 25 October 1891. Only child of Thomas Coughlin and Amelia Mahoney. Honors degree in philosophy, University of Toronto's St. Michael's College, 1911; St. Basil's Seminary, 1911-16; ordained priest, 1916; taught in Canadian Basilian schools, then served in several Michigan parishes; accepted into Detroit diocese, 1923; pastor, Shrine of the Little Flower parish, Royal Oak, Michigan, 1926-66; Sunday afternoon radio broadcast, *Golden Hour of the Little Flower*, 1926-40; founded National Union for Social Justice, 1934; ordered off air, 1942; retired, 1966. Died in Birmingham, Michigan, 27 October 1979.

Radio Series

1926-40 *Golden Hour of the Little Flower* (carried on CBS, 1929-31)

Publication

Social Justice Weekly, 1936-42

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Country Music Format

At the beginning of the 20th century, “country music” was a version of folk music. With field recordings of the late 1920s, it became categorized as “hillbilly” music, and then after World War II, entrepreneurs renamed it “country and western,” a designation used throughout the 1950s and into the 1960s. With the rise of Nashville as the recording center, however, the “western” was dropped, and by the time it became an important radio format, the name “country” was widely accepted. Whatever the name, until the 1960s country music tended to be songs of poor white folk that were passed down generation to generation as the South and then the West were settled.

Early Country Radio

In 1927 Ralph Peer of Radio Corporation of America (RCA) Victor record company began to record country music performers, most notably Jimmie Rogers and the Carter family, and a commercial industry was born. The western side of country music was popularized in cowboy films of the 1930s and 1940s by such stars as Roy Rogers and Gene Autry. On the radio, western stars had regular programs: there were country music performances on live barn dances such as the *National Barn Dance* from Chicago; *Town and Country Time* from Washington, D.C.; and the *Grand Ole Opry* from Nashville.

During World War II, soldiers from the South and West took their music all around the world. In the postwar era, Hank Williams made country songs popular, and he was followed by Jim Reeves and Patsy Cline. As Top 40 took over radio airplay, country music—in the 1960s—emerged as an alternative genre centered in Nashville, with stars such as Johnny Cash, Jimmy Dean, Loretta Lynn, and Dolly Parton.

On radio, country music had long been confined to network programs (such as the *National Barn Dance* from Chicago and the *Grand Ole Opry* from Nashville), small-town stations, and the border radio stations in Mexico. With the decline of network programming and the rise of radio formats, non-network-affiliated stations were playing a substantial amount of country music as early as the late 1940s. Top 40 led the way in terms of playing a selected playlist from one genre of music. Country—from Nashville—did the same as it evolved during the 1960s.

The country music business realized the threat of rock and roll, and in the late 1950s the business reorganized what had been the annual country disc jockeys’ convention into the Country Music Association to promote more country music on radio. Although the identity of the first country-formatted station will forever be debated, stations converted from the programming techniques of the network era to those of the format era. Stations such as WARL-AM (Arlington, Virginia); KXLA-

AM (Pasadena, California); and KDAV-TV (Lubbock, Texas) played live and recorded country music almost all day by 1950.

A generation later, more than 300 radio stations broadcast recorded country music on a full-time basis, and over 2,000 more programmed country for part of the day. The Country Music Association deserves much of the credit for promoting country as an alternative format, but it was certainly helped by the fracturing of rock music during the 1960s and the alienation of its older audience. During the 1950s and 1960s, country format radio moved from its small-town base in the South (as well as in cities such as Los Angeles, where thousands of southerners had moved during the Great Depression) to cities all across the United States.

Country as a Format

By the mid-1960s, advertisers no longer thought of country radio stations as only being listened to by country folk. During the 1950s, it looked as though country would not survive the popularity of rock and Top 40 formatting, but the introduction of the “Nashville Sound”—typified by the now-classic recordings of Patsy Cline—proved that crossover hit making was possible. By the mid-1970s, country had its place in radio, with more than 1,000 stations playing country format. Country had become suburban—it had given a voice to adult problems, such as infidelity, boss hating, and the like, whereas pop music seemed stuck in teenaged concerns. Country radio listeners were therefore older and were nearly always white.

By the 1990s, one survey determined that country stations were number one in 57 of the top 100 radio markets in the United States. Many surveys found country the most popular format on radio, with such megastars as Garth Brooks, Reba McEntire, Alan Jackson, and Shania Twain. The country music format had surely reached a high point as the most popular radio music in the country.

Even in the mid-1990s, however, some argued that radio was becoming too formulaic. Country radio aimed programming at adults aged 18 to 34 who listened on their way to and from work, were made up of more women than men, and lived in the suburbs rather than the cities. Artists who did not appeal to these listeners, including Dolly Parton and Willie Nelson, were simply ignored. Pressed by advertisers seeking younger buyers, country radio ironically abandoned listeners over 49, the very fans who had helped build it into the nation’s most popular format.

During the 1990s, grown-up baby boomers embraced country, and so advertisers willingly anted up millions of dollars in advertising spending to reach them. Using Donnelley’s Cluster



The Grand Ole Opry celebrates its first new stage set in 22 years, 10 June 2000
 Courtesy AP/Wide World Photos

Plus system, in 1990 the Arbitron ratings service found that 40 percent of all country fans fit into the system's most affluent groupings, compared with fewer than one-quarter of all Americans aged 12 and older.

The boom in country radio (and television) is well reflected in the career of Garth Brooks, a star who did not sell his first compact disc until 1989 and who by the close of the century was the best-selling popular music artist in history. American music has never seen a phenomenon like Brooks, who in 1996 at age 34 had reached number two—in just seven years. In the process, he eclipsed Elvis Presley, Michael Jackson, and the Beatles. During the early 1990s he sold an average of 8 million “units” per year. Radio stations featured Brooks’ latest releases and captured millions of new listeners.

New ways of determining hits helped as well. In 1992 Brooks became the year's top-selling artist based on *Ropin' in the Wind*, released late in 1991, because computers were used to determine what was sold in stores rather than relying on telephone surveys. Brooks became, because of SoundScan computer counting, the first country artist to top *Billboard's*

charts. *Ropin' in the Wind* became the first country album ever to top *Billboard's* year-end pop album chart. Country radio programmers used SoundScan data (a music sales reporting service for subscribers that integrates weekly retail store reports on how many CDs have been sold, providing results for individual markets, regions, or the nation) to determine their playlists.

The 25 May 1991 *Billboard* chart was the first done on SoundScan, and suddenly 15 more country albums showed up in the Top 200 than had been there a week before. In 1984 the country category showed only 8 gold (500,000 sales), 4 platinum (1,000,000-plus sales), and 7 multiplatinum albums. By 1991 the numbers were 24 gold, 21 platinum, and 8 multiplatinum.

At the beginning of the 21st century, the future of the country music format looked bright. The number of young people listening to country music had increased almost 70 percent during the 1990s, and although its popularity was leveling off as the decade ended, no one predicted that country's core popularity would decline anytime soon. According to the *Simmons*

Study of Media and Markets, country music was the choice of one-fifth of the 18-to-24 population, with growth among those aged 25 to 34, 35 to 44, and 45 to 54, most of these being just the listeners most desired by radio advertisers.

DOUGLAS GOMERY

See also Border Radio; Contemporary Hit Radio Format/Top 40; Gospel Music Format; Grand Ole Opry; Music; National Barn Dance; Oldies Format

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Cowan, Louis 1909–1976

U.S. Radio Producer and Executive

Louis Cowan is associated mainly with the creation of various quiz shows, both for radio and later for television. However, Cowan himself was most interested in creating shows with an intellectual slant for popular audiences. Along those lines, Cowan was influential during World War II in helping to promote positive portrayals of African-Americans and military personnel on radio programs.

Louis Cowan was born Louis Cohen in Chicago in 1909. While a student at the University of Chicago, Cowan was influenced by the noted communications researcher Harold Lasswell and gained an interest in how communication could shape opinion. After graduating in 1931, he changed his name to Cowan and began his own public relations firm. One account he gained was publicity for the radio program *Kay Kyser's College of Musical Knowledge*. Cowan later formed his own independent production company, Louis G. Cowan Productions, and in 1940 he created his first radio hit, *The Quiz Kids*, which ran on the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) Blue network. Cowan's concept for this program was to feature a panel of bright children, none older than 16, fielding questions sent in by listeners. The program was an early exam-

ple of Cowan's attempt to blend his intellectual interests into a program aimed to appeal to a mass audience.

During World War II, Cowan moved to New York and volunteered his services to the Office of War Information (OWI). Cowan became a consultant and director of domestic affairs, working under Edward Kirby, who had transferred to the public relations division of the OWI from the National Association of Broadcasters. One assignment Kirby gave to Cowan was to encourage radio producers to develop positive portrayals of African-Americans; it was hoped that this would help decrease agitation and tension at a time when all branches of the U.S. armed forces were segregated. Cowan decided that the greatest prejudice and resistance to African-Americans was often found among lower-middle-class Americans, and he knew that these people could be reached effectively through daytime soap operas. Cowan therefore convinced Frank and Anne Hummert, the creators of many serials, to incorporate some African-American characters in their soap opera story lines—a very unusual occurrence at that point in radio history. In one case, the Hummerts introduced into *Our Gal Sunday* a young African-American in military training, Franklin Brown, who

appeared intermittently during furloughs. In an even more elaborate effort, the Hummerts had the heroine in *The Romance of Helen Trent* rescued by an African-American doctor after she fell into an abyss; afterwards, she found a job for this doctor as a staff physician in a wartime factory.

While working at the OWI, Cowan also sought to promote the general image of all military personnel. He convinced the Hummerts to create a new serial around a comforting and problem-solving army chaplain. This concept became *Chaplain Jim*, which started on the NBC Blue network in 1942. Cowan had one other interesting assignment relating to this serial. He was given the task of briefing the newly appointed psychological warfare officer, Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) president William Paley, on the purpose of this program. This would not be the only time the two men's paths crossed.

After the war, Cowan went back to independent production of radio programs. Acting on his interest in intellectual and issue-oriented programming, Cowan in 1946 created *The Fighting Senator*, a show that featured a principled state senator battling corruption around him. Around the same time, Cowan's wife, Polly, was producing a talk show called *Conversation*, which brought together writers, college professors, and other celebrities to discuss various topics. Though winning accolades, neither program attracted large audiences. Cowan did have one more radio hit, again with the quiz show format. *Stop the Music!* premiered on the American Broadcasting Companies (ABC) network in 1948 and quickly attracted a large following. The premise of the show was simple: an orchestra played popular songs and was periodically interrupted by the program's host, Bert Parks, who shouted, "Stop The Music!" A phone call was then made randomly somewhere in the United States, and if the person who answered could identify the song that had just been interrupted, he or she would receive a number of expensive gifts. *Stop The Music!* was initially scheduled to air opposite Fred Allen's popular comedy show. Allen's program ratings fell so drastically as a result that his show was cancelled in 1950.

During the 1950s, Cowan turned his attention to television and created what became the first large-prize TV quiz show, *The \$64,000 Question*. This program was purchased by CBS in 1955. A few weeks after it premiered, Cowan sold his production company and accepted a job at CBS as vice president in charge of creative services. Two years later, in March 1958, he was promoted to president of CBS-TV. When it was discovered at the end of the decade that many of the big TV quiz shows, including *The \$64,000 Question*, had been rigged, Cowan was dismissed by CBS. This was done despite the fact that Cowan had no association with *The \$64,000 Question* after he sold his production company, and there was no evidence that Cowan ever knew about the rigging.

In his latter years, Cowan taught at Brandeis University and in Columbia University's Graduate School of Journalism. He also started his own publishing company and was cofounder of the American Jewish Committee's William E. Weiner Oral History Library. In 1976 Cowan and his wife died in an accidental fire in their apartment. Ironically, it was suspected that the fire was caused by faulty wiring in their television set.

RANDALL VOGT

See also Kyser, Kay; Office of War Information; Quiz and Audience Participation Programs

Louis George Cowan. Born Louis George Cohen in Chicago, Illinois, 16 December 1909. Graduated from University of Chicago, 1931; formed own public relations firm; entered independent production and created radio and television shows such as *The Quiz Kids*, *Stop the Music!* and *The \$64,000 Question*; vice president of creative services, CBS, 1955; served as president of CBS television from March 1958 to December 1959. Died in New York City, 18 November 1976.

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Critics

Like critics of theater, music, and art, radio critics have reviewed as well as helped audiences to interpret a host of radio programs. Radio, however, presented unique challenges to the critic. Since radio was a new and strictly aural and fleeting medium, professional critics struggled to find an appropri-

ate way to critique the material presented. When radio first emerged as a mass communication tool, it and its content were dismissed as popular—even vulgar—"art." Intelligent writing about it was not taken as seriously as writing about theater, books, or film, thus making it difficult for radio critics to gain

credibility. There also did not seem to be a purpose to reviewing programs that were played only once. Such difficulties, among others, left a scarcity of radio criticism in the early years of the medium, and what criticism did exist failed to assume much importance. With the advent of television, radio became further buried in the press. However, the emergence of television criticism furthered the cause of radio criticism. Many critics were, as they are today, labeled by their publishers as radio/television critics.

Challenge of Criticism

Radio columnists did not face the same hurdles as critics because columnists served to inform readers about coming attractions and gossip, with perhaps some superficial appraisal. The critic—who, like the columnist, also amused and informed—did so in a broader, deeper context of constant evaluation. The critic judged the significance of a broadcasting event, considered its impact, or related it to past events in broadcasting or other areas. Critics added artistic, philosophical, and sociological dimensions to program reviews and commented on the industry and government or public actions.

Unlike theater, film, and music, which offered discrete presentation formats, radio was on the air continuously, and the quantity and variety of programs were a burden to critics, who often were called upon to treat programs ranging from education and politics to commerce and entertainment. A wide variety of assignments were therefore available, and those critics who had come from the world of newspaper reporting (as many of them did) often had an edge over other critics, as they were equipped with the reportorial skills of speed and judgment.

The difficulties of critiquing something heard and not seen played out most noticeably in drama criticism. Radio drama was given an ungenerous report overall by some because it lacked a visual element and therefore could not, many contended, hold the audience's attention. Many early critics insisted that all elements of a play be identifiable; a production was praised if it was clear who was speaking or if a synopsis of the story was given before the start of the action. Critics often treated radio dramas as adaptations instead of creating new ways to critique.

It was a common habit of newspaper critics to mention and discuss actors and their performances but not the programs themselves, as most program titles would require plugging the product or sponsor and therefore result in free advertising, which would compromise the critic's integrity. In addition, the lack of credence given to radio criticism meant that radio sponsors became protected and pampered, and they rarely heard criticism. In general, radio criticism was thought of as outside the industry's needs because station leaders and sponsors made a point of claiming to be businessmen, not show-

men; therefore, in the name of advertising, they were immune from theatrical standards.

Rise of Criticism

Many critics, most notably multimedia critic Gilbert Seldes, believed that the duty of broadcast critics was to propose change, but change that was workable within the advertising-supported commercial radio system. In this line of thinking, critics must understand and explain (perhaps today more than ever) the environmental constraints within which any electronic media organization must operate.

Several critics in the early days of radio issued calls for a responsible corps of radio critics, and many intellectuals acknowledged the importance of broadcast criticism in the name of preserving democracy.

Much early criticism was of a technical nature, wherein critics discussed such issues as transmission quality. Perce Col-lison, writing in the early 1920s, for example, critiqued sound quality as opposed to content. When critics wrote about broadcast news, which was a growing aspect of programming by the 1930s, they tended to comment on such aspects as sound effects and newscasters' voices.

Ralph Lewis Smith (1959), in his analysis of the U.S. broadcast system, lamented critics' coverage and opinions of the electronic functioning of a program, as if they were "scientific journalist[s]." This type of criticism only furthered the notion that broadcasting was not to be considered an art. The nuts and bolts discussion of radio subsided when people could buy ready-built radios as opposed to hobbyist-assembled kits. As radio's commercial potential became more obvious, "circuit talk" was replaced with gossip about radio stars. As an interest in radio personalities increased interest in radio overall, critical articles and commentary on individual shows and series as well as various personalities began to emerge.

Because there were no standards or precedents, broadcast critics experimented with column formats. In 1926 John Wallace presented his criticism in *Radio Broadcast* in the form of one long essay, two or three short reviews, and a few bright tidbits. In October 1942 in *Woman's Day*, Raymond Knight set up his material in newspaper form and called it "The Radioville Chronicle," which contained program reviews, a local gossip column, a classified section, and a notice of new shows.

Major Critics

During the 1920s and 1930s, most writing about programs was descriptive rather than critical, although there were exceptions. Volney Hurd and Leslie Allen, for instance, were among the earliest who produced insightful criticism in their 1930s columns in the *Christian Science Monitor*.

Radio producer Darwin Teilhet began writing a monthly broadcasting feature in *Forum* magazine from 1932–34 while he was in charge of radio production for the N.W. Ayer and Son advertising agency. When Teilhet began writing critical articles, his employer questioned their propriety; as a result Teilhet continued writing for several months under the name Cyrus Fisher—a prime example of the obstacles critics encountered within the radio industry.

A thoughtful critical approach to broadcasting was rare before World War II. Because radio proved to be an essential communication tool during the war, more attention was given to broadcast criticism after the war, not from scholars or journalists, but from the federal government. In 1946 the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) released its “Blue Book,” officially known as “The Report on Public Service Responsibility of Broadcast Licensees.” It examined overcommercialization and the lack of local and public affairs programming. One of its principal authors was Charles Siepmann, a former British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) employee. The revelations in the Blue Book raised a storm of controversy about U.S. broadcasting that generated interest in more serious, professional critiquing of the medium.

Two months after the “Blue Book” was issued, critic John Crosby wrote his first daily radio column for the *New Herald Tribune*. Born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin in 1912, Crosby went to Yale for two years and then began a newspaper career, first on the *Milwaukee Sentinel* covering courts and police headquarters and then on the *New York Herald Tribune*. After serving in World War II for five years, Crosby returned to the *Tribune*. Reporters back from the war were so plentiful that the editors, unsure how to use Crosby, stuck him with writing a radio column. Having never owned a radio and barely having listened to one, he took the job expecting to wait for something better to materialize. Crosby eventually settled into his role and won fans with his wry, cynical wit. His column “Radio and Television” was syndicated from coast to coast to an audience of more than 18 million. Crosby’s columns were so influential that some thought they helped to raise radio into the realm of legitimacy with music and theater.

Despite the fact that radio criticism had to share page space with the gossip column, it was the data and conclusions in the “Blue Book,” Crosby’s column, and the burgeoning of television simultaneously that paved the way for more and better broadcast criticism in the 1950s and beyond. From the 1950s to the present, critics in both the media and academia have contributed, albeit in small volume, to radio criticism.

Producer-turned-critic Albert N. Williams was associated with the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) from 1937–41 and wrote occasional articles for the *Saturday Review of Literature*, which became a monthly series in 1946–47. A published collection of his columns entitled *Listening: A Collection of Critical Articles on Radio*, one of the first such books

on radio, appeared in 1948 with columns divided into categories of networks, programs, artisans, and advertising.

Lyman Bryson, a Columbia Broadcast System (CBS) consultant on public affairs, held a Sunday afternoon series on CBS radio, *Time for Reason—About Radio*, in 1946. One example of the type of program in the series was “Documentary and Actuality Programs.” Guests, including Charles Siepmann and John Crosby, were part of the program to provide a broader point of view. It was the first time a major network had used its own facilities to tell listeners, in an extended series of talks and discussions, about the problems and possibilities of radio in the United States from the broadcasters’ point of view. The idea was originally proposed by William S. Paley, CBS chairman of the board, in an address to the National Association of Broadcasters. Paley had asked for more intelligent criticism of the industry and for more activity by the industry in helping to provide background information for it. The idea was well received by critics, and the public and the series lasted until June 1947. A selection of the program material, “written from the broadcaster’s point of view,” was published a year later.

Previously a long-time drama critic, John Hutchens joined *The New York Times* in 1941 as a radio editor and columnist. When he left in 1944 for book reviewing, he was replaced by Jack Gould, who had been a *New York Herald Tribune* reporter in the mid-1930s and in the drama department of the *Times* from 1937–42. He was part of the *Times* radio department until 1944.

Robert Lewis Shayon was a producer-director for the Mutual Broadcasting System from 1938–42 and executive producer for CBS from 1942–49. Probably best known for the *You Are There* historical programs, he wrote for the *Saturday Review of Literature* and in 1950 became the *Christian Science Monitor*’s first television/radio critic.

Saul Carson was a critic for *The New Republic* from 1947–52. He started as an assistant radio editor under George Rosen at *Variety* in the early 1940s. He was a regular contributor to *Radio and TV Best* magazine, *The Nation*, and others.

Though not solely a radio critic, Ring Lardner, a comic *New Yorker* columnist, was a well-known sportswriter during World War I and also achieved literary success as a short story writer. When he was hospitalized with an illness in 1932, he spent a lot of time listening to the radio just as it was becoming a medium of mass entertainment, and he shared his observations in the *New Yorker*.

Other important critics and columnists from the 1920s through the 1950s included John Wallace, a prominent 1920s critic who wrote for *Radio Broadcast*; Ben Gross, broadcasting critic and columnist for the *New York Daily News*; George Rosen, radio and TV editor for *Variety*; Alton Cook and Harriet van Horne for the *New York World-Telegram*; Paul Cotton and Mary Little for the *Des Moines Register*; Stanley Anderson of the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*; Leonard Carlton of the *New*

York Post; and Edith Isaacs of *Theater Arts Monthly*. B.H. Haggin was a music critic who wrote for *The Nation*, *Hudson Review*, *The Dial*, and *Vanity Fair*.

Many cultural critics paid particular attention to radio, among them Bernard DeVoto, Frederick Lewis Allen, Harry Skornia, Wilbur Schramm, Paul Lazarsfeld, and Llewellyn White. These academic critics tended to critique the medium itself (as opposed to specific programs) and paved the way for radio studies by experts in communications, psychology, sociology, literature, and linguistics.

The best known of the cultural critics was Gilbert Seldes (1893–1969). Seldes did much for radio and television, increasing the interest in and serious attention paid to the popular arts. Seldes, unlike Shayon, Williams, and Teilhet (who were producers-turned-critics), started out as a critic then subsequently worked within the industry. He was perhaps the first American critic who devoted most of his career to examining popular as opposed to fine arts. Seldes was managing editor of one of the most famous “little magazines” of the 1920s, *The Dial*, which was modernist in its literary outlook but also enthusiastic about popular entertainment. His career also included stints as a theatrical producer, a radio writer and producer, the first director of programming for CBS television, and founding dean of the Annenberg School of Communications.

Seldes’ most famous work, *The Seven Lively Arts* (1924, which included essays on theater as well as film and comic strips) helped to establish his reputation as an important critic. Seldes became a regular film critic for *The New Republic* and a columnist for the *New York Evening Journal* and *The Saturday Evening Post*; he also wrote a monthly broadcast column for the *Saturday Review of Literature*, authored books of criticism on American history and current events, and contributed articles to nearly every high- and middle-brow magazine of the time. Seldes’ attention as a media critic eventually moved from film and radio to television, a shift exemplified in *The Public Arts*, his last major work, published in 1956.

Format and Content of Criticism

Radio program criticism, as differentiated from columns and general program information, was often found in such trade magazines as *Variety*, *Billboard*, and *Radio Daily*. Because the circulation of these publications was usually limited to show business professionals, the general listening audience did not benefit from such writing, to the chagrin of many critics. Leading critics also wrote for *Life*, *Collier’s*, *Atlantic*, *Harpers*, and *The Quarterly Review of Film, Radio and Television*. Today, however, readers are likely to be more familiar with their local newspaper critic.

In some ways, critical radio coverage finds itself at the beginning of the 21st century as it was in the 1920s and 1930s, with program listings and perhaps a review here and there.

Few, if any, professional critics now label themselves solely radio critics. Most cover television as well, along with a host of other electronic media. Television and radio columnist Robert Feder of the *Chicago Sun Times* and David Hinckley, critic-at-large for the (New York) *Daily News*, are two of the very few who semi-regularly still include radio criticism in their columns. Cultural criticism of radio in the late 20th century tends toward lamentations over the phenomenon of talk radio, including figures such as Howard Stern, Rush Limbaugh, and Dr. Laura Schlessinger.

KATHLEEN COLLINS

See also Blue Book; Columnists; Peabody Awards; Siepmann, Charles; Trade Press

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Crosby, Bing 1903–1977

U.S. Radio Personality and Entertainer

Often referred to as “America’s Crooner,” Bing Crosby was the defining male singer of his time and one of the most popular and successful stars of the 20th century. He dominated the recording, film, and radio industries for 30 years. Crosby’s soft, conversational singing style, which critic Will Friedwald has described as a “warm B-flat baritone with a little hair on it” (1990), appealed to a broad audience of Americans and helped establish American popular song as both a legitimate art form and an extremely profitable mass media industry. Crosby’s relaxed, modest star persona, folksy charm, and quick wit also contributed greatly to his success. The informality of his radio variety show and his easy banter with guests made listeners feel especially comfortable with him and ensured Crosby a prominent place in the hearts of millions.

Harry Lillis Crosby was born in Tacoma, Washington. His birth date is a matter of dispute, but the most recent research puts it at 3 May 1903. His father worked as a bookkeeper, while his Irish-Catholic mother raised the brood of seven Crosby children. Strong-willed, practical, and religiously devout, his mother was the strongest influence on Crosby’s life, and he was her favorite child. Both parents were amateur musicians and encouraged a sense of popular music appreciation in their children. A bright but unmotivated student, young Bing was best known for his charm and his habit of whistling or humming while he walked. He earned his nickname because of his attachment to a humor feature called the “Bingville Bugle” in Spokane’s Sunday paper.

In 1920 Crosby entered Gonzaga College and joined an amateur band as a drummer and singer (using a megaphone). His life changed course in 1923 when he met Al Rinker, another amateur bandleader and the brother of blues singer Mildred Bailey. Al persuaded Bing to join his band; after the band dissolved in 1925, the two men left Spokane for Los Angeles to try to make it in the big time. Mildred provided them with connections, and their act, “Two Boys and a Piano,” proved so successful that they were hired by bandleader Paul Whiteman in late 1926. Whiteman paired the boys with Harry Barris, an up-and-coming musician and songwriter, and the trio became famous as the Rhythm Boys, recording and singing Barris songs such as “Mississippi Mud.” They sang in a modern, jazz-influenced, intimate style that was new to most audiences. In 1930 the trio left Whiteman and signed to play with Gus Arnheim’s Orchestra at the Coconut Grove in Los Angeles. Crosby frequently sang solos with the band, but he eventually left the trio and became well known as a solo performer to radio and nightclub audiences in the Los Angeles

area. In September 1930 he married Fox starlet Dixie Lee, who was a much bigger star at the time.

Crosby emerged as a star himself in 1931 with the release of the short film *I Surrender Dear* in the summer (made in part to promote his new hit single) and the debut of his nightly 15-minute radio program for the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) in the fall. CBS built him up as a crooner to rival the National Broadcasting Company’s (NBC) original crooner, Rudy Vallee, and by December, Crosby, Russ Columbo (also at NBC), and Vallee were the most popular singers in the nation.

Crosby’s public image, however, was more controversial. He had missed the debut of his New York radio show because of his drinking, and he was widely regarded in the industry as unstable. In response to criticism, Crosby worked hard to change his playboy image; fan magazines helped by promoting Crosby as a devoted husband and father (son Gary was born in 1933) whose wild days were behind him. This image better suited the more socially conservative Depression years and helped ensure Crosby a broad audience. In addition, Crosby enlarged his repertoire of songs beyond romantic crooning ballads. His music producer at Decca Records, Jack Kapp, believed that Crosby could become a type of “musical everyman” by singing a variety of songs, including cowboy songs, Hawaiian songs, hymns, and holiday songs. His film career for Paramount Studios, which signed him in 1932, followed a similar formula, presenting Crosby in a variety of roles that underlined his cool, relaxed persona and his comic as well as his singing talents.

In 1936 his radio career hit a new high when he took over as host of the popular NBC variety show *The Kraft Music Hall* and remained there for ten years. This hour-long program starred Crosby as the host and primary vocalist and featured a number of comic players and star musicians. Crosby’s comic sidekick, Bob Burns, known as the “Arkansas Traveler,” amused audiences with his rube humor and remained with the program until 1941. His bandleader, John Scott Trotter, replaced Jimmy Dorsey in 1937 and remained with Crosby until the end of his radio career. As John Dunning (1998) has noted, Burns’ humor helped balance the more serious musicians who appeared on the program, including a number of accomplished classical and jazz artists such as Jose Iturbi, Duke Ellington, and Jack Teagarden. Broadway star Mary Martin spent a year on the show in 1942, as did Victor Borge, a Danish concert pianist who served as an additional comic foil. The show also created new stars, such as Spike Jones and Jerry Colonna, both of whom were originally members of Trotter’s band.



Bing Crosby
Courtesy Radio Hall of Fame

Crosby's personality held the show together, and he shaped it to suit his easygoing personality. Unlike other variety shows of the time, for example, Crosby wanted no applause after numbers, because he thought it slowed the pace of his program. Guest stars were treated with an informality that belied their importance and made them seem like members of the gang, and Crosby's own self-deprecating humor underlined the "everyman" quality so essential to his image. His witty delivery seemed so natural and effortless that fans did not believe the program was scripted. At the same time, however, Crosby was clearly in charge of his program and would walk out of rehearsals if he became annoyed. In 1945 he left both NBC and his sponsor when they refused to consider the possibility of taping his programs rather than performing them live. The technology for taping had been developed during the war, and Crosby wanted the greater scheduling flexibility it could offer him. NBC thought audiences would not tune in to canned entertainment, so Crosby walked out and moved his variety program to the American Broadcasting Companies (ABC). His *Philco Radio Time* show ran for three years very successfully, and Crosby's program is credited as initiating the tape era in radio.

Crosby's radio career continued through the mid-1950s with various variety shows, although none was as successful as those of the 1930s and 1940s. He appeared on various television specials and occasionally in films until his death on a Spanish golf course in 1977. His reputation has taken a beating since then: biographers have portrayed Crosby as an emotionally distant man, cold to his first wife and children, inflexible, and miserly. For better or worse, however, Crosby remains what *Life* magazine called him in 1945: "an American institution."

ALLISON MCCrackEN

See also Audiotape; Film and Radio; Hollywood and Radio; Hope, Bob; Syndication; Variety Shows

Bing Crosby. Born Harry Lillis Crosby in Tacoma, Washington, 3 May 1903. Attended Gonzaga University School of Law, 1920–24; toured with Al Rinker as "Two Boys and a Piano," 1925–26; member of the Rhythm Boys trio in Paul Whiteman's band, 1926–30; radio debut with Paul Whiteman, WNBC, New York, *Old Gold Cigarettes*, 1928; performed at Cocoanut Grove with Gus Arnheim's Orchestra, 1930; solo radio debut on CBS, New York, 1931; host of variety show *The Kraft Music Hall*, 1936–46, and *Philco Radio Time*, 1946–49; first film appearance (with the Rhythm Boys), *The King of Jazz*, 1930; first starring role in feature film, *The Big Broadcast*, 1932; notable film roles in *Going Hollywood*, 1933, *Waikiki Wedding*, 1937, *Road to Singapore*, 1940, *Road to Morocco*, 1942, *Holiday Inn*, 1942, *White Christmas*, 1954, and *The Country Girl*, 1954. Received Academy Award for Best Actor, 1944, for *Going My Way*. Died outside Madrid, Spain, 14 October 1977.

Radio Series

- | | |
|---------|--|
| 1930 | <i>Bing Crosby with the Gus Arnheim Orchestra</i> |
| 1931–32 | <i>Fifteen Minutes with Bing Crosby</i> (later <i>The Cremo Singer</i> for Cremo Cigars) |
| 1933 | <i>The Music That Satisfies</i> |
| 1933–35 | <i>Bing Crosby for Woodbury Soap</i> |
| 1936–46 | <i>The Kraft Music Hall Starring Bing Crosby</i> |
| 1946–49 | <i>Philco Radio Time Starring Bing Crosby</i> |
| 1949–52 | <i>The Bing Crosby Chesterfield Show</i> |
| 1952–54 | <i>The General Electric Show</i> |
| 1954–56 | <i>Bing Crosby</i> |

Films

- The King of Jazz*, 1930; *Ripstitch the Tailor* (short), 1930; *Two Plus Fours* (short), 1930; *Check and Double Check* (cameo), 1930; *Reaching for the Moon* (unbilled cameo), 1931; *I Surrender Dear* (short), 1931; *Confessions of a Coed* (unbilled cameo), 1931; *One More Chance* (short), 1931; *Dream House* (short), 1931; *Billboard Girl* (short), 1931; *Blue*

of the Night (short), 1931; *The Big Broadcast*, 1932; *Sing, Bing, Sing* (short), 1933; *College Humor*, 1933; *Star Night at the Cocoanut Grove* (short), 1933; *Too Much Harmony*, 1933; *Going Hollywood*, 1933; *Please* (short), 1933; *Bring on Bing* (short), 1933; *Hollywood on Parade* (short), 1933; *We're Not Dressing*, 1934; *Just an Echo* (short), 1934; *She Loves Me Not*, 1934; *Here Is My Heart*, 1934; *Mississippi*, 1935; *Two for Tonight*, 1935; *The Big Broadcast of 1936* (cameo), 1935; *Anything Goes*, 1936; *Rhythm on the Range*, 1936; *Pennies from Heaven*, 1936; *Waikiki Wedding*, 1937; *Double or Nothing*, 1937; *Swing with Bing* (short), 1937; *Doctor Rhythm*, 1938; *Don't Hook Now* (short), 1938; *Sing You Sinners*, 1938; *Paris Honeymoon*, 1939; *East Side of Heaven*, 1939; *The Star Maker*, 1939; *Road to Singapore*, 1940; *If I Had My Way*, 1940; *Rhythm on the River*, 1940; *Road to Zanzibar*, 1941; *Birth of the Blues*, 1941; *Holiday Inn*, 1942; *Angels of Mercy* (short), 1942; *Road to Morocco*, 1942; *Star Spangled Rhythm*, 1942; *My Favorite Blonde* (cameo), 1942; *Dixie*, 1943; *Going My Way*, 1944; *The Road to Victory* (short), 1944; *The Princess and the Pirate*, 1944; *Here Come the Waves*, 1944; *Out of This World*, 1945; *All-Star Bond Rally* (short), 1945; *Hollywood Victory Caravan* (short), 1945; *Duffy's Tavern*, 1945; *The Bells of St. Mary's*, 1945; *Road to Utopia*, 1946; *Road to Hollywood*, 1946; *Blue Skies*, 1946; *Variety Girl*, 1947; *My Favorite Brunette* (cameo), 1947; *Welcome Stranger*, 1947; *Road to Rio*, 1947; *The Emperor Waltz*, 1948; *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*, 1949; *Top o' the Morning*, 1949; *The Adventures of Ichabod and Mr. Toad*, 1949; *Riding High*, 1950; *Mr. Music*, 1950; *Angels in the Outfield* (cameo), 1951; *Here Comes the Groom*, 1951; *The Greatest Show on Earth* (cameo), 1952; *Son of Paleface*, 1952; *Just for You*, 1952; *Road to Bali*, 1952; *Scared Stiff* (cameo), 1953; *Little Boy Lost*, 1953; *White Christmas*, 1954; *The Country Girl*, 1954; *Anything Goes*, 1956; *Bing Presents Oreste* (short), 1956; *High Society*, 1956; *Man on Fire*, 1957; *Say One for Me*, 1959; *Alias Jesse James*, 1959; *Let's Make Love* (cameo), 1960; *Pepe* (cameo), 1960;

High Time, 1960; *The Road to Hong Kong*, 1962; *Robin and the Seven Hoods*, 1964; *Stagecoach*, 1966; *Cinerama's Russian Adventure* (narrator), 1966; *Bing Crosby's Washington State* (narrator), 1968; *Cancel My Reservation* (cameo), 1972

Stage

Various vaudeville appearances as "Two Boys and a Piano," 1925–26

Various vaudeville and nightclub appearances in the Rhythm Boys, part of Paul Whiteman's Orchestra, 1927–30

The Cocoanut Grove with Gus Arnheim's Orchestra, 1930

Publication

Call Me Lucky (with Pete Martin), 1953

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Crosley, Powel 1886–1961

U.S. Radio Inventor, Manufacturer, and Broadcaster

Powel Crosley, Jr., the founder of a radio company that became the world's largest manufacturer of receivers within two years, was known as "the Henry Ford of Radio" for his pioneering work in the development and manufacture of inex-

pensive radio sets that made radio affordable to millions. Crosley's sets, some of which sold for under \$10, boosted radio's popularity, but because they were equipped with less sophisticated circuits, good reception necessitated stations of greater

power. Crosley, the owner of WLW, the most powerful AM radio station ever to operate in the United States, became a promoter of increased power for all stations.

Origins

Crosley was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, on 18 September 1886, and as a child he was fascinated by automobiles. While not yet in his teens, to win a bet offered by his father he built his own small vehicle powered by a washing machine motor and got it to run at least around the block. But he would be frustrated all of his life by his inability to build a commercially successful automobile.

After two years in law school in Cincinnati, he quit to become a chauffeur and work around cars. He later worked for a number of automobile firms in Ohio and Indiana, which, in the early years of the automobile industry, were competing with Michigan in motorcar production. Crosley found success in selling many auto accessories and gadgets. For example, Crosley made a radiator cap to hold an American flag that was a big seller during World War I and a device to keep the front tires of a Model T Ford headed straight before the development of rack-and-pinion steering. Crosley also owned a small manufacturing plant making a number of wood products, including cabinets for phonographs. When he noticed that one of his employees had made a small wooden three-wheeled riding bike for his son from scrap wood, Crosley began making and selling the "Taylor Tot," named for that employee. He pioneered maximizing advertising value by means of market research by carefully tracking response to magazine advertisements and then reducing the size of the display to get the biggest response from the smallest expenditure.

Receiver Manufacturer

In February 1921 Crosley's nine-year-old son asked for a "radio toy" as a birthday present. By then radio was the rage among boys who liked to build gadgets. Juvenile books and magazines often featured radio stories and radio heroes, along with instructions for making a simple set at home. The story goes that Crosley's son had listened to a radio at a friend's house and wanted one of his own. Crosley went to a store, discovered that the least expensive retail set cost about \$130, and instead bought a 25-cent instruction booklet and the parts.

Having learned that a homemade set could be assembled for about \$25, Crosley hired two engineering students from the University of Cincinnati (one of whom, Dorman Israel, was later chairman of Emerson Radio and Phonograph). Crosley and the students designed a set they could manufacture on an assembly line in his phonograph cabinet plant and called it the "Harko." The Harko was introduced at about \$20, but later the price was reduced to \$9, plus batteries.



Powel Crosley
Courtesy AP/Wide World Photos

Crosley liked to call this radio's successor, Harko, Jr., the "Model T of radio."

The first large sales campaign for the inexpensive sets was during the Christmas shopping season of December 1921: "It will tune from 200 to 600 meters, bringing in spark, voice and music, with an average amateur aerial." By July 1922, just a year after introducing the Harko, Crosley was producing 500 receivers a day and had become the world's largest manufacturer of radio sets and parts. During the 1930s the Crosley sets were extremely popular, especially the smaller kitchen models—many of which looked like the front grille of a car—made of a pre-plastic material called Bakelite in an art deco style. He purchased other, smaller radio companies, and the Crosley Radio Corporation (the word *Radio* was later dropped as other appliances were added) was a major business for 30 years.

Crosley remained interested in ideas for new products and improvements on existing appliances; his was the first company to make refrigerators with shelves in the doors—the Shelvador—controlling a patent that made millions. He purchased

the Cincinnati Reds baseball team in 1934 and installed them in the renamed Crosley Field, and founded a professional football team in Cincinnati in the 1930s.

Broadcaster and Manufacturer

As a radio hobbyist, and to provide programming for purchasers of his sets (and advertising to gain further customers), he started a radio station in his home. This station evolved into WLW, "the Nation's Station." In 1934 the Cincinnati Reds were the first major league team to play a night game under lights, arranged by Crosley from his newly-renamed Crosley Field, so the play-by-play reports could be carried on his station during more popular listening hours. WLW was also a founding station of the Mutual Broadcasting System (MBS), established in 1934. Crosley was also a co-founder of the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB), founded in 1923.

The Crosley Corporation was an early television manufacturer and owned TV stations in Cincinnati, Dayton, Columbus, Indianapolis, and Atlanta. In 1945 the company was purchased by the Aviation Corporation (later Avco), and in 1954 was still the fifth-largest manufacturer of radio and TV sets. The Crosley line of household appliances, including broadcast receivers, was discontinued in 1956. (While the name is still used by a manufacturing company of appliances, there is no connection to the original firm or family.)

Small Cars

Crosley had long been fascinated by automobiles, and yearned to produce a popular economy model. In 1939 he introduced a small car intended to sell for about \$300 and able to run 50 miles per gallon of gas. Opposition from the big car makers in Detroit, however, kept him from signing up dealers, so he tried to sell the car through department stores, such as Macy's in New York. World War II delayed manufacturing until 1946. In 1947 Crosley sold about 17,000 sedans, station wagons, delivery vans, and roadsters. The company's auto sales peaked the following year, at nearly 47,000. After years of "doing without" during the Depression and the war, Americans wanted bigger, roomier cars, and the appeal of smaller models

declined. Because many of the parts for his small cars came from other manufacturers, such as the Willys Jeep, and were produced for bigger vehicles, it was hard to make an inexpensive car with the power Americans wanted for the open road. The Crosley auto plant shut down in July 1952.

When Crosley died in 1961, he left an impressive legacy that included pioneering developments in popularizing radio and television, leadership in the fledgling broadcasting industry, efforts toward production of economy cars, and, not the least of his contributions, nighttime baseball.

LAWRENCE W. LICHTY

See also Mutual Broadcasting System; Receivers; WLW

Powel Crosley, Jr. Born in Cincinnati, Ohio, 18 September 1886. Son of an attorney. Studied both engineering and law at the University of Cincinnati; developed a short-lived automobile company, then another in 1912; manufactured motorcycles, 1914–1917; owned American Automobile Accessories auto parts mail order business by 1920; created in 1921 what became (in 1924) Crosley Radio Corp.; began station WLW in 1921; purchased Cincinnati Reds baseball team and Redlands Field (renaming it Crosley Field) in 1934; introduced small Crosley auto in 1939 (sold to General Tire and Rubber in 1952); sold all radio interests to the Aviation Corporation (Avco) in 1945. Died in Cincinnati, 28 March 1961.

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Cross, Milton J. 1897–1975

U.S. Radio Announcer

Milton John Cross was a pioneer radio announcer who became famous as the voice of the Metropolitan Opera broadcasts and as a popular authority on serious music. Cross enjoyed a distinguished announcing career that lasted for five decades on the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) and on the American Broadcasting Companies (ABC), where his most prominent role was hosting the weekly nationwide broadcasts of the Metropolitan Opera. A one-time ballad singer on early wireless radio, Cross began his announcing career during broadcasting's pioneer days at WJZ in Newark, New Jersey. His tenure as a network announcer became one of the longest among all radio personalities. With his rare combination of announcing ability and knowledge of serious music, Cross occupies a unique place in radio history.

Born in New York City, Milton Cross grew up in the rough Hell's Kitchen section and dreamed of a career in music. After high school, he enrolled at the Institute of Musical Art (now part of the Juilliard School of Music) to study under the direction of Dr. Frank Damrosch. At the institute, he earned a certificate to serve as a music supervisor for public schools. Although he frequently sang as a tenor for several excellent church choirs in New York, he never applied for a school position. Instead, he became interested in radio shortly after the new medium began.

In 1921 Cross became aware of the new Westinghouse station, WJZ, in Newark and sought a position with the station as a singer. On 15 September of that year, while still attending the institute, he was given a chance to sing without pay on the station. The management liked his voice and quickly offered Cross its second announcing position, largely because of his excellent diction and his familiarity with foreign names and musical terms, and because he could fill in with a song whenever the need arose. Although he felt his future was in the music field, Cross accepted the position. His on-air duties included introducing speakers and performers, singing songs to fill time whenever speakers and other performers failed to show, delivering commercials for household supplies, reciting the Sunday funnies, reading children's stories, and other assorted announcing duties. He supplemented his small income from WJZ by singing in a Presbyterian church (his own faith), in Jewish synagogues, and in Catholic churches. Soon he was earning about \$40 a week for his singing and announcing.

Cross joined the NBC announcing staff when the network was formed in 1926. Station WJZ became the flagship for NBC's Blue network in New York, and many of NBC's programs originated at WJZ, where Cross had begun his professional career. As a staff announcer, Cross was called upon to

announce many different programs for the NBC network. However, his most notable career achievement came with his assignment to serve as announcer and host commentator for the radio broadcasts of the Metropolitan Opera.

In 1931 NBC decided to broadcast the Saturday afternoon performances of the Metropolitan Opera on a regular basis, and the network selected Milton Cross to serve as announcer-commentator. On Christmas Day 1931, Cross inaugurated NBC's Metropolitan Opera radio broadcasts with a performance of the opera *Hansel and Gretel*. From that initial network broadcast until his death in 1975, Cross missed only two Saturday afternoon Met broadcasts, and those were because of his wife's death. In his 43 years behind the microphone, Cross provided commentary on every opera in the Met's extensive repertoire. He often attended rehearsals and was noted for careful preparation of his opera commentaries, as well as his exquisite descriptions of the color, costumes, and scenery on the opera stage. In January 1975, at age 77, Cross was working on his material for an upcoming opera broadcast when he suffered a fatal heart attack, ending his remarkable 43-year career as the voice of the Metropolitan Opera. Cross has been credited with doing more than any other individual to make the Met a national institution. An estimated 12–15 million listeners tuned in from coast to coast each Saturday afternoon to hear the Metropolitan Opera's performances as explained by Milton Cross. To millions of opera fans, the resonant and cultured bass-viol voice of Milton Cross was said to have been more widely known than that of any other American, with the possible exceptions of President Franklin Roosevelt and Charlie McCarthy.

Through the opera broadcasts, Cross was instrumental in introducing opera to millions of Americans and in educating them about the operatic form of music. During the intermissions, he developed such popular features as "Opera Quiz," presented members of the cast, and tried to explain often convoluted opera plots. In addition, Cross contributed to the public's knowledge of opera through well-known books such as *Complete Stories of the Great Operas* and *Favorite Arias from the Great Operas*.

Cross received numerous honors for his excellence as a radio announcer. He was acclaimed for his pure diction, his mellifluous voice quality, and his fine delivery. In 1929 the American Academy of Arts and Letters conferred upon Cross a gold medal with the highest honors possible for a radio announcer. His distinctive voice brought instant recognition wherever he appeared, and his great ability to pronounce the foreign words so commonly associated with opera was frequently praised.

This ability resulted from four years of studying German in high school and years of study of Italian at the Institute of Musical Art. He also studied French with tutors at NBC and diction at Columbia University. At the time of his death at age 77, Cross left a legacy of having introduced millions of Americans to live opera through the radio medium.

HERBERT H. HOWARD

See also Blue Network; Classical Music; Metropolitan Opera

Milton John Cross. Born in New York City, 16 April 1897. Studied at Institute of Musical Art (now Julliard School) and Columbia University; sang in various churches in New York City; worked as announcer at WJZ, Newark, 1921-26, NBC, 1926-43, and ABC, 1943-75; announced NBC programs, 1925-42; host and commentator for Saturday afternoon Metropolitan Opera performances on NBC, ABC, and *Texaco Metropolitan Opera Network*, 1931-75. Received American Academy of Arts and Letters gold medal, 1929; Handel Medallion by City of New York, 1969. Died in New York City, 3 January 1975.

Radio Series

- 1925-36 *The A&P Gypsies*
 1930-32 *Slumber Hour*
 1931-75 *Metropolitan Opera*
 1934-37 *General Motors Concert*
 1938-40 *Information Please*
 1939-42 *Metropolitan Opera Auditions of the Air*

Selected Publications

- Complete Stories of the Great Operas*, 1947; revised edition
The New Complete Stories of the Great Operas, 1957
Favorite Arias from the Great Operas, 1958
More Stories of the Great Operas (with Karl Kohrs), 1971;
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Crutchfield, Charles H. 1912-1998

U.S. Radio Executive

Beginning in the 1930s, Charles H. Crutchfield initiated numerous radio programming improvements and became a pioneer in the U.S. system of commercial broadcasting.

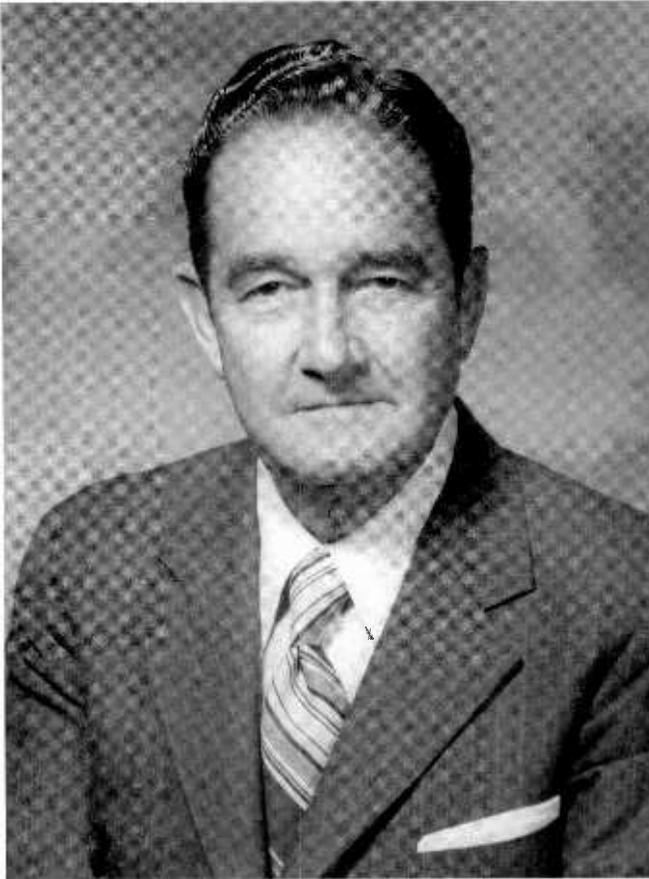
Crutchfield was born in 1912 in Hope, Arkansas. In 1920 the family moved to Spartanburg, South Carolina, where Crutchfield graduated from Spartanburg High School and enrolled in Wofford College. As he was walking home from classes one night in 1930, he decided to visit the studios of WSPA. When he got inside, the telephone rang. Since the announcer and the engineer were the only people in the studio, Crutchfield answered the phone and took a request from a woman who wanted a certain song played on the air. He wrote down the request and passed it on to the announcer. Immediately the station began getting more calls from listeners who wanted their requests and names on the air. Although Crutchfield did not realize it at the time, this was the first radio request program in the country.

It was not long before the owner of the station called, wanting to know what was going on at the station and if the young

man with the deep, rich voice who answered the phone would like a part-time announcing job at the station. Crutchfield accepted immediately and thus began his broadcasting career.

After working at five more stations in North and South Carolina, in 1933 Crutchfield was hired as a staff announcer at one of the oldest commercially licensed radio stations in the country, WBT in Charlotte, North Carolina. At the time, WBT was owned by the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) and was a non-directional, 50,000-watt, clear channel station that reached all of the United States except the West Coast.

Crutchfield is probably best known for his role in a program called *The Briarhoppers*. In 1934 a Chicago entrepreneur wanted to sell patent medicines, such as Peruna iron tonic, Kolor-Back hair dye, and Radio Girl perfume, on the radio. He called WBT's station manager to see if the products could be showcased on a hillbilly music program. The station manager asked Crutchfield if the station had such a band, and Crutchfield replied that they did, knowing full well that no such band existed at WBT. Seizing the opportunity, Crutchfield got some



Charles H. Crutchfield
Courtesy WBT/WBTV Archives

hillbilly musicians together, named the band “The Briarhoppers,” and went on the air with Crutchfield himself—as “Charlie Briarhopper”—acting as the emcee.

The Briarhoppers was immediately popular, garnering a huge and loyal audience. One reason for its success lay in its down-to-earth quality at a time when radio programs were decidedly highbrow and radio announcers spoke in a haltingly stilted and affected manner. But Crutchfield and the Briarhoppers would play upbeat music, tell corny jokes, and talk *with* the listeners rather than *at* them. Crutchfield’s ad-libbed commercials often poked fun at the products, and he used a just-plain-folks delivery. Former *New York Times* critic John Crosby recalls that Crutchfield was the first man he knew of “to sit a listener down with a microphone across from him in a studio and tell the man about the product.” The audience believed and bought, and thus was personal salesmanship born on radio. According to Crosby, it was Crutchfield and Arthur Godfrey who first did away with the stilted delivery of that era and popularized the one-to-one pitch so characteristic of the medium today.

The popularity of *The Briarhoppers* is difficult to imagine today. One of Crutchfield’s promotions promised listeners a black-and-white photograph of the Briarhoppers in return for a box top from Peruna, and the station consequently received more than 18,000 box tops each week. When requests slowed down, a color photo of the Briarhoppers was offered, and later a color picture of the Last Supper kept bringing in floods of responses. *The Briarhoppers* did as much as any program to convince newspaper advertisers and American businesses of the power of radio as a medium for advertising.

Crutchfield was named WBT’s program director in 1935, and he continued to introduce innovative programming. In 1936 he persuaded the Southern Conference to allow the first play-by-play radio coverage of its football games, and Crutchfield became the conference’s first play-by-play announcer. Other notable programs included reenactments of baseball games (including improvisation when the wire service went out), the broadcast of an egg frying on the sidewalk during the summer, Rebel yells by old Confederate soldiers, the broadcast of the wedding of two nonagenarian former slaves, and a program targeted specifically to a black audience. Crutchfield’s decision to air a local evangelist’s revival meeting led to the launching of Billy Graham’s broadcast career. Crutchfield was also responsible for the airing of station editorials long before it became a general practice among broadcasters.

Under Crutchfield’s direction from 1937 to 1945, WBT won seven coveted *Variety* awards. In 1942 the station became the first ever to garner two *Variety* awards in one year—one for its contributions to the war effort and another for fostering racial goodwill and understanding through a program series that broke precedent with Southern tradition. In 1945 Crutchfield was named general manager of WBT and became the youngest chief executive officer of a 50,000-watt radio station in the nation. He became a director of the broadcasting subsidiary the following year, vice president in 1947, executive vice president in 1952, and president in 1963.

Crutchfield’s influence in radio has been felt in other regions of the world. In 1951 the U.S. State Department sent him to Greece with the mission of setting up a nationwide radio network that would counter the barrage of communist propaganda flooding the country. Crutchfield represented the broadcasting industry when he and other American businessmen went to Russia in 1956 on a special mission. Upon his return he launched *Radio Moscow*. The program, designed to refute Soviet propaganda, won several awards and was syndicated nationally in 1960.

In 1949 Crutchfield signed North Carolina’s first television station on the air, WBTV. Eventually he was elected president of WBT’s and WBTV’s parent company, Jefferson-Pilot Broadcasting Company, which owned five other radio stations; two television stations; a company that provided computer services for broadcasters; and two companies engaged in audio, film,

and video commercial work. Although Crutchfield retired from Jefferson-Pilot in 1977, he was active in the media and public service until his death in 1998.

PATTON B. REIGHARD

See also Country Music Format; WBT

Charles H. Crutchfield. Born in Hope, Arkansas, 27 July 1912. Attended Wofford College, 1929–30; announcer, various stations, 1930–45; host of *The Briarhoppers*, 1934–45; program director, WBT, 1935–45; general manager, Jefferson-Pilot Broadcasting Company, 1945–63, director, 1946–80; vice president, 1947–52, executive vice president, 1952–63, president, 1963–77; established national radio network in Greece while on special mission for U.S. State Department, 1951; special mission to Soviet Union as broadcaster, 1956; produced *Radio Moscow* series, 1959–62; founded American Values Center, 1965; board of directors, Jefferson-Pilot Corporation, 1970–78; member National Commission on World Population, 1974–75; U.S. Chamber of Commerce Board of Directors, 1974–79; member, board of directors, Corporation for Public Broadcasting, 1976–82; president,

Media Communications, 1978–98; founding chairman, North Carolina Board of Telecommunications Commissioners, 1979–86. Received Broadcast Preceptor Award from San Francisco State University, 1967; International Revenue Service Award, 1967; charter member North Carolina Association of Broadcasters Hall of Fame, 1970; honorary degree of Doctor of Humane Letters from Appalachian State University, 1973; first recipient of Abe Lincoln Railsplitter Award for Pioneering in Broadcasting, 1975; North Carolina Distinguished Citizen Award, 1977; honorary degree of Doctor of Humane Letters from Belmont Abbey College, 1979. Died in Charlotte, North Carolina, 19 August 1998.

Radio Series

1934–45 *The Briarhoppers*
1959–62 *Radio Moscow*

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Crystal Receivers

Simple Early Radio Sets

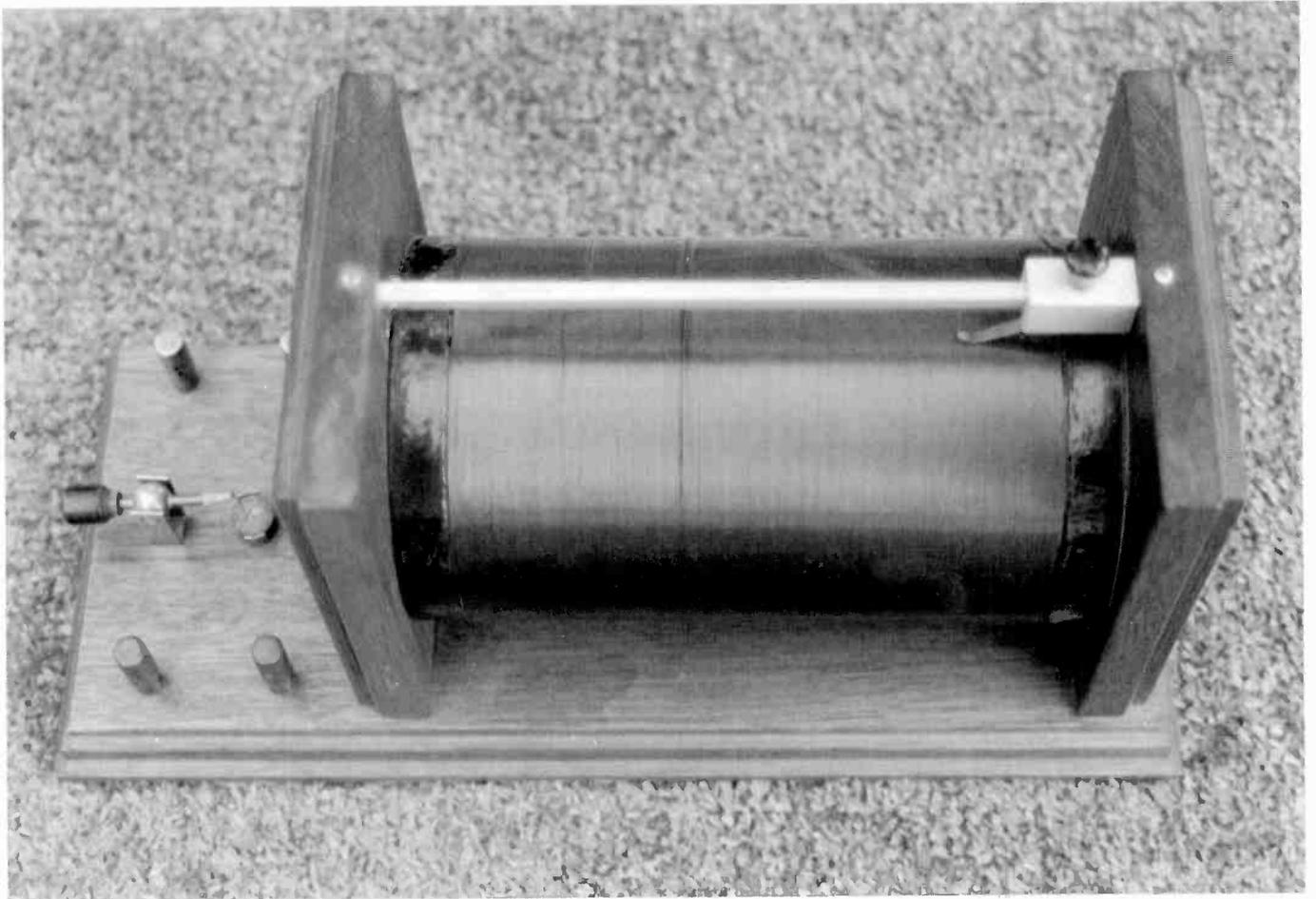
The crystal receiver, popularly known as the “crystal set,” was the device used by most people to listen to radio between 1906 and the early 1920s. The heart of the crystal receiver was the crystal itself, a small piece of silicon or galena, natural elements with the ability to detect radio frequency waves and to rectify or convert them into audio frequency signals. The crystal’s ability to detect radio signals was discovered in 1906 by General Henry H.C. Dunwoody and G.W. Pickard. The crystal receiver was inexpensive and easy to construct, making it possible for even a young child to build a radio. Even today, the construction of a crystal receiver from a kit is often a young person’s first introduction to radio technology.

As early as 1910, the three basic components and the instructions needed to construct a crystal receiver were available from mail-order electrical supply houses. All one needed was a spool of wire, a crystal detector, and earphones. The crystal detector consisted of a small piece of galena mounted in a lead base, approximately 1/4 inch in diameter, and electrically connected to a terminal. A tiny wire, called a “cat’s whisker,”

made contact with the exposed top of the galena, and its small moveable handle allowed the listener to find the spot on the galena where the radio signal was the loudest. The cat’s whisker was connected to a second terminal. One of these terminals was connected to the tuning coil.

A tuning coil was made by winding several hundred turns of thin, insulated wire around an empty oatmeal box or similar cylindrical object. A sliding piece of metal was positioned to move across the exposed coil windings for precise tuning. To the other terminal of the tuning coil a long wire, called the antenna, was connected and strung to a tree in the back yard, the goal being to get it as high as possible. The second terminal of the galena crystal/cat’s whisker combination was connected to one wire of a headset or single earphone. The other earphone wire was connected to a ground, usually a metal stake driven into the earth. Sometimes a fourth component, a fixed or variable capacitor, was added to the circuit.

To understand what the crystal receiver meant to the early science of radio, it is necessary to look at the available wire-



Crystal set
 Courtesy of Michael H. Adams

less detector technology in the early years of the 20th century. In Marconi's 1900 wireless, the receiving device used to translate the dots and dashes of his spark transmitter was a coherer, a small tube containing iron filings that closed like a switch when receiving the electromagnetic pulses of the Morse code. Each time the filings cohered, or caused the circuit to close, current from an in-series battery flowed; then, either a buzzer sounded, a telephone receiver clicked, or an inking device recorded a coded symbolic component of the message, a dot or dash. Then a small hammer would tap the filings apart, and the entire process began again to detect the next dot or dash. The coherer could only indicate to a radio operator if a spark signal was present. Such a system might receive five or ten words per minute and was unreliable. And although the coherer was a satisfactory receiver as long as the transmitter was of the spark-gap type, it would not work with the continuous-wave and voice-transmitting systems that quickly replaced the spark. The mechanical coherer did not

allow a receiver to "hear" audio, obviously a serious technical impediment to the development of wireless telephone and radio broadcasting.

Between the crude mechanical coherer and the discovery of the detecting properties of the crystal, several intermediate systems of detecting were invented and used by two of the leading early radiotelephone inventors. Between 1900 and 1905, Reginald Fessenden's Liquid Barretter and Lee de Forest's similar Electrolytic Detector were able to detect both continuous-wave code transmission and audio. These were less reliable than the crystal detector that followed, but they did allow radio operators to hear the human voice. By 1906 de Forest was advertising a radiotelephone system with his vacuum tube, the Audion, as the detector. Whether liquid, crystal, or vacuum tube, this new generation of non-mechanical detectors that converted or rectified radio frequency into audio frequency really opened the door for the development of the radiotelephone.

When licensed radio for the public was introduced in 1920, it was believed that the financial basis for the new commercial radio service would derive from sales of manufactured radio sets. Large companies such as Westinghouse and General Electric introduced home radios, the most popular of which was a crystal receiver in a wood box with earphones and instructions, called the Radiola 1 and the Aeriola Jr. The vacuum tube detector, as pioneered and used by de Forest 15 years earlier, was still too expensive for most families, but there were higher-priced radios available that used the crystal as a detector but added a vacuum tube as an amplifier to increase the volume. By the mid-1920s, better programming caused a demand for radios that would play loud enough to drive a horn speaker, and manufacturers introduced radios that used vacuum tubes for both detector and amplifier.

The vacuum tube remained the technology of choice for detecting radio signals until the transistor finally replaced it in the 1960s. And what happened to the crystal receiver? It is still the entry-level radio technology of choice. Its components, in the form of kits, are readily available today. It is almost a rite of passage for a young boy or girl to build a crystal set, and technical museums still offer Saturday morning classes where parents and their children can learn to construct a crystal receiver. There is still a thrill from building your own radio, one that seemingly works by magic, using no batteries, no elec-

tricity, one that pulls faint programs from a local AM station, experiencing what your great-grandparents did almost a century ago.

MICHAEL H. ADAMS

See also De Forest, Lee; Fessenden, Reginald; Receivers

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Cuba

Cuban radio has been linked to developments in the United States since its inception in 1922, mirroring Cuba's economic and political dependence on its northern neighbor. During its first four decades, Cuban radio followed the U.S. network system and broadcasting style. After the 1959 Cuban Revolution, the media was nationalized and relations with the United States were broken, but relations between the countries continued to frame Cuba's broadcasts, both domestic and international.

Pre-Revolutionary Radio: 1922 to 1958

On 10 October 1922 Cuba became the first country in Latin America to broadcast radio. Perhaps the 200 Cubans who owned radio sets (and until then had listened to U.S. stations) tuned in to that first broadcast—a speech in English by Cuban president Alfredo Zayas, made possible by the local phone company. Four days later, a second broadcast featured a speech

by the president of the American Club of Havana, encouraging U.S. citizens to visit Cuba. Through 1934 the phone company station (PWX) broadcast music, vignettes about Cuba's natural and historical attractions, and news in English and Spanish to the United States.

A regulatory radio commission was created in 1929, but the government's role was limited to establishing power standards, assigning frequencies, and awarding licenses—which it often did in exchange for fees or favors. By 1930 there were a half-million radios and 61 stations on the island. Radio was quickly popularized as an entertainment medium featuring talk shows and live popular music (orchestras would play free in exchange for promotion).

Stations were private and were financed mostly by advertisers. They initially leased airtime to private announcers, who in turn solicited advertisers to finance their programs. In the 1930s these freelance announcers were replaced by advertising agencies, and soon two large soap manufacturers were in fierce

competition for domination of the airwaves through their advertising departments.

In the 1940s, the two largest radio networks became associated with these manufacturers: Crusellas, with station CMQ, formerly PWX, became a subsidiary of Colgate-Palmolive; and Sabates, with Radio Habana Cuba—Cadena Azul, became a subsidiary of Procter & Gamble. It was not until the mid 1950s that the Cuban company Gravi shifted the balance by creating a third network.

In 1942 industrialists Abel and Goar Mestre bought 50 percent of station CMQ. After visiting the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) studios in New York, Goar Mestre decided to introduce rational planning in programs and schedules by organizing commercial spots into regular rotating blocks. Mestre also experimented with new formats such as specialized programming. Affiliate station CMBF played classical music only while Radio Reloj, founded in 1947, became the first 24-hour news station in the world. At this time, with a total audience of 85 percent of the population listening to radio daily, sophisticated survey research was introduced to serve commercial interests. By the end of the decade, CMQ was ahead of Radio Habana Cuba (RHC) in the ratings. Radio Progreso, with music and soap operas, rated third, and Mil Diez, an entertainment station run by the Popular Socialist Party, was fourth.

In 1947 CMQ's director of programming, Gaspar Pumarejo, started his own radio network, Union Radio, which became CMQ's main competitor. Two years later he inaugurated the first Cuban TV station. The introduction of the new medium caused a slight decline in radio's popularity. Resources were diverted to television, and with them went both advertisers and audiences, especially during the evening hours. Political battles, however, continued to be waged over the radio. As a result of frequent heated arguments, in 1950 the government passed a "right to reply" law that gave citizens the right to reply on the air to any accusations made against them. One very controversial program was that of Orthodox Party senator Eduardo Chibás on CMQ, which ended in 1951 when Chibás killed himself on the air. Radio Reloj, in turn, became the object of such battles in more dramatic ways—rebel forces occupied its facilities twice—once in 1952 by pro-Batista militias, and again in 1957 by revolutionaries.

At the end of the decade, the Batista government exerted tight control over broadcasts via financial subsidies as well as through direct censorship. In 1957, for example, rock and roll music was banned for allegedly promoting immorality. At the time there were 32 local commercial stations and five national networks—Union Radio, Radio Progreso, Circuito Nacional Cubano (founded in 1954 and using the former RHC infrastructure), Cadena Oriental de Radio, and CMQ. CMQ's signal was loud and clear thanks to high-power transmitters. However, the other stations' use of phone lines pro-

vided better coverage of the island at the expense of sound quality.

Radio and Revolution

On 1 January 1959, CMQ was taken over by employees involved in the underground struggle against the Batista regime; they announced the news of Fidel Castro's victory to the Cuban people. The new government immediately moved to control the media, which it had used for ideological purposes since Che Guevara founded Radio Rebelde in the Oriente Mountains in February 1958. The revolutionaries immediately eliminated all state subsidies, and over the course of two years, all stations were nationalized and placed under the administration of the Independent Federation of Free Radios (FIEL)—beginning with those such as Circuito Nacional Cubano that were associated with the former regime. As both foreign companies and advertising agencies were also nationalized, commercial advertising disappeared. By March 1961, public service announcements and political propaganda spots had replaced advertisements. Propaganda campaigns such as the 1962 Literacy Campaign and the 1970 Ten-Million-Ton Sugar Harvest Campaign were carried out to a great extent over radio.

To oversee operations and broadcasts, the Instituto Cubano de Radio (ICR; Cuban Institute of Radio) was founded on 24 May 1962. (It was renamed Cuban Institute of Radio and Television in 1976.) Revolutionary army commander and state prosecutor Jorge "Papito" Serguera was ICR's director between 1967 and 1974, when he was replaced by former urban guerrilla Nibaldo Herrera, a member of the council of ministers. A vice president for radio oversaw radio operations in coordination with the Partido Comunista de Cuba (PCC; Cuban Communist Party). The PCC Central Committee nominated all ICR officers, including the president, vice presidents, and station directors. The Communist Party Department of Revolutionary Orientation was in charge of media policies and exerted control over broadcast content.

Both the 1971 National Congress of Culture and Education and the 1975 First Cuban Communist Party Congress cemented radio's role in education and propaganda. The 1976 Communist Party Theses on Mass Media established policy guidelines in program design and production, which directed the media to "educate, inform, orient, organize and mobilize the population by appealing to reason and consciousness." The National Culture Council had an advisory role in educational programming. In addition, the armed forces and mass organizations (such as the Federation of Cuban Women and the Union of Communist Youth) used radio to disseminate their agendas and promote organizational membership.

Throughout the mid 1980s, Cuba's national stations were Radio Rebelde, based in Havana's former Circuito Nacional

Cubano studios and focusing on educational programming, including Russian lessons; Radio Liberación, formerly CMQ; CMBF, still an all-classical-music station; Radio Enciclopedia, dedicated to culture and the arts; and Radio Progreso, which featured variety programming. Because all stations shared the goal of ideological education, there was collaboration rather than competition between them. Most programming was locally produced, except for shows acquired by ICR through international exchanges, usually with other communist countries. Government control over content was absolute and extended to music programming, which had to be more than two-thirds Cuban, with all music by exiled artists excluded. Between 1973 and 1975, there was a ban on British and U.S. pop music that paralleled the repression of hippie aesthetics during that period.

Ideological Confrontation and International Broadcasts

The use of radio to disseminate ideology was not unique to the Cuban government. Since World War II, the United States used radio to combat communist ideology in Eastern Europe and, after Castro's victory, in Cuba as well. The United States and Cuba have a long history of disputes over frequencies and broadcasting power. In 1937, Cuba caused interference on 60 U.S. stations in retaliation for U.S. stations' intrusion into Cuban AM frequencies. In February 1960 both Cuba and the United States signed the updated North American Regional Broadcasting Agreement (NARBA). One month later the Eisenhower administration approved anti-communist broadcasts to Cuba, thereby subverting the agreement. Between 1960 and 1969, Radio Swan (later known as Radio Américas) broadcast to Cuba from Honduras. Swan featured old CMQ shows and exiled announcers whose voices were familiar to the Cuban public. As the U.S. administration initiated plans for the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion, Swan's programming extended to 24 hours per day. At the same time, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) initiated clandestine broadcasts, and the Voice of America increased its Spanish programming from 30 minutes to 22 hours daily in both shortwave and AM (on Radio Marathon). Cuba jammed Radio Swan with CMBN's La Voz del INRA ("The Voice of the National Institute for Agrarian Reform") on the same frequency and with higher power. CMBN had a commercial format and broadcast mostly music and entertainment shows interspersed with propaganda messages and Castro's speeches. Russian transmitters and jamming devices allowed Cuban stations to broadcast at high power over several frequencies, to avoid U.S. penetration.

In May 1961 Radio Habana Cuba began shortwave broadcasts to disseminate the official views of the Cuban government and provide an alternative to the Voice of America, which was becoming its biggest competition. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, RHC also offered a voice to representatives

of leftist movements, from Colombian guerrillas to U.S. black nationalists such as Bobby Seale and Stokely Carmichael. Also in 1961, Cuba launched CMCA, "the friendly voice of Cuba," to the United States. CMCA was on the AM band 17 hours per day through 1967, with mostly Cuban music and cultural programming in English. Mainly staffed with North Americans, one of its typical features was a biweekly program about the plight of African-Americans, entitled *Negroes in Today's World*. During the same years (1962–67), Radio Free Dixie was recorded at Radio Progreso studios and broadcast in English three times per week to the southern United States, where it was widely heard. The brainchild of black nationalist Robert F. Williams Jr. (who lived in Havana at the time), the show featured African-American music and news about the Civil Rights struggle. In the 1970s, Cuban broadcasts to the United States became more sporadic, except for rebroadcasts of the Voice of Vietnam from RHC (in English) until 1976.

Responding to Radio Martí

Improved U.S./Cuban relations during the Carter administration (1976–1980) brought about a radio truce, but Ronald Reagan's election as U.S. president in 1980 refueled the confrontation. In 1980, Cuba resumed English-language international broadcasts that interfered with U.S. stations, and often rebroadcast Moscow Radio in English to the United States on several frequencies. On 27 August 1982, Reagan announced plans to launch Radio Free Cuba (later known as Radio Martí for Cuba's independence hero, José Martí). Although the bill would not be passed until more than two years later, Cuba immediately suspended a bilateral migration agreement and announced plans to upgrade its transmitting equipment and increase broadcasting power. In 1982 it backed out of the NARBA agreement, and on the night of 30 August 1982, it broadcast English-language programming for four hours, blacking out stations on five frequencies across much of the United States. North American newspapers reported a Cuban radio announcer saying in English, "We are bringing you the world news and some good Cuban music for your enjoyment." This was the strongest signal ever broadcast from Cuba, according to the Federal Communications Commission, and it moved the National Association of Broadcasters to oppose passage of the Radio Martí bill in order to avoid further Cuban interference. Cuban plans to launch the Voice of Cuba and Radio Lincoln in English to the United States were not carried out for financial reasons. Instead, the Cuban Institute of Radio and Television assessed Radio Martí's possible level of intrusion throughout the island and measured the power increases necessary for local stations to neutralize Martí's signal. Cuba also filled most available frequencies with domestic broadcasts.

United States Public Law 98-111 was passed on 4 October 1983, approving Radio Martí as a division of the Voice of America. Broadcasts began on 20 May 1985, Cuba's independence day. Cuba protested before the United Nations and responded by jamming Martí with noise. A center was established in Havana for the purpose of monitoring and transcribing Radio Martí's broadcasts, but no direct response was broadcast. However, when Cuban exile station Radio Mambí reached the Havana airwaves five months later, the Cuban government retaliated and immediately launched Radio Taíno toward Florida. Taíno began broadcasting in November 1985 on the same frequency as Radio Martí, in both English and Spanish. Like PWX in the 1920s and CMCA in the 1950s, Radio Taíno was a friendly voice, featuring cultural programming that included vignettes about Cuba's natural wonders and tourist attractions. Radio Taíno appealed to the nostalgia of older Cuban expatriates. The station's identification announcement was identical to that of 1950s CMQ, and popular announcers from pre-revolutionary radio days presented Cuban music from the 1940s and 1950s.

The "Rectification" Process

By 1983 there were 54 radio stations in Cuba—five national, 14 provincial, and 35 local, covering 99 percent of the island. At that time, an administrative redesign of the provinces required an accompanying readjustment of the network system in terms of frequencies, power, and schedules. As a result, Radio Liberación was merged with Rebelde in 1984, and all national stations improved their coverage. Both national and provincial stations extended their broadcasting day to 24 hours. Stereo was introduced in 1984 and FM in 1986.

During Radio Martí's first two years (1985–87), audience ratings for all Cuban stations declined. The ICRT decided to face up to the competition by improving the quality of programming and by appealing to young people, who preferred foreign stations' music and entertainment news. At the same time, Russian premier Gorbachev's *perestroika* translated in Cuba into a "Process of Rectification of Errors" that called for journalistic "transparency" and attention to young people's needs. To lead this renovation, Carlos Aldana was nominated head of the Communist Party's Department of Revolutionary Orientation, and Ismael González, a social psychologist, became head of the ICRT. Both men had a history as youth leaders in communist mass organizations. Following guidelines issued at the 1986 Third Communist Party Congress, González promoted audience research and led a generational renewal, at a time when the average age of media producers was 59 years.

Radio Rebelde became a symbol of this renovation. In May 1984 it appeared on the air with a completely new sound. Live news and sports broadcasts were interspersed with commercial-sounding propaganda spots that used catchy slogans and

jingles. Announcers followed no written scripts, addressed the audience informally, and took live phone calls for the very first time. Also for the first time, drama shows presented the hardships of every day life. Beginning in 1987, Rebelde's top show was *Haciendo Radio* (Doing Radio), whose title recalled the new transparency line. It was a news program featuring live news broadcasts and investigative reporting of controversial issues.

More controversial was a local Havana station, Radio Ciudad de La Habana (Havana City Radio), that garnered top ratings with political humor and rock music shows. With a young and talented staff, Radio Ciudad emerged as the voice of Havana's youth. From 1986 to 1991, *El Programa de Ramón* (Ramon's Show) was its number one program. The first radio show named for an individual, it included biting political humor and featured the music of local underground rock bands. It was broadcast live every evening, reaching an audience of 300,000 in the city of Havana alone, with pirate tapes of the show circulating throughout the island. Next in popularity among young people was the classic rock show *Melomanía*, featuring the best of North American and British rock. But in 1990 Ismael González was deposed, and shortly thereafter these two shows were eliminated. The Rectification Period ended. Enrique Román, a former vice director of the Communist Party's Department of Revolutionary Orientation and director of the Communist Party's daily newspaper *Granma*, became the new ICRT president. A few months later, Carlos Aldana was also deposed on corruption charges and replaced as head of the Department of Revolutionary Orientation by former ambassador to Moscow and army colonel Ramón Balaguer.

Crisis and Reform

In the 1990s, following the collapse of the Soviet bloc, Cuba suffered a severe economic crisis. The ICRT was in desperate need of financial support—radio equipment was of Eastern European manufacture and fell into disrepair due to lack of spare parts. Advertising was now considered a viable solution to the problem, and incoming foreign investors were eager to promote their products in the emerging Cuban market. In 1994, Radio Taíno, a station born out of ideological confrontation with the United States (but with poor audience ratings), was revamped and became the first advertising broadcast outlet on the island since 1961. It was assigned an FM frequency for better sound quality, and new transmitters soon sent its signal to the island's urban centers and tourist resorts. While other stations curtailed their airtime in the face of crisis, Taíno expanded to 18 hours a day. Its new commercial format included dance music and entertainment news in both Spanish and English. Former Radio Ciudad de La Habana producers were hired by Taíno to appeal to urban youth. In its first year

alone, Radio Taíno's hard currency revenues amounted to \$250,000.

Due to pressures by new stakeholders such as advertisers and leaders in the music industry, the nature of radio production and broadcasting changed. Radio Taíno's premier program was *De 5 a 7*—the most popular music radio show during its six-year run. Although overt social critique was absent from *De 5 a 7*, stylistically it represented a revolution in Cuban radio broadcasting with its use of audio effects such as record scratching and a variety of special sound effects. The music played included the latest U.S. salsa hits, peppered with light show business news and cheerful concert announcements. The role of mass media was transformed. Rather than serving primarily as an instrument for ideological education, it became a tool for marketing products, services, and popular culture.

The need for economic recovery made Cuba's radio war with the United States a secondary concern. Cuba jammed U.S. stations with special programming only occasionally, as in retaliation for TV- Martí broadcasts (1989–90), to protest U.S. military intervention in Iraq and the former Yugoslavia, and during the custody battle over six-year-old Elián González (1999–2000). In 1999 ICRT vice president Ernesto López replaced Enrique Román to preside over the new commercial era and manage a \$6 million budget for the years from 2000 to 2002, the highest ever.

In 2000 there were 55 radio stations in Cuba, all controlled by the state: six were national (Reloj, Rebelde, Progreso,

CMBF, Taíno, and Enciclopedia), 16 provincial, 32 local, and one in shortwave (Radio Habana Cuba). There were 2.12 million radio sets, according to CIA estimates. The shows with highest audience ratings were Radio Reloj's morning news, Radio Progreso's late morning soap opera, and Radio Taíno's Latin dance music shows.

Cuba is a member of the International Telecommunication Union and is therefore bound by the Administrative Radio Regulations adopted by the 1979 World Administrative Radio Conference. Cuban stations are members of the Latin American and Caribbean Union of Radio Broadcasters, an association of public radio stations founded in 1985.

ARIANA HERNANDEZ-REGUANT

See also Cold War Radio; International Radio Broadcasting; Jamming; North American Regional Broadcasting Agreement; Radio Martí; Shortwave Radio

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D

Daly, John Charles 1914–1991

U.S. Radio Journalist and Program Moderator

On 7 December 1941 John Charles Daly, Jr., made an indelible mark upon U.S. radio audiences with the first bulletin of the bombing of Pearl Harbor. Working for the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), Daly broke into the network at 2:25 P.M. Eastern time: “The Japanese have attacked Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, by air, President Roosevelt has just announced.”

Although he was ridiculed for his English accent in prep school, Daly possessed one of the richest speaking voices on the air. He was born in Johannesburg, South Africa on 20 February 1914. He was the youngest son of John Charles Daly, Sr., a Boston geologist, and Helene Grant Tennant, an Englishwoman.

After his father died of complications from yellow fever in the Belgian Congo, young John Charles, his older brother John Grant, and their mother moved to Boston in 1923. Daly graduated from the Tilton School in New Hampshire and was offered a scholarship to attend Boston College in 1930. He worked as a telephone switchboard operator to make ends meet during the Depression, but his salary was later reduced because of the worsening economic times. Two years later, when the financial burden of supporting his ailing mother became too great, Daly was forced to drop out of college. He first took a job at a wool factory in New England and later moved to Washington, D.C., where he worked for a transit company.

Seeking to join the new and exciting mass medium of radio, Daly was hired as a Washington reporter with the National Broadcasting Company (NBC). He became known for his ability to speak extemporaneously with great ease under the time constraints of broadcast airtime. However, his trademark diction and eloquence on the air sometimes upset NBC's listeners; a few wrote letters to complain that Daly's English accent sounded too foreign and pretentious.

In 1936, at the age of 22, Daly jumped from NBC to CBS just as the latter network was expanding its news service. Daly

soon became an original member of the legendary CBS News broadcasting team that worked under Edward R. Murrow.

Daly succeeded Robert Trout as the CBS White House correspondent. He had traveled more than 150,000 miles with Roosevelt throughout the United States, Europe, and South America by 1941. After the United States' entry into the war, he broadcast accounts of military operations in North Africa and Italy. Daly broadcast the first bulletins of Roosevelt's death from Warm Springs, Georgia on 12 April 1945.

As the new medium of television loomed, Daly was persuaded to host *What's My Line?* in 1950, in which a celebrity panel would guess the occupation of invited guests. The CBS network program eventually brought Daly the most fame and fortune of his broadcasting career.

In 1953 Daly was offered an unprecedented opportunity to become the vice president of news, special events, public affairs, religious programs, and sports with the rival American Broadcasting Company (ABC) network while continuing to host *What's My Line?* During the period 1953–60, Daly was ABC's only on-air news anchor on television. He was reported to have a quick temper and often clashed with management over news policy matters. Although Daly broke new ground by hiring a then largely unknown Howard Cosell to broadcast the first nightly sports report on national television, ABC executives said that Daly was a weak administrator who failed to hire other on-air talent to build the news division. In 1957 Daly publicly objected to the management hire of Mike Wallace to host a weekly personality interview program, *Night Beat*, saying that Wallace lacked hard news credentials. A decade later, Wallace would become the leading correspondent for the CBS newsmagazine, *60 Minutes*.

Daly resigned from ABC in November 1960 over a much-publicized dispute about the network's purchase of outside news programming. He was appointed director of the Voice of America (VOA) in 1967. Succeeding NBC journalist John



John Daly
Courtesy CBS Photo Archive

Chancellor, Daly was expected to enhance the agency's image in its broadcasts around the world. He resigned the following year, complaining about a lack of management autonomy from VOA's parent agency, the United States Information Agency. Leaving VOA a year later, Daly said he was entering a "state of semi-retirement."

DENNIS W. MAZZOCCO

See also News; Voice of America; World War II and U.S. Radio

John Charles Daly. Born in Johannesburg, South Africa, 20 February 1914. Attended the Tilton School, 1923–30; attended Boston College, 1930–32; radio news reporter and correspondent for NBC, Washington, D.C., 1936; CBS News radio correspondent, 1936–49; CBS White House correspondent, 1937–45; ABC News senior correspondent and news analyst, 1949–60; host, CBS weekly quiz show, *What's My Line?* 1950–67; ABC vice-president of news, special events, publicity, religious programs, sports, 1953–60; president, Tilton School Board of Trustees, 1963–1984; director, Voice of America, 1967–68; freelance writer for national publications, 1968–84; member of Artists and Writers Association, Association of Radio Analysts; former president, International Radio and Television Society, Overseas Press Club of America; honorary doctorates, St. Bonaventure University, American International College, honorary law

degree from Norwich University. Died in Chevy Chase, Maryland, 24 February 1991.

Radio Series

1952–53 *What's My Line?*

Television Series

What's My Line (1950–67)

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Davis, Elmer 1890–1958

U.S. Radio Commentator

From 1939 to 1941, Americans listened to Elmer Davis describe the war in Europe and analyze its impact on their lives. When the United States entered World War II, Davis became head of the government agency charged with coordinating the release of all information about the war effort.

Davis was born in Aurora, Indiana. His father was a bank clerk and his mother a school teacher, later a principal. He attended Franklin College, near Indianapolis, and graduated in 1910 with a B.A. He taught Latin for a year in a high school, then, as a Rhodes Scholar, he studied classics at Oxford University. When he graduated, he traveled across Europe and met the woman who later became his wife, Florence MacMillan of Boston. He settled in London to do postgraduate work and hoped for a career as a teacher of ancient history.

But upon his father's death in 1913, Davis returned to the United States to take care of his mother. The two settled in New York City, and he began a career as a writer by working for *Adventure Magazine*. A year later, he became a reporter for the *New York Times*, where he worked his way up to foreign correspondent and later to editorial writer. He also wrote light fiction, including novels and short stories. In 1924 he became a full-time freelancer, writing both fiction and nonfiction. His journalistic articles appeared in many of the major magazines.

War in Europe seemed inevitable by 1939. Davis, who had previously substituted briefly for the Columbia Broadcasting System's (CBS) top commentator, H.V. Kaltenborn, was asked to become a full-time news analyst for CBS. Two weeks later, World War II broke out. Soon, Davis was the third most



Elmer Davis
Courtesy CBS Photo Archive

popular commentator in the country, following Kaltenborn and Lowell Thomas. At the height of his popularity, his listeners numbered 12.5 million.

When preparing his commentaries, Davis would look at the teletype and read the wire service news, but only take notes. He would then rewrite the material in his own style—concise and easy to understand. And he did some of his own reporting, interviewing political leaders and traveling to the scene. For example, he joined Edward R. Murrow, the CBS newsman, in England in 1941 for a month.

Davis liked to think of his audience as being rational and gave them the relevant facts behind the story. His analysis was insightful and frequently sounded like plain old common sense, although he did have a tendency to refer to the ancient Greeks and Romans that he had studied in his youth. His most memorable characteristic was to ask a question, followed by a pause, then “Well—” and the answer. His Midwestern twang, dry sense of humor, and flat delivery seemed to reflect the average American voice and was reassuring to many.

An admitted liberal, Davis was nevertheless not reluctant to criticize President Franklin Roosevelt. Davis favored the United States’ remaining neutral during the war, but he had strong sympathies for the British. When Pearl Harbor brought America into the war in 1941, Davis became an ardent supporter of the war effort.

In one of his commentaries, he complained that too many government agencies were turning out information about the war. Reporters didn’t know where to go for facts; important information was withheld from the public; and confusing, conflicting stories were the result. Davis recommended that the president create an office to oversee all of these efforts. In 1942 Roosevelt offered him the job, and Davis accepted.

The Office of War Information had the task of coordinating all national and international propaganda and the release of all news about the war to journalists. Davis favored getting as much information—including the negative—to the public as possible without violating security. When the military was reluctant to cooperate, President Roosevelt backed Davis up. Davis’ lack of administrative experience led to some problems, but most journalists respected the efforts of one of their own to keep the news flowing during a difficult time.

His approach to drumming up domestic support for the war was to ask the networks for voluntary cooperation. He preferred that propaganda be integrated into regular programming, rather than being broadcast through special programming or didactic speeches. And broadcasters agreed.

When the war ended in 1945, Davis went to work for the new radio network, the American Broadcasting Companies (ABC), where he had a 15-minute program three times a week. He may have been motivated to move to ABC by a higher salary, but he also disliked CBS’s policy that news analysts had to stick to the facts and not air their own opinions.

Davis was one of the first people in the industry to attack Senator Joseph McCarthy, the powerful Republican from Wisconsin who had little tolerance for criticism. McCarthy believed that the country was threatened by communism, but Davis felt the dangers of McCarthyism to freedom of speech and freedom of thought were even greater. He wrote a best-selling book of essays on the topic, *But We Were Born Free*. During the 1952 elections, some stations dropped Davis’ program, but at his peak he had 150 stations carrying his commentaries.

In 1953 Davis had to retire from ABC because of his declining health. A year later, he tried a weekly commentary for ABC TV but again had to stop because of poor health. He suffered a stroke and died in 1958.

BARBARA MOORE

See also Commentators; Office of War Information; Propaganda; World War II and U.S. Radio

Elmer Davis. Born in Aurora, Indiana, 13 January 1890. Only child of Elam Holmes Davis and Louise Severin. Attended Franklin College, B.A., 1910; attended Oxford University (Rhodes Scholar), B.A. 1912; editorial staff, *New York Times*, 1914–24; freelance writer, 1924–39; CBS commentator, 1939–41; head of the Office of War Information, 1942–45; ABC commentator, 1945–54. Died in Washington, D.C., 18 May 1958.

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Dees, Rick 1951-

U.S. Radio Personality

Rigdon Osmond Dees III (Rick Dees) grew up in Greensboro, North Carolina, where he began his radio career at age 17 upon being dared by another student to audition for a local radio station. Dees took the challenge, landed the job at WGBG, and has worked in radio ever since. He was known first as Rig Dees and then adopted the name Rick. Dees has combined his love for comedy and the absurd to create his own wacky style, which is performed for listeners by his "Cast of Idiots," a myriad of voices both self-created and done by his wife, Julie. Dees' unique radio style has inspired audiences to tune in and to make him number one in the ratings in every market in which he has worked. From WGBG he moved to WCOG in Greensboro in 1969. In 1971 Dees split time between WKIX in Raleigh and WTOB in Winston-Salem while working on his degree at the University of North Carolina.

Dees left North Carolina in 1973 to join WSGN in Birmingham, Alabama. He moved to Memphis, Tennessee, in 1976, where he worked for a short time at WMPS before moving over to WHBQ that same year. As an air personality in Memphis, Dees became known nationally in 1976 with his disco music parody "Disco Duck," which reached multi-platinum status by selling more than 4 million copies. The song made it to number one on the charts and landed Dees a People's Choice Award. In addition to "Disco Duck," Dees produced and wrote several comedy albums, including *I'm Not Crazy*, *Rick Dees' Greatest Hit (The White Album)*, and *Put it Where the Moon Don't Shine*. His album *Hurt Me Baby, Make Me Write Bad Checks* was nominated for a Grammy Award.

In 1979 Dees moved to Los Angeles station KHJ-AM, where he was not particularly successful. But upon moving to Los Angeles' KIIS-FM in 1981, where he remained as of early 2003, Dees began a streak of winning *Billboard's* Radio Personality of the Year award 15 consecutive times. Since 1982,

he has hosted American Broadcasting Companies (ABC) Radio's internationally syndicated *The Rick Dees Weekly Top 40*, which airs to 30 million people via more than 400 stations in the United States and 70 other countries.

Dees was part of a 1984 Top 40 revival radio now known as "contemporary hit radio." The format relies on personalities or "superjocks" who are as important to the format as the music is. The format has been likened to that employed by 1960s air personalities such as Cousin Bruce Morrow, Murray the K, Alan Freed, Wolfman Jack, and others. Dees' fans are attracted by loony gags and bits. One of his staples is "Spousal Arousal," in which a spouse offers his or her partner romantic enticements. Another is "Battle of the Sexes," where men and women compete in trivia contests. Dees attributes his longevity in radio to his ability to stand for things that are different from the Howard Sterns of the world. On his own show, Stern frequently insults Dees.

Dees hosted the syndicated TV show *Solid Gold* (1983-84) and ABC-TV's largely unsuccessful late-night program *Into the Night Starring Rick Dees* (1990-91), a midnight talk show targeted at a younger viewing audience. His house band was Billy Vera and the Beaters, and the announcer was Lisa Canning. Greg Binkley and Bob Perlow provided comedy bits, along with "The Committee," four female senior citizens interacting with the host about a variety of topics. Dees said the show did not work because he was up against Johnny Carson's last year on the National Broadcasting Company's (NBC) *The Tonight Show*. Also, it was on during the Gulf War and was frequently delayed when Ted Koppel's ABC *Nightline* went overtime.

Other Dees television credits include appearances on *Roseanne*, *Married with Children*, and *Burke's Law* and voiceovers for animated children's programs such as *The Flintstones*, in which he was "Rock Dees." In the film *La Bamba*, the story of



Rick Dees
 Courtesy CBS Photo Archive

rock and roll artist Richie Valens, Dees played Ted Quillen, the person who helped start Valens' career. In the animated full-length motion picture *The Jetsons: The Movie*, he played Rocket Rick. Dees has received numerous honors and awards for his accomplishments, including placement of his own star on the prestigious Hollywood Walk of Fame.

W.A. KELLY HUFF

See also Contemporary Hit Radio Format/Top 40; Disk Jockeys

Rick Dees. Born Rigdon Osmond Dees III in Jacksonville, Florida, 14 March 1951. Attended University of North Carolina; worked at various radio stations including WGBG, Greensboro, North Carolina, 1968; WCOG, Greensboro, 1969; split time between WKIX in Raleigh, North Carolina, and WTOB in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, 1971; joined WSGN, Birmingham, Alabama, 1973; WMPS, Memphis, Tennessee, 1976, WHBQ, Memphis, 1976-79; KHJ-AM, Los Angeles, 1979-81; moved to KIIS-FM, Los Angeles, 1981-present. Recorded multi-platinum *Disco Duck*, 1976; first film appearance, *Record City*, 1977; appeared in *La Bamba*, 1987; host of *The Rick Dees Weekly Top 40*, 1982-present; first album, Grammy Award-nominated *Hurt Me Baby, Make Me Write Bad Checks*; other albums *I'm Not Crazy*, *Rick Dees' Greatest Hit (The White Album)*, and *Put It Where the Moon Don't Shine*. Inducted into the Museum of Broadcast Communications Radio Hall of Fame, 1999.

Radio Series

1981-present *The Rick Dees Morning Show*
 1982-present *The Rick Dees Weekly Top 40*

Television Series

Host, *Solid Gold*, 1983-84; host, *Into the Night Starring Rick Dees*, 1991; voiceovers, *Casper and the Angels*, 1979; guest starred in series including *The Brady Bunch Hour*, 1977; *The Love Boat*, 1977; *The Greatest American Hero*, 1981; *Married with Children*, 1987; *Roseanne*, 1988; *Diagnosis Murder*, 1993; *Burke's Law*, 1994; *Baywatch Nights*, 1995

Films

Record City, 1977; *Best Defense*, 1984; *The Gladiator*, 1986 (TV movie); *La Bamba*, 1987; *Jetsons: The Movie*, 1990

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De Forest, Lee 1873–1961

U.S. Radio Inventor

A formally educated scientist whose inventions in some way have affected nearly every human life, Lee de Forest was one of the most important of the early inventors of radio and electronic technology. He is most known for his pioneering work with the vacuum tube—first as a detector of radio waves, then as an amplifier for long-distance telephone calls, and finally as the major technology of the radio transmitter, one still in use today. Although de Forest was responsible for some of the more significant radio technical accomplishments of the early 20th century, his career was one of continuing controversy: he was accused of stealing inventions from Reginald Fessenden and Edwin Howard Armstrong, he was accused but not convicted of business fraud, and his continual exaggeration of the facts surrounding his life and career caused him to become estranged from the radio engineering establishment. Even though he wrote an autobiography proclaiming himself “the Father of Radio,” he never received the respect he actively sought his entire life.

Origins and Early Work

Lee de Forest was born in the Midwest but grew up in the Old South. Shortly after his birth in Council Bluffs, Iowa, in 1873, his father accepted a position as the president of Talledega College, a small, historically black school in Alabama. But although de Forest grew up in a rural environment, his education was formal, upper class, and thorough. He attended a private boys' school in Massachusetts, preparatory to his entrance into Yale University's Sheffield Scientific School, where he received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with an 1899 dissertation entitled “The Reflection of Hertzian Waves at the End of Parallel Wires.” After graduation, he worked briefly for several Chicago companies, Western Electric among them.

But young de Forest wanted to start his own wireless business. In the beginning, he followed the work of Marconi, attempting to develop better communication between ships and shore stations. After several attempts to demonstrate that his version of spark transmitter and coherer receiver technology was superior to that of Marconi and others, de Forest finally received the noticed of a Wall Street promoter named Abraham White. In 1902 de Forest joined White in forming the De Forest Wireless Telegraph Company. Among their early customers were the War Department and the U.S. Navy. Under the guidance of White, a public offering of stock was made, public demonstrations were held, and radio equipment was sold. But characteristic of de Forest's entire career, the hyper-

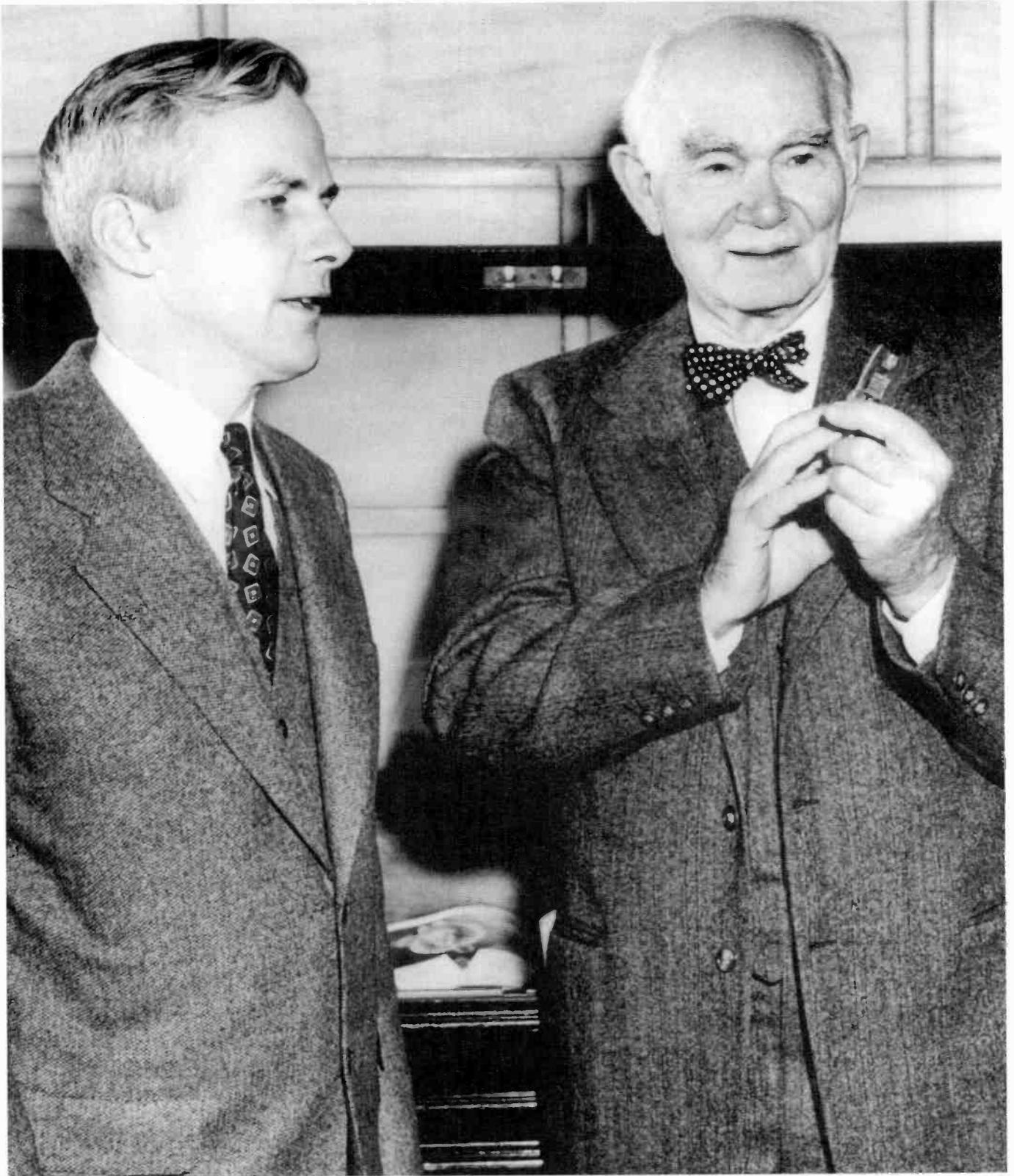
bole surrounding the company was greater than its actual value, and although de Forest continued to invent, he was apparently unaware that White may have been engaging in less than ethical business practices.

Apparently, de Forest tired of telegraph-based wireless. A person of culture and lover of the opera, de Forest believed early on that the radiotelephone, or talking wireless, was going to be a way to send highbrow musical entertainment into homes. It was one thing to have to earn a living selling communications equipment to the navy, but his real passion was voice and music by wireless. In 1907 he formed the De Forest Radio Telephone Company—merely one of what would become a steady stream of companies with various backers. For the transmitting part of his radiotelephone, de Forest used a version of a Poulsen direct current arc, and the historical record shows that de Forest did attempt on several occasions to use this device to send the voices of opera singers to members of the press stationed at receiving sets. Even when testing the radiotelephone for the navy, he usually played some sort of phonograph music as the ships entered the harbor. De Forest was a showman, and he was one of the early pioneers in what would become radio broadcasting to an audience.

Audion and Later Inventions

Lee de Forest is best known for his improvements to the basic invention behind all radio and television, the vacuum tube. Earlier, Thomas Edison's electric lamp had been modified by the Englishman Ambrose Fleming, who added a second element, called a plate, and named the new invention the Fleming Valve. By 1906 de Forest had modified Fleming's valve by adding a grid to control and amplify signals; he called his device the Audion. As became apparent over the next few years, the inventor did not fully understand his own creation. Little did he realize then that the simple Audion was going to bring him fame, fortune, heartbreak, and high legal bills for most of his life.

One of de Forest's first major brushes with the legal system did not concern the Audion but happened as a result of fraud in his radiotelephone company, and in 1913 he and business partners James Smith and Elmer Burlingame went to trial for misleading stock offerings. Smith and Burlingame were found by a jury to be guilty, but de Forest was declared innocent. Shortly thereafter, he began a decades-long court battle with Edwin Armstrong over the invention of the regenerative circuit based on the Audion tube. Regeneration is like feedback: a



Lee de Forest (right) and Reginald Hawkins of the New York Public Library, 1952.
Courtesy AP/Wide World Photos

small signal from the output of a vacuum tube is fed back into the input, thus making weak signals very strong. Both de Forest and Armstrong claimed discovery of this principle; the litigation lasted from 1914 to 1934, and although the courts would finally side with de Forest, the technical community did not. It was a hollow victory, which nearly destroyed both claimants.

Personally, de Forest suffered a series of failed marriages. The first of these, in 1906, was to a Lucille Sheardown, a marriage that ended in divorce the same year. The second, in 1907, was to Nora Blatch, who bore him a child, but Nora, a liberated woman with an engineering background, soon realized that she did not want to live under the shadow of de Forest. By 1911 the marriage had ended in divorce. By 1912 de Forest had remarried, this time singer Mary Mayo. Several children resulted, but by 1926, while in Europe, de Forest had married his fourth wife, the actress Marie Mosquini. Even though he had failed to divorce Mary Mayo, de Forest managed with legal help to marry Mosquini and remained married to her, apparently happily, for the rest of his life.

The Audion would continue to dominate de Forest's life. Moving to California in 1910, he worked for the Federal Telegraph Company at Palo Alto. While there, de Forest finally made his Audion tube perform as an amplifier and sold partial rights to American Telephone and Telegraph (ATT) as an amplifier for transcontinental wired phone calls. For this innovation he received \$50,000, whereupon he returned to New York and started the Radio, Telegraph and Telephone Company. By the beginning of 1916, he had finally perfected his Audion for its most important task, that of an oscillator for the radiotelephone transmitter. By late 1916 de Forest had begun a series of experimental broadcasts from the Columbia Phonograph Laboratories on 38th Street, using his Audion as a transmitter of radio for one of the very first times. According to de Forest in a newspaper article published in late 1916, "The radio telephone equipment consists of two large Oscillation tubes, used as generators of the high frequency current" ("Air Will Be Full of Music Tonight," *New York Sun*, 6 November 1916).

Early Broadcasts

A few months later, de Forest moved his tube transmitter to High Bridge, New York, where one of the most publicized pre-World War I broadcasting events took place. Just as Pittsburgh's KDKA would attempt to broadcast an election exactly four years later, in 1920, de Forest used the most public of events, the Hughes-Wilson presidential election of November 1916, for his broadcast. The *New York American* installed a private wire, and bulletins were sent out every hour. The listener reports in the press were positive: "Seven thousand wireless telephone operators within a radius of 200 miles of New

York City received election returns from the *New York American*. They heard not only election returns, but music as well." Because it happened in New York, was heard by a large audience, and received so much press attention, it was one of the single most important pre-World War I events in radio broadcasting. Beginning with his arc telephone experiments for the navy and his transmissions of opera music, and ending with his radio station at High Bridge in 1916, the evidence strongly suggests that Lee de Forest, more than any other individual, saw a potential for voice transmission beyond just a wireless replacement for two-way communication.

Lee de Forest's accomplishments in radio technology were both huge and unrewarded. His vacuum tube innovations between 1906 and 1916, although clouded by court battles, were nevertheless significant and long-lasting. In his later years he lived in Hollywood and worked on a variety of non-radio technical devices such as guidance systems for bombs. Most notable was his Phonofilm process, a way to make the movies talk by adding a synchronized optical soundtrack to the film. For that invention, he received an Oscar in 1959 from the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences. He continued to promote his legacy as the "Father of Radio," but his most important non-technical contributions to radio, his publicized pre-1920 broadcasts, were far in the past. He became increasingly paranoid, believing that his failure to achieve recognition was because of his "enemies." Following a long illness, he died in Los Angeles in 1961.

MICHAEL H. ADAMS

See also Armstrong, Edwin Howard; Early Wireless; Fessenden, Reginald; Fleming, John Ambrose

Lee de Forest. Born in Council Bluffs, Iowa, 26 August 1873. Educated at Mt. Hermon School for Boys; attended Yale University, Ph.D. in Physics, 1899; wireless and radio technology inventor and early broadcaster; major invention was the Audion (1906), a vacuum tube he developed as a detector, amplifier, and oscillator of radio waves. Broadcast Enrico Caruso from Metropolitan Opera (New York), 1910. Developed regenerative circuit, 1912; worked on sound motion picture system, 1920s; developed diathermy machines for medical use, and did some work with television, 1930s; during World War II conducted research with Bell Laboratories. Received honorary Oscar for his contributions to sound film, 1959. Died in Los Angeles, California, 30 June 1961.

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Delmar, Kenneth 1910-1984

U.S. Radio Actor and Announcer

Kenneth (Kenny) Delmar's career spanned the history of 20th-century media and popular entertainment. A versatile character actor, Delmar appeared in vaudeville, television, and motion picture productions, but he is most remembered for his work in radio. As Senator Beauregard Claghorn on *The Fred Allen Show* in the late 1940s, Delmar entertained millions each Sunday with his blustery rhetoric, his puns and malapropisms satirizing Southern culture, and his oft-imitated tag line, "that's a joke, son."

Kenny Delmar was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on 5 September 1910. His parents separated when he was a young boy, and he was raised in New York by his mother. A child of show business, he toured the country as early as 1918 with his mother and aunt, a vaudeville duo booked as the Delmar Sisters.

Early Radio Work

Delmar broke into radio in the 1930s as an announcer, working on such major network programs as the musical countdown show *Your Hit Parade*. He began doing more acting work throughout the decade, appearing as the vain Police Commissioner Weston on *The Shadow*, and in various roles on the newsreel dramatization program *The March of Time* and on Orson Welles' dramatic series *The Mercury Theater of the Air*. By the end of the decade he had established himself as one of radio's elite character actors.

Delmar's biggest role during this period was on the "War of the Worlds" broadcast of 30 October 1938. Before the broadcast, CBS censors had demanded that Orson Welles fictionalize the names of some real places and characters in the script, including changing Delmar's President Franklin Roosevelt character to the nameless "Secretary of the Interior." Delmar's impression of Roosevelt—a voice that by the late 1930s was intimately familiar to American radio listeners—was so realistic that it was a major inspiration for the panic felt by millions of listeners, despite the fact that the character was clearly identified as the "Secretary of the Interior" and not the actual President.

Senator Claghorn

Delmar's big career break came in 1946 with his acting work on *The Fred Allen Show* as Senator Beauregard Claghorn, the loudmouthed Southern politician who showed his sectional loyalty by drinking only from Dixie Cups, refusing to drive through the Lincoln Tunnel, and claiming that he was so Southern, "where I live we call the people from Alabama Yankees." Senator Claghorn was one of the residents of *Allen's Alley*, the imaginary street Fred Allen strolled down each week on his program beginning in the early 1940s, talking current events and sharing jokes with a geographically and culturally disparate quartet of recurring characters who occupied this same fantastical radio space. As the five-minute sketch developed over

time and the Alley's characters solidified, Senator Claghorn shared the street with the Jewish housewife Mrs. Nussbaum, the feisty Irishman Ajax Cassidy, and the farmer Titus Moody. Delmar landed the Claghorn role after Minerva Pious, the actress who played Mrs. Nussbaum, heard Kenny Delmar do a hilarious southern impression and recommended him to Allen. Though Fred Allen wrote most of the "Allen's Alley" dialogue himself, Delmar contributed a great deal to Claghorn's character, claiming that he modeled Claghorn after a Texas rancher who picked him up while hitchhiking in the late 1920s and barely stopped talking.

Delmar's Senator Claghorn first appeared on 5 October 1945 and became an overnight sensation, the subject of millions of amateur impersonations throughout America. Claghorn offered hilarious tidbits on Southern life, such as his statement that his Thanksgiving feast always began with a "Memphis Martini . . . a tall glass of pure corn likker with a wad of cotton in it." Senator Claghorn's "that's a joke, son" became a national catchphrase. The new Allen's Alley quartet was a certifiable hit, and *The Fred Allen Show* became one of the most popular shows on radio, drawing some 20 million listeners on Sunday evenings. Consumers ate up Claghorn memorabilia in the form of shirts and compasses that only pointed south, and the character became so popular that Delmar parlayed the role into two comedy records, a feature film entitled *It's a Joke, Son*, and radio and television commercial work well into the 1960s.

Allen's Alley became popular to an American population emerging from the Depression and World War II, moving to the suburbs, and coming to grips with the tumultuous decades of the 1930s and '40s. The very idea of the nation was under intense revision by many Americans, especially as older conceptions of ethnicity and regionalism had been subjected to the crucible of war. As the most popular character on the most popular radio program of the immediate postwar years, Kenny Delmar's Senator Claghorn character played a considerable role in the shaping of national ideas about the South during the postwar period. Allen's Alley provided for a suburbanizing population a reminder of the old urban ethnic neighborhoods and people, and may have served for its millions of listeners as a sounding board for their own new postwar Americanness, as this anonymous "white" population increasingly left behind its older urban ethnic ways and mores for the mass media society of the suburbs. Kenny Delmar's character had an ambiguous role in this process, but the degree to which Senator Claghorn shaped national ideas about Southerners should not be overlooked. Some Southern newspapers printed anti-Claghorn edi-

torials, and the real Senator Theodore Bilbo of Mississippi was an outspoken critic of what he saw as Delmar's insulting caricature of Southern politicians. Senator Claghorn was invoked on the Senate floor several times in the 1950s, both as an example and counterexample of the nature of Southern politics and politicians, and he was for many regular Americans of the World War II generation a national reference point on Southern culture.

Kenny Delmar as an actor never achieved the notoriety of his Senator Claghorn character, and he had wisely continued his character and journeyman work in radio throughout Claghorn's popularity. NBC considered giving Senator Claghorn his own show in 1949, but the plans never came to fruition. Delmar continued to work in radio after *The Fred Allen Show* went off the air in 1949, and he branched out into theater and television work as well. He also provided vocal work on cartoon shows into the 1970s, including work on *The Adventures of Hoppity Hooper* and *Underdog*. The cartoon character Foghorn Leghorn was lifted almost directly from Delmar's Claghorn character, though he received no royalties or official credit. He died on 14 July 1984 in Stamford, Connecticut.

MICHAEL STAMM

See also Allen, Fred; Comedy; War of the Worlds

Kenneth Delmar. Born in Boston, Massachusetts, 5 September 1910. Began radio work in the 1930s as an announcer; early dramatic roles on *The Shadow*, *The March of Time*, and *The Mercury Theater of the Air*. Played the F.D.R.-esque "Secretary of the Interior" on "The War of the Worlds" in 1938. Best known as Senator Beauregard Claghorn on *The Fred Allen Show*, 1945-49. Appeared in several prominent radio and television series as a supporting actor; starred in the feature film *It's a Joke, Son* in 1947. Provided voice work for animated cartoons such as *Underdog*, 1964-73. Died in Stamford, Connecticut, 14 July 1984.

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Demento. See Dr. Demento

Demographics

Defining the Radio Audience

Broadcast Research Definitions describes demographics as a system of categories by which a population is subdivided according to characteristics of the people who comprise it. The same term also describes audience reports which present audiences according to this system of categories. In broadcast ratings demographics most often refer to age and sex categories such as “Men 18–34” or “Women 25–49.” The terms may also be used to describe categories based on marital status, education, etc. (Fletcher, 1988).

Demographics are important in the radio industry in two ways. First, advertisers use demographics to describe their customers and to buy audiences for commercials. This practice is the basic revenue transaction supporting commercial radio. Second, radio stations are programmed to produce audiences with the demographics their advertisers seek.

Core consumers of any product or service account for the day-to-day, year-to-year success of a consumer company. The core consumer spends more or purchases more units in the product/service category in question and is particularly important to the survival of companies providing such goods/services. For instance, Campbell’s Soup identifies its bedrock offering as its condensed soups sold in red-and-white cans. The core consumer of this product purchases a case or more of these soups every month. The demographics of Campbell’s core consumers are important to the company, and its advertising must reach them as well as additional consumers who use their condensed soup less often or seasonally.

These additional consumers are an example of special advertising opportunities for radio. For many years Campbell’s has observed that more soup is purchased during the cold seasons and in areas most affected by cold weather. They also know that the typical seasonal purchaser of their soups is a mother with children at home who feels that adding soup to a child’s diet in cold weather will improve resistance to colds. As a consequence, Campbell’s regularly purchases additional advertising time on radio stations in geographical areas most affected by cold weather and on stations high in the demo-

graphic group comprised of women aged 30 and over, which presumably includes mothers with children at home.

Origins

In the 1930s, the early years of radio audience reports, the principal demographic of interest to advertisers was the number of households in the audience of particular programs. It was assumed that each household would own one radio receiver and that every member of the household would hear the programs broadcast through the household receiver. The result was that information about the programs tuned in by the household set was the prime information sought by researchers, and advertisers based their strategies on appealing to the product-purchasing decision makers in the household.

Demographics were so unimportant during radio’s Golden Age that the Nielsen Radio Index (NRI) became the principal national radio ratings service in 1950 (right at the end of the period) without having the capability of reporting demographics. The NRI used audimeters attached to respondent receivers at home (and eventually in cars). These devices could only report which programs were accessed by which radios; they could not determine who was listening or whether anyone at all was listening.

The rise of television in the late 1940s marked the rise of demographic information’s importance in selling radio time. By 1975—the year before its demise—The Pulse included these demographic categories in its reports: (1) Gender: male, female, total; (2) Age: teens, 18–24, 25–34, 35–49, 50–64, 65 and over, total; and (3) Ethnicity: Black, Hispanic, other, total. In the same year, Arbitron Radio reports included these demographics: (1) Gender: male, female, adults (male and female) and (2) Age: teens, 18–24, 25–34, 35–49, 50–64, 65+. Special weighting and interviewing procedures were in place for African-American and Latino listeners.

In the mid-1980s Tapscan had become an important selling tool for radio. Tapscan of Birmingham, Alabama, was a provider of radio sales software. The service was available only to full-service clients (stations that purchased all of the regularly scheduled Arbitron surveys of the market in question) of a

radio rating service. One of the displays produced by Tapscan analysis was a ranking report that showed which stations in a market had the highest numbers of listeners in each of the demographic categories included in the rating report. If an advertiser wished to sell jeans in a given market, in-house research would reveal that the core jeans consumer was a person in the 18–24 age group, that males were more brand loyal, and that females made more purchases and were more sensitive to price. A Tapscan analysis of the stations in each market would reveal which stations could provide the most young male and female listeners and thus should be included in the campaign buy for a jeans campaign.

The greater availability of radio listener demographics and increased use of sales analysis software made possible an important media buying strategy—Optimum Effective Scheduling (OES) or “optimizers.” The idea behind OES is that advertisers are best advised to purchase a combination of advertising opportunities from whatever stations in the market are necessary to deliver every listener in the demographic category sought by the advertiser. The software’s calculations during data analysis take into account two factors called *recycling* and *sharing*.

Recycling refers to the tendency of some proportion of an audience to listen during more than one daypart or to more than one program on a given station or network. For example, 25 percent of a radio station’s morning drive time audience is recycled to evening drive time. This means that only one out of four listeners in the morning will be present in the evening; hence, an advertiser determined to reach the optimum number of target listeners should buy commercials in both morning and evening drive time.

Sharing refers to listeners of more than one station, which may also be referred to as their having a “duplicated audience.” Sharing also implies that there will be some members of the advertising target demographic groups who listen to one station only, so those members’ favorite stations must be included in the OES calculation for advertisers who wish to reach them. OES software routines determine how many spots on which stations must be purchased to reach a designated percent of all radio listeners in a particular demographic group.

Optimum effective scheduling has become very important in national and regional media buying. It is also important in planning programming for a radio station. If an important audience listens exclusively to a particular radio station, then advertising from that station must be included in the advertising media plans of any business aiming for the demographic audience delivered by that station.

The need for OES presents some dilemmas to radio programmers. Should a station design its programs for homogeneous audiences from a relatively narrow set of demographic groups, increasing the likelihood that exclusive audiences will be included in buys made using the OES rationale? Or should

the station attempt to appeal to a wider range of demographic groups, hoping that each group delivered will be useful to the campaigns of different advertisers? Contemporary radio stations programmed under either of these philosophies are usually prosperous.

One of the most important radio program consultants since the 1980s, Ed Shane, wrote the following while discussing station audiences that are not core to the station:

An essential, of course, is to be able to judge whether there are others in the general audience. A jazz or new age station, for example, may have not only a loyal core, but also may have all the jazz or new age devotees in the market. More than one station has been bitterly disappointed to discover that there was no growth beyond their initial impact (Shane, 1991).

The situation is even more complicated for station clusters, which are now the norm in the major markets of the United States. Large radio groups today may own stations providing every major radio format, perhaps with five or six or more formats in the same market. The issue of which demographic groups a particular station should target with its programming must be answered by program executives and consultants who are responsible for stations with the same format in many cities, even when that format is failing to deliver its assigned demographics in one market served by the group. At the same time, a cluster of stations in any market attempts to use OES strategies to sell combinations of its stations whenever possible. Sales are often the responsibility of an integrated sales management team charged with selling all of the stations in the cluster.

Demographic Factors

Programmers must look at the demographic characteristics of the market as a whole in light of station formats and audiences already present in the market. The economy of the market is another important consideration. For instance, if the market is characterized by rapid home construction and high levels of home buying, the program planner will recognize that sales of products related to home improvement, major appliances, lawn and garden items, furniture, and interior design are likely to be important sources of revenue in the market. If the community hosts a rapidly growing number of small businesses, business-to-business advertising and ads that direct the attention of business managers to office supply websites will be potentially rewarding.

Various radio program materials produce different demographic patterns among listeners. Most music listeners, for example, gain their music listening preferences during the years in which they are becoming aware of popular music,

their teens and young adult years. Although their tolerance for other music may increase over the years, they tend to retain favorites acquired in those formative years. As a consequence, oldies (music no longer in current release but popular with demographic groups socialized to it at a young age) are a major component of popular radio programming. The latest hits tend to be preferred by young audiences, other types of music appeal more consistently to women, and still others are the choice of blue-collar workers.

A programmer's experience will suggest one or more formats that will attract the desired demographic groups in the market. The station will then conduct studies, perhaps by focus group, to determine listener attitudes about these formats and about the lack of certain music or other radio programming in the market. The focus group discussion may explore the preferences of potential demographics for different parts of the day. Listeners to some formats, although enthusiastic about hearing more of their favorite music, may also wish to hear traffic and weather reports at some time of the day. If talk formats are being studied, popular topics for discussion and the behavior of talk show hosts may be explored in focus groups. Increasingly there will also be discussions about the role of commercials in these formats. Should the commercials be concentrated in a small number of breaks in programming? How many commercials in a row are tolerable?

Format Approaches

The radio station program format will consist of a set of principles or rules for assembling programming. Sometimes these rules are relatively simple: (1) three musical selections should be played in uninterrupted succession; (2) a hit should be heard in this musical style four times per hour; (3) an oldie harking back to the birth of this style should be played at least once per hour; (4) titles and performers should be announced both before and after clusters of musical selections; (5) during early morning hours the time should be announced four times per hour; (6) during commuting hours traffic highlights should be presented twice per hour; and so on.

When the programmer has defined the format, a model tape of the format will be produced in which the music to be played is represented by brief excerpts. This makes it possible for potential listeners to hear all elements of a format in a short space of time (perhaps five minutes) while getting a feel for the music to be included. These model tapes are then played to potential listeners in focus group or auditorium settings. The researcher will also play excerpts of programming from competing stations to measure the competitive appeal of the proposed radio format. The same session may also include examples of promotional materials for the station so that those attractive to the station's target demographic groups can be identified.

When a new station format is broadcast, station management will pay close attention to the demographic groups delivered by the station. An important analysis from audience research reports will be the number of minutes an average listener in a target group listens to the station. This statistic is called "time spent listening" (TSL). The programmer hopes that the station's target demographic groups' TSLs are relatively large and that they will grow after a change in format. It is also significant that exclusive audiences (audiences that tune to only one station) will be apparent in the station's target demographic groups. The exclusive audiences will guarantee the station a place in OES advertising plans. Station promotion will be designed to increase the number of listeners in the target groups, and improvements in programming will be intended to increase time spent listening for these demographics.

Many stations use satellite or other syndicated sources for their programming. There is some cost associated with acquiring programming in this way. For a syndicator or satellite music service to remain profitable, a similar sort of demographic research is essential.

Although demographic research was not important in the early days of radio, the role of demographics in both contemporary radio programming and advertising sales has become crucial. Commercial radio stations must command audiences in the demographic groups important to their advertisers in order to ensure their own survival.

JAMES E. FLETCHER

See also A.C. Nielsen Company; Arbitron; Audience Research Methods; Commercial Testing; Programming Research; Programming Strategies and Processes; Pulse Inc.

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Deregulation of Radio

Eliminating Old Rules

Radio deregulation refers both to a specific Federal Communications Commission (FCC) proceeding (1978–81) and to a more general—and continuing—trend of dropping or modifying existing laws, rules, and regulations. Briefly, *deregulation* means to remove or significantly modify existing regulation, either through FCC administrative action or by congressional legislation.

Origins

Contrary to popular opinion, deregulation is not new. Indeed, the basic concept that less government is best is an old shibboleth evident in most aspects of American life. There is a deep-seated feeling that cuts across political lines (or most of them) that competition, rather than regulation, will lead to lower prices and higher-quality products or services. Nowhere is this truer than in an expanding industry with new players clamoring to enter the marketplace.

Combining this background with the economics of government in the late 20th century created the seedbed for radio deregulation. On all levels, government was operating at a deficit for much of the period after World War II. Federal deficits mounted annually, forcing Congress and the executive branch to consider ways of cutting costs—or at least of carefully assessing the benefits of new, let alone existing, rules and regulations. Paperwork reduction became a byword after the 1970s as government sought to root out rules that were no longer needed but expensive to maintain.

When deregulatory consideration was applied to broadcasting, it involved a basic review of the practical meaning of the Communication Act's concept of "public interest, convenience or necessity," which had guided FCC decisions since 1934. As society changed, so did at least some views of what government could or should accomplish. To varying degrees an ideological battle, there was at least broad agreement that government could no longer do everything.

In 1972 FCC Chairman Richard Wiley initiated a search for "regulatory underbrush" that could safely be eliminated without harm to broadcasters or their audiences—and within six years the commission had dropped or modified some 800 mostly minor rules. Many concerned small technical changes, and others reduced reporting requirements. This exercise set a larger process in motion.

Radio Deregulation Proceeding: 1978–81

In 1978 the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB), always seeking ways of reducing the burden of government on

its member stations, petitioned the FCC to consider dropping four requirements that affected radio. These included processing guidelines (used by the commission staff to decide on the granting of new and renewal license applications) that were designed to limit on-air advertising and promote non-entertainment programming. In addition, the NAB wanted the FCC to drop formal program log requirements as well as the complex process known as "ascertainment," which required licensees to learn more about their community of operation (and reflect that knowledge in their programming).

The petition was a good example of perfect timing, for it paralleled the thinking of many staffers in the FCC's Broadcast Bureau. Prompted in part by the NAB petition for rulemaking, the staff undertook its own studies of the radio business, noting especially how many stations had taken to the air since many of the rules had been established. They also developed a somewhat complex economic policy model that served to question the continuation of the rules the NAB targeted.

In September 1979 the commission issued a *Notice of Inquiry and Proposed Rulemaking* concerning the deregulation of radio. Pragmatic in tone, the long notice (80 pages in tiny *Federal Register* type) conceded that with the removal of the processing guidelines on programming there "will be a tendency toward program duplication and imitation" (Paragraph 144). But it also asked whether this would matter, given how many stations were now on the air, including multiple signals in all but the tiniest towns.

Release of the notice brought forth a torrent of public reaction. In the several months allowed for public comments, some 20,000 were filed, filling shelves of notebooks in the Broadcast Bureau's public file room. They were often emotional—arguing that dropping program guidelines would lead to the elimination of religious or some other kind of minority-interest programming or that letting go of the advertising guideline would lead to a flood of commercials on the air. Some claimed that elimination of the logging requirement would remove a useful tool for those who watched closely how well stations performed. In addition, critics held that elimination of the ascertainment rules would lead to even more "plain vanilla" radio, which would sound the same no matter where a facility was located.

The sheer amount of filed comments took the staff nearly a year to process and consider. Early in 1981, after concerted internal debate, the FCC released a *Report and Order* dropping the four radio rules that the NAB had originally proposed be dropped. On the very day of the order's release, the activist office of communications of the United Church of Christ filed

a court appeal and requested that the rule change be stayed pending a final decision. Not surprisingly, the broadcasting industry cheered the FCC decision, restating that the rules being dropped had little to do with program quality or service to listeners.

The U.S. Court of Appeals largely upheld the FCC rulemaking. It remanded for further action one piece of the decision—that concerning the dropping of program logs. The FCC had replaced the logging rule with a requirement that stations develop a list of community problems and programs aired that addressed those problems. The original order called for this to be done annually, and with the court's remand, the FCC made this a quarterly process, with station reports going into each station's own public files rather than being sent to Washington. The change passed muster with the appeals court.

Looking back two decades later, it is difficult to understand the emotions this proceeding created at the time. The issues now seem small and marginal, though at the time many critics saw the FCC decision as a watershed. For if the commission no longer concerned itself with the content that radio stations provided, what was the point of regulation, and what would happen to the industry? How could licenses be issued in the public interest if there was no longer any effective measure of what the public interest was? How could people complain about and seek to improve local station practices if the prime tools they had used previously (the station's local market ascertainment study or composite logs showing a typical week's programming and advertising) were eliminated? These critics argued that the new "problems and programs" listing would not be much use, certainly not in the way the old rules had.

Continuing Deregulation: 1980–2000

The 1981 rulemaking applied only to commercial radio. However, in parallel rulemakings commenced in 1981, the FCC eventually dropped the same four rules for noncommercial radio in 1984, and for television stations a year later. As many had predicted and others had feared, the radio deregulation proceeding paved the way for more substantial actions in the years that followed.

At virtually the same time, the FCC dropped its long and often complex license renewal form, replacing it with a mere postcard with a handful of easy-to-answer questions. Where stations had previously often filed a box of material, the simple postcard itself would often suffice now. Congress joined in the process, lengthening radio station licenses from three years to seven in 1981, and to eight in the 1996 Telecommunications Act. And beginning in 1982, licensees could buy and sell stations like any other property when the FCC dropped its "anti-trafficking" rule, which had required that licenses be held for at least three years before they could be sold.

Many rules were not as emotionally charged. Beginning in 1981 the FCC steadily reduced its former requirements on how much engineering expertise a station needed to maintain. Reversing its traditional approach, the commission argued that as long as a station was not creating interference to others, how good or how poor its own signal was would be better regulated by marketplace competition than by stiff rules. A station with poor-quality signals would rapidly lose audience and advertisers. A boon especially to smaller stations, the relaxed rules allowed them to share engineers or merely to have one on call rather than on the premises.

Higher on the emotional scale was the 1987 elimination of the FCC fairness doctrine. The decision made clear that licensees were the absolute authority on what issues and points of view they aired. Another shibboleth collapsed in 1992 when the FCC first allowed an owner to control more than a single station of each type (AM and FM) in a given market. This spelled the end of the long-established "duopoly" rule, created in the 1940s when there were fewer than 1,000 stations on the air.

The 1996 Telecommunications Act included provisions making it very difficult to challenge a broadcast license (such a process had briefly become a sport in the late 1960s and early 1970s, though few stations actually lost their licenses). The FCC would now have to find the incumbent licensee undeserving of a continued license before it could even consider a possible challenger.

The same act greatly expanded the number of stations anyone could own. In the 1940s the FCC had created de facto rules allowing ownership of no more than seven AM and seven FM stations nationally. As the industry expanded, so did pressure to raise those admittedly arbitrary limits. Finally, in 1985, the FCC increased them by five stations each—to 12 and 12. The limits rose again in 1992, to 18 and 18, and to 20 and 20 by 1994. With the 1996 Telecommunications Act, Congress eliminated any national cap on radio station ownership. By the turn of the century, the largest radio owners controlled nearly 1,200 stations.

Did all of this deregulation change the face of radio broadcasting? Certainly the economic and structural changes concerning ownership have considerably modified what was once a business of many small groups or individual owners. But the evidence remains inconclusive that elimination of the FCC's radio license processing and content rules two decades ago made any difference that competitive pressures would not have brought about anyway.

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See also Fairness Doctrine; Federal Communications Commission; First Amendment and Radio; Licensing; Localism in Radio; Ownership, Mergers, and Acquisition;

Public Interest, Convenience or Necessity; Regulation; Telecommunications Act of 1996

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Desert Island Discs

BBC Music Program

The *Guinness Book of Records* states that *Desert Island Discs* is the longest-running music program in the history of radio. The BBC Radio 4 program is the third longest-running radio program in the world, after *The Daily Service* (1928) and *A Week in Westminster* (1929). The program was devised and copyrighted by Roy Plomley, who began his broadcasting career in 1930s commercial radio on the station Radio Normandie. The original program was expected to be a series of six episodes with the first being transmitted on 29th January 1942. Since that first episode, thousands of celebrities—from members of the British royal family to prime ministers and stars of stage, screen, and television—have taken part in this long-running hit program that takes the form of a sort of parlor game. In the game, guests must talk about themselves, select eight pieces of music, and imagine that they are to be stranded on a desert island Robinson-Crusoe style, taking with them only a book, a record, and some luxurious inanimate object.

Culturally, *Desert Island Discs* represents a history of British social convention and the British perception of "celebrity." It is also a symbol of British public radio's function throughout the second half of the 20th century and continuing into the 21st. Certainly its longevity has been used by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) to symbolize the BBC's role in British popular culture and social life. A BBC Television 2 program produced by Alan Yentob in 1984 marked the *Desert Island Discs*' 40-year anniversary, and Monica Sims, then BBC Radio 4 Controller, was filmed at a reception for members of the U.K. arts community proclaiming: "All of us, whether we are eminent or not, all feel we are potential castaways. We all have eight favorite records. . . Roy had always tried to get the best out of people." Ten years later the same television program was repackaged with film of the third host of the radio

show Sue Lawley with the then Prime Minister John Major as castaway. This served to symbolize the BBC's importance in public life as well as ingratiate the Prime Minister by offering a soft and personal side to his character. As his castaway luxury he selected the Oval Cricket ground with a bowling machine. From 1988 Sue Lawley and her producer Olivia Seligman introduced a political and current affairs dimension to the program's content. During Roy Plomley's direction politicians were a rarity largely because "There is a drawback in inviting politicians to broadcast. . . Unless it is in a news or political program, one is not allowed to discuss politics, and there doesn't seem much point in interviewing a politician if you can't discuss the subject dearest to his heart."

The change in political edge after Plomley's death was also reflected in the program's editorial migration from light entertainment to news and current affairs. The emphasis on news-related interviews served the BBC's objectives at that time to achieve greater public relations with its broadcasts and to increase audiences. It could also be argued that this trend reflected the developing notion of politician as celebrity. Politicians or individuals with controversial political views would inevitably prefer the *Desert Island Discs*' format because its structure of music selection was more entertainment orientated than politically focused.

In his book on the program, Roy Plomley theorized about the reasons for the program's success: "I believe *Desert Island Discs* adds a dimension to a listener's mental picture of a well-known person, giving the same insight he would receive from visiting the celebrity's home and seeing the books, pictures and furniture with which he surrounds himself." Sir Paul McCartney said the program "conjures up traditional British pleasures like the Great British Breakfast, Billy Cotton's Band Show—

very downbeat, very relaxed. I love its homeliness." The program's first producer Lesley Perowne said, "The reason people liked it so much is curiosity. I think everybody wants to know the private tastes of public people and this was a very good way of doing it." The host since 1988, Sue Lawley, believes the program's success is based on "marrying music with conversation and thereby creating life." A cost-conscious BBC executive who had to concede the copyrighting of the format to Roy Plomley asked "Why didn't we think of it before?" Comedian Arthur Askey, who holds the record for being the only four-time castaway, stated, "It's such a simple idea. That's part of its success. It's a wonder that somebody hadn't beaten Roy to it." Conceptually, radio throughout the world has established similar programs because of the popular appeal of the structure and the method of satisfying listener curiosity. But the endurance of the program on the BBC Home Service and then BBC 4 is attributable to the social stability of the audience, the continuity of license fee funding, and the need to maintain the audience-drawing component in cultural speech programming. The program is aired in the U.S. on some public radio stations. The BBC has a longstanding policy of syndicating its programming in partnership relays with public networks such as PRI and NPR.

Despite its light atmosphere, which was always encouraged by Roy Plomley's ritual of lunching guests at the Garrick Club before their interviews, there have been moments of poignancy and profound revelation of character. The concert pianist Artur Schnabel said that despite playing in practically all the countries of the world, he refused to play in Germany: "I don't go to Germany out of respect for the dead. Unfortunately among the dead is my whole family." This contrasts with the bitter controversy of Sue Lawley interviewing the widow of British anti-Semite and Fascist leader Oswald Mosley in 1989; Diana Mosley used the program to express disbelief that the Nazis had murdered 6 million people.

The program has also produced unforgettable moments of drama and wit. When Tallulah Bankhead was asked how good a Robinson Crusoe she would be, she replied, "I can't even put a key in the door darling. I can't do a thing for myself. I never stand up if I can sit down and I never sit down if I can lie down." When British comedian Frankie Howard was asked how he would endure loneliness he replied, "It's better than the alternative"; when Plomley asked, "What's that?" Howard replied, "Dead."

John Kenneth Galbraith responded to the same question with "The whole idea doesn't appeal to me at all. I'm not especially gregarious. I can get along with my own dismal personality for a little while. I would hate to endure it for any length of time."

Other castaways had a pessimistic view of the isolated life on a desert island. Artur Schnabel selected as his inanimate luxurious object a loaded revolver, Maureen O'Sullivan asked for tranquillizers, and Jonathan Miller wanted to take with him a cutthroat razor.

In March 2002 the BBC sought to celebrate 60 years of the program with an anniversary celebration gala of music at the Royal Festival Hall in London. The event was recorded for radio and television transmission. Presenter Sue Lawley introduced a selection of music chosen by castaways down the years before an audience of 2,500 people. However, the event did not turn out to be a public relations success. *The Sunday Telegraph* called it "The Gala from Hell" and the reviewer for the *London Times* pointed out that the complex pageant defied the secret of the program's success, which was simplicity. Despite these negative reviews, the BBC could argue that celebrating 60 years of *Desert Island Discs* in this way generated media coverage that has helped embed the program into popular cultural folklore.

TIM CROOK

Presenters

Roy Plomley, 1942–85; Michael Parkinson, 1986–88; Sue Lawley, 1988–

Producer/Creator

Roy Plomley

Producer

Lesley Perowne, Olivia Seligman, Angie Nehring

Programming History

BBC Radio 4 29 January 1942–present

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Developing Nations

Radio's Role in the World's Poorer Regions

Even in these days of instantaneous satellite communications and expanding cyberspace connections within and outside of the world's poor and industrializing nations, radio remains the medium with the largest global audience because of its ability to reach diverse and remote rural populations, the illiterate, those with little access to education, and those who have no electricity. Cheap radio sets are within the reach of even the poorest communities, if only at a local gathering place. As a result, radio has been and continues to be used extensively for development purposes, clandestinely by dissidents seeking to circumvent or overthrow governments, and more popularly as a vehicle for the dissemination of cultural and informational programming.

Historical Underpinnings

Development Radio began in most Third World countries while they were still colonies of one of the European powers. Colonial systems were operated largely for colonists, and closely followed the pattern and programs of radio "at home." Such facilities became the initial basis of national radio systems as colonies became independent nations.

In the decades following World War II, the major industrial powers divested themselves of most of their colonies. Radio has been used in these new nations in both crude and sophisticated ways to educate people, to propagandize them, and/or to involve them in grassroots development projects. In the 1960s the traditional practices of peasants in the developing world were targeted for change by Western development experts interested in the diffusion of innovations in agriculture, in education, and in industrialization. Their assumption was that use of radio and other media would assist and speed up the broader development process.

Persuasive communications were seen as key to the adoption of technological innovations, which were to lead directly to individual and national development. The introduction in the late 1950s of transistorized radio—cheap, portable, and not requiring electricity—made it possible to broadcast programs about what were seen as modern practices that would help the masses break free of stagnant traditionalism.

Since then, however, much research has refined and changed this simplistic and value-biased dominant paradigm of what development is and how it is to be achieved; research has also indicated the limitations to what were previously seen as direct, powerful, and uniform media effects on individuals. In the 1970s, for example, Third World scholars,

with what was to be termed a "dependency" view, took issue with the style and manner of Western-dominated development programming. External variables such as neocolonialism, top-down decision making, and lack of basic needs were taken into account, as were internal structural and political constraints such as land tenure systems and inefficient or corrupt government bureaucracies. Consequently, by the 1980s much radio programming addressed basic development projects designed to extend scarce resources and educational opportunities to remote and rural areas. Other factors in this change included the active participation of people at the grass roots; attempts at equity in the distribution of information; and the meeting of basic needs such as food, clean water, and education.

At the root of these newer perspectives was the recognition that the mass media in general, though still an important component in development, was not a magic means for implementing change. In addition, with illiteracy still rampant, print media were limited in their usefulness. Television was expensive to produce and disseminate. Computers with internet connection are for the privileged few. So radio, with its portability, low cost, and its accessibility for the illiterate and uneducated, remains the medium of choice for developing countries. Although much work has gone into using television, traditional media, and newspapers, development programming has focused on radio. This inexpensive and flexible medium continues to be the most frequently used of all the mass media in development projects. Radio is by far the most diversified and dispersed of the media, and its programming is the least expensive to produce.

Government Initiatives

The first act of government in new nations liberated from colonialism often was to set up national radio stations, which were seen as an integral part of propaganda and education efforts. These stations, typically in the national capital, are still seen as so important that they are often the first facilities to be occupied by rebels in any attempts to overthrow governments.

In addition to exploiting radio's potential as a conduit for propaganda, Third World governments have used radio to stimulate national integration in former colonies that have artificial borders encompassing many ethnic and language groups. National networks can simultaneously relay national news and programming in different languages across vast distances. Programming of national sporting events, or of tradi-

tional and indigenous music, is seen as a powerful integrator and reinforcer of national identity.

Radio broadcasting also has been used at both national and regional levels to disseminate information about government development projects. Official messages are transmitted countrywide in many local languages. Programming can run the gamut from official news and policies, to information about agricultural innovations, to music programs.

Often, educational programming on radio is supplemented by other media; for example, a program about family planning can be followed up with printed matter and audiocassettes and with visits by government workers to reinforce the initial message and to organize community discussions to build consensus. In addition, social marketing organizations can broadcast entertaining forms of programming. Mini soap operas, for example, have been used to promote nutritional beverages that counter dehydration in infants with diarrhea.

Considerable programming has been produced for rural farmers in an effort to motivate them to adopt specific agricultural innovations, such as the use of improved corn seed and fertilizers.

In recent years, however, as world lending institutions have insisted on open markets and democratization, many of these Third World government radio systems have been opened to commercial interests, which has resulted in less programming for development purposes.

Private Initiatives

Although governments have generally used radio to inform their populations about development projects, by contrast, development media planners in recent years have turned to community media rather than national systems. Programs are designed and carried out by members of the community. In the late 1970s, for example, project planners turned to farmers to produce programs for other farmers. In one such project, tape recorders and blank tapes were provided to volunteer workers, who in turn helped local people produce items for weekly broadcast. Some of these initiatives, however, had political ramifications in authoritarian countries and were therefore short-lived or heavily censored.

At the turn of the millennium, radio initiatives funded by international aid organizations such as UNESCO predominate. The creation of local rural radio stations coincided with the deregulation of national telecommunication monopolies, especially in Africa. Some current examples include the following. In Kenya, an "English in Action" program provides quality programming for secondary schools with few resources. In Papua New Guinea, a radio science project helps teachers improve basic education. In Mongolia, an informal distance education system provides learning opportunities to the

nomadic women of the Gobi desert. In Suriname, community stations encourage dialogue among women and link communities in the interior through a network of interactive telecenters. In the Philippines, local radio allows people to express themselves on political, economic, and cultural subjects. In El Salvador, women tune in for a broadcast that informs them about their rights and encourages their involvement in the community. And in Somalia, where most media operations were destroyed during the civil war and those that remained were clan owned, a nonpartisan media organization produces programming on peace issues.

Radio as Popular or Dissident Medium

Audiences living under authoritarian rule continue to tune in to clandestine radio broadcasts by dissident or revolutionary groups seeking to overthrow a government. The aim is to persuade citizens and elicit their participation in the cause, as well as to damage the legitimacy of a regime. However, pirate stations usually have very little reach and must constantly move operations to avoid imprisonment or even execution.

Listeners who live in countries without a free press depend on external broadcasting to get their news. In authoritarian regimes in Africa, for example, listeners with shortwave radios still turn to the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) for reliable and accurate news about internal unrest. Before the end of apartheid in South Africa, broadcasts from the bordering nations of Zimbabwe, Namibia, and Botswana kept the oppressed South African majority informed of world condemnation of apartheid and of dissident activities.

Those Third World countries with a free press often also have lively programming on both national and private radio stations. Call-in shows are a particular favorite, although participants are limited to those living in or near cities. Jamaica's talk shows are one lively example.

Finally, as new computer technologies allow radio broadcasting over the internet, new concepts of radio programming are being formulated. For example, the Feminist International Radio Endeavour, based in Costa Rica, has for the past decade produced daily live shortwave broadcasts for and about women in the developing world. In 1999 Realaudio programs in English, French, and Spanish were made available on the internet. In addition to these non-profit programs, private commercial initiatives such as WorldSpace are sending digital audio programs via satellite.

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See also Africa; Arab World Radio; Asia; Brazil; Digital Audio Broadcasting; India; Mexico; Shortwave Radio; South America; South Pacific Islands

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Diary

Method of Audience Research

As the name suggests, a diary is a paper booklet in which a person is asked to record his or her listening to radio or television programs, noting when listening started and stopped, which station the set was tuned to, and other comments. A diary is typically used to record one week of listening, then returned for tabulation. Radio audience estimates, usually called ratings, are based on the tabulation of information obtained from these diaries.

Origins

In the medium's early days, many radio set builders and listeners were not interested in hearing specific programs so much as listening to as many different stations as possible. This "channel-surfing" was called DXing—an abbreviation for distance. DXers kept track of the stations they heard in log books that recorded when they heard a station, the frequency and/or call sign, slogans, programs, and the city of origin. Some computed the distance to the stations they heard, and there were contests sponsored by radio clubs and radio magazines with prizes given to those who compiled the most stations and greatest total distance. Although the diary method existed in the early days of radio, until the rise of television diary-keeping was not the mainstay of radio audience measurement.

The first systematic audience research using diaries was done by Professor Garnet Garrison at Wayne (later Wayne State) University in 1937, though he called it a "listening table." Garrison, who later taught for many years at the University of Michigan, was working on an "experiment developing a radio research technique for measurement of listening habits which would be inexpensive and yet fairly reliable." He noted that other methods most widely used at the time were

the telephone survey, either coincidental or unaided recall, personal interviews, mail—sometimes called fan mail—analysis, surveys, and "the youngster automatic recording." He said that he had borrowed something from each method; since the listening table could be sent and retrieved by mail, it included a program roster, and was thought to be objective. The form he used was a grid from 6 A.M. to midnight, divided into 15-minute segments, that asked respondents to list stations, programs, and the number of listeners. Garrison concluded that "With careful attention to correct sampling, distribution of listening tables, and tabulation of the raw data, the technique . . . should assist materially in obtaining at small cost quite detailed information about radio listening." While his methodology was not adopted for about a decade, Garrison's "listening table" is essentially the way radio audience estimates are obtained to this day.

The Columbia Broadcasting System experimented with diaries in the 1940s but apparently thought the data was most applicable for programming research, for which it also used the program (or Lazarsfeld-Stanton) analyzer. CBS used information from diaries primarily to track such things as audience composition, listening to lead-in and lead-out programs, and charting audience flow and turnover. In the late 1940s, C.E. Hooper also added diaries to his telephone sample in areas that could not easily be reached by telephone. But this mixture of diary and coincidental data was never completely satisfactory. Indeed, one of the reasons for Nielsen's Audimeter winning out over Hooperatings was that the telephone method was confined to larger metropolitan areas, where TV first began to erode the radio audience. Hence, Hooper (unlike Nielsen) tended to understate the radio audience and therefore quickly lost the support of radio stations.

Arbitron Diaries

It was not until the end of the 1940s that diaries were introduced on a large-scale basis for providing syndicated audience research. James Seiler, director of research for the National Broadcasting Company's station in Washington, D.C., had for several years proposed using diaries to measure radio. NBC finally agreed to try a survey, not for radio, but for its new TV station in the market, agreeing to help pay for several tests. Seiler set up his own ratings service company in Washington and called it the American Research Bureau. He thought the name sounded very official, even patriotic. Later the name was shortened to ARB, and then to Arbitron when instant television ratings in larger cities were gathered electronically.

The American Research Bureau's first report was based on a week-long diary that covered 11–18 May 1949. By that fall, the company was also measuring TV viewing in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York. Chicago and Cleveland were added the next year. In spite of covering more markets the company grew slowly as both TV and the new diary method gained acceptance. Diaries were placed with TV viewers identified by random phone calls. From the beginning, Seiler was careful to list the number of diaries placed and those "recovered and usable." Also, "breakdowns of numbers of men, women, and children per set for specific programs [could] be furnished by extra tabulation."

Tele-Que, another research company, began diary-based television ratings in Los Angeles in 1947. In 1951 Tele-Que merged with ARB, thus adding reports for Los Angeles, San Francisco, and San Diego. During the 1950s ARB emerged as the prime rival to Nielsen's local TV audience measurement, especially after 1955 when it took over the local Hooper TV rating business. By 1961, ARB was measuring virtually every TV market twice a year and larger markets more often.

Local radio reports using the diary method were begun by Arbitron in 1965, nearly a quarter of a century after Garnet Garrison had recommended the method for the audio medium. Arbitron quit the TV measurement business in 1993 and now confines itself to radio.

The diary used by Arbitron today is not much different from the one used more than 50 years ago for television stations. Arbitron now measures more than 100 radio markets continuously and provides monthly ratings for about 150 areas for eight or more weeks each year. Diaries are still placed by phone call, then sent and retrieved by mail. A diary is sent to each member in the household who is 12 or older. The diary format asks the respondent to indicate each time she starts and stops listening to the radio, the call letters or station name, and suggests that if she is not sure of the call letters or station name, she should write in program name or dial setting. Respondents must also indicate whether the station is AM or FM and whether they are listening at home, in a car, or some

other place. At the back of the diary are questions about age and gender for audience composition tabulations and other questions, typically on product usage.

While most diaries are still placed by telephone calls, special care is taken to place diaries personally in Spanish-speaking homes and residences in high-density ethnic areas. After careful editing of the diaries' listening reports, audience estimates are published for each market in a "ratings book" and are available online to subscribers for other detailed analysis. In transferring diary entries into computer data, the operators have a number of aids and checks in the computer program that allow them to check the accuracy of call letters in each market and other information. Some radio programmers like to go to Arbitron offices near Washington, D.C., to study the diaries. Images of all entries are available and can be sorted to observe them in many different categories. By examining actual diaries, programmers or a consultant hired by a station can determine whether people remember call letters or station slogans correctly. Often diary keepers write other comments that might be helpful. More detailed statistical analysis is possible by consulting the ratings book online, which allows subscribers to tabulate persons in the sample by any or all demographic categories. Such manipulations of data allow computation showing favorite station, sharing listeners with other stations, audience in zip code areas, the time spent listening to one station, and other categories, to name just a few.

Advantages

As envisioned by Garnet Garrison, diaries offer some significant advantages that account for their popularity. They offer a relatively inexpensive method for gathering a lot of information over the weekly period. But there are problems associated with the method. Responses—the rate is reported in each rating book—are often from only half of the sample. Younger males, for example, have a low return rate. Since the listeners who are more likely to keep a diary and provide accurate information are also likely to listen to some formats more than others, there is continuing controversy about rating results. Recently the growing use of telephone answering machines, cell phones used out of the home, and other factors make it harder to obtain diary keepers. Nonetheless, millions of diaries recording radio listening and TV watching are processed each year, and the broadcasting industry, advertisers, and advertising agencies depend on (and pay a high price for) the information obtained from a very simple little book that has been around for quite a long time.

How much longer the diary method will be used is not clear. Arbitron, in cooperation with Nielsen Media Research, is testing a small personal recorder that people might carry to keep tabs on all the wearer's electronic media use.

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Digital Audio Broadcasting

Replacing Analog Radio Stations

Several different digital radio standards or systems are being operated in different parts of the world. The system that has been in development the longest and that is in full-time operation in the most countries is called EUREKA 147. In the United States, which only selected a national digital standard in 2002, the phrase “high-definition radio” was coming into use by 2003 to suggest a parallel with developments in digital television. This entry surveys digital audio broadcasting (DAB) developments in Britain, Scandinavia, and the United States, with reference to other regions of the world as well.

DAB Basics

Digital audio broadcasting may be seen as the third stage in the use of the electromagnetic spectrum to transmit radio broadcasting services after analog AM and FM, both of which are prone to interference. In AM’s case this is caused by static and other unwanted signals, by sky waves reflected from the ionosphere, and by other stations on the same or nearby frequencies. FM’s main problems stem from unwanted reflections from high-rise buildings and other objects that cause what engineers term multipath distortion.

There are probably about 2.5 billion receivers with AM or medium wave reception capability in the world. Despite the expansion of FM, AM remains the most widely available means of reception. Both national and international radio broadcasters continue to rely on AM for much of their transmission requirements. The capacity of AM’s medium waves to reach beyond horizons and thus much further than FM transmitters makes it essential and irreplaceable. For many countries, DAB is too expensive because a complex and extensive transmitter network is required.

DAB represents a major break with this analog technology. Like all digital systems, it converts the original material into streams of “zeroes” and “ones”, which are then reconverted to recreate the original information. DAB, and specifically the EUREKA 147 system, differs from earlier digital systems in being capable of transmitting over a number of different “platforms,” including both terrestrial (land) and satellite (delivering services either separately or jointly) and over a large section of the electromagnetic spectrum: from 30 MHz to 3 GHz for mobile reception, and higher for fixed reception.

DAB can be accomplished in any of three ways: (1) in-band, on-channel (IBOC) or in band, adjacent channel (IBAC) using existing AM and FM terrestrial frequencies (actually blank spaces between frequencies); (2) terrestrially over another broadcast band (S-band in the United States and L-band elsewhere); and (3) by satellite digital audio radio services (SDARS), which bypasses terrestrial broadcasters by sending signals directly to consumers. (*See separate entry*, Digital Satellite Radio.)

The main advantages of DAB, compared with analog radio broadcasting, are many. First, DAB produces a much closer (technically accurate) replication of the original sound reproduced by the receiver, together with easier/automatic tuning than analog techniques.

Second, DAB is more efficient in its use of the radio spectrum and has a lower power requirement. Using the “multiplex” system, a number of radio transmitters carrying multiple signals can “overlap” on the same frequency—if broadcasting the same material. A “single frequency network” means that only one frequency needs to be used to cover a wide area—including a whole country. This compares well with the amount of spectrum needed for analog services. The overall digital sig-

nal is produced by 1,536 “carrier frequencies” that are distributed over a 1.5-megahertz band. The majority of these carriers are noise-free, and this, coupled with error-correction techniques, means there is no interference to any of the services.

Third, there is at least the potential for many more services in the same spectrum, compared with analog transmissions. This is because the total digital “bit rate” available on the single frequency—1.2 megabits—can be “sliced” in an almost limitless number of configurations, so more services can be “squeezed” into the same part of the spectrum. However, there is a widely accepted minimum bit rate per second (bp/s) thought to be necessary to provide acceptable quality of either mono or stereo transmissions, and a lower rate to be used for text, graphics, and pictures without causing distortion or interference.

Finally, material other than sound can also be transmitted with the “radio” signal, because many other types of media can also be converted and then reconverted in roughly the same way. Thus digital methods can transform sound broadcasting into a multimedia system.

The main *disadvantages* of digital radio broadcasting are the following: first, a variety of different systems are being developed (unlike AM or FM, there is as yet no agreement on a worldwide standard); second, one transmitter serving a number of different radio services on one multiplex means that less well established, independent organizations are likely to be excluded; finally, listeners will have to buy new radio receivers that are at least initially significantly more expensive than those for analog systems. Indeed, the total consumer expense for this technology will be vastly larger than what stations have to pay out.

EUREKA 147

The earliest digital radio system to reach adoption was the European EUREKA standard. The main reason for its development was to provide a new, distinct outlet for the European consumer electronics industry, which had been overshadowed by those in Japan and other “tiger” economies of the Far East. The name “EUREKA 147” derives simply from the prosaic fact that it was the 147th system to be developed under the umbrella of the EUREKA project, which was launched by 17 countries and the European Commission in 1985.

Work on a possible DAB system began in 1981 at a research institute, the Institut für Rundfunktechnik. The original base of the EUREKA 147 project and its main participant was a (West) German research institute—the DLR Projektträger Informationstechnik in Cologne. Both Germany and France contributed 36 percent of the costs of the project, the United Kingdom just 6 percent.

By 2003 the World DAB Forum indicated that some countries around the world were operating a DAB system using the

EUREKA standard. Outside Europe, the system is particularly well developed in former British colonies, notably Singapore, Hong Kong, Australia, Canada, and India. China is also operating the system, and thus the two most populous countries in the world have committed themselves to the “European” standard. One of the main advantages claimed for EUREKA is that it can be transmitted on all the main broadcasting platforms, terrestrial and satellite—the latter clearly important for covering large and sparsely populated areas, such as Canada and Australia, and over a large number of frequency bands.

Digital Radio Mondiale

Although EUREKA is undoubtedly the most developed and operationally established DAB system, several others are either in operation or are close to being so. A system developed by a private United States-based company, WorldSpace, designed for international broadcasting to developing countries by satellites, became fully operational in 1999, but the system requires new transmitters and, most significantly, new and completely different radio receivers. There is also a system for transmitting shortwave in digital form, called Telekom-TELEFUNKEN-Multicast, which was developed in Germany. These systems can be transmitted alongside current analog services on the same parts of the radio spectrum and may be converted by receivers requiring relatively little modification.

Another system comes from a consortium called Digital Radio Mondiale (DRM) and is designed primarily to complement AM broadcasting; this system was originally also developed as part of the EUREKA projects. DRM is a worldwide consortium of broadcasters, receiver and transmitter manufacturers, transmission companies, regional broadcasting unions, and research institutes. It is coordinating the development, standardization, and market roll-out of the system from 2003 onward. While the original drive came mainly from international shortwave broadcasters, the consortium now involves both domestic and international radio companies. Beginning in 1998, work proceeded very quickly and system development was completed during early 2001. In April 2001 the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) approved the DRM system for analog AM broadcasting. The DRM system overcomes the many defects of analog broadcasting—especially its often poor sound quality, fading, and interference. It is capable of greatly increasing the audio and reception quality, making it similar to good FM.

As with other digital technologies like DAB and the WorldSpace system, provision of supplemental program information or other information independent from the program is possible. It will also be possible to manufacture receivers in such a way that there will be no more need to search for alternative frequencies. The name of a station would be sufficient to receive the wanted program. The receiver will automatically

retune and change the frequency to the best one for the respective station chosen. This will be especially important for the many stations in Africa, Europe, and Asia that operate on several different AM frequencies.

DRM was established as a worldwide consortium to develop a single system for digital broadcasting in the frequency bands below 30 MHz. The formal inauguration of the group took place in Guangzhou, China, in March 1998. It is a not-for-profit organization registered in Switzerland with a single goal: to bring affordable, digital sound and services to the world radio market. By mid-2001, DRM had 69 members from 27 different countries. A project office is located in Geneva.

A second proposal, from the United States, was also designed specifically for medium wave broadcasting. Developed by USA Digital Radio (which later merged with Lucent to form iBiquity), it takes a different approach from DRM, requiring 30 kHz high frequency channels. DRM and USA Digital Radio were cooperating so that listeners could receive both systems with the same receiver. However, since the merger with Lucent this cooperation has come to a halt, and it will be up to the receiver manufacturers to decide which system will be implemented. Only the DRM system fulfils all the ITU requirements for long-, medium- and shortwave, and will therefore be the replacement of the analog broadcasting system below 30 MHz in the future.

DAB in the United Kingdom

In the United Kingdom, the development of DAB using the EUREKA 147 standard has been slow—certainly in the commercial sector. The BBC began full test transmissions in September 1995. Within the frequency spectrum allocated by the U.K. government to DAB (217.5–230 MHz), there is room for seven frequency blocks; two of these have been allocated for national radio coverage, one for Independent National Radio services and one for BBC national services. The remaining five multiplexes have been allocated for local/regional radio services, to be awarded by the Radio Authority (which regulates and licenses U.K. commercial radio).

The national commercial multiplex, run by a consortium called Digital One, carried up to ten services—simulcasts of the three national commercial stations, plus a classic rock station, a spoken word service featuring readings of books and plays, and a middle-of-the-road music station. The roll-out of Digital One's network of transmitters happened faster than those for the BBC's national DAB multiplex—quickly reaching 85% of the U.K. population. However, there were setbacks, as the suppliers of a radio version of the Independent Television News (ITN) rolling news service, and of finance and business channel Bloomberg, pulled out of the multiplex, which meant that by the end of 2002 two channels were

broadcasting nothing more interesting than “tone.” In addition to the national multiplexes, over 45 licences for local and regional services were expected to be issued by the beginning of 2004—each offering a “bouquet” of services, including simulcasts of FM and AM services. Of the “digital only” services, typically about three of these would be stations broadcasting in other parts of the country as well as, usually, two or three which have been created specifically for the DAB system in that area. In all, over 300 digital services were being offered on U.K. DAB transmitters.

There was a huge incentive for the commercial services to pay for their analogue services to be available on the DAB “platform”: if they did so, the 1996 Broadcasting Act compelled the sector's licensing body and regulator, the Radio Authority, to automatically renew their analogue licenses, which would otherwise be re-advertised every eight years. A Communications Bill—scheduled to become law by fall 2003—extended a further renewal period to 12 years, meaning that those investing in DAB transmission would have their analogue licenses on a 20 year lease. With FM licenses at a premium and otherwise liable to intense competition, the cost of simulcasting on DAB seemed a relatively small price to pay for the knowledge that their main services were secure.

An amendment to the 1996 Act of Parliament allowed the commercial operators to double the percentage of the multiplex “cake” used for non-audio services. This opened up increased possibilities for the development of commercial text-based services. Unlike the internet, the number of consumers downloading such services on DAB receivers is unlimited and does not increase the cost to the supplier, so this seemed likely to be an attractive additional source of revenue for the commercial operators.

Although no such financial incentive was on offer to the BBC, the Corporation's enthusiasm and commitment to DAB remained undimmed—although some senior managers were on record stating that, with hindsight, they had probably invested in it too quickly and too heavily. By the end of 2002 the BBC's national multiplex was offering simulcasts of its five national networks; plus the BBC World Service; an extra sports channel; a new music channel—6 Music—featuring rock sessions from the BBC's archives and pitched at the “young middle aged” audience; BBC 7 playing archive comedy and drama programs plus original, new programming, for children; and the BBC Asian Network. All of these include scrolling text showing program information and news and sports headlines as appropriate.

Despite the proliferation of program services, however, the take-up of digital radio receivers was slow and patchy, with industry estimates that only about 60,000 DAB sets had been sold by the summer of 2002. The main reason for the apparently unenthusiastic response from the listening public was price—manufacturers and campaigners for DAB were caught

in a classic economic dilemma: where only a relatively few consumers were prepared to pay several hundred pounds for a DAB receiver, large-scale, and therefore cheaper, production of the electronic chips and sets required mass sales. The early models for home use were designed for the high end of the consumer hi-fi market and therefore appealed to a relatively small number of enthusiasts with high disposable incomes.

The introduction of the first sub-£100 portable (designed only for plug-in use) receiver in the middle of that year led to a more than doubling of DAB radio purchases in the crucial run-up to Christmas. Indeed, consumer demand far outstripped supply with customers being put on waiting lists. At least one manufacturer brought out a portable combined DAB radio and CD player, and DAB radios available for automobiles expanded and became cheaper, lighter, and easier to fit.

By the spring of 2003 at least two small, battery-powered sets using third generation DAB chips were on the market. The integration of DAB receivers into cell-phones seemed imminent (several models already incorporated an FM receiver, with 2 percent of adults listening to radio via their cell-phone) and key manufacturers were promoting DAB receivers. Crucially, the BBC began to heavily promote its DAB (only) services, with program listings included in the best-selling magazine the *Radio Times*—published by the Corporation's commercial arm—and a major on-air promotion on both radio and TV in the summer of 2003. Continued support for DAB from national government was made explicit when the Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport (at a meeting of the Social Market Foundation in March 2003) praised the BBC and commercial sectors for putting aside their normal rivalries for a common development and promotion of DAB and said this had helped ensure that digital radio was not only “a great British success story” but that the U.K. was the most advanced country in Europe in its development. (In fact, Sweden could probably claim that title, certainly in terms of population coverage.) The Minister also opened the possibility of a date for switching off analogue radio transmitters.

One rather unexpected phenomenon was a considerable increase in radio being consumed through television. All the digital TV platforms—terrestrial, satellite, and (most) cable—allowed a range of radio services, usually including all the national DAB services. Most significant of these was probably the re-launched national TV digital terrestrial service—with financial backing by the BBC—which allowed consumers to watch and listen to a range of free-to-air services received through the “normal” TV aerial. This meant that hundreds of thousands of consumers, who were reluctant to pay for satellite dishes and subscription fees and were certainly unlikely to be “early adopters” of DAB radio sets, were now exposed to the DAB stations. By the end of 2002, 16 percent of U.K. adults—nearly 8 million—were listening to radio services via their TV.

All the national DAB services—BBC and commercial—were “live streamed” on the internet. Although reliable figures for individual services were hard to come by, it was estimated that around 12 percent of adults listened to “streaming” radio via the internet in a typical week, although much of this was to services originally created for analogue radio. Several DAB receivers were developed for plugging into computers. Indeed, some of the DAB non-audio services were developed specifically for this sort of integrated use. As well as seeing the scrolling text and program information available on “normal” DAB radios, a range of other information and web links were also presented on screen.

The link with the internet and the increased possibilities of interactivity between broadcaster and listener, as well as the integration between the different media, seemed likely to be a trend that was both increasing and intriguing. In early 2003 the MXR consortia—a joint venture between Chrysalis Radio, Capital Radio, Jazz FM, and the Guardian Media Group—announced an agreement with U.S.-based technology firm Command Audio to launch “on-demand audio.” The facility will allow listeners to their DAB multiplexes to listen to local news, sports, travel, and business bulletins whenever they want. The ability for individual DAB listeners to “rewind,” to “time-shift” programming elements, had for some time been one of the promised benefits of the technology.

All of this raised fascinating questions about the nature of radio as a medium and its relationship to the audience. Broadcasters had to consider the different ways that DAB was being consumed (through DAB radio receivers, TV sets, online, and over cell-phones), as well as the implications for this in their programming and marketing.

The United Kingdom's 1996 Broadcasting Act and the Radio Authority's interpretation of it has resulted in the geographical and population areas of local digital licences broadly matching the existing coverage areas of analog broadcasters. The effect of this is to greatly restrict the flexibility of the system: as with analog broadcasts, separate services cannot be broadcast on the same frequency, and there has to be sufficient distance between transmitters broadcasting different material on the same frequency to avoid mutual interference. At the local level, DAB is no more efficient than analog in the use of the frequency spectrum. This inefficiency and the fact that having at least two frequencies to carry national networks means that most areas will (at least until 2007, when other frequencies may be available) have a maximum of two “local” multiplexes.

A unique feature of the transmission arrangements of DAB in the United Kingdom is that BBC local/regional analog services have a “must carry” requirement on commercial multiplexes, but there is no automatic right of access for local/regional analog commercial stations, nor is there any limit to the number of services also broadcast—simulcasted—on analog.

A study of the license applications for commercial multiplexes reveals how the perceived “early adopters” market—the people who are most likely to be the first to invest in digital radio receivers—is linked with particular types of programming designed to appeal to them. One of the key demographic groups is clearly affluent males aged 25 to 45.

It also seems clear that EUREKA 147 is, to some extent, “technologically deterministic” in that it “naturally” favors large rather than small geographic areas of broadcasting, even though there is no overriding technical reason why national, and especially regional, services should be favored over local. The pattern adopted in the United Kingdom greatly favors large area services and, almost inevitably, large commercial interests.

DAB in Scandinavia

The development of EUREKA 147 DAB is on a fast track in the Nordic countries. Leaping into DAB before there is a robust popular market eager to receive digital signals is an unattractive commercial proposition. Thus, government initiatives are driving the transformation process, and Nordic public broadcasting companies bear much of the responsibility for building the DAB infrastructure necessary to expand this market.

Three factors underlie rapid Scandinavian DAB development. First, DAB significantly increases the possibilities for transmitting radio signals. There is no longer room for any development of AM or FM analog signals given the rapid growth of private and public channels since the mid-1980s (the bandwidth required for one FM channel is sufficient for six DAB channels). Second, DAB significantly increases production efficiency in radio programming. Public service companies in northern Europe are adding new radio channels to compete more effectively with the private sector via audience segmentation. The digital platform offers synergistic possibilities at a higher speed and efficiency. “Versioning” content, a process whereby the same “raw content” can be reconfigured in a variety of ways appropriate to the program format and audience interests of respective channels, is increasingly important in this context. Finally, DAB significantly increases integration possibilities across and within media industries. DAB is the only viable opportunity for radio broadcasting to maintain and advance its position in an increasingly competitive market place.

Although private broadcasting companies in Scandinavia have not yet been deeply involved with DAB development, that will soon change. The cost for a car DAB receiver was nearly \$1,000 at the turn of the century. Seven manufacturers are competing in the DAB receiver retail market, and prices are dropping. Four of the best-known companies are Clarion, Sony, Pioneer, and Grundig. It is expected that the cost of a

combined receiver and boot box will decline by half in the early 2000s. As signal coverage increases and receiver purchase prices decrease, the open market for DAB broadcasting will surge.

The transition to digital systems challenges the culture of public service radio. As the number of channels multiply and the scope of the private sector involvement increases, it is increasingly difficult for any public service company to provide a comprehensive and competitive range of radio program services. Achieving that nonetheless remains the heart of democratic principles that characterize and legitimate the approach.

Despite the certainty of DAB development in the Nordic countries, the digital future is laden with risks. A key factor hinges on when FM signals will be eliminated. That is at least a decade away from happening, although the pace will ultimately depend on consumer receiver purchasing decisions. Still, DAB developments are taking place more rapidly in the Nordic region than in the United States because there are fewer vested interests fighting the transition, stronger government involvement, and a common EUREKA 147 standard. Further, there are experienced and capable public broadcasting companies managing much of the risk as a tax-supported initiative.

DAB in the United States: IBOC

The United States has taken a different approach to digital radio. On 1 August 1990, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) initiated a *Notice of Inquiry* into DAB development and implementation. The FCC and broadcasting business became interested in DAB after learning that Europe was developing its EUREKA 147 system. By 1991 the American radio industry responded with USA Digital Radio (USADR), a partnership of CBS, Westinghouse Electric Corporation, and Gannett to develop an in-band, on-channel (IBOC) system of DAB to eventually replace AM and FM. USADR preferred IBOC over other methods because it allowed stations to continue existing analog AM and FM service as they developed new digital signals that eliminate multipath and noise and reduce interference.

IBOC DAB has been called the “Holy Grail solution” because broadcasters can convert from analog to digital without service disruption and with low start-up costs while maintaining their heavily promoted dial positions. Initially the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) supported DAB implementation using the EUREKA 147 system on L-band (500 to 1500 MHz), which it believed would give AM and FM equal footing. Incensed broadcasters caused NAB to change their position and support IBOC.

On 26 August 1992, USADR successfully delivered IBOC DAB on the expanded AM band at 1660 kHz in Cincinnati. At the September NAB radio show in New Orleans, USADR demonstrated its system using WNOE-AM and NPR affiliate

WWNO-FM. In 1993 NAB's DAB task force officially endorsed IBOC because it believed the FCC would never allocate alternative additional spectrum for DAB. The Electronic Industries Association (EIA), which had held that no system should be selected until all types were tested, struck a compromise with the NAB, agreeing that other systems would not be considered unless IBOC systems were shown not to meet terrestrial DAB requirements.

While much of the world appears convinced L-band is the best DAB spectrum, the FCC supported use of the S-band (2310 to 2360 MHz), in part because of the difficulty in shifting existing L-band spectrum users in the United States. Most non-FCC experts agreed S-band will be more expensive and less effective than L-band. As a result of the S-band decision, U.S. DAB will be IBOC, causing global incompatibility. At NAB's 1993 Las Vegas convention, USADR introduced broadcasters to its IBOC system, demonstrating that its IBOC system was more fully developed than any system other than EUREKA 147.

USADR and Lucent Digital Radio (LDR) agreed to work together on IBOC in May 1997, making broadcasters more optimistic about DAB's future. USADR and LDR worked jointly for about 10 months but ended their alliance early in 1998. Digital Radio Express (DRE), another IBOC developer, allied with USADR in late 1999. In October 1998 USADR petitioned the FCC to open a rulemaking proceeding to make its system the DAB standard. In 1999 a number of the larger U.S. radio groups invested in USADR. USADR's new corporate status was important because it demonstrated that much of the radio business believed in IBOC. Other broadcasters and electronics manufacturers, including receiver makers, soon fell into line. At NAB's 1999 meeting in Las Vegas, some broadcasters and manufacturers called for a "Grand Alliance" like the one struck with digital television (DTV). Robert Struble, USADR president, accurately stated that as a coalition from the beginning, USADR already was the Grand Alliance.

The FCC issued a DAB *Notice of Proposed Rulemaking* on 1 November 1999, more than nine years after its first *Notice of Inquiry*. The commission believed it was time

to determine whether an IBOC model and/or a model utilizing new radio spectrum would be the best means of promptly introducing DAB service in the United States. By initiating this proceeding now, we can foster the further development of IBOC systems, as well as new-spectrum DAB alternatives, help DAB system proponents identify design issues of public interest dimension and, where possible, encourage modifications that advance these policy objectives.

In October 2002, the FCC provisionally approved the technical standard offered by iBiquity digital, the company con-

trolled by the 15 largest radio broadcasters. The system allows AM and FM broadcasters to begin transmitting digital signals while continuing to offer their analog service. Initial broadcast equipment began to reach the market in late 2002 while the first consumer receivers became available early in 2003.

Fears remained, however, that using more of a station's frequency assignment (as the digitized signal does) might threaten some sub-carrier services such as reading for the blind, carried by many noncommercial stations. The FCC order allowed temporary authority for digital operation until such problems could be resolved. FM stations may offer digital signals at all hours, but AM stations are at least temporarily limited to daytime hours only because of their more complex evening signal propagation.

DAB's Future

Despite the impressive development of DAB in many parts of the world, its detractors had not been fully disarmed by the early 2000s. Many smaller and community radio operators had not been able to afford to pay for the still scarce capacity on multiplexes. The U.K.'s Community Media Association (CMA) which, in the early days of the development of DAB, had been led to believe that the new system would allow small-scale not-for-profit stations to (at last) find a secure and widespread outlet on a mass media, was bitterly disappointed when it became clear that both the transmission pattern and licensing structure would largely exclude their model of radio stations. The Association tended to view the licensing and regulatory structure of DAB in the U.K. as re-enforcing the dominance of a few major institutional operators—the larger commercial radio groups and the BBC—whereas the CMA favored a greater plurality of ownership and control, as well as of the "voices" and perspectives able to gain access to the public airwaves. The increase in frequency allocation in DAB may help to increase the range and type of operators using DAB, but these arguments highlight tensions on the more fundamental political and economic questions of access and regulation of broadcasting.

Other DAB detractors continued to question whether the public would embrace the new system *en masse*, in particular whether DAB receivers would ever fall in cost to the level where most listeners would be prepared to replace their many analogue radios and even whether there was sufficient interest in the increased choice of services to motivate listeners to make the digital switch. Many asked whether the text and other non-audio services were merely gimmicks, leading such critics to dub the new system "TV without the pictures." Whereas multi-channel digital TV had been embraced by the British consumer, it was often argued that radio was not perceived as providing the same level of sophisticated entertainment, information, and

education, with a consequence that many citizens were reluctant to pay a premium for increased radio services or the claimed increase in audio quality. Certainly, the early and sometimes persisting claims that DAB provided CD-quality sound had rebounded, amid complaints that the sound quality on many of the individual stations on the multiplexes had been degraded in order to accommodate more services. Broadcasters admitted they had to make compromises between program choice and sound quality.

There was also the continuing, nagging question as to whether the U.K. had backed the wrong system. Putting aside the argument as to whether radio needed to go digital at all, were the alternative and fast-developing standards such as IBOC likely, in the long term at least, to provide a more cost-effective, easily received, radio system? Furthermore, the integration and fast development of mobile (cell) phone technology and the internet, especially with broadband access, confuses and even threatens the concept of "radio" as a separate and distinct medium.

It may well be that the EUREKA 147 system, although undoubtedly a proven, sophisticated, and robust transmission standard, will prove too complex for sufficiently cheap receivers to be produced for the mass market, thus making the system commercially viable. The refusal of governments and broadcasters in the United States and Japan—the world's two largest economies—to adopt the EUREKA system, and the subsequent reluctance of some of the major manufacturers to develop inexpensive receivers, has prevented EUREKA from becoming the world standard. In the long term, the answer may be for receivers and transmitters to operate a "pick and mix" system: terrestrial IBOC for existing broadcasters and EUREKA for new ones. The development of the WorldSpace, Sirius, and XM Radio satellite-transmitted systems will also be followed with great interest to see if they are successful in developing their respective markets.

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See also AM Radio; Audio Streaming; Digital Recording; Digital Satellite Radio; FM Radio; Internet Radio; Virtual Radio

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Digital Recording

Radio's transition from an analog to a digital medium began with the arrival of the compact disc (CD) in the early 1980s. Since then, radio has embraced digital audio technologies ranging from the first CD players, digital tape recorders, digital effects processors, and digital audio workstations to the more recent introduction of hard disk recorders, digital exciters for transmitters, digital audio consoles, and digital audio file transfer and streaming on the internet.

Digital audio provides superior reproduction of sound and additional benefits useful in a radio station's operation. Except for a station's microphones (which may become the sole analog source at a radio station), it is possible for a radio station's audio chain to be completely digital, from production and storage to playback and processing, before being sent to a digital exciter and on to the transmitter. In the many countries where digital audio broadcasting standards are now in place, transmitters and receivers are now also digital, completing the final links to make radio a totally digital medium. Many radio stations also distribute digital transmissions of their programming on the internet, making a digital version of radio's signal available to listeners with a computer, audio card, and internet connection.

Digital audio has dramatically improved the quality of radio's on-air sound and has also brought many operational enhancements to the production process used to create radio programs. The clear benefits of digital audio have motivated nearly universal adoption among radio stations of some type of digital audio recording and playback equipment. A list of digital audio equipment found in radio stations today includes CD players, CD recorders, open-reel stationary-head digital recorders, rotating-head digital audio tape recorders, mini disc recorders, and hard-disk recording systems. Computers with specialized software and audio cards with inputs and outputs to interface with the other audio equipment in the station provide digital audio replacements for tape recorders, the splicing block, and other production and processing equipment. Digital versions of other equipment, such as audio consoles, telephone hybrids, effects processors, compressors, limiters, microphone processors, studio-transmitter links, on-air audio processing equipment, exciters, and transmitters, are rapidly becoming the standards as aging analog audio equipment is replaced.

Digital Audio Basics

A sound itself is not digital. Sound is created when an object vibrates and causes the molecules of the medium surrounding it (usually air) to vibrate. These vibrations or sound waves are transferred through the air until they reach someone's ear or a microphone. At the microphone, sound is transduced (con-

verted) into electrical energy and becomes analog audio. The characteristics of this electrical energy are analogous to the original sound energy. This electrical energy can be amplified, manipulated, stored, or transmitted as analog audio; however, it can also be digitized and then amplified, manipulated, stored, or transmitted as digital audio.

Digital audio is created by converting analog audio into a stream of binary code, a series of ones and zeroes, representing the measurements of the characteristics of the original sound. This binary code represents measurements made of samples of the original audio representing the sound energy. The binary code can be recorded and stored on any device capable of reading and storing digital data. Magnetic tape, computer floppy disks, hard disks, and optical disks can store the digital information. These data can also be transmitted as pulses through copper wire, fiber-optic cable, or as radio frequency energy through the air. An exact, full-fidelity reproduction of the original audio can be created from the stored or transmitted digital code, copied without generation loss, and easily processed for creative and technical purposes. Unlike analog audio, the digital signal is not as subject to the limitations imposed by the storage medium or the electronics of the equipment. In the analog world, the tape itself adds noise, copying adds more noise, the amplifier adds noise, and so on. The dynamic range and frequency response of the original sound are also reduced as analog audio, because the analog system has inherent limitations in reproducing sound faithful to the original. The methods used to record and process digital audio minimize these limitations.

The digitization of analog audio involves four stages: filtering, sampling, quantizing, and coding. First, the audio is sent through a low-pass filter to prevent unwanted higher frequencies from becoming audible. This process is called anti-aliasing. Then the analog signal is divided, which determines the sampling rate. The more often the signal is sampled and measured, the more accurate the recreation of sound will be. Sampling rates are typically 32 kHz, 44.1 kHz, or 48 kHz. This means the signal is sampled either 32,000, 44,100, or 48,000 times every second. A measurement is made during every sampling period using a multidigit binary number. This binary number is called a word. The number of bits in a word is word length. A 1-bit measurement, for example, would only be able to discriminate between presence and absence of voltage. If n is the number of bits in the word length, the number of levels of measurement is 2^n . An 8-bit system provides 256 levels of voltage measurement. A 16-bit system has 65,536 possible levels, and a 20-bit system provides 1,048,576 levels. Systems with more quantizing levels have more accuracy and wider signal-to-noise ratios. The last stage of the digitizing process is the

coding stage, in which the bits are placed in a precise order for recording or output to another digital device. During this coding stage, each word is identified in the bit stream. Error correction minimizes the impact of storage defects. The binary code is then distributed or recorded as pulses of magnetic energy.

Moving audio to the digital domain for recording and reproduction purposes provides a number of advantages. Compared to analog audio, digital audio has an improved frequency response, wider dynamic range, immeasurable noise and distortion, and no degradation or generation loss in multiple digital recordings. Some audiophiles have been critical of the digital audio recording process, suggesting that when sound is digitized, it loses its warmth and can sound too sterile and even harsh. Radio has generally rejected those concerns and has continued to replace analog audio equipment with digital equivalents.

The Compact Disc

In 1980 the Philips and Sony corporations joined forces to create an optical disc for digital audio. The two companies agreed on a CD standard, a 12-cm optical disc using 16-bit/44.1-kHz sampling. The CD player and disc were introduced in Europe in the fall of 1982 and in the United States in the spring of 1983. As record and production library companies began to release their catalogs on CD, radio began using CD players in their production and air studios. Manufacturers developed CD players with features such as a shuttle control as well as a model that played CDs inserted in a special protective case, creating a process similar to the use of a broadcast cartridge machine. The CD changer, capable of handling multiple CDs, was also found useful at many radio stations. Many broadcasters used consumer models because the audio quality was the same for both. Not only did the CDs sound better than the vinyl long-playing and 45-rpm records, but the CD format was also much more efficient to use. CDs could be cued and started faster and, with care to protect the disc from scratches, would allow endless replays without degradation of sound quality. Additional data encoded in the compact disc provided precise track timings, indexing, and continuous monitoring of playing time of tracks and programs.

The CD player uses a laser to read the data encoded in the microscopic circular pits on the disc. The binary code is stored in a series of pits and lands in the disc. A pit is an indentation in the groove; a land is a flat area with no indentation. A photoelectric cell reads the amount of light reflected from the pits and lands and emits voltage to recreate the digital code representing the audio waves. As needed, the digital output of the CD can be converted back to analog audio or sent as digital output to a digital recorder or console. The only problem with the CD was that its content was limited to prepackaged mate-

rial offered by the manufacturer. However, the recordable CD was soon on the way.

The recordable CD (CD-R) was launched in 1988 but initially was not widely adopted as a production tool by radio. The first CD recorders were relatively expensive, and the disc recording was permanent: the disc could not be erased and recorded on again. Recently, with the introduction of the rewritable CD (CD-RW), lower-cost CD-R recorders, and CD-R drives installed in computers, the recordable CD has attracted more attention from broadcasters, for use as an archival and production tool and as a component in digital automation systems.

The digital versatile disc (DVD) is not yet a factor in the radio environment, but it most likely will be. The DVD is the same diameter and thickness as a CD, but a difference in design and manufacturing provides eight times the capacity of a CD by creating a dual layer. There are currently five recordable DVD formats. DVD-R and DVD+R discs can be recorded only once. DVD-RW and DVD+RW can be rewritten. The DVD-RAM is used for recording computer data only.

Digital Audio Tape and Mini Disc Recording

Although the CD was quickly adopted by most radio stations shortly after its introduction, digital audio recording had a more difficult time gaining a foothold in radio. Commercial digital audio recorders have been available since the 1970s and early 1980s. Sony and Denon introduced adapters that made it possible to record digital audio on videotape recorders. Open-reel two-track and multitrack digital recorders (Digital Audio Stationary Head) were employed in recording studios but were not widely used in radio. By the early 1990s, however, the rotary-head digital audio tape recorder (R-DAT) was finding a place in radio production.

R-DAT machines use essentially the same digitizing scheme as the CD, but they use a rotating helical-scan tape head to record and read the large quantity of information representing the audio signal on the small cassette tape. The result is audio recordings with characteristics similar to the CD with the additional flexibility of being able to record and rerecord. R-DAT recorders were adopted as a cost-effective, high-quality production and on-air playback tool, especially in automation systems. The use of R-DAT has been supplanted somewhat in recent years by other digital formats, including the mini disc.

Although originally intended as a consumer product, the mini disc recorder is finding a niche in broadcasting. The mini disc offers a more portable, less expensive alternative to hard disk recording, and the portable mini disc units provide a digital alternative for field recording. The mini disc offers nonlinear access, track identification, and a recording time of 74 minutes. It has low noise, low distortion, and a wide dynamic

range, but its use of data compression limits its use in critical recording.

Computer-Based Recording, Editing, and Digital Distribution

Open-reel analog recordings have at least one advantage over open-reel digital tapes: analog recordings are easier to edit than a digital tape. Because a digital tape has to be running at speed in order to decode the data to recreate the digital audio, digital open-reel recorders record and play on an analog head for editing and cueing purposes. The digital tape can then be marked, cut, and spliced like an analog tape. Physical editing is not possible with the DAT cassette tape, and electronic editing on a DAT recorder requires some finesse. Moving the recorded digital information to a computer hard disk opened the way for the rapid deployment of computer-based digital audio recording and editing systems, which have revolutionized audio production for radio.

By the early 1990s, audio could be recorded to media other than tape. Increased hard disk capacity, faster computer processing speeds, and new compression methods combined to make recording directly to a computer's hard disk a viable alternative to recording on analog tape. Software programs and audio input/output cards were developed to be used on inexpensive personal computers to create digital audio recordings that sounded better than the recordings created on professional analog equipment. Even consumer products could create professional-sounding results in radio production studios. Editing software was introduced that would allow nondestructive editing of the audio material. These programs typically provide a visual representation of the audio waveform, which can be marked, highlighted, cut, copied, pasted, and moved within and between sound files. Precise, noise-free edits are performed that can be readjusted and fine-tuned as needed without destruction of the original sound file.

There are numerous multitrack recording and editing programs used by radio stations, which, when combined with compatible high-quality computer audio cards, allow desktop computers to perform the same functions as multichannel recorders, production consoles, and effects processors—which cost thousands of dollars more—all in one computer.

Once the digital audio exists as a file in a networked computer, local area networks, wide area networks, and the internet allow these sound files to be distributed and shared internally or externally. An increasingly common distribution approach is the use of MP-3 files. The MPEG-1 layer 3 recording technology (commonly known as MP-3) is a digital audio file compression method increasingly used by radio stations to send and receive programs and programming elements through the internet. This form of distribution becomes cost-effective and important as advertising agencies and production compa-

nies start to distribute commercials, programming, and other information digitally. As radio groups consolidate and combine station operations and look for economies of scale, digital distribution of content will become even more important. After a commercial is created in the production studio of one of the stations in the group, it can be distributed instantly to all the other stations on the computer network.

Digital Audio Processing

After audio has been converted to digital form, it can be manipulated or processed for creative and technical reasons. Modern radio production studios often have at least one digital effects processor, which efficiently creates various combinations of digital effects, such as echo, reverb, pitch changing, phasing, flanging, and many others. Computer software-based recording and editing programs also have digital audio processing and effects as part of the package. Digital audio processing is also used in the station's air chain, running microphones through processors that convert the signal to digital before processing to strengthen and improve the sound quality of the announcer's voice. Digital processing of the audio signal before it is sent to the transmitter provides one last measure of limiting, compression, and other subtle adjustments to give the station's audio a distinctive, full sound.

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See also Audio Processing; Audio Streaming; Digital Audio Broadcasting; Recording and Studio Equipment

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Digital Satellite Radio

For more than 100 years, radio has been transmitted by electronic analog waves modulated by voice or frequency variance. At the beginning of the 21st century, digital signals beamed from communications satellites could change American radio from a medium with thousands of local stations into a national radio service with only a few content providers. In the new system, a listener could drive from coast to coast and remain tuned to the same CD-quality signal all the way. In the United States, two corporations and hundreds of investors are betting billions of dollars that Americans will embrace the new digital system of satellite radio.

Sirius Corporation vs. XM Corporation

Two corporations are at the front of the race to bring satellite radio to the American consumer: Sirius, headquartered at the Rockefeller Center in New York City, and XM, which has its offices on New York Avenue in Washington, D.C. Both companies take a similar approach to satellite broadcasting. Each is beaming a digital signal from a satellite to antennas the size of a playing card. The antennas, mounted in the consumers' cars or homes by suction cups, feed the signal into digital radio receivers that produce CD-quality audio with at least 100 different format selections. As of early 2003, XM offered 70 music channels and 31 talk channels while Sirius advertised 60 music channels and 40 talk channels. Both companies have signed well-known stars to provide special programming for subscribers. Both companies—and here is the big gamble—are charging for their audio services: initially \$9.95 (XM) and \$13.95 (Sirius, which offers more channels without advertising).

Investors at XM and Sirius are gambling that enough listeners are dissatisfied with the current fare on AM and FM radio stations that they will be willing to pay a small monthly fee to receive programming unavailable on analog terrestrial stations. Executives at both corporations note that almost 30 percent of all recordings sold at music stores come from artists receiving little or no radio airplay. The reasoning goes like this:

There may not be enough fans for alternative country acts such as Lyle Lovett or Steve Earl or for new-age performers such as Yanni to support a local radio station format. There are, however, enough of them scattered across the country to make a nationwide satellite feed economically feasible.

Given the sheer cost of both projects, niche programming alone will not offer the kind of return on investment stockholders of either company are looking for. Thus, the need for big-name performers. XM gave a channel to Grammy-winning producer and composer Quincy Jones. Former Yes member Jon Anderson is using the same approach, while Ted Nugent gets his own talk show.

Lee Abrams, creator of the album-oriented rock (AOR) sound of the 1970s, provides the consulting for all 50 music formats for XM. Abrams claims that XM will not emulate traditional radio. He understands subscribers are paying for the audio services and expect something different for their money. Abrams delivers expanded selections of classic rock artists such as Bob Dylan, The Beatles, or Led Zeppelin to counter complaints from traditional radio listeners that playlists have become repetitive. Abrams also delivers channels for contemporary alternative rockers as well as multiple jazz, country, and blues formats.

Sirius has given a channel to rock superstar Sting, who produces a daily live show with original and recorded music. With the main studios in New York City, Sirius plans to offer a number of live, in-studio concerts from artists who pass through the city while on tour. National Public Radio (NPR) provides two channels of talk and information, including an original morning program for satellite listeners only. Programmers point out that Sirius, with multiple rock, jazz, country, blues, and talk formats, plans no commercial advertising at this time, while some of XM's channels have up to six minutes of commercials per hour.

Sirius Corporation used to be known as CD Satellite Radio Service. Focus groups and marketing studies found consumers were confusing the name with the audio CDs available in

music stores. Furthermore, company executives felt the name CD no longer implied cutting edge technology. So, a name change to Sirius was ordered early in 2000.

Making Satellite Technology Pay Off

Several companies launch commercial communication satellites. XM hired Sea Launch to place its two Hughes Corporation satellites (named *Rock* and *Roll*) into orbit from an ocean platform located 4,600 miles west of South America. Sirius hired Space System/Loral to build and launch three satellites into orbit from the former Soviet republic of Kazakhstan. The enormous cost of the high orbit satellites for both corporations may be partially offset by leasing unused space on the various transponders to other companies with communications needs.

In order to maintain a constant signal, or footprint, over a specific region of the planet, satellites must remain in roughly the same position relative to the earth. Sirius and XM are using two different systems to meet that goal. XM uses two geostationary satellites positioned at 22,300 miles above the Earth. At that height, the speed of the satellite's orbit matches the speed of the rotation of the earth. Therefore, the satellites appear to be stationary in the sky.

Sirius uses three satellites in an inclined elliptical constellation. Elliptical orbit means the satellites are in a lower orbit moving across the sky. Each satellite spends at least 16 hours a day over the United States and at least one satellite is placing a footprint over the continental U.S. at all times. Both companies have a spare satellite on the ground in case of a catastrophic failure.

What kind of return will the two American corporations need to stay afloat? Wall Street analysts predict that each company will have to attract a minimum of 4 million subscribers within five years to break even. Such numbers are possible, as has been proven by successful satellite radio ventures in other countries.

Satellite Radio Worldwide

A privately owned American corporation with immense international ties, WorldSpace is the current leader in digital satellite technology. WorldSpace claims a potential audience of 4.6 billion people on five continents. Launched in October of 1998, the geostationary satellite Afri-Star offers three overlapping signals to the continent of Africa with 50 audio channels and multi-media programming available on each signal beam. Asia-Star was successfully placed into orbit with a similar programming array over the Asian continent in March of 2000.

A third satellite, Ameri-Star, will service South and Central America as well as Mexico. This satellite has no current plans to broadcast to the United States or Canada. However, World-

star has signed a cooperative agreement with XM to share technological innovations.

Delivering 24 digital radio signals, Orbit Satellite TV and Radio Network serves the Middle East, North Africa, and parts of Asia with "socially responsible" broadcasts in Arabic and other languages. Originally chartered with the Italian Ministry of Post and Telecommunications, Orbit signed with Telespazio to provide space segment services and launched programming in 1994 with 16 TV and four radio channels. Orbit now boasts business offices and uplink centers throughout the Mediterranean, Middle East, and the Indian Subcontinent.

Orbit first used transponder space on InTelSat satellites, the international telecommunications satellite consortium established by the United Nations. In 1999, Orbit expanded its coverage area by 22 million households when it began to also broadcast on Arabsat, a satellite placed into space by a cooperative of Middle Eastern nations. Orbit contracts with numerous international providers for programming content including CNN and ESPN Radio.

Several other satellites carry digital audio and analog radio programming. The Eutelsat array and the Astra satellites provide a radio footprint over Europe. Panamsat and Brasilsat provide programming for Central and South America. Other countries may well adapt to satellite radio faster than America does. Much of Europe and Asia are already used to the concept of a national radio service. Britain's BBC or Germany's Deutsche Welle have for years broadcast a national signal through the use of relay transmitters. A satellite service is simply a logical extension of that system.

Broadcast Opposition

As early as 1982, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) began to develop regulations for direct broadcast satellites, or DBS. Signals would be provided to consumers via a three-meter dish antenna. Local broadcasters immediately attacked the proposed service with charges that a national TV service would undermine the localism provided by traditional television broadcasting.

In October 1992, the FCC again acted on an industry DBS proposal, this time for radio. The original proposal called for a Satellite Digital Audio Broadcasting System or DAB to be located in 50 MHz of the S band (2310–2360 MHz) with the intent to create a system that would provide a national service.

Again, local broadcasters rolled out the same arguments used against the DBS system: "The current number of FM and AM stations serving the United States represents the highest level of audio diversity available in the world." In comments submitted to the FCC the association added, "A competing satellite service presents a potential danger to the United States' universal, free, local radio service and, thus, to the public interest it serves."

A consortium of radio group owners also weighed in with the following comments to the FCC: "National radio stations raise a troubling question of undue concentration of control of the media, an issue that has been consistently a concern to the commission." The joint comments added, "erosion of audiences and advertising revenues caused by satellite radio would inevitably destroy the ability of many [existing] stations to offer these services."

Broadcasters opposed only the national delivery of a digital satellite signal and not the use of digital technology. In fact, the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) began proposing a system referred to as in-band, on channel (IBOC). This system would replace terrestrial analog transmitters with digital transmitters for better signal quality and reception. Local broadcasters would then repeat satellite feeds of the various program services with inserts for local advertising and announcements.

However, satellite programmers counter that the broadcasters are overemphasizing the continued importance of localism. Listeners, they say, do not tune exclusively to one station. While local news, weather, and information are important, research shows many listeners will tune to a station specifically for music or entertainment programming. Satellite programmers believe listeners will tune to their service for specific formats and return to local stations when they need local information. As one programmer stated, "Program directors who think localism is fundamental to successful radio should look at the success of *USA Today*."

The Box in the Car or Home

Ultimately, the success of satellite radio in the United States depends upon whether consumers will buy the new digital receiver necessary to pick up the satellite signal. Sirius and XM settled a patent lawsuit in March of 2000 by agreeing that all digital radios will eventually have the capacity to receive both audio feeds. Deals have now been made with Sony, Alpine, Pioneer, Clarion, and other audio manufacturers to produce the receivers. Major retailers have agreed to market and sell the receivers for \$200.00 and up, depending on features and installation.

Some of the retailers, including consumer electronic shops, car sound shops, and automobile dealers, are offering installation for car receivers. Distributors are also marketing a portable device designed to translate a digital satellite signal for existing radios. In January of 2003, Delphi introduced the SkyFi radio, advertised as the first plug and play portable digital satellite radio.

However, the real key to success is cooperation by major automobile manufacturers in offering digital radios as available equipment in new cars. XM has agreements with General Motors (GM) and Honda. Sirius has a deal with Ford and ten-

tative agreements with Chrysler and five other automakers. The deal with Ford is particularly beneficial because the buyer gets a satellite radio and a two-year subscription to Sirius audio services.

The drawback, if the current marketing arrangement stays in place, is that owners of GM cars will have to take XM audio services while Ford owners will receive Sirius. Will listeners continue to pay for audio services when the initial deals run out with the car companies? As one industry observer put it, "Twenty-five years ago, TV viewers would have thought it odd to pay for watching television." Today, a majority of American homes have cable television and pay a monthly fee for expanded video service.

The Impact on Local Radio

If satellite radio succeeds, there will be some impact on local radio stations.

First, three critical audience-rating categories could be affected: time spent listening, or TSL; average quarter hour listening, or AVQ; and cumulative audience numbers, or cume. If enough listeners tune out local stations to listen to satellite radio, the local stations will report reduced numbers in those categories and will have to lower the rates charged for advertising.

Second, the concept of localism in radio in recent years has really come to mean the ability to generate local ad revenue, rather than the desire to program for regional interests of the community of license. Radio stations are no longer compelled by the FCC to provide specific programming to meet the needs of the local community. Music playlists are almost identical by format in every market. A listener can drive across the country today and find virtually the same 30 or 40 songs being rotated in each format by stations across the dial. If the majority of stations are playing similar music and running many of the same syndicated programs, then the broadcasters' "localism" argument is greatly diminished.

Despite their more than 100 channels of specialized programming, both Sirius and XM radio added subscribers more slowly than expected. Toward the end of 2002, Sirius was reaching only about 30,000 paying customers while XM (which had aired earlier) was reaching better than ten times as many. But each needed more than a million subscribers in order to survive, and in 2002 it appeared such levels would take at least a couple more years to achieve. One result of the slow growth was that their stock prices declined to record low levels as many observers concluded there was room for only one such service, not two. Both continued to seek additional investors and claimed they were in the competition for the long haul. At the same time, both trimmed their expenses, closing down unused studios and cutting back staff. Talk of consolidation lingered in the air.

Nonetheless, the investors for both XM and Sirius believe that the public will eventually buy into the idea of satellite radio. They believe enough of the public has grown tired of traditional radio's repetitive playlists and commercial saturation to give satellite radio a try at \$10.00 per month. Even radio giant Clear Channel Communications hedged its bet by becoming a major investor in XM. It is not clear that satellite radio will succeed as numerous challenges remain. However, executives at XM and Sirius are literally betting millions of dollars that the time is right for a new national radio service.

CORLEY DENNISON

See also Clear Channel Communications; Digital Audio Broadcasting; Virtual Radio

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Dill, Clarence Cleveland 1884–1978

U.S. Communications Policy Maker

Clarence C. Dill was one of the key co-authors of the 1927 Radio Act and the 1934 Communications Act. In the formulation of the law, Dill helped set the traditional concepts that still govern electronic media. It was Dill who proposed a commission for the regulation of radio. The concept passed in 1927, was reinstated in 1934, and continues today as the regulatory authority. Believing the commission would control and regulate the continuing issues of monopoly, censorship, and spectrum utilization, Dill took those issues into the Senate and provided leadership for passage of the law.

Dill's role in the earliest legislative history of broadcasting was limited only by his late entry into the congressional arena. Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover and Representative Wallace H. White, Jr. had worked to develop radio law since the early 1920s, but they were unable to interest the Senate in their proposals. Dill provided that Senate leadership. His first bills mirrored the work of Representative White. However, as Dill educated the Senate, radio entered a critical period in its history, often called the period of chaos. Following the first session of the 69th Congress, the Zenith case (*United State v Zenith Radio Corporation*, 16 April 1926) and the Attorney General's Opinion (*Opinions of the Attorney General*, 8 July 1926) left the Secretary of Commerce with no regulatory authority, and Dill emerged as a significant leader.

During the conference committee negotiations between the Senate and the House over the pending radio bills, White was

deeply involved in his own reelection campaign, which left Dill as the primary author in charge of bringing the House and Senate versions of the bill together. Dill convinced Representative White that a commission should be established to function for one year. This would theoretically provide Congress with enough time to review the law before regulatory authority reverted back to the Secretary of Commerce. White accepted this as a temporary solution, but Dill openly declared that this commission was merely the beginning of a lasting communications commission. In this Conference Committee, Dill not only achieved this important directional victory, but out of the committee came a unified proposal with emphasis on the phrase "public interest, convenience or necessity." These key words provided the overall regulatory authority and were used rhetorically by both Dill and White to answer all major objections to the passage of the bill. By the time the bill came out of conference committee, the public pressure for passage was intense. Dill obtained quick passage of the bill that he felt protected the public interest. Dill's comments before the Senate during its deliberations on radio law reflect his attitude, the political atmosphere, and his own feelings toward the radio industry: "large corporations have invested large sums of money with little return on their investments. They hope for bigger returns in the future. I am not sure that it would be wise . . . to put too many legislative shackles around the industry at this state of its development" (*Congressional Record*, 69th Cong., 1927, 68, pt. 3:3027). Shifting with the political current of a demanding

electorate, Dill achieved passage for the bill that set the foundation for electronic media legislation.

Representative White wanted control of radio in the hands of the Secretary of Commerce. However, by 1934 he was supportive of the commission, and the Democrats were in charge. Dill was now the chair of the Senate Commerce Committee, and he chaired the subcommittee that was holding hearings on the proposed 1934 legislation. The key issue was placing the telephone and telegraph under control of the commission, a provision suggested by both Presidents Hoover and Roosevelt. The 1934 Communications Act passed with the basic provisions of the Radio Act still intact. It added only commission jurisdiction over telephone and telegraph, changed the name of the commission from the Federal Radio Commission to the Federal Communications Commission, and added commissioners to help with the increased workload.

Dill was a product of the 1920s era, when business and businessmen were held in high esteem by society. The business ethic permeated all areas of American life. According to Frederick Lewis Allen (1931) radio was the “youngest rider” on this “prosperity bandwagon.” Dill fought in the Senate for financial assistance for the fledgling radio industry. Besides being an advocate of business interests, Dill was a conservationist. The Teapot Dome and Elk Hills oil scandals had left the United States outraged by the exploitation of public resources. Senator Dill had been a principal in the Teapot Dome investigations as a member of the Public Lands Committee. The scandals and resulting investigations left a strong impression on Dill, and as a result he became an ardent supporter of the public ownership of the airwaves and an antagonist of radio monopolies.

Dill was first elected to the House of Representatives in 1915, but his career was cut short because of his vote against the United States’ entry into World War I. After the war, he was reelected, this time to the Senate. Tucker and Barkley, describing Dill’s ability as an astute politician, wrote, “he can smell the change of public opinion . . . a month or six weeks before anyone else in the chamber” (1932). Dill was a progressive politician, proudly associating himself with William E. Borah (R-Idaho), Robert La Follette (R-Wisconsin), Thomas Walsh (D-Montana), Burton K. Wheeler (D-Montana), and James E. Watson (R-Indiana). Dill described his own role as a leader of the Senate debate over radio legislation as “a one-eyed man among the blind.”

Dill served in the House of Representatives from 1915 to 1919, and he served as the Senator from Washington State from 1923 to 1935. On 12 July 1934, after 12 years in the Senate, he announced his resignation, stating, “The most common fault of public men is that they do not know when to quit . . . I do not want to make that same mistake” (*Tacoma Tribune*, 12 July 1934). Upon leaving the Senate, he returned to Spokane, Washington, where he had a successful law practice. He ran

for governor in 1940 and made an unsuccessful second run for the House in 1942. During his tenure in Congress, he worked primarily on radio, the Grand Coulee Dam, and hydropower legislation. This work set the foundation for a legal practice that he continued until his death. He died in Spokane, Washington, in 1978.

DONALD G. GODFREY

See also Communications Act of 1934; Public Interest, Convenience, or Necessity; United States Congress and Radio; White, Wallace H.; Wireless Acts of 1910 and 1912/Radio Acts of 1912 and 1927

Clarence Cleveland Dill. Born in Fredericktown, Ohio, 21 September 1884. Attended Ohio Wesleyan University, graduated 1907; taught high school in Dubuque, Iowa, and Spokane, Washington, 1907–10; deputy prosecuting attorney and secretary to governor of the state, Spokane, 1911–13; elected to House of Representatives, 1915; lost House seat in 1919, after which he resumed his law practice in Spokane; served 12 years, U.S. Senate, 1922–35; after leaving Senate practiced law in both Washington, D.C., and Spokane; member, Washington state Columbia Basin Commission and special assistant to the U.S. Attorney General, 1946–53. Died in Spokane, Washington, 1978.

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Disc Jockeys (DJs or Deejays)

What announcers were to listeners during the golden age of network radio—the voice or image of a program, network, or individual station—so disc jockeys (or deejays or simply DJs) became beginning in the mid-1950s. The style of the person playing records on the air determined, to a considerable extent, the identity of that radio station. Many DJs became regional stars, and a few became nationally known. By the early 21st century, however, the heyday of radio's popular DJ was long over.

Origins

A number of radio pioneers played records over the air in the medium's experimental days—Lee de Forest on several occasions, Reginald Fessenden, “Doc” Herrold in San Jose, and Westinghouse engineer Frank Conrad—in the years before World War I. So did many other known or nameless announcers (at the medium's inception, announcers were allowed to use only their initials on the air) at numerous stations during the 1920s and 1930s, though playing records over the air was frowned upon as a poor use of a scarce medium. Musicians' unions and record manufacturers also encouraged the use of live rather than “canned” music. Years later, stations located along the Mexican border aimed their formats of country music and conservative Christian programs toward American listeners; these programs were hosted by people with warm voices who seemed like comfortable neighbors and were soon widely popular.

The decline of network radio, beginning in the late 1940s, paved the way for the rise of the DJ. For now stations were forced to be free agents, not mere local conduits of national programs. Having to fend for themselves, stations turned to the easiest and least expensive way of filling time—playing recorded music.

1930 saw the introduction of one of the first “musical clock” programs (playing a set format of musical types, time notices, advertisements and news within a one-hour period), on KYW in Chicago, hosted by Ms. Halloween Martin. Certainly one of the earliest DJs and one of the first women in such a role, Martin intermixed recorded music with regular time cues and other chatter. The two-hour program moved to WBBM in 1934 when KYW relocated to Philadelphia. There it lasted for a decade, then enjoyed two more years on WCFL. The “musical clock” format remained a radio mainstay well into the 1950s.

Often cited as the first real “disc jockey,” Martin Block first hosted New York station WNEW's *Make-Believe Ballroom* in 1935. Using a format borrowed from stations on the Pacific Coast, the program was hugely successful, entering syndication

in 1940 (by 1946 it was carried on some 30 stations, making Block the most highly paid radio performer for a brief time). Another New York innovation, WNEW's listener-request-based *Milkman's Matinee* gained success as an overnight/early morning program hosted by Stan Shaw.

The term “disc jockey” seems to have come into use about 1940; it had its basis in such earlier terms as music jockey or record jockey. The “jockey” part may have been based on “riding” a record to fame (or riding gain on an individual record).

Several historians point to March 1946 and Al Jarvis at Los Angeles station KLAC as being “the first all disc-jockey station with identifiable personalities” (see Passman, 1971). Gene Norman, Dick Haynes, Alex Cooper, and Bob McLaughlin led the Los Angeles market's radio ratings into the 1950s. One popular feature was a daily evening “top 10” countdown program. With the KLAC model, the role of the DJ, as opposed to the earlier announcer, became clearer. The DJ combined the playing of music with chatter and intense station and record promotion. The DJ was also pushing his personality, not merely announcing what was being aired.

As other stations added DJs to their rosters, a National Association of Disc Jockeys, based in New York, was formed in the late 1940s. The need to cut back on station costs helped promote still wider use of DJs to perform some of their own technical work (some had broadcast engineer licenses) as well as to talk around the music, thus creating the “combo” role.

But external factors were also increasing the DJ's importance. The development of the 45 rpm record, soon used for pop singles, and the expansion of the market for portable radios, sharply increased the number of young people who listened to radio. This audience grew even faster after 1954 with the introduction of the first transistor radios and the proliferation of car radios. Thanks to these trends, by the 1950s DJs had become central to the popular music record industry—with both good (increased record sales) and bad (a bribery scandal in the late 1950s) results.

Rise of Top-40 DJ

The “golden age” of radio DJs came with the inception of Top-40 radio in the mid-1950s. Todd Storz (at KOWH in Omaha and WTIX in New Orleans) in 1953, and Gordon McLendon (at KLIF in Dallas) paved the way for countless others. They created a formula of tight formats, constant repeating of top popular songs, and flamboyant DJs. The DJs generated listener interest through promotional stunts (flag-pole sitting, treasure hunts) local events (record hops, remote broadcasts), extensive advertising, and other audience-building events. DJs also

played an increasingly central role in the marketing of popular records. The record industry and radio had forged one of the most profitable alliances in the history of electronic media—a relationship that survives into the 21st century.

Two examples of the rising DJ illustrate the trend. Alan Freed became one of the first nationally known radio DJs, first at WJW in Cleveland and by 1955 on WINS in New York. He played what was then called rhythm-and-blues or “race music”—an important forerunner to rock ‘n’ roll. Tensions existed between largely black rhythm-and-blues musicians (and the “cover music” recorded by white groups to make it acceptably “white” in sound) and rising rock ‘n’ roll, and Freed was one of the first to bridge the gap. Freed became the most important victim of the late 1950s payola scandal. On the other hand, Dick Clark’s *Bandstand* on Philadelphia’s WFIL beginning in 1952 (it became an afternoon television staple in 1957) gave strong impetus to the Top-40 approach and served as a template for radio DJs working in this format. But Clark also pushed a squeaky clean image for rock with dress codes for the dancers, as well as hosts, although he, too, would be implicated in the payola scandal in 1959.

Yet the trend toward Top-40 DJs was anything but smooth. Even KLAC in Los Angeles, the first all-DJ station, announced as early as 1958 that it would revert to mere announcers’ voices in pre-produced music formatting, arguing it would gain 13 percent more music by not using DJs. More music (and commercials) would result, with less focus on personality. The change would also provide for greater management control over the music played. A few years later, programmer Bill Drake would all but remove the DJ from the on-air mix at KHJ by imposing major strictures on non-music elements. DJs quickly dropped from high profile personalities to little more than record “liner note” readers at many stations. In the industry parlance of the time, they had been “Draked.”

Perhaps the highlight of DJ excess—at least in the public eye—were two national DJ conventions hosted by Todd Stortz. The first, in Kansas City in 1958, was a relatively staid affair. Not so the second and much bigger one (with about 2,500 attendees) in Miami Beach in 1959 that brought considerable bad press—“booze, broads, and bribes” read the newspaper headlines. The seamy underside of popular music radio was out there for all to see. What was happening, of course, was the public revelation of “payola” (record makers or producers paying DJs to play specific records), which had long been a part of the music industry. In part created by independent record makers trying to break into markets largely controlled by major distributors, the payola scandal became headline news at the end of the 1950s. Nor was the scandal limited to big cities: to the record makers, “every DJ was important in his own town.” The DJs tried to respond with the formation of a National Disc Jockey Association in Milwaukee in mid-1959. At its first convention in Minneapolis the NDJA developed a

code of ethics to show listeners that the business was trying to regulate itself.

In 1965 “Boss Radio” was introduced on KHJ in Los Angeles by Bill Drake and Gene Chenault. This newest twist to Top 40 involved “bigger” everything: huge contests and promotions, greatest events, hottest play lists (super-targeted and narrowed), and the coolest DJs (Ron Jacobs, Robert W. Morgan, The Real Don Steele), who always said just the “right” thing to enhance their larger-than-life images. After its success in Los Angeles, Drake and Chenault implemented the “Boss” approach at other RKO General stations around the country and influenced the sound of Top-40 radio personalities from then on.

Format and DJ Variety

A major change in the presentation style of contemporary music radio DJs occurred in 1966 with the introduction at KMPX-FM in San Francisco of commercial Underground Radio. A year later, Tom (“Big Daddy”) Donahue, after tuning in the eclectic programming of all night radio deejay Larry Miller on the little known KMPX, decided to execute his plan for commercial underground radio at that same station. He is regarded by many as the father of that format. Deejays at FM stations employing this sound (characterized by long album cuts and counterculture ruminations) assumed personas that were in stark contrast to their rock ‘n’ roll AM radio counterparts. Underground DJs did not scream and shout at their listeners; rather, they spoke softly and conveyed a “naturalness” uncommon for programming targeted at the under thirty-year-old listeners. Furthermore, the format made room for more female DJs, something in rare supply on the airwaves up to this time. Underground radio was ultimately co-opted in the early 1970s by the corporations that owned them. Management imposed tighter format criteria and sought to eliminate the rambling, sometimes incoherent, monologues and diatribes for which DJs using this format were famous.

Meanwhile, Beautiful Music stations—initially AM and ultimately FM stereo (mostly automated) outlets—fostered the “deep” voice announcer style that was felt to resonate with their mostly lush instrumental music playlists and mature and temperate image. As with other formats of the period, but especially this format, women announcers were unwelcome as their voices were perceived as too high. In the 1970s and later, when the format adjusted its image (renaming itself Easy Listening) to appeal to a more youthful audience, styles of announcing became less voice-centric and stilted and somewhat more natural and conversational.

At the same time, the hyper-specialization that occurred in radio programming in the 1970s and 1980s inspired a number of variations in DJ styles. Foremost among them was the brazen, the bold, and the brash as exemplified by the on-air per-

performances of morning DJs throughout the country who emulated the scatological rants of Don Imus and Howard Stern and who worked to create zany “zoo”-like atmospheres, high on talk and offering less music—a format highly popular with some audiences.

Decline

Many once-popular DJs, such as Dick Biondi, are now heard on “golden oldie” stations playing the same music for the same listeners—both now decades older. Because of the migration of music programming to the FM band in the 1980s, talk became the standard fare at most AM stations and in many ways its savior. Despite the harsh criticism leveled against right-wing broadcasters such as Rush Limbaugh and G. Gordon Liddy, such figures are in great part responsible for AM’s continued survival. But these are, of course, political commentators rather than true DJs.

By 2000 many industry observers sensed a growing dearth of future opportunities for DJs in radio. This was the result of many factors, chief among them being the greater use of satellite syndication (and thus a need to separately program each local market), ever-tighter playlist standardization, music format fragmentation, and ownership consolidation with its usual resulting lay-offs of personnel. The increasing presence of “voice tracking” and “cyber jocking” (the use of a few DJs in many different markets thanks to pre-recording and re-use) is, among other things, killing off the role of smaller markets as radio training grounds for a new generation of DJs.

All of this has led to more of a coast-to-coast sameness in what remains of radio’s DJ sound—what might be termed the “malling” (or mauling) of assembly-line radio. Indeed for many formats, including those of classical or jazz music, people can more readily listen to CDs or tapes (or, increasingly, the internet) for all the luck they are likely to have in finding their favorite music on the air. And this lack of offering special and interesting radio personalities, combined with insufficient musical variety, may prove fatal determinants of radio’s future as a venue for music.

So the story of the radio DJ may have come full circle—from invention in the late 1930s and early 1940s, to the glory days of the 1950s and 1960s high personality DJ, to a slow decline in the decades since then, to the “plain vanilla” sound

of much of music radio today. Radio is once again the home for a more amorphous radio voice, not unlike those early (and unknown) announcers.

MICHAEL C. KEITH AND CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Adult Contemporary Format; Album-Oriented Rock Format; American Top-40; Automation; Biondi, Dick; Block, Martin; British Disk Jockeys; Clark, Dick; Classic Rock Format; Contemporary Hit Radio Format/Top 40; Dees, Rick; Donahue, Tom; Drake, Bill; Drew, Paul; Dr. Demento; Dunbar, Jim; Everett, Kenny; Female Radio Personalities and Disk Jockeys; Freed, Alan; Freed, Paul; Gabel, Martin; Herrold, Charles; Hulbert, Maurice “Hot Rod”; Imus, Don; Joyner, Tom; Kasem, Casey; Morrow, “Cousin Bruce”; Murray the K; Murray, Lyn; Music; Oldies Format; Payola; Recordings and the Radio Industry; Rock and Roll Format; Shaw, Allen; Shepherd, Jean; Shock Jocks; Stern, Howard; Talk Radio; Tracht, Doug “Greaseman”; Transistor Radios; Urban Contemporary Format; Williams, Bruce; Williams, Jerry; Williams, Nat D.; Wolfman Jack; Wright, Early

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Disney. *See* Radio Disney

Documentary Programs on U.S. Radio

Documentary programs did not play a large role in the history of American radio broadcasting. For three decades from the late 1920s, typically only one or two hours of documentary programs were presented on the national networks during the evening hours. In the 1930s and 1940s there were two to three hours of documentaries each week during the daytime as well, most of them produced and/or presented in association with educational institutions and intended for students listening in schools. By the late 1940s there were also several hours of documentary and other factual dramas on weekends, especially on Sunday afternoons (a time period that later would become the “intellectual ghetto” for television).

The documentary programs that were presented, although small in number, often were inventive in their use of voices, music, and sound effects: they created great prestige for the networks and helped stations satisfy requirements for public service programming. Some received much critical acclaim and are still remembered as the pinnacle of radio writing and production.

“Drama documentaries” broadcast during World War II were among the most exciting and accomplished examples of the art of radio and are still studied and enjoyed by students of radio history. Many American documentaries were produced at this time dealing with U.S. history and patriotism. These programs told war stories about America’s fighting men and about its allies—especially the British—or encouraged civilians to conserve resources and support the war effort (and reduce inflation), especially by buying savings bonds. The forms and techniques of such documentaries, combined with the traditions of the film documentary, were precursors to the television documentaries that began in the 1950s.

Origins

The earliest American radio dramas included documentary-type programs such as *Biblical Dramas* and *Great Moments in History*, both on NBC during the season of 1927–28. For several seasons following, at least one radio series presented historical stories or biographies in a dramatic form.

In 1931 the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) began *American School of the Air*, which was intended for students. Although this was more specifically an “educational program,” it did have documentary elements—and an eavesdropping audience of adults listening at home. The landmark program ran for nearly two decades.

On 6 March 1931, *The March of Time* began airing on CBS and was carried by 20 of the approximately 80 CBS affiliates. Each program dramatized several important news stories. Initially sponsored *Time* magazine, *The March of Time* had been

developed by Fred Smith, who earlier had dramatized news at WLW-Cincinnati and for syndication. Although the news stories were “re-created”—actors portrayed the characters of important events—this was the first important documentary program on radio. Under various sponsors, *The March of Time* was broadcast for 13 seasons and was partly responsible for Time, Inc. developing a monthly newsreel. By the late 1930s *The March of Time* on film had evolved from a collection of several short reports—the format of the typical newsreel at the time—to a documentary on a single topic. At the end of the 1930s the radio program was off the air for two seasons, but it returned during World War II, and increasingly it made use of the actual persons featured in the news stories.

During the 1930s and World War II, the high cost of using telephone lines for the transmission of remote stories and the lack of portable, high-quality recording equipment that allowed for easy editing made studio re-creation of events easier and less expensive than coverage of the actual event.

In 1936, to create a better image for itself, the DuPont chemical company began sponsorship of *Cavalcade of America*. A broadcast of 2 September 1936 told “the story of rayon,” which was said to “rank with the automobile and radio in its speed of development and in the way it has opened a wide new field of employment.” The program dramatized events in American history, although it carefully avoided any mention of gunpowder or dynamite, which were also manufactured by the company. Commercials always spoke of the progress and benefits of chemistry. This program introduced many young listeners to American history; it continued for nearly two decades until the end of most network dramatic programs.

Also in 1936, CBS introduced *We The People*. This program dramatized stories of generally well-known people, using music and a narrator, and was said to be based on actual documents.

In the late 1930s some factual programs were produced with or by the U.S. Office of Education, the Smithsonian Institution, the Library of Congress, the Rockefeller Foundation, and a number of universities. Some, such as *The Ballad Hunter*, produced by John Lomax, about folklore and folk songs, used recordings made on location. Alan Lomax, John’s son, also produced a 1941 program with the Library of Congress about people displaced by the Tennessee Valley Authority. Alan Lomax would eventually collect thousands of hours of sound and film recordings, and later develop television documentary series, about folklore.

William Lewis, as CBS vice president of programming, had been given carte blanche by the network for experimental dramas; he assembled the group that created Columbia

Workshop. From 1936 until 1941, Columbia Workshop produced experimental dramas and labeled some of these programs “documentaries,” especially when they dealt with social problems and issues. In February 1939, *Words Without Music* presented “They Fly Through the Air with the Greatest of Ease,” written and directed by Norman Corwin: the program described airmen bombing homes and then strafing the people who fled them. Accompanied by narration, dialogue, and sound effects, the story of the pilots involved their completing their missions of destruction but then being themselves shot down. A pilot describes the sight as one of the bombs hits its target: “Gee, that’s fascinating! What a spread! Looks just like a budding rose unfolding!” Although it was not noted during the radio program, the speaker was Vittorio Mussolini, a pilot and the son of Il Duce, the Italian dictator. But Corwin did make this clear in his introduction to the published version of the radio play: “One group of horsemen gave the impression of a budding rose unfolding, as the bombs fell in their midst and blew them up. It was exceptionally good fun.” —Vittorio Mussolini. (The younger Mussolini had written his impressions of dropping bombs on Ethiopian cavalry and watching the horses and riders as they were blown to bits.)

The program excoriated “all aviators who have bombed civilian populations and machine-gunned refugees.” While the U.S. was still neutral, and public opinion was evenly divided on the coming war in Europe, CBS was brave not to censor this program or other similar dramas that were based on fact. “They Fly Through the Air with the Greatest of Ease” received an Ohio State Institute for Education by Radio award in May 1939, as the program “best demonstrating the cultural, artistic, and social uses of radio.” It was a great boost for Corwin’s career, and it was the first of his many dramatized documentaries about the events leading up to World War II and the war itself.

Lewis now told Corwin that he wanted a new series that would build pride among Americans and promote self-awareness of the American heritage. The result was the series *Pursuit of Happiness*, which CBS publicity described as “dedicated to the brighter side of the American scene,” bringing us “reminders that today, with thankfulness and humility, we Americans still enjoy our constitutional rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” Begun in October 1939, the program presented a spectrum of Americana. It was not an immediate success. But the third program, “Ballad for Americans,” a musical written by Earl Robinson and John Latouche and sung by Paul Robeson, received much critical praise. By the time the series ended in May 1940—although there had been many arguments along the way—Corwin had successfully explored his idea of presenting “American sound patterns and phenomena.” This series would set the pattern for Corwin’s and many other CBS programs throughout the coming time of war.

World War II

On 15 December 1941, all four networks presented the Corwin production “We Hold These Truths,” honoring the 150th anniversary of the Bill of Rights: it presented short dramatized stories illustrating the importance of, and conflicts inherent in, each of the rights. Although the program had been in preparation for several months, its broadcast just one week after the attack on Pearl Harbor gave it special emotional appeal. In 1942 Corwin produced a series called *An American in England*, which sought to show how our allies lived, worked, and fought. As previous documentaries had been, these programs were mostly studio-produced dramatizations, but this series distilled research on actual people.

During World War II, the major emphasis of the networks was on reporting the news of the war. Most of that reporting was by newscasters in studios, mainly in New York. There was, of course, much news from London, and some from Asia, transmitted via shortwave—especially at the time of very big stories such as the June 1944 D-Day invasion. The vast majority of such reporting was broadcast live. Recordings were used only sparingly because available equipment was heavy, fragile, unreliable, and required too much battery power for use over long periods.

During the seasons of 1942–43 to 1944–45, radio saw a three-fold increase in the amount of documentary programming. Virtually all of the new programs were war related, often produced with the Office of War Information, and included salutes of each branch of the armed services. Because of a special wartime excess profits tax, many companies preferred to buy sponsorship of programs with money that would otherwise go for taxes, and some companies were willing to pay for documentary and information programs that in the past would have had to be self-sustaining. This additional funding meant that broadcasters could produce more elaborate and expensive documentaries.

At the end of the war in Europe, all networks again carried a Corwin-produced dramatized documentary called “On A Note of Triumph.” The program was well received and was subsequently released as a phonograph album. On that same night of 8 May 1945, however, the real future of documentary was revealed—although there seems to be no evidence that this change was understood at the time. An NBC program, arranged primarily by Prof. Garnet Garrison of Wayne State University in Detroit, presented a history of the war through phonograph recordings of the most important speeches and events of the war. There was a narrator as well as musical bridges, and some speeches had to be re-created because recordings were not available. This was the first use (on such a scale and for such an important occasion) of a substantial compilation of the actual voices and sounds recorded over a period of years.

Postwar Developments

In June 1946, Norman Corwin left New York for a four-month trip around the world “in a search for common ties and yearnings for world unity.” He returned with hundreds of hours of interviews recorded on magnetic wire and acetate discs. By this time plastic magnetic audio tape, to which all of the material was transferred, made editing much easier. The twelve programs produced from this material aired on CBS from 14 January to 1 April 1947 under the series title *One World Flight*.

Although the word “documentary” was now regularly used to describe programs (CBS had formed a documentary unit in 1946), studio re-creation was still the preferred means of presenting non-fiction material. Robert Lewis Shayon created *CBS Is There*, which began 7 July 1947: it dramatized historical events as if they had been covered by CBS correspondents at the time that they happened. For example, on 7 December of that first season, the program was “The Exile of Napoleon,” with CBS reporters “covering” the events that marked “the end of the Napoleonic era.” The next season the title was changed to *You Are There*, and the program continued on radio until 1950. It later had two runs on CBS television narrated by Walter Cronkite.

Many stations began using audio tape as an aid in gathering news and covering actualities. Yet it was another medium, the phonograph record, that helped show the way to documentary based on audio compilation of bits of recorded sound. In 1948 Fred W. Friendly and Edward R. Murrow compiled a history of the 20th century to that time; marketed as “I Can Hear It Now”, it was based on fragments from newsreel sound tracks and on radio recordings. But many items were also re-created, or edited drastically for a more dramatic effect. The success of the record (first released on 78 rpm records, and then re-released in the new LP format), and the several that followed, showed that there was a viable market for audio compilation history.

Working again with Friendly as producer, Murrow made the next significant breakthrough in documentary with his reporting of the 1950 election. “A Report to the Nation” was broadcast just 48 hours after election day; it was a compilation of the voices and sounds of the campaign—speeches, commercials, song, rallies, winners’ declarations, and losers’ laments. Within a few weeks this new format became the basis of a weekly program called *Hear It Now*, which the announcer introduced “as a document for ear.” A segment on 9 February 1951 called “Biography of a Pint of Blood” was not only one of the most dramatic of the series but also showed how audiotape recording would be used in future documentaries. With Murrow narrating, the program offered listeners the story (in interviews, reportage, and the sounds of the events) of one pint of blood—its being donated in the U.S., its transportation to the war front in Korea, and its use in saving a wounded soldier.

The Murrow commentary is spare, limited mostly to essentials needed for transition. Now the real reporter was the tape recorder gathering reality sound, to which narration as needed could be added. But with the decline of radio network audiences because of television competition, in April 1951 CBS cut radio advertising rates for the first time ever. The future of broadcast documentary programming, combining with the traditions of the film documentary, was now on television. *Hear It Now* lasted only that first season; it returned to television in the fall as *See It Now*.

Documentary After 1950

During the next half century there were many fine radio and audio documentary programs and series. But none would attract the audience, achieve the critical praise, or reach such large audiences as their counterparts on television.

For four seasons beginning in 1956, NBC Radio presented *Biography in Sound*; often it was the story of a performer and was based on radio, phonograph record, and movie sound clips, as well as recorded interviews with colleagues and historians. Also in 1956 NBC produced 33 half-hour summaries of the history of radio called *Recollections at 30*. Often the phonograph records of radio performers had to be substituted for actual recordings of the radio programs because none could be found—an unfortunate result of the networks’ earlier ban on using recordings of programs or of their carelessness: many of the recordings that were made were either lost or destroyed.

From the middle 1950s, most radio stations developed new music formats; there was little radio documentary. Sometimes audio-only reporting was used, especially if it was much less expensive and more convenient than bulky and expensive film equipment. In 1965 there were two notable series about poverty in America. *This Little Light* was a 10-program series produced in Mississippi by Chris Koch and Dale Minor for Pacifica Radio. Westinghouse Broadcasting also produced for the stations it owned a series on poverty called *Outskirts of Hope*.

CBS radio sent its own reporters to cover the Vietnam war, but from the beginning news president Fred Friendly insisted that they also provide TV coverage. ABC produced a weekly radio documentary about the Vietnam War for several years. NBC and CBS produced a very few radio documentaries each year, usually including one that was a summary of news for that year. These documentaries, as well as similar collections from Associate Press Radio, were often also made available as phonograph albums.

Since the 1970s, even smaller and more portable audio-recording equipment has made advances in the documentary art possible, but there are now few stations where radio documentaries can still be heard. Currently, National Public Radio in the U.S., the CBC in Canada and the BBC in Britain each typically broadcast several hours of documentaries each week. Producer

David Isay has won numerous awards for his sound documentaries, many of which have aired on National Public Radio.

In December 2000 ABC News produced what it called the first "Webumentary," a biography and recollection of John Lennon on the 20th anniversary of his death.

LAWRENCE W. LICHTY

See also Cavalcade of America; Corwin, Norman; Friendly, Fred W.; Hear it Now; Isay, David; Lewis, William B.; March of Time; Recreations of Events

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Dolby Noise Reduction

Reducing Unwanted Noise in Broadcasts and Recording

Dolby Noise Reduction (NR) makes audio signals clearer by reducing noise in the signal. There are a number of forms of Dolby NR, but in its simplest form, as applied in Dolby B NR, high-frequency hiss is reduced by about 10 dB using a process called *companding*: on low-level signals, the high frequencies are boosted during recording (or transmission) and then cut by a correspondingly appropriate amount during playback (or reception). Other noise reduction techniques have been applied with Dolby A, C, SR, and S.

Origins

Ray Dolby founded Dolby Laboratories in London in 1965. Dolby's career began in high school when he worked for Ampex Corporation in Redwood City, California. While still in college he worked with a team of Ampex engineers to invent the first practical video tape recorder, which was introduced to the broadcast industry in 1956 (Dolby was largely responsible for the machine's electronics). Dolby graduated from Stanford University in 1957 and received his Ph.D. in physics from Cambridge University in 1961. Dolby Laboratories moved its headquarters to San Francisco in 1976.

The first commercial product from the company was Dolby A, a noise reduction system using audio compression and expansion to reduce background hiss without the discernible

side effects of conventional wide-band compressors. More than any other feature, the system's freedom from side effects is what differentiated Dolby NR from previous attempts at audio noise reduction and ultimately helped earn its reputation. Also incorporated in this new noise reduction system was the ability to treat only soft signals, leaving unprocessed the loud signals that naturally mask noise.

A consumer version of the noise reduction system, called Dolby B, was released in 1968. Instead of dividing the signal into fixed multiple bands (as did Dolby A), Dolby B NR used a single, less-costly sliding band of compression that reduced noise in the higher frequency hiss region where most of the noise of consumer tape recording occurs. But the system needs the reference levels to be precisely set. Dolby NR is perhaps best known for its use with magnetic tape. The first product to use Dolby B was an open reel tape recorder made by KLH in 1968, but it made its biggest impact in the compact cassette format; with its inherent tape hiss problem and slow speed, cassette tape was a natural for Dolby B noise reduction.

Applications to Radio

The first experimental FM broadcasts using Dolby NR were made by WFMT in Chicago in June 1971 using the model 320

B noise reduction system. In March 1972 WQXR in New York City began full-time FM broadcasting using Dolby B.

In June 1973 it was proposed that Dolby B be joined with 25 microseconds pre-emphasis for FM broadcasting. In February 1974 this became the Dolby FM system demonstrated to the Federal Communications Commission (FCC). In June the FCC approved Dolby FM broadcasts. By August 1975 about 100 U.S. stations were broadcasting in Dolby FM. The use of Dolby FM moved outside the United States in October when the Canadian Department of Communications approved its use for broadcast.

Reducing Noise in Digital Signals

Concurrent with the development of these analog systems, Dolby Labs began research into digital audio in 1982. The primary goal was to find ways to reduce the amount of data required to transmit and store high-quality digital audio. Dolby Labs moved into the world of digital encoding schemes with AC-1, a refined form of Adaptive Delta Modulation (ADM). AC-1 was introduced in 1984, when bit rate reduction was in its infancy, and adopted the next year for use in a number of direct satellite broadcast and cable distribution systems. The Australian Broadcasting Corporation adopted it for direct broadcast satellite in its AUSSAT 1 in October 1985.

Dolby began its work in digital radio with the Digital Studio to Transmitter Line (DSTL) system, which was demonstrated for the first time in September 1991 in San Francisco at the National Association of Broadcasting's "Radio '91" conference. DSTL is a design featuring low time-delay implementation of Dolby AC-2, its second-generation digital encoding scheme using ADM. It features two high-quality channels and two auxiliary channels in the same spectrum space used for narrowband FM composite signals. Dolby DSTL was first installed in May 1992 at WWKX FM in Providence, Rhode Island.

Dolby Fax, for linking worldwide facilities with digital audio, began U.S. sales in March 1994. Dolby Fax uses Dolby AC-2 digital audio coding over two ISDN lines for high-quality transmission worldwide. In May 1994 DMX for Business began as the first direct broadcast satellite service, with Dolby AC-3 digital audio.

Dolby Surround is a matrix process that enables any stereo (two channel) medium, analog or digital, to carry four-channel audio. Encoded program material is fully compatible with mono and stereo playback, and listeners with playback systems incorporating Dolby Surround Pro Logic decoding receive four-channel surround sound. In February 1995 the BBC broadcast the first radio production in Dolby surround, "Bomber," on BBC Radio 4, and "Batman," "The Adventures of Superman," and "The Amazing Spiderman" on BBC Radio 1. Italy's Radio 101 has used Dolby Surround for all its

evening entertainment programming. In March 1995 "West Coast Live" became the first U.S. radio show to be regularly broadcast in Dolby surround. In January 1997 the first Dolby Surround Pro Logic system for in-car use was launched at the Detroit Motor Show.

Dolby moved into the world of personal computer (PC) Surround Sound in April 1996 when Dolby and Microsoft signed a letter of intent to jointly develop PC surround technologies and specifications supporting the use of Dolby Digital AC-3 and Dolby Surround Pro Logic. Dolby Digital (sometimes known as AC-3 for the technology on which it is based) is a perceptual coding for consumer applications that enables storing and transmitting between one and 5.1 audio channels at a low data rate. Dolby Digital makes it possible to store five audio channels using less data than is needed to store just one channel on a compact disc. This was followed by Dolby Net, a low-bit-rate version of Dolby Digital introduced for low-bandwidth applications such as real time streaming internet audio, in November 1996.

In January 1997 Virtual Dolby Surround and Virtual Dolby Digital were introduced at the huge Consumer Electronics Show in Las Vegas. They enable surround sound effects from desktop computers with just two speakers. In October 1999 real time multichannel audio was streamed successfully over the internet using 5.1-channel Dolby Digital.

In 1999 Dolby Laboratories introduced Dolby E, a professional multichannel audio coding technology that allows a single AES/EBU (digital audio) pair to carry up to eight channels of audio, as well as digital metadata, through broadcast facilities. It is a convenient, simple, cost-effective conversion of two-channel broadcast facilities to multichannel audio.

In the world of radio, Dolby Lab's impact has been most felt with Dolby NR, as well as several other programs such as Dolby Surround, DSTL, Dolby Digital, Dolby Fax, and Dolby E. Although no one can predict the future of radio and the interaction with new technologies, given its track record, Dolby Labs will likely play a role in radio's future—on the airwaves, on the internet, or wherever it goes in the new millennium.

BRAD MCCOY

See also Audio Processing; Audiotape; Digital Recording; High Fidelity; Stereo

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Donahue, Tom 1928–1975

U.S. Disc Jockey and Radio Station Executive

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, Tom Donahue helped to revolutionize radio broadcasting in the United States. He is regarded as the “Godfather,” if not the “father,” of “free-form” rock and roll radio. In 1967 at KMPX-FM in San Francisco, he introduced the commercial underground radio format, which eventually became Progressive and later Album-Oriented Rock radio. Known as “Big Daddy,” Donahue was an imposing figure. He weighed over 350 pounds; sported a thick, dark beard; and spoke with a deep bass voice. He began his radio programs with the line, “I’m here to clean up your face and mess up your mind.”

Donahue got his first disc jockey job in 1949, at age 21, at WTIP in Charleston, West Virginia. He moved to radio stations in Maryland and Pennsylvania and eventually was hired in 1951 at WIBG in Philadelphia, where, in addition to the early 1950s popular tunes commonly heard on the air, he played rhythm and blues and rock and roll music.

In 1961 he moved to San Francisco, becoming a disc jockey at KYA, which had a Top 40 musical format. Working with music programmer Bill Drake, Donahue became a “kingpin” disc jockey at the station after helping to make it one of the top-rated operations in its market. The success of Donahue and the station was attributed in part to the fact that he and other disc jockeys heavily involved themselves with the music they played, often holding meetings to discuss the merits of records heard on the air. This distinguished the KYA disc jockeys from others in the business, who saw their jobs as simply springboards to careers in television or movies and who cared little about Top 40 music.

Donahue’s interests grew beyond his air shift and music programming jobs. Together with his partner, fellow KYA radio disc jockey Bobby Mitchell, he operated a small record label, Autumn Records. He employed a 19-year-old disc jockey, Sylvester Stewart (Sly Stone), at soul music station

KDIA to supervise the production of records by artists Bobby Freeman, the Beau Brummels, and The Great Society, with lead singer Grace Slick.

In the spring of 1965 Donahue left KYA to devote more time to his entrepreneurial interests. He operated a radio consultant service and published a music tipsheet, *Tempo*, which kept track of record sales. He also owned racehorses and produced music concerts, including a 1966 performance by the Beatles at Candlestick Park.

By the mid 1960s the Vietnam War and the civil rights movement began to dominate the news, and attitudes of young people on those issues, as well as on sex, drugs, and fashion, began to change. In response, Donahue and Mitchell opened Mother’s, San Francisco’s first psychedelic nightclub, which featured bands such as The Byrds and Lovin’ Spoonful.

Although Donahue recognized that Top 40 music had been dominated by rock and roll in the 1950s and had developed into a formidable economic industry, he believed it had now stagnated, failing to keep pace with changing tastes in American popular culture. For example, in order to play music by an emerging popular group, The Doors, stations often shortened the 6:50 “Light My Fire” to three minutes, and they virtually ignored “The End,” which ran 11:35. To be sure, there were in the mid- to late-1960s stations that experimented by playing longer musical pieces; the Pacifica Foundation’s WBAI-FM in New York City and Massachusetts Institute of Technology’s WTBS in Cambridge were two such stations. In 1966 an alternative format was presented on commercial station WOR-FM in New York City. However, the “underground” radio format was extremely rare.

Donahue longed to return to radio to program a station reflecting America’s burgeoning new musical and artistic landscape. He envisioned a “free-form” format, where disc jockeys were not constrained to be “boss jocks,” constantly upbeat

and energetic as they chatted in between two-minute pop songs with silly lyrics and commercials for products promising to control dandruff and acne.

In the spring of 1967, Donahue began contacting FM stations, hoping he could convince one to try the proposed format. He felt it was possible, because in the 1960s FM radio still had small audiences and formats mostly of classical or beautiful music, or else they were simulcasts of an AM station's signal. He discovered KMPX in San Francisco, a poor station that made ends meet by selling airtime to anyone who had money to pay for it. Most of the time the station provided foreign language programming.

Donahue convinced the station's owners to let him on the air as a disc jockey and music programmer, and on 7 April 1967 he went to work with the format he would later call "freak freely" radio. There would be no playing of pop singles. Instead, he encouraged the station's disk jockeys to play music from a variety of formats, ranging from rock to blues, to folk, to folk rock. Cuts could be as long as the disc jockey desired, and talk by the announcers was conversational and unhurried. There would be no announcing of the current time and temperature. And there would be no musical jingles heard, as was the case on Top 40 stations.

KMPX's commercial "underground rock" became an instant success in the San Francisco area. In June of 1967 Chinese language programming was dropped completely, and the "underground radio" format was extended to 24 hours a day. Donahue was soon invited to employ the same format at Los Angeles FM station KPPC.

In November of 1967 Donahue was interviewed in the second issue of the magazine *Rolling Stone*, where he touted the free-form format and derided Top 40 music as "dead, and its rotting corpse is stinking up the airways." Though Donahue overstated his case against AM radio, the changes he brought to the radio music business did force Top 40 stations to rethink their programming, and in time they added album-oriented groups to their programming lists.

In March of 1968 Donahue and his air staff had a falling out with KMPX management, and they went on strike. They moved to San Francisco station KSAN, where Donahue was hired as program director and later became vice president and

general manager. In May of 1972 he participated in a radio special honoring the fifth anniversary of free-form music radio. He began the program with Chinese music, to represent the foreign language show his disc jockeys replaced.

In the early 1970s the popularity of the free-form radio approach waned at commercial stations as managers began to reestablish stricter control over disc jockeys and their playlists.

Donahue was still working as KSAN general manager when he died of a heart attack on 28 April 1975. He was inducted posthumously into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1996.

ROBERT C. FORDAN

See also Album-Oriented Rock Format; Consultants; Free Form Format; Underground Radio

Tom Donahue. Born in 1928. Disc jockey, WTIP, Charleston, South Carolina, WIBG, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and KYA, KMPX, and KSAN, San Francisco, California. Posthumously inducted into Rock and Roll Hall of Fame, 1996. Died in San Francisco, 28 April 1975.

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Don Lee Broadcasting System

The California-based Don Lee network was one of the longer lasting and more influential of the regional radio networks that first appeared in the 1930s. Before its demise in 1950, the network also pioneered local television broadcasting.

Origins

In 1926 Don Lee (a Los Angeles resident whose wealth had been built on his exclusive distribution rights for Cadillac automobiles in California) purchased KFRC in San Francisco. In 1927 he acquired KHJ in Los Angeles to promote auto sales. He then joined the McClatchy radio stations in 1928 and formed a western network that became affiliated with the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS).

Don Lee died in 1934, and his son Thomas took over what continued to be known as the Don Lee Broadcasting System. Thomas Lee broke with McClatchy, and in 1936 signed with the Mutual network. Through the remainder of the 1930s and during the 1940s, the Don Lee Broadcasting System served as Mutual's West Coast nerve center. Operations were centered at KHJ in Los Angeles, with KFRC in San Francisco and KGB in San Diego. By the late 1940s the Don Lee Broadcasting System also controlled 17 other stations in smaller California towns. KALE in Portland, Oregon, anchored that state's ten owned-and-operated stations located in smaller Oregon towns. KVI in Seattle and KNEW in Spokane led Washington's nine stations. The properties of the Don Lee Broadcasting System also included three stations in Idaho; KATO in Reno, Nevada; KOOL in Phoenix, Arizona; KCNA in Tucson, Arizona; and KHON in Honolulu, Hawaii.

Pioneering TV

For all its regional radio success, the Don Lee Broadcasting System's truly pioneering work was in television broadcasting. Although RCA is usually given most of the credit for pioneering American television, the Don Lee Broadcasting System deserves at least equal billing. Its radio profits funded television experiments that began as a simple television laboratory in 1930. On 14 November 1930, auto-dealer-turned-broadcaster Don Lee hired Philo Farnsworth protégé Harry Lubcke as his director of television. By 10 May 1931 Lubcke and his staff had built television equipment of sufficient quality to convince the Federal Radio Commission to give the Don Lee Broadcasting System permission to go on the air experimentally. On the last day of 1931, its experimental TV station W6XAO went on the air on a UHF frequency for one hour per day, a schedule maintained through the 1930s.

With a transmitter and studios located in the Lee building's second floor in downtown Los Angeles, TV broadcasting experiments commenced on a slow, steady basis through the 1930s. Highlights included 1933 news footage of a Southern California earthquake as well as USC football games. In October 1937 the Don Lee Broadcasting System presented a gala high-profile premiere, broadcasting both on radio and television the opening of the 27th annual Los Angeles Motor Car Dealers' Automobile Show from the Pan Pacific Auditorium. (This event represented for Don Lee Broadcasting System the equivalent of the more fabled 1939 RCA demonstration at the World's Fair.) Every year the Don Lee Broadcasting System television station broadcast the Pasadena Tournament of Roses Parade, and in 1940 moved its transmitter to the top of Mount Lee, above the fabled "Hollywood" sign. The Don Lee company was apparently on the verge of initiating mass market TV broadcasting—in Hollywood's back yard—but the bombing of Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941 put further experimentation on hold. Throughout World War II, the Don Lee Broadcasting System concentrated on radio.

Decline

After the war, Thomas Lee continued to concentrate on his highly profitable radio business and thus did not push to convert experimental W6XAO into formally licensed KTSL-TV (KTSL stood for "Thomas S. Lee") until May 1948. This came after Lee opened a \$2.5 million radio and television complex at Hollywood and Vine with 18 studios covering 112,000 square feet, for television, AM, and FM broadcasting. Within the studio, Lee management sought to link radio with TV programming, not convinced that television would prove to be a stand-alone medium. Thomas Lee reasoned that simulcasting radio and TV programs would be the wave of the future. The Don Lee Broadcasting System's most famous show, *Queen for a Day*, was an example of this thinking.

Although radio broadcasts of *Queen for a Day* began on 29 April 1945, it would be two years before Lee gave the go-ahead to simulcast the program on the still-experimental TV station W6XAO. But when the simulcast finally occurred, its success led Lee to commit to television. Broadcasting live from a Hollywood theater-restaurant called the Moulin Rouge, host Jack Bailey interviewed four or five women who poured out tales of woe. The one receiving the most audience applause became "Queen for a Day" and was showered with gifts, her problems momentarily solved, at least in a material sense. James Cagney's sister Jeanne offered fashion shows in breaks between sob stories. *Queen for a Day* became a Los Angeles sensation through the early 1950s, and later ran on the

National Broadcasting Company (NBC) and American Broadcasting Company (ABC) networks.

Thomas Lee's death on 13 January 1950 was the beginning of the end of the Don Lee Broadcasting System. (He had been in poor health for years and either fell or jumped from the 12th floor of his broadcasting center.) Operations continued under long-time Vice President Lewis Allen Weiss until May, when, under the terms of Lee's will, the broadcast properties were put up for sale. In November, General Tire and Rubber Company's bid of \$12.3 million was accepted. General Tire folded the Don Lee Broadcasting System into its broadcast empire, which then included the Mutual radio network, the Yankee radio network, and TV/radio station WOR of New York. By the end of the 1950s, nothing remained of the previ-

ous Don Lee Broadcasting System as a regional network or a group of influential radio stations.

DOUGLAS GOMERY AND CHUCK HOWELL

See also Mutual Broadcasting System

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Dr. Demento 1941–

U.S. Radio Show Host

Since 1971 Dr. Demento has been the host of a weekly program of novelty songs and comedy skits, syndicated to more than 100 stations across the United States. Mixing the works of such legends as Spike Jones, Tom Lehrer, Monty Python, Stan Freberg, and Frank Zappa with contemporary comedians, comedy troupes, and musicians, the show has filled a unique niche in contemporary radio programming.

Barret Hansen, the future Dr. Demento, was born in Minneapolis in 1941. From his early years, it was clear that music would be a focus in his life. Prompted by his father, an amateur pianist, Hansen began taking piano lessons at the age of six. He also started a record collection, purchased mostly from a local thrift shop offering thousands of old 78-rpm disks.

The spread of rock and roll in the 1950s captivated Hansen, and he was particularly interested in rock's roots in rhythm and blues and country. After dabbling in disc jockey work in high school, Hansen attended Reed College in Portland, Oregon, where he worked as student manager of the campus FM station and graduated in 1963 with a degree in classical music. He then moved on to UCLA, where he wrote a master's thesis in 1967 on the evolution of rhythm and blues in the 1940s and early 1950s.

After graduate school in 1968, Hansen worked in Los Angeles for Specialty Records, a rhythm and blues label, and helped release a series of classic reissues. He also began hosting radio programs. This was during the famed era (late 1960s and early 1970s) of free-form FM radio, also frequently referred to

as "progressive" or "underground" FM radio. Emerging from both coasts and a number of college radio stations, the relatively short-lived free-form era was a period of personal rather than corporate radio. Stations professed a concern with playing good music rather than salable product, and they allowed disc jockeys the freedom to construct their own playlists rather than follow a preconceived format. In 1970 Hansen made a series of guest appearances on KPPC, the legendary free-form radio station, joining a show hosted by Steven Siegal, who was later known as "The Obscene Steven Clean." Siegal coined the name "Dr. Demento" for Hansen, and the guest spots were such a success that in 1971 Los Angeles station KPPC gave Hansen his own weekly program of rock rarities. Dr. Demento expanded the playlist to include such classics as "The Purple People Eater," "Transfusion," and "The Monster Mash," and listeners quickly demanded more of such fare.

In 1972 KMET-FM in Los Angeles became the new home of *The Dr. Demento Show*. The show first captivated the local arena, becoming the most listened-to Sunday evening radio program in Los Angeles, then the nation, when it went into syndication in 1974. At this point, Dr. Demento became a well-known figure with his own unique look, including a top hat he first wore on an album cover in 1975, and a "Rare Records" t-shirt from a local collectors record store.

The Dr. Demento Show's success has been built on a foundation of both classic novelty hits and submissions from amateur artists. Of the former, Demento's resurrection of Spike



Barry Hansen, aka Dr. Demento, 24 February 2000
 Courtesy AP/Wide World Photos

Jones is a good example. Jones and his band, The City Slickers, specialized in zany melodies and lyrics, with a wide variety of unusual noises and sound effects thrown in to produce a uniquely whimsical sound. Jones met with great success on radio and in records beginning in the World War II era, producing such hits as “Der Fuehrer’s Face” and “You Always Hurt the One You Love.” However, his popularity faded by the mid-1950s, and he died in 1965. His recorded works became a cornerstone of *The Dr. Demento Show*’s playlist, and Dr. Demento referred to Jones as “the King of Dementia.” This exposure, plus the addition of a number of Jones’ classics to Dr. Demento’s various novelty collection vinyl (now CD) releases, introduced a new generation to the mad music of Spike Jones.

Although such classic recordings have continued to be a key part of the show, Dr. Demento has also received submissions of amateur works. Perhaps his most significant find through this process was famed parodist “Weird Al” Yankovic. When only in his teens and a fan of *The Dr. Demento Show*, Yankovic

mailed in a home-recorded parody. After a number of years of such submissions, Yankovic finally reached a more mainstream audience with the single “Another One Rides the Bus,” which he performed live on *The Dr. Demento Show* in 1980. Thus, *The Dr. Demento Show* helped spawn Yankovic’s enormous popularity as rock music’s best-known parodist.

Such songs as Yankovic’s parodies are the backbone of Demento’s weekly show. A typical broadcast opens with an hour of a general playlist: skits and songs from the Kids in the Hall, Tom Lehrer, Monty Python, Allan Sherman, Julie Brown, and Cheech and Chong; songs such as “They’re Coming to Take Me Away,” “Fish Heads,” and “Dead Puppies”; novelty cuts from otherwise straight rock acts such as The Police and AC/DC; and outright strange experiments, such as songs sung by Leonard Nimoy and William Shatner. The subsequent half hour is oriented around a single theme, such as songs about streaking, baseball, the internet, and so on. The remaining airtime consists of the “Funny Five,” the top five most requested songs of the week. Notably, virtually all of the

two-hour playlist comes from Dr. Demento's own record collection, built up since his days of buying records at the thrift shop.

Outside of his radio work, Dr. Demento also works on research projects, helps to compile various comedy collections, and continues to build his archival collection. He also writes on music history, penning numerous magazine articles, liner notes, and encyclopedia entries.

Dr. Demento emerged during a unique period in FM radio history, and his subsequent success owes a great deal to his love for and knowledge of all kinds of music and his ability to convey his enthusiasm to listeners. When asked what he saw as his place in radio history, Dr. Demento replied: "I try to open people's ears to lots of different kinds of music, old and new, that they might not otherwise be exposed to. I've entertained some people and opened their ears to musical discoveries, and helped the careers of some great artists."

CHRISTINE BECKER

See also *Disk Jockeys*

Dr. Demento. Born Barret Hansen in Minneapolis, Minnesota, 2 April 1941. Attended Reed College, Portland, Oregon, B.A. in classical music, 1963; University of California, Los Angeles, M.A. in music, 1967; worked as researcher for Specialty Records, 1968–71, and for Warner Bros. Records, 1972–79; hosted *The Dr. Demento Show*, KPPC, 1971–72; moved to KMET, 1972; national syndication, 1974.

Radio Series

1971–present *The Dr. Demento Show*

Publications

"Summertime Blues from Percy Faith to Alice Cooper: A History of the Summer Song," *Waxpaper* (2 June 1978)
Rhino's Cruise Through the Blues (as Barry Hansen), 2000

Recordings

Demento's Mementos, 1982; *Dr. Demento Presents the Greatest Novelty Records of All Time*, 1985; *Dr. Demento Presents the Greatest Christmas Novelty CD of All Time*, 1989; *Dr. Demento's 20th Anniversary Collection*, 1991; *Spooky Tunes and Scary Melodies*, 1994; *Dr. Demento's 25th Anniversary Collection*, 1995; *Dr. Demento's 30th Anniversary Collection*, 2000; *The Very Best of Dr. Demento*, 2001

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Drake, Bill 1938–

U.S. Radio Station Consultant

Bill Drake changed the landscape of Top 40 radio in the 1960s and 1970s. His fast-paced, forward-moving "more hits/less talk" approach to contemporary music formatting generated attractive ratings, but by 1970 had diminished the traditional influence of loquacious disc jockeys and left dozens of cookie-cutter stations that sounded alike. Drake accomplished this synthesis by compacting hit-music radio into a precise system that could be easily staffed and centrally controlled.

Disc Jockey Years

It is said that a knee injury nudged Bill Drake into radio programming. The Georgia Teacher's College student had originally

hoped that his basketball scholarship would someday net him a contract with a professional team. When that was no longer possible, Drake (who was then known by his given name, Philip Yarbrough) decided to pursue a broadcasting career. The Donaldsonville, Georgia native had started announcing while a teenager at WMGR in nearby Bainbridge. By 1957 he carried that experience to college and was hired by WWNS in Statesboro, Georgia. Four years later, Drake took to the microphone on Atlanta's WAKE. Pronounced "wake," the pioneer Top 40 music station had a manager with a penchant for rhyme; he suggested that Yarbrough go on the air as "Bill Blake on WAKE." Yarbrough countered with "Drake" (his mother's maiden name). That day, listeners to the pint-sized station (1,000 watts

during the day and 250 watts at night) heard the name that would eventually be on the lips of radio people worldwide.

Bartell Broadcasting sold WAKE in 1961. As Drake was showing promise as program director in addition to performing as a disc jockey, Bartell moved him to their San Francisco outlet, KYA. This was another traditional Top 40 music station; programming focused on disc jockeys spinning records between frequent barrages of half-minute weather jingles, chatter, commercials of sundry lengths and tempo, sound effects, and time tones. Drake quickly concluded that listeners considered most of this as noise in the way of hearing more songs. Eliminating unwanted talk could convert the station into a real people-pleaser.

Armed with notebooks containing short station promotion announcements, as well as a plotted format clock showing precisely where these (and the music) should run, Drake started streamlining KYA. All rearranging was designed to keep listeners from tuning elsewhere. He concluded that few disc jockeys conveyed sufficient personality and charisma to be preferred over music. Although endowed with a resonant "radio voice" himself, Drake used the microphone only long enough to say the minimum about a song or station promotion, being very careful never to give the music short shrift. From his example, his on-air staff got the message not to ad-lib. Contrary to his critics, however, Drake welcomed a DJ air style where a personality could be perceived, as long as it did not noticeably impede the music flow. He found few who could master his ideal combination of great voice, impeccable pacing, friendly and enthusiastic tone, and compact presence.

The Fresno Fight

KYNO owner Gene Chenault needed programming advice for his Fresno, California station. His spunky Top 40 outlet practically owned the audience, but had started getting heavy local competition during 1962. Chenault's competition was KMAK, which was tightly formatted by Ron Jacobs. By the summer of 1963, Jacobs had conquered San Bernardino with KPEN and was busy toppling Chenault's Fresno station when Drake arrived.

The resulting radio war was fought with constant format tightening, increasing amounts of hit music, exciting station promotional stunts, and continual "ante upping." Each station monitored the other and had staff enthusiastically dabbling in a fraternal radio version of industrial espionage. When KMAK, for example, offered listeners a \$1,000 prize, KYNO people would quickly counter with a \$2,000 jackpot. Marathon remote broadcasts, where fans could see their favorite radio personality attempt to transmit solo all weekend, or sweepstakes in which listeners were invited to search for a single (cleverly hidden) "lucky key" to some station treasure, were thwarted by sleeping pills mysteriously ending up in a

tired marathon disc jockey's coffee and by the strange appearance of decoy keys throughout Fresno.

Throughout the intrigue, Drake crystallized his belief that a music station should sound like it is always in motion. Every bit of announcing was positioned to scream, "This station has everything you like, and our supply is endless!" By simply blasting a short station identification jingle immediately prior to a hit song, he gave KYNO a bit more edge (by implying, "even our jingles move quickly out of the way to keep your favorite hits coming") than the competition. When the smoke cleared, Chenault's better-funded KYNO nosed past its rival. Drake had defeated Jacobs, but their Fresno clash set the stage for the rise of new radio formatting.

Formation of Drake-Chenault

KYNO's recaptured dominance gave Chenault the idea of exploring possibilities beyond Fresno. He envisioned a firm from which he could market radio-program doctoring to numerous ailing stations with Drake as the surgeon. The two associates had already achieved victories at KYNO and at the Stockton facility owned by Chenault's acquaintances. By 1964 the partners were ready for their Drake-Chenault Enterprises (also known as American Independent Radio and Drake-Chenault Productions) to spread the small-city successes into larger media markets. San Diego would serve as their first proving ground.

Station KGB offered the new consulting firm an opportunity to establish a miracle-worker reputation. The San Diego AM station would have to fight its way past two relatively sophisticated Top 40 adversaries. Drake's installation of his tight, uncluttered, more-music format soon made the competition sound outdated. The tremendous resulting KGB audience jump proved to be Drake-Chenault's ticket to what would be its most memorable radio foray.

For group-owner RKO-General was searching for ways to shore up its radio division. Although WOR (New York) stayed nicely afloat, other RKO outlets required continuous bailing out. Chief among the problems was KHJ (Los Angeles), a 5,000-watt AM station that seemed hopelessly bypassed in the ratings. Drake-Chenault signed a consulting agreement in 1965 for what they saw as a make-or-break debut. Radio managers would be monitoring their Los Angeles efforts closely as few felt the market needed another rock and roll station. Competitors included KFWB "Color Radio Channel 98," and the 50-kilowatt KRLA. Both used talkative air personalities known by most southern California listeners.

Drake hoped to use a KHJ win as a door into dozens of wounded stations, but he felt that three active assignments (Fresno, San Diego, and Los Angeles) was, for the time being, a prudent cap. He wanted unfettered time (away from corporate distractions) to ponder how best to keep his format concepts

fresh, so he only promised RKO that he would be present in the KHJ offices about one day per week. That necessitated the hiring of a KHJ-based program director who clearly understood how best to achieve Drake-Chenault goals.

“Boss Radio”

Ron Jacobs, onetime Fresno competitor, filled the bill as program director of the anticipated Los Angeles operation. Chenault was especially pleased to have Jacobs and Drake on the same programming team and was said to have compared the amalgamation to going into battle (against the other area stations) with both Generals Grant and Lee on one side. A “more hit music” format, very similar to Drake’s Fresno and San Diego output, was readied for KHJ’s conversion. RKO’s promotion director, Clancy Imislund, suggested to Drake and Jacobs that KHJ be dubbed “Boss Radio.” The programmers judged “boss” (teenage slang for “cool”) to be old hat, but reluctantly agreed to adopt it.

Boss Radio KHJ hit the airwaves early in May 1965. By fall the once-comatose station had rocketed to the top of Los Angeles’ radio ratings and was the talk of the business. Its tight playlist (*never* any dead air), with 30 current hit songs (and with older favorites mixed in) sounded sleeker than rivals still working at getting through their top 40 or more records. Drake reasoned that he would rather have his outlets airing, for example, the 29th most popular tune, as opposed to the 40th or 58th. Also different from the competition was Drake’s strictly mandated 12-minutes-per-hour commercial maximum (a third less than the industry standard). This gave KHJ time to air at least two more songs each hour than KFWB or KRLA.

Formats were typically devised on paper by Drake, then implemented by Jacobs. Though Drake-Chenault was clearly responsible for putting the KHJ conversion in motion, insiders (such as music radio pundit Bill Gavin) credit Jacobs with the milestone contemporary music station’s day-to-day success. His connection to what flowed from KHJ kept the talented air staff, cache of station promotions, and every detail of the Boss Radio image highly polished. Not long after the format rollout, Jacobs heard a brief jingle burst, “KHJ-Los Angeles,” immediately followed by the disc jockey exclaiming, “It’s three o’clock in Los Angeles.” Instantly hit with the redundancy (and possible negative effects on listeners), he commanded the air staff to announce Los Angeles as Boss Angeles. The memorable, “classic Drake” nuance serves as one example of how Jacobs constantly honed the programming concepts typically associated with Drake-Chenault. He stayed with KHJ until spring 1969.

National Expansion

RKO officials now wanted Drake to duplicate the KHJ success elsewhere in their chain. Consequently, in 1966 Boss Radio

cloning took place at KFRC (San Francisco), WRKO (Boston, as “Now Radio”), CKLW (Windsor, Ontario/Detroit, Michigan), and WHBQ (Memphis). Each installation worked wonders, solidifying Drake’s miracle-worker reputation. His modification of WOR-FM New York (which received a hybrid of oldies, album cuts, and touches of the Top 30) didn’t match KHJ’s impact. In terms of FM receiver penetration of well under 50 percent in 1968–69, however, it generated respectable listenership.

The Drake-Chenault agreement with RKO allowed the programmers to work with stations in media markets not served by RKO. During the early days of the pact, critics predicted that the Drake format’s tightly controlled, high-energy sound was purely a province of the trendy West Coast and would never be accepted outside California. Prior to the Boston assignment, Drake-Chenault had been hired to try out Boss Radio in Oklahoma. Tulsa’s mid-American KAKC listeners embraced what was by then (1966) dubbed “The Drake Sound,” though it was also the brainchild of others—such as Jacobs.

Brainstorming kept the format fresh as Drake understood the value of being linked with associates able to translate ideas about mainstream radio listeners into concrete programming policy. In the days before digital satellite transmission or web streaming, Drake monitored client stations via telephone. Any disc jockey not conforming to the spirit of Boss Radio might receive a corrective call from THE boss. Except for fielding those dreaded calls, few directly heard from (or saw) Drake. He seemed to be both everywhere and nowhere. A chain of command—from him to the national program director to the local program director then down to the announcer—seemed to make edicts more powerful and enhanced the Drake mystique.

In 1970 *Newsweek* called Drake “the most powerful force in broadcast rock . . . with complete control of programming, commercial time, and even the hiring and firing of local disc jockeys.” Technically, such a stranglehold was against Federal Communications Commission (FCC) rules requiring station licensees to be in total control of their stations, but the magazine had a point to make on behalf of recording companies. They complained that, unless Drake put a particular record on his well-researched 30-song playlist, it had little chance of being spun by other hit music broadcasters. Songs over three minutes (eating up precious airtime in which another tune could be started) had difficulty making the “Boss 30” grade. A promising four-minute song was often abridged in a Drake-Chenault-sanctioned production room.

By 1970 the firm had 40 client stations paying upwards of \$10,000 monthly for its services. Reportedly, some felt cornered into such an association. Outwardly secure broadcasters, hearing rumors that the station across town was talking to Drake-Chenault, were known to panic, then hire the consult-

ants first as an insurance measure. The term *Fake Drake* surfaced as a euphemism for outlets, often in smaller markets, choosing to save the consulting fee by imitating the “factory-authorized” format. The imitation typically involved a set of short Drake-like jingles; a copy of the weekly KHJ, CKLW, or WRKO music survey; cassette aircheck tapes of those stations; and an erstwhile Drake client station’s disc jockey bent on becoming a noted programmer.

Changing Opportunities

The FCC’s mid-1960s directive that most FM stations could no longer simulcast programming of their commonly owned AM sisters provided a new marketplace for Drake’s output. RKO asked him to develop a format that could be inexpensively executed via automation on its FM properties. In late 1968 a middle-of-the-road (softer rock hits) offering, called “Hit Parade,” was installed in Boston, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. Its tempo soon increased, as did interest in the canned fare on the part of other budget-minded FM operators. By the mid-1970s, “Hit Parade” and several other ready-to-run formats (such as “Solid Gold,” “Classic Gold,” “XT-40,” “Super Soul,” and “Great American Country”) brought the taped Drake repertoire to about 200 stations in markets of various sizes. Associates tested a progressive rock offering but indicated that Drake never related to (for example) Grateful Dead or Janis Joplin album cuts, and they backed away from the genre.

The advent of increasing competition through separate FM formats, plus 18- to 34-year-olds’ changing taste in music, rendered the original Drake sound somewhat shopworn by 1973. Consequently, the RKO AM stations showed signs of ratings erosion. The hit single, pop music radio’s 45-rpm traditional stock in trade, was exhibiting a sales slide. Instead, young people started directing their attention toward the long-playing 33 1/3-rpm albums, which were primarily heard (without frequent jingles, promotion, commercialization, or staged forward momentum) on the emerging FM rock outlets. The 1960s generation, which Drake had cleverly schooled to demand a “more music/less talk” approach, discovered that even the most unsophisticated FM rock station (typically staffed by taciturn announcers who just wanted to let the latest album track all the way through) delivered more music than Boss Radio ever did. RKO officials insisted that Drake personally spend more time immersed in solving its stations’ audience exodus. Agreement, however, could not be reached, and RKO ended the relationship in 1973.

Following the RKO termination, Drake-Chenault sought another Los Angeles programming platform. It came in the form of struggling KIQQ (FM), dubbed K-100 to denote a 100.3-megahertz dial position. The duo was granted stock ownership in the venture and five years to make K-100 a profit center. Also at stake was a chance to sink KHJ and embarrass

RKO. Although much effort went into making K-100 into a ratings giant, the operation was filled with tension (compared to the sense of collegial fun that had driven the 1965 KHJ debut), and it never made a similarly significant impact on southern Californians. K-100 was sold in 1978.

By the late 1970s, the 24-hour syndicated format genre that Drake’s firm had helped pioneer found itself swimming in a sea of competitors. Improved automation gear and, eventually, satellite delivery made the program distribution process easier for newcomers to enter. Even though from about 1980 Drake’s programming had largely disappeared from major-market stations, his name still commanded respect in broadcasting circles. He and Chenault continued syndicating their turnkey formats through about 1980, when Drake-Chenault Enterprises was quietly sold (and eventually folded into Jones Satellite Radio).

In 1990 Drake actively reentered programming to help fine-tune KRTH (FM), KHJ’s former sister. To his credit, Bill Drake found contemporary music radio mired in discordant presentation and intuitively built it a concise programming formula followed in principle by scores of broadcasters today.

PETER E. HUNN

See also Automation; Chenault, Gene; Consultants; Contemporary Hit Radio Format/Top 40

Bill Drake. Born Philip Yarbrough (sometimes documented as Yarbrough) in Waycross, Georgia, 1938. Attended Georgia Teachers College (now Georgia Southern University); announcer, WMGR, Bainbridge, Georgia, 1955–57; announcer, WWNS, Statesboro, Georgia, 1957–61; announcer/program director, WAKE, Atlanta, Georgia, 1961; program director/announcer, KYA, San Francisco, California, 1961–62; program director, KYNO, Fresno, California, 1962–64; programming consultant, KSTN, Stockton, California, 1963–65; cofounder/president, Drake-Chenault Enterprises, 1963–ca. 1980; programming consultant, KGB, San Diego, California, 1964–72; programming consultant, KHJ, Los Angeles, California, 1965–73; programming consultant/co-owner, KIQQ FM, Los Angeles, 1973–78; programming consultant, KRTH FM, Los Angeles, early 1990s.

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Drake, Galen 1907-1989

U.S. Radio Announcer and Program Host

Known for his homespun advice and storytelling, radio host Galen Drake was a consistent audience draw on local and national airwaves during the 1940s and 1950s. Once dubbed "The Most Convincing Microphone Voice" by *Radio Life* magazine, Drake pitched thousands of products over radio during the course of his career and hosted various programs, all of which revolved around his just-plain-folks commentary and philosophy. Drake reached the pinnacle of his radio career during the 1950s, when he simultaneously hosted a weekly variety show from New York City over the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) and two daily programs over radio station WCBS in New York.

Although Drake never acquired the popularity of fellow CBS star Arthur Godfrey, the two shared a somewhat similar style. Many listeners appreciated their advertisements because they seemed genuine, not overly fawning toward the products. Drake, like Godfrey, delivered his product appeals in a conversational, spontaneous manner, which he altered depending on his mood and experiences with the products; he rarely scripted his pitches, using only a few hastily sketched notes.

When Drake wasn't selling products, he hosted radio shows that were essentially forums for his advice, statements of philosophy, and stories; the conversational style that made his product pitches so convincing also characterized his performance on radio shows. Drake liked to sound spontaneous, a quality he achieved by striding into the radio studio less than five minutes before airtime, clutching only the sparsest of notes. Although he planned topics for discussion, he claimed to have no set outline to address them. "How am I going to know what I'll say until I start talking?" he once exclaimed. "Do you draw up diagrams of your conversation when you go visiting friends?"

The raconteur's "conversations" with his radio audience could cover multiple subjects in the course of one 45-minute program. For example, on one broadcast in 1947 he dealt with night vision, the effect of emotions on driving, mountain

climbing, inventors, and juvenile delinquency. He constantly peppered his shows with commonsense observations: "There are two times to keep your mouth shut: when you're swimmin' and when you're angry" or "What a man must do he can do. When he says he cannot, he means he will not."

Drake told interviewers that he based his advice and truisms on the words of philosophers and psychiatrists he studied as well as on the homegrown ideals that his father (who was in the furniture business) articulated. Drake's knack for delivering his advice and truisms grew from conversing, while still young, with many adults (three half siblings were grown at the time of Drake's birth) as well as from his acting, which began at Long Beach (California) Polytechnic High School during the 1920s.

Drake's high school acting coincided with his employment at radio station KFOX in Long Beach, where he sang and acted in radio plays. After graduating from high school in 1926, he remained at KFOX and also directed plays at the Long Beach Community Playhouse. In 1940 he debuted on the airwaves of CBS-affiliated KSFO in San Francisco, California, and two years later he landed at the CBS-owned KNX in Los Angeles, California. Drake's association with CBS radio would be his avenue to national fame.

Over KSFO and KNX, Drake hosted the *Sunrise Salute* and *Housewives Protective League* programs, which were created by Fletcher Wiley and produced locally at CBS radio stations around the country. The programs touted products approved by a panel of housewives and featured advice and stories for their female audience. Drake perfected his intimate radio delivery (which, however, some critics derided as smug and arrogant) as a voice of the Housewives Protective League (HPL). It was through his product marketing on the Fletcher Wiley programs that he came to define himself as a product pitchman rather than an entertainer. "I'm not a radio star," he once said. "I'm a partner in a client's business when I get his product to sell."



Galen Drake
 Courtesy CBS Photo Archive

In 1944 the radio pundit moved to the East Coast to broadcast for the HPL over radio station WJZ in New York City. Three years later Drake went to WCBS in New York, which in 1954 would become the base of his first CBS network program, the *Galen Drake Show*. The show aired Saturday mornings at 10:15 EST and offered a mixture of music and Drake's wisdom and interviews. *Billboard* magazine reviewed the program in 1954 shortly after its debut: "Drake chats away, tells a few stories and interviews members of the studio audience who have the most unusual hobbies, are young grandmothers and are from out-of-town. There is no pretentiousness about the stanza or its entertainment, and yet it's most effective" (see Morse, 1954).

Drake's CBS program performed so well that in 1957 ABC-TV offered him a television show. However, Drake's appeal failed to translate to the new medium, leaving him to cling to

his radio base. He continued on WCBS until 1959, when he moved to radio station WOR in New York. His network program was picked up by the Mutual Broadcasting System, but Drake was nearing the end of his radio career. By 1963 he was off the air, a victim, perhaps, of diminishing radio audiences and the explosion of disc jockey programs. The personality's last notable show had been his nightly readings of the Bible over WOR, which began in 1960. In the mid-1960s, Drake returned to Long Beach, where he did occasional advertisements and acted in the Salvation Army's *Heartbeat Theater*, a syndicated radio drama. Drake died of lung cancer in 1989.

MICHAEL STREISSGUTH

Galen Drake. Born Foster Purcell Rucker in Kokomo, Indiana, 26 July 1907. Youngest of two children born to Theodore and

Flora Rucker; attended University of California, Los Angeles, 1926; wrote, directed, sang, and acted in radio plays, KFOX, Long Beach, California, 1926–40; host and announcer, KSFO, San Francisco, 1940–42; KNX, Los Angeles, 1942–44; WJZ, New York City, 1944–47; WCBS, New York City, 1947–59; WOR, New York City, 1959–early 1960s. Died in Long Beach, California, 30 June 1989.

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Drama on U.S. Radio

The American radio industry is and has been the largest in the world. Before the rise of television, U.S. radio drama was creative as well as commercially popular. Radio also provided a marketing dimension for the Hollywood film industry. The political need to gain government support for the network monopoly was one factor behind the substantial network investment in quality sustaining (non-advertiser supported) programs.

As radio reinvented itself as a music medium in the 1950s, dramatic productions quickly fell out of favor. The competition from popular dramatic story telling on television was too intense. While the counter-culture movement of youth protest in the 1960s generated a demand for radio that offered a space for intelligent speech and alternative music, it did not support storytelling. Unlike the radio situation in Europe, Canada, and Australia, for example, American radio drama funding was not centralized into one service. Radio drama projects relied on entrepreneurial projects to raise funds from sponsors, private foundations, station budgets, and such public resources for cultural projects as the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities. The developing publishing market for spoken-word cassettes and CDs in the 1980s and 1990s provided further commercial collateral for production budgets.

Origins

Early U.S. drama developed in individual stations across the country. Even before World War I, Charles "Doc" Herrold organized schedules for a station in San Jose, California, which in 1914 included transmitting a live play. A drama series was broadcast by station WGY in Schenectady, New York, in

1922. The WGY players began with a full-length production of Eugene Walter's *The Wolf* and soon established a regular Friday night schedule of two-and-a-half-hour performances of anything from *The Garden of Allah* to Ibsen's *The Wild Duck*. For three years not a single playwright asked for payment. An orchestra provided music in the silences between scenes and acts. By 1923 the WGY players had launched a \$500 radio drama prize competition to encourage scripts specifically tailored to the medium. The rules stipulated plays that were "clean," avoided "sex dramas," and employed small casts of five to six characters. One hundred scripts were submitted, but the play selected did not result in a successful broadcast.

As WGY productions began to be shared with other stations by early 1924, some of the actors were paid and other stations started radio drama centers of production. WLW in Cincinnati broadcast *A Fan and Two Candlesticks* by Mary MacMillan, which was followed a week later by the balcony scene from *Romeo and Juliet*. Drama became a weekly event. The transmission of *When Love Wakes*, an original play written by program manager Fred Smith, may have been the first play written especially for radio when it aired 3 April 1923, nine months before the transmission of Richard Hughes' *Danger* on the BBC in January 1924.

During these early years, radio stations realized that it was easier to control sound levels within a studio than to depend upon a theater stage as an arena for drama performance. In WGY's case, engineers designed microphones hidden in lampshades in case actors became nervous at the sight of a bare microphone. Chicago's KYW took to the air specializing in broadcasting operas. *Radio Digest* observed in October 1923 that the radio play was increasing rapidly in popularity and that many eastern stations had their own theatrical groups.

That same year, as a publicity device, WLW in Cincinnati provided airtime for the Shuster-Martin School to perform drama readings.

One of the first sponsored dramas was probably included in the *Eveready Hour*, which was launched in December 1923 on WEAf, New York City, to sell Eveready batteries. By 1927 the *Eveready House* program was producing a prestigious drama on a monthly basis, with each production auditioned before the sponsor three weeks before airing. Actors were now being paid \$75 to \$125 per performance. Rosaline Greene was praised for her portrayal of Joan of Arc.

Golden Age of Popular Radio Drama

The golden age of U.S. radio drama really began in the late 1920s when first the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) and later the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) began distributing networked programs. Drama was included along with dance and jazz concerts, because drama had “an aura of respectability.” The titles included *Great Moments in History*, *Biblical Dramas*, *Real Folks*, *Main Street*, and *True Story*. For the next three decades, virtually all American network drama and comedy programs were in the format of series in that they used a continuing cast of characters and provided programs on a regular (usually weekly) schedule. Individual episodes usually stood alone, each one a complete story, but such fare was built around continuing characters who would be around the following week. The growing number of network series were supplemented with anthology (sometimes dubbed “prestige”) drama programs, whose characters and stories both varied (such as the long-running *Lux Radio Theater*), with no continuing elements save perhaps for a host and regular scheduled air time (and probably a sponsor).

One kind of radio series—the daytime soap opera—offered something additional; their continuing plot lines further focused the series to become a serial that combined continuing characters with stories that often lasted for years, with subplots melding into one another in a never-ending fashion. Each episode depended on the episodes that had gone before and led directly to the following episodes, though stories moved very slowly. Serial announcers usually began each episode with a paragraph or two describing what was happening for listeners who had missed any segments. The plots were purposely designed to hook listeners into regular attendance.

African-Americans and Radio Drama

The cultural gulf separating the white majority from the African-American minority (until the civil rights movement of the 1960s) tended to distort and sometimes censor the presentation of the black identity and story-telling culture. African-American performers had negotiated roles in white-interpreted

and -mediated arenas for popular story telling. Although African-Americans performed some parts in *Amos 'n' Andy* (1928–60), “blacked up” whites Freeman Gosden and Charles Correll played the central characters; Madaline Lee played the duo’s secretary Miss Blue; and Eddie Green performed the role of Stonewall, the lawyer. To put it mildly, this was an unsatisfactory context for the expression of African-American identity. Eddie Anderson’s role as Rochester, Jack Benny’s black valet, represented mainstream participation in radio’s popular story-telling culture, but was also controversial in the perpetuation of the “Jim Crow” syndrome of racial stereotyping. Another distorting and comic exploitation of African-American women as maids was the character and series *Beulah* (1945–54). The first actor to play *Beulah* was William Hurt, a white man, who coined the character’s famous catchphrases “Love dat man!” and “Somebody bawl for Beulah?” The paradoxical ambiguity of radio’s representation of stereotypes became evident in 1947 after Hurt died from a heart attack and the Academy Award-winning African-American actress Hatie McDaniel took over the part.

World War II saw the introduction of positively drawn African-American soldier characters in daytime serials as the U.S. government sought to promote the contribution of black servicemen and reduce racial tension within the armed forces.

The problem of negative racial stereotypes and chronic discrimination against African-Americans’ participation was challenged by the work of Richard Durham at WMAQ in Chicago between 1948 and 1950. Durham originated, wrote, and directed a series called *Destination Freedom* that dramatized the stories of black achievers such as Benjamin Banneker, Sojourner Truth, Brooker T. Washington, Marian Anderson, and Joe Louis. Durham had been editor of the black newspaper the *Chicago Defender*. The scripting of 91 half hour episodes and their production remains a significant event in American radio drama history. The most notable and widely praised episode was the dramatization of the accomplishments of heart surgeons Dr. Daniel Hale Williams and Dr. Ulysses Grant Dailey in “The Heart of George Cotton,” originally aired in Chicago on 8 August 1948 and restaged in 1957 on the networked CBS Radio Workshop.

In 1944 Langston Hughes collaborated with the British radio drama producer D.G. Bridson to create a ballad-opera exploring the friendship between black Americans going to war with the people of Britain. The cast included Ethel Waters, Canada Lee, Josh White, and Paul Robeson; *The Man Who Went To War* was produced and performed in New York but only heard via shortwave by 10 million BBC listeners in Britain. Langston Hughes also wrote *Booker T. Washington In Atlanta*, commissioned by the Tuskegee Institute and CBS. Despite joining The Writers’ War Board after Pearl Harbor in December 1941, he faced blacklisting pressures from the House of Un-American Activities from October 1944. Erik

Barnouw wrote that even when American networks had commissioned and produced work by black writers, affiliate stations in the Southern states would often block the broadcast by substituting a local program of musical records.

Sustaining and Prestige Drama

Experimental radio drama of exceptional quality was produced in the United States during the golden age as a by-product of the commercial success of the networks. Advertising profits financed such programming in unsold time. A “marquee status” in radio culture sparked by competition between CBS and NBC helped to generate such programs. Even the poor relation of U.S. radio networks, Mutual (MBS), would commission 21-year-old Orson Welles and his Mercury Theatre to produce a six-part dramatization of Victor Hugo’s *Les Misérables* in 1937—ambitious storytelling and dramatic performance on a grand scale. Through a series called *Columbia Workshop* (1936–47), CBS was the first network to experiment with using sound effects for creative and cultural storytelling. Starting in July 1936 the programmers advanced radiophonic techniques for sparking the imagination. The discovery of sound filters that evoked ghostly phenomena gave birth to *The Ghost of Benjamin Street*.

The production of the script *The Fall of the City* by poet Archibald MacLeish presented a social and political attack on totalitarianism and ambition in production. The large “crowd” cast, the special location of performance at New York’s Seventh Regiment Armory, and the quality of the cast, which included Burgess Meredith and the young Orson Welles, combined to establish a radio drama broadcast on 4 March 1937 that defined the potential of the medium. *The Fall of the City* invested production confidence in the idea of a drama written in verse for radio. Barnouw (1945) described the resulting competition for prestigious drama projects between the networks. CBS contributed a series of Shakespeare productions featuring John Barrymore. NBC recruited Arch Oboler, who started with a production of his own play *Futuristics* and then persuaded the network to support a series of experimental horror stories, *Lights Out*. Oboler founded a tradition of science fiction horror and melodrama that continued in a series bearing his name.

CBS also signed up Orson Welles and the *Mercury Theatre of the Air* (1938). A formidable production, performance, writing, musical composition, sound design, and directing team of Orson Welles, John Houseman, Howard Koch, and Bernard Herrmann fashioned classic and contemporary novels and plays into highly charged hour-long sequences of live radio entertainment. The subtle sound-design creativity of Ora Nichols advanced the interface of sound and imagination for listeners. The adaptation of the H.G. Wells novelette *The War of the Worlds* at the end of October 1938 would write radio

drama into social and cultural history and send Orson Welles and his troubadours to Hollywood.

It was also in 1938 that CBS vice president William B. Lewis hired Norman Corwin to make a series of half-hour programs on Sundays to experiment with poetry. Corwin would become a tour de force in writing and radio drama. The series *Words without Music*, *Pursuit of Happiness*, and *Twenty-Six by Corwin* established his reputation. From his verse play for the festive season of that year, *The Plot to Overthrow Christmas*, to constitutional and historical pageants such as *We Hold These Truths*, Corwin contributed a body of literature and direction for radio that resonated in and had considerable influence on the English-speaking world. The poetics of his writing was also embedded with political poignancy; *They Fly through the Air* was an audio equivalent of Picasso’s famous painting on the bombing of Guernica, and his *Seems Radio Is Here to Stay* is a verse essay on the beauty and potentialities of the medium.

An analysis of Corwin’s verse play *The Undecided Molecule*, aired only weeks before the detonation of the atomic bombs in Japan in 1945, reveals writing, directing, and performance in advance of its time. Groucho Marks played the role of a judge metaphorically trying the idea of the atom bomb and mankind’s use of it in a surreal courtroom. It was a culturally and politically subversive weave of irony, spiced with post-modernist and existential wit and a tour de force of production and performance that served to define Corwin’s power and achievement in the history of world radio drama. It was also an elegant and powerful demonstration of radio drama’s literary credentials.

Detective Drama

The golden age produced a genre of audio-noir detectives both male and female. *The Adventures of Maisie*, featuring a character who globe-trotted the high seas from one exotic port to the next, began with a man being slapped when asking for a light and the catchphrase “Does that answer your question, Buddy?” *The Adventures of Nero Wolfe*, based on the popular novels by Rex Stout, proved that you could be a good private detective and so fat that your assistant Archie would have to do all your legwork for you. *The Fat Man* (1946–51) had the central character Brad Runyon starting each episode as the announcer spoke these words: “There he goes into the drugstore. He steps on the scale. Weight 237 pounds! Fortune: Danger!” *The Adventures of Philip Marlowe* (1947–51), *The Adventures of Sam Spade Detective* (1946–51), and *The Adventures of the Thin Man* (1941–50) arose out of the successful novels and films featuring the characters so named. The character Nora Charles, first played by Claudia Morgan in the radio series, amounted to a curious blend of femme fatale and positive gender representation. Nora, with a voice that purred

with sexuality, was a supersleuth. *Martin Kane, Private Eye* (1949–53) was an example of a radio detective series that made the successful transformation to television. The highly successful *Sherlock Holmes* (1930–36; 1939–46) culminated with British actors Basil Rathbone and Nigel Bruce in the roles of Holmes and Watson.

The invisibility of radio extended the boundaries of imaginative devices in story telling. *The Shadow* (1930–54) worked best on radio because the character had the power to be invisible. *The Shadow* and other series, such as *The Green Hornet* (1936–52) and *Nick Carter—Master Detective* (1943–55), transplanted the myth of the Western into the urban environment. The Western was also present in U.S. popular drama through, among others, the series *The Lone Ranger* (1934–56). *The Adventures of Dick Tracy* (1935–48) was based on the comic-strip detective created by Chester Gould and is another example of the radio detective genre that cross-pollinated newspaper/magazine comic strips and films.

The police radio series was a cultural mechanism for the mythologizing of Edgar Hoover's FBI or "G-men" and the large-city police departments. Notable series included *Dragnet*, *Call the Police*, *Calling All Cars*, *Crime Does Not Pay*, *Gangbusters*, *Famous Jury Trials*, *Official Detective*, *Renfrew of the Mounted Police*, *Silver Eagle Mountie*, *This Is Your FBI*, *The FBI in Peace and War*, *True Detective Mysteries*, and *Under Arrest*.

The detective genres generated controversy because of their stereotypically negative representations of Asian-Americans. *Charlie Chan* (1932–48) was built around an Asian-Hawaiian private eye who was always played by white American actors. The series *Fu Manchu* (1929–33), arising out of the Collier magazine stories, offered another example of the demonizing and typecasting of Chinese or Asians as "untrustworthy, inscrutable" villains.

"Soap Opera" Drama

Conditions for developing a thriving market of radio serials were ripe in 1930s America. National networks were expanding because they provided "free" entertainment once one owned a receiver. Further, and despite the Depression, there was a continuing market for products that could improve the quality of life in the home, including soap products and washing machines. Radio provided an excellent means of reaching out to the growing market of women concerned with such purchases, and seeking entertainment. Radio could meet the demand for entertainment about family and identity, about fantasy and the idea of home, about struggle against adversity and achievement, and about people who could be admired and respected. From these circumstances, the soap opera was born.

In Los Angeles Carlton Morse began writing episodes for the series *One Man's Family* in 1932; it would last for 28

years. The story of the Barbour family depended on its addictive narrative drive for its success. Radio had become the stage for its own popular American version of Galsworthy's *Forsyte Saga*. In 1939 Morse created *I Love a Mystery*, featuring the exotic adventures of three global adventurers from the A-1 Detective Agency. He wrote every word and directed every script; his craft had him up at 4 A.M. and kept him busy seven days a week. Barnouw (1945) wrote that radio was becoming a mecca for acting talent that could no longer find work in the theater. Radio was helping listeners—and more than a few creative people—buck the Depression.

Serials that charted social mobility and advancement secured lucrative sponsorship because the audience could identify with the reality and aspirations such programs embodied. *The Goldbergs* (1929–50) performed the ritual of a social journey from the Lower East Side of New York City into the middle-class suburbs; Pepsodent was a product that helped enhance the smile on their faces. Writer and actor Gertrude Berg created *The Goldbergs* in her quest to dramatize Jewish family life. Susan J. Douglas (1999) has observed the value of the research by Herta Herzog into the relationship between women listeners and soap operas: "The melodramatic narratives and strong female characters of daytime serials—coupled with the intimacy of the medium—provided powerful points of identification." Herzog's research in the 1930s showed that, to one woman listener, soap opera "teaches me as a parent how to bring up my child." Popular radio drama during the golden age was an opportunity for women's self-empowerment, and as Barnouw observes, "Almost one-third [of listeners] spoke of planning the day around serials." *Little Orphan Annie* (1930–42) could be comfortably associated with the coziness and nourishment of the Ovaltine bedtime drink. *Myrt and Marge* had the attitude that came with chewing gum made by Wrigley. *Buck Rogers 25th Century* (1932–36, 1939–40, 1946–47) was the kind of dream that listeners could think about when crunching on their breakfast cereals produced by Kellogg.

Many of the key producers and writers who controlled the form were highly educated and independent women. Irna Phillips probably wrote more words and made more money in the field of soap opera than anyone else. Her prodigious industry was founded in Chicago, and once she hit her stride no one could match her ability to invent story lines or dictate six scripts a day and write 3 million words a year. She was the creator of *Today's Children*, *Woman in White*, *Right to Happiness*, *The Guiding Light*, *Road of Life*, and *Lonely Women*. Her gift to the history of gender representation is that she invented and sustained women characters who were role models to American women listeners because they had strength and dignity and could hold their social position equally with men.

Another key center for popular series and serial production was founded and developed by advertising executive Frank Hummert and his assistant Anne S. Ashenurst, who later

became his wife. They established a team of writers distinguished by the talented *Chicago Daily News* reporter Robert D. Andrews, who probably generated more than 30 million words of storytelling for radio. Andrews' first serial story was *Three Days Lost*. Within a year of being hired by the Hummerts he was turning out five radio scripts a day. The author of a book on *How to Write for Radio* was convinced that Andrews was really three or four writers and that his name was the brand title of a writing syndicate. The Hummerts generated legends in the tradition of soap opera entertainment, some of which transferred to television.

In some respects the soap opera boom of the golden age could be described as the "Wild West of Writing." It was a Klondike for authors, advertisers, and networks because 80 percent of the programming of a network station in a big city market in 1939 was made up of wall-to-wall daytime soap episodes, most of them merely 15 minutes long. Elaine Carrington was an example of a short story writer who found that her ability to produce story outlines and scripts for daytime serials could make her a rich author. She conceived and wrote *Red Adams*, which became *Red Davis* and then *Pepper Young's Family* as the sponsors changed.

In the daytime soap by Jane Crusinberry, *The Story of Mary Marlin* (1935-45, 1951-52), Crusinberry dramatized a character who became a female U.S. senator. *Mary Marlin* was one of the highest-rated daytime serials after 1937, and because Crusinberry retained control of all the writing, the series was able to transcend the political and social compromises that arose from sponsor-controlled "factory writing." During World War II Crusinberry originated and wrote a series called *A Woman of America* (1943-46), which starred Anne Seymour and dramatized the history of achieving women in the United States.

The Legacy of World War II

The political struggle between communism and fascism through the 1930s and the years of World War II coincided with the most intense period of the "Golden Age" of radio. Howard Blue (2002) examines the work of 17 radio dramatists and writers who deployed the radio drama arts in their battle against fascism. Between 1941 and 1945 they were allied with commercial radio networks, private agencies, and U.S. government propaganda organizations that wished to rally the listening imagination in the fight against German Nazism and Japanese militarism.

Blue documents how the chill wind of the Cold War made casualties of left of center writers, directors, and actors who had been politically motivated in their creative engagement with radio drama during wartime. The personal memoir by the radio actor Joseph Julian, published in 1975 as *This Was Radio*, provides a compelling and agonizing account of how

Senator Joe McCarthy's witch-hunting could snuff out a career virtually overnight.

The compendium of 25 radio plays edited by Erik Barnouw and published in 1945 as *Radio Drama in Action* represents a significant body of literature from this period of broadcasting. Morton Wishengrad's *The Battle of the Warsaw Ghetto*, broadcast by NBC on the eve of the Day of Atonement in 1943, demonstrated how radio dramatization of actuality could succeed where radio journalism had failed. There was no effective contemporary reporting of the extraordinary rebellion by young Jewish fighters in the Warsaw Ghetto in April 1942. Wishengrad's research and literary imagination combined with the direction of Frank Papp, a music score by Morris Mamorsky, and acting performance by Arnold Moss to represent a vital moment in history.

Radio Drama in the Shadow of Television

With the development of U.S. network television beginning in 1948, radio drama's days were numbered. Within just a few years, audiences and advertisers had begun the rapid migration to the video medium, and network schedules grew sparse. The McCarthy witch hunts and Cold War paranoia also damaged American radio drama at the same time. Opportunities for significant network projects and corporate sponsorship were not coming to anyone who was perceived to be left of center. Orson Welles, Norman Corwin, and Paul Robeson had characteristics and track records that could be regarded as left wing. Along with thousands of talented writers, actors, and directors, they could be perceived as politically subversive. Black-listing generated self-censorship and drove a community of artists into exile. Others were silenced, their credentials ruined. Perhaps one of the more absurd manifestations of this cultural anomie was the 1952-54 syndicated series *I Was a Communist for the FBI*, in which film actor Dana Andrews infiltrated organizations as a double agent and week by week roamed episodes with titles such as *The Red Among Us*, *The Red Waves*, and *The Red Ladies*.

Money and talent became concentrated in television. There were courageous and worthy projects, such as *CBS Mystery Theater* between 1974 and 1977 produced by Himan Brown, which tried to turn back the clock. Such ambition and concentration of resources, however, was not sustained by audience figures and the interest of sponsors.

Drama on Public Radio

With the end of commercial radio's golden age in the early 1950s, radio drama was for many years an art hidden behind the cornucopia of television programming. Still, the mutually advantageous relationship between the Hollywood film industry and radio networks during the 1940s and 1950s exempli-

fied by *Lux Radio Theatre*, *Hollywood Hotel/Premiere*, and *Hollywood Star Preview/Star Playhouse*, *Star Theater* left seeds for future development and opportunity. In the 1970s Himan Brown produced original radio dramas for CBS radio. Still later, George Lukas donated the sound rights of his *Star Wars* stories to his former university radio station. National Public Radio (NPR) invested more than \$200,000 in a 13-part dramatization including members of the film's cast, music composer, and sound designer.

Satellite distribution generated a renaissance in interest in audio drama and created a new audience among young people. In some respects interest in the U.S. *Star Wars* project was similar to the interest shown by young audiences in Britain in the radio series *The Hitchhiker's Guide To the Galaxy*. Filmic music and multi-track sound design techniques combined with the cult of science fiction to produce success.

The period 1971 to 1981 witnessed the development of *Earplay*, a National Public Radio Drama Production Unit based in Madison, Wisconsin, under the artistic direction of Karl Schmidt. The project was substantially funded from federal sources and generated radio drama script competitions for new writers. It eventually developed large-scale collaborations with the BBC in England and commissioned well-known established writers such as Edward Albee, David Mamet, and Arthur Kopit.

National Public Radio's rival American Public Radio (APR, which later became Public Radio International) also generated interest in original spoken word story telling through the work of Garrison Keillor in Minnesota. NPR, in Washington, D.C., continued to courageously distribute *NPR Playhouse*, but, despite the enthusiasm of producer Andy Trudeau, radio drama became a cultural artifact in the tapestry of U.S. radio. Trudeau even commissioned an original series of new Sherlock Holmes dramatizations starring Edward Petherbridge, and NEH and NEA funding supported worthy cultural drama projects such as Samuel Beckett and German *Horspiel* seasons, which were the initiative of Everett Frost. Unfortunately, the poor take-up by NPR affiliate stations of *NPR Playhouse* programs resulted in its demise in September 2002.

Independent Producers and Radio Drama by Artisans

American radio drama has moved from a mass-appeal service based on daily or weekly series to a far narrower format aimed at small but elite audiences. There would appear to be no shortage of ambition and commitment from small independent producers all over the United States who use efficient modern digital technology to produce original plays and dramatizations that are crafted for a connoisseur audience mainly in public radio. New York-based independent producer Charles Potter and Random House have established a niche interest in the radio Western, with audiobooks that sell well in the retail

market and are also carried by some radio stations over the air. The internet, the audio drama cassette/CD/minidisc market, and digital radio offer accessible, low-cost networks of distribution. Furthermore, it is a low-risk genre for ideas and counter-culture. Companies such as Ziggurat, ZBS Foundation, Atlanta Radio Theatre, The Radio Repertory Company of America, Hollywood Theater of the Ear, The Radio Play—The Public Media Foundation, Midwest Radio Theatre Workshop, LA Theatre Works, Shoestring Radio Theatre, and many others have established significant output of original productions. Notable directors/dramatists include Yuri Rasovsky, Eric Bauersfeld, Joe Frank, and David Ossman.

During the 1980s and 1990s, WBAI, the Pacifica radio station in New York, was the arena for an interesting development in the art of the live community radio play. The station's arts director Anthony J. Sloan catalyzed much of this work. Sloan observed that "Most people did taped drama because it's safer. BBC does radio drama every day, but it's canned. I like live radio drama because the adrenaline flows for the actors. They know that not only is this live, but, guess what, it's only one-time. You get some incredible performances." Sloan orchestrated a series of media pageants that have occupied the streets of New York, the studios of WBAI, the satellite frequency of Pacifica Network programming, and the worldwide web with orchestras of musical, dramatic, and acoustic artistic expression fused by captivating, bold narratives. The productions were not short half-hour or one-hour sequences. They spanned five-and-a-half hours of airtime. Philosophically challenging, politically controversial, intellectually stimulating, emotionally invigorating dimensions of communication combined with complex sound production techniques and live performances on the sidewalks of the Lower East Side and various landmarks in the urban geography of New York City. The grassroots dimension of this work was an indicator of how radio drama could strengthen its identity and cultural value with its audiences. The *Leaving(s) Project*, transmitted on the night of 26 January 1996, comprised two live story-telling events over five-and-a-half hours. Larry Neal's play *The Glorious Monster in the Bell of the Horn* was presented before a live audience at the New Knitting Factory in the Tribeca section of Manhattan. The play was structured in the style of the epic opera based on the Brothers Grimm's *Peter and the Wolf*, wherein characters are identified by musical instruments. Then the multimedia event blossomed into "a journey piece" from different locations of the New York metropolitan area. There were six different groups of characters leaving New York for various reasons who were forced to deal with personal crises on their way to an Amtrak train at New York's Penn Station. Their interweaving storylines highlighted current social, political, spiritual, and artistic issues. All the disparate journeys were acted out live with moving microphones on location and culminated in a dramatic finale at Penn station. The realism of

the event is indicated by the fact that the fictional characters intended to board the 3:45 A.M. Amtrak red-eye service leaving New York, which was actually waiting to leave one of the platforms at the end of the broadcast. The event began at 10 P.M. on Friday night and continued until 3:45 the following morning. It could be heard in stereo on WBAI 99.5 FM, received by satellite on 360 community radio stations, and heard nationally and internationally on the worldwide web.

Early 21st century U.S. radio drama can be described as “the age of the artisan,” whereas the period before the 1950s could be described as “the age of the Network.” Audio dramatic techniques are also widely used in advertising and public information spots, so narrative creativity in radio is not a totally lost art.

TIM CROOK

See also, in addition to individual shows and people mentioned in this essay, Blacklisting; Hollywood and Radio; National Public Radio; Pacifica Foundation; Playwrights on Radio; Poetry and Radio; Public Radio International; Science Fiction; Soap Opera; WBAI; Westerns

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Drama Worldwide

Varied Traditions of Radio Narrative

Radio has been and continues to be a substantial venue for serious and popular storytelling throughout the world. As English has become the global media language, it is possible to identify plays that have been the seed of stories in film, books, stage theater, television, and the internet. Arthur Miller and David Mamet are two leading U.S. playwrights who have

acknowledged the debt they owe to radio drama for influencing and developing their writing abilities. The politically controversial Italian playwright Dario Fo excelled in the radio medium. Wolfgang Borchert and Peter Handke are literary giants in post-war German culture, and their literary reputations stem from their radio output. The director and sound

play artist Klaus Schöning has articulated a distinct and original movement in the radio drama genre. The foundations of Orson Welles' film directing genius may well lie in his radio experience as much as in his theater work. His experience in writing, performing, and directing in radio is greater in volume and range than for any other medium in which he worked. Archibald MacLeish, one of the United States' leading 20th-century poets, wrote radio plays of exceptional literary quality. Norman Corwin developed a contemporary form for radio verse drama and fused it with the contemporary resonance of world events and U.S. history as it was happening. While the non-English speaking world has also created galaxies of storytelling cultures in radio drama, our knowledge of them has been compromised by the limited amount of translation and critical writing available.

Functions

Radio drama as storytelling tends to serve a number of purposes. It can define national cultural identity through original writing and performance. Dylan Thomas' *Under Milk Wood*, described as "a play for voices," is central to the consideration of Welsh literary achievement in the post-war period and is respected internationally as an example of radio drama literature par excellence.

Radio drama can be a location for the exploration of social, cultural, and sometimes political anxieties through popular soaps and long-running series. The popular soap has been a staple in the history of radio drama in many Latin American countries. Public and state radio in Poland has a long-standing tradition of supporting "high cultural" writing as well as the popular in plays and serials.

Through social action dramas, radio can warn, educate, and improve society through a blend of information, education, and entertainment. The British Broadcasting Corporation's (BBC) long-running radio soap opera *The Archers* was conceived as a method of improving the efficiency of farming techniques when there was still rationing in the aftermath of World War II. Social action dramas are prevalent in the developing world, and radio offers an opportunity to engage in the oral culture traditions of African and Asian countries.

Radio dramas also offer an arena for showcasing and adapting novels and short stories as well as stage literature from live theater. This has been the case in most Scandinavian and European countries. Hungary, France, Germany and Italy have extensive archives of scripts and recordings demonstrating radio drama's commitment to producing their countries' leading writers and dramatists.

Finally, radio drama has been used as propaganda and in support of war. Conventional plays and series are constructed to influence listeners ideologically, and the techniques of dramatization have been harnessed to fake enemy broadcasts, to

deceive military forces, and to weaken the morale of the enemy's home population. In the early 1950s the CIA used audio drama techniques to fake the sound of a non-existent army and airforce to overthrow a left wing government in Guatemala.

Political Economy of Radio Drama

The success of soap operas in the United States and Australia during the 1930s and 1940s represented mass communication and popular expression for new writing on an enormous scale. Dramatizations of literature and significant original plays had their place when the profit-led radio corporations saw an advantage in prestigious productions impressing commercial sponsors. Sometimes a minority cultural program such as Orson Welles' *Mercury Theatre on the Air* pulled off a publicity stunt, such as the 1938 *War of the Worlds*, and this popularized radio drama in terms of entertainment.

But spending profits for prestige was not a recipe for stability and growth in the arts. If the capitalist, corporate moguls of the 20th century became the equivalent of patron princes from the Renaissance, they were adept in applying the ruthlessness of those princes when cutbacks were needed. Publicly funded national radio networks have been the cultural umbrellas for most of the original radio drama produced in the world and the sound dramatization of prose and poetry. However, the financial relationship between radio drama production centers and their state-funded national radio networks is often clouded by the potential for political compromise and economic expediency. Radio drama has been at the mercy of economic instability and the political pressure to reduce public expenditure. The prerequisite for public funding is sometimes predicated on how well state-funded radio drama performs in comparison with the audience surveys of its commercial counterparts. As a result, radio drama in some countries such as Australia now concentrates on high culture and experimentation rather than the maintenance and production of popular series and serials. In France, radio drama has undergone a painful reappraisal through rationalization and cutbacks.

United Kingdom

Leading playwrights such as Samuel Beckett and Tom Stoppard have written extensively for the radio medium. Stoppard's stage play *Indian Ink* was conceived and first produced as the radio play *In the Native State*. Britain's playwright Caryl Churchill had nine of her radio plays produced by the BBC up until 1973, when her stage work began to be recognized at the Royal Court Theatre. Hanif Kureishi, regarded as one of Britain's leading Asian writers, famous for his film *My Beautiful Launderette* and his novel *The Buddha of Suburbia*, was first produced in radio. Sue Townsend, Harold Pinter,

Alan Ayckbourn, Alan Plater, Anthony Minghella, Angela Carter, Alan Bleasdale, Willy Russell, and Louis MacNeice are a few other literary luminaries whose writing roots were planted in radio drama.

One of the paradoxes of radio drama is that highly accomplished and revered writers who have chosen to specialize in this field remain locked in a cabinet of obscurity. Rhys Adrian, who died in 1990 after having written 32 plays broadcast by BBC radio, is an example of such a writer little known today.

Giles Cooper cultivated the art of dramatically counterpointing the exterior and the interior of characters who felt themselves “trapped in the contemporary machinery of modern life and who were unable to escape.” Cooper wrote over 60 scripts for BBC radio. His 1957 play *The Disagreeable Oyster*, along with the production of Samuel Beckett’s *All That Fall*, was fundamental in creating the need for a permanent sound workshop to create aural images based on effects and abstract musical rhythms.

In 1939/1940 BBC Radio Drama commissioned and produced *In the Shadow of the Swastika*, which offered a humanist challenge to the anti-Semitic prejudice engendered by Nazi ideology. The occasion of war stimulated a production that may have commanded the highest audience for any play broadcast in the history of radio. Norman Corwin’s *We Hold These Truths* was commissioned to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the United States Bill of Rights. This coincided with the Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor, and eight days after the attack, Corwin assembled a cast of the country’s leading actors including James Stewart and Orson Welles and broadcast to an audience of 60 million listeners across all the U.S. networks. Many of the dramas and drama-documentaries produced by Corwin throughout the war were preoccupied with themes that promoted the Allied cause and challenged the morality of the Axis powers.

Germany

Germany possesses a rich and diverse critical tradition of the radio drama form, but the language barrier means that its wealth of texts is inaccessible to the radio drama communities of the English-speaking world. It is also ironic that one of the most prolific, versatile, and widely published critical analysts of British radio drama is the German academic Horst Priessnitz. Radio drama has also been frequently used as propaganda. Nazi Germany used skilful mixtures of popular music and drama to psychologically intimidate Allied troops and civilian populations. They were sometimes aided by United States and British fascists. The U.S. academic Frederick Wilhelm Kaltenbach used dramatic scripts in overseas English broadcasts to attack the British position in the war. He translated a radio play by Erwin Barth von Wehrenalp called *Lightning Action* to celebrate the German victory in Norway.

Twelve scenes were recorded on 5 April 1941, and the cast included the British film actor Jack Trevor and other ex-patriots. He also satirized Roosevelt’s Lease-Lend Bill with a series of dramatic talks called *British Disregard for American Rights*. In May 1944 U.S.-German academic Otto Koischwitz wrote a doomsday radio play for the D-Day invasion forces and their families at home that was broadcast by shortwave to the United States. The actress Mildred Gillars (“Axis Sally”) played the part of a GI’s mother who in a tear-stained monologue predicted disaster and grief.

An argument could be made that German radio drama is distinctive for the greater importance it has had within the cultural traditions of German drama and literature. There is evidence that *Hörspiel* has generated a cornucopia of inspiration and originality in other storytelling media. The Weimar Republic era is distinguished by the work of playwright Bertolt Brecht, composer Paul Hindemith, critic Walter Benjamin, and composer Kurt Weill. They and many other pioneers understood the relationship between sound drama and radio reception and interrogated and explored modernist ideas of stream of consciousness found in symbolist novels and short stories, imagistic poetry, and developments in modern theater.

Whereas German Radio Drama has mirrored the BBC in generating a powerful canon of popular drama, dramatized literature, soap opera, light comedy, and detective and mystery series, German *Hörspiel* has become established as a literary art and drama form equal to stage theater, film, television, and literature. Alfred Döblin’s novel *Berlin Alexanderplatz* reached a popular audience through German radio in 1929 before it was produced for television by Rainer Werner Fassbinder. The nihilistic torpor of Nazi propaganda radio suffocated expression in the art form, and after the war the cultural role that radio played offered a rich arena for diversity and quality. The shortage of printing paper and the destruction of theater and cinema meant that radio drama contributed to the recovery and development of German storytelling. Decentralization of the structure of public stations meant that several centers of radio drama production flourished simultaneously.

The positive public response to the transmission of Wolfgang Borchert’s *The Outsider* in 1947 illustrated the centrality of *Hörspiel* in the country’s social, psychological, and cultural psyche. Bochert, Ingeborg Bachmann, and Gunter Eich illustrate the force of *literarische Hörspiel*, and Peter Handke, Jürgen Becker, and Reinhard Lettau are auteurs who represent that development of *Neue Hörspiel* that sought to explore new ideas and philosophies about the prosody of sound and thought in modern and postmodern society.

Canada

Original radio drama thrived in Canada because the government had decided to support public radio through the Cana-

dian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). Canadian radio drama experienced a golden age of literary and dramatic expression from the 1940s to the 1960s. Canadian radio drama has been re-inventing itself in the public sector. CBC has maintained an imaginative and flexible approach to international co-production. Director James Roy helped originate the 1996 series *Searching Paradise*, co-produced between CBC in Toronto, ABC in Perth, and BBC Wales in Cardiff. He also pioneered the introduction of *The Diamond Lane*, a lively modern soap drama sitting comfortably with CBC's peak time morning format for 2 years during the late 1990s. The series featured live performances of actors as commuters traveling to work using a freeway lane reserved for vehicles containing three or more passengers and interacting with the on air presenters in the studio. The development of the English Speaking Radio Drama Association has facilitated the exchange of publicly funded radio plays such as CBC's *Mourning Dove* and work done in New Zealand, Hong Kong, Wales, Los Angeles, Australia, and South Africa.

Sweden

Swedish public radio has discovered new storytelling forms to find a new generation of radio drama listeners. The dramatists at Swedish Radio have cleverly propelled radio drama into the mainstream of artistic and cultural debate by creating a five minute soap opera that is broadcast within the peak listening morning slot between 7:50 and 8:00 A.M. Eva Stenman-Rotstein at the publicly funded Swedish Radio Broadcasting Corporation has steered a series of evolutionary changes to young people's radio drama that has captured a new generation of listeners. Storytelling for children and young people has also attracted sizable audiences.

Asia and Africa

The literary and dramatic traditions of African, Arabic, and Asian countries are virtually unknown in Europe and North America and other English-speaking countries. Many western societies are struggling to reconcile themselves to a past history of racist structure of education, imperialist history, and negative stereotyping of other countries' political, industrial, social, and cultural values. Furthermore, as these societies seek to realize their own multi-cultural status, interesting examples of creative reception in radio drama is emerging. British Asians and Afro-Caribbeans have found a confident voice in writing and production.

The satirical comedy drama series *Goodness Gracious Me* originated on BBC Radio 4 and has successfully transferred to television. Whereas the BBC of 1929 would produce *Shakuntala* or *The Lost Ring* by Kalidasa with a translation by a European academic, direction and performance by an all white

European cast, and orientalist attitudes to promotion and representation, the BBC of 2003 would mediate a classic work from an Asian by transferring the interpretation to Asian writers, directors, and performers. The Africa Service of the BBC has been a substantial patron of writers, dramatists, and poets from Africa, and producers have sought to create a co-production dynamic between London's Bush House and the writers, directors, actors, and audiences in African countries. An annual competition produces a series of radio plays called African Performance.

Japan

In the early 1990s the Television and Radio Writers' Association of Japan set up and ran an international award called the Morishige Audio Drama Contest. Over a period of four years, productions were entered from all parts of the world and were given equal treatment. The representation in this competition revealed a thriving and comprehensive infrastructure of radio drama practice and tradition from African and Asian countries that had not been as well represented in European dominated international competitions and festivals.

The Television and Radio Writers' Association had about 900 freelance writer/members and set up the award to stimulate the support of radio drama within the domestic and international radio industry. It also sought to make "a contribution to cultural exchange." The Morishige Award succeeded in its second objective. The first objective foundered on the lack of funds to continue the contest. The Asia-Pacific Broadcasting Union had also been seeking to encourage cultural celebration and exchange. In 1993 the Morishige selection committee were in the position to consider three plays entered by the state broadcasting system NHK, based in Tokyo and Nagoya, and further entries from Kyushi Asahi Broadcasting Company, Tokyo-FM Broadcasting Company, the Tokyo Broadcasting system, and Nippon Cultural Broadcasting. These plays demonstrated a fertile and competitive field of audio play production in both publicly funded and commercial sectors of the industry.

An entertaining representation of Japanese radio drama can be found in the film by Koki Mitani, *Welcome Back Mr. McDonald* (1998). This is a backstage farce that uses a live radio drama to send up Japanese society, American blockbuster mentality, and the prima donna values of show business.

Korea

The Korean Broadcasting System's (KBS) entry for the 1993 Morishige Prize was *The Angel's Curse* written by Choi Jaedo, directed by Cho Won-Suk—KBS's Chief Producer of radio drama. At this time Korea, like Japan, had a thriving broadcast dramatists' association with 500 members who were also

established poets, novelists, and stage playwrights. Korean radio drama could draw upon a profession of 400 actors. KBS was producing 200 or more single plays every year. New writers for radio were continually being brought on through special competitions, and the commercial broadcasting corporations produced 30 new radio dramatists every year in this way. There was also evidence of radio drama production and broadcasting in China, Mongolia, Uganda, Egypt, Hong Kong, Malawi, and South Africa.

India

In 1993 plays by the director Kamal Dutt had been entered in the Morishige award from All India Radio, which at the time of writing presented a considerable range of Indian radio drama on the internet. In 1991 P.C. Chatterji observed that the powerful theater movement in several parts of India had only "marginally affected the field of radio drama." He said that the ordinary run of radio play was "not of a high standard" because the rate of payment was poor and there was little hope of their utilization elsewhere. He cited *Tumhare Ghum Mere Hain* (Your Woes Are Mine) by Delhi playwright Reotic Sharan Sharma and *Harud* (Autumn) by Shankar Raina as examples of radio texts that had successfully transferred to theater and film and been recognized internationally.

Radio Drama Futures

From 1990 there has been a maturing of a global spoken word market so that the talking book, sound drama, or sound dramatization have been fighting for equal space on the shelves with traditional books. Radio drama's ephemeral status as an art form could be at an end. The performance of a dramatic script no longer exists just in the fleeting moment of a live stage event. It is being captured on cassette, compact disc, mini-disc, computer file, and other means of electronic storage for replay. Multimedia and the internet offer exciting dimensions to sound drama production and storytelling. The radio dramatist has been liberated from the dimension of short-lived terrestrial sound broadcasts.

Erik Ohls and the Swedish Radio Theatre in Finland have been pioneering the use of the internet for the promotion and more meaningful distribution of radio drama as an art form. Distribution of linear sound narrative can interact with lateral channels of sound, text, animation, and photographic and video images on the worldwide web. The web is also liberating from the point of view of control and means of production. The British website www.irdp.co.uk is an example of the internet being used as an independent space for new writing in radio outside the territories of state-funded broadcasting. Sound communication on the internet is not subject to government licensing and censorship. Transmission is

instantly stable in the international dimension and the technology is affordable.

In 2001 BBC radio commissioned a project called "the Lab" to explore the futures of audio drama in terms of interactive communication technology. The internet, with its hyper-textual lateral routes of structured narrative and digitalization, seemed able to expand the potentiality of sound storytelling. Similar experimentation has been undertaken by the drama department of Austria's public radio service.

The challenge facing radio drama producers of the 21st century seems to center on how the radio play can attract the younger generation when the form is not relevant or central to their media consumption. The BBC in Britain and public radio broadcasters in Europe and elsewhere have been trying without much success to establish thriving audio drama projects with young people and ethnic communities using new forms of interactivity via the internet. The fact remains that the most lucrative resources of radio drama funding in European public networks are controlled largely by middle-aged and middle-class people.

The development of digital radio in Britain has resulted in the establishment of two national radio channels dedicated to audio dramatic genres, *BBC 7* and *Oneword* (commercial). The BBC has the advantage of a huge back catalogue and the cushion of guaranteed funding from the license fee. Diversification of access to the broadcasting spectrum and an equality of opportunity in public funding may be a potential solution to continuing decline in radio drama activity in Britain and the rest of the world.

TIM CROOK

See also, in addition to individual shows and people mentioned in this essay, Canadian Radio Drama; Drama, U.S.; Playwrights on Radio; Poetry and Radio; Science Fiction; Soap Opera; Westerns

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Drew, Paul 1935–

U.S. Radio Personality and Executive

There are four phases to the career of broadcaster and entrepreneur Paul Drew: early in his career, Drew influenced teenagers in Atlanta and the South as a disc jockey introducing the new sounds of Top 40 radio and traveling with the Beatles.

Later, his influence extended to the broadcast industry in the United States and Canada as a vice president of RKO General Radio. He formed several companies that linked the United States and Japan in entertainment ventures. And he was the

first director of Radio Martí, establishing Voice of America broadcasts to Cuba.

On the Air

As an Atlanta disc jockey, Drew avoided the “hyped” sound fashionable at Top 40 radio, opting instead for a soft, conversational approach that won him high ratings among teenagers on three stations. After stints at stations in his home state of Michigan, Drew moved to Atlanta in 1957 to join WGST, where he was advertised as “Atlanta’s most music-wise DJ.”

In 1961 Drew joined Atlanta’s WAKE at the invitation of his neighbor, WAKE Program Director Bill Drake. His show was a combination of tidbits about the artists whose records he played and descriptions of mythical “submarine races in Piedmont Park,” an excuse for teenage sweethearts to sit in their cars by the park’s lake.

It was his move to WQXI in 1964 that gave Drew his national reputation for picking hits. First as music director and later as program director, Drew attracted the attention of both the record industry and the radio industry. Because of that early visibility, he called his ten years in Atlanta radio his most important, because “I came in as nobody and left as somebody.”

During the 1960s, Drew was dubbed “the Fifth Beatle” (and occasionally “the bald-headed Beatle”) because he was the only broadcaster to travel with the Beatles on all their American tours. His daily reports from the tours were heard by millions of radio listeners. On Christmas Eve 1964, Drew produced a worldwide special with the Beatles from London.

Executive and Entrepreneur

For five years during the 1970s, Drew was vice president of programming for the radio division of RKO General Corporation, supervising formats as diverse as talk, Top 40, oldies, adult contemporary, and classical. At the time, RKO owned stations in Boston, New York, Memphis, Miami, Washington, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Chicago.

The connections Drew made with recording artists throughout his years in radio resulted in a series of live concerts and artist specials produced for both radio and television. Featured were Neil Diamond, Chicago, Elton John, Olivia Newton-John, Cher, Frank Sinatra, and a long list of others.

He introduced the Japanese singing group Pink Lady to the United States and established them as the only Japanese artists to have both an American hit single and their own prime-time network TV show (on the National Broadcasting Company [NBC]).

His business interests expanded beyond broadcasting and music to specialize in Japan with a variety of companies, including Paul Drew Enterprises, The USA Japan Company,

the Mobotron Corporation, and the 2151 Corporation (the last two in partnership with Sony Corporation and the family of Sony founder Akio Morita).

Concurrently, Drew was commissioner to the California Motion Picture Council and served under two California governors. He was also a White House adviser for President Jimmy Carter’s energy program and served on the Commission of Ceremonies for the 1984 Olympic Games in Los Angeles.

In 1984 Drew received a nonpolitical appointment from President Ronald Reagan to be the first director of Radio Martí, which established broadcasts of the Voice of America aimed at Cuba. When he received the call from a friend of President Reagan, Drew had just returned from one of many trips to Japan, where he had accompanied California Governor Jerry Brown and introduced Brown to Japanese business opportunities for the state of California. Drew described himself as a “life-long Democrat” but accepted the appointment from a Republican administration because, as he stated, “I was doing something for my country.” After the Radio Martí experience, Drew confessed: “The radio part was easy. The political part was not.”

During his years in broadcasting, Drew guided and developed many well-known air talents and programmers. In *Network 40* magazine, Gerry Cagle noted, “Perhaps Paul’s greatest legacy lies in the success of those he hired.” The list of broadcasters who worked for Drew includes consultants Jerry Clifton, Don Kelly, and Guy Zapoleon; industry writers Gerry Cagle, Jerry Del Colliano, Walt “Baby” Love, and Dave Sholin; and air personalities Rick Dees, Charlie Van Dyke, Jay Thomas, and Dr. Don Rose.

In 1999 Drew and his wife Ann moved from their longtime home, Los Angeles, to Forsyth, Georgia, where he claimed he “was not officially retired.”

ED SHANE

See also Radio Martí

Paul Drew. Born in Detroit, Michigan, 10 March 1935. Attended Wayne State University; began career at WDET-FM, Detroit, 1954; air personality at WHLS-AM, Port Huron, Michigan, 1955; night-time host, WGST-AM, Atlanta, Georgia, 1957; moved to WAKE, Atlanta, 1961; air personality, WQXI, Atlanta, 1964; music and program director at WQXI; program director at WIBG, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, CKLW, Windsor, Ontario, Canada, KFRC, San Francisco, California, WGMS, Washington, DC, and KHJ, Los Angeles, California, 1968–73; while at KHJ, named vice president of programming for parent company, RKO General Broadcasting; director, Radio Martí, 1984–85; formed several companies, including Paul Drew Enterprises, Mobotron Company, and 2151 Corporation (a partnership with RayKaySony).

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Duffy's Tavern

Comedy Program

—"Duffy's Tavern, where the elite meet to eat, Archie the manager speaking, Duffy ain't here. Oh, hello, Duffy . . ."

Every week, a ringing phone and Archie's nasal New York accent invited listeners into *Duffy's Tavern*, a weekly situation comedy set in a dilapidated pub in the heart of Manhattan's east side. Running the place on behalf of the ever-absent Duffy, Archie the manager and his cohorts—Eddie, Finnegan, Clancy the Cop, Miss Duffy (Duffy's daughter), and others—welcomed a new guest star or guest character every week into a defiantly low-class atmosphere of barbed but friendly give and take.

Duffy's was famous for its play with (and mistreatment of) language, especially Archie's constant malapropisms. "Leave me dub you welcome to this distinctured establishment," Archie said to guest star Vincent Price, "and leave me further say, Mr. Price, that seldom have we behooved such an august presentiment to these confines. . . . And feel assured, Mr. Price, that your visit is a bereavement from which we will not soon recover." As comedian Georgie Jessel once chided Fred Allen on *The Texaco Star Theatre*: "Fred! Two split infinitives and a dangling metaphor—people will think this is Duffy's Tavern!"

The pilot for *Duffy's Tavern* aired on 29 July 1940 on the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) radio program *Forecast*, which aired previews and pilots of proposed CBS shows in order to gauge audience reaction. The reaction in this case was enthusiastic, and CBS picked *Duffy's* up as a weekly half-hour program beginning in March 1941, running on Saturday nights at 8:30. It moved to two more time slots over the next year, until October 1942, when it switched to National Broadcasting Company's (NBC) Blue network, running at 8:30 on Tuesdays. When NBC Blue became the separate network American Broadcasting Companies (ABC), *Duffy's Tavern*

moved to the NBC network proper, where it ran for the next seven years.

Duffy's Tavern was largely the brainchild of its star, Ed Gardner (born Ed Poggenburg), who first created the character of Archie for the CBS program *This Is New York* in 1939. Archie's right-hand man was "Eddie the Waiter," played by Eddie Green, an African-American comedian with a dry wit, who often took the wind out of Archie's sails. Green's part was notable at the time for its lack of stereotype or inferiority: the writers for *Duffy's Tavern* received an award during "Negro History Week" in 1946 for providing Green with such positive, racially inoffensive material.

The most faithful patron of the tavern was the monumentally stupid "Clifton Finnegan," played by veteran radio comic Charlie Cantor (no relation to Eddie Cantor). Cantor had originated the slow-talking, even slower-witted stooge character Socrates Mulligan for the "Allen's Alley" segment on the *Fred Allen Show*, and he eventually transplanted a renamed Mulligan into *Duffy's Tavern*. Cantor was an enormously experienced radio talent, "the Great Mr. Anonymous of radio," appearing on programs such as *The Shadow*, *Abie's Irish Rose*, *Dick Tracy*, *The Life of Riley*, and *Baby Snooks*. At one point he was in such demand that he performed in 26 programs in one week, and for several months he appeared in the same time slot on three different networks in two recordings and one live show.

Ed Gardner's wife Shirley Booth originally played "Miss Duffy," a young woman on the lookout for marriageable men, pursuing them almost as energetically as they fled from her. After Gardner and Booth divorced in 1942, at least 12 different actresses essayed the role of Miss Duffy, most notably Florence Halop and Sandra Gould, whose combined tenure lasted approximately six years.

In 1944 production moved from Manhattan to Hollywood (though of course the tavern remained eternally in New York), and in 1945, Paramount released a *Duffy's Tavern* feature film, starring the central cast of the radio show as their tavern characters (Gardner, Green, and Cantor, with Ann Thomas as the Miss Duffy du jour), surrounded by literally dozens of Paramount contract players appearing as themselves (among them Bing Crosby, Dorothy Lamour, Alan Ladd, and Paulette Goddard). The film received tepid reviews—critics appreciated the star-studded stage show within the movie much more than the framing story featuring the radio characters—but the radio show itself kept going strong.

An NBC report in March 1949 identified *Duffy's Tavern* as one of the network's top four programs, "vital to the maintenance of a strong position in the industry," alongside Fred Allen, Fibber McGee, and Bob Hope. That year there were rumblings within NBC and rumors in the newspapers that Gardner planned to take the show to CBS; in fact, Gardner went so far as to obtain a release from the program's contract with longtime sponsor Bristol-Myers to free up his options to court another network. However, NBC found *Duffy's* important enough to renegotiate. During the 1949 summer hiatus, Gardner and NBC moved the program in its entirety—including equipment, staff, and performers—to Puerto Rico, to take advantage of a 12-year tax holiday intended to attract new industry.

When *Duffy's* returned to the airwaves in the fall of 1949 with recordings sent in from Puerto Rico, the show had a new sponsor, Blatz Brewing Company, which eventually caused some trouble for NBC. Some stations could not or would not allow beer advertising, and some that allowed beer would not accept the accompanying wine trailer ads, causing a number of stations to drop the program entirely. During its last year, *Duffy's Tavern* relied on multiple sponsors, including Radio Corporation of America (RCA) Victor and Anacin.

At the very end of 1951, despite a temporary rise in ratings after the Puerto Rico move, *Duffy's Tavern* was cancelled. In 1954, a syndicated *Duffy's Tavern* television show appeared, starring Gardner as Archie and Alan Reed (the radio show's Clancy the Cop) as Finnegan, but reviews were strongly negative, and the program did not last. By that time, the tavern's style of humor was considered old-fashioned and long past its prime. During the 1940s, however, *Duffy's Tavern* had been one of the mainstays of radio comedy, and long before television's *Cheers* came along, Duffy's embodied "the place where everybody knows your name."

DORINDA HARTMANN

Cast

Archie the manager	Ed Gardner
Eddie the waiter	Eddie Green
Clifton Finnegan	Charlie Cantor
Miss Duffy	Shirley Booth (1940–43), Florence Halop (1943–44, 1948–49), Sandra Gould (1944–48), Sara Berner, Pauline Drake, Helen Eley, Gloria Erlanger, Margie Liszt, Helen Lynd, Connie Manning, Florence Robinson, Hazel Shermet, Doris Singleton
Clancy the cop	Alan Reed
Wilfred, Finnegan's little brother	Dickie Van Patten
Colonel Stoopnagle	F. Chase Taylor
Dolly Snaffle	Lurene Tuttle

Producer/Creator

Ed Gardner

Producers

Mitchell Benson, Rupert Lucas, Jack Roche, and Tony Sanford

Programming History

CBS	29 July 1940 (pilot aired on Forecast)–June 1942
NBC Blue	October 1942–June 1944
NBC	1944–52

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Duhamel, Helen 1904–1991

U.S. Broadcaster and Executive

In the sparsely populated areas of the Midwest, some women were able to advance professionally in radio broadcasting as regional leaders in the industry. Such was the case with Helen S. Duhamel.

During the Depression of 1929, Helen Duhamel, at that time a mother of two small children, found herself in a unique position. Her father-in-law, Alex Duhamel, the owner of the Duhamel Trading Post in Rapid City, South Dakota, was facing near-bankruptcy and turned to her for advice. She encouraged her father-in-law to hold on to his business. During the next two years, Alex Duhamel managed to stay afloat, but he finally asked Helen Duhamel to take over. Using her background as a bookkeeper and seeking advice from the best businessmen in Minneapolis, she devised an innovative plan. By dividing the Trading Post building into smaller sections, she was able to sell some of the units and rent out others. By 1937 she had paid off the mortgage, and the Duhamel Company was out of debt in only five years. By 1940, Helen Duhamel had bought out all the other Duhamel heirs and owned the Duhamel Trading Post free and clear. Located near Ellsworth Air Force Base and Mount Rushmore, the Trading Post prospered during the war years of the 1940s.

From the inception of the first radio station in Rapid City in 1936, Duhamel recognized its potential as a profitable business. As a retail merchant, she had invested in radio advertising and found it an important factor in the success of her business enterprises. In 1943 she became a stockholder in Black Hills Broadcasting, which included KOBH Radio.

Observing the growing interest in radio, Duhamel began purchasing more and more stock in KOBH Radio, which became KOTA in 1945. By 1954 she had bought out all the other stockholders. When attending early broadcasting conferences, she was the only female owner of a radio station present.

Both KOTA and KOBH Radio had original offices in the Alex Johnson Hotel across the street from the Duhamel Trading Post in downtown Rapid City. The station was set up on the 10th floor, with its offices in the solarium on the 11th floor. After Duhamel's acquisition of the radio station, the operation was eventually moved to new headquarters above the Trading Post.

Near the end of World War II, the radio station applied to the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) for permission to expand from a tiny 150-watt station to 5,000 watts. U.S. Representative Francis Case of South Dakota assisted in getting the needed approval. He discovered that the military used the local radio station signals as a homing device for a

guidance system at night. By approaching the War Department, Case was able to ensure FCC acceptance of the KOTA application. On 1 January 1945, the application was accepted. The call letters were changed to KOTA, and the station logo was changed to "KOTA—Chief Signal Station in the Old Sioux Nation."

KOTA Radio became a Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) affiliate, and the stockholders purchased a used transmitter and built three directional towers south of town on Highway 79.

Duhamel expanded her radio operations to include television. In order to bring live network TV to South Dakota, she installed the world's longest privately owned microwave system. In 1966, as an equal partner in South Dakota Cable, she brought cable television to rural South Dakota.

In 1976 Duhamel was elected to the South Dakota Broadcasters Association Hall of Fame. In 1991 she was also selected to be included in the Nebraska Broadcasters' Hall of Fame. Helen S. Duhamel died in 1991 at the age of 87. Bill Duhamel, her son, continues to head the highly successful, privately owned Duhamel Broadcasting Enterprises.

MARY KAY SWITZER

See also Women in Radio

Helen S. Duhamel. Born in Windsor, Missouri, 26 November 1904. Bought an interest in KOBH Radio, Rapid City, South Dakota, 1943; after the station became KOTA, she took over the operation and eventually developed Duhamel Broadcasting Enterprises, 1954; spent 22 days behind Iron Curtain as representative from National Association of Broadcasters, 1969; recognized as first woman president of state broadcasting association, 1961; received Jaycees' "Boss of the Year Award," 1965; McCall's "Golden Mike Award"; Alfred P. Sloan Radio-Television Award for Distinguished Public Service; special letter of commendation from the President of the United States for her stations' public service during the devastating Black Hills flood, 1972; elected to South Dakota Broadcasters' Association Hall of Fame, 1976; Nebraska Broadcasters' Association Hall of Fame, 1992. Died in Rapid City, 8 November 1991.

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Dunbar, Jim 1932–

U.S. Talk-Show Host

Jim Dunbar was shot at five times by a disturbed listener. He may have been the only radio air personality to interview the “Zodiac” serial killer. As one of the pioneers of the news-talk radio format, Dunbar’s long broadcast career has been marked by peculiar fate and fortuitous innovation, culminating in his election to the Radio Hall of Fame in 1999. “I’m still a little flabbergasted being up there on a wall,” Dunbar said of his plaque in the Chicago-based Hall of Fame. “It’s still in a way kind of surreal, seeing your name up there between Tommy Dorsey and Don Dunphy, the old fight announcer” (all Dunbar quotations are from an interview with the author).

Dunbar’s career began in 1952 and included stints as a disc jockey and newscaster in Manhattan, Kansas, and Detroit, Michigan, before he became program director and morning disc jockey at WDSU in New Orleans in 1957. Four years later, he moved to WLS in Chicago as assistant program director and disc jockey.

WLS was “a very special station that owned the Midwest,” Dunbar said. “We had the Midwest by the ears.” He spent three years there but yearned to relinquish on-air duties and be a program director again. “I turned 30 and faced the fear that I might be playing Patti Page and Pat Boone the rest of my career,” Dunbar said. “I hated that music. I’m a jazz fan.”

Dunbar was hired in 1963 as program director for KGO in San Francisco, a station that consistently ranked last in a 12-station market despite adopting numerous formats. “They tried everything from German bund music to bird whistles, but nothing seemed to work,” Dunbar said. “Yellow-cab dispatchers had a bigger audience.”

As program director, Dunbar was charged with the responsibility of finding a format to pull KGO out of the ratings basement. He chose a new concept, news-talk, which he helped to shape. “I don’t want to take credit for being the inventor of news-talk radio,” Dunbar said. “A lot of people shared the credit. I just put together some things that had worked elsewhere, and that I thought would work here”—notably news, talk, and humor. “I had nothing to lose, so I thought, ‘Let’s give them something so compelling that they would hang on through the next commercial break,’” Dunbar recalled. “Radio had always been background. What we did was we made it foreground.”

As Dunbar defined it, the news-talk format is “fundamentally a bulletin service with a heavy emphasis on traffic, along with a series of talk-interview programs that would hold people,” Dunbar said. “It was bubble gum of the mind.”

Dunbar introduced a duo of consummate practical jokers to the KGO mix. Jim Coyle and Mal Sharpe were masters of

street pranks, devising an outlandish premise and then taping ad-lib interviews with unsuspecting passersby. They attempted to persuade people to graft chicken wings to their foreheads to enable them to fly, they tried to persuade a grocer to stock pre-bitten fruit, they sought recruits for a private army of San Franciscans to invade Los Angeles and endeavored to rent pigeons in Golden Gate Park for \$1.50 per hour. The well-dressed, straight-faced duo recorded these exchanges while “pushing our victims as far as they’ll go before they take a poke at us,” Coyle said (“Rent-A-Pigeon,” *Newsweek*, 13 January 1964). After they produced an album of their gags in 1963, Dunbar gave Coyle and Sharpe their own three-hour nightly show on KGO. “That’s what I feel proudest of,” Dunbar said of his career accomplishments. “They were so different from anything else on the air. They were funny and unusual. They helped establish the difference between us and other stations.”

Despite Dunbar’s innovations, the new format was not an immediate success. After one year, KGO’s station manager wanted to abolish the news-talk format and switch to rock and roll. “I told him, ‘We are about to turn the corner, and you are making a big mistake,’” Dunbar said. The station manager relented, and one year later KGO was one of the top-ranked stations in the market.

Shortly after taking the reins as program director, Dunbar reversed his decision to stay off the air and made himself an afternoon talk-show host. “Vietnam and conservation were pretty much all anyone wanted to talk about” during the 1960s and 1970s, Dunbar recalled. In September 1973 a psychologically disturbed listener, recent immigrant Lawrence Kwong, believed he heard Dunbar’s voice inside his head, threatening him. “He thought I was going to kill him, so he decided to kill me first,” Dunbar said. Kwong stood on the other side of the studio window during Dunbar’s show and fired five shots. The station had recently installed bulletproof glass, so Dunbar was spared. The enraged Kwong was undeterred, though, and headed for the studio door. When station advertising salesman Ben Munson tried to intervene, Kwong killed him and then committed suicide.

Another unbalanced listener called in to Dunbar’s show, claiming to be the notorious Zodiac killer who had committed a string of unsolved murders in California in the 1970s. He promised to give himself up if attorney Melvin Belli agreed on air to represent him. Dunbar invited Belli to the studio, where “Belli so dominated the conversation the guy hung up and called back 54 times in an hour and a half,” Dunbar said. The caller made arrangements to surrender to police with Dunbar



Jim Dunbar
Courtesy Radio Hall of Fame

and Belli present, but he never showed. Dunbar is confident that the caller was the real Zodiac killer because he knew details of murders that had not been publicly revealed. (The killer has never been caught.)

In 1975, Dunbar moved to the morning drive-time shift on KGO, a position he retained until his retirement in July 2000.

Dismayed by the plethora of shock-jocks and rude talk-show hosts on the airwaves today, Dunbar said he got out at the right time. "We are now imposing on the listener so much, and picking at scabs, that it has gone from intrusive to invasive," he said. Instead he wishes that other show hosts would emulate his approach. "You reveal what your heart is telling you and you let people respond to that, one way or another," Dunbar counseled. "That's how to do a talk show."

RALPH FRASCA

See also Disk Jockeys; KGO; Radio Hall of Fame

Jim Dunbar. Born 9 October 1932. Started radio career at WKAR in East Lansing, Michigan, 1952; served in U.S. Army, 1953–55; disk jockey and newscaster, WHDH, Manhattan, Kansas, 1953–55; disk jockey, WXYZ, Detroit, Michigan, 1955–56; program director and disk jockey, WDSU, New Orleans, Louisiana, 1956–60; assistant program director and on-air talent, WLS, Chicago, 1960–63; program director, KGO, San Francisco, 1963–65; afternoon talk show host, KGO, 1965–74; co-anchor of KGO Radio Morning News, 1974; hosted KGO-TV's morning talk show and anchored 5 P.M. news, 1965–79. Received Best Anchor Team award, Associated Press Television and Radio Association of California-Nevada, 1994; Lifetime Achievement Award from Northwestern University, Medill School of Journalism, 1999; Radio Hall of Fame, 1999.

Further Reading

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Kava, Brad, "KGO's Soothing Voice," *San Jose Mercury News* (26 November 1999)

Marine, Craig, "Radio Stalwart Dunbar Is Stepping down," *San Francisco Examiner* (17 March 2000)

"Rent-A-Pigeon," *Newsweek* (13 January 1964)

Whiting, Sam, "The Man with the Mike: Coyle and Sharpe's Street Ambush Comedy Finds a New Audience Almost 40 Years Later," *San Francisco Chronicle* (19 January 2000)

Dunlap, Orrin E. 1896–1970

U.S. Writer, Editor, and Radio Publicist

Orrin Dunlap was an important newspaper radio editor, a prolific author of books on radio and television, and an important corporate radio publicist working in and reporting about radio's first several decades.

Dunlap's radio experience began in 1912 with a home-built amateur radio transmitter in the attic of his Niagara Falls, New York, home. He gained commercial experience on the Great Lakes as a Marconi Wireless Telegraph operator. During World War I, he served as a U.S. Navy coast station radio operator in Maine. After receiving his B.S. from Colgate in 1920, Dunlap did some graduate coursework at the Harvard Business School before finding employment with the New York-based Hanff-Metzger advertising agency.

He became the *New York Times*' first radio editor in 1922, just as the national craze for the new medium was reaching its peak. Carr Van Anda, the *Times*' managing editor, asked Dunlap to develop a regular radio section for the paper. Dunlap would hold the post for 18 years, becoming a widely read critic and columnist and one of the most influential commentators about radio.

At the same time, Dunlap began writing books about radio; the first one, *The Radio Manual*, grew out of the many technical information requests from *Times* readers. Dunlap was able to write about technical matters in a clear fashion for those with little or no background. Eventually, he would publish 13 volumes on radio and related topics. Among them were two volumes on radio advertising (among the first on the subject to appear); a history of radio; a biography of Marconi in which the inventor cooperated; several books on television (the first being drawn from his columns in the *Times*, his only book so based); a reference book on radio inventors; a chronology of radio and television; and an overall history of telecommunications, the last edition of which appeared after his death. Though all long out of print, several of Dunlap's books remain standard reference works today.

In 1940 Dunlap joined the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) as manager of the company's information department, rising to become a vice president (in 1947) of advertising and

publicity before retiring. For most of this period he wrote RCA's annual report.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Columnists; Radio Corporation of America

Orrin Elmer Dunlap, Jr. Born in Niagara Falls, New York, 23 August 1896. Served in U.S. Navy as radio operator during World War I; attended Colgate University, B.S., 1920; employed by Hanff-Metzger Agency, 1920–22; radio editor, *New York Times*, 1922–40; manager, information department, Radio Corporation of America (RCA), 1940–47; vice president of advertising and publicity, RCA, 1947–61. Received Marconi Medal of History from Veterans Wireless Operators Association, 1945. Died in New York City, 1 February 1970.

Selected Publications

The Radio Manual, 1924

The Story of Radio, 1927; revised edition, 1935

Advertising by Radio, 1929

Radio in Advertising, 1931

The Outlook for Television, 1932

Talking on the Radio: A Practical Guide for Writing and Broadcasting a Speech, 1936; revised edition, 1948

Marconi: The Man and His Wireless, 1937; revised edition, 1938

The Future of Television, 1942; revised edition, 1947

Radio's 100 Men of Science: Biographical Narratives of Pathfinders in Electronics and Television, 1944

Radar: What Radar Is and How It Works, 1946

Understanding Television: What It Is and How It Works, 1948; revised edition, 1951

Radio and Television Almanac: Men, Events, Inventions, and Dates That Made History in Electronics from the Dawn of Electricity to Radar and Television, 1951

Communications in Space: From Wireless to Satellite Relay, 1962; revised editions, 1964, 1970

Durante, Jimmy 1893–1980

U.S. Radio, Film, and Stage Performer

When Jimmy Durante performed, he appeared to the world like a king penguin in basic black evening wear and a shapeless black fedora. Strong in his stride and tireless while performing, he was known for his rapid speech, gravelly voice, and cathedral nose. His legacy continues every Christmas season when he is heard as the narrator of *Frosty, the Snowman*.

Origins

Durante was born to Italian immigrant parents in New York City on the kitchen table in his parents' apartment. His parents gave him piano lessons as he grew up. From 1910 until 1914 Durante worked at Diamond Tony's on Coney Island. Billed as "Ragtime Jimmy," he became a talented piano player and learned the ins and outs of handling a crowd.

Durante worked his way up to the Alamo Club in Harlem, where he was bandleader and talent booker. He worked there until 1921 and moonlighted at other clubs. He also made a series of recordings with the Original New Orleans Jazz Band. During his time at the Alamo, Durante met his wife, Jeanne Olson. They were married in 1921.

During the 1920s, Durante gravitated toward vaudeville, where he became part of a comedy music team with Lou Clayton and Eddie Jackson, known as the "Three Sawdust Bums." He opened his own place, The Club Durant, which, although it did not last long, made Jimmy Durante a star. After the club closed in 1925, the three men continued performing music and comedy at various theaters and finally at the Palace Theater.

Durante developed much of his characteristic style during his vaudeville days. He purposefully misused the English language and enthusiastically delivered his signature "Hotcha-cha." He also became known for tunes such as "I Ups to Him," "I'm Jimmy, That Well-Dressed Man," and his theme song, "Inka-Dinka Doo."

Clayton, Jackson, and Durante made their Broadway debut in Ziegfeld's *Show Girl* in 1929. Durante had a chance to do a solo and let his personality shine through. The "Bums" also made their film appearance in *Roadhouse Nights*, filmed on Long Island in the Paramount studio. Durante played Helen Morgan's piano accompanist. He knew that he was not the matinee idol type, and he found his popularity increasing as he aged and became loved by another generation.

The next Broadway appearance for the trio was *The New Yorker* (1930–1931), playing speakeasy gangsters. At that time Durante was offered a five-year contract by Metro Goldwyn Mayer (MGM), breaking up the trio. Lou Clayton became Jimmy's manager and confidant until Clayton's death in 1950.

Durante appeared in 17 films over the next four years. In his first film he supported William Haines in *The New Adventures of Get-Rich-Quick Wallingford* (1931). During his early film career, there were few memorable moments. He took time off to reteam with Clayton and Jackson in the Broadway show *Strike Me Pink*. The play got modest reviews. Although his film career was not spectacular, Durante appeared in a number of films from 1936 to 1941. He also appeared on Broadway in the Cole Porter revue *Red, Hot & Blue* (1936–37, with Ethel Merman and Bob Hope) and then in *Stars in Your Eyes* (1939, again with Merman).

Radio

Durante was a guest on many radio shows in the 1930s and 1940s. He appeared with Eddie Cantor, Rudy Vallee, Fred Allen, and others, making appearances as well on such programs as *Fibber McGee and Molly* and *Duffy's Tavern*. In 1943 Durante began appearing on CBS's *Camel Comedy Caravan* with Garry Moore. In 1945 the program was renamed *The Jimmy Durante-Garry Moore Show*. Moore left in 1947, but Durante continued with the show through 1949. While appearing on radio, Durante also appeared in six films at MGM. He was a great comic foil for Van Johnson and June Allyson. In the 1950s he made only three films, starring with Donald O'Connor in *The Milkman*, *The Great Rupert*, and *Beau James*.

Film and Television

During the late 1940s and the 1950s, some of Durante's greatest success came from television. He co-hosted NBC's *Four Star Revue* in 1950, as well as the *All Star Revue* (1951–52) and the *Colgate Comedy Hour* (NBC, 1953–54). In 1954 he starred in his own show, which ran through 1956. Though his show went off the air, Durante continued to guest-star on television shows and in specials. Baby boomers knew him in the early 1960s from his various appearances on the *Ed Sullivan Show*. In 1969 he supplied the narration for the CBS cartoon *Frosty, the Snowman*, which still runs every year at Christmas. His last television appearance was on the *Sonny and Cher Comedy Hour* in 1971.

Unlike most of his contemporaries, Durante seemed ageless from the late 1940s throughout the early 1970s. In 1972, he suffered a stroke and his health declined. Wheelchair bound, he appeared on various award shows, making his last public appearance at his 83rd birthday bash in 1976. His fame was



Jimmy Durante
 Courtesy Library of American Broadcasting

rekindled when his recordings of “As Time Goes By” and “Make Someone Happy” were used on the soundtrack of the movie *Sleepless in Seattle* (1993), putting Durante on the charts in the 1990s.

ANNE SANDERLIN

See also Comedy; Vaudeville

James Francis Durante. Born in New York City, 10 February 1893. Began his music career playing piano in beer gardens in Coney Island; in one club, he played piano for then-waiter Eddie Cantor; organized a jazz/Dixieland band in Harlem, New York; opened the Club Durant with Eddie Jackson and Lou Clayton, 1923; club closed down by Prohibition officers, 1924; with Jackson and Clayton played Parody Club, 1924–26, then entered vaudeville; film debut with Jackson and

Clayton, *Roadhouse Nights*, 1930; wrote songs, including “Inka Dinka Doo;” moved to Hollywood after the trio broke up and made numerous motion pictures while also appearing on Broadway; began doing radio with Garry Moore in 1933; starred on *The Jimmy Durante Show*, NBC-TV, with former partners Jackson and Clayton, 1954–56. Recipient: George Foster Peabody Award, 1950; Emmy Award, Best Comedian, 1953. Died in Santa Monica, California, 29 January 1980.

Radio Series

- 1933–34 *The Chase and Sanborn Hour*
- 1935–36 *The Jumbo Fire Chief Program*
- 1943–45 *The Camel Comedy Caravan*
- 1943–47 *The Jimmy Durante-Garry Moore Show*
- 1947–50 *The Jimmy Durante Show*
- 1951–52 *The Big Show*

Television

NBC's *Four Star Revue*, 1950; *The All Star Revue*, 1951–52; *The Colgate Comedy Hour*, 1953–54; *The Jimmy Durante Show*, 1954–56; *Alice Through the Looking Glass*, 1966; *Jimmy Durante Presents The Lennon Sisters*, 1969

Films

Roadhouse Nights, 1930; *The New Adventures of Get-Rich-Quick Wallingford*, 1931; *Cuban Love Song*, 1931; *The Christmas Party*, 1931; *Wet Parade*, 1932; *Speak Easily*, 1932; *The Phantom President*, 1932; *The Passionate Plumber*, 1932; *Blondie of the Follies*, 1932; *What! No Beer?*, 1933; *Meet The Barron*, 1933; *Hell Below*, 1933; *Broadway to Hollywood*, 1933; *Student Tour*, 1934; *Strictly Dynamite*, 1934; *Palooka*, 1934; *George White's Scandals*, 1934; *Hollywood Party*, 1934; *Carnival*, 1935; *Land Without Music*, 1936; *Little Miss Broadway*, 1938; *Start Cheering*, 1938; *Sally, Irene and Mary*, 1938; *Melody Ranch*, 1940; *You're in the Army Now*, 1941; *The Man Who Came to Dinner*, 1941; *Two Girls and a Sailor*, 1944; *Music For Millions*, 1944; *Two Sisters From Boston*, 1946; *It Happened in Brooklyn*, 1947; *This Time for Keeps*, 1947; *On an Island with You*, 1948; *The Milkman*, 1950; *The*

Great Rupert, 1950; *Beau James*, 1957; *Pepe*, 1960; *Il Giudizio Universale* aka *The Last Judgment*, 1962; *Billy Rose's Jumbo*, 1962; *It's a Mad Mad Mad Mad World*, 1963

Stage

Show Girl, 1929; *The New Yorkers*, 1930; *Strike Me Pink*, 1933; *Jumbo*, 1935–36; *Red, Hot and Blue*, 1936–37; *Stars in Your Eyes*, 1939; *Keep off the Grass*, 1940

Selected Publications

I've Got My Habits On (with Chris Smith and Bob Schafer), 1921
Night Clubs (with John Christian Kofoed), 1931

Further Reading

Cahn, William, *Good Night, Mrs. Calabash: The Secret of Jimmy Durante*, New York: Duell Sloan and Pearce, 1963
Fowler, Gene, *Schnozzola: The Story of Jimmy Durante*, New York: Viking Press, 1951
Robbins, Jhan, *Inka Dinka Doo: The Life of Jimmy Durante*, New York: Paragon House, 1991

Durham, Richard 1917–1984

U.S. Writer and Radio Dramatist

From June 1948 to August 1950, Richard Durham was the force behind Chicago radio's *Destination Freedom*, a lyrical, politically outspoken weekly half-hour series of programs that dramatized the lives and accomplishments of various contemporary and historical black leaders. The series was an uncompromising, well-written presentation of dignified African-American images during a time when few such images existed in American media. Durham's scripts creatively and consistently rallied against racial, social, and economic injustice.

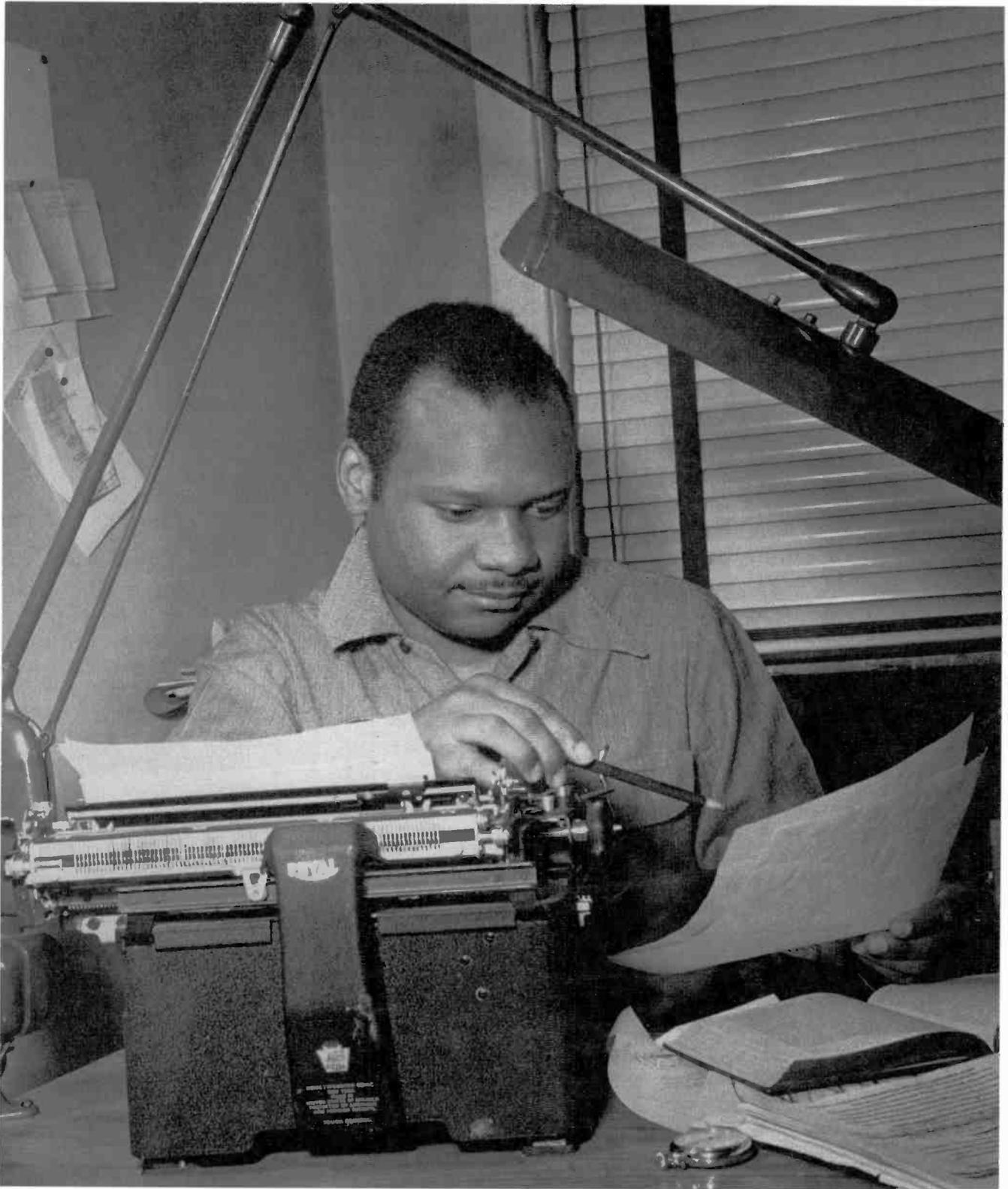
Early Years

Richard Durham was one of eight children born to a father who was a farmer and a mother who was a schoolteacher in rural Raymond, Mississippi. In 1923, when Durham was six years old, his family moved to Chicago, joining the large migration of African Americans from the agricultural South who sought better employment and education opportunities in the industrial North. Durham attended Chicago public

schools, became an avid reader, briefly enrolled in Northwestern University, and wrote poetry in his spare time.

During the Depression, Durham landed a job with the Illinois Writers Project, a state program that was an outgrowth of the federal government's Works Progress Administration. As a member of the project's radio division, he wrote for several shows that aired on Chicago stations during the early 1940s.

Ever the versatile writer, Durham also worked as an editor and print journalist for the Chicago-based and black owned *Chicago Defender* newspaper and *Ebony* magazine during World War II. After the war he was hired to write for a 15-minute weekly drama series entitled *Democracy USA*, which aired on WBBM, Chicago's Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) affiliate station. Durham continued to hone his writing skills by creating a soap opera that dealt with the trials and triumphs of a fictitious black family. As one of the first soap operas of its day concentrating on African American characters, *Here Comes Tomorrow* aired on Chicago radio's WJJD from 1947 to 1948.



Richard Durham
Courtesy of Clarice Durham

But Durham also longed to counter the stereotypical portrayal of African Americans on shows such as *Amos 'n' Andy* and *Beulah* by dramatically highlighting the accomplishments of black historical, cultural, educational, and political leaders—from figures such as slavery abolitionist Harriet Tubman and Haitian revolutionary Toussaint L'Ouverture, or cultural icons John Henry and Stackalee, to more contemporary movers and shakers such as poet Gwendolyn Brooks and statesman Ralph Bunche. *Destination Freedom* became Durham's brilliant means of expression.

Destination Freedom

Durham fortuitously approached Chicago's National Broadcasting Company (NBC) affiliate WMAQ with his series proposal during a time when there was a somewhat more liberal atmosphere in the post-World War II media. In fact, the director of WMAQ's public affairs and education division was Judith Waller, a woman who was passionate about and committed to public-service programming.

Durham was granted a weekly half-hour spot, and *Destination Freedom* debuted at 10 A.M. on Sunday morning, 27 June 1948. Each week, the series opened with an a cappella rendering of the African-American spiritual "Oh Freedom." An announcer briefly introduced the episode's specific focus, and then Durham began weaving his story—cleverly using actors, sound effects, and music to bring his scripts to life.

Durham was an inventive writer who used innovative storytelling methods. Often, objects or concepts became personalities. For example, in "Anatomy of an Ordinance," urban slums were personified by an arrogant character who was proud of his discriminatory origins, and Louis Armstrong's trumpet verbally guided listeners through the great musician's life in "The Trumpet Speaks." Additionally, in "The Rime of the Ancient Dodger," humorously rhymed verse helped to dramatize Jackie Robinson's integration of major-league baseball in 1947.

In one of the series' strongest productions, the award-winning "The Heart of George Cotton," Durham cast a human heart as a narrator. Accompanied by the sound of fluctuating heartbeats, Durham's heart character intimately involves the audience in an open-heart operation. This episode paid tribute to African-American surgeons Ulysses Grant Dailey and the legendary Daniel Hale Williams—the first doctor to successfully suture a human heart in 1893.

One of Durham's recurring themes maintained that until all people enjoyed social and economic freedom, the fight against oppression would continue. In fact, *Destination Freedom* characters such as slavery revolt leader Denmark Vesey and reconstruction senator Charles Caldwell actually verbalized this sentiment—one rarely heard on radio at that time. Also, Durham championed women's rights in his characterizations

of such African-American pioneers as abolitionist Sojourner Truth, educator Mary McLeod Bethune, choreographer Katherine Dunham, and journalist/activist Ida B. Wells.

Durham spent hours in the library poring over historical documents to find material for his scripts. He attempted to avoid overtly didactic scriptwriting approaches, opting to tell stories that might emotionally capture listeners and encourage them to draw their own conclusions.

Apparently, his approach worked. The show was enthusiastically received by many Chicago listeners—despite an airtime that Durham disliked because of its proximity to Sunday morning worship services. By the end of its first year, *Destination Freedom* had garnered several awards, along with praise from citizens' groups, the Chicago Board of Education, and Illinois Governor Adlai Stevenson. But there were also complaints. Some considered the series too radical, and groups such as the American Legion and the Knights of Columbus protested certain episodes. But because of the largely positive attention that *Destination Freedom* brought to the station, WMAQ continued the series. However, the station never sought to broadcast the series to a national audience, in part because it was believed that Southern stations would refuse to air it.

Inside WMAQ, which financially supported *Destination Freedom* (the *Chicago Defender* and the Urban League also briefly sponsored the series), Durham regularly fought with station censors. There were attempts to soften Durham's characterization of Revolutionary War hero Crispus Attucks, and proposed programs on such legendary figures as Paul Robeson and Nat Turner were rejected because they were considered too controversial. One show on abolitionist and statesman Frederick Douglass was so heavily edited that it would have been only 20 minutes long had it been produced with the proposed cuts. Durham and his predominantly African-American cast of socially conscious actors protested, and much of the edited material was restored.

WMAQ ended its support of Richard Durham's *Destination Freedom* during the summer of 1950, sparked by the rising conservatism of the budding anti-Communist period. After Durham's departure, the series lasted for a short period featuring traditional white heroes. But Durham sued WMAQ, preventing the station from continuing to use the *Destination Freedom* name.

Richard Durham sustained his politically astute creativity through work as a Chicago-based television scriptwriter, newspaper editor, author, and political speechwriter until his death in 1984. But he is perhaps best remembered for his brilliantly written and historically significant *Destination Freedom* radio series.

SONJA WILLIAMS

See also Black-Oriented Radio; Playwrights on Radio; WMAQ

Richard Durham. Born in Raymond, Mississippi, 6 September 1917. Briefly attended Northwestern University; wrote radio scripts, Illinois Writer's Project of the Works Progress Administration, 1939–43; feature writer, editor, and freelancer for *The Chicago Defender* newspaper and *Ebony* magazine, 1943–46; writer for WBBM's weekly drama, *Democracy U.S.A.*, 1946–48; creator and writer of the African-American soap opera *Here Comes Tomorrow* on WJJD, Chicago, 1947–48; creator and writer of radio series *Destination Freedom*, 1948–50; freelance writer for soap operas and science fiction television shows, 1950–52; education director for United Packinghouse Workers Union, 1952–57; freelance political speechwriter, 1957–62; editor of newspaper *Muhammad Speaks*, 1963–70; creator and head writer for WTTW public television series *Bird of the Iron Feather*, 1970; author (with Muhammad Ali) of *The Greatest: My Own Story*, 1975; speechwriter for Congressman Harold Washington, 1982–83. Received Poetry Award, Northwestern University, 1937; Page One Award, Chicago Newspaper Guild, 1945; Wendell L. Wilkie Award (*Democracy USA*), 1946; Citation from President Harry S. Truman (*Democracy USA*), 1946; Citation from Illinois Governor Adlai Stevenson (*Destination Freedom*), 1949; Chicago Commission on Human Relations, 1949; National Conference for Christians and Jews, 1949; South Central Association of Chicago, 1949; Institute for Education by Radio, Ohio State University, 1949; Emmy Award (*Bird of an Iron Feather*), 1970; Literary Hall of Fame, Chicago State University, 1999. Died in New York City, 27 April 1984.

Radio Series

- 1940–43 *At the Foot of Adams Street/Legends of Illinois/ Great Artists*
 1946–48 *Democracy U.S.A.*
 1947–48 *Here Comes Tomorrow*
 1948–50 *Destination Freedom*
 1957 *The Heart of George Cotton and Denmark Vesey*

Television Series

Bird of the Iron Feather, 1970

Selected Publications

The Greatest: My Own Story (with Muhammad Ali), 1975
Richard Durham's Destination Freedom: Scripts from Radio's Black Legacy, 1948–50, edited by J. Fred Macdonald, 1989

Further Reading

- Barlow, William, *Voice Over: The Making of Black Radio*, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Temple University Press, 1999
 "Black Radio: Telling It Like It Was," Washington, D.C.: Radio Smithsonian, Smithsonian Productions, 1996 (a 13-part radio documentary series with Lou Rawls)
 Dates, Jannette L., and William Barlow, editors, *Split Image: African Americans in the Mass Media*, Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1990; 2nd edition, 1993
 MacDonald, J. Fred, "Radio's Black Heritage: Destination Freedom, 1948–50," *Phylon* 39, no. 1 (March 1978)
 Savage, Barbara Dianne, *Broadcasting Freedom: Radio, War, and the Politics of Race, 1938–1948*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999

DXers/DXing

Tuning Distant Stations

DX is the telegrapher's abbreviation for "distance." It came into common use among early amateur radio operators to refer to those who concentrated on working with other operators at great distances. DXing continues as a focus of many modern-day amateurs.

The terms "DX" and "DXing" were also used among radio listeners. In broadcasting's earliest days, radio listeners were known as BCLs, for "broadcast listeners," and those BCLs who were interested in listening not for program content but for the thrill of hearing distant stations were called DXers. Their

hobby was (and still is) known as DXing, and their goal was to hear as many stations, from the farthest locations, as possible.

For a time in the early 1920s, long-distance broadcast listening was popular with a large portion of the population. Radio—especially radio from distant places—was a new experience, and everyone wanted to see how far they could "get" with their equipment. However, as the novelty of radio wore off and network broadcasting started, DXing became the preserve mainly of the technically inclined and of hard-core distance aficionados.

Shortwave broadcasting would not come to the attention of most listening hobbyists until around 1924, and so in the United States most DXing before then was done on the standard broadcast (medium wave) band, with domestic stations the targets. The relatively small number of stations and the resulting absence of the channel blocking that is common today, coupled with the prevalence of daytime-only operations, made it possible for a conscientious, well-equipped night hound to hear a large number of the stations that were operating.

DXing's attraction was captured by journalist Charlotte Geer in her 1927 poem "Another One":

You may pick out an average young man
Who has nothing especial "agin it,"
And draw up a comfortable chair
And settle him in it.

Then you mention the call of the West
Thus tempting his spirit to roam
That he early may tire of nooks by the fire
The tame little voices of home.

When the chimes of the clock tinkle ten
The rest of the folks go to bed,
You must then take the youngster in hand
And fasten the phones on his head.

You must lead him and prod him by turns
He'll yawn and seem bored and forlorn
Till he hears that first call from the coast—
And behold a DXer is born.

The "call from the coast" refers to the ability of east-coast listeners, late at night and under the right conditions, to hear stations in California as outlets farther east signed off at local sundown.

Although pioneer radio fans built their own sets, as the number of DXers increased a distinct market was recognized by equipment manufacturers, and soon radios with special features for long-distance reception were being produced. The most important elements to good reception were sensitivity (the ability to pick up weak signals), selectivity (the ability to separate adjacent signals), and frequency readout (the ability to know what frequency the equipment is tuned to). To meet these needs and the like needs of the amateur radio operators, the communications receiver was developed. These receivers, which appeared beginning in 1933 and continue on the market today, emphasize technical capabilities rather than appearance or simplicity of operation. Among the principal early manufacturers of such sets were Hallicrafters, Hammarlund, and National. Today the major producers of high-quality, semi-professional receivers include Drake, Icom, AOL, and Japan Radio Company.

With the discovery that shortwave signals could propagate around the globe, what had been, in the United States, largely a search for U.S., Canadian, and Caribbean stations on the standard broadcast band took on a worldwide flavor as DXers tried their hand at the shortwave frequencies. Many countries began international shortwave services, and domestic shortwave broadcasting became commonplace in many foreign countries as well, particularly those with large geographic areas to cover. These latter stations made particularly good DX targets. Some listeners also went outside the broadcasting frequencies, preferring to tune in to amateur radio operators; transmissions from ships, planes, and police; and other users of the shortwave spectrum.

The need for up-to-date station information led to the publication of magazines such as *Radio Index*, *All Wave Radio*, and *Official Short Wave Listener Magazine*. These publications were devoted either entirely or in part to DXing. Other magazines had special sections for long-distance radio enthusiasts. Clubs such as the Newark News Radio Club and the International DXers Alliance were formed, and periodic bulletins containing members' "loggings" and other DX information issued. Special broadcasts were scheduled over stations at times when they might not ordinarily be heard, and contests were held to compare DXing prowess.

Besides hearing the stations, many DXers collected QSLs. QSL is the telegraph abbreviation for the acknowledgment of receipt of a signal or a message. QSLs are cards or letters that stations issue to DXers, confirming that it was in fact their station that was heard, based on the listener's description of the programming. QSLs usually take the form of distinctive cards and letters containing information about the station and its location. Some DXers also make it a practice to make audio recordings of their DX catches and thus preserve their listening experiences.

Notwithstanding the common availability of local radio signals over even the simplest equipment, long-distance radio listening still has a devoted following. Although the pervasiveness of high-power, all-night broadcasting has made DXing on the broadcast band more difficult, on the shortwave bands the combination of improved receivers and higher-power transmitters has led to easier tuning and more reliable reception.

As a result, whereas DX was the main objective of long-distance radio enthusiasts during most of radio's developmental period, "shortwave listening"—listening for program content rather than distance—is often the purpose today. Some listeners follow particular specialties. On shortwave they may listen to clandestine radio stations; unlicensed pirate stations; or small stations from exotic parts of the world, such as Indonesia or the Andes. On the broadcast band, some listeners concentrate on domestic stations, while others focus on foreign broadcasters.

Although the number of DXers has declined over the years, there is still much truth in the observation made by radio pioneer Hugo Gernsback in 1926: "I can not imagine any greater thrill," he wrote, "than that which comes to me when I listen, as I often do, to a station thousands of miles away. It is the greatest triumph yet achieved by mind over matter."

JEROME S. BERG

See also Ham Radio; International Radio; Shortwave Radio

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E

Early Wireless

Induction and Conduction before 1900

Although Marconi, Lodge, Popov, and their contemporaries were the first electricians to make practical use of electromagnetic waves for communication, varied forms of wireless telegraphy had existed for 50 years before their work at the end of the 19th century. Most of the wireless inventors of this early era were Americans.

Henry and Morse

Joseph Henry, at Princeton University, conducted numerous experiments with induction, or the tendency of a primary electric current in a conductor to stimulate a secondary current in another conductor nearby. During one group of experiments in 1842, which Henry called "induction at a distance," he measured secondary current as far as 200 feet away from the primary circuit. Although the effects were more pronounced with the instantaneous discharge of a Leyden jar (electrostatic induction) at the primary circuit, they were also present when a continuous current passed through a coil (electromagnetic induction). Henry also noted that the wireless electricity seemed to oscillate, but he had no instruments sensitive enough to study this phenomenon. Neither Henry nor his students used induction for telegraphy, but his methods and results were well known to scientists on both sides of the Atlantic.

In the same year, Samuel F.B. Morse, using different technology, devised a working wireless telegraph. Having failed at submarine telegraphy when a ship's anchor hooked and cut the cable, Morse came up with a novel solution to the problem. By then, electricians knew how to use a natural conductor, like earth or water, as the return link to complete an electrical circuit. Morse reasoned that the same natural conductor could replace the wire in the link between transmitter and receiver as well. By attaching the ends of the wires leading from the battery and telegraph key to metal plates, doing the same with wires from a galvanometer, and then submerging the sets of

plates on opposite banks, Morse successfully sent a message across a canal some 80 feet wide. The next year, 1843, his assistants sent messages a mile across the mouth of the Susquehanna River.

Morse soon became preoccupied with building a wired telegraph system and never applied for a patent on the wireless scheme. About ten years later, however, James Bowman Lindsay, a Scottish schoolteacher, applied the same natural conduction technology to the task. Apparently Lindsay was unaware of Morse's prior work. By using larger metal plates spaced more widely apart, he increased transmission distance to two miles across the River Tay at Dundee. Lindsay received British patent 1,242 for this invention in 1854, but he failed to raise enough capital to build a prospective transatlantic installation.

Loomis and Ward

American dentist Mahlon Loomis, of Washington, D.C., devised a wireless telegraph system using the upper atmosphere as one conductor, the earth as the other, and the difference in electric potential between the two as the power supply. In 1866 he raised two kites, attached to grounded wires, from mountains in northern Virginia and transmitted a signal between them, a distance of 18 miles. Loomis later adapted this apparatus for telegraphy and, he claimed, telephony. The most interesting facet of this invention was that it worked best when the kites were at the same altitude, leading some historians to speculate that Loomis had hit upon the principle of syntony, or tuned resonance. Although he received U.S. patent 129,971 in 1872, Loomis failed to get a requested appropriation from Congress, and several potential groups of investors went broke in the numerous financial panics that followed the U.S. Civil War.

Another U.S. patent for wireless telegraphy, number 126,356, issued to William Henry Ward of Auburn, New

York, actually preceded the Loomis patent by three months. Ward was an author of religious tracts and a vigorous promoter of his own inventions, which included naval signal flags, bullet-making machines, bomb shell fuses, and pomade for the hair. Loomis had made Ward's acquaintance in the late 1850s when Ward agreed to take a set of Loomis-patented false teeth under consignment to a trade show in Europe. Because Loomis furnished no illustrations or model with his patent application, it is difficult to tell how much similarity existed between the two inventions. The Ward wireless telegraph, however, seems to be based on the absurd idea that convection currents in the atmosphere would carry the electric signal to the receiver. Neither system found a ready market.

The 1870s were a busy decade for electricians, whether they were scientists, engineers, or tinkering inventors. Laboratories large and small sprang up in the United States and Europe for both educational and commercial purposes. The new professional societies, as well as academic and trade publications, facilitated communication, so electricians knew what other electricians were doing. Although there was scant progress in wireless telegraphy, there were several interesting events.

Various experiments, including those by Elihu Thompson and Thomas Edison in the United States and by David Hughes in Great Britain, suggested the existence of electromagnetic waves, as predicted by James Clerk Maxwell. Edison called them the "etheric force." Hughes unwittingly built a complete radio system, with a sparking coil as a transmitter and a carbon microphone as a coherer, or receiver. He gave up these experiments, however, when directors of the Royal Society visited his lab to witness a demonstration and assured him that the effects were due to induction alone.

Wireless Telegraphy

In 1878 Alexander Graham Bell attempted to build a Morse-type wireless telephone using water as a natural conductor. He tested this device the next year with only limited success on the Potomac River near Washington, D.C. When he learned that John Trowbridge at Harvard was pursuing similar research, Bell dropped that idea in favor of one more promising—sending a voice signal on a beam of reflected light.

With a thin diaphragm of reflective mica at the mouthpiece, the device captured light waves from the sun, modulated the light as sound waves moved the diaphragm, and reflected the beam toward the receiver. The receiver was a parabolic reflector coated with silver and aimed at a piece of selenium, a natural photoelectric transducer. Once the selenium converted the light to electricity, the signal traveled to a regular telephone receiver. Bell called it the Photophone, received U.S. patent 235,199 in 1880, and exhibited the device widely in both the United States and Europe. Later

experiments proved that the device worked with less expensive lampblack substituting for the selenium and with any form of radiant energy. The Photophone then became known as the Radiophone, the first application of the term *radio* to wireless communication.

Although European electricians were captivated by the device, and Bell himself thought it a greater invention than the telephone, American Telephone and Telegraph (AT&T) saw no commercial possibility and soon ceased its development. The company continued to exhibit the Photophone as a novelty through the St. Louis World's Fair of 1904, but Bell was so disgusted that he gave his original model to the Smithsonian Institution and halted all active involvement with the company that had once borne his name and was based on his patents.

Amos Dolbear, another early telephone pioneer, became interested in wireless telephony by accident. While working in his lab at Tufts College in 1882, he noticed that he was still hearing sounds from a receiver, even though the wire to the transmitter on the other side of the room was disconnected. Upon examination, he determined that the signal was traveling by electrostatic induction. Through experimentation, Dolbear built a wireless telephone system that employed grounded aeri-als at both transmitter and receiver and worked well at distances of up to a mile. He demonstrated the invention by transmitting both voice and music at scientific conferences in the United States, Canada, and Europe, receiving U.S. patent 350,299 in 1886. Dolbear's transmitter was capable of generating electromagnetic waves and was in many respects similar to Marconi's of a decade later, but the receiver lacked any device to detect radio waves. Dolbear never attempted to sell his wireless telephone.

In Great Britain during the 1880s, both William Preece and Willoughby Smith developed functional wireless telegraphs to transmit across relatively short distances. They used both natural conduction and induction technologies to solve practical problems such as how to communicate with offshore islands and lighthouses and with workers in a coal mine. Preece, an engineer at the British Post Office, had been interested in wireless since he witnessed Lindsay's work in 1854. Later he became Marconi's chief advocate with the British government.

Moving Telegraphy

The possibility of communicating instantly by telegraph with moving trains generated substantial interest in the United States. William Wiley Smith, a telephone office manager, devised an electrostatic wireless telegraph that used existing lines running beside the tracks and received U.S. patent 247,127 in 1881. Although Smith's invention did not work very well, his partner, Ezra Gilliland, was a childhood friend of Thomas Edison. Three years later, Gilliland convinced Edison

to buy the patent, improve the technology, and promote it to the rapidly growing railroad industry as a safety and convenience appliance. Gilliland and Edison's interest in railroad telegraphy grew when they learned that another inventor, Lucius Phelps of New York, had just applied for a patent on a similar system. Phelps, moreover, was preparing to demonstrate a working model in New York City during February 1885. Edison quickly filed a new patent application based on improvements to the prior Smith patent. The Patent Office called the two applications into interference hearings. Meanwhile, Granville Woods, a black inventor from Cincinnati, filed still a third application for a railroad telegraph system. Once again, the Patent Office declared the Woods and Phelps applications to be in interference.

In a series of hearings that ended in 1887, Woods was the ultimate victor. He proved that as early as 1881 he had shown sketches and models of his invention to friends in his neighborhood. Shortly thereafter, he had lost his job and contracted smallpox, delaying his progress. After reading about the Phelps demonstration in *Scientific American*, he quickly gathered his old notes and models and went to his lawyer. In the meantime, the patent examiner determined that the Smith patent, controlled by Edison, had no priority because it used electrostatic induction, whereas the Phelps and Woods inventions used electromagnetic. After this ruling, Edison dropped out of the hearings and merged efforts with Phelps.

Woods received several U.S. patents for his invention, beginning with number 371,241, and Phelps did likewise, starting with number 334,186. But all of this activity was in vain, for the railroads had no interest in wireless telegraphy at that time. With no laws compelling safety or emergency communication improvements, they saw the technology as added expense without compensatory revenue. So none of the inventors profited. Eventually Edison modified his application and received U.S. patent 465,971 in 1891. He sold the patent to Marconi some years later for a nominal sum. After the failure to market the railroad telegraph, interest in wireless waned in the United States until after Marconi brought his system to the America's Cup races of 1899.

In a widely read article of 1891, John Trowbridge concluded that the technologies of Henry and Morse were inefficient for long-distance wireless communication and, with no tuning mechanism, were limited to a single message at a time. The last champion of natural conduction and induction wireless was probably Nathan Stubblefield, a farmer from Kentucky who learned about electricity by reading *Scientific American* and *Electrical World*. Stubblefield demonstrated an induction wireless telephone for neighbors as early as 1892. He generated considerable publicity in 1902 with a natural conduction wireless telephone that he displayed to enthusiastic crowds in Washington, D.C., and Philadelphia. One remarkable feature of this system was its ability to broadcast a signal

to multiple receivers simultaneously. Stubblefield intended to use it to disseminate news and weather information, but he was the victim of a stock fraud scheme that left him destitute. By the time he received U.S. patent 887,357 in 1908 for his induction system, superior technology existed. But he became very paranoid that others were seeking to profit from his work, and he eventually died of starvation in 1928.

Landell and Tesla

Two other inventors had the opportunity to develop wireless communication by electromagnetic waves prior to Marconi but failed to do so. Roberto Landell de Moura, a Catholic priest from Brazil, studied physics at the Gregorian University in Rome while he prepared for the priesthood. When he returned to Brazil in 1886, Landell set up a laboratory and began electrical experiments. His interest turned to wireless. He built acoustic telephones, a model of Bell's Photophone, and, soon after he learned of Hertz's and Branly's work, his own electromagnetic wave transmitter and receiver. Then he combined the three into one multifunction wireless telephone system. By 1893 Landell was sending messages over distance of five miles. Then, two years later, a powerful bishop witnessed a demonstration. He was so unnerved by the voices coming from nowhere that he declared the apparatus the work of the devil and ordered Landell to stop his work.

Shortly thereafter, fanatics broke into Landell's laboratory, destroyed the apparatus, and set fire to the building. It took Landell five years to regroup, but he eventually received Brazilian patent 3,279 in 1900 and traveled to the United States to pursue patents and development. Hampered by poor legal advice, illness, and inadequate knowledge of the U.S. patent system, Landell nevertheless persisted and received three U.S. patents, beginning with number 771,917 in 1904. By then Marconi and others controlled the market for radio.

Like Landell, Nikola Tesla was trained in physics at a European university. He came to the United States in 1884 to work first for Edison and then for Westinghouse. In his work with high-frequency alternating currents, Tesla discovered that the alternators also generated continuous electromagnetic waves that could be used to transmit signals. He demonstrated this phenomenon as early as 1891 but made no practical application of it until he built a radio-controlled toy boat, for which he received U.S. patent 613,809 in 1898. The next year, he established a laboratory in Colorado Springs, Colorado, from which he intended to send wireless messages to an international exposition in Paris in early 1900. But in the midst of his radio experiments, Tesla became fascinated with the possibility for wireless distribution of electric power through the earth itself and devoted most of the rest of his life to devising methods to accomplish that goal.

ROBERT HENRY LOCHTE

See also Fessenden, Reginald; German Wireless Pioneers; Hertz, Heinrich; Landell de Moura, Father Roberto; Lodge, Oliver; Marconi, Guglielmo; Popov, Alexander; Tesla, Nikola

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Earplay

Public Radio Drama Series

Earplay was an anthology series created in an effort to produce a variety of U.S. radio dramas in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Centered at radio station WHA in Madison, Wisconsin, it involved numerous prominent playwrights and scores of actors more than two decades after the last major commercial radio dramas had left the air. *Earplay* was a leading source of drama for member stations of the burgeoning National Public Radio (NPR) network.

The series began in 1971 as a grant proposal submitted to the Corporation for Public Broadcasting by project director Karl Schmidt, a University of Wisconsin professor and station manager of WHA. Schmidt had begun his radio career as a juvenile actor in 1941 and was involved as an actor and director in commercial, public, and armed forces radio. In the 1960s he produced a series of stereo dramas under the auspices of the National Center for Audio Experimentation. In many ways, station WHA, with a long history of producing radio drama, was an ideal place for the development of new forms of that genre. For 30 years the station's School of the Air applied the techniques and forms of drama for instructional purposes. In the early 1970s, WHA had particularly strong ties to Canadian actors and writers, BBC writers and directors, and producers from Radio Nederland.

Under the terms of its grant, the primary purpose of *Earplay* was "to develop drama in audio forms which are intelligible, enjoyable, and useful to more, rather than fewer, people."

A second purpose was "the establishment of a testing ground for playwrights and plays." (In the project's latter days, its producers would increasingly disagree as to whether intelligibility or experimentation should predominate.) The creators of *Earplay* proposed an emphasis on original dramas—works by new playwrights that did not demand long attention spans and had strong plot lines, a high degree of intelligibility, enjoyable listening potential, and relevance to life in the United States in the 1970s. There was a conscious effort to "compete with substantial ambient noise levels in the listening circumstance" by emphasizing short dramas (usually less than half an hour long) and avoiding reliance upon subtle sound effects.

Between 1975 and 1979 *Earplay* produced more than 150 radio dramas ranging in length from a few minutes to more than an hour. During those years the dramas were distributed to public radio stations on long-playing records. After 1981 the medium was reel-to-reel tape as part of *NPR Playhouse*. Later the plays were repackaged in half-hour installments under the title *Earplay Weekday Theatre*.

Earplay dramas sounded very different from radio plays of the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s. Most of them were in stereo, and the acting had a closer, more intimate quality. In some cases the language also was very different and prompted advisories to subscribing stations. In the broadcasts of both Archibald MacLeish's *J.B.* and Edward Albee's *Listening*, for example, there were a half-dozen warnings about "sensitive material."

Another departure from U.S. radio tradition was the variable length of *Earplay* dramas, although they were often packaged in one- or two-hour blocks.

Like traditional radio dramas, *Earplay* productions typically involved six or fewer actors, and they often emphasized narration. In most cases the story line was straightforward, but occasionally the plays were more in the realm of the “sound collage.”

In their preface to the 1979 *Earplay* program information, the producers noted that the 1979 season reflected a commitment to “give the most promising American playwrights an opportunity to speak to a national audience through the unique medium of radio.” During that same year, *Earplay* received both the Peabody Award and the Armstrong Award. The dramas were produced in various locations, including New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago. Most of the postproduction work took place at WHA; the technical director was Marv Nonn.

Among the playwrights commissioned to create *Earplay* dramas were some of the most distinguished of the day: John Mortimer, Donald Barthelme, Larry Shue, Vincent Canby, Alan Ayckburn, Gamble Rogers, John Gardner, Anne Leaton, Athol Fugard, Tim O’Brien, and Archibald MacLeish. Robert Anderson’s play *I Never Sang for My Father* was later adapted into a major motion picture. Other plays went on to success on Broadway: *The Water Engine* by David Mamet, *Lightning* by Edward Albee, and *Wings* by Arthur Kopit, which won the Prix Italia. In order to defray the expense of involving major playwrights, *Earplay* initiated the International Commissioning Group with drama producers in England, Ireland, West Germany, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, who added rights fees for their countries to *Earplay*’s U.S. fees to provide payments attractive to major playwrights.

Although *Earplay* was carried by a significant number of public radio stations, many years after the series ended Karl

Schmidt reflected that its demise came in part from its inclination to raise difficult issues without offering answers, so that the working person coming home after a tiring day would be inclined to pass over them in favor of more refreshing fare. During the late 1970s and early 1980s, Schmidt turned *Earplay* into a series, partly because series were more economical to produce than individual dramas, and partly because he found that many writers preferred structural guidelines to the indefinite length of the earlier format. In order to put *Earplay* resources to the most efficient use, Schmidt stipulated that the episodes in the series were to be approximately half narration and half dialogue. They were: *A Canticle for Leibowitz* (16 half-hours), based on the science fiction novel by Walter Miller, Jr.; *Happiness*, Anne Leaton’s multipart radio drama based on the musings of a middle-aged Texas woman; and *Something Singing*, Christian Hamilton’s play about abolitionist Amos Bronson Alcott—all of which were distributed through National Public Radio. Contracts allowed three years of use in any and all non-commercial stations in the U.S., with a three-year renewal option that was not exercised.

NORMAN GILLILAND

See also WHA and Wisconsin Public Radio

Actors

Jay Fitts, Pat King, Carol Cowan, Karl Schmidt, and Martha Van Cleef, Meryl Streep, Vincent Gardenia, Laurence Luckinbill, Brock Peters, Lurene Tuttle, Leon Ames, etc.

Producers/Directors

Karl Schmidt, Howard Gelman, Daniel Freudenberger

Programming History

NPR 1972–86

The Easy Aces

Comedy Program

The *Easy Aces* was a comedy written by Goodman Ace that first aired in 1930 and enjoyed a 15-year run on the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) and National Broadcasting Company (NBC) networks. The show was known for simple plot lines that allowed Jane Ace to contort the English language

inexhaustibly while her usually bemused but sometimes horrified husband supplied witty commentary. Like *The Burns and Allen Show*, *The Easy Aces* relied on the device of a scattered, illogical wife flummoxing the logic and control of her husband. Despite the current anachronistic, even sexist ring of the

stereotypical scatterbrained wife, the character had thrived in vaudeville and was still common in mainstream comedy programming well past the middle of the 20th century.

Born in Kansas City, Missouri on 15 January 1899, Goodman Ace's writing talents led him to the *Kansas City Journal-Post* after a stint at haberdashery and other odd jobs. Jane Epstein, also from Kansas City, was born to a local clothing merchant on 12 June 1905. By the time they married in 1922, Ace was regularly exercising his wit in his weekly column of drama and movie reviews for the *Journal-Post*. For instance, while reviewing a play billed as a scenic extravaganza, he offered the comment that the "sets were beautiful—both of them." Since 1922 the paper had sent news to local station KMBC via live feed from a cramped studio off the news room. By the late 1920s Ace's growing interest in radio caused him to approach KMBC's station manager Arthur Church with the proposal for a 15-minute program entitled *The Movie Man*. Church granted Ace the show at the rate of \$10 a week, money that supplemented his income from the *Journal-Post*. As a critic in the newspaper and on the air, Ace met many of the vaudevillians and celebrities who performed in Kansas City. He counted George Burns, Gracie Allen, Groucho Marx, Fred Allen, and Jack Benny among his friends, and even contributed jokes to some of Benny's early radio shows.

Ultimately, however, it was chance, not personal acquaintance, that led to the birth of *The Easy Aces* and Ace's initial success on radio. One Friday in late 1930 his broadcast ended, but the following program (which was to feature Heywood Broun) failed to come through on the network feed. A technician signaled Ace to ad-lib. Jane happened to have been watching from the lobby, so Ace motioned her in, introduced her as his roommate, and the couple bantered fluidly for 15 minutes. They spoke of a local man recently murdered while playing a game of bridge, and during a break Ace instructed Jane as follows: "You be dumb; I'll explain the finer points of bridge, and why murder is sometimes justified." Once on the air she fell effortlessly into character, asking "Would you care to shoot a game of bridge, dear?" and later wondering why "Whenever I lose, you're always my partner."

The audience responded favorably to the broadcast, prompting a local drugstore chain to offer the Aces an initial 13-week contract for two weekly shows. After this contract expired, the advertising firm Blackett-Sample-Humert (BSH) shopped the show around, quickly selling it to the advertisers for Lavoris mouthwash. During this period, the program was broadcast on CBS from Chicago, where Ace negotiated a weekly salary of \$500. Foreshadowing future clashes with sponsors, Ace made light of a Lavoris executive's contention that the program had aired five minutes late one evening. The sponsor responded by canceling the show. The Aces then moved to New York, where Frank Hummert of BSH secured the sponsorship that allowed the show to continue.



Easy Aces, Goodman and Jane Ace
Courtesy Radio Hall of Fame

The initial improvised broadcast established many of the enduring characteristics of *The Easy Aces*. While the bridge game was eventually abandoned, plots remained fairly uncomplicated. Largely character-driven, typical shows featured Jane visiting a psychiatrist, seeing an astrologer, or serving on a jury. She was the central character from the beginning and her relaxed delivery was the key to the program's continuing popularity. From the beginning, too, Ace's asides imbued the show with an air of sophistication and witty urbanity. The Aces' characters were clearly identified as upper-class and urban—he played a highly paid advertising executive. As Ace later phrased it, they lived "in the typical little eastern town, New York City: population eight million . . . give or take one."

Jane's misspoken words and phrases, referred to as "janeacisms," were responsible for most of the laughs on the program. Among her weekly linguistic slips were statements that she feared "casting asparagus" on a friend's character, had "worked her head to the bone," made "insufferable friends," and had relatives "too humorous to mention." More often than not, the malapropisms seemed to make a satiric point, such as: "Congress is still in season," or "I got up at the crank of dawn." The seeming deliberateness of her linguistic twists was enhanced by her sober, deadpan delivery. Context might also lead listeners to believe that her deranged phrasing was occasionally intentional. For instance, when Ace got her brother a menial job, she asked him if he would receive a "swindle chair" like the one Ace had. Sometimes the mood was darker, as in "We are all cremated equal."

Although the show appealed to radio insiders and sustained a loyal following, it did not receive high ratings. Ace was proud of the show's low ratings and even bragged about them in the print advertisements for the show. He was disturbed, however, by sponsor Anacin's attempt to encroach on the pro-

gram's autonomy. When the drug's parent company complained about a change in the music on the show, Ace fired off a letter criticizing Anacin's flimsy packaging. As he later put it, "They thought up a clever answer to that, which was 'You're fired.'"

After losing its sponsorship, *The Easy Aces* spent two years in syndicated reruns until it was revived as *Mr. Ace and Jane*, a 30-minute format with a live audience, a full orchestra, and a larger cast. The show also had a brief run on television in the 1949–50 season, but it did not translate well to that medium. By this time Goodman Ace had started writing for Danny Kaye's television program. In later years he would continue working in television, most notably for Perry Como and Milton Berle. Jane Ace's activities in broadcasting tapered off, and after a stint as *Jane Ace, Disc Jockey* in 1952, she became largely inactive in the field. Jane Ace died in New York on 11 November 1974. Goodman died on 18 March 1982.

BRYAN CORNELL

See also Comedy; George Burns and Gracie Allen Show

Cast

Ace	Goodman Ace
Jane	Jane Ace
Paul Sherwood, Jane's brother	Leon Janey
Marge	Mary Hunter
Mrs. Benton	Peggy Allenby
Betty	Ethel Blume (1939)

Carl	Alfred Ryder (1939)
Neil Williams	Martin Gabel (1939)
Laura the maid	Helene Dumas
Miss Thomas	Ann Thomas
Announcers	Ford Bond (1930–45), Ken Roberts (1948)

Producer/Creator

Goodman Ace

Programming History

KMBC Kansas City	October 1930–1931
WGN Chicago	late 1931–February 1932
CBS	March 1932–January 1935
NBC	February 1935–October 1942
CBS	October 1942–January 1945
as <i>Mr. Ace and Jane</i>	February 1948–May 1949

Television

December 1949–June 1950

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Easy Listening/Beautiful Music Format

The term *easy listening* refers to a program format characterized by the presentation of orchestral and small-combo instrumental music intended to elicit moods of relaxation and tranquility among its target audience of older adult listeners. Vocal music is intermixed and may include solo artist and choral recordings made popular by recognized personalities as well as "cover" renditions of original performances. Easy listening achieved its greatest popularity in the 1970s and was broadcast predominantly by FM stations. It was common for listeners in major markets to have from three to five such stations from which to choose. In the early 1980s, stations began to defect from easy listening in favor of formats with the youthful orientation advertisers were seeking. The format's

popularity declined throughout the 1990s, to the point that easy listening stations by 2000 attracted less than 1 percent of the radio audience.

Origins

The origin of the phrase *easy listening* is undetermined. Its predecessors, "good music" and "beautiful music," were format descriptors popularized in the 1950s and 1960s by FM stations seeking differentiation from the Top 40 and middle of the road formats that dominated AM radio. Stations initially offered instrumental-laden good music programming to retail business operators on a subscription basis as a means of

inducing customer relaxation. Good music programming in the 1950s was transmitted via the FM subcarrier frequency, which precluded reception by the general public. Growing listener interest led broadcasters to shift the good music format to their FM main channels in the early 1960s. The good music format subsequently evolved into beautiful music.

Stations that pioneered the good music format in the late 1950s included several noted AM outlets. KIXL in Dallas; WOR in New York City; WPAT in Paterson, New Jersey; and KABL in Oakland-San Francisco, all defined the easy listening presentation and accelerated the format's popularity. KIXL programmer Lee Seagall emphasized the importance of matching music tempo with the hour of the day—upbeat during the morning but down-tempo, soft, and romantic in the evening. Gordon McLendon's KABL relied upon interstitial poetry selections to create distinction. Two evening specialty programs—WOR's *Music from Studio X* and the *Gaslight Revue* on WPAT—influenced WDVR Station Manager/Program Director Marlin Taylor in 1963 to extend the format on this stand-alone FM station to around-the-clock presentation for Philadelphia listeners.

Pairing good music with the FM medium was fortuitous for performers, broadcasters, and listeners. When the Federal Communications Commission directed FM broadcasters in the mid-1960s to curtail the practice of simulcasting the programming of their AM sister stations, this format emerged as the de facto FM format standard. FM broadcasting, in contrast with AM, exhibited the sonic advantages of high-fidelity reproduction and stereophonic sound. The subtle nuances of orchestral performances, diminished by the process of low-fidelity, monaural AM transmission, sprang from FM receivers with astonishing clarity and accuracy. After years of languishing in the shadow of AM radio, the FM medium began to assert its identity as a separate and technically superior mode of broadcasting.

What It Is

Industry followers generally regard the easy listening format as a beautiful music derivative. Beautiful music is a program format featuring soft instrumental and vocal recordings directed to a target audience of predominantly middle-aged female listeners. Lush, melodic, and subdued in its presentation, the format is carefully planned and executed to offer listeners a quiet musical refuge for escaping from everyday distractions. Programmers regard announcer chatter as intrusive and tend to limit the spoken word to brief news reports, time checks, and weather forecasts. Commercial interruptions are similarly minimized, and the construction of message content reflects the format's low-key delivery approach. The objective is to provide listeners with a background musical environment that complements their daily activities.

Beautiful music resides in the development of Muzak, a registered trademark denoting the mood-enhancing background music service pioneered in the 1920s by Brigadier General George Owen Squier. Muzak programming was piped via leased telephone circuits into America's factories to stimulate productivity and into retail stores and restaurants to elevate patrons' spirits.

Programmers for beautiful music and easy listening founded their presentations in the lush, layered string arrangements popularized by the Andre Kostelanetz, Percy Faith, and Mantovani orchestras. Trade publications began using the format labels interchangeably during the mid-1970s. But musicologists cite several distinguishing characteristics between the formats. Beautiful music delved more deeply into the repertoire of 20th-century popular music composers than did easy listening. Tunes by Cole Porter, Jerome Kern, and Hoagy Carmichael—pop music's "standards"—were common fixtures on beautiful music playlists. In contrast, easy listening stations adopted a more contemporary music viewpoint, favoring a greater infusion of fresher sounds. Tunes by Burt Bacharach, Henry Mancini, and John Lennon and Paul McCartney were commonly integrated into the presentation.

Greater distinction between the formats was evidenced by programmers' approaches to vocal music, in terms of both style and quantity. Performances by "traditional" vocalists, such as Perry Como, Andy Williams, and Frank Sinatra, as well as the cover arrangements produced by artists including the Ray Conniff and Anita Kerr choral ensembles, were sparingly interspersed into the presentation of beautiful music. Easy listening stations, which tended to blend instrumentals and vocals on a more proportionate basis, gravitated toward the pop sounds of AM Top 40. Some of the "softer"-sounding hits by Elton John, Billy Joel, the Carpenters, and others qualified for airplay. Up-tempo performances, particularly those punctuated by intrusive guitar licks or intensive percussion, were generally passed over by easy listening programmers.

Key Producers

James Schulke, a former advertising executive and FM radio proponent, established SRP in 1968 to syndicate an approach to the good music presentation that he termed *beautiful music*. Capitalizing on the good music format's mood-music heritage, SRP Vice President/Creative Director Phil Stout constructed each quarter-hour of programming on a foundation of lush orchestral and vocal arrangements of popular music standards. One nuance in execution—the segue—differentiated the beautiful music from the good music format. Stout insisted that transitions between recordings flow in such a manner as to preserve the emotions elicited in listeners by the tempo, rhythm, and sound texture of the performances.

Schulke marketed Stout's concept as the "matched flow" approach to format execution. It was not uncommon for Stout to expend up to two days' effort to assemble a single hour of SRP programming. Collectively, the SRP team's insistence on musical cohesiveness and technical integrity proved successful in attracting and holding listeners. SRP's beautiful music format typically surpassed other formats in Arbitron's "time-spent-listening" measurements, a desirable position for stations catering to advertisers who sought message frequency over reach.

Bonneville was founded in 1970 by Marlin R. Taylor, a veteran programmer who pioneered easy listening on Philadelphia's WDVR in 1963. Taylor meshed a keen music sensibility with an adroit understanding of listeners' tastes in transforming the low-rated WRFM into New York City's number-one FM outlet. Success with WRFM inspired Taylor to launch Bonneville as the vehicle for extending his programming expertise to a clientele that grew in the early 1980s to approximately 180 stations.

Beautiful music prospered in the politically conservative 1970s because its musical message resonated with a nation of silent-majority listeners who had outgrown Top 40 and had never connected with progressive rock, country and western, or ethnic formats. By the end of that decade, more than a dozen syndicators, including Peters Productions, Century 21, and KalaMusic, competed with Bonneville and SRP for affiliates and listeners. As a result, it was common for two or three stations in each of the top 25 markets to vie for a share of the audience.

Beautiful music stations were unable to sustain the momentum, however. "Light" and "soft" adult contemporary (AC) stations, which burgeoned in the latter half of the 1970s, steadily siphoned beautiful music's target listener, the middle-aged female, during the 1980s. In a sense, both beautiful music and light AC were easy listening formats (see Josephson, 1986). Unlike beautiful music, which cultivated reputations with listeners as a background music companion, light AC was vocal-intensive, personality driven, and foreground focused in its presentation.

Switching from beautiful music to light AC improved the revenues of many stations. Advertising revenue erosion for beautiful music stations was attributed to the fact that its aging audience was spending a disproportionately low percentage of its disposable income on consumer goods. Light AC stations, whose demographic profiles skewed toward younger female adults, delivered the audience that had become most desired by national advertisers.

During a 1980 industry conference, broadcasters reached general agreement about the perceptual distinctions listeners had drawn between stations that positioned themselves as either easy listening or beautiful music outlets. In an effort to shed negative images of beautiful music as passive, background radio, broadcasters confirmed easy listening as a more

appropriate positioning descriptor. The phrase *easy listening*, they agreed, evoked positive and active feelings of involvement by listeners with stations.

Decline

It was a calculated decision made by an industry about to confront a period of dramatic change in listener preferences. Easy listening/beautiful music, which Arbitron reported as radio's number-one format in 1979, slipped into second position behind adult contemporary the following year. The remainder of the 1980s proved to be a period of redefinition for easy listening.

Two distinct waves of defection by instrumental mood-music stations occurred, and each was precipitated by advertising industry pressures for stations to deliver younger, more upscale listeners. The first wave, in 1982-83, swept through the major markets. Where multiple easy listening outlets had once competed, now the lower-rated easy listening stations moved in other programming directions. Some of these stations subtly shifted toward soft AC, excising the instrumental music in favor of full-time vocals. Others pursued ratings success with entirely different formats. A second wave of abandonment occurred in 1988-89, when most of the remaining stations vacated easy listening. Traditional, "standards"-inspired instrumental music virtually disappeared from the airwaves.

The descriptive phrase *easy listening* became more indefinite in the radio lexicon of the 1990s, subsuming not only soft AC but the new age and smooth jazz genres as well. An emphasis on announcer personality and other formatics (sports play-by-play, traffic reports, and promotions) aligned easy listening with other mainstream music formats more closely than ever. As format fragmentation increased during this decade, the phrase *easy listening* generally gave way to variations on the soft AC theme.

BRUCE MIMS

See also Adult Contemporary Format; Formats; Middle of the Road Format; Schulke, James; Soft Rock Format; Taylor, Marlin R.

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The Edgar Bergen and Charlie McCarthy Show

Comedy Variety Program

Although few would have guessed it when the program first appeared on the air, a ventriloquist act became one of radio's longest-running comedy shows. The creation of Edgar Bergen, the smart aleck Charlie McCarthy character soon had the country in stitches.

The hour-long variety broadcast show was a highly popular format in the mid-1930s, and ventriloquist Edgar Bergen knew that his 17 December 1936 guest spot on Rudy Vallee's *The Royal Gelatin Hour* was a chance to break away from the uncertainties of nightclub engagements, party entertainment jobs, and a declining vaudeville circuit. Newspaper radio pages puzzled over Vallee's decision to "waste" airtime on an act that seemed to require being *seen*, and program insiders had even stronger doubts. However, Vallee asked his audience to give the newcomer a fair hearing, and top-hatted Edgar Bergen and his dummy, Charlie McCarthy, were so successful that they stayed for 13 weeks.

On 9 May 1937, the shy ventriloquist and his brash alter ego began hosting the National Broadcasting Company's (NBC) *The Chase and Sanborn Hour* on Sunday evenings at 8:00, one of radio's most desirable time slots. The Bergen-McCarthy program would see changes of title, length, personnel, sponsorship, and emphasis over the next two decades, but it would remain among the highest-rated of all programs until the summer of 1956, when network radio was rapidly yielding audiences to television.

Chase and Sanborn's program budget could afford a parade of Hollywood guest stars and the weekly services of singers

Dorothy Lamour and Nelson Eddy, conductor Werner Janssen, and emcee Don Ameche. In the second half of each program, mischief-making Charlie McCarthy mocked W.C. Fields for his drunkenness and crabbiness. Volleys from the McCarthy-Fields feud are among the best-remembered lines in radio comedy—for instance, Fields' threat to whittle Charlie into a set of venetian blinds and the dummy's punning response, "That makes me shutter." On 12 December 1937, Mae West sent a shiver through the sponsor and network ranks when her sultry reading of an Adam and Eve sketch on the show drew widespread protests. More happily, the program pioneered remote broadcasts from military installations, and in 1939 Bergen introduced his second radio dummy, cheerfully slow-witted Mortimer Snerd.

Becoming a briskly paced half-hour show in January 1940, the retitled *Chase and Sanborn Program* lost regulars Ameche and Lamour and placed renewed emphasis on Bergen's and his dummies' interplay with guests such as Charles Laughton, Carole Lombard, Clark Gable, and Errol Flynn. Ray Noble led the orchestra, and, in sketches exploiting the differences between British and American English, he often rivaled Mortimer Snerd in comic "dumbness"; Bud Abbott and Lou Costello offered variations on their "Who's on first?" routine. In 1944 Bergen added a third dummy, aging and man-hungry Effie Klinker, who, when asked if she had anything to say to the listeners, blurted out her telephone number to any interested male. The lineup of celebrity guests halted in 1948 when Chase and Sanborn prepared to drop its sponsorship. In a transitional phase,



W.C. Fields, Dorothy Lamour, Charlie McCarthy, and Edgar Bergen
Courtesy of Bergen Foundation

Don Ameche returned with Marsha Hunt for a recurring segment as the eternally at-odds couple, the Bickersons.

Moving to the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) in 1949 as a result of William S. Paley's "talent raid" on NBC, *The Charlie McCarthy Show* continued to adjust to rapid changes in radio and in the sociopolitical climate. Called *The Edgar Bergen and Charlie McCarthy Show* in 1954 and *The New Edgar Bergen Hour* in 1955, Bergen's program now emphasized citizenship in a larger world by inviting scientists, professors, as well as military, political, and diplomatic figures to discuss their careers. Bergen and his friends vacated their regular time slot on 1 July 1956, and except for appearances on his first sponsor's 100th and 101st anniversary programs in 1964 and 1965, Edgar Bergen's radio career had ended. He went on to host a television quiz show in 1956 and 1957. Bergen died in his sleep in 1978 after the third Las Vegas performance of a planned farewell nightclub tour. Charlie McCarthy, who once had his own room in Bergen's Beverly Hills home, is now housed in a Smithsonian Institution display case.

In its early years, the Bergen-McCarthy program prompted an avalanche of Charlie McCarthy books, dolls, spoons, radios,

and other products. In most radio households, the show was the measure of Sunday evening family listening, yet Charlie McCarthy's leering attentions to female guests challenged propriety, and today the show's stereotypic treatment of W.C. Fields' drinking, Effie Klinker's "old maid" status, and Mortimer Snerd's good-natured rural stupidity would draw protests from many quarters. Still, the Bergen-McCarthy shows remain among the most popular in "old-time radio" circulation.

In retrospect, Bergen's success lay in his decision to build his act on a cluster of ironic impressions. Opposing the hard-times grain of the 1930s, Bergen and Charlie wore elegant evening clothes, and Charlie's monocle and upper-crust English accent gave an initial impression that was startlingly at odds with his earthy brashness. Charlie assumed the calculating speech rhythm of the schoolyard sharpie, and he wasted little respect on his elders, particularly the sometimes preachy Bergen: "I'll clip ya', Bergie, so help me, I'll mo-o-ow ya' down!" was Charlie's signature threat. Bergen sometimes flubbed his lines, but cocky Charlie rarely did. Charlie often ridiculed Bergen's lip movements and complained that his creator had grown wealthy by stinting on the boy's allowance. Thus Charlie

seemed to have the upper hand and the last word, but all the while Bergen's hand and mouth animated the creature of wood and cloth. The two were sharp opposites, yet one was entirely the creation of the other.

RAY BARFIELD

See also Ameche, Don; Comedy; Vallee, Rudy; Variety Shows

Cast

Charlie McCarthy	Edgar Bergen
Mortimer Snerd	Edgar Bergen
Effie Klinker	Edgar Bergen
Series regulars	Don Ameche, Dorothy Lamour,
(various periods)	Nelson Eddy, W.C. Fields, Dale
	Evans, Bud Abbott and Lou Costello,
	Pat Patrick, Jack Kirkwood, others

Producers

Tony Stanford, Sam Pierce

Programming History

NBC	1937-48
CBS	1949-56

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Editorializing

Expressing a Station's Point of View

The broadcast of editorials by radio stations has enjoyed an uneven history for both legal and economic reasons. Although legally allowed since 1949 and actively encouraged by the FCC in later years, most stations rarely editorialize on any issue.

An editorial is the expression of the point of view of the station (or network) owner or management. News commentary, in which a single newscaster expresses an opinion about one or more news events, is not an "editorial," because that individual is rarely understood to be speaking for management. The parallel to newspapers is apparent—the editorial page matches what is addressed here, whereas the "op ed" page offers other (and sometimes disagreeing) individual expressions of opinion.

Origins

Many stations took to the air in the 1920s and 1930s specifically so that their owners could express their points of view on one or more controversial issues. Indeed, some early stations that became subject to Federal Radio Commission (FRC) sanctions got into trouble because of their one-sided approach to religious or political issues. Early administrative FRC and court decisions made clear that stations—as part of their requirement to operate in "the public interest, convenience or necessity"—should provide a balanced program menu, allow-

ing a variety of points of view to be expressed. Nothing specific was said about whether or not stations could editorialize in the first place.

At the network level, editorializing was frowned upon in the 1930s. Although "comment" was fairly common among newscasters, and some programs of news "commentary" were common by the late 1930s—indeed, the role of news commentator became more widely recognized—such programs did not express the editorial opinion of network or station management and were thus not looked at in the same way by the regulators.

The *Mayflower* Case

Any question about the legality of station editorials was removed by the *Mayflower* case in 1941.

The Yankee Network's WAAB in Boston had presented editorials in 1937-38. This became a matter of legal concern in 1939, when the *Mayflower* Broadcasting Corporation (one of whose owners was a disgruntled former WAAB employee who felt stations should not editorialize) applied for the same frequency, throwing the stations into a comparative hearing before the FCC as required by provisions of the 1934 Communications Act. When the commission initially dismissed the *Mayflower* application for unrelated reasons, the company asked the FCC to reconsider based on the editorializing ques-

tion. Early in 1941 the FCC issued its final decision, which, while upholding the renewal of WAAB's license, made clear that "a truly free radio cannot be used to advocate the causes of the licensee. . . . the broadcaster cannot be an advocate." The commission argued that given the limited number of frequencies available (and thus the number of stations that could broadcast), each licensee had to remain impartial. In using a public resource (its frequency assignment), a station took on the responsibility of being open to expression of all points of view, not merely its own. Because WAAB had ceased editorializing in 1938 when the FCC questioned the practice, its license was renewed.

Perhaps surprisingly, given broadcasters' fierce defense of their First Amendment rights, there was little industry complaint about the decision. Indeed, many broadcasters were secretly relieved that the FCC had eliminated the editorial option, because they knew that no matter what was said, any editorial could make listeners and advertisers unhappy. As stations grew to depend more on commercial support, avoiding controversy became ever more important.

Encouraging Editorials

Only after World War II did the issue arise anew. Early in 1948 the FCC held eight days of hearings on the question of stations' editorializing and dealing with controversial issues. From those hearings came a mid-1949 decision allowing editorials, in effect reversing the *Mayflower* ban. As the commissioners put it, "We cannot see how the open espousal of one point of view by the licensee should necessarily prevent him from affording a fair opportunity for the presentation of contrary positions." Little did anyone see at the time how this decision—which allowed but did not actively encourage editorials—would lay the groundwork for the hugely controversial fairness doctrine in years to come.

Eleven years later, the commission became more positive, including "editorialization by licensees" as the 7th of 14 specific program types held to be in the public interest. More stations began to offer at least occasional editorials, with some larger outlets hiring dedicated staff for the purpose. But the majority of stations never editorialized, and many others did so only infrequently. For a number of years, *Broadcasting Yearbook* kept track of the number of stations providing editorials. Of AM stations reporting (including most but not all of those then on the air), 30 percent editorialized in 1959, and six years later, 61 percent did, though nearly half of those did so only occasionally.

One indicator of the (temporary, as it turned out) growth of station editorializing was the formation of the National Broadcast Editorial Association (NBEA) in the early 1970s. The association grew to more than 200 members (usually the edito-

rial director of a station); issued a quarterly publication, the *NBEA Editorialist*; and held annual conventions. One of the better-known station editorial directors was Don Gale, of the KSL stations in Salt Lake City, who over two decades broadcast some 5,000 editorials before his 1999 retirement. Each was broadcast three times a day on radio and twice on television. Ed Hinshaw at Milwaukee's WTMJ and Phil Johnson at WWL in New Orleans wrote or broadcast editorials for both radio and television for more than a quarter century.

By 1977 fewer stations reported editorializing activity, and most of those were only doing occasional editorials. A 1982 study identified more than 1,200 stations editorializing, many of them AM-FM-TV combinations. But later surveys suggested that the number was both much smaller and in decline. In September 1991 the NBEA was absorbed by the National Conference of Editorial Writers, most of whose members worked for newspapers.

The decline in station editorials after about 1980 was driven largely by economics. Increasing competition for advertising dollars and the need not to make potential clients irate certainly contributed. The demise of the fairness doctrine in 1987 probably contributed as well. So did the general demise of radio news and public-affairs programming on many stations. Because most focus on music, radio stations no longer compare themselves to newspapers in their community role. With that change in identification came the demise of editorializing.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Commentators; Controversial Issues; Fairness Doctrine; *Mayflower* Decision; News; Public Affairs Programming

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Education about Radio

Developing University Curricula and Degrees

One measure of a topic's social importance or role is whether colleges and universities conduct research and offer courses (or even degrees) concerning that subject matter. Such academic recognition becomes a touchy question when the topic is largely commercial and enjoys a popular following—as did radio broadcasting by the mid-1920s. The study of mass communication was initially shaped with the first academic programs in newspaper journalism in the early 20th century. Radio broadcasting, however, presented something quite different with its emphasis on popular entertainment.

Origins

Perhaps ironically, the first Ph.D. dissertation on radio broadcasting was published as a book long before college or university organized studies of radio existed. Hiram Jome's *Economics of the Radio Industry* (1925) was based on the author's economics doctorate earned at the University of Wisconsin. Two years later, Stephen Davis' *The Law of Radio Communication* (1927) inaugurated yet another field of serious study, again long before most law schools offered courses on the subject. A series of lectures by radio leaders was delivered as part of a business policy course at the Harvard School of Business in 1927–28 (the lectures appeared as a book), and the first regular course about radio was organized in 1929 at the University of Southern California.

Soon additional scholarly apparatus became evident. The first scholarly journal article concerning radio appeared on the pages of the *Quarterly Journal of Speech* in 1930, when Sherman Lawton discussed principles of effective radio speaking. Two years later he expanded that article into the first college-level textbook on radio, *Radio Speech*. Initial courses began to appear elsewhere, usually within English or speech departments. By 1933 an early survey showed that 16 colleges and universities offered at least one radio course. In 1937 the first comprehensive radio textbook appeared, which would run through four editions over the next two decades—Waldo Abbot's *Handbook of Broadcasting*.

The pace of development speeded up in the final years before World War II. By 1938 another survey showed that more than 300 institutions offered at least one course in radio. Furthermore, eight now offered a bachelor's degree and two offered a master's degree; in 1939 the Universities of Iowa and Wisconsin began offering a Ph.D. with an emphasis in the study of radio broadcasting. By 1939–40 some 360 schools offered about 1,000 courses in 14 different subject categories (including electrical engineering, which was the majority), of

which the most common non-technical topics included radio speech, a survey course, scriptwriting, and program planning/production.

Postwar Expansion

Broadcast education entered a period of substantial growth, and there was a concerted movement to develop standards, if not actual accreditation, for degree programs in radio (and soon television). In 1945 one committee published a brief set of suggested standards for radio degree programs. By 1948 a government survey reported that more than 400 schools provided at least a single radio course, with 35 offering non-engineering degrees in radio broadcasting. However, not everything was in place as television began to make its appearance.

It is often said that a true academic field of study needs at least one national (or international) association of like-minded scholars and a research journal. In 1948 a step was taken toward the first of these with the creation of the University Association for Professional Radio Education (UAPRE), founded by about a dozen universities. The title reflected a tension evident in education for radio—were such courses and degrees designed primarily to turn out personnel for the industry, or was this media education to be more in the liberal arts tradition? UAPRE was set up specifically to accredit university and college degree programs, but it was unable to achieve that goal, though for reasons having nothing to do with radio but rather with the complex politics of establishing any national accrediting process.

By 1950 some 420 colleges and universities offered courses, and 54 provided non-engineering degrees: 30 bachelor's, 15 master's, and 3 Ph.D. Five years later, there were at least 81 course sequences leading to radio/broadcasting degrees. In 1955 the UAPRE gave way to the Association for Professional Broadcasting Education (APBE), which a year later began publishing *Journal of Broadcasting* as the first dedicated scholarly journal in the developing field. A year later a national survey reported 93 bachelor's degree programs (3,000 majors), 56 master's degree programs (over 400 students), and 15 Ph.D. programs of study (122 candidates). Broadcast educators now met annually with the National Association of Broadcasters, and many academics were becoming active in the more senior speech and journalism academic organizations. More scholarships, internships, and research opportunities were becoming available every year.

At that point, of course, all eyes were quite literally on television, and radio courses and research began to disappear. A

handful of announcing courses survived, but most other broadcast programs focused very strongly on television—and given the costs of such education and the lack of student interest in radio, radio studies were fairly quickly abandoned. However, the field was now sufficiently established to move away from a focus on professional education alone. APBE became the Broadcast Education Association (BEA) in 1973, thereby better recognizing the many liberal arts broadcast programs that had developed.

Radio's Revival

In the 1980s radio began to reappear in college and university curricula. This was due to a combination of factors, first in the industry and then in education.

Certainly the growing number of radio stations (with their entry-level positions for college and university graduates) was a factor. So was the revival of educational and public radio beginning in the 1970s and the reappearance of radio drama documentary broadcasts. The growing complexity of radio formats added a degree of depth to the medium that it had not previously possessed: there was more to study and understand than before. As audience and market research became more widespread and important in radio, people had to be educated in these areas. The explosive popularity of talk radio in the 1980s put radio in the political limelight. Radio was increasingly in the news: with controversial disc jockeys and talk show hosts having impact on elections, its appeal to young people as a possible career option increased exponentially. At the other end of the spectrum, growing interest in the “golden age” of radio increased interest in the history and sociology of radio. As in other parts of American life, more women and minorities were being employed by radio, opening further paths to success in the medium. Technology played a growing role as well, as the radio industry became increasingly computerized and automated, made plans to begin digital operations, and became more widely available on the internet.

Just as radio managers seemed to place more emphasis on the educational credentials of those trying to enter the field, colleges and universities seemed to rediscover radio as well. There were several indicators, including the reappearance of radio-only comprehensive and production-oriented textbooks, the new *Journal of Radio Studies* founded as an annual in 1992 and expanding to twice a year by 1998 (as the first academic journal focused on radio), and the (perhaps belated) formation of a broadcast and internet radio division within BEA

in 2000. Radio began reappearing in course titles in university programs across the country, coming full circle seven decades after the academic discovery of the medium.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Barnouw, Erik; Broadcast Education Association; College Radio; Educational Radio to 1967; Intercollegiate Broadcasting System; Lazarsfeld, Paul F.; Museums and Archives of Radio; National Association of Educational Broadcasters; Office of Radio Research; Siepmann, Charles A.

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Educational Radio to 1967

Well before radio broadcasting became an entertainment and sales medium, it was used for education. When Charles D. Herrold started the first radio broadcasting station in the United States in 1909, it was largely intended as a laboratory for students of the Herrold School of Radio in San Jose, California. When Lee de Forest, also in the first decade of the 20th century, tested his firm's radio apparatus using recordings of opera and other classical music, it was partly to introduce others to the music he loved.

There has been conflict from the early 1920s until the present between those who believe there is a need for nonprofit educational broadcasting and those who do not. For example, many commercial broadcasters believe that the frequencies occupied by noncommercial educational radio might be better employed for advertising. On the other hand, although its potential has never been fully realized, educational radio—like the internet—has such high potential that its use for education attracted many enthusiastic supporters.

This conflict is pervasive. In the late 1920s, the Federal Radio Commission (FRC) encouraged shared-time broadcasters to persuade educational institutions to give up their licenses. In the early 1930s, the Wagner-Hatfield Amendment was proposed to reserve channels for nonprofits. In 1941 channels were first set aside or reserved for education on the new FM band. In 1946, when the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) issued its "Blue Book" (*Public Service Responsibility of Broadcast Licensees*), it called upon commercial stations to cater to the needs of nonprofit organizations. However, the storm of protest from commercial stations about the "Blue Book" buried this idea at the time.

But although the record shows that educational radio has often been impressively effective in schools and adult education, it frequently was underappreciated. Educational broadcasting was cavalierly dismissed for decades, even though it was originally touted as a great advance. For decades, arguments in favor of a separate educational radio service relied on an analogy with the public service philosophy of agricultural extension intrinsic to the land grant colleges.

Origins: 1920–33

Indeed, one land grant institution, the University of Wisconsin, owns WHA, one of the oldest radio broadcasting stations in the United States. Land grant colleges were interested in outreach—the extension of their expertise to isolated regions. As a result, they first used radio both to provide lectures on topics of more or less general interest and to give specific information on topics intended to serve citizens of their state, such as agriculture and home economics. A few tried to use

radio for fund raising in the early 1920s, with very limited success.

A number of stations were merely the tangible results of experiments by engineering and physics faculty and students (such as Alfred Goldsmith, who operated 2XN at City College of New York, 1912–14) who wished to explore the phenomenon of wireless telephony. However, once they had tinkered to their heart's content, the daunting need to find content for their transmissions led, in many instances, to these stations' being turned over to departments of speech, English, music, and extension services. Another reason for this transfer was that the cost of programming, once the technical facilities met the FRC's standards, was a major expense.

Even before World War I, radio telegraph and some radio telephone experimentation had taken place at such colleges and universities as Arkansas, Cornell, Dartmouth, Iowa, Loyola, Nebraska, Ohio State, Penn State, Purdue, Tulane, and Villanova, in addition to Wisconsin. After stations were allowed back on the air in 1919 following the war, regular broadcasting service was started by many of these and others either for extension courses or strictly for publicity.

By 1 May 1922, when the number of radio stations was beginning a meteoric rise, the Department of Commerce's *Radio Service Bulletin* reported that more than 10 percent (23 of 218) of the broadcasting stations then on the air were licensed to colleges, universities, a few trade schools, high schools, religious organizations, and municipalities. This proportion soon climbed, with 72 stations (13 percent) licensed to educational institutions among the 556 on the air in 1923, and 128 (22 percent) of a similar total (571) in 1925.

Although early records are imprecise—noncommercial AM stations were issued the same type of license as commercial ones—many of these stations were short-lived. Not only did it appear that there was no pressing need for educational radio, but other factors pared the number on the air from 98 in 1927 (perhaps 13 percent of all stations) to half that (43, or 7 percent) in 1933. Although nearly 200 standard broadcast (AM) stations were licensed to educational institutions through 1929, almost three-quarters were gone as early as 1930. The 47 stations that remained, however, were tenacious—and roughly half of them continued to serve their audiences at the beginning of the 21st century.

The number of both commercial and noncommercial stations dropped in the late 1920s, largely because of the expensive technical requirements imposed by the FRC under the Radio Act of 1927. Additionally, the FRC's 1927–29 reallocations and elimination of marginal and portable stations often gave desirable channels to commercial operators at the expense of educational institutions. The costs of new interfer-

ence-reducing transmitters and other facilities were imposed just prior to the economic dislocations of the Great Depression—which dried up funds for colleges and commercial companies alike.

In addition, many university administrators saw no value in radio. At best, running a radio station, except where it also served curricular needs or could be used effectively by agricultural extension services, seemed to be a lot of work and expense for limited reward during tough times. Many institutions appeared glad that the FRC's new rules gave them an excuse to drop this expensive toy. This lack of interest closed many educational stations.

Into the 1930s, some educational stations found themselves pressured by local shared-time broadcasters to give up their frequencies for full-time use by commercial stations. To sweeten the deal, commercial broadcasters often offered to air some educational programming. Because commercial stations had more lobbying clout and deeper pockets and, in many cases, appeared to be more stable, closing down educational stations sounded very attractive to policy makers. It also sounded good to timid college administrators who didn't recognize the benefits of using radio for teaching, tended to allocate funding in other directions, and found commercial offers a "win-win" choice—until the promised educational programming was crowded out by advertising-supported programs.

A hard core of educational broadcasters successfully claimed that their stations were serving both the public interest and the interests of their parent institutions. But where there were not enough trained and interested personnel to argue for retention and financial support, many college and university stations no longer had an educational mission—nor, usually, a license.

Concern for their dwindling numbers and interest in ways of using radio effectively led radio educators to band together. In mid-1929, the Advisory Committee on Education by Radio was formed with backing from the Payne Fund, the Carnegie Endowment, and J.C. Penney, but it died before 1930 without having had much effect. In 1930 two rival organizations that would represent educational radio for a decade were organized: the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education and the National Committee on Education by Radio. The council worked with grants from the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Endowment and called on commercial stations to meet education's needs. The committee, with support from the Payne Fund, asked that nonprofit educational entities be given 15 percent of all station assignments—which would double the number of educational stations; the committee also attacked "commercial monopolies" and disagreed with what it called the "halfway" measures of the council.

One result of the proselytizing by both organizations was a Senate-mandated 1932 FRC survey of educational programs on both commercial and noncommercial stations. Having care-

fully timed their survey for National Education Week, when most stations scheduled some educational programs, the FRC concluded that commercial stations were adequately filling educational needs. Congress was not completely convinced, and Senators Wagner and Hatfield sponsored an unsuccessful amendment to the 1934 Communications Act allocating 25 percent of broadcast facilities to nonprofit organizations. After this failed, another dozen of the remaining educational stations began to take advertising in 1933 to meet operating costs and to cover American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers (ASCAP) music licensing fees.

The campaign for a set-aside of channels for education continued, resulting in Section 307 (c) of the Communications Act of 1934, which told the new Federal Communications Commission to "study the proposal that Congress by statute allocate fixed percentages of radio broadcasting facilities to particular types or kinds of non-profit radio programs or to persons identified with particular types or kinds of non-profit activities." The FCC held extensive hearings—100 witnesses, 13,000 pages of transcript—in the fall of 1934 and (as might have been anticipated) recommended against reservation of frequencies, for educator cooperation with commercial stations and networks, and for the establishment of another committee.

The resulting Federal Radio Education Committee (FREC) was originally composed of 15 broadcasters; 15 educators or members of groups such as the Parent-Teacher Association; and 10 government officials, newspaper publishers, and others, and it was headed by U.S. Commissioner of Education John Studebaker. "Broadcasters" ranged from network heads to the National Broadcasting Company's (NBC) music and education directors. The committee's purposes were to "eliminate controversy and misunderstanding between groups of educators and between the industry and educators" and to "promote actual cooperative arrangements between educators and broadcasters on national, regional, and local bases." A "subcommittee on conflicts and cooperation" was to try to deal with any friction between "the commercial and the social or educational broadcasters."

Holding On: The 1930s

FREC operated a script exchange (used by 108 stations and a large number of local groups in its first full year) and planned 18 major research projects so it could make valid recommendations. Funding—roughly two-thirds from educational foundations and one-third from the broadcasting industry (through the National Association of Broadcasters)—did not live up to expectations, and roughly half of the projects had to be dropped. Although some useful publications, a supply of standardized classroom receivers, and a great deal of script distribution resulted, the FREC actually held only one full meeting. It disbanded after World War II. Nevertheless, for more than

three decades, most educational broadcasters looked to the U.S. Office of Education, headed by Franklin Dunham and Gertrude Broderick, for coordination, sympathy, and low-cost practical assistance.

Because there were then no educational networks of any sort, the exchange of scripts was the best way to give educational stations and their audiences access to programming prepared by others. Beginning in early 1929, the Payne Fund supported daily *Ohio School of the Air* broadcasts on powerful commercial station WLW in Cincinnati. These programs, intended for in-school listening, were produced in the studios of WOSU, then and now licensed to the Ohio State University in Columbus. The Ohio state legislature appropriated money to partly cover production costs, teacher guides, and pupil materials. Later, WOSU, in the center of the state, became the primary transmitter of this program. Another early educational series for below-college-level classroom listening was the *Wisconsin School of the Air*, which began on university-owned WHA in the fall of 1931. WHA started a "College of the Air" two years later.

During radio's "golden age" from 1934 until the end of World War II, educational radio survived—but barely. The 43 educational AM stations on the air in 1933 dropped to no more than 35 by mid-1941. Roughly half had been on the air more than 15 years, 12 were commercially supported, and 7 of these were affiliated with a commercial network, airing educational programs only a few hours a day. One was operated by a high school, 2 were operated by church-affiliated educational groups, 9 by agricultural schools or state agricultural departments, and 11 by land grant universities, mostly in the Midwest. Only 11 stations were licensed for unlimited broadcast time, about half of them in the 250- to 5,000-watt category.

Commercial stations and national networks regularly scheduled some avowedly educational programming. In the 1920s, commercial broadcasters started "radio schools of the air," lectures, and even courses for credit. WJZ (New York) began such broadcasts in 1923, WEAJ (New York) followed, and WLS (Chicago) started its *Little Red Schoolhouse* series in 1924. Such programs, often in association with school boards, were long-lived and useful to the stations' images. For example, WFIL (Philadelphia) aired the *WFIL Studio Schoolhouse*, a series of daily radio programs, complete with teachers' manuals, in the mid-1950s. The *Standard School Broadcasts* (Standard Oil Company) were broadcast over a number of California stations into the 1960s.

A 1928 FRC study of 100 stations in the western United States had found that radio was supplying more features and more plays but fewer children's programs and less educational material than three years earlier. The study also found that, of the 54 hours that the average station was on the air each week, 5 were devoted to education and lectures other than on farm subjects, and 3 hours were on farm reports and talks. FCC hear-

ings in 1934 contained testimony that networks and larger stations were more cooperative with educators than were small and independent stations. Although the amount of such programming did not rise appreciably over the next two decades, neither did it fall until most commercial radio adopted all-music formats in reaction to the success of television in the 1950s.

Educational programming tended to be of three kinds: classroom instruction in English, history, social studies, and other disciplines, intended for classes from kindergarten to college; extension study, typically in fields that would be useful to the state or region being served, such as detailed agricultural practices and marketing news; and general cultural programs, such as classical music, which were inexpensive to produce.

Few stations of any sort produced dramatic programs, because the need for proven stories, talented performers, and special skills (such as sound effects) tended to require a major investment in time as well as money. College football and baseball games were often carried on college stations—at least until they became popular enough that more-powerful commercial stations offered to carry them. One potential audience given special attention by nonprofit stations was children, with programs of all types from stories and games to health instruction.

But the failure to provide an adequate number of channels on the AM band for education was not forgotten. National organizations continued to agitate for an adequate number of channels or to coordinate the efforts of existing stations. These groups included the FREC, the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education, the Institute for Education by Radio, the National Association of Educational Broadcasters (NAEB), and the National Committee on Education by Radio.

The Institute for Education by Radio was established at the Ohio State University in 1930 by I. Keith Tyler, and it hosted annual practitioner conferences on educational radio until 1960. Its published proceedings are a good source of contemporary thinking about what radio was doing for education—and might still do with sufficient support.

The NAEB was founded in 1934, but it traced its lineage to the Association of College and University Broadcasting Stations, established during the rush to get education on the air in 1925. NAEB was primarily a program idea exchange during the period up until World War II, but some of its 25 members also experimented with off-the-air rebroadcasting.

The National Committee on Education by Radio, mentioned earlier, worked hard for allocation of educational channels and sponsored annual conferences from 1931 to 1938, when its Rockefeller Foundation funding ended. One of the committee's more interesting initiatives was to help establish local listening councils—groups of critical listeners who would work with local broadcasters to improve existing programs and plan new ones.

In an attempt to secure educational channels without stepping on the toes of commercial broadcasters, the National

Committee on Education by Radio proposed that new educational stations be assigned to channels in the 1500–1600 kilohertz range, just above the standard (AM) broadcasting band of the time. These stations, however, typically would have had less range than those on lower frequencies and would have had to purchase new transmitters and antennas in many instances. Furthermore, there was no way of ensuring that receivers would be built that could pick up this band. As a result, most educators had little enthusiasm. (These frequencies eventually had limited use for high-fidelity AM experimental broadcasting, using 20-kilohertz-wide channels. In March 1941 they were added to the regular AM band.)

Early in 1938, the FCC reversed its earlier position and established the first specific spectrum reservations for noncommercial broadcast use, in the 41- to 42-megahertz band. After the FCC set aside 25 channels for in-school broadcasting, the Cleveland Board of Education was licensed (as WBOE) in November 1938. The next year, this allocation was moved to the 42- to 43-megahertz band, and the broadcasters using it were required to change from AM to the new frequency modulation (FM) mode of modulation. The first noncommercial educational FM stations were authorized in 1941. Because FM required a much wider bandwidth, this allocation provided only five channels, on which two fully licensed (and possibly five experimental) stations were transmitting to radio-equipped classrooms by late 1941. When commercial FM went into operation, education was assigned channels at the bottom of the overall band, which were fractionally easier for listeners to receive than higher ones. The interference-free reception and high audio fidelity of FM initially were very attractive, and half a million sets were sold before all civilian radio manufacturing was ended by the demands of World War II.

Postwar Rebirth: To 1967

This opportunity to establish new educational stations was welcomed. Although the wartime construction “freeze” of 1942 exempted educational broadcasting stations, scarcity of construction materials and broadcast equipment—together with the slow decision-making processes of educational institutions—meant that educational FM broadcasting at the end of the war in 1945 consisted of about 25 AM stations, plus 12 FM authorizations and 6 FM stations on the air. Nevertheless, many potential educational broadcasters used the war years for planning, realizing that finally, after more than a decade of talking about educational radio, they had the means to accomplish it.

But there were complications. In 1945 the FCC shifted the educational FM allotment to 88–92 megahertz, at the bottom of a new FM band. Because only a handful actually had to replace transmitters, this change was reluctantly accepted. The number of noncommercial educational FM stations grew sub-

stantially after World War II. Although these data are not completely reliable, it appears that there were 10 such stations on the air at the start of 1947 and 85 by 1952, 14 percent of all FM stations then on the air. The number kept rising and the proportion remained respectable: 98 in 1953, 141 in 1958, 209 in 1963, and 326 (16 percent) on 1 January 1968.

Perhaps chastened by earlier experiences with educational AM radio, institutions of higher education, school districts, and nonprofit community groups were initially hesitant to apply for FM licenses. Apart from past disappointments, high costs, and the need for colleges and universities to earmark resources to serve the millions of postwar students, potential operators were wary of the continuing paucity of homes with FM receivers and the possible effects of another new medium, television.

Late in 1948 the FCC, recognizing the burdens of high cost and the limited or campus-only uses planned by some colleges, approved a new class of 10-watt stations. These low-power FM stations were immediately popular and constituted more than one-third of the 92 educational FM stations on the air in 1952.

Audio tape recording’s potential was first realized by Seymour Siegel of WNYC in 1946. Recording also made it possible to reuse programs; for example, one station was still rebroadcasting some 1945 children’s programs in the 1990s—and they still were attracting youthful audiences. In 1951 the Kellogg Foundation provided funds to NAEB to establish a tape duplication operation at the University of Illinois, Urbana, to facilitate a non-interconnected “bicycle network” by which tape recordings of one station’s programs were mailed to other stations in succession. Soon, more than 40 stations were participating. The NAEB Tape Network was made possible by the postwar introduction of high-fidelity magnetic tape recorders, which replaced clumsy and fragile 15- or 16-inch transcription discs.

However, some postwar regional or statewide FM networks were established, as in Alabama and Wisconsin. In the latter, eight stations provided a full day’s programming to schools, colleges, and adults in most of the state. The National Educational and Radio Center, established in Ann Arbor, Michigan, in 1954 and later moved to New York, eventually started providing some taped radio programs through a subsidiary. At least one independent group of noncommercial stations, affiliated with the Pacifica Foundation, still operates stations across the country; another, the KRAB Nebula, organized by Lorenzo Milam, was more ephemeral.

Many educationally licensed stations programmed a great deal of classical or folk music and jazz, which were timeless and inexpensive. While education, music, and talk programs were generally inexpensive, news coverage was not, and educational radio therefore played a fairly minor role in the listening habits of most members of radio’s audience into the 1960s.

During the period up to 1967, educational radio remained an orphan in many ways. Although given general support in

regulatory matters by the FCC and Congress, funding was a perennial local problem. Studies of educational radio usually arrived at the obvious conclusions that money and a national rather than strictly local image were needed. On a local level, some educational radio stations served the public interest economically and well. Some acted both as training laboratories—for example, municipally owned WNYC trained interns from colleges across the country, and its sister station, WNYE, used high school students to create programs for schools throughout New York City—and as sources of a wider variety of programming for the many people who were not well served by the commercial radio broadcasting industry. Although not the first to lobby, the 1966 Wingspread Conference on Educational Radio as a National Resource came at the right time to argue for federal funding for radio, a proposal that succeeded in including radio in the 1967 Public Broadcasting Act. This provision of some facilities and program funding through the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and NPR after 1967 gave educational radio a very different look.

JOHN MICHAEL KITROSS

See also American School of the Air; Blue Book; Community Radio; Corporation for Public Broadcasting; Federal Communications Commission; Goldsmith, Alfred; Low-Power Radio/Microradio; National Association of Educational Broadcasters; National Public Radio; Pacifica Foundation; Public Broadcasting Act; Public Radio Since 1967; United States; WHA and Wisconsin Public Radio

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Edwards, Bob 1947–

U.S. Radio Host

As the solo host of *Morning Edition* since its first broadcast in 1979, Bob Edwards has shaped the sound of National Public Radio (NPR) in the morning. He has captured the morning news audience that was largely abandoned by commercial outlets and built a loyal weekly listenership of more than 12 million.

Edwards is a man of contradictions. He has won most of the major awards in broadcasting, but he likes to say that his job security lies in the fact that no one else wants to work his hours. He's an elected union official who insists on every nickel in a contract, yet he spends weeks each year on the road raising money for public radio stations.

Edwards came to NPR in 1974 as a newscaster. In a matter of months, he was chosen to cohost *All Things Considered* (ATC). Susan Stamberg, who shared the microphone with Edwards for five years, says he made up for his limited experience with clear writing and "that terrific voice."

Edwards actually came to the job with a background in commercial radio; he worked first at WHEL-AM in New Albany, Indiana, and then as an anchor and newscaster for Armed Forces Radio and Television when he was in the Army in Korea. After the army, Edwards moved to Washington, D.C., where he worked as a part-time anchor for WTOP-AM while earning a master's degree in communication from American University. At American University, he absorbed the gospel of Edward R. Murrow-style journalism from Ed Bliss, Jr., a former newswriter for Murrow at the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS). Bliss passed on Murrow's insistence on active, uncluttered language and his love of sound in telling the story.

Susan Stamberg says that Edwards had a very old-fashioned news style when he came to NPR but that he made her "understand the greatness of Edward R. Murrow." She says Edwards' understated style provided a good balance for her exuberance: "His coolness permitted me to be hotter." Edwards says he learned to be like the straight man in a comedy team, a skill that served him well later in his 12-year broadcast relationship with Red Barber.

Edwards' tenure on ATC came during the years that Frank Mankiewicz ran NPR and began seriously marketing it. "There was a lot of buzz," Edwards says. "That was the point at which people started taking us seriously as a news source."

Edwards and Stamberg felt mildly threatened in 1978 when the network began planning for a morning program. NPR's news resources were stretched thin already, and the ATC hosts weren't anxious to share reporters and production help with a rival that got on the air before they did. They were relieved when, after a year of planning, the first *Morning Edition* pro-

duction team came up with a pilot that was laughably bad. It was chatty and sounded, says Edwards, like "a bad talk show in a small market." The network had already promoted the new show heavily to program directors at member stations, so it had to come up with something. Management fired most of the first *ME* team, recruited producers from other NPR shows, and then called on Bob Edwards to fill in as host for 30 days, until someone new could be hired. "Thirty days didn't sound so long," he says, "although it meant getting up each day at 1:00 A.M." By the time the 30 days had passed, it was apparent that Edwards' calm and reassuring presence was a perfect fit to the mood of a morning audience.

Edwards credits producer Jay Kernis with getting him through the early days of the program by crafting a system that could support a single anchor through two hours of news, interviews, and features each day. The system meant scripting as much of the anchor talk as possible and preparing thorough questions for every interview.

Edwards' own interests helped set the show's agenda. He was a sports fan, a relative rarity among NPR staffers, and he warmed to the show's daily sports segments. The need for daily sports features helped bring the show commentators such as Bill Littlefield and Frank DeFord. Most significantly, it brought Red Barber out of retirement to do a four-minute commentary every Friday at 7:35 EDT. As a veteran of more than 50 years in radio, the "Ol' Redhead" had no interest in cranking out a taped segment each week. He wanted a live conversation with the host, a prospect that Edwards found daunting, because the great sportscaster was as apt to talk about philosophy, religion, or raising camellias as about sports. Edwards eventually wrote a book about his on-air friendship with Barber, *Fridays with Red*, saying that the relationship helped him grow in confidence and maturity as a broadcaster.

Edwards' favorite awards show the range of concerns he brings to *Morning Edition*. He won his first Gabriel Award in 1987 from the National Catholic Association of Broadcasters for a story called "Bill of Sale: A Black Heritage," about a Maryland man who assembled a small museum of artifacts from his own family's enslavement, including the record of the transaction in which one of his ancestors was sold as chattel. Edwards won a second Gabriel in 1990 for "Born Drunk," a five-part series about fetal alcohol syndrome. In 1995 he won the Alfred I. duPont-Columbia University Award for "The Changing of the Guard: The Republican Revolution." A highlight of that series was Edwards' interview with Representative Dick Armey of Texas, in which the House majority leader averred that voters would be so happy with Republican leader-



Bob Edwards, host of *Morning Edition*
 Courtesy National Public Radio

ship that the GOP's promise to limit lawmakers' terms wouldn't mean much. The comment caused an uproar among Republicans, who insisted on the promises in the GOP's "Contract with America," and Arney was forced to backpedal. In 1999 *Morning Edition* received a George Foster Peabody award lauding Edwards as "a man who embodies the essence of excellence in radio."

Edwards was on the air the morning of 11 September 2001 when terrorists attacked New York and Washington, D.C. NPR's coverage of events that day earned a George Foster Peabody Award and a duPont-Columbia Award.

Edwards still gets up at one o'clock in the morning. He has to. As Susan Stamberg says, "He's hitched to the nation's alarm clock, and he's the first voice you hear. He's reassuring. I honestly believe that people's days are different when Bob's not there."

COREY FLINTOFF

See also *All Things Considered*; Barber, Red; Mankiewicz, Frank; *Morning Edition*; National Public Radio; Stamberg, Susan; WTOP

Bob Edwards. Born in Louisville, Kentucky, 16 May 1947. B.S. in commerce, University of Louisville, 1969; M.A. in communication, American University, 1972; served in U.S. Army, television news anchor, American Forces Korea Network, Seoul, Korea; attained rank of specialist fifth class, 1969–71; news and program director, WHEL-AM, New Albany, Indiana, 1968–69; news anchor, WTOP-AM, Washington D.C., 1972; correspondent and night editor, Mutual Broadcasting System, Washington D.C., 1972–73; began career at National Public Radio as associate producer, 1974. Unity Award in Media, 1983; Corporation for Public Broadcasting's Edward R. Murrow Award, 1984; honorary Doctor of Public Service from University of Louisville, 1985; Gabriel award, 1987, 1990; honorary LHD from Grinnell College, 1991; Alfred I. duPont-Columbia University Award, 1995; George Foster Peabody Award, 1999. National vice president of the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists, from 1988.

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Edwards, Ralph 1913–

U.S. Radio Host and Producer

While Ralph Edwards is perhaps best known today for his work in television, his involvement with radio spanned several decades dating back to 1929. He is one of a handful of radio stars that caused a town to change its name.

Early Years

Edwards spent his formative years on the family farm in Colorado. The family moved to Oakland, California when he was 16 and he completed high school there in 1931. He began his broadcast career in 1929, while still in high school, at station KROW in Oakland. The station manager had been impressed with a high school play Edwards wrote and hired him to write scripts for radio—at the munificent pay of \$1.00 per script. He soon took on general announcing (and some acting) duties as well.

Edwards entered the University of California, Berkeley in 1931, and had earned a BA in English by 1935, intent on becoming an English teacher. While in school, however, he kept a hand in radio, working at KTAB in Oakland. Upon graduation, with few jobs available to him in education at that time, Edwards decided to work in radio.

Radio Years

Not finding much in the way of full-time employment in California, Edwards hitch-hiked to New York to try his luck there. He took on various part-time announcing duties in 1936 while living hand-to-mouth. Slowly things picked up. He was soon performing actor duties in several network plays, and in 1938 won a coveted full-time staff announcer's position at CBS, beating nearly 70 rivals. Within a year he was announcing some 45 network programs, mostly daytime offerings, every week, and was said to be one of the busiest announcers in the business.

Over the next several years Edwards would serve as host or announcer on dozens of programs, among them *Vic and Sade*, *The Phil Baker Show*, *Major Bowes' Original Amateur Hour*, *Life Can Be Beautiful*, *The Quiz Show*, and *The Horn and Hardart Children's Hour*. Despite his success as a network announcer and emcee, he was not content (the work was monotonous and boring) and sought greater opportunities.

This move involved his recollecting a childhood game, which in turn led to his creation in 1940 of what would become one of radio's pioneer game shows, *Truth or Consequences*. Edwards sold the idea to the Compton Agency and Procter & Gamble and that package was sold to CBS in

March, setting up his own production firm. Edwards was then 26. The program was the number one audience participation program for the next three years (though now on NBC). Prizes were minor (\$10 or \$15); everyone listened for the silly consequences of the (usually) wrong answers to the questions posed. *Truth or Consequences* was broadcast live until 1948, repeated twice on its Saturday schedule, at 8 P.M. for the Eastern and Central Time Zones, and three hours later for broadcast on the West Coast. Edwards later remembered they used the same scripts but new contestants for the rebroadcast. The program continued to enjoy enormous ratings success for years, becoming a network staple. As Dunning relates, many of the stunts (the "consequences") were highly elaborate, some stretching out for weeks at a time, often including audience participation.

In 1950 the New Mexico town of Hot Springs changed its name to Truth or Consequences in honor of the top-rated radio show. To mark the program's approaching tenth anniversary, Edwards had offered to host an annual celebration in and nationwide broadcast from any town willing to change its name to Truth or Consequences. The Hot Springs Chamber of Commerce spread the news of the offer to advertise the city free of charge. No longer would they be confused with other towns named Hot Springs across the country. A special city election voted by a margin of ten to one to change the name to Truth or Consequences. After a protest by nearly 300 area residents another election saw the votes in favor win by an even greater margin. Edwards kept his promise and aired the first live, coast-to-coast broadcast of *Truth or Consequences* from the newly named New Mexico town. Until the late 1990s, Edwards returned annually to the town of 7,000 people for the name-change celebration Fiesta. (In two later referenda, in January 1964, and again in August 1967, townspeople voted to retain the name. There is even a Ralph Edwards Park.)

In 1948, based on a minor "consequence" of his famous program, Edwards would create *This Is Your Life*, debuting first on radio and eventually enjoying a longer run (1952–61) on television, making Edwards a household name. During his long career, he also made a name for himself through his significant efforts for charity. During World War II, Edwards' formidable work for the War Bond drives won him wide praise, and his later involvement with the American Heart Association and the March of Dimes brought him further accolades.

Later Career

Edwards would enjoy considerable success in the television medium as both a producer and host. Ralph Edwards

Productions became part of Aquarius Productions in 1957 after 17 years as a sole proprietorship operation. After their long network runs, with several different hosts, both *This is Your Life* (1971–72, 1983) and *Truth or Consequences* (1966–74, 1977–78, 1987) were revived for first-run syndication. In 1978 all the Edwards companies (there were a number of them) and programs were merged into Aquarius and renamed Ralph Edwards Productions. That company began to syndicate *People's Court* in 1981.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Quiz and Audience Participation Programs

Ralph Livingstone Edwards. Born in Merino, Colorado, 13 June 1913. Moved to Oakland, California, 1926. Graduated high school, 1931. University of California, Berkeley, BA in English, 1935. Began broadcast career in 1929 at KROW, Oakland; full-time employment with CBS in New York City,

1938–40. Began *Truth or Consequences* on NBC (and Ralph Edwards Productions), 1940.

Radio Series

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Election Coverage

Radio Reports of National Campaigns

Elections provided some of the earliest content for the new medium of radio. In 1920, as Westinghouse prepared to issue KDKA's first radio broadcast, they chose to debut with reports of national election results. With a small audience, to whom "simple receiving sets" had been distributed, and advertising placed in the local papers to spark the interest of amateur radio enthusiasts, on the evening of 2 November 1920, the national election returns were broadcast to an audience of perhaps 500 to 1,000 listeners.

The early attraction of radio to politics was not immediately returned in kind by politics, as was evidenced in a comment regarding the 1924 election: "The effect of the election on radio was more important than the effect of radio on the election result" (Chester). However, a dependence on the new medium was soon to follow. Through a historical review of the election coverage on radio, this essay traces the role that radio played in the coverage of political campaigns and the early public dependence on the radio for election coverage.

Early Election Coverage

The first political campaign in which radio played a major role was the 1924 presidential contest. Strategists for President Calvin Coolidge's reelection effort saw the immediate advantages of the medium for "silent Cal," who found radio's requirement of short and simple language more compatible with his own style than the traditional round of presidential candidate stump speeches. One campaign advisor noted, "Speeches must be short. Ten minutes is a limit and five minutes is better" (Chester).

Campaign speeches and addresses by the candidates and other political advocates made up radio's major election coverage in these early days. The Republican Party even purchased their own radio station, on which they broadcast campaign addresses at all available hours in the day. This saturation sparked the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) to suggest that a limit of one hour per day be reserved for political address broadcasting and that such addresses be limited to 15

minutes each. The 1924 election coverage also included the first coverage on radio of the national party conventions. Both the Republican and Democratic conventions were carried to listeners across the nation. Although some political observers were sure that this marriage of radio and elections was a fad, those who predicted that political campaigns would never be the same were closer to the mark.

By the 1928 presidential campaign, 40 million people were able to follow the election campaigns via the radio, which had become an integral campaign tool, so much so that a candidate's "radio personality" was a part of the election dialogue. Republican Herbert Hoover was not an exciting radio personality, but he was credited for not offending his audiences. Democratic opponent Alfred Smith, however, had an accent that tended to alienate voters from the Southern states that he desperately needed to carry. The 1928 campaign also saw the rise in coverage of radio campaign addresses by people other than the presidential candidates themselves. Republicans continued to build on the perceived advantages of brevity in the new medium by creating 30 short speeches that covered the main points of Hoover's campaign. Lasting five minutes each, these were delivered by well-known local people over 174 local stations.

By 1932, with radios in more than 12 million homes, voters witnessed new radio strategies in the presidential campaigns. Franklin Roosevelt established a new precedent in radio address, flying to Chicago to accept his party's nomination prior to the adjournment of the national convention and thus broadcasting his acceptance address by radio from the convention. Other changes in radio coverage evolved during this campaign cycle, with the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) and the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) each allotting three periods a week for political addresses and refusing to sell airtime to either party before the parties had officially selected their presidential candidates. During the 1936 campaign, both candidates, Roosevelt and Kansas Governor Alfred Landon, toured the country with many of their speeches broadcast over radio. A unique variation of campaign speeches in the 1936 campaign focused on foreign language broadcasts. Both parties produced radio messages in a variety of languages, with the Republicans using as many as 29 languages in numerous messages varying in length from 100-word spots to 30-minute talks. Although Landon enjoyed many powerful newspaper endorsements, many believe that Roosevelt's victory can be at least partially credited to his effective use of radio during the campaign.

In Roosevelt's last campaign, in 1944, the press noted that Republican nominee Thomas Dewey, then-governor of New York, might be the first real competition Roosevelt had faced in radio performance. It was an unfulfilled prediction; a poll conducted by the American Institute of Public Opinion found

that the attitude Dewey conveyed while speaking on the radio hindered audience approval, further underscoring the need for candidates to understand and develop successful radio communication strategies.

During the 1948 election, Democratic incumbent Truman successfully developed his own approach to radio address. As opposed to Roosevelt's manuscript style of speech preparation, Truman found both success and effectiveness in extemporaneous speaking. Truman embarked on a successful "whistle-stop" tour during the campaign, and by simply and consistently repeating his message throughout the tour, he inadvertently capitalized on the fundamental nature of radio by reaching masses of voters with the same message.

Throughout the 1948 campaign, a larger percentage of President Truman's speeches were covered by local radio stations than were those of Dewey, again the Republican nominee. Whereas about 50 of the incumbent president's addresses were covered by radio, only about 34 of Dewey's were broadcast to voters. Also significant was the fact that most of Truman's speeches carried on radio were broadcast from his whistle-stop tour, giving them a background of excitement and timeliness. The coverage of Truman's speeches was particularly important for him, because the Democratic Party had limited funds to pay for broadcasts. In addition, many of the "whistle stops" where the actual speeches were given did not have local radio stations, and national coverage was essential for his message to reach large numbers of voters. Truman's upset victory was due in part to radio.

In the 1952 election, radio found a mass media partner as television made its first significant appearance in a political election. Although Eisenhower is credited for the first use of presidential televised spot advertising, surveys conducted after the election found that he made his greatest gains on radio (Chester). Nonetheless, the years when radio coverage would dominate elections were over.

Election Advertising

Early in radio coverage of elections, the blending of straightforward coverage and party and candidate advertising in election campaigns was established. By the time of the 1928 election, candidates and parties were routinely purchasing time for the airing of their speeches and messages. Advertising expenditures in 1928 reached \$650,000 for the Democrats and \$435,000 for the Republicans, as radio stations began charging presidential candidates for airtime after they had given their nomination acceptance speeches. However, during the 1936 campaign, Republicans began to run shorter spot advertisements on behalf of Landon, including language-specific spots directed to the minority and immigrant votes.

In the 1944 presidential election, both parties employed short, one-minute radio spots. The Democrats sought to remind voters that they should blame the Republicans for the Depression with quips such as “Hoover depression,” and the Republicans sought to tie the Democrats to the war with slogans such as “End the war quicker with Dewey and Bricker.” Testimonial five-minute spots were also employed by the Democrats, with speakers such as Vice President Henry A. Wallace and vice presidential candidate Truman.

During the 1948 presidential election, Dewey declined the use of five-minute spot announcements, feeling confident that he was ahead in the polls. The Republican national committee instead made use of 30- and 60-second spot ads to urge the people to vote Republican; the Democrats made very little use of spot announcements. Instead, Truman concentrated on reaching the voters through political speeches broadcast from his whistle-stop tour.

With Eisenhower’s introduction of televised political spot ads in 1952, radio advertising began to take a back seat to the advertising dollars spent on television. However, as radio stations grew in popularity and number, candidates began to use the target marketing of certain radio stations to reach particular types of voters. The increasing numbers of radio advertising dollars in presidential candidate budgets in the seven decades from 1928 to 2000 is noteworthy. Radio advertising expenditures topped \$650,000 in 1928, and by 2000 both parties were spending several million dollars each on radio advertising. A major reason for the resurgence of interest in radio advertising in the 1980s and 1990s has been the ability of radio to target increasingly diverse and segmented audiences.

Election Debates

An idea that was ahead of its time, a proposal for the first presidential debate to be broadcast on radio was actually put forth as early as the 1924 election campaign. Two decades later, radio hosted a 1948 Republican primary debate held in Portland, Oregon; the debate was a forerunner to the famous Nixon-Kennedy debates of 1960. The choice of the issue about which both the leading Republican candidates, Thomas Dewey, governor of New York, and Harold Stassen, former governor of Minnesota, were in complete disagreement set the stage for a traditional, non-moderated debate. The debate topic focused on whether the Communist Party should be outlawed in the United States. Stassen took the affirmative, and Dewey supported the negative. Although Stassen entered the debate with a slim lead in the state of Oregon, shortly thereafter (and strongly linked to his performance during the radio broadcast debate), he ultimately lost both his lead in Oregon and the Republican nomination.

The first Nixon-Kennedy debate in 1960 has been considered an important turning point in the presidential election.

The debate aired on both television and radio. Interestingly, although the television appearance both hindered Nixon and fundamentally affected his future campaign strategies, his radio ratings from the debate were notably positive. Not only did Nixon seem to come across far better than Kennedy, but those who *heard*, rather than viewed, the debate chose him as the winner by a substantial margin. Debates before and for many years after 1960 were scarce because of the FCC’s regulatory view that required *all* candidates to be included—or given equal time. This gradually changed in the 1970s and 1980s, leading to almost regular presidential candidate debates.

To this day debates make up a significant amount of the election coverage available to voters, and many debates are covered simultaneously by radio and television stations. However, so much more attention goes to the television medium that radio coverage of debates does not attract much attention in the modern political system.

Assessment of Modern Election Coverage on Radio and Its Impact

From its beginnings as the medium that brought election returns into the homes of Americans in 1920, radio coverage has evolved into a medium whose significance in American political coverage is quite limited. As television supplanted radio in the second half of the 20th century, radio’s role in election coverage maintained some significance only in lower-level elections, in state and local contests where candidates were unable to expend major resources on television coverage.

Exceptions to the general trend of reduced radio coverage of elections can be found at the national level in the aggressive coverage of the National Public Radio (NPR) system and state public radio outlets. The growth in the 1970s of all-news radio stations in some communities also brought a renewed interest in covering election matters in state and local communities. The all-talk radio formats of the 1980s and 1990s also heightened radio coverage of and concentration on political and election matters.

The impact of radio election coverage is not easy to measure. However, by 1944 a Roper survey reported that 56 percent of those interviewed felt they received the “most accurate news” about the presidential campaign from the radio. Although Roper surveys from 1959 to 1980 indicate that the American people’s reliance on radio as a news source decreased from 34 percent in 1959 to 18 percent in 1980, American radio listeners’ use of this medium to acquaint themselves with local candidates ranked even lower from 1971 to 1984. In 1971 6 percent of the respondents to a Roper survey indicated that they became acquainted with local candidates through the radio. Although the percentage rose to 10 percent in 1976, from 1980 to 1984 the percentage remained stable at

6 percent. During the presidential election years of 1973, 1976, and 1984, 6 percent, 4 percent, and 4 percent, respectively, indicated radio as a source through which listeners became acquainted with candidates for public office. However, in 1987 46 percent of the respondents to a Roper survey indicated that the radio was a "somewhat important" source of information for learning about presidential candidates, and 19 percent indicated radio as a "very important" source. This increase probably stemmed in part from the rise in popularity of political talk radio.

More recent polls from the 1990s have reflected the increased attention radio election coverage has received from voters. A Roper survey conducted from May to June 1992 suggested that 18 percent of respondents gathered information about the 1992 presidential election campaign from the radio, with a decrease to 12 percent by November 1992. However, a November 1996 Roper survey found that 19 percent of the respondents indicated that they gathered information about the 1996 presidential election campaign from the radio. Most recently, a November 1998 Roper survey reported that 23 percent of the respondents indicated that they gathered information about the 1998 off-year election campaigns in their state and district from the radio.

Although radio began its political coverage by broadcasting presidential election results, recognition of the potential impact of radio on the election process came quickly. Whether through radio coverage of candidate addresses, the development of political advertising, or the coverage of major campaign events such as conventions and debates, strategists and ultimately candidates recognized that radio could reach millions of voters. That accessibility thus influenced the need to effectively present the candidate and the candidate's message in this medium.

Undoubtedly, radio's election coverage brought the political process much closer to the American people. Not only could those with a radio in their living room suddenly sit in on their party's national convention, but they could also hear campaign addresses delivered by presidential candidates in distant states. Even more important, the American people could listen to a candidate deliver an address on specific issues in real time, and they could judge for themselves the information as well as the candidate's delivery style and personality. In

essence, radio, through its election coverage, handed the American people the opportunity to participate in and make decisions about candidates firsthand without relying solely on press interpretations.

LYNDA LEE KAID AND MARY CHRISTINE BANWART

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Electronic Media Rating Council. See Media Rating Council

Elliott, Bob. *See* Bob and Ray

Ellis, Elmo 1918–

U.S. Radio Executive

For more than 40 years, Elmo Ellis was a fixture in Atlanta radio. Dubbed “The Dean of WSB Radio,” Ellis served as a national radio guru in the 1950s at the time the medium was falling behind television. A prolific writer and producer, Ellis brought innovations to Atlanta radio that are still being applied by stations across the country.

Origins

Ellis was born in 1918, in Alabama. He attended West Blocton High School (where he played quarterback on his high school football team) and was a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of The University of Alabama in 1940. A cousin of radio great Mel Allen, Ellis studied journalism at Alabama, but he did not take radio courses until his senior year. He applied for a job at WSB in Atlanta after his graduation and was hired as the station’s promotions and publicity director. His first award came in 1940, from *Variety*, for best local station programming.

During World War II, Ellis joined the Army Air Corps and worked as a military broadcaster, writing and producing programs for every network. He also worked with Glenn Miller. Ellis told *The Atlanta Constitution* he was in Fort Worth, Texas, and had collaborated with Miller on a 1942 Army Air Corps radio show. Ellis said the bandleader had liked his work and wanted Ellis to join his radio production unit in New York, but the commanding officer rejected the transfer request. Ellis was still stateside when Major Miller, his band, and staff crashed into a foggy English Channel in December 1944.

In 1944, Ellis married his wife, Ruth, whom he had met in Texas. When he left the Army, Ellis worked in New York before returning to WSB and Atlanta in 1947. The station was about to launch its television efforts, and Ellis’ former bosses wanted him back for the transition.

Postwar Activities

WSB-TV went on the air 29 September 1948, with Ellis producing previews in Atlanta. Planning had been underway for

more than one year, and Ellis was at the heart of the operation. He introduced the station’s first game shows, do-it-yourself shows, and talk shows. Ellis and WSB-TV were a huge success in those early years.

In late 1951, WSB Radio and TV officials asked Ellis to return to the radio side as program director. Radio as an industry was dying, since most of the night-time stars and revenue had migrated to the younger medium. “I hadn’t thought much about radio in four years,” Ellis told *The Atlanta Constitution*. “But I have always been a loyal type person, and I felt my bosses really needed me over there.” He said in a 1994 interview that he did not want to return to radio, but as the radio side of WSB was languishing, Ellis obliged. WSB AM became known as “Atlanta’s Radio-Active Station,” and Ellis became its program director. He went on to write a list of 100 pointers that were published by Broadcast Music Incorporated, then he penned a groundbreaking article for *Broadcasting* magazine called “Removing the Rust from Radio.” In the article—and subsequent speaking engagements across the country—Ellis simply told station managers what had worked for him at WSB radio. According to *The Atlanta Constitution*, Ellis suggested radio “get off its podium, drop its pomposity and put on its roller skates. Mingle with the citizens, collecting and reflecting actions and opinions.” He suggested theme days (Old Timers Day, Sweet Music Day, etc.). Congratulate newly elected civic club leaders, he said. Promote radio’s flexibility with station breaks such as, “You can take a bath and still listen to WSB Radio.” Ellis wrote, “We must change from an entertainment-dominated medium to a locally oriented service. Remember, radio brings the event to the audience. This is different from television, which takes the audience to the event.”

During his tenure, Ellis contributed a number of well-respected programs to the station. The musical format was middle of the road, and the programming covered everything from news to sports to entertainment. One innovation, “sky-copter traffic,” is still being used today. The Shining Light award, which he introduced, is still being awarded on a regular basis after a hiatus.

Ellis also contributed to the scholarly world of radio, collaborating with Cox Broadcasting Corporation president J. Leonard Reinsch on the textbook *Radio Station Management* and writing *Opportunities in Broadcast Careers*. The latter is still in print, most recently updated in 1999.

In late 1981, after close to 30 years on the radio side of WSB, Ellis retired at age 63 as vice president and general manager of WSB AM-FM. He had held the general manager position for 17 years and had been a vice president of Cox Broadcasting for 12 years.

But Ellis did not leave the field of journalism. He began writing weekly opinion columns for the *Marietta Daily Journal* and *Neighbor* newspapers, and he continued to be on the air with "Life Management" spots aired weekly on smaller radio stations in Georgia. He is still an on-demand speaker and volunteer in his Sandy Springs community.

Ellis has won almost every award a Georgia broadcast journalist can win. In addition to the Peabody he won in 1966 for his "Viewpoint" editorials and "Pro and Con," Ellis is a Hall of Fame member of the University of Georgia's Di Gamma Kappa Broadcasting Honor society. In 1985, Ellis was the third person to be elected to the Georgia Association of Broadcasters' Hall of Fame. In September 1995, he won the Georgia Music Hall of Fame's Mary Tallent Pioneer Award. When he won the Ralph McGill Award from the Society of Professional Journalists at its annual Green Eyeshade banquet, he told *The Atlanta Constitution*, "Having been a member of the organization for more than 50 years, I am wondering if this award isn't just for longevity. I accept it as a tribute to the memory of Ralph McGill."

In 1995, Ellis was one of three Atlanta broadcasters named to *Radio Ink* magazine's list of 75 people who "made

a distinctive and major impact on the radio industry." He joined, among others, Ronald Reagan and Rush Limbaugh on that list.

GINGER RUDESEAL CARTER

Elmo Ellis. Born in Alabama, 11 November 1918. Graduated Phi Beta Kappa, University of Alabama, 1940. Joined the Army Air Corp and worked as a military broadcaster during World War II. Became promotions and publicity director, WSB, Atlanta, Georgia, 1940; wrote and produced network radio programs in New York; returned to WSB, Atlanta, Georgia, 1947; helped to develop WSB-TV, the first television station in the South, 1948-51; WBS officials requested his return to radio as program director, 1951; developed live coverage radio reporting, 24-hour news and weather format, and other innovative radio programming techniques; general manager, WSB radio, 1964-81; vice president, WSB radio, 1969-81. Recipient: George Foster Peabody Award, 1966; elected to Georgia Association of Broadcasters' Hall of Fame, 1985; Ralph McGill Award, Society of Professional Journalists, 1993; Outstanding Alumnus, University of Alabama, 1993; member, Hall of Fame, University of Georgia's Di Gamma Kappa Broadcasting Honor Society; Mary Tallent Pioneer Award, Georgia Music Hall of Fame, 1995; inducted into University of Alabama's Communication Hall of Fame, 1999; Hugo Black Award, University of Alabama, 2000.

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Emergencies, Radio's Role in

Radio's news and entertainment roles have long been taken for granted. In times of emergency, however, the medium often rises to the occasion to play a unique public service role. In times of natural or man-made disasters, radio becomes a prime means of social surveillance, a link with the outside world, and a source of information. Radio can mitigate problems by promoting disaster preparedness, keeping people out of harm's way, assisting in rescue coordination and relief efforts, and facilitating rehabilitation and reconstruction efforts. Radio often has the first reports of impending natural disasters, be they tornadoes, hurricanes, or volcanic eruptions.

Radio's potential was demonstrated even before the inception of broadcasting. While wireless aided in rescuing people from several maritime disasters early in the 20th century, notably during the loss of the liner *Republic* in 1909 when more than 1500 people were saved thanks to a distress call, the 1912 *Titanic* disaster focused public attention on what the medium could do. On her maiden voyage in mid-April of 1912, the huge passenger liner struck an iceberg and began to sink. Her two wireless operators stayed at their posts almost to the end, sending both "CDQ" and the newer "SOS" emergency signals to both nearby ships and the distant shore. The sole operator

on the Cunard liner *Carpathia* heard the signals and the ship steamed 55 miles to rescue the 700 survivors in boats several hours after *Titanic* went down. For weeks thereafter, the wireless operators (one of whom perished) were newspaper heroes.

Early Emergency Broadcasting

The new role of radio became clear with two events in the spring of 1937. Massive snow melt flooding of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers inundated towns and countryside alike, and local stations often were the only link with the outside world for days at a time. Stations that were themselves flooded out loaned their personnel to those still on the air. Regular program schedules were replaced with day and night reporting (sometimes around the clock) and radio broadcasters directed rescue teams where they were most needed. Some stations became arms of official state or federal agencies and provided a personal message service that might normally have been an illegal point-to-point use of radio stations. Radio's immediacy and portability were well demonstrated.

The most spectacular disaster covered on radio was the burning of the German passenger airship *Hindenburg* as it attempted to land in Lakehurst, New Jersey, near New York City on 6 May 1937. Although 36 people were killed in the fiery crash, 62 survived the disaster, which was hard to believe as the nation watched the subsequent newsreel coverage. But people first heard about the crash as Chicago station WLS reporter Herb Morrison reported what was presumed to be a routine landing. Morrison's gripping eye-witness account, in which he cried with a broken voice, "This is one of the worst catastrophes in the world," was aired on the networks the next day, all of them suspending their usual rule against use of recorded programs.

In all too many later natural disasters—floods, tornadoes, and hurricanes—radio stations provided the crucial warnings of impending trouble and then the critical links with rescue help and the outside world. People soon learned to turn to radio if concerned about the weather or some unusual event. Radio's growing transistor-driven portability in the 1950s continued the medium's unique role even in an age of television. Most radio stations have emergency generators and portable studio-transmitter links that allow reporters to get close to the scene of disasters or emergencies and provide on-the-spot reporting.

One sure indicator of radio's central role in emergencies was its use in government emergency communications schemes. Beginning with the CONELRAD system (1952–63), which can still be seen in old radios with tuners marked for the two frequencies (640 kilohertz and 1240 kilohertz) to be used in national or regional emergencies, and progressing to the

Emergency Broadcast System (1963–97), radio was to play a key role in Cold War civil defense planning and emergency warning schemes.

Radio's Role in More Recent Disasters

In the 1960s, radio's emergency role showed in two man-made emergencies. When President John F. Kennedy was shot in Dallas, Texas, on 22 November 1963, radio was often the first medium most people tuned to; television was far less common in schools and in the workplace then. As that Friday afternoon wore on, one could see people clustered around portable or car radios trying to learn the latest from Dallas, including the swearing in of a new president. During the massive overnight electric power failure in most of northeastern U.S. in late 1965, WBZ's Bob Kennedy became famous for his reassuring radio coverage during the many dark hours in the Boston area. New York DJs and news reporters filled much the same role there in the almost total absence of television reporting. Those who owned battery-powered transistor radios could tune in local radio personalities who did their best to communicate what was going on, how widespread it was, and when the lights began to come back on (the next morning). Many argued later that radio's collective voice helped to avert a widespread panic in the darkness.

In early 1989 stations in the San Francisco Bay area were on top of the Loma Prieta earthquake and provided the first reports of downed bridges and collapsed and burning buildings, and thus assisted in crowd control and channeled rescue workers to where they were most needed. Later that same year, stations in the Caribbean and along the U.S. coast warned of the looming hurricane Hugo, one of the most powerful storms in years. Station WSTA in the Virgin Islands assisted the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) and for several days was the only source of news and information for and about the people on the devastated island. The station served as a government communications center, emergency police dispatcher, and chief contact for emergency medical personnel. Stations in southern Florida played similar roles when hurricane Andrew struck in 1992 and wiped out many communities south of Miami.

In January 1998 a huge ice storm struck Maine and Eastern Canada, cutting electricity for at least hours, often days, and up to two weeks in some isolated communities. Thousands also lost their telephone connections, and the state's emergency broadcast system was knocked out as well. Hundreds had to move to central shelters. Throughout the storm, two radio stations managed to stay on the air and launched call-in shows. WWBX-FM in Bangor began "Storm Watch" around the clock, combining an aural bulletin board with message relay, town meetings, and a sharing and coordination center. The sta-

tion linked people with other people, announced the location of shelters, and passed on cold-weather survival tips. WVOM-FM, also in Bangor, stayed on the air thanks to propane gas carried up to its transmitter. It, too, provided a makeshift command center, often a voice in the dark for thousands with portable radios.

A year later, flooding from heavy rains ravaged eastern North Carolina. Stations again scrapped entertainment programming and went into a 24-hour emergency mode, reporting what was happening, linking people with safety spots on high ground, and helping to funnel rescue workers and food supplies where they were most needed.

When terrorists struck New York's World Trade Center (WTC) and Washington's Pentagon on 11 September 2001, radio again came to the fore as a primary means of media communication, especially to those in or near the attacked areas. With the loss of the multi-station antenna atop the WTC's North Tower, television reception was lost for much of the metropolitan New York region, save for cable subscribers. While across the nation many tuned to cable news services or the internet, thanks to battery-powered portables, radio was again the prime means of initial news reports and guidance for many listeners.

While television stations play similar roles, not everyone can receive signals if power is lost. Radio's portability and pervasiveness in cars, offices, schools, and homes makes it the medium of first resort in disasters and emergency conditions.

LYOMBE EKO AND JOANNE GULA

See also CONELRAD; Emergency Broadcast System; Hindenburg Disaster; News; World War II and U.S. Radio

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Emergency Broadcast System

Warning Listeners of Disaster

The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) established the Emergency Broadcast System (EBS) in 1963 to provide the government with a means of quickly contacting U.S. citizens in the event of an emergency. Originally conceived for national defense purposes, its mission was expanded to include natural as well as man-made disasters. The Emergency Alert System (EAS) replaced the EBS system in 1997. Although the technology and specific rules differ, the intent of the EAS remains the same as EBS.

Origins

In the 1950s the United States was increasingly concerned about the possibility of Soviet aggression. During the Cold War, the United States instituted a number of actions to protect itself from a Soviet attack. One fear expressed by the military was that the many American radio transmissions could serve as navigational aids for enemy aircraft (as they had for Japan's 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor). In 1951 the United States instituted a

program called Control of Electromagnetic Radiation (CONELRAD). Under this plan, all nonmilitary radio transmissions except for those on two frequencies—640 kilohertz and 1240 kilohertz—would cease. The military decided that limiting all transmissions to only those two frequencies would provide the best system for informing the public while limiting the usefulness of U.S. transmitters for locating military targets. Radio receivers sold after 1953 were required to mark the two designated frequencies with triangles to indicate their civil defense role. This requirement remained in effect until the EBS replaced CONELRAD in 1963.

The fear of Soviet aggression continued in the 1960s, but technology had advanced to the point that radio navigation for foreign bombers was no longer the anticipated threat. Instead, the United States feared a long-distance missile attack, which would not rely on radio navigation, so CONELRAD was replaced with the EBS in 1963. Although still serving the purpose of alerting the nation in the event of foreign aggression, there was no longer a need to order all transmitters off the air. Instead, only those lower-powered stations, usually without the staff or financing to keep a 24-hour emergency operation running, would be ordered off the air during an emergency.

EBS Operations

Unfortunately, the original system was susceptible to frequent false alarms. The early EBS warnings occurred when an EBS station stopped transmitting (known as dropping carrier). Other radio stations, required by law to monitor the EBS station, would then be alerted that the EBS had been activated. The problem was that EBS stations might stop transmitting as the result of a loss of power or because an electrical storm had caused a power surge. In 1973 the dual tone alert system was devised, which dramatically reduced the number of false alarms. EBS activation then required a purposeful triggering of the alert signal by a station employee rather than a station's passive dropping carrier. In the 1970s the EBS was seen as a valuable resource that could be used for more than just defense purposes. Added to the system's mission was notification of such natural disasters as earthquakes and tornadoes. Americans quickly became familiar with the EBS from the weekly tests that were required of all broadcast stations.

EBS was always taken seriously by the FCC, which has disciplined stations that failed to comply with the rules. Some stations ignored weekly tests. Others did not maintain the necessary equipment for monitoring and transmitting a signal. Although those transgressions occurred relatively frequently, it was the occasional willful violation of EBS rules that received the most attention and the most severe penalties. In 1991, during the Persian Gulf War, St. Louis disk jockey John Ulett announced that the United States was under nuclear attack and used the EBS tone to validate the hoax. Two hours later the

station apologized for the prank, which management claimed it was unaware of until it actually aired. The FCC was not persuaded by either the apology or the station's lack of complicity and fined KSHE-FM \$25,000 for the infraction.

Creating EAS

The need to revise the EBS became increasingly apparent. The two-toned signal was considered to be an annoyance by both broadcasters and listeners. The EBS's success depended on a "daisy chain" of alerts, requiring emergency personnel to contact a station, that station to broadcast a tone, and other stations to receive the tone and retransmit the information. Any breaks in the chain resulted in emergency information not being relayed. In 1989 one station did not rebroadcast an alert about the San Francisco earthquake because the operator on duty did not know how to use the equipment and all the station's engineering staff was attending the World Series baseball game. There have been numerous reports of stations that did not retransmit important weather information because of equipment or operator failure. The overall reliability of the system was called into question.

In 1994 the FCC acted to phase in a replacement of the EBS with the newer EAS by 1997. One change particularly appreciated by broadcasters was the shortening of the length of the alert signal. Instead of the two-tone transmission of nearly 30 seconds, the tone was reduced to only eight seconds. Although weekly testing continues, the alert tone is only required as part of monthly tests, thereby making the system much less intrusive. Weekly tests can actually be conducted that are nearly imperceptible to the audience.

For emergency personnel, EAS is an improvement over EBS because the digital signal can be triggered remotely without the involvement of station employees, thus decreasing the likelihood that messages will go unannounced. What's more, because EAS uses a digital signal, it is compatible with cellular phones, pagers, and other devices. The new law required cable systems to participate and made alerts available in Spanish and in visual forms for the deaf. If used at the national level, only the president or his representative can activate the EAS. Local activation can come from several sources, including National Weather Service and Federal Emergency Management Agency offices. In all the years of CONELRAD, EBS, and EAS, there has never been a national activation of an emergency alert.

DOM CARISTI

See also CONELRAD; Emergencies, Radio's Role in

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Emerson Radio

Pioneer of Small Radio Receivers

From the early 1930s into the 1950s, Emerson Radio (not to be confused with the older and larger Emerson Electric Co.) was one of the larger manufacturers of radio receivers in the United States. The company's story parallels the decline of American manufacturing in the late 20th century.

Origins

Victor Hugo Emerson, a former Columbia Phonograph company manager, created the Emerson Phonograph Company in 1915–16. He was already well known in audio circles for his 14 patents in sound recording and reproduction granted from 1893 to 1905, and he continued to receive patents until 1922. His firm manufactured both phonographs and records (including a talking books line for children), riding the early mechanical era recording boom of the World War I years. When business fell off sharply after the war, the company found itself overextended and went into receivership in December 1920.

Benjamin Abrams (1893–1967), his younger brothers Max and Lewis, and Rudolph Kamarak purchased the remaining assets of Emerson Phonograph in 1922 and formed the Emerson Radio and Phonograph Corporation. The senior Abrams would run the operation for the next four decades. After selling off the record business, the new firm entered the radio receiver manufacturing business in 1924 as a small player among several giants and created and marketed some of the first radio-phonograph combination devices. With the advent of the Great Depression and the failure of many other radio manufacturing businesses, Emerson took a new direction.

Emerson and Small Radios

The Depression forced radio manufacturers to provide smaller and cheaper sets, a trend first pursued by several smaller California-based companies. But many of the initial "midget" sets were poorly made and unsuccessful. The image of small radios began to change with a 1932 Emerson product.

The "Model 25" was ten inches wide, six and a half inches high and four inches deep. It was a four-tube receiver with a six-inch speaker, weighing about six pounds. At a then low cost of \$25.00, the Model 25 sold about a quarter of a million units from late 1932 into the first half of 1933 and helped place Emerson on the map. Demand was so strong that for several months the manufacturing line had trouble keeping up.

Building on this breakthrough success, Emerson quickly focused its attention on other small radios. Some were novelty items built around popular movies (*Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*), movie or radio stars (*Mickey Mouse*), and even people in the news (the Dionne quintuplets). All of them (as well as similar products from other firms) sold well, as did a \$9.95 compact radio of 1937. The "Little Miracle" set of 1938 was a five-tube superheterodyne receiver offered in a variety of styles and colors as combination and plastic cabinetry began to take over more expensive all-wood cabinets. The 1939 two-tube "Emersonette" took things further—a tiny six-by-five-inch receiver selling for \$6.95.

Emerson was now making more than 1 million sets a year. Perhaps the peak of Emerson's prewar success came with the 1940 "Patriot" model, with a design by Norman Bel Geddes based on the American flag (it came in red, white, or blue cabinets with the other two colors as trim).

By 1941, about 80 percent of all radio sales in the U.S. were of compact models, though Emerson was among the first to offer FM receivers when that service began commercial operation that year. But it was on the strength of its small radios that Emerson's portion of the total American radio market rose from a mere 1.5 percent to 17.5 percent between 1932 and 1942. Riding this success, in 1943 the company went public, selling 40 percent of its stock.

Expansion

Emerson produced its first television sets in 1947, although it continued to offer many radio models. In 1951–52 Emerson

first offered a new “pocket” portable radio with subminiature tubes designed by Raytheon. This led to the Model 747 in 1953, a tiny and eminently portable table radio that weighed only 22 ounces. One of the last miniature pretransistor radios, the Model 747 sold for \$40 even though it received poor review notices in *Consumer's Research Bulletin*.

But change was in the air. By 1954 radio made up only 15 percent of company revenues. Emerson offered its first audio tape recorders in 1955 and by the late 1950s was producing combination tiny tube and transistor radios and a growing variety of television models. In 1958, Emerson bought the DuMont consumer electronics manufacturing operation and began to use that brand name along with its own.

Later Developments

Emerson's last full year of independent operation was 1964. The company was sold to National Union Electric in 1965 and absorbed Pilot radio the same year. By the end of the year, the combined firm owned 20 subsidiaries that continued the sale of consumer electronics under both the Emerson and DuMont names. After several years in the red, owing in part to rising consumer electronic imports, the company began to shift away from this focus in 1972.

Major Electronics Corporation of Brooklyn bought the Emerson name in 1973 and four years later renamed itself after the earlier company. It dropped the last U.S. manufactured product (fittingly, a phonograph) in 1980. By 1983–84, imported televisions and videocassette recorders made up two

thirds of company sales. Most were manufactured in Korea but sold under the Emerson name. The once-revered H.H. Scott brand was taken over in 1985, and the company moved to New Jersey. The Scott line was discontinued in 1991.

In October the ever-smaller firm declared bankruptcy, and 60 percent of its stock was taken over by Fidenas Investments, a Swiss firm. Emerson began to retail car audio systems in 1995, licensing its name to several important Korean and Chinese consumer electronic products. But the turn of the 21st century, the company was down to about 100 employees dealing with product import and distribution. Emerson no longer manufactured anything. About half of its output was sold each year to Wal-Mart and a quarter to the Target discount chain.

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See also Receivers; Transistor Radios

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“Equal Time” Rule

Political Broadcasting Regulations

Sections of the Communications Act of 1934 and related rules and regulations of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) require that candidates for political office in the United States be treated equitably in their purchase or other use of broadcast time. These so-called equal time provisions are controversial and have been considerably modified over the years.

The Law

At first—in American elections between 1920 and 1926—there was no regulation of political broadcasting, and some stations did not allow candidates on the air with political

appeals. As Congress moved to pass the Radio Act of 1927, the initial bill contained no provisions concerning political candidates' use of radio. Only a Senate amendment that grew out of concern that radio might exert too much control over the political process led to the inclusion of Section 18, which required that

If any licensee shall permit any person who is a legally qualified candidate for any public office to use a broadcasting station, he shall afford equal opportunities to all other such candidates for that office in the use of such broadcasting station, and the [Federal Radio Commis-

sion] shall make rules and regulations to carry this provision into effect.

The provision did not *require* that political candidates be granted access to airtime, for the section continued, “No obligation is imposed upon any licensee to allow the use of its station by any such candidate.” Section 18, without change, became Section 315 of the Communications Act of 1934.

A remarkably small number of amendments have only slightly altered the meaning of these words in the intervening years. The first, in 1952, added a provision prohibiting broadcasters from charging political candidates higher rates than those charged other advertisers for “comparable use.” A more fundamental amendment added in 1959 exempted from Section 315 requirements any appearance by a candidate in a “bona fide” (meaning controlled by the broadcaster, not the candidate) newscast, news interview, news documentary, or on-the-spot news coverage if the appearance of the candidate was incidental to the program. Finally, in 1971 Congress narrowed the ability of broadcasters to avoid political advertisements or broadcasts when it modified another section of the act (Section 312[a][7]) to state that not allowing candidates for federal office (candidates for president, vice president, or for seats in the House and Senate) access to the air might be grounds for revocation of a station’s license. Stations could still avoid dealing with candidates for state and local offices.

For decades, broadcasters were caught in a legal bind—Section 315 specifically enjoined them from censoring any remarks made by political candidates, yet stations could still be held liable for any defamatory comments candidates might make. The Supreme Court finally removed this danger by holding in the 1959 *WDAY-TV* decision that, given the no-censorship requirement in the law, stations could not be held responsible for whatever candidates might say.

FCC Rules and Regulations

As required by changing circumstances, over the years the FCC has defined and refined what the relatively few words in Section 315 are to mean in practice. Such definition has focused on phrases such as “legally qualified candidate”; “equal opportunities”; “use” of a station; how to determine rates charged; and, after 1959, which programs were entirely exempt from the provisions. Indeed, the rules vary for primary and general elections as to who is covered and for what period of time (requiring, for example, an even more stringent “lowest unit charge” price requirement for candidates’ advertising 45 days before a primary and 60 days before a general election). Stations must maintain detailed and up-to-date records of all requests for political time and of all actual sales and/or uses of airtime for a period of two years.

These many complications grew steadily more involved after 1960 with an accumulation of numerous FCC decisions and court cases; the confusion finally led to publication by both the FCC and the National Association of Broadcasters of regularly revised booklet-length “primers” or “catechisms,” usually in question-and-answer format, of the latest rule interpretations. Despite their complexity—or perhaps because of it—broadcasters, candidates, and the public refer to these rules by the shorthand term of *equal time*, even though far more is involved than merely an equitable provision of time.

As but one example—prior to 1960, debates between or among candidates counted as a “use” requiring Section 315 treatment under FCC rules. For the 1960 election, Congress temporarily suspended Section 315 (leading to the so-called Great Debates between Kennedy and Nixon, which were carried on both radio and television). Effective in 1975, the FCC allowed debates to occur without triggering Section 315 requirements if the debates were sponsored by a disinterested third party—initially, the League of Women Voters. Only in 1983 were broadcasters themselves allowed to sponsor debates as one of the “bona fide” news exemptions in Section 315. National and local debates have increasingly become a staple of American elections since then.

The broadcast industry has attempted repeatedly to have the “equal time” requirements dropped—at least for radio (because of the large number of stations) if not for television as well. Indeed, in the 1980s, a deregulation-minded FCC made the same recommendation to Congress. But all such efforts have generally fallen on deaf ears, given that those who must act to make the change—representatives and senators—are the very people who depend on the access the law provides.

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See also Communications Act of 1934; Fairness Doctrine; Federal Communications Commission; Politics and Radio; Wireless Acts of 1910 and 1912/Radio Acts of 1912 and 1927

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European Broadcasting Union

International Association of Public Service Broadcasters

The European Broadcasting Union (EBU) calls itself "the largest professional association of national broadcasters in the world." It is the umbrella organization of public service broadcasting organizations in Europe and beyond. The EBU is a nonprofit organization that is not affiliated with any national government or transnational political institution such as the European Union. Its headquarters are located in Geneva, Switzerland. The EBU's radio collaboration is called Euroradio. The organization facilitates program exchange, develops and provides technological support and legal advice, and lobbies for the continued existence of public broadcasting. In February 2000, the organization celebrated its 50th anniversary.

History

The EBU was founded in February 1950 during the European Broadcasting Conference in Torquay, England, as an international organization for public service broadcasting institutions. This was at a time when many Western European countries, still recovering from World War II, were rebuilding their radio networks and beginning to develop television facilities. Its early task was to help members exchange their programs, as well as to lend technological assistance when needed. Today, the EBU has moved far beyond its original scope of Western European countries, counting 69 active members in 50 countries and 49 associate members in 30 countries. Reflecting the end of the Cold War, in 1993 the EBU merged with the Organisation Internationale de Radiodiffusion et Télévision (OIRT), the former organization of Eastern European Broadcasters.

The EBU is a major international broadcasting institution that negotiates broadcasting rights for its members, coordinates co-productions, operates satellites, consults on legal issues, and stimulates European cultural life. Over the last decade, it has become more aggressively involved in media policy. The EBU is now a major player, lobbying European and international institutions defending and guaranteeing the survival of public broadcasting despite the growing commercial competition in this area. The EBU has a staff of more than

250 people, including a dozen in Moscow and another dozen in the U.S.

Members and Finances

The EBU allows as active members only radio and television broadcasters committed to the public service idea of broadcasting, highlighting information, education, and entertainment. Public service broadcasters tend to be financed mostly but not exclusively through viewers' fees, membership, or taxes on televisions or radios. The EBU statute officially asks for broadcasting organizations that fulfill a public service mission and achieve 98 percent national penetration. Its 69 active members are from 50 countries in Europe and adjacent areas in North Africa and the Middle East. Member organizations are in countries such as Austria, Bosnia, France, Hungary, Ireland, Israel, Portugal, Russia, Tunisia, and the United Kingdom. Some of the more influential organizations relating to radio are the financially strong British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and the Association of German Broadcasters (ARD). Moreover, the EBU also includes 49 associate members in 30 countries in the Americas, Africa, Asia, and Australia, utilizing and feeding into the EBU network.

The EBU is financed through annual membership fees, which are determined by the number of radio and television households each member reaches. In addition, members also must pay for the technical transmission costs of EBU news items and programs that they air. In the last decade, the EBU commercialized some of its services, offering them on a fee basis to nonmembers. It also sublicenses rights to broadcast sporting events. In 1999 the EBU's annual revenue was 407 million Swiss francs (about U.S.\$255 million), including 189 million Swiss francs for rights to broadcast sport events (about U.S.\$118 million) and 117 million Swiss francs (about U.S.\$75 million) for network transmission charges. Euroradio has a potential reach of 400 million listeners. It transmits approximately 2,000 concerts and operas, 400 sports events, and 120 major news events per year.

Organization

After the inauguration of the EBU in 1950, the first major event for the organization was the 1953 coronation of Queen Elizabeth II, which became the world's first live multinational television transmission. The Eurovision program exchange office was originally opened in Brussels in 1955, but a year later it moved most of its functions with the EBU to Geneva, where the operations were fully centralized by 1993. Since 1961 the EBU coordinates and transmits a daily television news feed (EVN) to all members. The late 1960s brought the change of international transmission to satellite. In 1970 the EBU opened a bureau in New York and another in Washington in 1987, followed by an office in Moscow.

The increasing deregulation of national media systems changed the media landscape in Europe tremendously. Facing increasing competition and membership interest from commercial broadcasters in most European countries, in 1990 the EBU underscored its status as an organization of public service broadcasters in its Marino Charter. Although its television transmission had formerly been based on free exchange systems between active members, the EBU commercialized its operations (Eurovision Network Services) and began selling transmission rights to non-members in 1994. In the last decade of the 20th century, the organization moved further away from its original mission by launching several television and radio outlets. Since 1998, for example, the EBU has offered its members a free classic radio program throughout the night (*Euro-classic-Notturmo*).

In the last few years, both television and radio operations have been shaped by the change from analog to digital technology. The EBU and its technical departments developed and facilitated for its members many new technological advancements into high definition television (HDTV), digital transmission, and digital audio broadcasting (DAB). Recently the EBU has ventured into collaborations and sub-licensing with commercial broadcasters, to avoid investigations by the EU commission for anticompetitive practices. (Several commercial broadcasters have challenged the EBU's exclusive agreements in court and in political committees.)

EBU Radio Department

Although the EBU radio department tends to be in the shadow of its more visible Eurovision branch, it is nevertheless an important international cooperation for radio program exchange and technology transfer. Radio has been part of the EBU since its launch in 1950. Over the years its expansion has reflected the major technical transformations in this field, with the EBU engineers often in the forefront of developing new technologies. In 1989 the EBU radio department launched Euroradio to provide "international exchange of high quality

digital sound programs," as its mission statement declares. It began digital transmission of its programs in 1994 via the Euroradio Control Centre (ERC) in Geneva. The Euroradio network is based on 40 satellite-to-earth stations utilizing a digital transmission system. The network currently operates on a digital system incorporating an audio base-band of 20 kilohertz and auxiliary data channels. It transmits its programs via two carriers on the Eutelsat II F4 satellite.

The EBU radio department serves under the direction of the EBU radio committee, an elected body of member representatives who provide guidelines for programming strategies. The radio department organizes radio program exchanges between all or several members. The programs are mostly music concerts, sports events, and news or current affairs. The department also arranges conferences and events for members and holds workshops for foreign journalists and radio producers. Members often contact the department when they need professional, technological, or legal advice. EBU also publishes the "EBU Radio News Fax Letter."

In addition, the EBU supports the development of specialized programming such as radio features and documentaries, radio dramas, educational and other programs for young people. With these niche and even experimental radio programs, the EBU supports the public service mission of its members, who often are required by law to inform, educate, and entertain a variety of societal groups, including minorities. For instance, EBU organizes the International Radio Feature Conference, in which feature producers can present and compare their work. Another example is the Radio Drama Project Group that organizes workshops, initiates radio dramas (often from smaller, less affluent members), and stimulates collaboration between radio drama producers in all member countries. The Project Group biennially commissions a major radio play. In the past, well-known writers such as Mario Vargas Llosa and Anthony Burgess have been among those whose work was aired.

To celebrate the new millennium, the EBU initiated a number of radio projects supplied by its members. These projects included, among others, an experimental audio art collage with sounds of the century, a collection of commissioned compositions, and a series of panels and lectures on human rights.

Music

The music department initiates new music projects, coordinates music transmission between member stations, and negotiates music broadcasting rights for its members. Annually it organizes and offers more than 2,000 live and deferred musical events such as operas, classical concerts, jazz, and rock via the Euroradio transmission system. One hundred of those are within regularly scheduled program slots; the others can be

ordered on demand. EBU members can select and request all events via the internet through EBU's MUS internet software. Members can download programs directly from the internet through SATMUSIC, "a program which synchronizes the automatic recording of high quality digital sound programme exchanges for EBU members," according to its web site. The Euroradio Control Centre also has a direct satellite connection to the Metropolitan Opera in New York to distribute performances to its members. The music department also coordinates the *Euroclassic-Notturmo* produced by the BBC. It provides an all-night program with light classical concerts by member stations; these include breaks to allow localized announcements by the members' hosts.

The music department has recently ventured into compact disc production by publishing a collection of traditional music on the Ocora label. It sponsors the Euroradio Big Band Concert and the international Forum of Young Performers. This music sponsorship becomes more important as national public service stations face political pressure to tighten their budgets. Euroradio's sponsored musical events may not be as well known as the European Song Contest organized by Eurovision, but they have become an important stimulus of music culture in Europe.

News

The news division offers local feed to other members, sets up broadcasting centers on location as important events occur, and supports foreign correspondents' efforts to broadcast radio reports to their listeners as fast as possible. The provision of timely radio news transmissions is very important in many European countries, where a majority of people turn to radio for breaking national and international news during the day. Supported by the EBU's foreign bureaus, the news division also coordinates coverage of international political events such as elections, conferences, and political conventions.

Other tasks of the news department include the negotiation of access rates to other transmission networks and development and implementation of new technology, such as digital satellite telephone stations and lightweight news-gathering equipment. The division also organizes a joint EBU-NABA (North America Broadcasters Association) conference on radio news and current affairs. In special meetings, division staff discuss issues such as international news flow and the ethics of international news reporting.

Sports

In its first years of existence, the EBU was typically guaranteed the broadcast rights to major sport events such as the Olympics and soccer championships, as there were no commercial counterparts with similar coverage that were able to bid for

the rights. In countries with more than one EBU member, these public stations would often share or take turns in covering major events. But the rise of commercial television and radio in the early 1980s changed the situation tremendously when new media moguls began to bid for rights to popular sports events. As a result the cost of broadcasting rights has skyrocketed.

The EBU captured the rights to broadcast the 2000 Olympic Games despite being outbid by Murdoch's FOX network. The International Olympic Committee decided on EBU because of its terrestrial penetration that no satellite provider could match at the time. Similarly, the EBU won the rights to air track-and-field competitions but lost the rights for the next two soccer World cups to the commercial Kirch Group from Germany. Now the EBU must sometimes rely on sublicense agreements and the support of national parliaments to keep such events on terrestrial channels.

The radio department typically negotiates jointly with the EBU television department. On location, it supports national broadcasters in their work. Besides top sports events, the EBU, following its public service mission, is also interested in broadcasting minor sports that commercial stations do not find appealing. In this role, the EBU radio covers and assists at about 150 sporting events each year.

Technology

The radio division is part of a broader EBU project that attempts to develop a more efficient and automated system of transmitting traffic and travel information to viewers, licensers, and agent systems. The goal is to keep public service stations updated with the latest technology, enabling them to counter commercial competition in this area. Moreover, the EBU has initiated joint experiments with web-radio and interactive internet radio. For more than a decade it has initiated the development of digital studio and transmission equipment.

Collaborations

The EBU works in partnership with all major international broadcasting organizations such as Asia Pacific Broadcasting Union (ABU), North American Broadcasters Association (NABA), the Union of National Radio and Television Organizations in Africa (URTNA), the Arab States Broadcasting Union (ASBU) and the Organizations de la Television Iberoamericana (OTI).

Future

As an increasing number of commercial stations build their market share by offering entertainment programs with mass appeal and outbidding public stations for rights to popular

sports events, national political bodies ask public broadcasters to be more fiscally responsible and approve increases in viewer fees or licenses very reluctantly. As a result European national and regional public service broadcasters face mounting pressure from both sides. The EBU is more important than ever in helping the public broadcasting concept to survive. Members can synchronize their efforts, more efficiently share their resources, and use the institution as a powerful lobbying organization on an international level. In addition, at a time when commercial format radio is gaining a strong hold in many European countries, the EBU radio department can help to maintain their members' mission of broadcasting programs with less mass appeal, such as minority programs, radio drama, or cultural events. The EBU's support for public service radio is a way of ensuring that radio remains an information and education medium in Europe and beyond.

ELFRIEDE FÜRSICH

See also International Radio Broadcasting; Public Service Broadcasting

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Evangelists/Evangelical Radio

Conservative Protestant Religious Stations and Programs

Evangelical radio forms a distinct subgenre within religious radio, referring primarily to programs with a teaching/preaching format, often incorporating hymns or other kinds of sacred music. The intent of evangelical radio programming is to convert unbelievers or to reconvert lapsed Christians by stressing the Bible's call to repent and accept Christ as a personal savior.

It is difficult to be precise about what comprises "evangelical radio" as distinct from other forms of religious radio, because in some sense every effort at putting religion on the air constitutes an invitation to learn more about the principles being presented—and because radio itself, as an advertising-saturated medium, is built around an evangelistic pattern. Nearly everything on radio, from ubiquitous 60-second car sales spots to public radio fund drives, has something of an evangelical ring to it.

In addition, the term *evangelical religion* means different things to different groups of people, and the meaning has changed over the course of the 20th century. An *evangelist* can mean any person who seeks to convert another to his or her

own religious beliefs. In the popular mind, many tend to link the terms *evangelical* and *fundamentalist*, because both offer a Bible-centered worldview with an emphasis on personal conversion. However, the two are not coterminous. The modern evangelical movement had its roots in the fundamentalist movement of the 1910s and 1920s and maintained ties to fundamentalism through Bible colleges, summer camps, publishing, and radio, but a group of so-called neo-evangelicals decisively broke with fundamentalism by the late 1950s under the leadership of Billy Graham. Contemporary evangelicals occupy a middle ground between liberal religion and fundamentalism. Today, *evangelicalism* refers to a loose coalition of conservative Protestant groups in North America, including Baptists, Holiness-Pentecostals, nondenominational evangelists, and charismatic Protestants.

Although not all of these traditions have been equally involved in media evangelism, the media have been an important tool of American evangelicals in their quest to fulfill the so-called Great Commission, the instruction of Jesus Christ to his followers: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel

to every creature” (Mark 16:15). The preaching of the Christian message in or to every country is considered by many evangelists to be a necessary precondition for the second coming of Christ (e.g., Matt. 24:14), and radio was touted as a providential means to accomplish this important end.

Origins

Revivalism—that is, religious meetings that work through music, word, and emotional appeal to encourage conversion in those attending—lent itself naturally to the new medium of radio in the 1920s. Revivalism grew out of the highly successful late 19th- and early 20th-century mass-audience revival campaigns of Dwight Moody and Billy Sunday and traveling revival movements such as Chautauqua. As promoters of radio evangelism were fond of reminding potential donors, a single broadcast could reach more people than even Dwight Moody had been able to reach in a lifetime. Because folk and camp-meeting revivalism was centrally an aural experience—the spoken and heard word being experientially more powerful than the written and read word—the format of revival sermons and meetings made it onto radio with little adaptation.

In fact, radio evangelism is one of the medium’s oldest program genres. In the largely unregulated early years of radio broadcasting in the United States, municipal and private stations alike were in search of material to fill time. Evangelists, ever on the lookout for ways to speak to larger and larger audiences, stepped in to fill the need and never left the airwaves, though their presence was not always so sought after by station owners and broadcasters. In addition, some evangelistic denominations and religious organizations developed their own stations to promote gospel on the air: WMBI Chicago (owned by the Moody Bible Institute), KFUE St. Louis (Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod), and KFSG Los Angeles (International Church of the Foursquare Gospel) were three of the earliest, all coming on the air within two years of each other in the mid-1920s; in 2003, all three were still broadcasting as Christian radio stations.

However, once network radio was firmly entrenched, evangelicals found it harder to access airtime, even with donations from loyal listeners and supporters. Their often strident “hell-fire and damnation” message worked against both networks’ desire for mass audiences and advertisers’ appeals for consumer spending, making evangelical radio a risk for network broadcasters. Additionally, airtime became more expensive, and evangelical radio was largely dependent on listener donations for the funds to purchase airtime. The National Broadcasting Company (NBC) and the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) early on developed a policy of donating a block of airtime for religious broadcasting to representatives of the major religious groups in America. As a fragmented and largely grassroots movement from the 1920s through the

1940s, American evangelicalism found itself unable to obtain this donated airtime from the networks.

Instead, evangelical radio focused on buying time on individual stations or developing its own small-scale independent networks. Although Christian benevolent organizations (e.g., the Gideons and the Christian Business Men’s Association) made regular and sometimes substantial donations to evangelical radio efforts, most broadcasters relied heavily on individual donations to pay for airtime. Listeners sometimes proved creative and resourceful in scraping together small amounts of money to send to support their favorite broadcasts.

Mutual Broadcasting System—the only national network that then sold time for religion—collected over \$2.1 million for its religious broadcasts in 1942. In 1944 this amount had jumped to \$3.5 million, a full quarter of the network’s income. By 1943, reported *Variety* magazine, an estimated \$200 million was “rolling into church coffers each year from radio listeners,” allowing racketeers and “religious pirates” to get rich quick without adhering to standards of accounting. Broadcasters’ appeals for funds proved increasingly controversial; Mutual eventually prohibited on-air appeals for funding. In the late 1940s, for example, the vigilant director of religious activities at Mutual Broadcasting, Elsie Dick, insisted that Walter Maier (speaker of the *Lutheran Hour* on her network) refrain from using even relatively vague statements, such as “if you want these broadcasts to continue, write to us to assure us of your interest.” Broadcasters on Mutual could not follow a request to “pray for the work of this broadcast” with the program’s mailing address, as this would violate Mutual’s policy against the solicitation of funds. Individual stations that accepted religious broadcasts sometimes also established similar policies. Broadcasters sometimes circumvented these restrictions by offering “free” merchandise such as Bibles, tracts, calendars, or commemorative pins. Through the written requests of listeners for promotional items, broadcasters could build a mailing list for direct-mail appeals instead of using airtime for financial appeals.

Examples of Evangelical Radio

Although it is impossible to be exhaustive in listing all evangelists and their programs throughout the years, a few examples illustrate the genre and its approach to missionizing America and the world: the *Back to the Bible Hour*, the *Radio Bible Hour*, the *Lutheran Hour*, and the *Old Fashioned Revival Hour*.

Started in 1939 by Theodore Epp, the *Back to the Bible Hour* was a daily gospel broadcast and Bible-study program originating from Lincoln, Nebraska. By the mid-1950s, Epp could claim that the “sun never set” on *Back to the Bible*, which was heard somewhere in the world at any given minute through AM, FM, or shortwave. The ministry had its own

large two-story building in downtown Lincoln, where half a million letters were received annually and where some 300,000 copies of the *Good News Broadcaster* and the *Young Ambassador* (the latter aimed at teenagers) were printed and mailed each month. A staff of over 150 workers and volunteers provided music and choir direction for the broadcast, sorted and answered mail, taped and shipped out recordings to stations, staffed a round-the-clock prayer room, and coordinated appearances of Epp and his field evangelists at rallies and meetings. Epp authored 70 books, started a Bible correspondence school, and founded a Back to the Bible Missionary Agency (now International Ministries). At his death in 1985, the program was continued with speakers Warren Wiersbe (1985–92) and Woodrow Kroll (1992–present); it is currently syndicated on over 385 stations and on-line.

More controversial and colorful was the stridently fundamentalist *Radio Bible Hour* of the Reverend J. Harold Smith, which began in 1935 in South Carolina but for some years was forced off American stations after its pugnacious attacks on the Federal Council of Churches. In 1953 Smith moved the *Radio Bible Hour* to a Mexican border station, XERF, in Ciudad Acuna, just south of the Texas border, where he continued to broadcast until Mexico banned English language religious broadcasts from superpower border stations. The program can still be heard over 50 stations and on-line.

The *Lutheran Hour*, sponsored by the International Lutheran Laymen's League of the conservative Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod, is the most widely syndicated evangelical radio program. Still heard on 1,200 stations worldwide and on-line, the *Lutheran Hour* was hosted from 1930 to 1950 by Dr. Walter A. Maier, a professor at Concordia Theological Seminary in St. Louis. His successors continued Maier's sermon-and-song format and its nondenominational approach to Christian outreach.

Finally, perhaps the best-known evangelical radio program was the *Old Fashioned Revival Hour*, the creation of southern California evangelist Charles Fuller in 1934. Recorded for many years in front of a live audience at the Long Beach Auditorium, Fuller's *Revival Hour* combined lively choral and barbershop-style revival hymns with energetic preaching; the program pulled audiences of 20 million listeners weekly by the mid-1940s. Fuller was also active behind the microphone in bringing together evangelical broadcasters in the 1940s and 1950s to advocate for paid-time programming through the National Association of Evangelicals and the National Religious Broadcasters.

One important thrust of radio evangelism—and a strategy employed by each of the media evangelists noted above—has been to extend religious broadcasting worldwide in the various languages of each nation. Clarence Jones, who worked in the late 1920s on broadcasts from the Chicago Gospel Tabernacle, was one of the pioneers of long-range overseas religious radio.

He founded radio station HCJB in Quito, Ecuador. Many North American evangelists, while securing time and broadcast airspace on the AM spectrum, also quietly used shortwave or mailed transcription discs to overseas stations in order to be heard by as wide as possible a swath of the globe. The *Lutheran Hour*, for example, broadcasts in over 130 countries in a multitude of languages, from French to Quechua to Zulu.

Although reaching the far corners of the globe was one goal of radio evangelists, reaching the hearts of listening individuals was the other and related goal. In other words, massive broadcast coverage mattered only as far as that coverage would convert people one at a time.

Trends since the 1960s

Billy Graham's evangelistic mass-media campaigns beginning in 1957 helped catapult evangelicalism back to a position of cultural influence. His *Hour of Decision* program was the first religious broadcast to be carried as a paid-time evangelistic broadcast on the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) radio network. And since the 1960s, the Christian media industry has literally exploded in growth, with television, publishing, music, and internet being added to radio. In 1971 there were 400 stations airing religious programming; in 1999 there were over 1,730 such stations, with 1,400 of those considered "full-time" religious stations airing 15 hours or more of religious programming per week.

Despite the dynamic growth, the format of evangelistic programs on radio has changed remarkably little. In stark contrast to the secular end of the contemporary radio industry, most evangelical radio programs are sponsored by a single organization or ministry. Although some are widely syndicated, nearly all evangelical programs are confined to Christian-format radio stations, in keeping with the radio industry's trend toward niche marketing. Gospel-oriented preaching programs continue to thrive within the world of Christian media, but since the 1960s, some religious broadcasters have expressed concern that evangelical radio is a religious ghetto, serving its own rather than reaching new converts.

As early as 1961, liberal Protestant Charles Brackbill, member of the Broadcasting and Film Commission of the National Council of Churches of Christ in America, criticized what he described as radio evangelism's tired format: "the loud and the sad and the intense voices pouring out on the faithful with their 'heartfelt' pleas for 'letters,' pictures, or books or blessed handkerchiefs." Evangelism, Brackbill argued, should seek to reach the unchurched through proven commercial broadcasting techniques: a quick first impression, a catchy "hook," and lots of repetition. In 1964 the Mennonites tried 30- and 60-second ad spots for the gospel message, criticizing traditional radio programming for attracting "an audience which already has some tendency toward spiritual orientation," in the words

of Dr. Henry Weaver, the developer of the series. HCJB founder and director Clarence Jones lamented in 1970 that missionary stations tended to drift in the direction of speaking to believers—who, after all, were the source of any station's continuing funds (incidentally, many of these same concerns would surface over televangelism, where the audience numbers, production costs, and cultural stakes were even higher).

Some scholars expressed concern that evangelism as a type of radio program would be replaced by magazine or talk-format programs or by Christian music programming. In the late 1980s, for example, one study suggested that only 37 percent of all programs on religious stations focused on preaching or teaching. However, according to the 2000 *Directory of Religious Media*, "teaching/preaching" is still the largest category among religious radio station formats, followed by "inspirational," "gospel," and "Southern gospel." This same directory lists hundreds of individual evangelistic programs, some syndicated or beamed by satellite to over 1,000 radio stations. Many of the radio programs are also broadcast on-line through the radio stations' websites, expanding the notion of "evangelical radio" far beyond the physical reaches of a radio signal. Perhaps internet broadcasting will prove another fruitful growth area for religious broadcasting. How successful evangelical radio is in reaching unchurched people, for whom the "good news" is "news" indeed, remains an open question. But there is no doubt that radio evangelism is, and has been throughout the century, a popular and profitable genre that is in no danger of vanishing from the American scene.

TONA J. HANGEN

See also Far East Broadcasting Company; Gospel Music Format; McPherson, Aimee Semple; Religion on Radio

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Everett, Kenny 1944–1995

British Disc Jockey

Kenny Everett (who changed his name from Maurice Cole in the mid-1960s) was fascinated by radio from childhood; with money gained from newspaper delivery rounds, he bought reel-to-reel tape recorders on which he recorded inventive mini-programs: music interspersed with comedy clips and speeches by politicians edited to humorous effect.

In 1964 he sent one of these programs, "The Maurice Cole Quarter of an Hour Show" (which, typically, actually ran for

some 20 minutes), to the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in London. To his amazement and delight he was invited onto a morning magazine program on the Light Programme (the Corporation's light music and speech network), on which the tape was played in full and Everett was interviewed. Although he impressed the BBC producers sufficiently to be invited back for a formal audition, he was told there were no vacancies at the corporation. However, one of the producers

was covertly acting as a “talent spotter” for a new “pirate” radio station, the United States-backed Radio London, which was to become one of the most successful of the unauthorized stations broadcasting from outside the United Kingdom’s territorial limits. Soon after boarding the converted U.S. minesweeper that served as Radio London’s studios and transmitter, Everett met Canadian Dave Wish—who changed his name to Dave Cash. The two became firm friends and, after listening to tapes of a double-headed disc jockey show on KLIF in Texas, the *Charlie and Harrigan Show*, which featured comic characters wisecracking with a generally irreverent style, the pair began the *Kenny and Cash Show*, which became hugely popular. Everett would often stay up all night recording what were quickly to become his trademark comedy pieces for his own shows and “zany” promotions for other disc jockeys.

However, Everett’s unpredictable comments and outspoken views—especially on religion—led to his being dismissed by the station. He had taken exception to the pronouncements from U.S. evangelist Garner Ted Armstrong, who paid for a half-hour daily program that was scheduled in the middle of Everett’s. The disc jockey frequently edited Armstrong’s tapes to make it appear as if the evangelist were promoting violent crime, and Armstrong was generally lampooned by Everett, who had once been to a college for training Catholic priests. Armstrong happened to be visiting England during one of Everett’s outbursts, and the evangelist demanded Everett be removed from the station or he would remove his program—one of Radio London’s most lucrative contracts.

For a time Everett recorded a program for Radio Luxembourg, but he was again dismissed, this time for admitting in a newspaper interview that he had smoked cannabis. Forgiven by Radio London, he returned to the station in 1966—this time at ten times his original salary, a then enormous sum of £150 a week—in time to be chosen by the Beatles to accompany them to the United States to be the official disc jockey on what was to be their last tour. During this tour he forged a close relationship with his fellow Liverpudlians—then the biggest show business phenomenon in the world—and this was to pay off in subsequent exclusive interviews, previews of the group’s albums, and the Fab Four’s recording special jingles for Everett on both BBC and commercial radio.

When it became clear that the government was intent on forcing the pirates off the air, Everett jumped ship and this time was accepted by the BBC, which was about to launch the pop network Radio 1. At first, though, Everett was restricted to a weekly lunchtime show and recording jingles and promotions. His patience was rewarded with a weekly Sunday morning program and, eventually, a daily show. However, Everett’s outspokenness and refusal to obey instructions from the “suits” led to his being sacked by the BBC in April 1970. Officially this was because of a potentially libelous remark—although clearly intended humorously—about the wife of a government

minister. In reality, though, this incident provided the excuse the BBC mandarins had been looking for since Everett began attacking the Musicians’ Union, whose leaders were in delicate discussions with the corporation over the amount of airtime given to playing music off of records (the Union thought that unlimited use of such recordings would deprive its members of their livelihood).

Then began a fallow period for the disc jockey, who was by this time widely recognized as one of the greatest on-air talents in the United Kingdom. Everett recorded programs for a few BBC local radio stations and did some television work. Then in early 1973 the BBC relented, and he was allowed back on Radio 1, but only if he would record his shows to allow producers to “vet” them before broadcast. Their judicious editing left some programs running considerably shorter than their allotted transmission time. However, salvation from this unsatisfactory existence came with the start of legal commercial radio in October 1973. Everett became one of the first—and most important—hires of the greater London service, Capital Radio. By Christmas of that year, Everett had teamed up again with Dave Cash to revive the *Kenny and Cash Show* at the vital breakfast period—again this was a huge success. However, now Everett’s personal life was to have a dramatic impact on his career. Although he married in 1969, Everett had struggled throughout his adult life with latent homosexuality and had had a series of crushes on heterosexual men. When one of these—an engineer at Capital—rebuffed him in 1975, Everett made a serious attempt at suicide, leaving a note explaining his anguish at the unrequited love. However, much to Everett’s evident frustration, he was found just before the sleeping tablets had a lethal effect.

After a period of recuperation, Everett returned to a weekly program at Capital. This was one of the most creative periods of his career, during which he created a comic space serial, Captain Kremmen and the Krells. Kremmen—forever saving the world from the evil Krells—was Everett’s alter ego, inspired by 1950s BBC radio serials such as *Journey into Space*.

In 1978 Thames Television persuaded him to do a highly successful and inventive television show for the Independent Television (ITV) network. In 1982 the show switched to the BBC and was to run for five years at prime time on the mainstream BBC-1 channel. In October 1981 he also switched to BBC for his radio work—this time on the supposedly easy listening network, Radio 2. A risqué joke about Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher on the last program under his contract led to his final departure from BBC radio. In 1988 Everett returned to Capital Radio for a daily program on the golden oldies AM service, “Capital Gold,” which he continued until July 1994, when, increasingly ill from AIDS-related illnesses, he felt obliged to give up work. He died in April 1995. His funeral service a few days later was attended by many of the

biggest names in British show business. Everett's "Wireless Workshop" studio was donated by his sister Kate to the Paul McCartney-sponsored Liverpool Institute for the Performing Arts.

RICHARD RUDIN

See also British Broadcasting Corporation; British Commercial Radio; British Disk Jockeys; British Pirate Radio; Capital Radio

Kenny Everett. Born Maurice Cole in Seaforth, Liverpool, England, 25 December 1944. Attended St. Bede's Secondary Modern and Peter Claver College; disc jockey, Radio Luxembourg, 1964–65, Radio London, 1966–67; BBC Light Programme/Radio 1, 1967–70; host, *Nice Time*, Granada Television for ITV network, 1968; disc jockey, BBC, 1970–73, Capital Radio, London, 1973–80, various independent local radio stations, 1975–78; weekly program, BBC Radio 2, 1981–83; host, *The Kenny Everett Television*

Show, 1982–1987; Capital Gold, 1988–1993; team leader, *That's Showbusiness*, BBC-TV, 1989–92. Received numerous awards for television and radio work, including Sony Gold award, 1994. Died in London, England, 4 April 1995.

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American Family Robinson
American Federation of Musicians
American Federation of Television and
Radio Artists
American School of the Air
American Society of Composers, Authors,
and Publishers
American Telephone and Telegraph
American Top 40
American Women in Radio and
Television
America's Town Meeting of the Air
Amos 'n' Andy
- AM Radio
Antenna
Arab World Radio
Arbitron
Archers
Armed Forces Radio Service
Armstrong, Edwin Howard
Asia
Association for Women in
Communications
Audience
Audience Research Methods
Audiometer
Audio Processing
Audio Streaming
Audiotape
Auditorium Testing
Australia
Australian Aboriginal Radio
Automation
Automobile Radios
Autry, Gene
Awards and Prizes
Axis Sally
- Barber, Red
Barnouw, Erik
Bell Telephone Laboratories
Benny, Jack
Beulah Show
Beville, Hugh Malcolm
Big D Jamboree
Biondi, Dick
Birch Scarborough Research
Blacklisting
Black-Oriented Radio
Black Radio Networks

- Block, Martin
 Blore, Chuck
 Blue Book
 Blue Network
 Blues Format
 Board for International Broadcasting
Bob and Ray
 Border Radio
 Bose, Amar G.
 Brazil
 Brice, Fanny
 Brinkley, John R.
 British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC)
 British Broadcasting Corporation: BBC
 Broadcasting House
 British Broadcasting Corporation: BBC Local
 Radio
 British Broadcasting Corporation: BBC
 Monitoring
 British Broadcasting Corporation: BBC
 Orchestras
 British Broadcasting Corporation: BBC Radio
 Programming
 British Broadcasting Corporation: BBC World
 Service
 British Commercial Radio
 British Disk Jockeys
 British Forces Broadcasting Service
 British Pirate Radio
 British Radio Journalism
 Broadcast Education Association
 Broadcast Music Incorporated
 Broadcasting Board of Governors
 Brokerage in Radio
 Brown, Himan

 Cable Radio
 Call Letters
Can You Top This?
 Canada
 Canadian Radio Archives
 Canadian Radio Policy
 Canadian Radio Programming
 Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
 Canadian Radio and Multiculturalism
 Canadian Radio and the Music Industry
 Canadian Radio Drama
 Canadian Radio Satire
 Canadian News and Sports Broadcasting
 Canadian Talk Radio
 Cantor, Eddie

 Capehart Corporation
 Capital Radio
Captain Midnight
Car Talk
Cavalcade of America
 Censorship
 CFCF
 CHED
 Chenault, Gene
 Children's Novels and Radio
 Children's Programs
 CHUM
 Churchill, Winston Spencer
 Citizen's Band Radio
 CKAC
 CKLW
 Clandestine Radio
 Clark, Dick
 Classical Music Format
 Classic Rock Format
 Clear Channel Communications Inc.
 Clear Channel Stations
 Cold War Radio
 College Radio
 Collingwood, Charles
 Columbia Broadcasting System
 Columnists
 Combo
 Comedy
 Commentators
 Commercial Load
 Commercial Tests
 Communications Act of 1934
 Community Radio
 CONELRAD
 Conrad, Frank
 Conrad, William
 Consultants
 Contemporary Christian Music Format
 Contemporary Hit Radio/Top 40 Format
 Control Board/Audio Mixer
 Controversial Issues
 Cooke, Alistair
 Cooper, Giles
 Cooper, Jack L.
 Cooperative Analysis of Broadcasting
 Copyright
 Corporation for Public Broadcasting
 Corwin, Norman
 Coughlin, Father Charles
 Country Music Format

- Cowan, Louis
 Critics
 Crosby, Bing
 Crosley, Powel
 Cross, Milton J.
 Crutchfield, Charles H.
 Crystal Receivers
 Cuba

 Daly, John Charles
 Davis, Elmer
 Dees, Rick
 De Forest, Lee
 Delmar, Kenneth
 Demographics
 Deregulation of Radio
Desert Island Discs
 Developing Nations
 Diary
 Digital Audio Broadcasting
 Digital Recording
 Digital Satellite Radio
 Dill, Clarence Cleveland
 Disk Jockeys
 Documentary Programs on U.S. Radio
 Dolby Noise Reduction
 Donahue, Tom
 Don Lee Broadcasting System
 Dr. Demento
 Drake, Bill
 Drake, Galen
 Drama on U.S. Radio
 Drama Worldwide
 Drew, Paul
Duffy's Tavern
 Duhamel, Helen
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 Dunlap, Orrin E.
 Durante, Jimmy
 Durham, Richard
 DXers/DXing

 Early Wireless
Earplay
Easy Aces
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 Editorializing
 Education about Radio
 Educational Radio to 1967
 Edwards, Bob

 Edwards, Ralph
 Election Coverage
 Ellis, Elmo
 Emergencies, Radio's Role in
 Emergency Broadcast System
 Emerson Radio
 "Equal Time" Rule
 European Broadcasting Union
 Evangelists/Evangelical Radio
 Everett, Kenny

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 Fan Magazines
 Far East Broadcasting Company
 Farm/Agricultural Radio
 Faulk, John Henry
 Federal Communications Commission
 Federal Radio Commission
 Female Radio Personalities and Disk Jockeys
 Fessenden, Reginald
Fibber McGee and Molly
 Film Depictions of Radio
 Fireside Chats
 First Amendment and Radio
 Fleming, Sir John Ambrose
Flywheel, Shyster, and Flywheel
 FM Radio
 FM Trade Associations
 Foreign Broadcast Information Service
 Formats
 France
 Freberg, Stan
 Frederick, Pauline
 Freed, Alan
 Freed, Paul
 Free Form Format
 Frequency Allocation
Fresh Air
 Friendly, Fred
 Fritzsche, Hans

 Gabel, Martin
 Gambling, John
Gangbusters
 Gay and Lesbian Radio
 General Electric
George Burns and Gracie Allen Show
 German Wireless Pioneers

- Germany
 Gillard, Frank
 Godfrey, Arthur
Goldbergs
 Goldsmith, Alfred Norton
Goon Show
 Gordon, Gale
 Gospel Music Format
Grand Ole Opry
Great Gildersleeve
 Greece
Green Hornet
 Greenwald, James L.
 Ground Wave
 Group W
Gunsmoke
- Ham Radio
 Harvey, Paul
 Hate Radio
Hear It Now
 Heavy Metal/Active Rock Format
 Herrold, Charles D.
 Hertz, Heinrich
 Hicks, Tom
 High Fidelity
 Hill, George Washington
 Hill, Lewis
Hindenburg Disaster
 Hispanic Radio
 Hoaxes
 Hogan, John V.L. "Jack"
 Hollywood and Radio
 Hooperatings
 Hoover, Herbert
 Hope, Bob
 Horror Programs
 Hottelet, Richard C.
 Howe, Quincy
 Hulbert, Maurice "Hot Rod" Jr.
 Hummert, Frank and Anne
- I Love a Mystery*
 Imus, Don
 Infinity Broadcasting
Inner Sanctum Mysteries
 Intercollegiate Broadcasting System
 International Radio Broadcasting
 International Telecommunication Union
 Internet Radio
 Ireland
- Isay, David
 Israel
 Italy
- Jack Armstrong, the All-American Boy*
 Jamming
 Japan
 Jazz Format
 Jehovah's Witnesses and Radio
 Jepko, Herb
 Jewish Radio Programs in the United States
 Jingles
 Joyner, Tom
 Judis, Bernice
- Kaltenborn, H.V.
 Karmazin, Mel
 Kasem, Casey
 KCBS/KQW
 KCMO
 KDKA
 Keillor, Garrison
 Kent, A. Atwater
 Kesten, Paul
 KFFA
 KFI
 KGO
 KHJ
King Biscuit Flower Hour
 King, Larry
 King, Nelson
 Kirby, Edward M.
 Klauber, Edward A.
 Kling, William
 KMOX
 KNX
 KOA
 KOB
 KPFA
 KRLA
 KSL
 KTRH
 Kuralt, Charles
 KWKH
 Kyser, Kay
 KYW
- Landell de Moura, Father Roberto
 Lazarsfeld, Paul F.
Let's Pretend
 Lewis, William B.

- Liberty Broadcasting System
 Licensing
Lights Out
 Limbaugh, Rush
Little Orphan Annie
 Localism in Radio
 Local Marketing Agreements
 Lodge, Oliver J.
 London Broadcasting Company
Lone Ranger
 Long, Huey
 Lord Haw-Haw
 Lord, Phillips H.
 Low-Power Radio/Microradio
Lum 'n' Abner
Lux Radio Theater
- Mankiewicz, Frank
Ma Perkins
March of Time
 Marconi, Guglielmo
 Market
Marketplace
 Markle, Fletcher
 Maxwell, James Clerk
Mayflower Decision
 McBride, Mary Margaret
 McDonald, Eugene F., Jr.
 McGannon, Don
 McLaughlin, Edward F.
 McLendon, Gordon
 McNamee, Graham
 McNeill, Don
 McPherson, Aimee Semple
 Media Rating Council
Mercury Theater of the Air
 Metromedia
 Metropolitan Opera Broadcasts
 Mexico
 Middle of the Road Format
 Milam, Lorenzo
 Minnesota Public Radio
Monitor
 Morgan, Henry
 Morgan, Robert W.
 Mormon Tabernacle Choir
Morning Edition
 Morning Programs
 Morrow, Bruce "Cousin Brucie"
 Motorola
 Murray, Lyn
- Murray the K
 Murrow, Edward R.
 Museums and Archives of Radio
 Music on Radio
 Music Testing
 Mutual Broadcasting System
- Narrowcasting
 National Association of Broadcasters
 National Association of Educational
 Broadcasters
 National Association of Educational
 Broadcasters Tape Network
National Barn Dance
 National Broadcasting Company
 National Federation of Community Broadcasters
 National Public Radio
 National Radio Systems Committee
 National Religious Broadcasters
 National Telecommunications and Information
 Administration
 Native American Radio
 Netherlands
 Network Monopoly Probe
 New Zealand
 News
 News Agencies
 Nightingale, Earl
 Non-English-Language Radio in the United
 States
 North American Regional Broadcasting
 Agreement
 Nostalgia Radio
- Volume 3**
 Oboler, Arch
 Obscenity and Indecency on Radio
 Office of Radio Research
 Office of War Information
 Oldies Format
One Man's Family
 Osgood, Charles
 Our Miss Brooks
 Owens, Gary
 Ownership, Mergers, and Acquisitions
- Pacifica Foundation
 Paley, William S.
 Payola
 Pay Radio
 Peabody Awards and Archive

- Perryman, Tom
 Philco Radio
 Phillips, Irna
 Playwrights on Radio
 Poetry on Radio
 Politics and Radio
 Polk, George
 Popov, Alexander
 Portable Radio Stations
Prairie Home Companion
 Premiums
 Press-Radio War
 Production for Radio
 Programming Research
 Programming Strategies and Processes
 Progressive Rock Format
 Promax
 Promenade Concerts
 Promotion on Radio
 Propaganda by Radio
 Psychographics
 Public Affairs Programming
 Public Broadcasting Act of 1967
 "Public Interest, Convenience, or Necessity"
 Public Radio International
 Public Radio Since 1967
 Public Service Radio
 Pulse Inc.
 Pyne, Joe
- Quaal, Ward L.
 Quiz and Audience Participation Programs
- RADAR
 Radio Academy
 Radio Advertising Bureau
 Radio in the American Sector (Berlin)
 Radio Authority
 Radio City
 Radio Corporation of America
 Radio Data System
 Radio Disney
 Radio Free Asia
 Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty
 Radio Hall of Fame
 Radio Luxembourg
 Radio Martí
 Radio Monte Carlo
 Radio Moscow
 Radio Sawa/Middle East Radio Network
 Receivers
- Recording and Studio Equipment
 Recordings and the Radio Industry
 Re-Creations of Events
Red Channels
Red Lion Case
 Regulation
 Reith, John C.W.
 Religion on Radio
Renfro Valley Barn Dance
 Retro Formats
 Rock and Roll Format
 Rogers, Will
 Rome, Jim
 Roosevelt, Eleanor
 Russia and Soviet Union
- Sarnoff, David
 Scandinavia
 Schechter, A.A.
 Schulke, James
 Science Fiction Programs
 Severeid, Eric
 "Seven Dirty Words" Case
Shadow
 Shaw, Allen
 Shepard, John
 Shepherd, Jean
 Shirer, William L.
 Shock Jocks
 Shortwave Radio
 Siemering, William
 Siepmann, Charles A.
 Silent Nights
 Simon, Scott
 Simulcasting
 Singers on Radio
 Situation Comedy
 Skelton, Red
 Sklar, Rick
 Smith, Kate
 Smulyan, Jeffrey H.
 Soap Opera
 Social Class and Radio
 Social and Political Movements
 Soft Rock Format
 Sound Effects
Soundprint
 South America
 South Pacific Islands
 Sportscasters
 Sports on Radio

- Stamberg, Susan
 Stanton, Frank N.
Star Wars
 Station Rep Firms
 Stereo
 Stereotypes on Radio
 Stern, Howard
 Storer, George
 Storz, Todd
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 Subsidiary Communications Authorization
Suspense
 Sustaining Programs
 Swing, Raymond Gram
 Syndication
- Taishoff, Sol
 Talent Raids
 Talent Shows
Talk of the Nation
 Talk Radio
 Taylor, Deems
 Taylor, Marlin R.
 Technical Organizations
 Telecommunications Act of 1996
 Television Depictions of Radio
 Ten-Watt Stations
 Terkel, Louis "Studs"
 Tesla, Nikola
Theater Guild on the Air
This American Life
 Thomas, Lowell
 Thomas, Rufus
 Tokyo Rose
 Topless Radio
 Totenberg, Nina
 Tracht, Doug "Greaseyman"
 Trade Associations
 Trade Press
 Transistor Radios
 Tremayne, Les
 Trout, Robert
- Underground Radio
 United Fruit Company
 United Nations Radio
 United States
 United States Congress and Radio
 United States Influences on British Radio
 United States Navy and Radio
 United States Presidency and Radio
- United States Supreme Court and Radio
 Urban Contemporary Format
- Vallee, Rudy
 Variety Shows
 Vatican Radio
 Vaudeville
Vic and Sade
 Violence and Radio
 Virtual Radio
 Voice of America
 Voice of the Listener and Viewer
Vox Pop
- WABC
 Walkman
War of the Worlds
 WBAI
 WBAP
 WBBM
 WBT
 WBZ
 WCBS
 WCCO
 WCFL
 WDIA
 WEAJ
 Weaver, Sylvester (Pat)
 Wertheimer, Linda
 Westerns
 Westinghouse
 Westwood One
 WEVD
 WGI
 WGN
 WHA and Wisconsin Public Radio
 WHER
 White, Paul
 White, Wallace H.
 Williams, Bruce
 Williams, Jerry
 Williams, Nat D.
 Wilson, Don
 Winchell, Walter
 WINS
 Wireless Acts of 1910 and 1912; Radio Acts of
 1912 and 1927
 Wire Recording
 WJR
 WLAC
 WLS

WLW	WSM
WMAQ	WTOP
WNBC	WWJ
WNEW	WWL
WNYC	WWVA
Wolfman Jack	WXYZ
Women in Radio	Wynn, Ed
WOR	
World Radiocommunication Conference	Yankee Network
World War II and U.S. Radio	<i>You Bet Your Life</i>
WQXR	<i>Your Hit Parade</i>
Wright, Early	<i>Yours Truly, Johnny Dollar</i>
WRR	
WSB	Zenith Radio Corporation

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Fadiman, Clifton 1904–1999

U.S. Writer, Editor, and Radio Emcee

Clifton Fadiman came to radio not from newspapers, vaudeville, or Hollywood but from the outwardly quieter world of book and periodical writing, editing, and publishing. As the master of ceremonies of *Information, Please* and other programs between 1938 and the mid-1950s, he used his knowing tone, witty repartee, and fondness for punning to become an appealing advocate of culture, learning, and civilized conversation for the World War II and postwar generations.

Fadiman learned the pleasures of knowledge at an early age. His older brother Edwin taught him to read when he was four, and before his teen years he was absorbing Milton, Homer, Dante, and other classic writers. To support himself during high school and college, he pieced together many jobs, beginning with mixing sodas in his father's Brooklyn drug store and then simultaneously reporting, selling ads, distributing copies, and otherwise helping with his brother's Long Island newspaper. He became a book reviewer for *The Nation* at age 17, and during his Columbia University days he was a ship's chandler, a bookseller, and a paid breaker-in of wealthier students' smoking pipes. By the time he finished his A.B. degree in 1925, he had gained direct experience of popular taste in many fields.

After two years of high school teaching, Fadiman joined Simon and Schuster in 1927, and as general editor there from 1929 to 1935 he made a number of shrewd publication choices that produced best-sellers. At the same time, he lectured at the People's Institute of New York and participated in many public forums, one of which would have a direct bearing on his radio career several years later. In 1934, when he assumed the editorship of *The New Yorker's* book review page, he also had his first taste of sustained radio work as an on-air book reviewer for WJZ, but that stint lasted only six months. His best radio days were still to come.

In 1938 Dan Golenpaul, a creator of informational radio programs, was brooding over conventional quiz shows, which

regularly dragged audience members to the microphone and exposed the shallowness of their knowledge. Golenpaul outlined a fresh approach: invite the public to send in questions to test a panel of experts. In choosing a master of ceremonies, Golenpaul recalled Clifton Fadiman's crisp contribution to a New School for Social Research radio forum on modern literature a few years earlier. Invited to lead the new quiz, Fadiman teasingly framed the questions for a panel gathered to record an audition disc. After some network doubts about public interest, *Information, Please* (titled after telephone operators' then-customary greeting) was first heard on 17 May 1938 on National Broadcasting Company (NBC) Blue. An unexpected hit, it rose to an estimated peak listenership of more than 9 million during its decade on the air and made Clifton Fadiman a popular icon of the intellectual establishment.

While producer Golenpaul battled sponsors' intrusions and brushed aside network directives, Fadiman tweaked the chemistry of the panel, which included newspaper columnist Franklin P. Adams, sportswriter and naturalist John Kiernan, and pianist Oscar Levant. The fourth chair, like the third one when Levant was absent in alternate weeks, was reserved for guest panelists from a wide range of performers, authors, statesmen, and athletes. Fadiman introduced the questions in a tone of mock menace, offering (as a 1941 review put it) an "ingratiating personality, with its intriguing dash of affable arrogance." Seldom missing an opening for a pun, he called Othello's killing of Desdemona an instance of "smother love," and when correspondent John Gunther correctly identified Reza Pahlavi as Iran's head of state, Fadiman pressed the question with "Are you shah?" while Gunther counterpunned, "Sultanly." Years after the program left the air, Fadiman confided that the questions and answers were only "an armature on which to build a sculpture of genuine conversation."

Clifton Fadiman fronted other programs, too. He and composer-conductor Morton Gould led the win-the-war



Clifton Fadiman in 1938
 Courtesy AP/Wide World Photos

entertainment show *Keep 'Em Rolling* on Mutual in 1941–42, and from 1954 to 1956 he hosted NBC's sustaining *Conversation* with author-publisher Bennett Cerf and panel guests. In 1955 he was named a "communicator" for NBC's weekend program *Monitor*. His television contributions included *This Is Show Business* and a short-lived attempt to bring *Information, Please* to the newer medium.

After the mid-1950s, Fadiman largely focused on literary interests. He had been a board member and reviewer for the Book-of-the-Month Club since 1944, and he remained on its board of directors for more than 50 years. Begun in 1949, his "Party of One" column appeared in *Holiday* magazine for a decade. He especially valued his essay on children's literature for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, and he continued to assemble anthologies and to write books and essays urging the public to know the pleasures of books, wine, and mathematics.

This man of wit and prodigious memory was genially satirized as the *Duffy's Tavern* habitué Clifton Finnegan, who seemed almost too stupid to breathe. In the intellectually gritty 1950s, Dwight MacDonal more somberly dismissed Fadiman

as a "midcult" peddler of learning to unwashed masses, and more recently critic John Leonard bemoaned Fadiman's "philistine" failure to appreciate William Faulkner's novels. Several generations of readers have been grateful, however, for Fadiman's invitations to learning in *Reading I've Liked* and *The Lifetime Reading Plan*, and listeners to *Information, Please* and *Conversation* discovered that knowledge and wit could be both gratifying and greatly entertaining.

Although the arc of Fadiman's career began and ended in writing and publishing, the middle span made a notable contribution to radio's upward aspirations. In fact, he was most valuable to radio precisely because he was not *from* radio, and for those who wished to condemn broadcasting as merely a noisy, empty-minded enterprise, Clifton Fadiman remained a hard nut to crack.

RAY BARFIELD

Clifton Fadiman. Born in Brooklyn, New York, 15 May 1904. A.B. degree, Columbia University, 1925. Taught at Ethical Culture High School, 1925–27; editor at Simon and Schuster, 1927–35; book editor, *New Yorker* magazine, New York City, 1933–43; debuted on radio doing book reviews, 1934; noted as moderator of *Information, Please*, 1938–48; Book-of-the-Month co-founder and review panelist, 1944–99; member, Board of Editors, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Chicago, 1959–99; Regents Lecturer, University of California, Los Angeles, 1967. Recipient: Award for distinguished service to American literature for radio program, *Information, Please!*, 1940; Clarence Day Award, American Library Association, 1969; Dorothy C. McKenzie Award, Southern California Council on Literature for Children and Young People, 1986; National Book Award for distinguished contribution to American letters, 1993. Died on Sanibel Island, Florida, 20 June 1999.

Radio Series

1938–48	<i>Information, Please</i>
1941–42	<i>Keep 'Em Rolling</i>
1944–45	<i>Words at War</i>
1949	<i>This is Broadway</i>
1955	<i>Monitor</i>
1954–56	<i>Conversation</i>

Television

This Is Show Business, 1949–54, 1956; *Information, Please*, 1952; *First Edition*, 1983–84, 1986

Selected Publications

Reading I've Liked: A Personal Selection, 1941
Party of One, 1955
Any Number Can Play, 1957
The Lifetime Reading Plan, 1960
Enter, Conversing, 1962

The New Lifetime Reading Plan (with John S. Major), 4th edition, 1999

Further Reading

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Fadiman, Anne, *Ex Libris: Confessions of a Common Reader*, New York: Farrar Straus and Giroux, 1998; London: Allen Lane, 1999

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Fairness Doctrine

Controversial Issue Broadcasting Policy

Until 1987 (with related parts lasting until 2000), the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) adhered to a series of policy guidelines collectively called the *fairness doctrine*. These guidelines encouraged stations to cover issues of public controversy, and to provide a variety of points of view on those issues. While they lasted, the policies were among the most controversial of all FCC program regulations.

Origin

A station licensee's duty to present diverse views on public issues was first declared by the Federal Radio Commission in 1928. A dozen years later, however, the FCC reversed direction when it strongly criticized a station for its practice of editorializing. In its 1941 *Mayflower* decision, the FCC concluded that with limited frequencies available for broadcasting, the public interest could not be well served by dedication of a broadcast facility to the support of its own partisan ends. In line with the *Mayflower* decision, broadcasters began to prohibit the sale of commercial time to deal with controversial issues—a policy that also helped them financially since such ads would only serve to anger some listeners and other advertisers.

In 1949 the FCC reversed itself, reconfirming that while stations have an obligation to cover controversial issues of public importance they now could (but did not have to) editorialize. When WHKC in Columbus, Ohio, refused to sell airtime to a labor union, the FCC stated that the station must be sensitive to the problems of public concern in the community and make sufficient time available on a nondiscriminatory basis. The commission concluded that radio stations have the “responsibility for determining the specific program material to be broadcast over their stations.” Therefore, they were required to devote broadcast time to “issues of interest in the community served by their stations and [ensure] that such programs be designed so that the public has a reasonable opportunity to

hear different opposing positions on the public issues of interest and importance in the community.”

To nail down the proposed new policy on editorializing, the FCC held hearings on the matter. From the hearings came a 1949 statement, *In the Matter of Editorializing by Broadcast Licensees*, which placed two primary obligations on the broadcasters. What would become known later as the “fairness doctrine” required broadcasters (1) to cover controversial issues of public importance, and (2) to provide a reasonable opportunity for the presentation of contrasting viewpoints on those issues.

Development

A decade later, in 1959, Congress entered the fray. Legislators amended Section 315 (the political “equal opportunity” section of the Communications Act) to limit the applicability of the requirement to four types of news programs. At the same time, they made more concrete the broadcaster's responsibility to afford reasonable opportunity for the discussion of conflicting views on issues of public importance. This added phrase would cause considerable legal confusion in the future.

By 1967 the FCC had extended what was now commonly referred to as “the fairness doctrine” to include broadcast advertising of cigarettes, reasoning that because smoking was a controversial health issue, broadcasters were therefore required to provide contrasting viewpoints (This provision lasted until cigarette advertising was removed from the air entirely in the early 1970s.)

Complaining about yet another extension of the fairness doctrine, broadcasters asked what other types of program or advertising might trigger fairness doctrine concerns. To clarify the scope of their doctrine, the FCC instituted a wide-ranging inquiry into the fairness doctrine and its efficacy. As one result, the commission created three “contingent rights of

access” policies similar to Section 315: the Zapple rule, the political editorializing rules, and the personal attack rules. The Zapple rule (named for a long-time Senate staff member, Nicholas Zapple, who had been involved with the issue) held that supporters of opposing political candidates must be given approximately the same amount of airtime during election campaigns. In its political editorial rule, the FCC required broadcasters to contact a legally qualified candidate within 24 hours of any station editorial opposing the candidate or endorsing an opponent and to provide a script or tape as well as free time to reply. The political editorial rule pertained only when a station editorial represented the views of the station licensee. Political commentators who were independent of management were subject only to the general fairness doctrine. Finally, the FCC’s personal attack rules specified that broadcasters must offer reply time if the honesty, character, or integrity of an identified person or group was attacked during the discussion of a controversial issue of public importance. A person attacked had to be notified within a week of the date, time, and identification of the broadcast. The licensee was required to provide a script, tape, or accurate summary of the attack and offer a reasonable opportunity for the attacked person to respond over the same station at no charge.

The Supreme Court firmly supported the fairness doctrine’s constitutionality in its 1969 landmark decision in *Red Lion Broadcasting Co. v FCC*. Broadcasters argued that the number of commercial radio and TV stations in the country was higher than that of newspapers (for which no such “fairness” policy existed because of the First Amendment)—and growing. Therefore, they argued that the fairness doctrine was unnecessary because the public suffered no shortage of opportunities to hear different stations and diverse viewpoints. Broadcasters also contended that the fairness doctrine actually “chilled” or curtailed First Amendment rights of broadcasters by encouraging self-censorship—in other words, that many controversial issues might not be covered at all. The Court rejected both of these contentions, asserting that as long as demand for stations exceeded supply (the high sales price of stations was one such indicator), scarcity of spectrum remained, and thus allowed such FCC policies. In addition, the Court ruled that the doctrine did not violate a broadcaster’s First Amendment rights since the right of the viewers and listeners to hear diverse viewpoints was paramount to the right of broadcasters to express their views.

Another Supreme Court case decided five years later, *Tornillo v Miami Herald* (1974), however, concluded that a fairness-type of requirement on newspapers in the state of Florida was clearly unconstitutional. Decided by the same court membership as had decided *Red Lion* five years earlier, the decision showed the stark difference in how the law viewed newspaper and broadcast journalists.

About the same time, the FCC adopted another Fairness Report, which reaffirmed the conclusions of its 1949 decision and upheld the application of a general fairness doctrine requirement for broadcast licensees on both statutory and constitutional grounds.

Demise

Despite the FCC’s continuing series of reports and codifications of the fairness doctrine requirements through the 1970s, broadcasters still had problems with the doctrine. They continued to argue that it was too difficult to determine what issues were controversial, which viewpoints should be represented, and suggested that the doctrine was having a “chilling” effect on the flow of ideas: broadcasters would be reluctant to cover controversial issues because according to the doctrine they would be required to report “fairly.” IN *FCC v League of Women Voters of California* (1984) the Supreme Court concluded that the scarcity rationale underlying the doctrine might be flawed and that the doctrine might be limiting the breadth of public debate. A footnote suggested that the Court awaited some kind of an indication from the FCC as to whether the conditions that had led to the fairness doctrine (and the *Red Lion* decision) had significantly changed. The doctrine was increasingly difficult to enforce and went against the grain of an increasingly deregulatory commission.

Responding to a complaint brought by a group called the Syracuse Peace Council, on 26 October 1984 the FCC concluded that WTVM-TV (a Syracuse, New York, television station owned by Meredith Corporation), had violated the fairness doctrine in its treatment of a controversy surrounding construction of a nuclear power plant, a conclusion that the Meredith Corporation vigorously contested. A few months later the FCC released another in its series of Fairness Reports to publicly reevaluate the need for the doctrine. The commission concluded that:

On the basis of voluminous factual record compiled in this proceeding, our experience in administering the doctrine and our general expertise in broadcast regulation, we no longer believe that the Fairness Doctrine, as a matter of policy, serves the public interests. In making this determination, we do not question the interest of the listening and viewing public in obtaining access to diverse and antagonistic sources of information. Rather, we conclude that the Fairness Doctrine is no longer a necessary or appropriate means by which to effectuate this interest. We believe that the interest of the public in viewpoint diversity is fully served by the multiplicity of voices in the marketplace today and that the intrusion by government into the content of programming occasioned by the enforcement of the doctrine unnecessarily

restricts the journalistic freedom of broadcasters. Furthermore, we find that the Fairness Doctrine, in operation actually inhibits the presentation of controversial issues of the public importance to the detriment of the public and in degradation of the editorial prerogative of broadcast journalists (FCC, *Inquiry into Fairness Doctrine Obligations of Broadcast Licensees*, 102 FCC 2d 145, 1985).

The report argued that (1) the doctrine was contrary to the public interest because it “chilled” expression, and, therefore, (2) the doctrine was probably unconstitutional. Despite these conclusions, the FCC retained the doctrine because it doubted that it had the power to abandon it. The FCC’s legal advisors concluded that with its 1959 amendments in the 1934 act, Congress had formally incorporated the doctrine into Section 315, and thus the FCC could not remove it. Therefore, the FCC asked Congress to abolish the doctrine; Congress did nothing. Meanwhile, in the *Meredith* case, the FCC was in the awkward position of enforcing a doctrine that it was fervently denouncing. On 19 September 1986 the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia (D.C.) Circuit cleared up a legal ambiguity by ruling that the fairness doctrine had never been made a part of the 1934 law but was simply a regulation of the FCC. This meant that the FCC could drop its own regulation.

In the meantime the Meredith Corporation appealed the FCC fairness decision on constitutional grounds. In January 1987 the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit instructed the FCC to address Meredith’s constitutional argument against the fairness doctrine. Faced with this opportunity, on 6 August 1987 the FCC formally announced it would abandon the fairness doctrine on the several bases already argued, chiefly that the doctrine was probably unconstitutional and that it certainly had a chilling effect, exactly opposite from what was intended. The FCC concluded that “the Constitution bars us from enforcing the fairness doctrine,” and argued that as the fairness doctrine chilled speech, it could not be construed to be sufficiently narrowly tailored to achieve a substantial government interest—the usual Supreme Court standard for content rules. Therefore, the FCC concluded that the fairness doctrine contravened the public interest.

Shortly after the FCC’s decision to drop the fairness doctrine, Congress tried several times to resurrect it by making the doctrine part of federal law. One of the proposed bills stated:

[The fairness doctrine] ha[s] enhanced free speech by securing the paramount right of the broadcast audience to robust debate on issues of public importance; and . . . [it] fairly reflects the statutory obligation of broadcasters under the [Communications] Act to operate in the public interest . . . [The fairness doctrine] strikes a reasonable

balance among the first amendment rights of the public, broadcast licensees, and speakers other than owners of broadcast facilities (H.R. Bill 1934, 100th Congress, 1st Session, proposing new Section 315(a) to the Communications Act, 3 June 1987).

President Reagan vetoed the bill, calling the fairness doctrine a “content-based” regulation and antagonistic to the freedom of expression. In a veto message drafted at least in part by former FCC Chairman Mark Fowler (who had long sought to end the doctrine), Reagan claimed that

S.742 simply cannot be reconciled with the freedom of speech and the press secured by our Constitution. It is, in my judgment, unconstitutional. Well-intentioned as S.742 may be, it would be inconsistent with the First Amendment and with the American tradition of independent journalism. Accordingly, I am compelled to disapprove of this measure (23 *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*, 715–16, 1987).

Congress was unable to override the veto. Attempts to revive the bill in 1989, 1991, and 1993 failed of passage. Such attempts largely ended when Republicans took control of congress in 1994.

The Supreme Court effectively supported the FCC’s decision not to continue the doctrine when in 1990 it declined to review a lower court decision upholding the FCC action. Three years later, a federal appeals court decision reaffirmed that the fairness doctrine had been merely a commission policy and not a congressionally mandated law.

Aftermath

After the FCC abandoned the fairness doctrine, it announced it would no longer enforce fairness requirements for broadcast discussions of referenda, initiatives, recall efforts, and bond proposals. However, the commission made clear that its related personal attack, political editorializing, and Zapple rules remained in force. Broadcasters had first asked the FCC to abolish these rules in 1981, following up with at least four more formal requests over the next 16 years; all to no avail.

In December 1998, two leading broadcast trade organizations—the Radio-Television News Directors Association and the National Association of Broadcasters—challenged the constitutionality of the FCC’s personal attack and political editorial rules in the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit. In a series of decisions over the next two years, the FCC was unable to sustain its rules against the Court’s firm finding that they appeared to be unconstitutional limits on broadcaster freedom. Angry at the slow moving commission, in October 2000 the court finally ordered that the rules be vacated (dropped)

immediately, and the FCC complied. The last vestiges of the long-lasting fairness doctrine were gone.

STEVE KANG

See also Controversial Issues; Editorializing; Federal Communications Commission; Mayflower Decision; Public Interest, Convenience, or Necessity; Red Lion Case

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Family Theater

Radio Drama

Broadcasters have often been criticized for making program decisions based on monetary profit rather than a desire to provide educational and thought-provoking content. But throughout the history of radio broadcasting, some producers have used their talents to create programs designed to educate, enlighten, and assist listeners in coping with the difficult situations that arise in everyday life. *Family Theater*, which became one of the longest running weekly drama anthologies in radio history, was one such program.

On 13 May 1945, the Mutual Broadcasting System broadcast a Mother's Day special with an unusual premise—to unite the country in praying the Holy Rosary. The program featured the Sullivans, a family that had lost five sons in a single naval battle during World War II, and included a guest appearance by Bing Crosby and a message from President Truman. This event was the initiative of Father Patrick Peyton, C.S.C, a priest of the Congregation of the Holy Cross who had immigrated to the U.S. from Ireland in 1928. Inspired by the success of this Mother's Day program, Father Peyton, relying largely on private donations, founded Family Theater Productions in

1947. He enlisted the help of Hollywood stars and other media professionals to produce a weekly half-hour radio drama. The series, called *Family Theater*, premiered as a sustaining program on 13 February 1947 on Mutual. Programs emphasized moral problems, and each installment ended with an encouragement to prayer, using Tennyson's famous words, "More things are wrought by prayer than this world dreams of." Although Father Peyton was a Catholic priest, the dramas, by agreement with the network, were non-sectarian. They emphasized moral themes, but were designed as entertainment programming to appeal to a mass audience. The weekly dramas were supplemented by occasional holiday specials.

One of Mutual's contract provisions was that the series had to include at least one Hollywood star each week. The network's commitment to this series was in airtime alone—Father Peyton promised to pay all production costs. In an effort to help with these costs, stars frequently donated their payment back to the producer.

The first *Family Theater* drama, entitled "Flight From Home," starred Loretta Young, James Stewart, and Don

Ameche, and was written by True Boardman. Subsequent episodes featured Raymond Burr, Bing Crosby, Irene Dunn, Gary Cooper, Gregory Peck, and dozens of other major Hollywood stars. Although the final original production was completed in 1958, *Family Theater* dramas ran for 22 years. When original radio production was halted so that Family Theater Productions could direct its attention to the newer medium of television, the series continued running in repeats on various stations across the country. Many of the programs were rebroadcast as part of a new series called *Marian Theater*. In total, 482 original programs were produced, and, at the height of its popularity, the series ran on 429 stations nationwide. These radio programs were broadcast widely outside of the United States: in Canada, Latin America, Spain, Mozambique, Australia, and the Philippines. *Family Theater* won numerous awards for excellence, from trade associations and private organizations, and from non-Catholic as well as Catholic groups. Its motto became a well-known saying in popular culture, "the family that prays together stays together."

Father Peyton died in 1992, but his work continues in the United States and throughout the world. Family Theater Productions, which is now part of the Holy Cross Family Ministries (www.hcfm.org), has six international offices that produce television and radio programs. As of 2000, a dramatic radio series produced in the United States, called *La Historia*

de Quien Soy (The Story of Who I Am), continues the spirit of *Family Theater*. The Spanish-language drama focuses on the lives of a fictional U.S. Latino family, and explores issues of ethnicity, morality and faith.

PATRICIA PHALEN

See also Drama; Religion on Radio

Announcer

Tony La Frano

Host

Father Patrick Peyton, C.S.C

Producers/Creators

Father Patrick Peyton, C.S.C; Bob Longenecker

Programming History

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Fan Magazines

Radio fan magazines serve two popular audiences whose memberships share an intense interest in either the programs and personalities or the technology of radio. The first audience consists of fans who listen to broadcasts, become curious, and seek additional information not provided over the radio. The other group is more concerned with radio's technology, such as amateur and ham radio operators, who are interested in developing and using the technology to both transmit and receive signals using shortwave radio. Both audiences continue to support a number of radio magazines.

Fan magazines enjoyed success because of the large and growing radio audience that was interested in the programs and personalities heard. The magazines were most successful from the mid-1920s through the early 1960s. Fan magazines published a variety of content, including program listings and descriptions. A substantial portion of their content was devoted to radio personalities and included picture stories,

hobbies, home life, and any relevant scandal or gossip. Most of the magazines included reader correspondence. Fan magazines helped audiences keep track of programming and stay interested, and they provided information for interaction among other fans.

The oldest group of radio fans are the amateur and ham radio operators. The American Radio Relay League's (ARRL) monthly magazine, *QST*, started publishing in 1916. *QST* was named for the international signal "QST," which means "attention all stations." Still published by the ARRL, *QST* has for years published product reviews and technical articles. Members share tips and tricks for operating and constructing radios. The difference between *QST* and popular fan magazines is the focus on radio technology rather than content. Because the magazine is published by an organized group, it reports news, legal and regulatory issues, and technical information and performs many of the functions of a trade journal.

Radio News

Cosmopolitan, *McClure's*, *Munsey's*, and other general interest magazines provided information about radio in the early 1900s, but it was not until the radio boom of the 1920s that exclusive mass-market radio magazines appeared. The need for a popular publication that served radio audiences was recognized immediately by early broadcasters. For example, KDKA distributed *Radio Broadcasting News* to about 2,000 newspapers. The magazine was developed shortly after the first broadcasts in order to provide background information and program listings that could be published in local newspapers. As radio's popularity increased during the first half of the 1920s, the number of radio magazines grew. By the mid-1920s, there were between 35 and 40 radio magazines serving an audience of nearly 1 million readers. *Radio News* claimed (May 1926) that the top five radio magazines, including *Radio News*, *Popular Radio*, *Radio in the Home*, *Radio Broadcast*, and *Radio Age*, had over half a million readers.

Radio News was one of the first magazines to capitalize on the radio boom and was founded by one of radio's greatest fans, Hugo Gernsback, who was familiar with both publishing and radio. He published a small radio magazine called *Modern Electrics* in New York in the early 1900s as a way to stimulate sales at his radio electronics store. In 1919 Gernsback started *Radio News* as a general interest radio magazine. Like many of the early radio magazines, the content of *Radio News* appealed to a broad audience of radio enthusiasts. Broadcasting was in its developmental stages, but the popular appeal of radio was already evident. *Radio News* was primarily a "booster" for radio, promoting radio to a developing audience of fans. *Radio News* called itself "Radio's Greatest Magazine," and its early content appealed to the amateur operators and listeners who fueled the early 1920s radio craze. Each issue had a Norman Rockwell-like cover with a scene that showed some aspect of radio in modern American life. The magazine was highly illustrated, and the content was diverse. Much of the content targeted amateur operators at a variety of skill levels by providing technical articles on home construction of radios and on the selection of components and equipment. There were regular features offering technical information and articles discussed receiving and transmitting radio signals. *Radio News* also held contests that challenged readers' technical skills with equipment construction and signal reception (DXing). The magazine even offered lessons in Esperanto, promoted as the international language of amateur radio operators.

Radio News promoted radio as a significant social force that served a variety of needs. There were articles about the people who had developed radio and were shaping its future and about the radio celebrities whose voices and sounds were

being recognized across the country. The magazine provided station listings and discussed some of the new successful radio stations, including WRNY in New York, where Gernsback delivered a weekly Tuesday night lecture. There were cartoons, poems, and fictional articles in which radio was a central theme. Readers were encouraged to become knowledgeable about radio in a number of ways. Crossword puzzles required readers to know terms and call letters. There were frequent contests, which included submitting drawings of an "ideal" receiving set, composing four-line verses using standard circuit symbols, or identifying errors in the drawings that appeared on the cover of the magazine. *Radio News* sponsored a "radio play" contest and published the works of the winners and finalists.

Radio News also featured a significant amount of advertising. For example, the index of advertisers for the January 1925 issue lists 381 advertisers and includes 180 pages with advertising (out of 240 total). Equipment and services offered by all segments of the emerging radio industry were advertised. There was also a classified advertising section. *Radio News* used product names in some of its construction articles, although it discontinued the practice after Gernsback was accused of selling out to advertisers. In 1926 *Radio News* claimed that it was second only to *Radio Broadcast* (a successful trade magazine) in its volume of advertising.

Radio News enjoyed its greatest success during the chaotic early 1920s. Advertising revenues dropped significantly as the distinction between professionals, amateurs, and listening audiences became more clearly defined. In the early 1930s, *Radio News* narrowed its appeal to the amateur technical audience and continued publishing technical information until in 1959 it became *Electronics World*.

Radio Guide

The successful popular mass-market fan magazines that emerged in the 1930s served the audiences created by broadcasting. There were more than a dozen popular fan magazines published during radio's golden age, including *Movie Radio*, *Radio Album*, *Radio Dial*, *Radio Digest*, *Radio Guide*, *Radio-land*, *Radio Mirror*, and *Radio Stars*. These magazines followed the example set by popular movie fan magazines, which focused on personalities, took readers behind the scenes, and always included pictures or portraits of stars on the cover.

Radio Guide is an example of this kind of fan magazine. *Radio Guide* was published weekly by M.L. Annenberg in Chicago beginning in 1932. By 1936 *Radio Guide* was printed in 17 regional editions and was selling 420,000 copies per week, and the content typified the radio fan magazine of the time. Part of the magazine offered stories and pictorials concerning radio personalities. One pictorial feature called the "Radio

Guide Album" included a full-page picture of the cast of a selected network program. There was information and gossip about radio stars and often a short story.

Radio Guide regularly provided short reports about current radio news, shortwave information, and upcoming musical events. Regular features that appeared in the magazine included "Coming Events," "Hits of the Week," "Contests on the Air," "X-word Puzzle," and "Radio Boners." Approximately half of the magazine's content featured a programming guide with day-by-day listings of programs and the stations that aired them. The magazine marked high-quality programs with a star symbol placed next to the listing. Religious programs were identified with a bell symbol. The program section included a log of numerous radio stations, including foreign outlets, and a modest listing of shortwave programs for the week. *Radio Guide* remained an important source of fan support through the early 1940s and laid the groundwork for the same publisher's 1953 creation of the hugely successful *TV Guide*.

Radio Mirror, which started publishing in 1933, changed its name to *TV Radio Mirror* in order to serve the popular interest in television. Fan magazines continued to provide information about radio into the 1960s, but their general content shifted substantially from radio to television. As radio became a medium of music that largely served local markets, the need for mass-market radio fan magazines disappeared.

Web Fan Magazines

The shift from national networks to local programming and the use of syndicated programming have resulted in smaller, more specialized groups of fans for radio programs and fewer opportunities for successful national mass-market fan magazines. A few traditional fan magazines are published in large regional markets, such as the *L.A. Radio Guide* in southern California, but generally the current market for radio fan magazines is limited.

The primary means of reaching fans today is with webpages and *e-zines* (electronic magazines). E-zines are delivered through the internet and presented in formats that resemble traditional fan magazines. Subscriptions are ordered through a webpage. An example is *Krud Radio*, a fan e-zine that offers a humorous look at radio and arrives by e-mail. About.com is accessed through a webpage and offers a "Guide to Radio" that discusses radio news, conducts polls about a variety of radio topics, provides links to internet audio sites, and includes a chat room for discussing radio topics.

Webpages offer fans the same content found in traditional fan magazines but provide a level of interaction not found in traditional magazines. Talk show host Art Bell's webpage logged more than 5.5 million visitors between January 1997

and January 2000, offering program summaries, archives, a chat room, feature articles, links, a studio camera, audio clips, and more.

Fans sometimes establish "unofficial" webpages that target other fans. Howard Stern's show has a number of unofficial webpages. For example, "Heynow's Webpage" offers a collection of Howard Stern RealAudio files. Stern's associate, Fred Norris, known as the King of Mars, has an unofficial fan site that was started because "everyone else on the show has at least one stupid fan page, so why not Fred."

Internet directories of stations and programs are replacing printed directories in fan magazines. Lists of stations and links to internet audio are provided by a number of websites, including RadioLinks.net, Broadcast.com, Macroradio.net, RadioStations.net, Netradio.net, Darnell's Black Radio Guide, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) List of Radio Stations.

Amateur and ham radio operators are experiencing a similar change in their fan magazines. There are still a number of specialized periodicals that target amateurs, but the internet is becoming an increasingly important source of information. Most organizations and publishers that produce magazines for this audience also have webpages, including the ARRL. *AntenneX*, a successful magazine that specializes in antennae for amateurs, is now promoting its website, which logged over 2 million visitors between 1997 and early 2003. *Ham Radio Online*, offered by the Virtual Publishing Company, provides technical information, news, opinions, cartoons, on-line discussions, feature stories, up-to-the-minute reports on world disasters, and an on-line newsletter delivered by e-mail.

The internet has revitalized fan interest by providing sites where smaller and more specialized groups of fans can find the content of traditional fan magazines. In addition, the community of fans using the electronic magazines and websites enjoys a level of interaction that traditional magazines could never offer.

MICHAEL BROWN

See also Columnists; DXers/DXing; Ham Radio; Trade Press

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Far East Broadcasting Company

U.S.-Based Religious Broadcaster

The Far East Broadcasting Company (FEBC) is an evangelical Christian international radio service that began in Asia and eventually developed stations in much of the world.

Origins

While attending a Bible college in Pasadena in 1934, Robert Bowman became the baritone in a men's quartet that was part of the Haven of Rest radio ministry on KMPC in Los Angeles. The quartet was headed by Paul Myers, known as "First Mate Bob" on the air, and Bowman would often host the program in Myers' absence, thus becoming known as "Second Mate Bobby." He remained with the program for 12 years.

Given his radio experience, Bowman became interested in the potential of radio use by those wishing to reach an international audience with a similar religious message. In 1938 he began initial planning for such an outreach program with John Broger, an actor and producer who was a former classmate of Myers at the Pasadena college. The war intervened and Broger became a communications expert in the Navy. On 20 December 1945, Bowman, Broger, and minister William J. Roberts founded the Far East Broadcasting Company to provide Christian programming in Asia.

After the incorporation of this new venture, Bowman left the Haven of Rest program to become FEBC vice president; Broger was president, Roberts executive secretary. The three agreed that, as Bowman was well known from his years with Haven of Rest, he should head the fund-raising process while Broger sought broadcasting licenses in Asia. As their original aim was to broadcast Christian programs in China, Bowman

and Broger worked with the Chicago-based Moody Bible Institute to produce a syndicated radio series, *The Call of the Orient*. Broger traveled to Shanghai to meet with Christian missionaries, and by June 1946 the China Christian Broadcasting System had been established with plans (never realized) to place stations on the air throughout China. In September Broger was granted a one-year franchise for stations in the Philippines, with the goal of establishing a base for shortwave broadcasting to the rest of Asia.

While Broger was involved in these negotiations, Bowman was raising funds through speaking and singing engagements in churches throughout southern California. He explained that funds were needed for the land, power generators and transmitters, antenna towers, and production equipment needed to put FEBC on the air. In November 1946, FEBC made the final payment for 12.5 acres in Karuhatan (north of Manila) in the Philippines. The next month, the first missionaries traveled to Manila. In April 1947 the first FEBC programs were carried (briefly as it turned out) on local stations in Shanghai, and on 4 July 1948 FEBC's own 1,000-watt station, KZAS (soon changed to DZAS) in Manila was dedicated in what was called Christian Radio City, putting out an AM signal to the metropolitan region. Shortwave capability was added later that year.

Until 1954, Bowman's and Broger's families took 18- to 24-month stints running the station. Bowman's first year was spent attempting to get the one-year franchise extended. With local legal assistance he was able to convince the Philippine Radio Board of Control to grant FEBC its first permanent license.

By July 1949 FEBC had initiated shortwave broadcasts to other parts of Asia from the Philippines, including China and

Russia. (The Shanghai operation had been closed down by the formation of the People's Republic, and listener mail from China disappeared for three decades.) By the end of the year, FEBC was broadcasting in 27 different languages, using station DZH-6 with 10,000 watts.

By the end of 1951, FEBC had five transmitters operating and began broadcasts to Japan that September. Bowman traveled to the U.S. to continue fund-raising efforts to expand the operation, but in 1953 returned to Manila to take over the administration of FEBC. By the end of that year, FEBC had three domestic stations and four more for overseas broadcasts. Broger became an information and education official with the Department of Defense beginning in 1954 and resigned his FEBC post three years later. Bowman became president, a position he held until his 1992 retirement when he became president emeritus.

In 1957 FEBC received licenses to broadcast in Okinawa using two AM stations (these were surrendered in 1972 when the island reverted to Japanese control). In September 1958, FEBC placed its first 50,000-watt transmitter into operation in the Philippines and opened recording studios in Hong Kong, then a British colony. A Tokyo studio followed in the next year. FEBC purchased KGEI in San Francisco in 1960 to initiate broadcasts to Latin America; the station had previously been used by the Office of War Information to broadcast news and information to the Pacific theater during World War II. Becoming known as "The Voice of Friendship," FEBC operated the station (soon placing a second shortwave transmitter on the air) until 1994.

FEBC efforts to broadcast to Asia were expanded in 1968 with the establishment of a British associate company, Far East Broadcasting Associates, to operate shortwave transmitters in the British-controlled (now Commonwealth) Seychelles islands, with the goal of reaching the Middle East, North Africa, and South Asia. Two stations in South Korea and another on the Pacific island of Saipan (1977) replaced the stations lost on Okinawa. Broadcasts to China were expanded

with huge transmitters (100 and 250 kilowatts) beaming signals to the mainland from several locations.

By 1979 FEBC was providing some 300 hours of programming per day, in 72 languages from 28 stations. Service was extended to areas of what had been the Soviet Union in the early 1990s. FEBC operated more than 30 transmitters by 1995, with a staff of more than 1,000 (90 percent of whom were non-U.S. citizens) and an annual operating budget of \$17 million. In 2000 the Far East Broadcasting Company broadcast its gospel message more than 400 hours a day in 154 languages.

ROBERT S. FORTNER AND CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Evangelists/Evangelical Radio; International Radio Broadcasting; Religion on Radio

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Farm/Agricultural Radio

Radio has always had a special place in the lives of farmers and their families. Because of the isolation of rural life, the entertainment and information brought by radio are especially welcome, and up-to-the-minute weather forecasts and agricultural market reports are essential to every modern farmer's business. Even in today's age of television and the internet,

farmers still consider radio to be their most important source of agricultural information, and surveys indicate that most of them tune in to farm programs every day.

In 2002, about 75 radio stations, mostly in rural communities, provided what they consider to be a full-time agricultural format, and another 1,000 stations broadcast at least one hour

per week of special farm-related programming. In addition, a number of regional and national farm radio networks have evolved to provide stations with specialized programs and advertising.

Federal and state agencies, led by the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA), provide radio reports on topics ranging from the latest research on crop diseases to new agricultural marketing strategies. This information is provided to stations by the USDA in the form of scripts and press releases and as prerecorded audio and video reports that broadcasters can integrate into their own locally produced programs.

On commercial stations, farm programming is generally supported through the sale of advertising. Large corporate producers of agricultural products and services have found radio to be an ideal medium for reaching the widely dispersed farm audience, a group that includes the decision makers of U.S. agribusiness. Farmers who tune in for market reports on these stations are likely also to hear commercials for chemicals, fertilizer, seed, and other agricultural necessities.

Farm programming is also provided by many noncommercial radio stations, especially those associated with land grant colleges and universities with large agricultural research and teaching components. Many of these campuses have strong ties to federal and state farm service offices that provide regionalized agricultural information and programming.

Origins

Radio was just one of several technological innovations in the early part of the 20th century that revolutionized farm life. The telephone, phonograph, automobile, and rural mail delivery all served to greatly reduce the isolation of rural families. But the coming of radio in the 1920s meant that for the first time, farms were instantaneously connected to the outside world. Music, sports, politics, and religion were suddenly available with the twist of a dial. Once-isolated farm families were suddenly a part of the growing national radio audience. In most farm homes, a battery-operated radio became a fixture long before the house was wired for electricity. Perhaps most significant, the radio brought farmers information that had an immediate impact on their livelihoods. Accurate weather reports allowed farmers to time harvests and protect crops from storms, and immediate reports of commodity prices from big-city agricultural markets meant farmers could reap bigger profits and manage operations more efficiently.

In fact, government-produced weather forecasts and agricultural market reports were among radio's first regularly scheduled programs. Initially, these broadcasts were aired experimentally by college and university stations, which were among the first on the air with radio transmitters. As early as 1921 (some sources say earlier) the University of Wisconsin's 9XM (later, WHA) began transmitting agricultural informa-

tion on a regular schedule. Many other stations soon followed suit.

The USDA was especially quick to recognize radio's potential for reaching the far-flung farm audience. By the mid-1920s the agency had begun producing and distributing not only weather and market reports, but also informational programs on crop and livestock problems, agricultural marketing, and home economics. Scripts were distributed free of charge to radio stations through the USDA's vast network of county extension agents. The county agents themselves often worked closely with local radio stations to supplement programming with information on topics of local concern. At least some of the government-produced radio programs also had a distinctly political purpose: since farmers represented an important national voting bloc, the USDA interspersed the more mundane topics with features and talks that explained and promoted the administration's farm policy.

Early on, businesses that catered to rural customers also saw the potential of programming aimed specifically at the farm audience. Although overt radio advertising was still considered inappropriate in the early 1920s, these companies understood the promotional value of having their names on the air. Sears and Roebuck established the Chicago station WLS ("World's Largest Store") in part to promote its booming mail-order business with rural homes. The company was also instrumental in establishing other early stations in the Midwest and South. In Nashville, the National Life and Accident Insurance Company created the station WSM to help promote its products. In this case, "WSM" stood for the company's slogan, "We Shield Millions."

Stations across the country began to realize that the millions of U.S. farm homes constituted a special audience, and many began to produce and carry programs especially tailored for rural listeners, including those aimed at attracting farm women and children. Indeed, the Federal Radio Commission's radio frequency allocation scheme of 1928, with its high-powered clear channel stations designed to serve large rural areas, was very much driven by a concern (some of it admittedly political) for rural audiences. The National Broadcasting Company (NBC)'s *The National Farm and Home Hour*, begun in 1928, became one of the network's longest-running programs.

As radio developed, the government mounted a major campaign to get more farmers to buy receivers. USDA-authored articles in newspapers and farm periodicals told readers that the radio receiver had become an agricultural necessity. Countless anecdotes were reported of how farmers were able to save their crops by radio's advanced warning of bad weather or to increase their income by using radio reports of market price fluctuations.

But despite these efforts, bad economic times meant the adoption rate in rural areas lagged far behind that in cities. In the 1920s and 1930s many farmers barely eked out a subsis-

tence, and hard cash was always in short supply. In addition, farmers generally lived at great distances from stations and needed to buy more expensive receivers to get satisfactory reception. And despite New Deal rural electrification efforts, many regions still lacked electricity, forcing use of battery-powered radios. By the 1940 census, 92 percent of urban U.S. homes reported owning radios, but only 70 percent of rural farm homes did. The situation among rural nonwhites was far worse. The chronic poverty among minority farmers meant that as late as 1940, only 20 percent owned radios.

Farm Radio and Country Music

Early listener response convinced broadcasters that rural and urban audiences differed considerably in their musical tastes. Farmers, it was believed, much preferred what was then called “hillbilly” music. This style was based on the folk songs commonly performed in rural areas, usually by one or two musicians playing simple stringed instruments. As the need grew for more programming to attract and hold the farm audience, several large stations developed live musical variety shows with a distinctly rural flavor. *National Barn Dance*, from Chicago’s WLS, and *The Grand Ole Opry*, from WSM in Nashville, were two of the earliest and most successful.

By providing an audience for budding new performers and a ready market for their records, farm radio music shows played an essential role in the development of country music. Record companies began providing free or low-cost performers in exchange for the promotional value of having their stars heard on radio broadcasts. The fact that Nashville was the home of the powerful WSM and its immensely popular *Grand Ole Opry* was a decisive factor in that city’s becoming the country music capital of the world.

The National Association of Farm Broadcasters

Radio stations soon recognized the need for specialized broadcast personnel to produce agricultural news and information programming. The position of station “farm director” was generally filled by someone who knew farming well and who could dedicate full attention to researching and reporting on agricultural issues. Often, male farm directors were assisted by women who were delegated the duties of reporting on rural home economics and hosting homemaker-oriented programs of interviews, recipes, and household hints. Today, farm broadcasters are often graduates of specialized university programs in agricultural journalism, and, although men still dominate the field, the role of female broadcasters has broadened considerably.

In the 1940s farm directors from several stations met and formed what would eventually be known as the National Association of Farm Broadcasters (NAFB). Today, the NAFB is

farm broadcasting’s major trade organization, offering members a news service, sales and marketing assistance, and farm audience research.

Farm Radio in the Television Age

The coming of television meant changes throughout the radio industry. Many of the powerful big-city radio stations no longer found it profitable to target rural audiences, and farm radio programming increasingly became the province of the growing number of lower-powered regional or local stations serving rural areas. At the same time, agricultural news and information programs began to appear on many local television stations that served farm audiences.

Yet for a number of reasons, farm radio has remained a viable medium. The low cost and portability of modern radio receivers means today’s farm families can own several sets and listen wherever they happen to be. Radios installed in trucks, tractors, and other farm vehicles can accompany farmers throughout the workday. Timely weather forecasts and market reports remain just as important to farmers today as they were in the early days of radio. At the same time, the relatively low cost of operating a local radio station means that farm broadcasters can stay profitable even while appealing to a relatively narrow audience. In fact, it is just this characteristic that attracts agricultural advertisers, who can zero in on their target audience at a relatively low cost. These characteristics mean that farm radio will continue to flourish.

STEVE CRAIG

See also Trade Associations; WHA and Wisconsin Public Radio

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Faulk, John Henry 1913–1990

U.S. Radio Humorist

When his developing radio career was cut short in the mid-1950s because of political blacklisting, Texas-born humorist John Henry Faulk decided to fight back. He undertook a six-year legal battle and eventually beat the right-wing blacklisters who had controlled network assignments of radio and television creative personnel for years.

Early Years

John Henry Faulk (he always used his full name) was born in Austin, Texas, just before World War I. He grew up in a mixed-race neighborhood and was encouraged by his liberal parents to treat everyone alike. His own subsequent liberal politics were partially formed by his parents, both leftist political activists. Working and attending classes part-time, Faulk entered the University of Texas in 1929 but took a decade to earn his bachelor's degree in English. While in school he became fascinated with Texas and American folklore of all kinds. Just over a year later, with a Works Progress Administration research grant, he earned a master's degree with an emphasis in American folklore. He stayed on in Austin to teach English courses at the university for two more years. Despite the military build-up in the early 1940s, the army initially turned him down for health reasons, and Faulk served with the merchant marine and later the Red Cross. The army finally accepted him for stateside service as a medic in 1944.

All through this period, Faulk honed his already impressive storytelling abilities. Overhearing him at a New York party, a Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) official offered him a program slot of his own. Faulk hosted *Johnny's Front Porch* on the CBS radio network in 1945–46. He moved on to various on-air positions with stations WOV and WPAT in New Jersey from 1946 to 1948. He returned to CBS to host the weekday hour-long daily *John Henry Faulk Show* on the network's flagship station, WCBS in New York, starting in 1951. His good-

natured Texas humor and characters gathered a growing listening audience and attracted appreciative advertisers.

Blacklisted and a Landmark Suit

By the mid-1950s, as his radio career developed, Faulk had become more concerned about the communist-baiting approach of the officers of the New York local chapter of the American Federation of Radio and Television Artists (AFTRA) performer's union, of which he was a member. For several years union officials had actively cooperated with (and some were officers in) AWARE, Inc., one of the blacklisting organizations that "investigated" the political backgrounds of performers and writers. Along with CBS journalist Charles Collingwood and comedian Orson Bean, Faulk ran for the AFTRA board and was one of 27 "middle of the road slate" members elected to the 35-member board. He was subsequently elected second vice president, taking office in January 1956. The new AFTRA officers promised to cut ties with the blacklisters.

Nursing their wounds, the former union officials used their newsletter to attack Faulk for his own political views and associations, including thinly veiled accusations that, based on his political activity (he had backed Henry Wallace in the 1948 presidential campaign, for example), he at least had strongly communist leanings. In the political climate of the times, with "McCarthyism" in full flower, this was a potentially damning indictment that often cost the accused his or her job. As the attackers expected and as Faulk feared, their classic tactic led to advertiser nervousness about Faulk, and he began to lose commercial advertisers for his program. Although the station initially stood by its employee, diminishing advertiser support and income raised concern, though his contract was renewed in December 1956.

Faced with the loss of his livelihood for a series of false accusations, Faulk decided to take on his tormenters, although



John Henry Faulk
 Courtesy AP/Wide World Photos

he knew it would be a difficult and expensive process. With financial support from CBS newsman Edward R. Murrow, among others, Faulk filed a libel suit on 26 June 1956 against AWARE and its officers. But the overall situation turned bad—the “middle of the road slate” lost ground in AFTRA and became a minority again. Though his program continued for a few more months, Faulk was fired by registered letter from CBS while he was on vacation in July 1957.

AWARE managed to delay trial on the libel suit for some five years through a variety of legal maneuvers. In the meantime, Faulk could not obtain work in the broadcast or entertainment fields and had to rely on friends and supporters for the financial means to survive, let alone pay for the ongoing case. The trial of AWARE and its officers finally got under way in the spring of 1962 and lasted for 11 weeks. On 28 June 1962 the New York State jury awarded \$3.5 million in damages to Faulk (the largest libel judgment to that point), though this was later reduced to \$550,000 by an appeals court. Faulk eventually received about \$75,000 for his years of effort and deprivation. Through his lawsuit, he had made an important point about civil liberties that was widely reported, AWARE had declared bankruptcy, and the general public now knew about—and was increasingly appalled by—blacklisting.

Later Life

Faulk returned to Austin in 1968 and lived in Texas for the rest of his life. For a time he operated a small advertising agency. His blacklisting case became known to a new generation in October 1975 when CBS broadcast a two-hour made-for-television docudrama movie based on Faulk’s story. William Dev-

ane played Faulk, and George C. Scott played attorney Louis Nizer.

From 1975 to the early 1980s, Faulk played a homespun character on the nationally syndicated *Hee-Haw* television variety program. During the 1980s Faulk wrote and produced two one-man plays. In both *Deep in the Heart* and *Pear Orchard, Texas*, he portrayed characters with the best of human instincts but exhibiting the worst of cultural prejudices. He also lectured widely on college campuses, largely about civil liberties and freedom of expression, drawing on his own case. He died of cancer in Austin in 1990, aged 76.

The central branch of the public library in Austin is named after him, as are the John Henry Faulk Awards given out annually since 1986 by the Texas Storytelling Association for the state’s best storyteller. The Center for American History at the University of Texas at Austin (which holds Faulk’s professional and legal papers) sponsors an annual John Henry Faulk Conference on the First Amendment.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also American Federation of Television and Radio Artists; Blacklisting; Collingwood, Charles; Columbia Broadcasting System; Murrow, Edward R.

John Henry Faulk. Born in Austin, Texas, 21 August 1913. Attended the University of Texas, BA in English, 1939; Masters degree in Folklore, 1940; doctoral work, 1940–42. Served with the Merchant Marine, 1942–43; Red Cross in Cairo, Egypt, 1943–44; U.S. Army, psychiatric social worker, 1944–46. Hosted *Johnny’s Front Porch* on CBS radio network, 1945–46; held various on-air positions, WOV, New York City, 1946–47, and WPAT, Paterson, New Jersey, 1948; hosted *The John Henry Faulk Show* on WCBS in New York, 1951–57; elected vice-president, New York local, American Federation of Television and Radio Artists (AFTRA), 1955; filed a libel suit against AWARE, Incorporated, 1956; was fired by CBS and blacklisted for five years; won the largest libel judgment in history, 1962; eventually returned to making motion pictures, wrote a one-man play and acted on television. Died in Austin, Texas, 9 April 1990.

Radio Series

1945–46 *Johnny’s Front Porch*
 1951–57 *The John Henry Faulk Show*

Television

Leave It to the Girls, 1954; *The Morning Show*, 1955; *Fear on Trial* (writer), 1975; *Hee Haw*, 1975–83; *Adam*, 1983

Film

All the Way Home, 1963; *The Best Man*, 1964; *Texas Chain Saw Massacre*, 1974; *Lovin’ Molly*, 1974; *Leadbelly*, 1976

Stage

Pear Orchard, Texas, 1970s

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Federal Communications Commission

The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) is the federal agency charged with regulating broadcasting and other electronic communications media in the United States; it licenses stations to operate in the "public interest, convenience, and necessity." The FCC was created by Congress in 1934 to succeed the Federal Radio Commission. It is an independent federal agency established by the Communications Act of 1934 to regulate domestic interstate and international electronic communication, both wired and wireless.

Because the FCC was established as an independent federal agency, the "checks and balances" on it are not the same as they would be for administrative agencies (such as the Food and Drug Administration), which answer directly to the U.S. president. Although the president selects the chair and the commissioners (who must be approved by the Senate), the president does not have the authority to remove commissioners during their terms. The FCC is much more beholden to Congress, which controls not only appropriations but also the commission's very existence. Since 1981, the FCC is no longer a permanent agency but instead must be reauthorized by Congress every two years. Therefore, Congress' influence over the FCC has increased significantly during the 1980s and 1990s.

The FCC has a dual role: on the one hand, it makes rules and regulations to carry out the Communications Act, but it also serves as a judicial body, hearing appeals of its decisions. As a quasi-judicial agency, the FCC has the duty of both making rules and also serving as an adjudicator in cases dealing with rules violations and challenges. While the FCC has the

responsibility for making, policing, and judging the rules, its decisions are subject to court review. For example, the FCC created a rule requiring regular station identification. It also enforces the rule by asking stations whether they have adhered to it. In cases where stations have been found to violate the rule, the FCC must decide what punishment, if any, to apply. If the offending station challenges the decision, it appeals the judgment to the FCC. In this role, the FCC serves as the equivalent of a federal district court. FCC decisions that are upheld in appeal can then be challenged by appealing directly to the Federal Court of Appeals for the Washington, D.C. Circuit.

Commissioners

The FCC has five commissioners (reduced from seven in 1983), one of whom serves as the chair. Members are appointed by the U.S. president and approved by the Senate. The term of office for commissioners is five years, and they may serve multiple terms. No more than three commissioners from one political party may serve simultaneously.

Although the FCC chair has the same one vote as any of the other four commissioners, the chair has a greater ability to influence the direction of the FCC. The chair's role in selecting issues to pursue sets an agenda for the commission. During the 1970s and 1980s, for example, the FCC adopted a more deregulatory approach, eliminating a number of rules and streamlining the radio license renewal process. Under the leadership of chairmen Richard Wiley, Charles Ferris, and Mark Fowler, the

FCC revisited its responsibilities under the concept of the public interest, adopting the philosophy that the public interest is best served by allowing marketplace forces to function. In the 1990s Chairman Reed Hunt decided to investigate the possibilities of high-definition television and formed a task force to study it. Chairman William Kennard pursued the possibility of adding low-power FM stations to the radio band to provide increased opportunities for disenfranchised members of society to be heard. Although no chair has been successful in pursuing all of his interests, each has had the opportunity to set the commission's, and thus to a certain extent the nation's, communications policy agenda.

The majority of commissioners over the years have been lawyers (the last engineer commissioner retired in 1963). FCC commissioners are creatures of politics and as such are often more versed in politics than in technology. A number of commissioners have had no technological background prior to joining the commission. They count on their staff advisers and employees to provide them with the necessary background information. Fewer than half the commissioners have served their full five-year terms. When they leave the commission, they frequently join communications companies or legal firms providing consulting services. Commission staff members often find themselves dealing with former commissioners.

The personality of the FCC changes over time, based on the various personalities of the commissioners who serve and the political climate of the period. Space does not permit a listing of all former FCC commissioners and their contributions, but a few should be noted. Frieda B. Hennock, the first woman appointed to the commission in 1948, served during the critical period of the television "freeze" (1948-52). During those four years, the FCC stopped licensing new TV stations while it decided the issues of color TV, UHF versus VHF transmission, and channel allocation policies. Benjamin L. Hooks, the first African-American commissioner, was appointed in 1972 and worked diligently for the enforcement of equal employment opportunities. Henry Rivera was the first Hispanic commissioner, appointed in 1981. Robert E. Lee has the distinction of having served longer than any other commissioner to date, from 1953 until 1981. William Kennard was the first African American chairman when appointed in 1993.

FCC commissioners have been perceived alternately as pro- and anti-broadcasting. FCC chairmen James L. Fly (appointed 1939) and Newton N. Minow (appointed 1961) were public interest advocates who raised the ire of many broadcasters during their respective terms. Fly chaired the FCC during the forced sale of the NBC "Blue" Network. Minow is perhaps best remembered for referring to television as a "vast wasteland" in a speech to the National Association of Broadcasters.

On the other hand, James Quello joined the commission in 1974 after retiring from his position as vice president and general manager of station WJR in Detroit. Quello's Senate confir-

mation hearings lasted longer than any other commissioner's because a number of public interest groups, fearing that he would be too favorable to broadcast interests (Quello replaced public interest advocate Nicholas Johnson), opposed his nomination. In spite of the lengthy process, Quello was overwhelmingly approved by the Senate. While Quello served as interim FCC chair, *Broadcasting* magazine called him "the broadcasters' chairman." In spite of his strong support of broadcast interests, Quello was critical of indecency on radio.

Staff

Although the FCC has only five commissioners, there are nearly 2,000 staff members in dozens of different departments, including a dozen field offices across the U.S. The five FCC commissioners must officially hold a public meeting at least once a month. The business of the commission is largely conducted as items circulate among the commissioners in between meetings, and at the staff level in the operating bureaus. The FCC is divided administratively into a number of offices and bureaus, to which the bulk of the commission's work is delegated. The six major operating FCC bureaus are Consumer and Governmental Affairs, Enforcement, International, Media, Wireless Telecommunications, and Wireline Competition. Most licensing and regulatory activity undertaken in the name of the FCC occurs at this level.

Of greatest concern to broadcasters is the Media Bureau (previously called the Broadcast Bureau), which regulates AM, FM, and television broadcast stations and related facilities. It assigns frequencies and call letters to stations and designates operating power and sign-on and sign-off times. It also assigns stations in each service within the allocated frequency bands with specific locations, frequencies, and powers. It regulates existing stations, ensuring that stations operate in accordance with rules and in accordance with the technical provisions of their authorizations.

The Media Bureau has five divisions: Audio, Video, Policy, Industry Analysis, and Engineering. The Audio Division receives and evaluates approximately 5,500 applications per year for the nation's approximately 14,000 AM, FM commercial, FM noncommercial educational, and FM translator and booster stations. These applications include station modification applications, applications for new stations, assignment or transfer applications, license applications, and renewal applications.

Since the 1996 Telecommunications Act, radio and television stations are licensed for eight years (into the 1980s, the standard term was only three). Licensees are obligated to comply with statutes, rules, and policies relating to program content, such as identifying sponsors of material that is broadcast. The bureau ensures that licensees make available equal opportunities for use of broadcast facilities by political candidates or

opposing political candidates, station identification, and identification of recorded programs or program segments. Licensees who have violated FCC rules, and most especially licensees who have “misrepresented” themselves, are subject to such sanctions as forfeitures (fines), short-term renewals, or (rarely) license revocation.

Other FCC offices are established by the commission as organizational tools for handling the tremendous variety of commission tasks. The current FCC offices are Administrative Law Judges, Communication Business Opportunities, Engineering and Technology, General Counsel, Inspector General, Legislative Affairs, Managing Director, Media Relations, Plans and Policy, and Workplace Diversity.

In its attempt to carry out the wishes of Congress as expressed in the Communications Act, the FCC creates or deletes rules. Proposals for new rules come from a variety of sources both within and outside the commission. To begin assessing a new service or proposal on which it has little information, the commission may issue a Notice of Inquiry (NOI) seeking advice and answers to specific questions. If the FCC plans a new rule, it first issues a Notice of Proposed Rule Making (NPRM). The NPRM gives formal notice that the FCC is considering a rule and provides a required length of time during which the commission must allow public comments. After sufficient comment and discussion, new rules are adopted in FCC Reports and Orders and are published in its own official report series, the *FCC Record*, as well as in the government’s daily *Federal Register*. The rules are collected annually into Title 47 of the Code of Federal Regulations.

Licensing

Without a doubt, the greatest power of the FCC is its power to license or not license a station. Since its inception, the commission has modified its rules and procedures for determining the manner in which it grants licenses. In keeping with the directive of the Communications Act, the FCC has always licensed stations to operate “in the public interest, convenience, and necessity.” The specific manner in which it has made determinations about individual licensees, however, has undergone changes. For decades, the FCC would examine all applicants for a license to determine which would best serve the public interest, considering a range of characteristics, including preferences for local ownership, minority ownership, experienced ownership, and the character of the owners. Even a station that had been in operation for years faced the prospect of losing its license to a superior applicant in a renewal proceeding. The FCC had to conduct time-consuming and expensive comparative hearings whenever two or more applicants sought the same frequency.

The FCC and the broadcast industry have long been critical of the comparative process, which was largely eliminated by

the 1996 Telecommunications Act. Now, existing stations have an expectation of license renewal, provided they have not violated important commission rules. The FCC does not allow a new challenger to draw an existing station that has served the public interest into a comparative process. To avoid comparative hearings in the case of new stations, the FCC in 1999 adopted an auction process similar to what it had used earlier for other nonbroadcast frequencies. Rather than spend months (sometimes years) in comparative hearings, the FCC instead determines whether applicants meet minimum eligibility requirements. If they do, the applicants can then bid for new, available stations or purchase existing outlets.

The FCC does not monitor the broadcasts of radio and television stations. It relies on information provided to it by broadcasters, competitors, and audiences. Determinations about whether a station deserves to have its license renewed are based on documents filed by the station, any public comments the commission receives about that station, and challenges to the renewal by interested parties.

The commission is able to enforce regulations primarily through the *threat* of license action. The majority of license renewals are granted with no disciplinary action by the FCC. However, should the commission find rules violations by a licensee, its actions can range from a letter admonishing a station to fines of up to \$250,000 and a short-term renewal of the license, and even to the revocation of a license. It is the threat of this action that keeps broadcasters in compliance.

The FCC has the ultimate authority to revoke a station’s license or deny its renewal, although that action has rarely been taken. In more than 60 years, the FCC has taken this action only 147 times: an average of fewer than three per year out of thousands of license renewals. More than one-third of those revocations and nonrenewals were due to misrepresentations to the commission. Although such cases have been infrequent, the FCC has acted severely in cases where licensees have intentionally lied.

In 1998, the FCC revoked the license for Bay City, Texas, station KFCC because the owner “engaged in a pattern of outright falsehoods, evasiveness, and deception.” Chameleon Radio Corporation had been awarded a license to serve Bay City, but it attempted to move the transmitter closer to Houston, to the extent that Bay City would not even be served by the station. The FCC cited the station for repeated misrepresentations and lack of candor. Chameleon attempted to argue that the merit of its programming should protect it from revocation. The FCC responded that “meritorious programming does not mitigate serious deliberate misconduct such as misrepresentation.” Also that year, licenses were revoked for seven stations in Missouri and Indiana that were owned by Michael Rice through three different corporations. Rice was convicted of 12 felonies involving sexual assaults of children. The FCC was prepared to allow the corporations to continue

their ownership of the stations after their assertion that Rice would not be involved in station operation. The commission revoked the licenses on a finding that Rice was in fact involved in station operation and that “misrepresentations and lack of candor regarding his role at the stations” was cause for revocation.

Despite all the powers given to the FCC, the 1934 Communications Act specifically states that the commission may not censor the content of broadcasts. According to Section 326, “Nothing in this Act shall be understood or construed to give this Commission the power of censorship over the radio communications or signals transmitted by any radio station.” Nevertheless, the FCC’s reprimands and fines of stations for broadcasting indecent material at inappropriate times have been upheld by the Supreme Court. The FCC acknowledges its obligation to stay out of content decisions in most areas. The commission has declined to base license decisions on the proposed format of a radio station, and it no longer stipulates the amount of time stations should devote to public service announcements.

Spectrum Management

The FCC also has the important responsibility of managing all users (except the federal government) of the electromagnetic spectrum. This involves two processes. First, the FCC must allocate different uses for different parts of the spectrum in an efficient way that does not create interference. This is followed by the allotment of specific frequencies or channels to particular areas. Licensing of the allotments follows. (AM does not have allotments.) There have been two significant spectrum reallocations affecting radio. In 1945 the FCC moved FM’s allocation from 42 to 50 megahertz up to its current location at 88 to 108 megahertz, more than doubling the available channels but rendering the existing FM receivers and transmitters obsolete. In 1979 the upper end of the AM band moved from 1605 kilohertz to 1705 kilohertz to accommodate ten additional AM channels—a change that took years to implement (the first stations shifted to the new higher frequencies only moved in the 1990s).

A second part of maintaining spectrum efficiency is approving equipment that uses the electromagnetic spectrum. The FCC must be certain that all devices emitting electromagnetic signals do so within their prescribed limits. “Type acceptance” is the FCC process of approving equipment that emits electromagnetic radio waves. In most cases, the evidence for type acceptance is provided by the equipment’s manufacturer, who provides a written application with a complete technical

description of the product and a test report showing compliance with the technical requirements. An FCC identification number can be found on the backs of telephones, walkie-talkies, pagers, and even microwave ovens. The number does not imply that the FCC has inspected that particular unit but rather that the product meets certain FCC minimal standards designed to avoid interference.

Policy is sometimes the result of *inaction* by the FCC. For years, the commission was faced with what to do about AM stereo. Rather than choosing a standard from among competing applicants, the FCC adopted in 1982 a marketplace philosophy to allow a winner to emerge from marketplace decisions rather than their own. Many broadcasters believe the introduction of AM stereo was negatively affected by the commission’s “decision not to decide.” Some stations were reluctant to invest in AM stereo equipment, fearing they might select the losing standard and then lose thousands of dollars. Radio receiver manufacturers had the same concern. The FCC’s decision “not to decide” virtually killed any chance for AM stereo.

DOM CARISTI

See also Blue Book; Communications Act of 1934; Deregulation of Radio; Equal Time Rule; Fairness Doctrine; Federal Radio Commission; Frequency Allocation; Licensing; Public Interest, Convenience, or Necessity; Regulation; Stereo; Telecommunications Act of 1996; United States Congress and Radio

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Federal Radio Commission

Predecessor to the Federal Communications Commission

The first agency created in the United States specifically to license and regulate radio, the Federal Radio Commission (FRC) existed from 1927 to 1934. During that time, the FRC was responsible not only for licensing radio stations in the United States, but also for laying the regulatory foundation that to some extent still exists today.

Origins

The United States passed the Radio Act in 1912, which provided authorization for licensing of radio stations. It was not until 1920, however, that the secretary of commerce began to exercise this authority. Congress had decided to empower the secretary of commerce because radio was seen as interstate commerce: thus, the Department of Commerce was the logical choice to handle the authorization of these new radio stations.

It did not take long to realize that radio licensing and regulation was a much larger task than could be handled by the secretary of commerce in addition to his regular duties. At the First National Radio Conference in Washington, D.C., in 1922, government officials and amateur and commercial radio operators met to discuss problems facing the infant industry. A technical committee's report resulted in the introduction of legislation in 1923, but it never got out of Senate committee.

At the Second National Radio Conference in 1923, many of the same problems were revisited, most notably concerns about interference. Because interference was greatest in places with the most transmitters (population centers) and less of a problem in remote areas, a recommendation emerged from the conference that the nation be divided into zones and that different rules be established for different zones based on their own specific needs. Again, legislation was introduced into Congress, but it never advanced beyond committee. A third national conference in 1924 produced no legislation either. Finally, the Fourth National Radio Conference in 1925 produced the proposals that would lead to the Radio Act of 1927.

During all this time, the secretary of commerce continued to license radio stations. The difficulty came when secretary Herbert Hoover attempted to *not* license a station. In 1923 Intercity Radio applied for a renewal of its license. The request was denied based on a determination that there was no longer spectrum space available. Intercity appealed the case, and the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals ruled in their favor. According to the court, the 1912 Act authorized the secretary of commerce to grant licenses: it did not grant the authority to deny them. In the court's judgment, the secretary of commerce had to accom-

modate applicants by finding them spectrum space that would cause the least amount of interference.

The secretary's authority was further undermined in a 1926 court decision. Zenith Radio had been operating a station in Denver with a prescribed allocation limiting it to two hours of broadcasts per week. The station challenged the authorization by using other frequencies not specifically allocated to it. When secretary of commerce Herbert Hoover filed suit against Zenith, the court ruled that Zenith was within its rights, citing a section of the Radio Act that allowed stations to use "other sending wave lengths." For all intents and purposes, such a decision authorized any licensed station to operate on virtually any frequency in addition to the one allocated.

The result of the two court cases was devastating to the secretary of commerce's assumed authority to regulate radio stations. Following the decision in the Zenith case, the secretary sent a letter to the U.S. Attorney General requesting an opinion on the authority vested in the secretary of commerce by the Radio Act. The attorney general's response only reinforced what the courts had already decided. The interpretation of the Radio Act of 1912 was that licensed stations could use virtually any frequency they wanted, at whatever times and using whatever transmitting power they wanted. With the secretary's authority eviscerated, President Calvin Coolidge asked Congress to create new legislation. With the president's endorsement, legislation that had been proposed as a result of the 1925 National Radio Conference moved swiftly through Congress, and the Radio Act of 1927 was signed into law by President Coolidge on 23 February 1927.

Initial Tasks

Central to the 1927 Act was the establishment of the FRC. Instead of having one person overseeing licensing and regulation of radio, a commission of five people appointed by the president and approved by the Senate would handle the duties. Perhaps influenced by the thinking that different geographic regions would have different needs, commissioners were to represent those different regions. When it passed the Radio Act of 1927, Congress naively believed that the FRC would need to act for only one year to straighten out all the confusion in radio regulation and licensing. After that, things would be well enough established that the agency could serve only as an appellate board for actions by the secretary of commerce. W. Jefferson Davis wrote in the *Virginia Law Review* that after the first year, "the Secretary of Commerce will handle most of the problems that arise, and the Commission will probably

function only occasionally.” Clearly, that was not to be the case. The FRC’s authority was made permanent in 1930 and was extended until 1934, when it was replaced by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC).

The FRC got off to what was at best a shaky start, as Congress had not financed it. The FRC came into existence without an appropriation from Congress. The original commissioners were required to do their own clerical work, and engineers had to be “borrowed” from other agencies for several years. Furthermore, Congress confirmed only three of the five nominees from President Coolidge in the first year. Two of the five appointees died during the Commission’s first year. Only one of the original FRC members, Judge Eugene O. Sykes, was still serving just two years later. In spite of these difficulties, the FRC was able to dramatically advance the nation’s radio regulatory policy in its eight years of existence, at a crucial time for the development of commercial radio. Even the publication *Radio News* recognized the enormity of the FRC’s task and the efficiency with which it worked. In November 1929, the publication stated,

Not in the history of federal bureaus has any commission ever been called upon to perform so great a task in so short a span of time. The already overloaded departments of the federal government could not have treated with radio problems on this scale without a great increase in personnel and what would have been tantamount to the setting up of a radio commission within the department to which it might have been assigned. By its segregation and absolute independence, radio has been regulated and its major problems have been solved without handicapping any other federal bureau (“Public Interest, Convenience and Necessity,” in *Radio News* [November 1929]).

The Radio Act of 1927 empowered the FRC with the authority and regulatory discretion that the secretary of commerce had lacked under the Radio Act of 1912. The new act specifically granted the FRC authority to license stations for a limited period of time; to designate specific frequencies, power, and times of operation of stations; to conduct hearings and serve as a quasi-judicial body; and to deny a license or to revoke an existing license. All of these powers had been denied the secretary of commerce.

Legal Challenges

It did not take long for the FRC’s enforcement authority to be legally challenged. Technical Radio Laboratory sought a license renewal for its station in Midland Park, New Jersey, and was denied by the FRC because there was not adequate spectrum available. Whereas Intercity had successfully chal-

lenged denial of its renewal request, Technical Radio Laboratory was not so fortunate, because the courts found that the FRC was within its authority. Dozens of other cases would follow, with similar results. Congress had taken the appropriate steps to provide the FRC with licensing authority.

According to the Radio Act, the FRC’s jurisdiction was based on Congress’ authority to regulate interstate commerce. Thus, radio stations that did not transmit across a state line might not have to be regulated by them. In theory, at least, radio stations involved only in intrastate commerce rather than interstate commerce were not subject to federal jurisdiction. Just such an assertion was made in the case of *United States v Gregg*. An unlicensed Houston station challenged the FRC’s authority, claiming that its signal was not interstate commerce. The court accepted the FRC’s argument that it had to have authority over all transmissions, even those that did not cross state lines, because otherwise it could not control the interference that might affect other, regulated stations. Leery of raising questions of states’ rights, Congress had avoided the issue in the Radio Act of 1927. In 1933 the court extended FRC authority to cover all radio transmissions.

For the most part, the FRC fared quite well in challenges to its regulatory authority. To be sure, there were cases that the FRC did not win, but it certainly won many more than it lost. The Commission’s ability to exercise regulatory authority over the broadcast spectrum became greater with each legal decision. In two highly visible cases, the FRC was able to deny license renewals for stations that had not acted in the public interest. In 1931 the court upheld the FRC in denying a renewal to Dr. John R. Brinkley’s station, KFKB (Brinkley had been using his station to prescribe medications). Brinkley claimed that the FRC had no authority to censor him. The court held that the FRC was not engaging in censorship by examining the record to determine if a licensee had acted in the public interest. The following year, Dr. Robert Schuler of Trinity Methodist Church appealed the denial of his station license, KGEF, claiming that his free speech rights had been violated. The court rejected that argument on the premise that the Commission was not preventing Schuler from making his vitriolic comments. As with Brinkley, the FRC could use his past record as an indication of how he would serve the public interest.

Defining the Public Interest

Included in the Radio Act of 1927 was the stipulation that the FRC would act “as public convenience, interest, or necessity requires.” Likewise, stations were to be licensed to serve the same public interest, convenience, and necessity. Congress borrowed the language from other legislation regulating public utilities. This vague directive from Congress served as the guiding philosophy for the FRC. In one action in 1928, the FRC

denied 62 license renewals and modified the operations of dozens more. A month later, the FRC issued a statement to explain its interpretation of the public interest standard and how it was to be applied. As the FRC pointed out in its statement, "no attempt is made anywhere in the act to define the term 'public interest, convenience, or necessity,' nor is any illustration given of its proper application" (FRC annual report, 166 [1928]). While asserting that a specific definition was neither possible nor desirable, the FRC set forth some general principles regarding the public interest. Perhaps most illustrative of all is the concluding sentence from the FRC's statement: "The emphasis must be first and foremost on the interest, the convenience, and the necessity of the listening public, and not on the interest, convenience, or necessity of the individual broadcaster or the advertiser." The language mirrors the sentiment of Rep. Wallace H. White, cosponsor of the bill that became the Radio Act of 1927, who said:

We have reached the definite conclusion that the right of our people to enjoy this means of communication can be preserved only by the repudiation of the idea underlying the 1912 law that anyone who will may transmit—and by the assertion in its stead of the doctrine that the right of the public to service is superior to the right of any individual to use the ether (67th Cong. Rec. 5479 [1926]).

The FRC determined that the public interest is served by having a "substantial band of frequencies set aside for the exclusive use of broadcasting stations and the radio listening public." It also adopted the general premise that the greatest good is served by minimizing interference. It follows from this that denying licenses in order to prevent interference, detrimental though it may be to some prospective broadcasters, serves the greatest good. The commission stated its intent to use the past record of a licensee to determine whether that station is deserving of a license. The reliability of a station's transmissions were also to be considered. Stations that could not be relied upon to transmit at regularly scheduled, announced times or whose transmission frequencies wandered around the spectrum did not serve the public interest. More than 70 years later, these interpretations of serving the public interest are still considered valid.

Also included in the 1928 statement on the public interest was the principle that stations should operate at different classes of service in order to ensure that there would be some stations serving larger geographic areas, while other stations served only small communities. This coincided with Congress' view, which had been stated earlier that same year when the Radio Act of 1927 was amended by the Davis Amendment in 1928. In addition to extending the FRC's authorization beyond its original year, the amendment directed the FRC to devise a

scheme for providing equitable radio services in all zones of the country. One week following the FRC's statement on the public interest, it issued a plan for providing different classes of radio service. Each of the nation's zones would have an equal number of channels assigned as clear channels, regional channels, and local channels. Clear channels were designated to be high-power stations audible at a distance, whereas regional and local channels had decreasing coverage areas. Eight clear channels, seven regional channels, and six local channels were assigned to each of the five zones. The FRC's basic concept of clear, regional, and local channels remained in force more than six decades later.

One of the public-interest principles established by the FRC that did not continue with the FCC was the concept that licenses should not be provided to stations that offer services that duplicate those already available. The FRC stated that simply playing phonograph records on the air does not provide the listening public with anything that it cannot otherwise obtain. The FRC would have maintained a licensing scheme that would compare the programming intentions of the applicants. It can also be inferred that the FRC did not favor licensing stations whose formats mirrored those of stations already in the community. Based on today's radio business, that policy clearly did not survive

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See also Brinkley, John R.; Censorship; Clear Channels; Controversial Issues; First Amendment and Radio; Frequency Allocation; Hoover, Herbert; Licensing; Localism in Radio; Public Interest, Convenience, or Necessity; Regulation; United States Congress and Radio; White, Wallace H.; Wireless Acts of 1910 and 1912/Radio Acts of 1912 and 1927

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Female Radio Personalities and Disk Jockeys

Radio's female pioneers, although limited by the social conventions of the times, were quite successful in the early days of radio. Since radio's inception, female personalities have sometimes been limited by legal, economic, and social constraints, as well as by their own perceptions of what is expected of them by listeners and the industry. As radio became more established, women had less formalized input into programming decisions, yet they have had a significant impact on the radio industry. Indeed, a congressional study in the early 1990s concluded that women-owned radio stations were 20 percent more likely to air women's programming than male-owned stations were and 30 percent more likely than non-minority-owned stations were (see Halonen, 1992).

Donna Halper (2001) is one of the few radio historians to track the lives of the early female pioneers: Eunice Randall, Emilie Sturtevant, Marie Zimmerman, Eleanor Poehler, and Halloween Martin. Randall made her radio debut in 1918 and became one of the nation's first female announcers. Sturtevant was one of Boston's first radio programmers in the 1920s. Zimmerman and Poehler were two of the first female radio station managers. The first woman to command Chicago morning radio in the 1920s was Halloween Martin, long before programmers realized the importance of that time slot.

Soap and Sisterhood

By the 1940s, female talk show hosts became popular role models for their female listeners, who sought advice on children, relationships, and detergents, as well as a bit of celebrity gossip and companionship. Television, ironically, seemed to supply an abundant pool of female hosts to the radio networks. While many female listeners tuned to Mary Margaret McBride and Kate Smith, others enjoyed the popular soap operas. The success of female radio personalities was often evaluated in terms of their ability to move merchandise.

By 1954, as the industry's reliance on the radio networks declined, female disc jockeys (although merely a handful

across the nation) began to redefine their role in radio. Martha Jean "The Queen" Steinberg was one of the first women in the nation to make the leap from being hostess of a homemaker show to being a rhythm-and-blues disc jockey on Memphis' legendary WDIA-AM. Also across Memphis airwaves, WHER-AM became the first all-girl radio station in the U.S. in 1955. Many of the disc jockeys remained at the station through 1972. WHER was the brainchild of station owner and record producer Sam Phillips. Apart from these exceptions, however, radio disc jockeys were predominantly white and male. With the emergence of rock and roll, these men attempted to out-shock their competitors in the quest for the most listeners, and in the process, they gained power and control over music selection and programming. Women faded behind the scenes for the next decade.

Sexpot Radio

In the mid-1960s, New York's WNEW-FM created "Sexpot Radio," an all-female lineup of disc jockeys. From this experiment, which lasted only 18 months, Alison Steele became known as the "Nightbird." Her legendary sultry voice captivated night audiences as she read poetic and Biblical verses in between music and interviews with rock stars. Steele, who died in 1995, was a member of the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame and the first woman to receive *Billboard Magazine's* FM Personality of the Year award in 1976. Unlike Steele, many women entered radio in the 1970s as part-time reporters and weekend announcers—after women's groups pressured the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to revise its affirmative action policies. With free-form FM radio giving way to increasingly segmented formatting, women were often defined, not by their individuality, but within the context of a male-dominated morning show.

Before the turn of the decade, another radio station would once again provide new opportunities for women. Like WHER, it had a female staff and male owner. Connecticut's

WOMN-AM debuted in January 1979. It aired several news stories about women and played numerous female artists throughout the day. The short-lived effort paved the way for less stereotypical advertisements and created a demand for more female artists by radio stations across the nation.

Strong Talk in the 1980s

Music-oriented stations decreased their news and public service commitments and increased the number of songs played per hour. Still, there were signs that “chick” talk would become a valuable commodity in the industry in the years ahead. By the late 1970s, Sally Jessy Raphael had established herself as a popular radio talk show host, broadcasting her advice on love, family, and relationships to a late-night audience at a time when talk radio began to boom. Concurrently, television talk shows began to attract large female audiences away from radio. With every station playing the same songs, personality once again became an integral part of the programming mix.

Strong female personalities, such as Washington, D.C.’s Robin Breedon, soared in their ratings, past their white male competitors. With a decade of television broadcast experience and a degree from Howard University, Breedon became the number-one Arbitron-ranked morning personality in D.C. She proved that many listeners were seeking personalities with compassion and community commitment. *The Washington Post* referred to her as the “Queen of Radio.” During her ten-year radio stint, she won seven Emmy nominations and two American Women in Radio and Television National Awards; then-Mayor Sharon Pratt-Kelly even proclaimed a day named in her honor. Breedon left radio in 1998.

By 1988 Howard Stern was on his way to becoming a national icon. Robin Quivers, Stern’s articulate sidekick, became a dominant part of what was becoming known as “shock radio.” As early as the 1980s, many women entered radio as sidekicks who typically read the morning headlines and provided a laugh track for male-dominated morning shows. In some cases, these women also became the targets of sexist jokes told by male hosts.

The Rise of the Shockette Jock

The real revolution was happening in Rhode Island. Carolyn Fox, Providence’s number-one afternoon personality, spouted her liberal views on everything from sex to politics—before Howard Stern even gained national prominence. Fox paved the way for a number of women, such as San Francisco’s Darian O’Toole, Austin’s Sara Trexler, Denver’s Caroline Corley, and Detroit’s Kelly Walker, who became the new shock jocks of the 1990s. Many of these women began their careers as sidekicks or night personalities. Trexler, who began her career in 1986,

was selected as *Billboard Magazine’s* Small Market Local Air Personality of the Year in 1999. Emulating their male predecessors, many of these shock jockettes featured the same type of locker-room humor, but from a female perspective.

Karin Begin (a.k.a. Darian O’Toole) has been billed as America’s First Shockette. Although Carolyn Fox is her predecessor by more than a decade, the press and the radio industry has portrayed Begin as an American trailblazer for female radio broadcasters. Begin was born and raised in Nova Scotia and worked at a number of small Canadian markets before landing in the United States.

The turning point in her radio career came when she met Program Director Shawn Kelly, a big Howard Stern fan, who encouraged Begin to seek opportunities in the United States. Some of her early gigs included on-air stints in New Jersey, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Sacramento. In San Francisco, she would become known as Darian O’Toole—the “Caustic Canadian Swamp Witch.” Her morning show skyrocketed to number one in San Francisco, climbing from 23rd to 1st place in the market in only three years. She left San Francisco’s KBIG in 1997 to take her show to New York. In September 1999 she returned to San Francisco to work at KSAN.

Alternate Models for Female Personalities

The ability to move merchandise, whether soap or soda, will always remain an essential part of commercial radio, for obvious reasons. With every product sold on radio, early female broadcasters knew that their bargaining power would increase tenfold. Some commercial gimmicks to market the female experience, such as the rise and fall of “Sexpot Radio” or the all-women radio station WOMN, have quickly failed within the past 40 years. On the other hand, the Seattle-based syndicated nighttime personality Delilah, a 25-year veteran, is taking a new spin on an old formula—a mix of advice and inspiration to a predominantly female audience, with listeners calling in to her show from more than 200 affiliates around the nation. Reminiscent of Casey Kasem’s long-distance dedications, but a bit more personal, she is very much like Mary Margaret McBride in her desire to chat about love, family, and relationships. In October 1998, she announced her pregnancy and promised to share her experience with her listeners. Many American listeners seem comforted by female radio personalities who symbolize traditional family values. Dr. Laura Schlessinger, a controversial conservative talk show host in the 1990s, starts her weekday show by saying “I’m my kid’s mom.” In the final analysis, there has never been one personality style that has worked for all female broadcasters; rather, the means of success has been their ability to connect to the listeners—both men and women—in some unique way.

See also American Women in Radio and Television; Association for Women in Communication; McBride, Mary Margaret; WHER; Women in Radio

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Fessenden, Reginald 1866–1932

Canadian Electrical Engineer and Wireless Inventor

Reginald A. Fessenden was a seminal figure in the development of wireless telephony technology, the first important North American inventor to experiment with the wireless telephone, the immediate precursor of radio. Born in Canada, he undertook his most important inventive work in the United States, including the development of continuous-wave transmission and heterodyne principals (he was granted 229 U.S. patents from 1891 to 1936), and he conducted what was probably the world's first broadcast.

Origins

Fessenden was born in 1866 in what would become the Canadian province of Quebec, the first of four sons of an Episcopalian minister. His parents supported his drive for education, and he excelled in school, especially in math and science, earning an invitation from his father's alma mater, Bishop's College, to teach math and languages, although because of doing so, he never completed his own degree work. While teaching, he became increasingly fascinated with the scientific journals of the time, focusing especially on developments in electricity. He continued his teaching at a secondary education institute in Bermuda for another year or so.

There were several key turning points in Fessenden's professional life, and the first came in 1886 when he decided to leave secondary (high school) teaching and become involved more

directly in the field of electrical engineering, in which he was largely self-taught. He began as a field tester with Thomas Edison's company, which was then wiring the streets of New York City. Within a year he was working in power engineering at Edison's New Jersey laboratory, a post he held for nearly three years, from 1887 to 1890. Here he learned by observation the importance of patents and the scientific method—but apparently not the importance of the market or of the process of successful innovation. He was increasingly attracted to the study of Hertzian waves, reading laboratory journals in his spare time. Financial problems at the labs led to layoffs of many workers, including Fessenden. His practical experience in electricity continued as an electrical assistant at the Westinghouse subsidiary, the United States Company, in 1890. Just a year later, in 1891, he joined the Stanley Company of Pittsfield, Massachusetts.

Though he lacked academic credentials, Fessenden had by the early 1890s already published in respected journals. Based on his record, he was named a professor of electrical engineering at Purdue University in 1892, an institution then striving to develop a reputation in this field. After a year at Purdue, in 1893 Fessenden accepted an offer to move to the University of Western Pennsylvania (later the University of Pittsburgh) to occupy a new chair of electrical engineering. Half of his salary was paid by Westinghouse, which hoped to make use of Fessenden for its own research needs (he undertook incandescent

lamp work for the company). While at Western, Fessenden increasingly concentrated his own research on wireless telegraphy technology and applications.

Building on the work of Nikola Tesla and other pioneers, Fessenden by about 1900 had come to a fundamental conclusion: for effective wireless *voice* transmission, the generation of continuous wireless waves was required, not the dot-dash-friendly spark-gap technology that was then the Marconi standard for wireless telegraphy. This new system would require development of new means of both signal transmission and detection. Fessenden focused first on developing a new type of wireless detector to replace the crude Branly coherer (then widely used in wireless telegraphy, as it was a central piece of the Marconi system which dominated wireless).

Fessenden's second important career change came in 1900 when he was persuaded to resign the relative comfort and security of his tenured university post with the enticement of government support for his expanding research. He began what would be his most historically important decade (1900–11) with a contract to work as a special agent with the U.S. Weather Bureau, then a part of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. The bureau wanted him to develop wireless applications for weather forecasting and dissemination of weather reports. In April 1900 he began work for the Bureau at Cobb Island, Maryland, south of Washington, D.C.

By the middle of the year, he had sent the human voice by wireless to stations a mile apart at Rock Point, Maryland, though the signals were very noisy using the spark-gap technology of the period. For his bureau-supported work, he developed further transmitters at Cape Hatteras, Roanoke Island, and Cape Henry—and sent voice and music signals among those stations as well. For a while, the bureau's support of his experimentation seemed to be all that he expected, but arguments soon arose over rights to his prior patents as well as rights to patents growing out of bureau-supported work. Finally, in August 1902, Fessenden left the bureau's employ (before they let him go), the immediate cause being his interest in forming a commercial company to exploit his work in wireless telephony. The negative feelings that ended the Weather Bureau contract offered a bad omen for his future working relationships.

Improving Wireless Systems

An invaluable Fessenden contribution in this period was his discovery of the *heterodyne* principal (drawing on his Greek language training, the word refers to the mixing of two forces) in 1901. Not well understood at first—because the inventor was probably a decade ahead of what technology could accomplish—the principal would eventually lead to great improvements in both receiver sensitivity and static control. This allowed sending and receiving of signals from the same

antenna with no interference between the two functions. The heterodyne principal has remained central to radio ever since.

Seeking to develop the transmission side of his new wireless system, Fessenden conceived of the “alternator” to obtain the continuous alternating current waves he needed. After Westinghouse turned down his order, in 1901 Fessenden turned to General Electric (GE) to build his first alternator, a contract supervised by GE's brilliant Charles Steinmetz. Less capable than he sought, the resulting device was tested later that year, though it was only delivered to him in March 1903. The 10,000-cycle machine owed some of its design and principals to power-generation equipment. But Fessenden sought a 100,000-cycle machine that could serve as a transmitter on its own. With Fessenden's order to GE for such a device—which really pushed the margins of what could then be accomplished—a new player entered the story when engineer Ernst Alexanderson became involved. Though he and Fessenden would argue over a key aspect of the device (whether its core should be wooden or iron—Fessenden holding out for the former), they otherwise worked well together, and by 1906 an 80,000-cycle machine was delivered to the inventor's Brant Rock, Massachusetts, transmitter site, just south of Boston. It would soon be utilized in a pioneering experiment.

In an era when there was no means of amplifying often weak wireless signals, Fessenden by 1903 had developed a new means of detecting signals for his new system, a replacement for the then-standard iron-filing-based coherer. Fessenden's “liquid barretter” or electrolytic detector was a complex device that nonetheless proved faster and more reliable and used less energy than the coherer; in addition, operators could use headphones to hear the signals rather than reading them on a tape. The barretter was soon widely adopted (Fessenden's patent rights being largely ignored by both other inventors—chiefly Lee de Forest—and users, especially the U.S. Navy). It became something of a standard in the field until it was replaced by vacuum tubes just before World War I.

The National Electric Signaling Company

At this creative peak of his radio work, Fessenden entered into agreement with two Pittsburgh investors to financially support his continuing invention and testing process. In November 1902 bankers Hay Walker Jr. and Thomas H. Given agreed to fund the formation and operation of the National Electric Signaling Company (NESCO) in order to develop and market a wireless system that they then hoped to sell. Unlike many other fledgling wireless companies of the time, there was no public stock sale—Given and Walker provided all the financial support, a few thousand dollars at first and eventually a total of nearly \$2.5 million (nearly \$50 million at 2003 values). Fessenden was general manager. Almost immediately, tensions, and eventually out-and-out battles, developed

between the investors (who knew virtually nothing about radio technology but understandably sought a return on their funds) and the inventor (who held the technical knowledge but was becoming increasingly difficult to work with). From the beginning, NESCO focused on constantly changing short-term strategies as the partners bickered and fought. There was never an agreed-upon strategic plan for the firm, along the lines that Marconi was so successfully demonstrating at the same period. For example, Fessenden wanted to sell equipment, whereas his backers wanted to develop and market a complete wireless system.

NESCO transmitting stations were built in Washington, New York (Brooklyn), and Philadelphia (in nearby Collingswood, New Jersey) that were designed to provide overland communication in competition with existing wired systems. Despite considerable investment, wireless was still developing and often proved unworkable; not surprisingly, few customers materialized. Under a 1904 contract with GE, NESCO developed further transmitters in Lynn, Massachusetts, and Schenectady, New York, but the contract was cancelled in mid-1905 because of poor performance between transmitters. Faced with this failure, late in 1904, a shift in company priorities saw the partners seeking to develop a transatlantic radio service in competition with Marconi. At the same time, and against Fessenden's advice and pleas, NESCO stopped selling equipment. Transmitting stations were built in Scotland and in Brant Rock, Massachusetts, south of Boston. But they provided only sporadic communications—and almost none in the summer because of atmospheric static. By May 1906 Given and Walker had invested over half a million dollars, with precious little to show for it. That December a storm destroyed the Scottish station, effectively ending NESCO's transatlantic dreams. That, in turn, set the stage for one of Fessenden's most famous accomplishments.

With three days notice to shipowners using Fessenden equipment off the Massachusetts coast, on Christmas Eve of 1906 Fessenden offered what many consider the world's first true radio "broadcast"—a clear (not coded) voice and music transmission intended for widespread reception. Using his new and larger alternator, and with the inventor acting as "announcer," records were played, and Fessenden sang, played the violin, and even made a speech. All of this was repeated a week later on New Year's Eve. Fessenden was not seeking to *broadcast* as we think of the term today, but rather sought an improved means of competition with point-to-point wireline carriers. Unfortunately, his continuing pattern of claiming more for his system than it could in fact accomplish began to hurt. Further, because there was no press coverage (newspapers had not been invited to the experimental transmissions), few knew of the seeming wireless telephony breakthrough.

Radio telephony transmissions required more power and usually did not reach as far as radio telegraphy. But despite this

limitation, there seemed to be obvious applications of wireless to the telephone business. In early 1907 Given and Walker made a concerted effort to interest American Telephone and Telegraph (AT&T) in taking over NESCO, and initially their efforts seemed to bear fruit. Both AT&T engineers and top company management were favorably disposed to the idea. However, a financial panic in 1907 led to a change in AT&T management as the J.P. Morgan interests took over, and a major retrenchment took place. Any thoughts of investing in a still largely unproven technology were forgotten. This failure to sell NESCO to AT&T was a major setback and led to increased disagreements between Fessenden and his backers—he again wanted to sell equipment, and they wanted to sell the whole firm.

For a time things looked up with the hiring of Colonel John Firth as the accomplished sales manager NESCO desperately needed. The company resumed equipment sales, thanks to his good relations with navy officials and others, and he also helped to mediate between Fessenden and his two Pittsburgh financial backers. At the same time, however, NESCO scaled down with layoffs and reduced experimental work.

Frustrated with the constant bickering and continued lack of a focused company strategy, Fessenden revived plans to compete with Marconi in transatlantic communication, and toward that end he set up an independent company, Fessenden Wireless Company of Canada, without informing or involving Given and Walker. This led to a break between Fessenden and the backers late in 1910 (because Given and Walker felt they owned the patents in question). In January 1911 Given and Walker dismissed Fessenden from the company. He, in turn, sued for wrongful termination. Some 15 years of litigation followed.

Later Life

NESCO was placed in voluntary receivership to protect it from the inventors' suit (Fessenden eventually won a judgment of several thousand dollars), though research continued with about a dozen engineers. What was most ironic about Fessenden's departure and the demise of NESCO is that by 1911–12, the radio industry had begun to agree on the need to develop continuous-wave equipment for voice transmissions. No longer a part of NESCO, Fessenden was increasingly bypassed, due in no small part to his choleric temper, impatience, and maddening ego.

NESCO entered into a cross-licensing agreement with the Marconi interests after suits for patent violation had been brought. Finally, in 1917, after both Given and Walker had died, NESCO was sold to the International Radio Telegraph Company, which in 1920 fell to Westinghouse (and the patent rights of which were, in turn, transferred to the Radio Corporation of America [RCA] in 1921).

Fessenden's post-NESCO radio work was with the Submarine Signal Company of Boston. Beginning in 1912, he sought to improve underwater signal transmission and reception with what became known as the Fessenden Oscillator, a device also useful in detection of icebergs at sea; a wireless compass; and a fathometer or sonic depth finder. By the time he left Submarine Signal in 1921, however, Fessenden was largely through with radio innovation. In 1921 he received the gold medal of the Institute of Radio Engineers, and later he received the John Scott medal from Philadelphia for his development of continuous-wave wireless. In 1929 he received the Scientific American medal for his inventions concerning safety at sea.

Fessenden was clearly a visionary ("technically farsighted" says historian Susan Douglas, 1987) who sought to pioneer new approaches and systems, often at the margins of practicality of existing electrical capability. But unlike Marconi, Fessenden was totally unfit for marketing and presenting a public persona that would encourage investment. Frustration had helped to make him a very difficult man with whom to deal. He was variously reported as being short-tempered, impatient, intolerant, vain, and a man who rarely listened to others (for example, when he wrongly insisted on a wooden core for the alternator, relenting only when Alexanderson demonstrated the benefit of iron). He drove away many subordinates with his harsh treatment.

As with many radio pioneers, Fessenden proved to be important at pioneering (invention)—in particular at understanding the need for continuous-wave transmission, conceiving the alternator, and defining the heterodyne principal—but a relative failure at developing commercially successful innovations from any of these.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Alexanderson, E.F.W.; De Forest, Lee; Hertz, Heinrich; Marconi, Guglielmo

Reginald A. Fessenden. Born in East Bolton, Canada East (now Quebec), 6 October 1866. Oldest of four sons of Elisha Joseph Fessenden, an Episcopal minister, and Clementina Trenholme; moved to Niagara Falls, Ontario, 1875; attended De Veaux Military College, New York, 1875–77; attended Trinity College School, Port Hope, Ontario, 1877; worked for two years at Imperial Bank, Woodstock, New York; senior classical master, Bishop's College, Lennoxville, Quebec; principal, Whitney Institute, Bermuda, 1883–85; inspecting engineer, Edison Machine Works, New York, 1886; worked in industrial chemistry at Thomas Edison's lab in West Orange, New Jersey, 1887–89; electrical assistant at Westinghouse subsidiary,

United States Company, 1890; electrical assistant at Stanley Company of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, 1891; professor of electrical engineering, Purdue University, 1892; chair of electrical engineering, Western University of Pennsylvania (later University of Pittsburgh), 1893–1900; special agent, U.S. Weather Bureau, 1900–1902; transmitted first speech by wireless and developed high-frequency alternator for wireless transmission, 1900; discovered heterodyne principle, 1901; general manager, National Electric Signaling Company, 1902–11; introduced electrolytic or chemical wireless detector, 1902; established Brant Rock, Massachusetts wireless station, 1905; first broadcast, Christmas Eve 1906; researched submarine signaling systems, 1912–21. Died in Flatts Village, Hamilton, Bermuda, 23 July 1932.

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Fibber McGee and Molly

Radio Comedy Series

For three decades, the consummate comedians Jim Jordan (1896–1988) and his wife Marian Driscoll (1898–1961) imitated and mocked the habits of middle-class American homeowners. They began as musicians and vaudevillians. These theatrical experiences, plus several radio series, prepared them for the initial broadcast of *Fibber McGee and Molly* on Tuesday, 16 April 1935. (The show lasted in various forms until 1959.) The Jordans and their writers, mainly Don Quinn and later Phil Leslie, wisely preserved what worked. During the 1940s, fans always voted it one of their favorite programs. Expressions like “Fibber McGee’s closet” percolated into popular speech. So did tag lines like Molly’s (Marian) “T’aint funny, McGee,” Throckmorton P. Gildersleeve’s (Hal Peary) “You’re a haard man, McGee,” and the Old Timer’s (Bill Thompson) “That’s pretty funny, Johnny, but that ain’t the way I heerd it.” (Fibber McGee’s overstuffed closet became an American icon, probably for two reasons: it symbolized the unpredictable fullness of the McGees’ world, and its sound of falling hip boots, mandolin, Aunt Sarah’s picture, and moose head—a triumph of sound effects—consoled listeners who had a similar storage problem. A replica may be seen at the Museum of Broadcasting in Chicago.)

Their modest home at 79 Wistful Vista attracted visitors from a wide variety of social, economic, and ethnic backgrounds. Such conviviality required explanation because McGee was often uncivil, arguing with bankers and bus drivers and department store managers, a dynamo of precarious amiability. Luckily, Molly moderated his bumptious unconviviality so that their many callers simultaneously experienced the contradictory ideals of defensive homeowner and welcoming hostess.

The perilous balance of discourtesy and diplomacy allowed McGee to insult guests and still retain their friendship. Doc Gamble (Arthur Q. Bryan) often received the master’s barbs. One time the doctor looked forward to a vacation he said would leave him “ship shape.” Ever the deflator of other people’s fantasies, McGee agreed that the doctor already looked like a great big “stern wheeler.” In keeping with the American spirit of fair play and the aesthetic rule that helplessness is not funny, Doc returned these insults with agility. Once he scolded McGee for being too cheap to buy a proper suit, dubbing Fibber a “rhinestone Jim Brady” and “our little Lucius Booby in that pin-stripe awning he uses for a sport coat.”

Similarly, other drop-ins to their parlor had positions that would ordinarily merit respect but instead received impertinence. Policemen were called “lugans” and “larrigans,” told to take off their hats, and given false information (asked his

name, Fibber replied, “Herman Gibletripe—and this is my wife Clara”). Mayor LaTrivia (Gale Gordon), outside the McGees’ home an effective orator, dissolved into babble at the McGees’. He boasted that the City Council had opposed him, but he had “stuck to [his] guns.” Both Fibber and Molly confounded him by asking why an elected official needed weapons, suggesting that he might have been more successful if he had not threatened them, and finally warning him that guns should not be tolerated.

Fibber reacted to aristocrats with a peculiar mixture of envy—which prompted get-rich projects to find a substitute for sugar or turn paper back into cloth—and disdain. Despite all the wealth of grand dames like Abigail Uppington (Isabel Randolph) and Millicent Carstairs (Bea Benedaret), Fibber commented that the latter “acts like a coquettish dray horse.” He admired clothing store dummies for their “nonchalant, supercilious, haughty” look: “It takes six generations of money in the family to achieve an expression like that.” Molly personalized his sociological dictum: “Yes, it’s strange how often a vacant face goes with a full pocketbook, which ought to give you a very expressive countenance.”

Because he never seemed to work and borrowed tools without returning them, McGee’s own income remained ambiguous. He yearned for money so much that he ripped apart their antique sofa to find \$20,000 hidden by an ancestor—\$20,000 Confederate, that is. The appearance of a maid on some shows, variously called Beulah (played by a man, Marlin Hurt) or Lena (Gene Carroll, also a man), hinted that he was prosperous; the appearance of a renter, Alice Darling (Shirley Mitchell), a gabby factory worker, on other episodes suggested that he needed spare cash. The general impression was of a household relatively secure in the economic parade.

Located in the middle of the middle class, McGee often was bested by those whom snobs would have considered beneath concern. When Ole Swenson (Dick LeGrand), the Swedish janitor at the Elks’ Club, said his boy in the submarine service was on a secret mission, McGee paraphrased loftily, “Sub rosa, eh?” Ole calmly torpedoed the hifalutin’ Latin with, “No, submarine.” Likewise, the recently immigrated Nick DePopoulous (Bill Thompson) steamrolled over “Fizzer,” telling his own tales with nonstop, heavily accented malapropisms.

Far from being disturbed by unpredictable standards for social deportment, people in McGee’s universe enjoyed the anarchy. Wallace Wimple (Bill Thompson), the hen-pecked victim of “Sweetie Face,” his “big, old wife,” just wanted to be alone with his bird book. To avoid her abuse, Wallace secretly rented a room under the name “Lancelot Eisenhower



Fibber McGee and Molly
Courtesy Radio Hall of Fame

Dempsey”—a name, he explained dreamily, that “just appealed to me somehow. It’s such a *brave* name.”

Two final visitors show how the give-and-take of their peculiar hosting rituals eliminated barriers. After Fibber read a bedtime story to Teeny (Marian), the precocious little neighbor girl, she asked, “What’s a ‘dell’?” Fibber: “Oh, it’s a kind of shady nook in the woods where green things grow.” Teeny: “You mean like dell pickles.” Announcer Harlow Wilcox, ever touting the benefits of Johnson’s Wax, delivered his pitches despite McGee’s interruptions.

Just as the program democratically blurred social distinctions, the language too evaded rules. McGee frequently delivered such tongue-tangling monologues as:

When I worked in the big mill there, I was quite the dude. ‘Mill Dude McGee’ I was known as. Mill Dude McGee, a magnificent mass of muscle and manly manners mesmerizing the maidens in the Midwest and mentioned most every month in many of the men’s magazines as the mirror and model for male millinery merchants, meticulous material manufacturers, and miscellaneous members of the metropolitan mob, mighty and magnetic from November through May.

Individual words, like manners, evolved into new forms. After getting Mayor LaTrivia’s goat, Fibber bragged to Molly, “He sure gets worked up, don’t he? He was just liver with rage.”

MOLLY: You mean livid, Dearie.

FIBBER: Go on, livid is a girl’s name, like Livid De Haviland.

MOLLY: That’s Olivia,

FIBBER: Oh, don’t kid me, Snookie. Olivia’s a country in South America.

During another episode, Fibber skipped from “subtle to subtle to scuttle to shuttle to chateau.” Such celebrations of social and linguistic independence during decades of Depression, war, and tumultuous recovery that required national conformity explain the enduring appeal of *Fibber McGee and Molly*.

JAMES A. FREEMAN

See also Gordon, Gale; Situation Comedy; Sound Effects; Vaudeville

Cast

Fibber McGee	Jim Jordan
Molly McGee	Marian Jordan
Teeny	Marian Jordan
Mrs. Abigail Uppington (1936–59)	Isabel Randolph

Nick Depopoulous (1936–59)	Bill Thompson
Widdicomb Blotto	Bill Thompson
Horatio K. Boomer (1936–59)	Bill Thompson
Old Timer (1937–59)	Bill Thompson
Wallace Wimple (1941–59)	Bill Thompson
Wallingford Tuttle Gildersleeve	Cliff Arquette
Throckmorton P. Gildersleeve (1939–59)	Harold Peary
Mayor LaTrivia (1941–59)	Gale Gordon
Foggy Williams	Gale Gordon
Alice Darling (1943–59)	Shirley Mitchell
Beulah (1944–59)	Marlin Hurt
Mrs. Millicent Carstairs	Bea Benaderet
Silly Watson	Hugh Studebaker
Uncle Dennis	Ransom Sherman
Lena	Gene Carroll
Announcer (1935–53)	Harlow Wilcox
Announcer (1953–56)	John Wald

Producers/Directors

Cecil Underwood, Frank Pittman, Max Hutto

Programming History

NBC Blue April 1935–June 1936

NBC Red June 1936–1938

NBC March 1938–September 1959

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Film Depictions of Radio

Radio's depiction in motion pictures initially stemmed from the concurrence of their golden ages, as radio stars were featured in movies, often playing their radio characters. Thereafter, films about radio focused more on radio's producers, dealing with the challenges and ethical issues they faced, or on listeners, depicting the impact radio had on their lives—particularly the medium's ability to unite communities. Mentioned here are many but by no means all of the motion pictures featuring radio-related subjects.

Radio Movies in the Golden Age

Major motion pictures focusing on radio first appeared during the height of Hollywood's studio system in the 1930s and gave fans their first chance to see moving pictures of radio celebrities. Virtually all were comedies or musicals, designed to get the audience's mind off Depression-era realities.

Foremost among these was the series of films beginning with *The Big Broadcast* (1932), which included George Burns, Gracie Allen, and Bing Crosby as employees of a struggling radio station whose survival depends on a group of radio celebrities, including Kate Smith, Cab Calloway, the Boswell Sisters, Arthur Tracy, and The Vincent Lopez Orchestra. This box office success led to a sequel, *The Big Broadcast of 1936* (1935), which finds Burns and Allen with a contraption known as a Radio Eye (what we now call television) on which various stars appear, including Ethel Merman. Still another sequel, *The Big Broadcast of 1937* (1936) followed, wherein Jack Benny is now the radio boss and Martha Raye his secretary; Burns and Allen returned, appearing once again with a host of stars, including Benny Goodman, Benny Fields, and Leopold Stokowski and his orchestra. The final installment, *The Big Broadcast of 1938* (1937), finds W.C. Fields playing twins who race ships that are powered by electricity supplied from radio broadcasts; it starred Raye, as well as Dorothy Lamour, Shirley Ross, and Bob Hope, who sang what became his signature "Thanks for the Memories" for the first time.

Another series of films that tried to mimic the success of the *Big Broadcast* began with *The Hit Parade* (1937), in which a talent search for radio stars turns up a series of celebrities, including Duke Ellington. Sequels included *Hit Parade of 1941* (1940), *Hit Parade of 1943* (1943), *Hit Parade of 1947* (1947), and *Hit Parade of 1951* (1950) and continued the trend of story lines designed to pack in as many acts as possible.

In the same genre of movies about radio stars was *The Great American Broadcast* (1941), which centers on a love triangle between a young woman and two World War I veterans who enter the radio business together, later to become rivals.

The finale hinges on a scheme by one of the men to reunite the woman and his wartime friend after they have parted ways, deciding to step aside and let the true lovers reconcile. His scheme involves organizing the first nationwide radio broadcast, an idea originally conceived by his war buddy, who he knows will surface to take credit and be reunited with his love. The broadcast itself features many top-name acts, including Kate Smith, Eddie Cantor, Rudy Vallee, and Jack Benny.

During this era a number of movies were also produced based upon radio programs themselves, giving audiences a chance to see their favorite radio characters in action. These include a movie version of Ed Wynn, *The Fire Chief* simply titled *The Chief* (1933) and starring Wynn. Several films featured characters of the radio comedy *Fibber McGee and Molly*, featuring the radio stars Jim and Marian Jordan. These films started with featured roles for the Jordans, playing their radio characters, in *This Way Please* (1937), followed by starring roles in *Look Who's Laughing* (1941), co-starring Edgar Bergen and Lucille Ball, *Here We Go Again* (1942), with Bergen, Gale Gordon and radio's *Great Gildersleeve* star Harold Peary, and *Heavenly Days* (1944). Peary enjoyed a string of films based upon *The Great Gildersleeve*, including *Gildersleeve on Broadway* (1943), *Gildersleeve's Bad Day* (1943), and *Gildersleeve's Ghost* (1944). Finally, there is *My Friend Irma* (1949), based on the radio sitcom of the same name and starring the radio show's lead actress Marie Wilson. The film featured the debut pairing of Dean Martin and Jerry Lewis, as did a sequel, *My Friend Irma Goes West* (1950). Band leader and radio star Kay Kyser also appeared in several motion pictures.

What *The Big Broadcast* and its progeny were to 1930s and 1940s radio stars, a series of rock-and-roll radio movies starring renowned disc jockey Alan Freed was to 1950s rock acts. These films included *Rock Around the Clock* (1956), *Don't Knock the Rock* (1956), *Rock, Rock, Rock* (1956), *Mister Rock and Roll* (1957), and *Go, Johnny, Go!* (1959). Showcasing the likes of Bill Haley and the Comets, The Platters, Little Richard, Chuck Berry, and The Moonglows, these movies featured plots that were mainly designed to pack in as many rock performances as possible. Freed's disc jockey career was itself the subject of a later film titled *American Hot Wax* (1978).

Radio Drama on Film

Foremost among films examining challenges facing radio's producers was *FM* (1978). The movie focuses on the successful program director of the number one rock-and-roll station in Los Angeles and his efforts to keep the station's sound from being too influenced by the commercial interests of its corpo-

rate owners. The overall theme of the movie is addressed in a pivotal scene, when the new sales manager toasts "to profit, and the quality it brings," to which the program director replies "to quality, and the profit it brings." Highlighting the extreme personalities of the station's air staff, the movie also foregrounds the influence radio has on its community, as the disc jockeys strike rather than give in to over-zealous commercial interests—a move that inspires hundreds of loyal fans to join the protest outside the station.

Director Oliver Stone critically examines the shock jock phenomenon in *Talk Radio* (1988), a film about a late-night talk show host based upon a play by Eric Bogosian. An intense, intelligent examination of hatred, violence, and loneliness in America, all of which are exhibited by callers to a radio program called *Night Talk*, the film is also a study of the host himself, who must suffer the consequences of provoking his late-night listeners to anger. The shock jock is ultimately killed by one of his violent listeners. The film critically examines the capacity of provocative radio talk show hosts to empower society's most troubled members, under the guise of providing entertainment and exploiting radio's First Amendment privileges.

Good Morning Vietnam (1987), perhaps the best known of all the films treated here, was directed by Barry Levinson and tells the partially true story of a wise-cracking, quick-witted disc jockey who joins the staff of Armed Forces Radio Saigon and uses his comic personality to entertain and unite the troops. From presidential impersonations to crass humor, the newcomer (played by Robin Williams) delivers a high-powered series of gags and thinly veiled criticisms of the war, in the process receiving bags-full of fan mail and the contempt of his humorless supervisors. The film also shows a more serious side, as the comic announcer confronts the ethics of army censorship of radio news.

Private Parts (1997) was shock jock Howard Stern's homage to his own rise to power. Based upon his book and starring Stern, the film recounts his career in the radio business, from his first problems with management at a local station, to meeting his long-time on-air companion Robin Quivers, to his network radio days and run-ins with the FCC. A somewhat one-sided retelling of the story, the film presents Stern as a working-class hero who does what he must to entertain the masses, much to the chagrin of his uppity and uptight management counterparts.

Foremost among films focusing on radio's listeners is Woody Allen's *Radio Days* (1987). A nostalgic look at World War II era radio, the film depicts Allen's childhood reminis-

cences of the role radio played in the lives of his Rockaway Beach family. A mock Martian invasion helps an Aunt see the cowardice of her date; the fantasy of a masked avenger allows a boy to imagine a life apart from suburban humdrum, much as exotic South American music allows his cousin to do the same; game shows or a ventriloquist's act provide occasions for family bonding or discussion; news bulletins following rescue efforts to save a young child who fell down a well help the family put their own petty squabbles in perspective; and war reports help a nation define an era. Throughout the film, Allen affords radio a ubiquitous presence, fondly recalling its role in every aspect of his childhood and lamenting that his memories of radio and its era fade more with every passing year.

Radio's influence in uniting communities is depicted even in films not principally focused upon radio. Hence, the cult classic *The Warriors* (1979) depicts a DJ, shown only as a pair of lips speaking into a microphone, as she helps gang members throughout New York City track and hunt members of the Warriors, who are falsely accused of murdering the charismatic leader of the city's most powerful gang; ultimately, she apologizes to the gang for the urbanite community's error. Another inner city set film that highlights radio's role in a community is Spike Lee's *Do the Right Thing* (1989), a drama about the eruption of racial tension on a city street in Brooklyn. The disc jockey of the street's storefront radio station serves as a source of news, reason, and inspiration for the community, helping to calm tension and keep the community apprised of neighborhood happenings. Finally there is George Lucas' classic *American Graffiti* (1973), wherein the omnipresent rock music and hip chatter of archetypal disc jockey Wolfman Jack set the mood of the time and binds together the community of young adults coming of age.

RICHARD WOLFF

See also Fan Magazines; Hollywood and Radio

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Fireside Chats

President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Use of Radio

The election of Franklin D. Roosevelt to the U.S. presidency in 1932 coincided with the development of radio networks and the growing popularity of radio. Radio was an ideal medium for Roosevelt, whose voice and style of delivery were well suited to the microphone.

Throughout his presidency (1933–45), Roosevelt used radio to talk to Americans about the problems they faced during the Depression and World War II. He inspired listeners to summon their confidence, determination, and courage to combat these threats to the nation's survival. Roosevelt's conversational, informal radio addresses quickly became known as "fireside chats."

As governor of New York, Roosevelt had used radio to appeal directly to the state's voters, and by the time he entered the White House, he was fully aware of the benefits of the medium. Because many newspaper owners were not supporters of his New Deal programs, Roosevelt found an advantage with radio, which allowed him to speak directly and personally with listeners in their own living rooms. Unable to walk without support after 1921 because of polio, Roosevelt found radio to be an ideal way to project an image of active and powerful leadership.

Roosevelt's press secretary, Steve Early, once noted that Roosevelt liked to picture his audience as a small group sitting around a fireside; this image led to a radio introduction that included the phrase "fireside chat." There are varying opinions as to which of Roosevelt's radio addresses should be classified as fireside chats, with the number placed at between 25 and 31 addresses he made during the 12 years of his presidency. Certainly not all of Roosevelt's radio speeches were in this category, as many of his other radio presentations were tied to ceremonial occasions or political events.

The fireside chats tended to be relatively brief, usually less than 30 minutes, and were structured so that the opening generally focused on a recent event. This was followed by a review of government actions and responses, along with an explanation of the likely impact on the country and the lives of listeners, including the roles they could play in helping to solve problems. Roosevelt's informal language included repetitive devices and simple, easily understood terms. He called for forward, progressive action and expressed optimism and faith in the American people and in divine providence.

Most of the fireside chats were scheduled between 9:00 P.M. and 11:00 P.M. and originated from the East Room or the Oval Office of the White House. Frequently, friends or members of the family were in attendance.

Although Roosevelt received assistance with research and preparation, including early drafts, his speeches reflect his own phrasing, personality, and style. Listeners noted that his pleasant and distinctive voice inspired hope and confidence. This played an important part in Roosevelt's ability to communicate ideas and emotions. His relatively slow delivery, clear articulation, and even his Eastern accent contributed to his memorable and successful use of radio.

Early fireside chats described New Deal measures to combat the Depression. Topics included the banking crisis, the National Recovery Administration, the Works Progress Administration, the gold standard, and unemployment. Roosevelt's goal was to assure listeners that his administration was doing everything possible to relieve hardships resulting from economic conditions.

By the late 1930s, although the official U.S. position relative to the war in Europe was one of neutrality, Roosevelt exhibited increasing sympathy for the Allies, and by 1940 the United States was providing nonmilitary support to Britain and France. In a fireside chat during May of that year, Roosevelt urged further American commitment to the Allied cause, and by 19 December, in another radio address, he called on the United States to become the "great arsenal of democracy." Following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Roosevelt used radio to call on the public for increased industrial production and for the acceptance of necessary restrictions at home during the war effort. During the war, Roosevelt used radio to inform the public, but he also realized that it was important to avoid providing information to the enemy, who could also listen to his broadcasts. Some of the comments in his radio addresses during the war were actually intended for Axis listeners and conveyed the message that the United States was determined and able to persevere to the war's end. The themes of Roosevelt's wartime radio speeches emphasized the nobility of the Allied cause, the inevitability of victory, and the necessity for individual sacrifice. He spoke of the need for more manpower, both military and civilian, and he expressed concern about complacency and overconfidence. Roosevelt used radio to encourage the purchase of war bonds and to describe how everyone could contribute to victory.

Toward the war's end, Roosevelt described the demand for unconditional surrender and plans for a postwar America. In his last fireside chat, delivered 6 January 1945, Roosevelt expressed hope for a United Nations organization, which he described as the best hope for a lasting peace. Franklin D. Roosevelt died 12 April 1945.



U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt moments before his fireside chat on 12 March 1933
Courtesy AP/Wide World Photos

Roosevelt was the first president to make extensive and continuous use of modern electronic means to speak directly to his constituents. This capability has contributed to the increased power of the executive branch of government. Roosevelt's use of radio allowed him to influence the national agenda and to counter opposing newspaper editorials. His radio addresses played a major role in his popular image, in his being elected four times to the presidency of the United States, and in the success of his efforts to lead the nation through the years of economic depression and world war.

B.R. SMITH

See also Politics and Radio; United States Presidency and Radio

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First Amendment and Radio

The First Amendment (1791) to the U.S. Constitution provides, in part, that Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press. Yet in spite of this proscription, there exist a number of regulations that limit free expression on radio. The very fact that stations must be licensed is a restriction that would be considered clearly unconstitutional if it were applied to print media. On the other hand, the courts have stated that radio broadcasting is entitled to First Amendment protection. The amount of protection is less than that enjoyed by print media, but it is still significant.

The fact that the First Amendment protections extend to radio as well as the press was made clear by a 1948 Supreme Court decision, *United States v Paramount Pictures*, which stated, "We have no doubt that moving pictures, like newspapers and radio, are included in the press whose freedom is guaranteed by the First Amendment." In order to best understand what free expression rights are due to radio, one needs to examine the rationale for regulating radio. Courts and legal scholars have provided a variety of arguments for regulation that fit into four general categories: scarcity of broadcast frequencies, the broadcast spectrum as a public resource, the need to alleviate interference, and the pervasiveness and power of the broadcast media.

Scarcity

In a 1984 decision, the Supreme Court stated, "The fundamental distinguishing characteristic of the new medium of broadcasting that, in our view, has required some adjustment in First Amendment analysis is that broadcast frequencies are a scarce resource that must be portioned out among applicants." This scarcity rationale has undergone a number of attacks in recent years with the proliferation of media, but in fact it is still considered a valid regulatory rationale. Although the number of radio stations (as well as the number of most other media outlets) has increased, courts continue to accept a scarcity ratio-

nale. The reason for this is that scarcity does not depend on the number of existing media outlets but rather on the determination of whether a new applicant stands a good chance of entry to the market. A vast number of existing media outlets implies that diversity exists, not that scarcity has been eliminated. If new applicants want to obtain station licenses and are unable to do so, that implies scarcity. Scarcity is a function of the number of people desiring a station to the number of stations available. As long as applicants exceed available frequencies, scarcity exists. As the Supreme Court noted in its *Red Lion* decision in 1969, "When there are substantially more individuals who want to broadcast than there are frequencies to allocate, it is idle to posit an unabridgeable First Amendment right to broadcast comparable to the right of every individual to speak, write, or publish." This is why there will never be scarcity for newspaper publishers, no matter how many newspapers are published in the United States. In theory, at least, any American can start a newspaper (at least there is no legal restriction). The same is not true for starting a radio station.

In 1943 the Supreme Court supported the notion that scarcity entitled the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to make judgments about who would best serve the public interest. In *National Broadcasting Company v United States*, the Court rejected the argument that chain broadcasting rules were a violation of the First Amendment:

If that be so, it would follow that every person whose application for a license to operate a station is denied by the Commission is thereby denied his constitutional right of free speech. Freedom of utterance is abridged to many who wish to use the limited facilities of radio. Unlike other modes of expression, radio is not inherently available to all. That is its unique characteristic, and that is why, unlike other modes of expression, it is subject to governmental regulation. Because it cannot be used by all, some who wish to use it must be denied. But Con-

gress did not authorize the Commission to choose among applicants upon the basis of their political, economic or social views, or upon any other capricious basis. . . . The licensing system established by Congress in the Communications Act of 1934 was a proper exercise of its authority over commerce. The standard it provided for the licensing of stations was the “public interest, convenience, or necessity.” Denial of a station license on that ground, if valid under the Act, is not a denial of free speech.

Public Resource

In 1962 President John F. Kennedy referred to the broadcast spectrum as a “critical natural resource.” The federal government typically regulates the use of natural resources to ensure that they are not damaged and that their use is in the public interest. Viewing the spectrum as a public resource results in a philosophy that views users of the public resource as public trustees, who as such can be expected to act according to the dictates of those allowing them to use the resource. The government could have adopted other models for rationing spectrum, but it didn’t. The assumption is that those who use the public resource have some degree of public service obligation.

A good example of this requirement is the demand, found in Section 312 of the Communications Act, that broadcasters provide reasonable access to candidates for federal office. This affirmative obligation on broadcasters, which would be unconstitutional if applied to print media, can only be justified under a public-resource rationale. In the 1981 Supreme Court Decision *Columbia Broadcasting System v Federal Communications Commission*, the Court wrote that such a rule “represents an effort by Congress to assure that an important resource—the airwaves—will be used in the public interest. [The rule] properly balances the First Amendment rights of federal candidates, the public, and broadcasters.”

Interference

Undoubtedly the oldest of the regulatory rationales is the assertion that the government must regulate the broadcast spectrum in order to prevent interference. This was provided as rationale for the passage of the Radio Acts in 1912 and 1927. Failure to limit interference would result in a “cacophony” in which no one would be heard. Thus, the government exercises its authority to limit the free speech of some so that others might be heard. Some might contend that interference and scarcity are actually the same rationale, when in fact they are different. Their connection in broadcast contexts is understandable, because the spectrum is subject to both scarcity and interference. It is possible, however, to have interference when there is no physical scarcity. It is interesting to note that the

Supreme Court’s 1969 *Red Lion* decision quoted a 1945 print media case involving the Associated Press when it stated “the right of free speech . . . does not embrace a right to snuff out the free speech of others.” Clearly, there can be interference without scarcity. In *Red Lion*, the Court stated:

When two people converse face to face, both should not speak at once if either is to be clearly understood. But the range of the human voice is so limited that there could be meaningful communications if half the people in the United States were talking and the other half listening. Just as clearly, half the people might publish and the other half read. But the reach of radio signals is incomparably greater than the range of human voice and the problem of interference is a massive reality. The lack of know-how and equipment may keep many from the air, but only a tiny fraction of those with resources and intelligence can hope to communicate by radio at the same time if intelligible communication is to be had, even if the entire radio spectrum is utilized in the present state of commercially acceptable technology.

The Supreme Court justified broadcast regulation, in part at least, because of broadcasting’s unique physical characteristics.

Pervasiveness and Power

Perhaps most controversial of all the rationales, this claim asserts that broadcast media should be regulated because of the media’s unique role in the lives of Americans. In the famous *Pacifica* case (dealing with George Carlin’s “Seven Dirty Words” monologue), the Supreme Court stated that “the broadcast media have established a uniquely pervasive presence in the lives of all Americans.” Yet no one would attempt to assert that a small-town radio station has more pervasiveness and power than, say, *The New York Times*. Perhaps a more appropriate term for the Court to have used would have been *invasive* rather than *pervasive*. The Court seemed to be influenced by the fact that radio transmissions come into the privacy of one’s home and automobile and are instantly available to children, unlike newspapers, which wait outside our homes for us to collect them and are unreadable by children still too young to read. In *Columbia Broadcasting System v Democratic National Committee* in 1973, the Court stated a concern dating back to the 1920s that radio’s audience is in a sense “captive” because it cannot simply ignore the messages sent by broadcasters.

It is this rationale that supports limits on broadcast indecency. FCC rules that restrict the use of indecent language during certain hours of the broadcast day (6 A.M. to 10 P.M.) are based on the premise that the audience will consist of a number of minors who should not be subjected to indecent

language. Allowing the restriction of indecent material on the air is a recognition of broadcasting's pervasive nature.

First Amendment Protections

In spite of the regulations that do exist, radio is not without First Amendment rights. Section 326 of the Communications Act specifically states:

Nothing in this Act shall be understood or construed to give the Commission the power of censorship over the radio communications or signals transmitted by any radio station, and no regulation or condition shall be promulgated or fixed by the Commission which shall interfere with the right of free speech by means of radio communication.

Although some might contend that the Section 326 provision is rendered either superfluous by the First Amendment or invalid by rules such as those limiting indecency, the courts have continued to support the general principle that the FCC may not censor broadcasts.

Radio stations also have the right to decide who uses their facilities. The Supreme Court has unequivocally stated that the need to serve the public interest does not require that broadcasters provide access for individuals or organizations. Those who would like to present their positions on public issues have ample opportunity to do so without a government requirement that stations afford them airtime.

The Supreme Court has suggested that the balance between the First Amendment rights of broadcasters and the need for government regulation is not static and that changing conditions might warrant a change in the balance between the two. In the 1973 decision *Columbia Broadcasting System v Democratic National Committee*, the Court stated, "the history of the Communications Act and the activities of the Commission over a period of 40 years reflect a continuing search for means to achieve reasonable regulation compatible with the First Amendment rights of the public and the licensees." Eleven years later, in *Federal Communications Commission v League of Women Voters*, the Supreme Court made it even more clear that regulatory rationales were open to review and revision. In two rather significant footnotes, the Court signaled its willingness to accept a regulatory scheme that was less demanding of broadcasters. In addressing the scarcity rationale, the Court wrote, "We are not prepared, however, to reconsider our longstanding approach *without some signal from Congress or the FCC* that technological developments have advanced so far that some revision of the system of broadcast regulation may be required" (emphasis added). Although the Court was not prepared to lay the fairness doctrine or the scarcity rationale to rest, it opened the

door for others to do so. After a series of legal actions, the FCC did in fact eliminate the fairness doctrine.

The entire concept of treating broadcast differently from print media has been challenged for some time, but the practice continues. Modifications have been made, and radio has significantly fewer regulations today than it had prior to the deregulation movement that began in the 1970s. Nonetheless, some would assert that the changing nature of mass media will make it more difficult to have different regulatory schemes based on modes of transmission. With media converging as they are, will regulatory policies that treat media differently based on modes of transmission be able to survive? In an era in which both newspaper and radio messages can reach their audience via the internet, should one be regulated differently from the other? These are questions that have been posed for decades, yet our regulatory policy remains essentially unchanged. Broadcast media are subject to regulation based on the four regulatory rationales stated above, while the print media are largely unregulated. The amount of regulation that will be tolerated is subject to the balancing engaged in by the Supreme Court, but radio (along with television) continues to be subject to regulation.

DOM CARISTI

See also Communications Act of 1934; Federal Communications Commission; Federal Radio Commission; Frequency Allocation; Network Monopoly Probe; Public Interest, Convenience, or Necessity; Red Lion Case; Seven Dirty Words Case; United States Congress and Radio; United States Supreme Court and Radio

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Fleming, Sir John Ambrose 1849–1945

British Electrical Engineer; Inventor of the Vacuum Tube

Sir John Ambrose Fleming led an active scientific life. His career covered the time from James Clerk Maxwell to the advent of electronic television. Fleming has been described as the scientific and technical link between Maxwell and Guglielmo Marconi. He was an outstanding teacher and highly successful popular scientific lecturer. He published more than 100 important papers on his discoveries. Fleming is best known for the thermionic vacuum tube or valve, the first electron tube that could change alternating current, such as a radio wave, to pulsating, one-way flow direct current. Fleming's diode improved radio reception and was a forerunner of the triode tube developed by Lee de Forest. Although the transistor eventually replaced Fleming's valve, his valve remained an important component of radios for nearly three decades and was used in the early days of computers and television.

Fleming began his study of electricity and mathematics under James Clerk Maxwell in the new Cavendish Laboratory at St. John's College in Cambridge. During his studies there, Fleming worked on improving the Carey Foster Bridge, a method for measuring the difference between two nearly equal resistances in electrical conduction. Fleming's improvement made the measuring device faster and more accurate. Maxwell labeled the device "Fleming's banjo" because of the measuring wire's circular shape.

After receiving his doctor of science degree in 1880, Fleming worked as a consultant for private industry. His consulting work resulted in many new methods and instruments for measuring high-frequency currents and new transformer designs. Fleming was a primary contributor to the development of electrical generator stations and distribution networks for several companies, including the London National Company, the Edison Telephone and Electric Light Companies, and the Swan Lamp Factory. For both the Swan and Edison companies, Fleming lent his expertise to photometry and helped develop the large-bulb incandescent lamp that used an aged filament as the light source.

In 1899 the Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company hired Fleming as a scientific adviser to help design the Poldhu wireless station in Cornwall, England. This was the largest wireless station in England and the source of the first transatlantic wireless telegraph transmission in 1901.

Fleming's most important contribution to electrical engineering was his vacuum tube, widely used in both radiotelegraphy and radiotelephony. In 1888 Thomas Edison announced his "Edison effect," which described how electronic particles were emitted from a hot electric lamp filament. Fleming had repeated Edison's findings in 1899 but had found little practical use for Edison's discovery.

In 1904, however, while searching for a more efficient and reliable detector of weak electrical currents, Fleming was inspired to make a new lamp, or valve, that would have a hot filament and an insulated plate sealed inside a high vacuum tube. When a current was passed through the carbon or metal filament, the rarefied air between the hot filament and the cold plate filled with electrons and became a conductor of electricity. He found that the electrons would travel only when the plate was attached to the positive terminal of a generator and that the plate would attract the negatively charged electrons. Fleming also noticed that this flow of electrons was in only one direction, from the hot filament to the cold metal plate, and not in the reverse direction. Alternating current would enter the device, but direct current would leave. Fleming had converted alternating-current radio signals into weak direct-current signals that could be heard with a telephone receiver. This was a major advance in radio technology. Fleming called his discovery a thermionic valve or tube, because it acted much like a check valve, which allows fluids to flow in only one direction. Eventually, the device was labeled "Fleming's valve." It provided the first truly reliable method to measure high-frequency radio waves. Fleming patented his valve in 1904. This discovery revolutionized radio telegraphy

communication technology. The vacuum tube was the foundation of electronics until the 1960s, when solid-state technology was developed, replacing vacuum tubes in most electronic devices.

In 1906 Lee de Forest added a third element to Fleming's diode valve, thus effectively separating the high-frequency circuit from that of the filament, making amplification of radio signals possible. Litigation of the de Forest and Fleming patents continued for years. Court decisions in 1916 tied most companies into knots. As the United States entered World War I, the navy offered to indemnify all manufacturers of radio apparatus for the armed forces against any resulting patent infringement suits. This pooling of all patents enabled manufacturers to produce modern equipment without fear of lawsuits. Patent disputes between de Forest and Fleming were not fully resolved until after American Telephone and Telegraph (AT&T) bought de Forest's Audion patent, the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) acquired rights to the Fleming valve, and AT&T and RCA entered into a cross-licensing agreement in 1920.

Throughout his long career, Fleming lectured often at University College, the Royal Institution, and the Royal Society of Arts. He published extensively and presented several important research papers at learned societies' conferences. After Fleming read a paper on the need for an authoritative body for electrical standards for the burgeoning electric lighting industry, the Board of Trade Laboratory and eventually the National Physical Laboratory were established in Great Britain. Fleming is credited with developing a direct-reading potentiometer, set to read current and potential directly in amperes and volts, and with encouraging R.E.B. Crompton to put it on the market in a practical form.

Fleming placed his long scientific career into perspective when he wrote that in comparing the last half of the 19th century and the first third of the 20th century, there was an enormous increase in practical technical achievement, despite the diminished confidence we now have in the validity of our theoretical explanations of natural phenomena.

His peers regarded Fleming very highly because of his extraordinary devotion to his work. He never lost sight of the potential for wireless. He wrote that

radiotelegraphy has not only given to mankind a superlatively beneficial means of communication, but has also opened up for discussion physical and cosmical problems of profound interest. . . . We are only at the very beginning of this evolution, yet it has already completely revolutionised the practical side of wireless telegraphy, as well as telephony (Fleming, 1921).

PETER E. MAYEUX

See also De Forest, Lee; Early Wireless; Marconi, Guglielmo; Maxwell, James Clerk

John Ambrose Fleming. Born in Lancaster, England, 29 November 1849. Attended University College, London, B.S., 1870; Royal School of Mines, South Kensington, 1872–74; St. John's College, Cambridge, Doctor of Science degree, 1880; worked as clerk in stockbrokerage firm, 1868–70; science master, Rosall School and Cheltenham College, 1872–74; chair of mathematics and physics, University College, Nottingham, 1881; consultant, Edison Telephone and Electric Light Company, Swan Lamp Factory, and London National Company, 1882; elected fellow, St. John's, 1883; professor, electrical technology (engineering), University College, 1885–1926; scientific advisor, Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company, 1899; developed the Fleming valve, 1904; appointed professor emeritus, University College, 1926; president, Television Society of London, 1930–45; received Royal Society fellowship, 1892; Hughes Gold Medal, Royal Society of London, 1910; Albert Medal, Royal Society of Arts, 1921; Faraday Medal, British Institution of Electrical Engineers, 1928; knighthood, 1929; Duddell Medal, Physical Society, 1931; Gold Medal, Institute of Radio Engineers (U.S.), 1933; Franklin Medal, Franklin Institute (U.S.), 1935; Kelvin Medal, 1935; elected honorary fellow, Cambridge, 1927; received honorary degree of D.Eng., Liverpool University, 1928. Died in Sidmouth, Devon, England, 18 April 1945.

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Flywheel, Shyster, and Flywheel

Radio Comedy Program

Although much of their fame rests on the dozen films they made between 1929 and 1950, the Marx Brothers, working together and as solo performers, enjoyed a measure of success in radio and later television broadcasting. The National Broadcasting Company's (NBC) weekly comedy *Flywheel, Shyster, and Flywheel* was the first network radio program to feature the Marx Brothers. Or, more accurately, it featured two of the four-member comedy team: Groucho and Chico. The remaining brothers—Harpo's silent clown and Zeppo's straight man—were less suitable for radio. Despite the fact that only 26 episodes were produced between November 1932 and May 1933, *Flywheel, Shyster, and Flywheel* opened up new avenues for the Marx Brothers' comic genius.

Flywheel, Shyster, and Flywheel's origins are typical of many programs produced for American radio during the early 1930s. Following on the heels of its rival's success with the *Texaco Fire Chief Program*, the Standard Oil Company sought a vehicle to promote its new product line: Esso gasoline and Essolube motor oil. Working with its advertising agency, McCann-Erickson, Standard Oil agreed to sponsor a weekly variety program called *Five Star Theater*. Every night of the week featured a different program: detective stories, dramas, musicals, and comedies. As Michael Barson notes in the introduction to his edited collection of the program's scripts, "the jewel of the enterprise was Monday night's entry, *Beagle, Shyster, and Beagle, Attorneys at Law*," which featured Groucho as Waldorf T. Beagle, a wisecracking ambulance chaser, and Chico as his incompetent assistant, Emmanuel Ravelli. Indeed, with four successful feature films to their credit—*The Cocoanuts*, *Animal Crackers*, *Monkey Business*, and *Horsefeathers*—landing even half of the Marx Brothers was quite a coup for Standard Oil.

Beagle, Shyster, and Beagle debuted on 28 November 1932 over the NBC Blue network. Although audience reaction is difficult to gauge, at least one listener, a New York attorney named Beagle, was not amused. Anxious to avoid a lawsuit,

the network changed the name of Groucho's character to Flywheel and promptly altered the program's title accordingly. Not surprisingly, the scripts for *Flywheel, Shyster, and Flywheel* are characteristic of the Marx Brothers' penchant for rapid-fire one-liners, puns, putdowns, and malapropisms. And as in their movies, on radio the Marx Brothers had little regard for the rule of law or high society: few cherished American values or institutions were spared a "Marxist" skewering. For example, at the end of one episode, Flywheel (Groucho) advises a would-be philanthropist, "Instead of leaving half of your money to your children and the other half to the orphanage, why not leave your children to the orphanage . . . and the million to me?"

What is most significant about these scripts (the original programs were not recorded, but the majority of the show's transcripts survive in the Library of Congress) is their relationship to the Marx Brothers' film work. In some instances, entire routines from earlier films were reworked for *Flywheel, Shyster, and Flywheel*. For example, some episodes featured plot lines and dialogue taken from the Broadway hit and subsequent film *Animal Crackers*. Even the name of Chico's character, Emmanuel Ravelli, came directly from this film. Several scenes from *Monkey Business* found their way into episodes of the radio program as well. On the other hand, a number of *Flywheel, Shyster, and Flywheel* scripts foreshadowed the Marx Brothers' later film work. Of particular interest are early drafts of now archetypal routines and dialogue from the Marx Brothers' classic *Duck Soup*. The film's infamous trial sequence owes much of its funny business to a *Flywheel, Shyster, and Flywheel* script, as does Chico's hilarious recitation on his difficulties as a spy: "Monday I shadow your wife. Tuesday I go to the ball game—she don't show up. Wednesday she go to the ball game—I don't show up. Thursday was a doubleheader. We both no show up. Friday it rain all day—there's a no ball game, so I go fishing." The name of Groucho's character, Waldorf T. Flywheel, would be recycled some years later in the 1941 film *The Big Store*.

The need for this recycling of old gags and testing of new material is understandable. Along with their writers, Nat Perin and Alan Sheekman, Groucho and Chico soon grew tired of traveling cross-country from Hollywood to New York to do a weekly radio program. In fact, in January 1933, *Flywheel, Shyster, and Flywheel* took the then unprecedented step of relocating its broadcast from WJZ in New York to Hollywood for a time. Still, the time constraints facing both writers and performers undoubtedly contributed to their willingness to borrow from established routines while refining others. By the middle of 1933, however, it was a moot point. *Flywheel, Shyster, and Flywheel* was taken off the air. Although its ratings were quite respectable, considering the less-than-desirable airtime of 7:30 P.M., the sponsors were disappointed with the show's performance.

Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, Groucho and Chico returned to the airwaves in various guises. In 1934 they were hired by the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) to spoof the latest news in a short-lived program called *The Marx of Time*. Both Groucho and Chico struck out on their own as well. Chico made a number of radio appearances as a musical accompanist and band leader, and Groucho served as host for programs such as *Pabst Blue Ribbon Town*. During the war years, the Marx Brothers, including Harpo, made guest appearances on the Armed Forces Radio Service. Of special note, however, is Groucho's role as the judge in Norman Corwin's fanciful courtroom drama from 1945, *The Undecided Molecule*. Groucho's true calling on radio came in 1947 as a quiz show host on *You Bet Your Life*. Curiously, this popular program shuffled between the radio networks before finding a permanent home on NBC.

In an odd but telling postscript, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) began airing recreations of *Flywheel, Shyster, and Flywheel* in 1990. The programs proved quite popu-

lar with British audiences and have subsequently been picked up for broadcast in the United States through National Public Radio (NPR).

KEVIN HOWLEY

See also Comedy; You Bet Your Life

Cast

Waldorf T. Flywheel	Groucho Marx
Emmanuel Ravelli	Chico Marx

BBC Cast

Waldorf T. Flywheel	Michael Roberts
Emmanuel Ravelli	Frank Lazarus

Writers

Nat Perin, Arthur Sheekman, Tom McKnight, and George Oppenheimer

Programming History

NBC Blue	28 November 1932–22 May 1933
BBC	1990–92 (19 Episodes)

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FM Radio

Frequency modulation (FM) radio, more usually called VHF radio outside the United States, began with experiments in the 1920s and 1930s, expanded to commercial operation in the 1940s, declined to stagnation in the 1950s in the face of competition from television, resumed growth in the 1960s, and rose to dominance of American radio listening by the late 1970s. This entry focuses first on the basics of FM broadcasting and then explores the development of the service in the United States, where it was first invented and developed;

finally, this essay turns to selective brief coverage of FM outside the U.S.

FM Basics

FM transmitters modulate a carrier wave signal's frequency rather than its amplitude. That is, the power output remains the same at all times, but the carrier wave frequency changes in relation to the information (music or talk programs, e.g.)

transmitted. Electronic static (most of which is amplitude modulated) may flow with but cannot attach to FM waves, which allows the desired FM signal information to be separated from most interference by special circuits in the receiver.

Because U.S. FM channels are each 200 kilohertz wide (allowing a wide frequency swing), a high-quality sound image is transmitted (up to 15,000 cycles per second—almost three times the frequency response of AM signals and close to the 20,000-cycle limit of human hearing), usually in multiplexed stereo. The cost for this sound quality is paid for in spectrum—each FM station takes up 20 times the spectrum of a single AM station, although only a portion is used for actual signal transmission, with the remainder serving to protect signals of adjacent stations. FM radio in the United States is allocated to the very high frequencies (VHF), occupying 100 channels of 200 kilohertz each between 88 and 108 megahertz. Each FM channel accommodates hundreds of stations—there are more than 7,000 on the air at the beginning of the 21st century.

VHF transmissions follow line-of-sight paths from antenna to receiver, and thus FM transmitters (or television stations, which use neighboring frequencies) are limited in their coverage to usually not more than 40 to 60 miles, depending on terrain and antenna height. That limitation is balanced by the lack of the medium wave interference that AM radio has, which is caused by signals arriving from ground waves or sky waves at slightly different times because of the distances covered.

Experimental Development (to 1940)

No one person “invented” FM radio—indeed, the man most credited with developing the system, Edwin Howard Armstrong, readily conceded that point. The first patents concerning an FM transmission system were granted to Cornelius Ehret of Philadelphia in 1905, probably the first such patents in the world. Scattered mentions of FM in subsequent years focused on its negative aspects, suggesting that, based on what was then known, FM would not be a useful broadcast medium. Still, technical work continued, and more than two dozen patents had been granted to various inventors and companies by 1928. Much of the impetus behind research into FM work was the search for a solution to the frustrating interference problem with AM radio. By the late 1920s, it was clear that simply using more AM transmitter power would not overcome static, which made AM unlistenable in electrical storms. Something new was needed.

From 1928 to 1933, Edwin Armstrong, a wealthy radio inventor then on Columbia University’s physics faculty, focused on trying to utilize FM in a viable broadcast transmission system. Rather than working with narrow bands as had others before him, Armstrong’s key breakthrough was to use far wider channels, eventually 20 times wider than those used

by AM. The frequency could then modulate over about 150 kilohertz (though it normally used far less), leaving 25-kilohertz sidebands to prevent interference with adjacent channels. This allowed for greatly improved frequency response, or sound quality. Armstrong incorporated various circuits to allow precise tuning of the wide channels while at the same time eliminating most static and interference. Armstrong applied for the first of his four basic FM patents in 1930 and for the last in 1933; all four were granted late in 1933.

From 1934 to 1941, Armstrong further developed and demonstrated FM, working toward Federal Communications Commission (FCC) approval of a commercial system. After a number of long-distance tests (successfully sending signals up to 70 miles with only 2,000 watts of power) in cooperation with the Radio Corporation of America (RCA), Armstrong announced his system to the press early in 1935. A more formal demonstration to a meeting of the Institute of Radio Engineers later that year (and the published paper that resulted) marked the beginning of active FM innovation.

Resistance to the FM idea began to develop at about this time, usually growing out of the competing interests of two other broadcast services. Owners of AM stations, including the major networks, were concerned about the new technology that might totally replace their existing system. And companies already investing heavily in television research, especially RCA, thought that the new video service should receive priority in allocations and industry investment. FM was seen by some as merely a secondary audio service, albeit a far better one technically.

In July 1936 Armstrong obtained permission from the FCC to construct the world’s first full-scale FM station in Alpine, New Jersey, across the Hudson River from New York City. After a technical hearing, the FCC provided initial allocations for FM and television (among other services), granting the fledgling FM technology’s backers the right to experiment on 13 channels scattered across three widely separated parts of the spectrum—26, 43, and 117 megahertz. Early in 1939 the allocation was expanded to 75 channels located more conveniently between 41 and 44 megahertz. In the meantime, Armstrong’s experimental station—the world’s first FM transmitter—had gone on the air as W2XMN with low-power tests in April 1938.

Developing further experimentation but also looking toward commercial FM operations, the New England-based Yankee Network began to build two large transmitters in 1938–39. General Electric built two low-power FM transmitters at the same time, and the National Broadcasting Company’s (NBC) experimental station began operating in January 1940. The first FM station west of the Alleghenies began transmission tests in Milwaukee just a few days later. Transmitters for most of these operations came from Radio Engineering Laboratories. Receivers were first manufactured by General

Electric in 1939, with other companies joining in the next year; however, most FM sets cost a good deal more than their AM counterparts.

Early Operations (1940–45)

The FCC became the arena for a 1940 battle over whether or not to authorize commercial FM service, and if so, on how many channels and with what relationship to developing television. In March 1940, more than a week of hearings were held to air the industry's conflicting views over the merits of FM and television. On 20 May 1940, the commission released its decision allowing the inception of commercial FM operation as of 1 January 1941; the decision allocated 40 channels on the VHF band (42–50 megahertz), reserving the lowest five channels for noncommercial applicants. Final technical rules were issued a month later. The first 15 commercial station construction permits were issued on 31 October 1940.

As the new year dawned, 18 commercial and 2 educational stations aired (compared to more than 800 AM stations at the time). The first commercial license was granted to W47NV, affiliated with AM station WSM in Nashville. The first West Coast station, a Don Lee network outlet, went on the air in September 1941. FM outlets briefly used unique call signs that combined the letters used with AM stations with numbers indicating the channel used (e.g., W55M in Milwaukee broadcast on 45.5 megahertz). This system was replaced with normal four-letter call signs in mid-1943.

By the end of 1941, and after the United States had entered World War II, the FCC reported 67 commercial station authorizations, with another 43 applications pending. About 30 of the former were actually on the air. Wartime priorities forced the end of further license grants and limited construction material availability after March 1942. By the end of October 1942, 37 stations were in operation, plus an additional 8 outlets still devoted to experiments. But construction materials and replacement parts were increasingly difficult to find, and some owners turned back their authorizations or withdrew their applications pending the end of the war.

The first attempt at an FM network, the American network, never made it on the air, largely because of difficulties in constructing the needed affiliate stations in sufficient markets. Programs offered on FM were of two types—duplicated AM station signals (the most common type) or recorded music. Because of the duplicated content of existing stations, FM stations had little appeal for advertisers. Another problem was FM audiences. There were some 15,000 FM sets in use at the beginning of 1941 and perhaps 400,000 by the time manufacturing was stopped early in 1942, compared to 30 million AM-equipped households. Most observers expected FM to become an important part of the industry after the war.

Frequency Shift and Decline (1945–57)

The next dozen years—from 1945 through 1957—were both exciting and frustrating as the FM service struggled to become established and successful amidst a broadcasting industry increasingly infatuated with television and still investing considerable sums into the expansion of AM. Initial excitement over FM's potential gave way to a slow decline.

Toward the end of the war, potential operators were already concerned that FM's allocation of 40 channels was not sufficient for expected postwar expansion. To further complicate matters, wartime spectrum and related research suggested that the FM allocation of 42–50 megahertz might be subject to cycles of severe sun spot interference. Concerns about television expansion led to demands by some members of the industry for FM's spectrum space to be reallocated to television.

Extensive FCC hearings in mid-1944 aired some of the technical concerns about the FM band, though wartime security limited what could be discussed. Armstrong and his backers argued to retain (or, better yet, to expand) the existing allocation, in part because stations could easily network by picking up each other's signals and passing them on—something that would be impossible were FM to be moved higher in the spectrum (moving lower was out of the question because of existing services). In January 1945 the FCC proposed moving FM to the 84–102 megahertz band to avoid the expected atmospheric interference and to gain more channels, for a total of 90. Subsequent proceedings continued the industry split over what to do and how. Finally, in June 1945, the FCC made its decision, shifting FM “upstairs” to the 88–108 megahertz band with a total of 100 channels that the service occupies today. Continuing the precedent established in 1941, educational users were assigned to channels reserved for them at 88–92 megahertz. The former FM band would be turned over to television and other services after a three-year transition period.

At first it seemed the shift would only disadvantage those stations actually on the air (46 at the time) and those people with FM sets that could not also receive AM signals (perhaps 30,000 old-band FM-only sets in consumer hands). Generally FM's outlook was good. The FCC issued the first postwar grants for new stations in October 1945, and more applications were piling up. Through 1946 there were always at least 200 applications pending, and although the number of stations actually on the air grew fairly slowly, the number of authorized FM stations exceeded 1,000 by 1948—more than all the AM and FM stations on the air just three years earlier. Most applications were coming in from AM stations hedging their bets on the future. Several government agencies issued optimistic publications encouraging still more FM applicants. Two specialized FM trade magazines began to publish. A number of potential FM networks were in the planning stages, and the

first, called the Continental network, began operations with four stations early in 1947.

But all was not well. FM's frequency shift was more damaging in the short term than it had seemed. When stations began to transmit on FM's new frequencies, there were few receivers available to pick up the signals. Manufacturers were trying to meet pent-up wartime demand for new AM sets and had little capacity to devote to FM's needs. Thus FM suffered from the lack of a good-sized audience that might appeal to advertisers. Only token numbers of receivers were available until 1950, and by then demand for television sets was threatening capacity devoted to radio. FM's lack of separate programming (after considerable industry argument both ways, the FCC had allowed co-owned AM and FM stations to simulcast or carry the same material) offered little incentive for consumers to invest in one of the rare and expensive FM receivers. A cheap AM set could tune popular local and network radio programs just as well. FM's better sound quality was not enough of a draw. What independent programming did exist was largely classical music and arts material of interest to a relatively small elite. Advertisers saw no reason to invest in FM, especially when FM time was usually given away with AM advertising purchases. Indeed, AM was thriving—more than doubling the number of stations on the air from 1945 to 1950. And the growing concentration on television by broadcasters, advertisers, and the public made FM seem unnecessary.

As these factors combined and intensified, the results soon became apparent. The number of FM new station applications began to drop off, and then overall FM authorizations declined. By 1948 FM stations already on the air, among them some pioneering operations, began to shut down, returning their licenses to the FCC. FM outlets could not be given away, much less sold. The number of stations on the air declined each year. Faced with the seeming failure of his primary invention, Armstrong took his own life in 1954; with the loss of his financial backing, the Continental network had to close down as well.

Rebound (1958–70)

Then, and at first very slowly, FM began to turn around. Reports in several trade magazines late in 1957 picked up the fact that the number of FCC authorizations for FM stations had increased for the first time in nine years. Slowly the pace of new station construction picked up, first in major markets and then in suburban areas. Several factors underlay this dramatic shift.

First, AM had grown increasingly crowded—there were virtually no vacant channels available in the country's major markets. The number of AM stations had doubled from 1948 to 1958, and about 150 more were going on the air annually. However, an increasing proportion of the new outlets were

limited to daytime operation in an FCC attempt to reduce nighttime interference. FM, with no need for daytime-only limitations, was now the only means of entering major markets. In addition, the major spurt of television expansion was over, and this eased up pressure on time, money, and personnel, which could now be applied to FM.

But aside from overcrowding in AM and television, FM itself had more to offer. In 1955 the FCC had approved the use of Subsidiary Communications Authorizations, which allowed stations to multiplex (to send more than one signal from their transmitter) such non-broadcast content as background music for retail outlets ("storecasting"). This provided a needed revenue boost. So did the growing number of listeners interested in good music. These "hi-fi" addicts doted on FM operations, and this interest was evident in the increasing availability and sale of FM receivers. A developing high-end audience led advertisers to begin to pay serious attention to the medium.

Another technical innovation gave FM a further boost: the inception of stereo broadcasting. Beginning as early as 1952, some stations, such as New York's WQXR, offered AM/FM stereo using two stations—AM for one channel of sound and an FM outlet for the other. Occasional network two-station stereo broadcasts began in 1958—the same year commercial stereophonic records first went on sale. By 1960, more than 100 stations were providing the two-station system of stereo. But such simulcasting wasted spectrum (two stations with the same content), and the uneven quality of AM and FM provided poor stereo signals. What was needed was a system to provide stereo signals from a single station, and FM's wide channel seemed to offer the means.

In 1959 the National Stereophonic Radio Committee began industry experiments with several competing multiplexed single-station systems. By October 1960 the committee had recommended that the FCC establish FM stereo technical standards combining parts of systems developed by General Electric and Zenith. The FCC issued the standards in April 1961, and the first FM stereo stations began providing service in June. By 1965, a quarter of all commercial stations were offering stereo; by 1970, 38 percent of FM stations had the capability. Though few saw the future clearly, stereo would be a key factor in FM's ultimate success over long-dominant AM stations.

FM's continued expansion led the FCC to establish three classes of FM station in mid-1962. Lower-powered Class A (up to 3,000 watts of power and a service radius of 15 miles) and B stations (up to 50,000 watts of power and a service radius up to 40 miles) would be granted in the crowded northeastern section of the country as well as in southern California. Higher-powered C stations (up to 100,000 watts of power providing a service radius of 65 miles) could be granted elsewhere. A five-year FCC freeze on most new AM station grants beginning in 1968 helped funnel still more industry expansion into FM as

the FCC began to see AM and FM as parts of an integrated radio service.

Of even greater importance to FM's continued growth was a series of landmark FCC decisions from 1964 to 1966 requiring separate programming on co-owned AM and FM stations in the largest markets (those with populations over 100,000). Long concerned about the effect of wasting spectrum space by allowing the same programs to run on both AM and FM, the FCC had been persuaded by industry leaders to allow the practice when FM was weak. Indeed, many FM broadcasters expressed great concern about losing their ability to carry popular AM programming. But FM's growth in numbers and economic strength prompted the move—which further accelerated creation of new FM stations. In just a few years the importance of the FCC decisions (which by the late 1960s had been extended to smaller markets) became apparent as FM audiences increased sharply—bringing, in turn, greater advertiser interest and expenditure to make FM economically viable for the first time in its history. By the early 1980s, when the AM-FM non-duplication requirement was eliminated in a deregulatory move, FM stations were dominant in large part because of their unique programming.

That FM had achieved its own identity was exemplified when one of the big-three networks, the American Broadcasting Companies (ABC), initiated a network of FM stations in 1968. Although relatively short-lived, as the industry increasingly began to think of FM as radio rather than something different, the recognition that such a network gave to FM radio was a tremendous boost in the advertising community. Another indicator was Philadelphia's WDVR, which within four months of first airing in 1963 was the number-one FM station in the city, competing for top spot with long-established AM outlets, an inconceivable development just a few years earlier. Five years later, the same station became the first FM outlet to bill more than \$1 million in advertising time. The FM business as a whole reported positive operating income in 1968 for the first time (it happened for the second time in 1973, after which the industry as a whole remained profitable).

The key measure of FM's coming of age, of course, is actual audience use of the service. In 1958, for example, FM was available in about one-third of all homes in such major urban markets as Cleveland, Miami, Philadelphia, and Kansas City. By 1961 the receiver penetration figures for major cities were creeping up to about 40 percent, and national FM penetration was estimated at about 10 percent, showing how few FM listeners lived in smaller markets and rural areas, many of which still lacked FM stations. By the mid-1960s, FM household penetration in major markets was hovering at the two-thirds mark, and national FM penetration stood at about half that level. Although stereo and car FM radios were initially expensive, increasing production dropped prices and helped to further expand FM availability.

Dominance (The 1970s and Since)

After the many FM industry and policy changes of the 1960s, the 1970s saw FM becoming increasingly and rapidly important economically. Where FM attracted 25 percent of the national radio audience in 1972, just two years later survey data showed FM accounted for one-third of all national radio listening—although only 14 percent of all radio revenues. By 1979 FM achieved a long-sought goal when for the first time, total national FM listening surpassed that of AM stations. Every major market had at least four FM stations among the top 10 radio outlets. Indeed, FM would never lose that primacy, slowly expanding its role until by the turn of the century, FM listening accounted for nearly 80 percent of all radio listening.

Getting there had not been easy and had taken far longer than early proponents had expected. In part, FM's own success got in the way. After years of promoting FM's upper-scale (though small) audiences, often prejudicially dubbed eggheads and high-fidelity buffs, it was hard to shift gears and promote FM's large and growing audience as being tuned to simply "radio." (Indeed, the number of commercial FM classical music stations had actually declined by half since 1963, to only 30 by 1973.) At the same time, the number of educational FM stations expanded dramatically after 1965, greatly aided by the creation of National Public Radio and the appeal of its programs as well as by the availability of increased funding for station development and operation.

But with success came pressure to keep up. As news and talk formats increasingly defined AM (where the poorer sound quality did not matter), FM flowered with a full cornucopia of musical formats and styles. By the early 1970s, FM stations in the nation's largest markets were developing formats every bit as tight and narrow as those of their AM forebears. Each station and its advertisers were appealing to a specific segment of the once-mass radio audience in an attempt to build listener loyalty in a marketplace often defined by too many stations in most cities. By the late 1980s, FM's primary target market was that defined by its advertisers: listeners aged 26 to 34, followed by those 35 to 44 years of age. Only a relative handful of stations target teens, and fewer than 30 percent are interested in listeners aged 55 or older. As compared with its earlier days, FM has become positively mainstream.

FM's success is also seen in the usual marketplace measure—the price of FM stations being sold on the open market. Where top-market stations could literally not be given away in the early 1950s, by the late 1960s, the first million-dollar prices were being quoted. Three decades later, FM stand-alone stations in top markets sold for tens of millions of dollars, and some have sold for well over \$100 million. On the other hand, many miss the old days of FM programs aimed at a small, elitist, sometimes cranky but usually appreciative audience. A

1999 FCC proposal to create scores of low-power FM outlets was intended to bring back some of that spirit, but was severely curtailed by Congress in 2000.

FM Outside the U.S.

FM or VHF radio developed more slowly outside of the United States. In Europe, for example, postwar radio reconstruction in most countries focused first on established medium wave and long wave services and then on television; few countries had economies strong enough to develop FM services at the same time as these other initiatives. And politics played a part, because Europe hoped in the meantime to find a European technical solution to its substantial problems of interference and static.

Given the total destruction of its broadcasting system, Germany had to start over and thus led Europe in beginning FM broadcasting. The first transmitters were on the air by 1949, and most of West Germany was covered with FM signals by 1951. Sale of FM receivers was brisk (some were exported to the United States), partly because television was not a competitor until 1952. By 1955 there were 100 FM transmitters in operation. With a severe shortage of medium wave frequencies, Italy followed suit, providing its first VHF radio services in the early 1950s.

At about the same time, other European nations, working through the European Broadcasting Union (EBU), began to reconsider FM's potential, because they had largely completed the process of repairing or replacing wartime AM radio losses. FM was seen as the only means of reducing serious medium wave overcrowding and resulting interference problems as well as serving regions largely unreached by existing stations, and FM could do so less expensively than could medium wave facilities. Countries also sought additional program channels. Interestingly, the same debate over whether FM should carry the same or different programs (as existing medium wave services) divided industries and governments in Europe as it had in the United States. By the late 1950s, EBU member nations were working together to build a system integrating existing and new VHF radio stations. And, as in the United States, the new services were increasingly programmed independently.

After experimenting with FM in London as early as 1950, the British Broadcasting Company (BBC) began introducing a chain of VHF radio stations in 1955. By 1960, most of the country was reached with the new transmitters, which largely simulcasted the medium wave station signals, though receiver penetration hovered at only about 15 percent, rising to 30 percent five years later. The planned role of the VHF transmitters was to introduce local programming for specific audiences—something that had been lacking in Britain since the early 1920s. By the early 1960s, VHF radio transmitters outnumbered

medium wave facilities by 160 to 57. A decade later, there were 252 VHF transmitters in Britain. Lower FM receiver prices prompted rapid ownership growth.

Even by the mid-1980s, however, only about 20 countries (most of them in Europe) had extensively developed VHF radio. Despite its potential value to tropical countries, which are plagued by static on their AM or medium wave broadcast stations, few Third World nations had embarked on FM service. They lack the funds and even the need, because they have not fully utilized available medium wave channels. South Africa is an exception, having embarked in 1961 on development of VHF radio to cover the nation. Apartheid politics may have played a role here, because the VHF transmitters made it more difficult for Africans to hear foreign broadcasts, none of which were available on FM. Other African nations only experimented with FM in this period.

In the Far East, Japan experimented with FM for a decade before stations opened in major cities in 1969. The Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications sought to have an FM station in every prefecture and at least two in major cities. All of these are advertising-supported local stations. For a time in the 1970s and 1980s, a raft of mini-FM transmitters called "free radio," which covered a radius of only about 3,000 feet, were very popular, playing music and advertising. Few were licensed, however, and many were closed down in the late 1980s. The service came later to Australia, where what would become FM frequencies had been originally allocated to television. Reallocation of that service made initiation of FM service possible there in the 1980s.

Perhaps the most extreme examples of the FM-based "free radio" movement took place in the 1970s in both France and Italy. A number of unlicensed small local Italian FM stations went on the air in late 1974 and into 1975. When an Italian court held that the state broadcasting authority did not have a monopoly on local radio, hundreds more followed in 1976. By mid-1978, some 2,200 were on the air, providing Italians with the most radio per capita of any nation on earth. Stations programmed music and advertising and often expressed strong political viewpoints on both the right and left. France went through something similar in the late 1970s—by the early 1980s there were more than 100 such stations in Paris alone. Most gave way to a 1982 government decision to provide licenses to many of the stations as well as official permission to advertise.

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See also Armstrong, Edwin Howard; Don Lee Network; Educational Radio to 1967; Federal Communications Commission; FM Trade Organizations; Low-Power Radio/Microradio; Radio Corporation of America; Receivers; Sarnoff, David; Shepard, John; Stereo; Subsidiary Communications Authorization; United States; Yankee Network

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FM Trade Associations

Promoting Radio's Second Service

From the inception of commercial FM radio in 1941, a series of five industry trade organizations appeared—and disappeared—in parallel with the medium's struggles and eventual success. Each was different in its outlook and focus.

The Early Struggle

The first FM group, the National Association of FM Broadcasters Incorporated (FMBI), was created in 1940 to promote the technology as much as the industry. Spearheaded by John Shepherd III of the New England–based Yankee Network and by Walter J. Damm of the *Milwaukee Journal* radio stations (one of which was the first FM station west of the Alleghenies), FMBI published thousands of copies of *Broadcasting's Better Mousetrap* to promote FM's better sound and other qualities. Before and during World War II, a mimeographed newsletter edited by Dick Dorrance appeared regularly to record the slow

initial development of the business. FMBI had 43 members by 1943—most of those either on the air or building new stations—and 137 by September 1944. Among its campaigns was a successful move to persuade the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to modify FM station call letters from letter and number combinations denoting the channel of the station (e.g., W55M, which was on 45.5 megahertz) to the more familiar all-letter system used with AM stations. The FCC adopted the plan in 1943. Although FMBI fought the shift of FM frequencies that came in 1945, it worked to put the new spectrum into action.

With the end of the war, FMBI voted in 1946 to merge its activities into the FM Department (later Committee) of the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB), a pattern that would be repeated several times. Initially headed by Robert Bartley, later an FCC commissioner, this arm of the main industry trade association sought a place for FM within an

industry dominated by rapidly expanding AM stations and developing television.

Believing that the new medium needed the focused attention of a dedicated organization, broadcasters Roy Hofheintz of Houston and Everett Dillard of Washington, D.C., helped form the FM Association (FMA) in 1946. FMA's primary focus was to get AM broadcasters either to build the FM stations they had applied for or to return their construction permits to the FCC. FMA pressure on the FCC led the agency to terminate many "warehoused" but inactive permits, which were an indicator of FM's coming decline. The FMA ended its short existence with a two-year promotional campaign to brighten the medium's future.

All this activity was to no avail, and FM slipped into decline for most of the 1950s as industry attention turned to television.

FM's Revival

Formation of the FM Development Association (FMDA) in 1956 was one early indicator that FM's fortunes were about to take a turn for the better. Larry Gordon of WBUF (FM) in Buffalo, New York, was its president. Made up of about two dozen independent (without a matching AM station) FM station owners, FMDA sought to get broadcasters to place FM stations on the air. It also attempted to combat escalating music licensing fees being charged by the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers (ASCAP).

In January 1959 a group of FMDA members formed the new National Association of FM Broadcasters (NAFMB). The organization decided to hold its first official meeting prior to the forthcoming annual convention of the NAB in Chicago. With the blessing of the NAB, the NAFMB was allowed to hold its first meeting on the Saturday just prior to the NAB FM Day program; at that time Fred Rabell, an independent FM broadcaster and background music franchisee in San Diego, was elected president. This was a nonpaying position, which he volunteered to accept with the help of his wife, and for nearly three years they operated the NAFMB from their FM radio station KITT.

Rabell was followed by another unpaid leader, T. Mitchell Hastings, Jr., owner of the Concert Network FM stations in New York City, Boston, Hartford, Connecticut, and Providence, Rhode Island, and the developer of the Hastings FM tuner, America's first FM car radio. Hastings led the NAFMB for three years. (Prior to his death in the mid-1990s, Hastings was chairman of the Armstrong Foundation, dedicated to the propagation of Edwin Armstrong's name as the father of FM radio through its Armstrong "Major Awards," first presented at the NAFMB conventions.)

Another person who played an important role in making the NAFMB successful was James Schulke, NAFMB's first full-

time paid president, who had offices in New York City. Schulke was hired in 1963 after an annual donation of commercial airtime by all National Radio Broadcasters Association member stations; this donated time was subsequently sold to the Magnavox Corporation for \$150,000. Special research, programming, and marketing studies were developed by the NAFMB in the 1960s as membership grew from its first 50 stations to nearly 500 by 1969. During those formative years, FM broadcasters volunteered their time and resources to advance public and advertiser awareness of FM radio. Dozens of these FM radio pioneers played major roles in the NAFMB, including Abe Voron of Philadelphia, Robert Herpe of Orlando, and James Gabbert of San Francisco.

The impact of NAFMB activities in the 1960s is reflected in the increase in the number of FM radio stations that went on the air. From just 578 commercial stations in 1959, with the majority duplicating the programming of a co-owned AM facility in the same city, the number of on-air FM stations had grown to more than 1,000 by 1963. The promotion of FM stereo multiplexing following the FCC's adoption of FM stereo radio standards in April 1961, as well as the one-year "Drive with FM" campaign in 1965 and 1966 to motivate consumers and the auto industry to have FM and FM stereo available on their auto and truck radios, also played a role in the accelerated growth of FM.

During the 17-year existence of the NAFMB as an organization that would accept only FM station members, the association was the driving force in promoting, researching, marketing, and expanding the visibility of both FM and FM stereo radio in the United States and Canada.

The NAFMB was both the longest-lived and the most successful of the five FM trade groups. It actively worked with the FCC to develop technical standards for FM stereo in 1960-61. A 1963 Harvard University Graduate School of Business study of FM's potential was sponsored by NAFMB and attracted widespread industry attention. The study's prediction of FM's eventual dominance of AM, seen as a pipe dream by many at the time, was borne out by events in the late 1970s. FM's eventual success was heavily aided by the separation of its programming from colocated AM stations in the late 1960s, something NAFMB lobbied the FCC heavily for. The association issued annual program surveys of FM stations in the late 1960s, which showed the growing variety of formats used by FM outlets. It conducted or supported a variety of other studies of the FM industry in response to growing advertiser interest in the medium. At the same time, the Radio Advertising Bureau focused more on FM's potential, and the NAB published its monthly *Emphasis* newsletter throughout the 1960s.

Because of pressure by AM and AM/FM station owners and operators who wanted to join the NAFMB, in September 1975, during its annual convention in Atlanta, the NAFMB

name and membership criteria were changed. The association became the National Radio Broadcasters Association (NRBA), and AM stations were to be admitted into membership. The new members pushed for the association's dedication to seeking regulatory relief from the FCC. Many stations active with NRBA were dissatisfied with the NAB's efforts for radio deregulation and believed that the older radio/TV association was devoting too much of its resources to television issues. Nine years later, in 1984, the NRBA merged with the NAB.

The success of FM radio in superseding AM radio as the dominant aural medium in America was consistently positioned by the NAFMB with the rationale that "in the long run, a quality product always succeeds with the American consumer." The NAFMB was the leading advocate of FM radio and played an important role in the medium's eventual success.

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See also Armstrong, Edwin Howard; FM Radio; National Association of Broadcasters; Radio Advertising Bureau; Schulke, James; Stereo; Trade Associations; Trade Press

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Foreign Broadcast Information Service

Monitoring International Radio Broadcasts

The Foreign Broadcast Information (originally Intelligence) Service (FBIS) was created in 1941 as part of the Federal Communications Commission. Operating as part of the Central Intelligence Agency since 1947, FBIS has provided a record of important international radio broadcasts for U.S. government decision makers. In the 1960s it expanded to record other types of foreign media output.

Origins

In 1938, John R. Whitton of Princeton University was heading the Geneva (Switzerland) Research Center, and in conversation with Edward R. Murrow of CBS Whitton became more aware of the growing impact of radio as a propaganda medium. Becoming both concerned about and impressed with the propaganda potential of radio, he hired researcher Thomas Grandin to study developing political uses of radio. In the course of his study, Grandin established a small receiving post in a Paris hotel to better follow selected broadcasts.

On his return to the U.S. in late 1938, Whitton sought funding to set up a continuing radio monitoring service. This led to creation of the Princeton (University) Listening Center in November 1939 with a Rockefeller Foundation grant designed to cover a period of experimentation. In June 1940, Rockefeller extended support for another year. The managing committee included Whitton, sociologist Hadley Cantril (who was co-director of the Office of Radio Research) and William S. Carpenter of Princeton, O.W. Riegel of Washington and Lee University (author of an early book on propaganda), B.R. McCutcheon (an engineer), and Harold N. Graves (as administrator). Graves recruited a staff of ten to record and transcribe the most important shortwave broadcasts.

From 3:00 P.M. until 11:00 P.M. six days a week, broadcasts were recorded on wax cylinders. Over the 20 months the Center operated, this process produced more than 100 volumes of exact transcripts totaling 8 million words. Broadcasts from Berlin, Rome, Moscow, Paris, and London were included. Some 20 booklets summarizing the detailed findings were

widely distributed to American media and researchers between December 1939 and mid-1941.

Early in 1941, the Defense Communications Board asked the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to develop a more extensive government-supported foreign broadcast monitoring process (as a number of foreign governments had already done). President Roosevelt authorized the transfer of \$150,000 (nearly \$2 million in 2003 dollars) from war emergency funds for the purpose, and the Foreign Broadcast Monitoring Service (FBMS) was created in late February. Personnel from the Princeton operation were vital to this operation, with Graves acting as director until June 1941. Slowly an organizational structure was established.

Wartime Operation

During the first part of 1942, the FBMS established a number of listening posts to better monitor broadcasts. These were located in Portland, Oregon (the first site, it began operation in October 1941), San Francisco, Kingsville, Texas, Santurce, Puerto Rico, and in London. On 28 July 1942 the FBMS was renamed the Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service (FBIS). The number of employees and operations reached a peak in March 1943. More listening posts (sometimes dubbed field offices) were established, in Silver Hill, Maryland (just outside of Washington, D.C.), and in Hawaii as well as several other foreign locations.

With teams operating around the clock, recordings were made at each field office. Transcripts and translations were then teletyped, cabled, or mailed to the Washington headquarters. Washington personnel summarized and analyzed the more important broadcasts and distributed them to government offices. The process of analysis soon attracted unwanted attention.

FBIS came under Congressional investigation in the spring of 1943, part of a long and highly critical political review of the FCC. Criticism centered on both FBIS personnel and operations. Partially as a result, most FBIS analysis functions were transferred to the Office of War Information. FBIS continued its basic monitoring and recording functions throughout the war.

In December 1945, the FCC announced plans to close down FBIS. Instead, the War Department took over the operation and in August 1946 it was transferred to the Central Intelligence Group of the National Intelligence Authority. It was renamed the Foreign Broadcast Information Service two months later. The FBIS became a part of the Central Intelligence Agency when the CIA was formed in September 1947.

Postwar Developments

As a "charter member" of the intelligence establishment, FBIS slowly expanded its operation to nearly 20 listening posts in

the U.S. and overseas. In 1967 the responsibilities of the FBIS were expanded to include keeping track of foreign newspaper and magazine (and news agency) output, in addition to broadcasts. In 1974 FBIS daily reports came available on a subscription basis to the general public, providing some of what the monitoring service was recording and translating. Some material was restricted for government-only use for six months. Attempts to close down some FBIS functions in the post-Cold War period have occurred at several points, usually in Congressional attempts to save funds.

Television and satellite transmissions were included in the FBIS operation by the 1970s and 1980s, respectively. In the 1990s, technological change had expanded FBIS even further to include commercial and government databases and so-called "gray literature" (where the source and veracity of the material is not always clear). Automatic (unmanned) monitoring by the 1990s expanded FBIS capabilities still further, while fax machines and computer data links allowed faster distribution of time-sensitive material. The agency was dealing with material in more than 60 languages; that number expanded with the end of the Cold War and initiation of media in local languages in many parts of the former USSR.

Because of the FBIS's language capability, its functions have often included translation services for different government needs. While much of what the FBIS records come from "open source" (public) entities such as radio and other media, it also collects information from other sources. The intelligence function of FBIS is best seen in two widely-reported events three decades apart (for which credit is usually shared with its British counterpart, the BBC Monitoring Service)—its recording of Radio Moscow broadcasts that the Soviets were withdrawing their missiles from Cuba in 1962, and the first word (monitored from the TASS news agency) of the short-lived August 1991 coup in Moscow against the government of Mikhail Gorbachev.

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See also BBC Monitoring Service; Cold War Radio; International Radio; Office of Radio Research; Propaganda by Radio

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Formats

Defining Radio Programming

A format is the overall programming design of a station or specific program. It is essentially the arrangement of program elements—often musical recordings—into a sequence that will attract and hold the segment of the audience a station is seeking. There are as many as 100 known formats and variations.

Evolution of Formats

Radio formats developed in response to the competitive threat posed by television and the growing number of competing radio stations. For decades, radio stations had been a mass medium, with each outlet trying to be all things to all people. But as television grew in popularity and as more television and radio stations went on the air, audience fragmentation occurred, prompting radio programmers to seek ways to differentiate their programming and attract audiences. By the mid-1950s, radio programmers were willing to try almost anything to preserve the medium.

One lesson was learned from an independent (i.e., non-network-affiliated) radio station in New York, WNEW, which had successfully programmed a music and news format as early as 1935. While other radio network audiences defected to television, WNEW maintained its audience levels, presumably because its music and news format did not demand long-term or high-level attention from listeners, unlike the typical dramatic productions on the networks. The simpler, less demanding programming apparently allowed listeners to tune in for shorter periods of time and while doing other things, such as household chores.

Another lesson was learned from the success of "countdown" programs such as *Your Hit Parade*, a popular radio network program since the 1940s. Countdown programs tended to play the top 40 or so songs, and audience numbers were very strong. Not surprisingly, some programmers working for independent stations tried playing only the top 40 or so

most popular records and were successful. In this sense, they were simply attracting an audience by playing what the audience had already proven they wanted to hear. Station owners Todd Storz and Gordon McLendon were among those who turned the concept into a continuous format, creating the hit-oriented playlist.

Many stations quickly adopted the new approach. But as more stations played the same top 40 songs, a further need for differentiation and refinement arose. In 1957 Storz and programmer Bill Stewart are said to have noted the behavior of jukebox users who repeatedly selected their favorite tunes. Taking this observation back to their Omaha station, they refined the playlist to repeat the most popular hits more often than other songs. Other stations followed suit, positioning themselves as stations that guaranteed the top hits.

Eventually various formats evolved as stations sought to differentiate themselves from competing stations with similar formats. Rock, including soft rock and hard rock, was spun off. Adult contemporary (AC) developed as a way to appeal to an older audience demographic by playing current songs, minus the tunes that appealed mostly to teens. As album sales increased, many stations presumed that listeners wanted to hear certain artists, so they switched to playing primarily album cuts, eventually becoming known as album-oriented rock (AOR) stations. Formats were also distinguished simply by the creative names given them, such as "Hot Hits." The names would sometimes be intentionally vague in order to appear distinct to listeners while still seeming inclusive of all listeners to advertisers. AM stations also responded to the competition from FM and its superior frequency response and stereo capability by creating information formats such as news, talk, sports, agriculture, and education. Listener perceptions about AM sound quality became entrenched by the 1980s, forcing most AM stations to switch to non-music formats to survive.

New formats also emerged, partly because of the increasingly sophisticated ratings reports that provided more detailed demographic data. Stations pushed radio ratings companies to provide specific listener demographic data beyond an overall market headcount in order to justify themselves to advertisers. Once sub-audiences could be clearly identified, a symbiotic relationship emerged, with programmers developing formats that appealed to those audiences. Likewise, music trade magazines such as *Billboard* developed specialized charts that coincided with the formats of stations, and vice versa. Some format names, such as rhythm and blues, were in fact coined by *Billboard*.

Format Categories

The increase in artists, particularly crossover artists, has made it difficult for popular music stations to claim a “pure format,” that is, one based on agreement by stations nationwide as to what artists are included and excluded. However, today this definition primarily applies only to classical, big band, and similar formats consisting of older music. Many of the originally pure formats, such as AOR, country, and urban, have split into variations of their respective formats. From the standpoint of promotion, advertising, and ratings classification, it is best for a station to identify with a pure format, but the need to be competitive forces stations to adjust to the demands of the audience and industry. In the 1990s the concept of the “microformat” emerged, whereby syndicated and network music and information programming became fine-tuned to a specific audience and market, relying less on a cookie-cutter approach.

Today, each of the major music categories—country, AC, rock, and urban (black)—has several subdivisions. According to Eastman, et al (2002), the country format has three subcategories: traditional country, young (or hot) country, and country gold—each aimed at a specific demographic group. Adult contemporary offers hot AC, mainstream AC, soft AC, and a jazzier version called new adult contemporary/smooth jazz. Urban music is subdivided into urban contemporary, urban adult contemporary, and urban gold. Rock formats include adult album alternative (AAA); contemporary hit radio (CHR); churban (a blend of CHR and urban); active rock (hard/heavy metal); classic rock (popular rock music of the 1960s through the 1980s); and oldies, which is further divided into the decades of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. In addition to these primary formats, there are many distinct formats, such as big band, alternative, contemporary Christian, classical, progressive, and beautiful music/easy listening.

Format Popularity

Country has overwhelmingly reigned in the U.S. as the most popular format among stations, followed by AC, although

both of these have slipped in recent years. One of the fastest-growing formats of the 1990s was modern rock, otherwise known as alternative, which capitalized on the mainstream popularization of many “alternative” bands. Because of AM stations and the interests of aging baby boomers, news and talk formats have increased in popularity. Sports and Spanish language formats, including Tejano, have also taken off in the last decade. A relatively new format called adult album alternative (AAA or Triple A) has also emerged, featuring an eclectic choice of music ranging from hard rock to folk music. Christian formats have increased dramatically in recent years.

Broadcasting and Cable Yearbook 2002–03 ranked the U.S. radio formats in terms of the number of stations identifying with each format. The top 20 formats were (in order): country (2,318), AC (1,863), oldies (1,208), news/talk (1,199), religious (889), Christian (869), sports (837), news (769), talk (726), gospel (652), CHR/Top 40 (646), classic rock (606), rock/AOR (601), Spanish (582), classical (529), jazz (426), urban contemporary (350), diversified (321), educational (264), and middle of the road (MOR; 261).

The next most popular formats among stations were (in order): alternative, variety/diverse, progressive, other, nostalgia, black, big band, blues, beautiful music, inspirational, full service, AAA, AOR, agriculture, foreign language/ethnic, public-affairs, Top 40, easy listening, children, new age (soft rock and jazz), Tejano (bicultural Spanish programming), light rock, bluegrass, golden oldies (hits of the 1950s), and folk.

A relative handful of stations identify their format as: polka, Korean, American Indian, reggae, Portuguese, French, Greek, Polish, disco, Chinese, new wave (rock from the United Kingdom, popular in the early 1980s), smooth jazz, comedy, sacred, Native American, Arabic, Russian, Eskimo, Japanese, Vietnamese, or Filipino.

Choosing and Creating a Format

Stations switch formats frequently to pursue more profitable demographic segments and in response to shifting audience tastes. According to Eastman, et al, the steps taken in choosing a format involve an evaluation of (1) the technical facilities of the station (i.e., AM, FM, range), (2) the character of the local market, (3) the delineation of the target audience, (4) the available budget, and (5) the potential revenue.

Stations assemble their formats in several ways. Some simply program recordings in a sequence throughout the schedule, whereas others carry different formats during different dayparts. Still others rely on “Format Syndicators,” which provide ready-made formats for a fee via satellite feed or music tapes. The formula for constructing a format goes beyond just music and includes a focus on production, personality, and programming.

Format Audience Characteristics

Certain audience demographics are predictors of format preference. For example, listeners to news are more likely to be married and to have lived in the area for at least two years, whereas AOR listeners are more likely to be single and on the move. Some studies also suggest that urban contemporary fans are the heaviest listeners, country listeners are the most loyal, and AC listeners are less involved in their station.

Formats can also be profiled on the basis of education, income, and age. For example, higher education levels are associated with beautiful music and news. In 1998 the highest household median income numbers were associated with AAA (\$62,954), news (\$62,722), alternative (\$55,298), classical (\$55,248), and modern rock (\$54,488). The two formats appealing most to older audiences are full-service (60.3 years) and nostalgia (59.3 years). Most formats, however, are showing an increase in the median age of listeners, with one exception: news/talk listeners are getting younger.

Finally, where a listener resides has some effect on format popularity. Country is more popular in the South and Midwest, and news and talk formats are listened to most in the West. Spanish has been the most popular format in Los Angeles.

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See also individual formats discussed in this essay; Programming Strategies and Processes

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France

French radio has passed through several different organizational schemes in its history, slowly expanding its domestic and international service. Radio has always been a primary means of spreading French culture around the world.

Origins

Before 1914, France participated in the development of wireless (telegraphy and telephony) with other industrial nations. World War I stimulated the use of large transmitters: after the one on the Eiffel Tower in Paris (1905) came another at La Doua in Lyon (1914), then one at La Croix d'Hins (1920, meant originally for the use of the U.S. expeditionary force) and one at Sainte-Assise (1922). The war also created thousands of radio specialists, trained in the armed forces, who returned to civilian life in 1919. Furthermore, the war accelerated the formation in 1918 of the Compagnie générale de TSF

(CSF), which was one of the four largest broadcast companies in the world (with Marconi in England, Telefunken in Germany, and Radio Corporation of America [RCA] in the United States).

The Mixed System (1922-40)

Considering French capabilities and interests, it is odd that France did not experience the same radio boom as Britain, Germany, or the U.S. However, the educational establishment, the Catholic Church, the press, and most intellectuals had trouble accepting the competition that "vulgar" radio entertainment might represent for other vehicles of culture and information. Successive governments and Parliament were incapable of giving radio a stable status. Left-wing political parties, with their minds on the traditional telegraph monopoly, wanted radio to be exclusively entrusted to the Ministry of

Post, Telephone, and Telegraph (PTT). Right-wing groups reacted rather favorably to the creation of private commercial stations.

After a few experiments in 1921, regular radio transmissions began in February 1922 from the Eiffel Tower station, which the army had handed over to the Post Office. In November 1922 the Radiola station was inaugurated by the CSE, and a third station was created in January 1923 by the École Supérieure (Graduate School) of the PTT. Beginning in 1924, stations appeared in the provinces. After much debate and incoherent legislation, the law of 19 March 1928 established a mixed, highly regionalized radio system.

By 1932 the 13 authorized commercial stations (financed by advertising) had a total transmitting power of 160 kilowatts, whereas the 11 government-operated transmitters had a combined power of 92 kilowatts. In 1938, after an important modernizing effort aided in 1934 by the establishment of an annual fee to be paid by owners of sets (compensated by the abandonment of advertising), the 16 public stations, of which 3 were in Paris (in 1939, the Poste National had its transmitter power raised to 900 kilowatts, making it the strongest in the world), competed against 11 commercial stations, 4 of them in Paris and each associated with a national daily newspaper.

The number of radio receivers increased comparatively slowly: from 600,000 in 1928 to 1.5 million in 1934, 4.7 million in 1938, and 5.2 million in 1940, for a population of 40 million inhabitants. Penetration was about a third less than in Germany or Great Britain. The audience for private stations, whose programs were more popular, was almost equal to that of the PTT network.

The growing European political crisis led the government to increase its control over radio news, and the same newscast was provided on all "public" stations and, from February 1939, on all private stations as well. Just two months before the declaration of war, the management of radio broadcasting was withdrawn from the Post Office and transferred to the office of the Prime Minister. Programs aimed at foreign audiences, especially German and Italian, were increased early in 1938, as were those aimed at French colonies in Africa and Asia.

The Era of Monopoly (1940–81)

From September 1939 to June 1940, radio was mobilized to support the French war effort and the country's morale.

German Occupation (1940–44)

After the armistice of June 1940, the north and west of France were occupied by the Germans, who unified the radio network around Radio Paris as a tool of propaganda in favor of total collaboration with Nazism. In the south, the Vichy regime

nationalized radio, and the Radiodiffusion Nationale served the conservative "national revolution" under Marshall Pétain. After the invasion of the southern zone (November 1942), the autonomy of the Vichy radio was gradually diminished. In spite of the prohibition on listening to foreign radios, many French could hear Radio Sottens in French-speaking Switzerland, the British Broadcasting Corporation's (BBC) French Service (Radio Londres), and later the Voice of America, Radio Moscow, or Radio Brazzaville (in the Congo, controlled by General de Gaulle's Free French), and after 1943 Radio Alger in French North Africa. This sad period was crucial for the prestige of radio in France—it continued speaking with different voices. The considerable importance nowadays of radio newscasts for the information of the French, as compared to the printed press or even television, is partly the result of habits formed in those days, when newspapers had lost all credibility.

The Fourth Republic (1944–58)

At the time of liberation, radio remained nationalized and, contrary to the situation between the two world wars, basically centralized. The Radiodiffusion Nationale (renamed Radiotélévision Nationale in 1949) was a public administration that produced three national services on short and medium waves and one service directed to French colonies. The few regional programs did not occupy much space in the schedule. Government control of news programs was very strong, but cultural programs and variety shows often attained remarkable quality. Commercial advertising was banned. Financing came from the annual receiver fee and government subsidies. The number of sets increased rapidly, from 5 million in 1945 to 10.7 million by 1958, by which time practically all households were equipped—even before transistor sets made it possible for a household to own several sets—and there were over 25 million by 1981.

The originality of the French radio landscape was largely due to competing "peripheral" stations, which aired programs made in France and aimed at a French audience but broadcast from transmitters located just beyond the national borders. Thus Radio Luxembourg (1933), Radio Monte-Carlo (1943), and in 1955 Europe 1 from the Saar in Germany all provided the popular sound of U.S. commercial radio, plus newscasts and political columns with content and tone that were far more free than those of the government-run Radio-Télévision Française (RTF). Europe 1 especially managed to innovate successfully by using a conversational and informal style quite different from the more formal and stuffy government radio speakers. The success of radio was also maintained by the late and slow development of television, which in 1958 still operated on only one channel to fewer than 1 million receivers.

The Fifth Republic (Until 1981)

During the administrations of General de Gaulle (1958–69), Georges Pompidou (1969–73), and Giscard d'Estaing (1973–81), the status of the RTF (the ORTF after 1964 with the addition of the word "Office") was modified several times, but the principle of a public monopoly was not questioned even as more management autonomy was granted. Television expanded to three channels and added color, and radio diversified its programs—without, on the whole, giving up their national character. The huge Maison de la Radio (House of Radio) in Paris, inaugurated in 1963, symbolized the centralization of the French broadcasting system, even though by 1980 there were also 34 provincial production centers. In 1959 the annual radio fee was combined with that of television, and it was terminated entirely in 1978, yet radio was not authorized to carry advertising, as television was from 1968.

Although French radio had programs for overseas territories and foreign audiences (which never had the appeal of those of the BBC or the Voice of America), the three national radio programs were dominant: France Inter, France Culture, and France Musique. In 1974 these were gathered under the name Radio France. FM, which made possible the multiplication of local stations, had already been used in Germany to counter the penury of long- and medium-wave frequencies. It could upset the French model of a few AM stations broadcasting at high power. The first French FM station, France Inter Paris (FIP), was created as a local outlet for the Paris region in 1971. Its music, news, and traffic advice format was directed heavily at car radio listeners. Over the next few years, that format spread to the whole country with regional programming.

But it became clear that FM could be used for "illegal" broadcasts: in Italy, beginning in 1973, "free radios," run by radical college students, environmentalists, and labor unions, flouted the broadcasting monopoly of the Radio Audizione Italiana; in 1978 the government had to increase the punishments for such pirates. Faced with the threat of "free radio," Radio France undertook to provide some of the desired programming when in 1980 it started several experimental FM stations, two national—aimed at youth (Radio 7) and older people (Radio Bleue)—and three decentralized outlets: one regional, one at the level of one of the 95 French "départements," and one truly local. They hoped that by applying a policy of multiplying stations, they could keep FM frequencies for the public service.

In spite of its efforts, however, Radio France was gradually losing market shares to the peripheral stations, whose entertainment programs were more popular and whose often caustic news programs sounded less conformist than those of the public service. The situation was all the more paradoxical because it demonstrated how ill-adapted the government "monopoly" was and, mainly, because the French government owned a

majority share in the capital of Radio Luxembourg and controlled Europe 1 and Radio Monte-Carlo via SOFIRAD, a company whose capital was owned by the government.

Return to a Mixed System (Since 1981)

The victory of both the Socialist Party and François Mitterrand in the 1981 elections caused a revolution in the radio world (and in television after 1984).

The Mitterrand Revolution

The promises of the social-democratic candidate to allow local "free" FM stations access to the airwaves generated hundreds of them over the next few months. Belatedly, the laws of 9 November 1981 and 29 July 1982 tried to introduce order into the mess. Licenses to broadcast would only be granted to independent stations linked to an association and with a range not greater than 50 kilometers; for their financing, they could only use volunteer work, subscriptions of association members, and government subsidies; and they could not be funded by any local government. In other words, there were to be no municipal radios and no profit-oriented radios. Licenses were delivered by the Haute Autorité de l'Audiovisuel (or HAA, which, after several transformations, became in 1989 the Conseil Supérieur de l'Audiovisuel [CSA]), which is in charge of seeing that laws are respected by all private and public broadcasting companies. That independent body, partly inspired by the American Federal Communications Commission (FCC), was at last to cut the cord that had since the origins of radio linked the French audiovisual system to the government.

The system of association radios was very soon to prove economically inapplicable. In 1985 the HAA had delivered some 1,800 licenses for the whole country. The law of 1 April 1984 authorized stations to set up as commercial companies and use advertising to finance themselves—and also to join into networks, provided that they kept part of their schedule devoted to local programs. The next year, a decree authorized peripheral radios to enter the FM band and thus to build national networks.

After 1985 the revolution in audiovisual communication was spreading to television, but it seemed to have ended for radio: no new institutional reform was going to wreak havoc on that scene. The regulatory body, by gradually settling the many conflicts, managed to more or less stabilize the movement and made it possible to prepare a relatively easy passage into the 21st century and the digital era. In 1995 the CSA set up 16 regional technical bureaus, the better to assume its functions in the provinces. A law (1 February 1994) raised from 25 to 49 percent the share that a given company could own of a station and allowed several networks to gather local station affiliates, provided their cumulative potential audience

did not exceed 150 million (the equivalent of three national networks).

To resist the invasion of the airwaves by U.S. audiovisual products, the French government and European Union authorities have promulgated regulations to guarantee a "cultural exception" to the principle of free circulation of goods. Laws of 18 January 1992 and 1 February 1994, applying the European guidelines on "Television without Borders" (30 October 1989 and 1 February 1994), have set a quota of 60 percent European products, including 40 percent French work on all radio and television stations. The CSA finds it very difficult to enforce the quotas, especially regarding pop music.

Modern French Radio

France now enjoys a radio system that is diverse, efficient, dynamic, and modern. It uses both microwave and satellite relays (which are increasing). It is initiating digital audio broadcasting. Most (85 percent) of the French regularly listen to radio; the morning audience for news is particularly high, whereas elsewhere in Europe people turn more often to home-delivered newspapers. The various services of Radio France generally attract a quarter of the French radio audience. Radio France owns two subsidiaries: Radio France Outre-mer, which serves some 2 million inhabitants scattered over the French territories of the Caribbean, the Indian Ocean, and the Pacific, and Radio France Internationale, which provides one service in French plus programs in 18 other languages using a variety of transmitters.

Radio France operates six national services: France-Inter (general interest), France Culture (considered too elitist by some), France Musique, Radio Bleue (for senior citizens), Le Mouv' (for youth), and France-Info (the first all-news station in Europe, begun in 1987 and attracting a large audience). Its 38 regional stations, which cover half the country, are now associated with the France Bleu network. The FIP services still operate in 76 cities. Radio France funds two orchestras and two choirs, produces some 500,000 hours of programming per year, and employs over 3,000 people, including 450 journalists.

Private-sector radio attracts about 70 percent of the audience. It is highly diversified, with some 1,600 stations that often serve several towns on different frequencies. Each of the old "peripheral" stations continues to supply a national general interest schedule, but each is now associated with two or three groups of local private radios and plays a role similar to that of U.S. networks. Radio Luxembourg (called RTL since 1954) is now linked to a vast pan-European holding com-

pany, RTL-UFA. Europe 1 is now associated with the Lagardère (aviation, armament, and publishing) conglomerate. Radio Monte-Carlo is associated with the NRJ network, which now enjoys third place in the French radio hierarchy, behind RTL and Radio France. These networks have extended abroad, where they cooperate with private commercial stations in Germany, Scandinavia, Spain, Eastern Europe, and Russia. The large national networks of local private radios, which have adopted the American music and news format, include 700 stations in all. Then there are some 300 commercial stations that are still independent, sometimes grouped into small regional networks, which thanks to more original programming intend to remain largely local and stay close to their listeners or to serve some religion. Lastly, some 500 fiercely independent "association stations" survive, partly thanks to government subsidies: their audience varies from one place to another and is rather small (2 to 3 percent) but is still a sign of militant protest. The audience of foreign stations is very small.

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Freberg, Stan 1926–

U.S. Radio Satirist, Voice Actor, and Recording Artist

The man who rolled a 700-foot mountain of whipped cream into Lake Michigan and topped it with a 10-ton maraschino cherry didn't actually drain the lake and replace the water with hot chocolate. Rather, he did it the easy way by using radio's "theater of the mind."

Stan Freberg's stimulation of the imagination via radio is legendary among people in the radio industry. His series of commercials for radio called "Who Listens to Radio?" was a memorable treatment of situations that could only be achieved in language and sound and visualized in the mind of the listener—the whipped cream, the cherry (dropped by the Royal Canadian Air Force), and the addition of 25,000 cheering extras. In his most sardonic tones, Freberg would end each spot, saying, "Now, you wanna try that on television?" describing radio as a very special medium "because it stretches the imagination." The goal was simple: convince print and TV advertisers to reallocate their budgets to radio.

After the Lake Michigan spots came others: a skit about a perodactyl taking a bite out of the Superdome; another about a robber who stole nothing but radios. Each was tagged with a jingle called "Who Listens to Radio?" Freberg's lyrics demonstrated his unique brand of humor, including rhyming "in the morning with your toast and marmalade-e-o" with the word "radio." The song was sung by jazz stylist Sarah Vaughn and orchestrated by arranger Quincy Jones. More than 35 years after Freberg first produced "Who Listens to Radio?" the Radio Advertising Bureau received multiple requests each week for copies of the work.

Early Influence

Freberg grew up the son of a Baptist minister in Pasadena, California. His first experience in show business came at age 11 when he was an assistant to his uncle, a magician. In high school, he became enthralled with radio. He wrote, produced, and performed student radio shows and became his high school speech champion, winning a statewide competition. He was awarded a drama scholarship but turned it down to work with Mel Blanc, the actor who created the voices of Bugs Bunny, Porky Pig, and other Warner Brothers cartoon characters.

In the mid-1940s, Freberg became a regular on *The Jack Benny Show* and worked as a voice actor on *The Phil Harris/Alice Faye Show*, *The Man Called X*, and *Suspense*. He spent two years in the Army and then joined an orchestra, Red Fox and his Musical Hounds, as comedian and guitarist.

Freberg wrote and performed an early TV show for children called *Time for Beany*, which won an Emmy award. His

co-writer and performing partner on the show was Daws Butler, later the voice of TV's Yogi Bear and Huckleberry Hound and a voice actor on many of Freberg's popular skits.

In 1951, Freberg signed with Capitol Records for the release of "John and Marsha," a spoof of soap operas. The only "lyrics" to "John and Marsha" were the two names of the title, repeated throughout the record with a variety of dramatic intonations. "It was an exercise to see if I could run the gamut of emotions and not say anything except the names of the two leading characters," Freberg said.

A friend saw Freberg perform "John and Marsha" as part of a night-club routine and took a tape to Capitol. Freberg re-recorded "John and Marsha" in the Capitol studios with syrupy music in the background, and the single reached #21 on the Billboard chart. Some radio stations refused to play the record, fearing it was too suggestive. Theater of the mind had triumphed again, for the only suggestions were in the tone of Freberg's voice.

Success led to more spoofs on record. Freberg wrote and produced parodies of Cole Porter's "I've Got You Under My Skin" and Johnnie Ray's "Cry." In 1953, Freberg scored a number one single with "St. George and the Dragonet," a parody of the *Dragnet* television series.

The advent of rock and roll gave Freberg new fodder for parody. He satirized hit songs like "Heartbreak Hotel," "Sh-Boom," and "The Great Pretender." In liner notes to a collection of his skits on Capitol Records, Freberg pointed to "The Great Pretender" as one of his favorites because, "In addition to coming out fairly funny it lampoons a musical trend that I personally loathe."

In notes for *A Child's Garden of Freberg*, 1957, Freberg asserted himself as satirist:

In all my records I have tried to operate not as a record comic but as a satirist. There's a difference between pointless ridicule and earnest satire. A satirist is inherently a critic who seeks to improve society by pointing up its affectations and absurdities through the use of humor. His chief weapon is exaggeration. Satire is healthy.

Satire also creates controversy, as Freberg discovered more than once. His 1958 single "Green Chri\$tma\$" brilliantly attacked the commercialization of Christmas ("Deck the halls with advertising, what's the use of compromising?"). Many radio stations banned the seven-minute production. In 1960, Freberg irked radio again with his production of "The Old



Stan Freberg
 Courtesy CBS Photo Archive

Payola Roll Blues,” a satire on the pay-for-play scandals that rocked the industry at the time.

His most successful recording venture was the 1961 album *Stan Freberg Presents the United States of America*, in which Freberg lampooned people and events in American history. At the discovery of the new world, Christopher Columbus and Queen Isabella sang, “It’s a Round Round World.” George Washington hired an advertising agency to promote the newly formed United States, and Betsy Ross’ design for the American flag was celebrated Hollywood-style with “Everybody Wants to Be an Art Director.”

On the Air

During the 1950s, Freberg was heard on a variety of radio shows, including *That’s Rich* on CBS and a series of programs

on New York’s WCBS. In 1957, he was signed to *The Stan Freberg Show*, a live radio program on CBS, replacing *The Jack Benny Show*, which had moved to television. Critical response included raves from *Time* magazine about “a fresh, bright new sound that will wrench people away from the TV set.” *The New York Daily News* claimed, “Radio’s tired blood is being revitalized by Dr. Stan Freberg.”

In spite of positive reviews, the series lasted only 15 weeks. In addition to his frequent run-ins with CBS censors, Freberg wanted the show to run with a single, overall sponsor (like Benny’s show had), but he would not allow CBS to sell to a cigarette manufacturer. CBS preferred selling individual spot announcements, and Freberg felt that would mean “every three minutes I’d have to drop a commercial in.” The program ran without a sponsor. Freberg won no radio awards for the short-lived series, but the collected recordings won a Grammy Award.

Freberg's body of work grew with his Los Angeles-based advertising agency, called "Freberg, Limited" ("but not very" was added as a parenthetical on the letterhead). He produced memorable television commercials for Jenó's Pizza Rolls and Chun King Chinese foods. For radio, he developed more theater of the mind to sell Contadina tomato products ("Who puts eight great tomatoes in that little bitty can?"), tourism in the state of Oregon ("A territory's great, but you've gotta have a state!"), and the California Prune Advisory Board ("Today the pits; tomorrow the wrinkles!").

He took on commercial projects for two of America's biggest advertisers, General Motors and Mellon Bank. Freberg recalled one client, Dupont, asking him, "We know about the prunes and the pizza rolls, have you ever taken on a really serious client?" His answer: "Other than God?" referring to a series of commercials which needled Americans about not attending church regularly. They were used by the Southern Baptist Radio-Television Commission, the Detroit Council of Churches, the National Council of Churches, and the Presbyterian Church of the United States.

Latter Day Freberg

In the 1990s Freberg was heard on radio again with a daily commentary called *Stan Freberg Here*. His subject was anything topical, from learning to use a new computer to his take on the Gulf War. He was signed as host of the weekly radio series *When Radio Was*, a retrospective of old time radio shows.

In 1996, he continued the *United States of America* series by adding a long-awaited Volume 2, which took on subjects such as Morse's first telegram, Custer's Last Stand, and Edison's invention of the light bulb and the phonograph. Freberg coaxed bandleader Billy May out of retirement for orchestration and enlisted actors John Goodman, Tyne Daly, David Ogden Stiers, and Sherman Hemsley for spoken parts.

Freberg was writing Volume 3 of "United States" when, in 1999, Rhino Records asked him to assemble a retrospective box set titled "Tip of the Freberg: The Stan Freberg Collection, 1951-1998." The set includes remastered editions of his early Capitol recordings and a VHS tape of commercials Freberg produced for television.

Throughout the 1990s, Freberg was active as a voice actor, lending his talents to advertising and animation. He was regularly heard as the voice of Junyer Bear in "Bugs Bunny" cartoons and as Bertie in "Cheese Chasers" cartoons. In the feature animated film *Stuart Little*, Freberg was heard as the race announcer.

Freberg noted with pride in a 1999 interview that Paul and Linda McCartney mentioned him in a *Playboy* article when

they were asked where the Beatles got their sense of humor. Writer Stephen King said that Freberg's maraschino cherry commercial influenced his imagination, though King misremembered the scene as Puget Sound, not Lake Michigan. Playwright David Mamet referred to the same commercial and remembered the lake correctly, but magnified the cherry to 30 tons and added skyrockets along the shore. Freberg called the mistakes a tribute to the medium of radio that the scenes were remembered as even bigger than they were.

Underscoring his self-description as satirist, Freberg quotes Al Capp, the artist who drew the "Li'l Abner" comic strip: "The fifth freedom is the freedom to laugh at ourselves." To which Freberg adds: "Mr. Capp makes sense. When we stop laughing at ourselves, the decline and fall is not far off."

ED SHANE

See also Comedy; Promotion on Radio

Stanley Victor Freberg. Born in Los Angeles, California, 7 August 1926. Early voice acting with Mel Blanc; regular on *The Jack Benny Show* on radio; wrote and performed for television's *Time for Beany*; signed to Capitol Records, 1951, where he wrote and produced recordings satirizing popular culture; starred in *The Stan Freberg Show*, 1957; record album *Stan Freberg Presents the United States of America*, 1961. Freberg, Limited, advertising agency, produced commercials for Jenó's Pizza Rolls, among many others. *Stan Freberg Here* radio commentaries though the 1990s. Box set *Tip of the Freberg*, Rhino Records, 1999.

Selected Radio Series

1957	<i>The Stan Freberg Show</i>
1990-1998	<i>Stan Freberg Here</i>
1990-present	<i>When Radio Was</i>

Selected Recordings

The Best of The Stan Freberg Show, 1958; *Green Christmas*, 1959; *Stan Freberg Presents the United States of America*, 1961; *Stan Freberg Presents the United States of America, Volume 2: The Middle Years*, 1996; *Tip of the Freberg*, 1951-1998; *The Ultimate Freberg Box Set*, 1999

Selected Publications

It Only Hurts When I Laugh, 1988

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Ken R., "Radio Commercials for . . . Radio!" *Radio World* (14 March 2001)

Frederick, Pauline 1908–1990

U.S. Radio Network Journalist

One of the first female network news correspondents, Pauline Frederick became best known for more than two decades of reporting from the United Nations for National Broadcasting Company (NBC) radio and television. For her first dozen years on network television—until 1960—she remained the only female reporter of lasting duration in the medium.

Frederick grew up in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, and got her first journalistic experience covering social news for the local paper. She left to earn her bachelor's degree in political science (1929) and a master's degree in international law (1931), both from American University in Washington, D.C. She originally intended to be an attorney but grew more interested in journalism while in school. She worked as a freelance reporter for, among other media, the *Washington Star* on women's issues, and some of her interviews were syndicated by the North American Newspaper Alliance (NANA).

Her first broadcasting work was for NBC Blue, assisting commentator H.R. Baukage by conducting interviews with various newsmakers beginning in 1938 with the wife of the Czech ambassador as Germany occupied that country. She continued at NBC into the 1940s, undertaking scriptwriting and other assignments, few of them on air in an era when female broadcast journalists were almost unheard of. Unable to break that gender barrier, she left the network in 1945 to work full-time for NANA while freelancing occasional "women's news" and other reports for what had become American Broadcasting Company (ABC) radio. This period of intensive international experience included travel to 19 countries in 1945–46; she sent reports from several countries in the Far East, from the Nuremberg trials of Nazi war criminals in Germany, and from Poland.

Frederick returned to broadcasting when, despite being turned down by both the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) and NBC (who still felt women's voices were not authoritative enough for news), she obtained a part-time position with fledgling ABC News in 1946, initially focusing (again) on "women's news." Her impressive output—including an exclusive interview with General Eisenhower and later coverage of a foreign ministers' conference—raised her status to full-time employment in 1948. That year she helped anchor ABC's television coverage of the national political conventions, and from August 1948 to March 1949 she hosted the Saturday evening 15-minute *Pauline Frederick's Guest Books* of television news interviews. She was heard on several radio network newscasts, her radio focus becoming international affairs, including the then-new United Nations, on which she quickly became an authority.

In 1954 Frederick returned to NBC and continued covering the United Nations for 21 years until her mandatory retirement (because of her age—she was 65), about which she learned from a story in the *New York Times* in 1974. In this two-decade period she became the voice of the United Nations for many Americans. She was also heard covering political conventions, tensions and wars in the Middle East, the Cuban Missile Crisis and other parts of the Cold War, and the war in Vietnam. At the same time, she continued on NBC radio with *Pauline Frederick Reporting*, a 15-minute daily program.

After retiring from NBC radio and television news, Frederick commented on United Nations affairs for National Public Radio. She also became the first female journalist to moderate a presidential candidates' debate when she presided over one of the 1976 televised forums pitting President Gerald Ford against Governor Jimmy Carter. She retired in 1980.

Frederick received 23 honorary doctorates and was the first woman to win both the Alfred I. DuPont award (for commentary, in 1954 and 1956) and the George Foster Peabody award (1954). She was also the first woman to win the Paul White Award from the Radio-Television News Directors Association (1980). She was a model for many aspiring female journalists and was one of the first to succeed over a long career.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

Pauline Frederick. Born in Gallitzen, Pennsylvania, 13 February 1908. B.A. in political science, 1929 and M.A. in international law, 1931, American University. Performed freelance journalism work, 1920s and 1930s; interviewer, NBC, Washington, D.C., 1938–45; war correspondent, North American Newspaper Alliance, 1945–46; joined ABC radio, 1946–53; returned to NBC, becoming first woman to report serious television news, 1954–74; first woman elected president of the UN Correspondents Association, 1959; international affairs analyst, NPR, 1974–80; first woman to moderate a presidential debate, Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford, 1976. Recipient: Alfred DuPont Award for meritorious service to the American people, 1953; twenty-three honorary degrees; Headliner Award, Theta Sigma Phi; George Foster Peabody Award, School of Journalism, University of Georgia, 1954; First Pennsylvania Journalism Achievement Award; first woman recipient, Paul White Award, Radio-Television News Directors Association, 1980. Died in Lake Forest, Illinois, 9 May 1990.



Pauline Frederick
Courtesy AP/Wide World Photos

Radio Series

- 1949–53 *ABC News*
 1953–56 *NBC News*
 1954–55 *At the UN*

Selected Publications

Ten First Ladies of the World, 1967

Further Reading

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Nobile, Philip, "TV News and the Older Woman," *New York Times* (10 August 1981)

Sanders, Marlene, and Marcia Rock, *Waiting for Prime-Time: The Women of Television News*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988

Talese, Gay, "Perils of Pauline," *The Saturday Evening Post* (26 January 1963)

Freed, Alan 1921–1965

U.S. Disc Jockey

In the 1950s, Alan Freed became the first nationally recognized disc jockey in the U.S. to feature the emerging rhythm and blues and rock musical forms. During a time when many white "platter pilots" were reluctant to play songs by African-American performers, Freed was not; as a result, he helped to advance the careers of a number of artists. He has also been credited with helping to popularize the term *rock and roll*.

Freed, who grew up in Salem, Ohio, began his career in radio as an announcer in New Castle, Pennsylvania, after World War II, and by 1949 he had a popular music request show over WAKR in Akron, Ohio. In 1950 he moved to Cleveland and landed a job at WXEL-TV; however, by June 1951 Freed had returned to radio, hosting a record show over Cleveland's WJMO from 6:00 to 7:00 in the evenings. Less than a month later, he moved over to WJW in Cleveland to host what became a very popular late-evening request show.

Although Freed had started playing rhythm and blues on the air while he was in Akron, the inspiration for his career in rhythm and blues came from Joe Mintz, the owner of a Cleveland record store called the Record Rendezvous. Mintz was convinced that a rhythm and blues show would be popular, because both blacks and whites were buying rhythm and blues records in his store. He convinced Freed to give the music a chance on the air, and the result was *The Moondog Show*, which proved to be a great success.

Freed received wide attention when, in 1952, he took his show on the road. He decided to host a live concert in the Cleveland/Akron area called the Moondog Ball. The show, which featured a variety of acts, drew a crowd of 25,000 people to a 10,000-seat arena, and it was heralded as a successful,

though raucous, event. The near riot created by the ticketless crowd outside the theater attracted press attention to the music Freed was playing.

By 1954 WNJR in New Jersey had begun to air taped copies of Freed's programs, and on 1 May he hosted an Eastern Moondog Coronation Ball at the Sussex Avenue Armory in Newark. Years later, the *New York Times* noted, "Going to one of Alan Freed's rock 'n' roll musicales has always been something like having an aisle seat for the San Francisco earthquake."

Freed moved from Cleveland to New York City in July 1954 after signing with WINS radio for the largest annual salary paid to an independent rhythm and blues jockey up to that point—\$75,000. However, blind street musician Louis "Moondog" Hardin objected to Freed's use of the Moondog moniker, and in December of 1954, Hardin won a court injunction against Freed's use of the term. Freed changed the name of his WINS program to *Alan Freed's Rock and Roll Party*, and the age of rock began.

Freed moved to WABC in 1958, but he lost both his prestigious radio program and a television show at WNEW-TV in 1959 as a result of the Congressional quiz-show investigations. The legal action was prompted by accusations that TV networks were rigging popular quiz shows of the day, but the inquiries shifted to radio after Burt Lane, a representative for the American Guild of Authors and Publishers, sent a letter to the Congressional Special Subcommittee on Legislative Oversight citing examples of commercial bribery. Freed and a number of popular disk jockeys were accused of accepting money from record companies in return for playing those companies'



Alan Freed at WABC, June 1958
Courtesy AP/Wide World Photos

songs on the air. Freed pleaded guilty to a charge of taking bribes in 1962 and subsequently left New York City. Freed died in 1965 at 43 years of age in Palm Springs, California.

CHARLES F. GANZERT

Alan Freed. Born Albert James Freed, near Johnstown, Pennsylvania, 21 December 1921. Attended Ohio State University, B.S. in mechanical engineering, 1943; served two years in U.S. Army; disc jockey, WKST, New Castle, Pennsylvania, 1945; radio host, WAKR, Akron, Ohio, 1947; hosted television dance show, WXEL, Cleveland, Ohio, 1950; disc jockey, WJW, Cleveland, Ohio, 1951–54; staged “Big Beat,” all-African-American-talent rock and roll shows, 1952–58; hosted *Rock 'n' Roll Party*, CBS-TV, 1957; disc jockey, WINS, New York City, 1954–58; disc jockey, WABC, New York City, 1958; hosted dance party, WNEW-TV, New York City, 1959; disc jockey, KDAY, Los Angeles, California, 1960; worked at WQAM, Miami, Florida, 1962; jazz disc jockey, KNOB, Los Angeles, California, 1964. Elected to the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame, 1986. Died in Palm Springs, California, 20 January 1965.

Radio Series

1947 *Request Review*

1951–54 *The Moon Dog Show*
1954–58 *Alan Freed's Rock 'n' Roll Party*

Films

Rock around the Clock, 1956; *Don't Knock the Rock*, 1956; *Rock, Rock, Rock*, 1957; *Go Johnny Go*, 1959

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Freed, Paul 1918–1996

U.S. Religious Broadcaster

Paul E. Freed founded Trans World Radio in 1952 in Tangiers, Morocco. By 1999 Trans World Radio was broadcasting in 150 languages from 12 locations in the world. Its gospel message is broadcast more than 1,400 hours each week and reaches listeners on three continents.

Freed, the son of missionaries, was born in Detroit, Michigan, in 1918. As a young boy, his family moved to the Middle East, where his parents served with the Christian and Missionary Alliance Church. Freed's early education was sporadic; he attended English and German school in Jerusalem, was home schooled, and worked with tutors. When his parents were home on furlough, he attended Wheaton Academy in Illinois. From the Academy, he matriculated at Wheaton College, where he earned his bachelor's degree. After graduating from Wheaton College, Freed attended Nyack Bible College and graduated from its missions program. Shortly after his mar-

riage to Betty Jane Seawell in 1945, Freed left his employment as pastor of a small church in Greenville, South Carolina. Torrey Johnson, founder of the Youth for Christ movement, recruited Freed as the director of the Greensboro, North Carolina, program.

In 1948 Johnson sent Freed to the Youth for Christ conference in Switzerland. Despite protestations from Freed, Johnson insisted it was God's calling for him. While in Switzerland, Freed was convinced there was a need to transmit the message of God to the evangelical Protestant youth of Franco's Spain. Following a trip to Spain, Freed laid the foundation for a radio organization to bring the gospel message to the people of Spain. The Spanish government refused to sanction such work. Frustrated by his experience, Freed returned to the United States to find a way to fulfill his mission of evangelical radio for the people of Spain.



Rev. Paul E. Freed reports to White House after a visit to Spain, 21 December 1951
Courtesy AP/Wide World Photos

Origins of Trans World Radio

In February 1952 Freed founded International Evangelism (later to be known as Trans World Radio) in the international city of Tangiers, Morocco. Freed acquired a small piece of land directly across the narrow Strait of Gibraltar from Spain. By 1954, at 61 years of age, Freed's father, Ralph Freed, accepted a new ministry to become director of the radio station in Tangiers. Dr. Ralph Freed transmitted the first Christian message from Tangiers, Morocco, on a 2,500-watt transmitter. Working together, by 1956 the Freeds built the Voice of Tangiers into an organization that broadcast the gospel message to 40 countries in over 20 languages. In 1959, when Morocco became a politically independent nation, government officials for the new regime ordered all radio stations to become nationalized. Freed was forced to move his station. Freed was worried that the 80 million listeners of the Voice of Tangiers would be lost, because there were no other full-time gospel radio stations on the air. The tiny Riviera country of Monaco welcomed Trans World Radio and its gospel message.

Freed and Trans World Radio began broadcasting from a transmitter originally built during World War II by the Germans for propaganda purposes.

By 1960 Freed had completed a dissertation at the New York University School of Education. He combined international relations, mass communication, and religious education in preparation for his goal to expand Trans World Radio's broadcast of the gospel message to other areas of Europe. Freed believed that millions of people around the world would be receptive to the gospel message if they could hear it. European radio was not receptive to gospel programs or preachers. Most radio in Europe was controlled by the government, and the few countries that allowed preaching charged extremely high rates for even their lowest-rated times. Other countries that closed their borders to missionaries and the gospel message were also targeted by Freed for radio broadcasts.

The station in Monte Carlo broadcast with 100,000 watts. Freed targeted Spain, Portugal, the British Isles, Scandinavia, the then the Soviet Union, Central Europe, Southern Europe, the Middle East, and North Africa as the primary areas to be reached from Monte Carlo. The first programs aired by Trans World Radio were broadcast in 24 languages. The staff in Monte Carlo received 18,000 letters the first year offering support for their programming efforts. Trans World Radio continued to grow, setting up branch offices in different areas of Europe. Their ministry spread across Europe and into the Middle East.

In August 1964 Trans World Radio added a transmitting station in Bonaire Island, part of the Netherlands Antilles. Through this facility, Trans World Radio programmed 70 hours a week of gospel messages to the Caribbean and the northern part of South America. By 1980 Trans World Radio had established new transmitting stations in Swaziland to reach sub-Saharan Africa and Pakistan, in Cyprus to reach people in 21 countries in the Middle East and North Africa, and in Guam (broadcasting in 35 languages) to reach listeners in Central Asia, South Asia, Southeast Asia, and the Asian Pacific area. In the 1980s Trans World Radio established operations in Uruguay in partnership with "Radio Rural" to carry its gospel message to listeners in Uruguay and northern Argentina.

As Trans World Radio moved into the 1990s, Freed continued to work to expand listenership. Stations were added in Albania, Russia, Johannesburg, and Poland. By 2000 Trans World Radio broadcast 1,400 hours of gospel programs from 12 locations around the world. These programs were broadcast in 150 languages to an estimated 2 billion people. Each year, Trans World Radio receives over 1.4 million letters from listeners in 160 countries. Trans World Radio initially transmitted on AM at 800 kilohertz and has since added shortwave transmissions to reach more listeners. Shortly after Freed's

death on 1 December 1996, he was inducted into the National Religious Broadcaster's Hall of Fame.

MARGARET FINUCANE

See also International Radio; Religion on Radio; Shortwave Radio

Paul Ernest Freed. Born in Detroit, Michigan, 29 August 1918. Son of missionaries Ralph and Mildred Freed; attended Wheaton College, B.A., 1940; graduate of Missions Program, Nyack Bible College, 1944; attended Columbia University, M.A., 1956; New York University, Ph.D. in Mass Communication, 1960; founded Trans World Radio, 1952; awarded "President's silver Medallion for Service to the

Kingdom of God," Toccoa Falls College, 1996; inducted into the National Religious Broadcaster's Hall of Fame, 1997. Died in Cary, North Carolina, 1 December 1996.

Selected Publications

Towers to Eternity, 1968

Let the Earth Hear: The Thrilling Story of How Radio Goes over Barriers to Bring the Gospel of Christ to Unreached Millions, 1980

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Free Form Format

During the 1960s, FM was ripe for a new form of radio—radio that burst through established format boundaries, emphasizing wholeness over separation and communal action over atomistic listening. *Free form*—in which imaginative disc jockeys combined many types of recorded and live music, sound effects, poetry, interviews, and calls from listeners—was the aural representation of the counterculture movement. Eschewing the slick professionalism, high-pressure salesmanship, and tight formats of AM radio, free form was—and sometimes still is—distinctly spontaneous, experimental, and challenging. At its best, free form is an exhilarating art form in its own right—a synergistic combination of disparate musical forms and spoken words. At its worst, free form may be pandering and self-indulgent.

Origins

Free form's roots developed in both commercial and noncommercial settings. During the mid-1960s, noncommercial community stations were developing across the country, following the lead established by Pacifica stations in California, New York, and Texas. These stations depended heavily on low-paid (often volunteer) programmers whose anti-establishment agendas rejected the tight structure of most corporate, commercial media. At the same time, commercial FM was still in its infancy, and disc jockeys were encouraged to experiment with longer segments and album cuts. Free form developed amidst

these experimental venues, catching on quickly among community stations and some commercial FM stations—albeit late at night and on weekends.

Free form most likely originated at WBAI in New York City around 1963–64, with three different deejays: Bop Fass (Radio Unnameable), Larry Josephson (In the Beginning), and the following year with Steve Post's the Outside. Soon, it spread to other stations, notably Pacifica stations KPFA in Berkeley and KPFK in Los Angeles, and privately owned KMPX in San Francisco. KMPX's general manager, Tom Donahue, is often credited as being the driving force behind the "underground radio" movement. Although he did not invent free form, Donahue nurtured it and allowed it to grow from a program shift to an entire format (although *anti-format* might be a better term).

Style

Free-form programmers featured everything from cutting-edge musicians such as Bob Dylan and the Grateful Dead to comedy routines from W.C. Fields and Jonathan Winters. Indian ragas and classical music were heard back to back. Shows started late and ran overtime. Guests wandered in and out of control rooms, sometimes speaking on air, at other times just being part of the scene. Disc jockeys pontificated on the day's topics, their delivery styles ranging from chats with listeners and studio guests to rambling, witty monologues—often within the

same program. Interviews and announcements regarding the counterculture and antiwar protests peppered broadcasts increasingly as the 1960s wore on.

Free form's deliberately anarchistic and undisciplined sound was, in effect, a form of participatory theater and gained a considerable following within the counterculture. Listeners called in to programs and were often heard on the air, rallies were announced (and broadcast), and listeners met at live remotes and events sponsored by stations (such as WBAI's 1967 "fly in" at Kennedy Airport, organized by WBAI free-form host Bob Foss).

Challenges to Free Form

The popularity of free form reached its peak between 1965 and 1970 and ultimately waned for three primary reasons. Ironically, once established through the success of free form, commercial FM became bound by the same tight formats that defined AM. Also, leaders among free-form disc jockeys, notably WBAI's Larry Josephson, grew weary of underground radio and moved on to other pastures. And the counterculture movement that nurtured free form eventually evolved beyond its communal sentiments. As the movement splintered into subgroups focusing upon sexuality, gender, race, and ethnicity, free form gave way to specialty shows on community radio and to the newer, more professional "public" stations affiliated with National Public Radio (NPR).

The 1980s were particularly difficult for free form, as community stations and NPR affiliates began programming more syndicated programming and professionalizing their sound, especially following NPR's near bankruptcy in 1983. Severe internal battles over station control were sometimes waged, with the fate of free form hanging in the balance. Proponents argued that free form was a unique means of expression that the new professionals simply failed to understand. The latter charged that free form's time had passed and that free form appealed to only a tiny fraction of the potential market. Despite such challenges, free form continued to survive at some stations, albeit most often during the late-night hours where it had originally developed.

Contemporary Free Form

Among the community stations and a dwindling number of public stations that still program it, free form has taken on an air of sanctity, hearkening back to the good old days when community radio was central to the underground movement. Yet without a symbiotic cultural context to fuel and inform it, contemporary free form lacks the immediacy and connection with the public that it once held. As such, free form has

become a much more personal medium among disc jockeys, and a successful program is one that has smoothly combined a wide variation of sounds reflective of the programmer's moods and inclinations at the moment. Whereas 1960s free form was jarring and often disturbing in its quirky juxtapositions, contemporary free form is more often about flow and seamless segues.

Besides community and public radio stations, most college radio stations also program free-form music to some extent, although the preferred term is "alternative radio." College radio programmers, however, typically lack a historical awareness of free form and have little concept of its cultural implications. Also, college radio's alternative programming is rarely as diverse as free form heard on community and public stations.

Free form's most recent manifestation is on the internet. Community, public, and college stations increasingly broadcast via the web, and some internet-only stations—often the efforts of individuals working from home—advertise themselves as free-form radio. The internet is also an important meeting place for free form enthusiasts, whose web pages and chat groups provide means of sharing information and ideas.

WARREN BAREISS

See also Internet Radio; KPFA; Pacifica Foundation; WBAI

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Frequency Allocation

Providing Spectrum for Broadcasting

Governments allocate bands of frequencies, including radio frequencies, for specific uses. Frequency allocation meshes technical limits and options with political and economic realities to create the compromise solutions behind today's broadcast services.

Three definitions are useful. *Allocation* is the broadest division of the electromagnetic spectrum into designated bands for given services (such as AM radio in the medium waves or FM in the very-high-frequency [VHF] spectrum). *Allotments* fall within allocations—they are given channels that are designated for specific places (only FM and television broadcasting have allotments). Finally, *assignments* are allotments that have actual users operating on them (such as a given station using 98.1 megahertz, for example)—they are virtually the same as a license to operate.

Frequency allocation can be examined under three broad rubrics. First, frequencies are allocated to classes of service. All radio signals that travel through the air use frequencies that are part of the electromagnetic spectrum. By international agreement this natural resource is divided into bands in which certain kinds of broadcasting occur. Medium-wave (or AM) radio occurs in one part of the spectrum, VHF (or FM) radio in another, VHF and ultrahigh-frequency (UHF) television in others, cellular telephony in another, satellite communication in another, and so on.

The frequencies used by different services are a function of three circumstances. First is history. Early experimentation with certain kinds of broadcasting resulted in assumptions that final allocations for that service should occur in the bands, or at the frequencies, originally used. This is because radio and television sets are designed to detect and amplify certain frequencies. Therefore, once such devices begin to be sold, changing the frequency of the service they were designed to use would make them obsolete. This can happen—for instance, in the United States the frequencies used to broadcast VHF/FM were changed in 1945—but the presumption is against such changes if they can be avoided.

Second are the technical needs of a particular service compared to the characteristics of certain portions of the spectrum. For instance, lower frequencies, such as those used for medium-wave/AM radio or shortwave radio, travel farther and propagate in ways that make it possible for them to bypass barriers more effectively than higher frequencies, such as those used for VHF/FM. This makes shortwave an effective means to broadcast transcontinentally or across oceans, medium-wave an effective means to provide national radio services (or international services to contiguous countries), and VHF an effective

means to provide local radio services. Satellite television signals are at such high frequencies that they are effectively blocked by buildings, trees, or other obstacles. Such frequencies would be relatively useless if they were used by terrestrial (or land-based) transmitters, but because the satellite signals travel essentially vertically (from the sky to the earth), they can be used for this service as long as the dishes for receiving them are clear of obstacles. They can be affected by electrical storms or heavy thunderstorms, however, so some disruptions of service are inevitable.

Third are the political compromises made by the signatory administrations (or countries) that sign the allocation agreements under the auspices of the International Telecommunication Union (ITU). Such agreements, for instance, can result in an altered frequency band assignment for a particular service, despite uses of another portion of the spectrum in some countries. This is usually the result of a recognized need to rationalize frequency allocations so that transmission and reception devices can be designed using a worldwide standard. Otherwise the economies of scale may not achieve maximum impact, and the devices made may not be manufactured or sold as inexpensively as they would be otherwise. International broadcasting would be impossible if there were not an international allocation for such services, because the radio sets used to listen to them could not tune the same frequencies from country to country.

Frequencies are also allocated within classes of service to particular countries. Some frequencies assigned are exclusive, and others are shared. The less powerful a station is, the less distance its signals travel. Consequently, it can share its frequency with other stations located at a sufficient distance to avoid interference. This is easier with VHF/FM than with medium-wave/AM, because FM signals travel only by line of sight, whereas the propagation characteristics of amplitude-modulated (AM) signals change at dusk, traveling farther via night-time sky waves, which bounce off a layer of the ionosphere and return many hundreds of miles from their origin point. Countries contiguous to one another must share the total frequency allocation for a particular type of service within its region.

Frequencies are also assigned within particular allocations to particular users (or broadcasters). Different carrier frequencies (the center point of a channel—the frequency that appears on your receiver when you tune a specific station) are assigned to individual stations. In the United States, frequencies are assigned by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) by means of broadcasting licenses. These licenses stipulate the

channel (or band of frequencies centered on the carrier) that a station is to use to broadcast, the power it can use (according to the class of service it is licensed to provide), and its hours of operation. AM stations, for instance, use the 535-to-1705-kilohertz band, and FM stations use the 88.1-to-107.9-megahertz band. There are 117 AM carrier frequencies that can be assigned and 100 FM frequencies. Because of the propagation characteristics of these two services and the differences in bandwidth (10-kilohertz bandwidths for AM stations and 200-kilohertz bandwidths for FM), there were in 2000 about 4,900 AM stations and more than 6,700 FM stations in the United States. In January 2000 the FCC also began a new class of FM service, allowing both 100-watt and 10-watt stations, which will add many new low-power FM stations to the American broadcast landscape.

The principal exception to these general rules for frequency allocation is the frequencies used for international broadcasting in the shortwave portion of the spectrum. Here, individual stations are not assigned particular frequencies or broadcast power to use. Because the amplitude-modulated carrier waves of shortwave stations have the same propagation characteristics as AM waves generally, shortwave stations must change their frequencies as the seasons change (because the sunspot cycle moves from inactive to active every 17 years) and often as the time of day changes. This is why such stations register their "demands" with the international Frequency Registration Board (FRB), part of the ITU. By registering, they can discover whether they are attempting to use the same frequency as another broadcaster in the same part of the world. Often stations will also collaborate to ensure that their broadcasts will not interfere with one another's.

When radio was just beginning to be used in the early part of the 20th century, scientists believed that there were a limited number of frequencies suitable for broadcasting. When the first stations began to go on the air in about 1919, they used the same few frequencies, and there was significant interference between stations. Shortwave was given its name because people believed that any wavelengths shorter than those first used for radio would be unusable. This was because the shorter the wavelength (and thus the greater the frequency per second with which a wave crosses a particular plane), the more power it takes to move a wave a given distance. In other words, the longer the wave, the farther it will travel with a given transmitter. People thought that if wavelengths became shorter than those used by shortwave, the power required to make them usable would be prohibitively high.

Transmitters have become more efficient, however, and new forms of broadcasting (such as frequency modulation and digital broadcasting) have developed that continue to open up new frequencies for use. At the 1992 World Administrative Radio Conference (WARC), the participants provided new allocations for broadcast satellite service. For audio (or sound)

broadcasting, the frequencies 1452-1492 megahertz, 2310-2360 megahertz, and 2535-2655 megahertz were agreed to, and the FCC subsequently allocated the spectrum 2310-2360 megahertz based on the international allocation adopted for the United States by the 1992 WARC for a Digital Audio Radio Service. The 1992 WARC also adopted an even higher set of frequencies for broadcast satellite service for high-definition television, with 17.3-17.8 gigahertz assigned to region 2 and 21.4-22.0 gigahertz for regions 1 and 3. All these new allocations will become effective 1 April 2007.

As seen in Table 1, the ITU has allocated the bands in the electromagnetic spectrum for various uses.

The pattern in these allocations is easy to see. It is useful to note that there are only 20,000 hertz in band 4, 299,970 hertz in band 5, and 2,999,700 hertz in band 6. As the frequencies used for broadcasting rise, the total amount of spectrum available increases not arithmetically (as, for instance, the band numbers do), but exponentially. What this means in practical terms is that the amount of spectrum now available for services has enabled enormously more service, more competition, and more exclusive service allocations at ever-higher frequencies. For broadcasting, this has also meant the opportunity to expand bandwidth as the frequency allocations have risen, thus allowing for higher-fidelity transmissions. Whereas in the AM band, bandwidths of 10 kilohertz only allow stations to broadcast about half of the frequency response that is within human hearing range, with VHF/FM broadcasting two signals (left and right) can be broadcast using the entire 20-kilohertz range and still leave room for sideband broadcasting, guard bands to prevent cross-channel interference, and a broadcasting envelope to prevent atmospheric or manmade interference. Use of even higher frequencies allows the broadcasting of multiple CD-quality digital signals in the same channel, which digital radio delivered by satellite will deliver.

All frequency allocations are based on the use of hertz (or cycles per second) generated by a broadcast transmitter (hertz are named for Heinrich Hertz, whose experiments led to recognition of cycles generated by sound). Human hearing, for instance, can decipher the frequencies from about 20 hertz to 20,000 hertz (or 20 kilohertz). Any vibrating object creates waves at a particular frequency. Large objects (such as kettle drums or tubas) generate mostly low frequencies, whereas smaller ones (such as flutes or piccolos) generate mostly high frequencies. Tuba sounds travel farther than piccolo sounds do. The same principle applies to broadcast transmitters that generate the carrier waves upon or within which sound is carried to radio or television receivers, with some reservations. Low-frequency signals tend to travel along the ground, and much of their power is absorbed by the earth. As the frequencies increase, more of the signal travels through the air than along the ground, and gradually more of it also becomes a sky wave, which travels up and bounces back to earth. These char-

Table 1. International Telecommunication Union Band Allocations

Band Number	Frequencies	Designation	Some Designated Uses
4	10–30 kHz	Very low frequency	Long distance point-to-point broadcasting
5	30–300 kHz	Low frequency	Medium distance point-to-point broadcasting, radio navigation, aeronautical mobile, low-frequency broadcasting
6	300–3000 kHz	Medium frequency	AM broadcasting, short-range communication, international distress
7	3–30 MHz	High frequency	International radio broadcasting; air-to-ground, ship-to-shore, and international point-to-point broadcasting
8	30–300 MHz	Very high frequency	Line-of-sight communication, VHF television broadcasting, FM broadcasting, aeronautical distress
9	300–3000 MHz	Ultrahigh frequency	UHF television broadcasting, space communication, radar, citizens band radio
10	3–30 GHz	Superhigh frequency	Microwave communication, space communication
11	30–300 GHz	Extremely high frequency	Microwave communication, space communication, radar, radio astronomy

acteristics mean that less power will actually move a wave at a higher frequency farther than a wave at very low frequencies, despite the fact that the wavelengths are lower at the higher frequency (wavelength and frequency are in inverse relationship). Therefore, when shortwave propagation was discovered in 1921, it was possible to reach as far with a 1-kilowatt transmitter as organizations had used 200 kilowatts to do before using the ground wave of low-frequency broadcasting.

Frequency allocations thus have to be made with several interrelated factors in mind: (1) the type of propagation that will occur at a given frequency (ground, direct, or sky); (2) the type of service that is to be accomplished with a particular allocation (local, national, or international, via terrestrial or satellite transmission); (3) the fidelity required for the service to be provided (for instance, voice, music, video, or CD quality) and the bandwidth necessary to provide that service; (4) whether the allocations must be exclusive or can be shared with other services; (5) existing experimental or other uses that a particular set of frequencies have been put to (thus providing what are called “squatter’s rights”); and (6) the political realities of allocation among the different administrations that seek to employ the frequencies for particular uses.

ROBERT S. FORTNER

See also AM Radio; Clear Channel Stations; Digital Satellite Radio; Federal Communications Commission; FM Radio;

Ground Wave; Hertz, Heinrich; International Telecommunication Union; Licensing; North American Regional Broadcasting Agreement; Portable Radio Stations; Shortwave Radio; Subsidiary Communication Authorization; Ten-Watt Stations

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Fresh Air

Public Radio Arts and Issues Program

Fresh Air host Terry Gross refers to herself and her production team as “culture scouts,” seeking the latest in arts, ideas, and issues. The program is one of the most popular on public radio, drawing a weekly audience of more than 4 million listeners on some 435 stations. *Fresh Air*’s Peabody Award citation in 1994 noted that “unlike the cacophony of voices that sometimes obscure and polarize contemporary debate, Ms. Gross asks thoughtful, unexpected questions, and allows her subjects time to frame their answers.” *Fresh Air*’s guests have ranged from former First Lady Nancy Reagan to filmmaker Martin Scorsese, from hostage negotiator Terry Waite to novelist Joyce Carol Oates, singer Tony Bennett, playwright David Mamet, and thousands more.

Over the years, *Fresh Air* has evolved from a live, three-hour local program to a highly produced hour-long program that runs nationally. David Karpoff created the show in 1974 when he was program director at WHY Y (then WUHY) in Philadelphia; he modeled it on *This Is Radio*, a program he had worked on at WBFO in Buffalo. Karpoff was the first host, interspersing live interviews with classical music. He was followed as host by Judy Blank, and when she moved on, Karpoff in 1975 hired Terry Gross, who had been co-hosting and producing *This Is Radio* in Buffalo.

Gross drew complaints by changing *Fresh Air*’s music to jazz, blues, and rock and roll, but she won listeners over with an interview style that was thoughtful and direct. Gross, who was 24 at the time, had broken into radio just two years earlier when she helped produce and host a feminist program at WBFO.

By 1978, when Bill Siemering arrived as station manager at WHY Y, Gross was carrying on the entire three-hour program by herself, “playing records,” Siemering recalls, “that were just long enough to show one guest out and lead another one in.” As a former station manager at WBFO, Siemering had created *This Is Radio* out of the turmoil of campus protest and had then gone on to develop *All Things Considered* as a program director at National Public Radio (NPR). When he arrived at WHY Y (then WUHY), Siemering says the station was in a run-down building in West Philadelphia, where the ladies’ room plumbing leaked onto Gross’ desk. Siemering got a Corporation for Public Broadcasting grant to upgrade the station and was able to hire intern Danny Miller as an assistant producer for *Fresh Air*.

Miller, who eventually became the program’s co-executive producer, says the fact that *Fresh Air* began as a local show is an important source of its strength: “The show had years to mature before it went national.” Part of that maturation involved cutting back the amount of time on the air from three

hours to two in 1983, because, as Gross says, “Danny and I often felt that in order to fill the airtime, we were forced to focus more on the quantity than the quality of guests.” At the same time, Gross and Miller added a weekend “best of” edition of the show that became the seed for the weekly national edition that was to follow.

Gross sees the development of the show as a step-by-step evolution. The next step came in the spring of 1985, when WHY Y premiered a weekly 30-minute version of *Fresh Air*, distributed by NPR. It appeared at a time when public radio stations on the East Coast were pressing for an earlier start time for the popular newsmagazine *All Things Considered*, which would enable them to capture more of the drive-time audience. Robert Siegel, then the news director at NPR, resisted the idea, feeling that the show was already stretched to meet a 5 P.M. deadline. Siegel saw *Fresh Air* as an answer to the demand for a 4 P.M. start, because its sensibility matched that of *All Things Considered* without duplicating its news content. “It was a very good program,” he says, “and Terry is the best interviewer in public radio.”

Gross says the program was reconceived in 1987 as a daily arts-and-culture companion to *All Things Considered*. To integrate it further into the *All Things Considered* sound, the new format included a drop-in newscast. *Fresh Air*’s shorter interviews, reviews, and other features were put in the second half hour so that its pace would match that of the newsmagazine as listeners went from one program to the next. The new *Fresh Air* also featured a recorded interchange between Gross and the hosts of *All Things Considered* in which they discussed what was coming up.

The national version of *Fresh Air* was a hit, both with audiences and with program directors, who liked the show’s predictable format because it gave them the flexibility to drop in local material during drive time. However, Gross says she and co-producer Danny Miller grew to feel imprisoned by the rigidity of the format. They were glad, therefore, when the 1991 Gulf War brought new demands on everyone. Even though *Fresh Air* had concentrated on arts and culture, Gross says, “we had to address the war. Everybody was rightly obsessed with it.” The producers sought interviews that could supplement the news, looking for what Danny Miller calls “the great explainers,” experts on the culture and the history of the region. “Emergencies require change,” Gross says, “and emergencies justify change. If an interview ran more than a half hour, we let it.” The war coverage restored some of *Fresh Air*’s flexibility and expanded its portfolio to include a full range of contemporary issues.



Terry Gross, host of *Fresh Air*
 Courtesy National Public Radio

Regardless of the subject, Gross applies the same demanding preparation for each interview, reading each author's books, viewing the films, and listening to the CDs that she will discuss. Interviews typically last between 20 and 40 minutes, during which Gross gives her guests the opportunity to rethink and rephrase their answers if they feel they can express themselves better. She prides herself on treating guests with respect, but "that doesn't mean I won't challenge you." Gross' critics have complained that she does not ask confrontational questions, but Bill Siemering says her method is much more effective. "If you're on the attack, all you get is their defense. If you're respectful, you get a lot more."

After nearly three decades on the air, *Fresh Air's* archives are filled with the voices and thoughts of some of the era's most interesting people, what Gross calls "a scattershot history of American culture."

COREY FLINTOFF

See also National Public Radio; Peabody Awards; Public Radio Since 1967; Siemering, William

Hosts

David Karpoff, 1974
 Judy Blank, 1974-75
 Terry Gross, 1975-

Producer/Creator

David Karpoff

Co-producers

Terry Gross and Danny Miller

Programming History

WHYY 1974-85
 National Public Radio 1985-

(Note: WHYY continued to produce the program after NPR commenced distribution in 1985)

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Friendly, Fred 1915–1998

U.S. Broadcast Journalist

Although best known for his work in television journalism and public-affairs programming at the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) and at the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS), Fred Friendly's broadcasting roots were in radio. His experience in radio and recording prior to 1950—in Providence, Rhode Island; in the China-Burma-India theater during World War II; and in New York City at the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) and CBS in the late 1940s—provided his entrée into network journalism and influenced his subsequent work in television.

In 1921, Friendly and his father, a jewelry maker, built a radio receiver and listened to the Jack Dempsey–Georges Carpentier championship boxing match broadcast by KDKA in Pittsburgh. Friendly first went on the air in the early 1930s as a high school student on WJAR in Providence, Rhode Island, to perform in a one-act play, *The Valiant*, written by H.E. Porter and R. Middlemass.

Friendly's broadcast career began in earnest in 1936 at WEAN, Rhode Island's first radio station, which was part of the Yankee network and affiliated with the NBC Blue network. At WEAN, Mowry Lowe, a Rhode Island broadcasting pioneer, served as Friendly's mentor. From 1937 to 1941, Friendly produced and broadcast *Footprints in the Sands of Time*, daily five-minute biographies of important historical figures, for which a sponsor paid Friendly \$5 per program, in addition to his \$35-a-week salary (see Bliss, 1991). Decca Records later purchased the series. Friendly also worked as an announcer at WEAN and appeared on Mowry Lowe's *Sidewalk Backtalk*, a man-in-the-street interview program. During the same period, he operated the Fred Friendly Company, characterized on its letterhead as "A Radio Production Service to Advertising Agencies."

At WEAN, Friendly made occasional news reports. For example, he helped cover the great hurricane of September 1938 in Rhode Island. In July 1941 the Mutual Broadcasting System carried his report on the opening of the naval marine air station in Quonset, Rhode Island. On 1 October 1999, National Public Radio rebroadcast the report on *All Things Considered* as "a piece of radio poetry." The broadcast evoked the verse of Walt Whitman and anticipated the themes of the army wartime film series *Why We Fight*. Friendly celebrated "\$30 million worth of cement and steel . . . and mortar and sweat to keep America strong," accomplished by "a melting pot of O'Neils, Murphys, Gustafsons, and Joneses, and Cohens and Marinos."

During World War II, as a result of his radio experience, Friendly served in the Signal Corps and in the Information and Education Section of the army as a master sergeant. In the

China-Burma-India theater, he lectured to troops and wrote for the army newspaper, *CBI Roundup*. In addition, Friendly made recordings of bomber runs for the historical archives of the army. He accomplished this by hooking up a wire recorder to a plane's intercom in order to capture the crew's communication, to which he would add his own running account of the mission. He also made recorded combat reports from the front lines of the Eastern Theater for the fledgling Armed Forces Radio Network. In addition, after visiting Europe to cover the Allied victory in the West and the liberation of the Mauthausen concentration camp in Austria, Friendly gave a radio report for Armed Forces Radio from New Delhi.

Following the war, Friendly had an idea for a record album made up of historical figures of the 1930s and 1940s, an extension of the idea behind *Footprints in the Sands of Time*, a project facilitated by the advent of magnetic tape. In 1947, the agent J.P. Gude introduced Friendly to Edward R. Murrow, who provided narration for the 46 voices—from Roosevelt and Churchill to Will Rogers and Lou Gehrig—heard on *I Can Hear It Now*, issued in December 1948 by Columbia Records. Friendly produced five additional records for the *I Can Hear It Now* series. The first album, a spectacular critical and commercial success, initiated the Friendly-Murrow collaboration, which has been called "the most productive, most influential partnership in the whole history of broadcast journalism" (Bliss, 1991).

On 2 July 1948 NBC first aired a radio show, conceived and produced by Friendly, called *Who Said That?* On the show, a panel of journalists and celebrities was given quotations reported during the previous week and tried to identify their sources. Robert Trout served as host, John Cameron Swayze as a regular panelist. In December 1948, Friendly launched a television version of *Who Said That?* on NBC that continued to be carried on radio, one of the first programs to be simulcast. The radio version remained on the air until 1950, the television program until 1955, by which time it had moved to ABC-TV.

In 1950, Friendly produced and directed for NBC *The Quick and the Dead*, a four-part radio dramatization and documentary on the history and future implications of atomic power. Friendly had witnessed the dawn of the nuclear age firsthand, flying in a reconnaissance plane over Hiroshima and Nagasaki several days after their destruction. In the radio documentary, Bob Hope played an average citizen posing questions that were answered by actors playing Albert Einstein and other figures instrumental in the development of the atomic bomb. Friendly collaborated with *New York Times* science



Fred Friendly
Courtesy of Ruth W. Friendly

reporter William Laurence on the program, which included interviews with actual scientists and statesmen as well as with crew members of the plane that dropped the first atomic bomb.

In 1950, as a result of critical acclaim for *The Quick and the Dead*, Sig Mickelson, director of public affairs at CBS, hired Friendly to join the network's radio documentary unit. Friendly immediately teamed up with Murrow to produce *Hear It Now*, a prime-time hour-long radio news magazine carried on 173 stations. The acclaimed program, which combined audiotaped actualities and interviews with newsmakers, prompted imitations at NBC (*Voices and Events*) and at ABC (*Week Around the World*).

Hear It Now lasted only one season before being transformed by the Murrow-Friendly team into the groundbreaking television program *See It Now* (1951-58), with Friendly as its executive producer. Friendly subsequently worked at CBS television as executive director of *CBS Reports* (1959-64) and as president of CBS News (1964-66). After leaving CBS, Friendly served as broadcasting advisor to the Ford Foundation (1966-80), as Edward R. Murrow Professor of Journalism at Columbia University (1968-79), and as originator and director of the Columbia University Seminars on Media and Society (1974-98), which have been broadcast since 1981 on PBS.

A radio sensibility persisted throughout Friendly's television career. Don Hewitt, executive producer of *60 Minutes* and a member of the original *See It Now* team, said that Fred Friendly taught him his most valuable lesson in television: "It is your ear more than your eye that keeps you at the television set. . . . The picture brings you there, and what you hear keeps you there."

RALPH ENGELMAN

See also *Hear It Now*; Murrow, Edward R.; News; Peabody Awards; World War II and U.S. Radio

Fred W. Friendly. Born Ferdinand Friendly Wachenheimer in New York City, 30 October 1915. Attended Nichols Junior College, 1936; served in U.S. Army, Information and Education Section, Signal Corps instructor, 1941-45; announcer, newscaster, and producer, WEAN-AM, Providence, Rhode Island, 1937-41; correspondent for *CBI Roundup*, U.S. Army, 1941-45; co-creator with Edward R. Murrow, *I Can Hear It Now*, 1948-51; writer and producer of various radio and television shows, 1948-64; president of CBS news, 1964-66; broadcasting advisor, Ford Foundation, 1966-80; Edward R. Murrow Professor of Journalism, Columbia University, 1966-98; director, Columbia University Seminars on Media and Society, 1984-98; director, Michele Clark Program for minority journalists, Columbia University, 1968-75; member, Mayor's Task Force on CATV and Telecommunications, New York City, 1968; visiting professor, Bryn Mawr College, 1981; visiting professor, Yale University, 1984; commissioner,

Charter Revision Committee for City of New York, 1986-90; Montgomery fellow, Dartmouth College, 1986. Received Decorated Legion of Merit and four battle stars; Soldier's Medal for heroism; 35 awards for *See It Now*, including the Overseas Press Club Award, Page One Award, New York Newspaper Guild, and National Headliners Club Award, 1954; 40 awards for *CBS Reports*; Theatre Library Association Award, 1977; 10 George Foster Peabody Broadcasting Awards; honorary degrees from various U.S. universities. Died in New York City, 3 March 1998.

Radio Series

- 1938-40 *Footprints in the Sands of Time*
 1948-50 *Who Said That?*
 1950 *The Quick and the Dead*
 1950-51 *Hear It Now*

Television Series

See It Now, 1948-55; *CBS Reports*, 1959-64; *Columbia University Seminars on Media and Society* (also known as *The Fred Friendly Seminars*), 1984-98

Selected Publications

- See It Now* (with Edward R. Murrow), 1955
Due to Circumstances beyond Our Control, 1967
The Good Guys, the Bad Guys, and the First Amendment: Free Speech v. Fairness in Broadcasting, 1976
Minnesota Rag: The Dramatic Story of the Landmark Supreme Court Case That Gave New Meaning to Freedom of the Press, 1981
The Constitution: That Delicate Balance (with Martha J. H. Elliot), 1984

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Fritzsche, Hans 1900–1953

German Radio Official and Commentator

Hans Fritzsche is among the more controversial figures in radio history. As Nazi Germany's leading radio commentator, he gained notoriety during World War II. His rise to mass popularity was testimony to the successful efforts of Nazi propaganda to promote a softer, wittier, more popular, and entertaining side of the regime. In addition Fritzsche was a key radio executive within Nazi Germany. He was instrumental in reorganizing German radio to serve the propaganda purposes of Hitler and the Third Reich. During World War II he became the most senior German radio official.

Origins

August Franz Anton Hans Fritzsche was born in Bochum, Germany, on 21 April 1900, the son of a Prussian postal clerk. A volunteer for the Army, he served in Flanders during the final months of World War I. Receiving his high school diploma the following year, he went on to study German, history, and economics at the Universities of Greifswald and Berlin. Without graduating, Fritzsche embarked on a journalistic career in 1923–24, when Germany was just emerging from the dual crisis of inflation and secessionism that had paralyzed the country since the end of the war.

Fritzsche joined several right wing political parties and clubs that served as rallying places of the foes of the newly founded German democracy. In 1923 Fritzsche became first editor of a conservative business journal and later an editor at Telegraf-Union, a news service controlled by Alfred Hugenberg, a leading German industrialist and an important figure in right-wing and nationalist political circles.

Broadcasting Career

Fritzsche's broadcasting career began in 1932. At the age of 32, he was appointed head of the news section of the German Broadcasting Corporation (Reichsrundfunkgesellschaft or RRG) and was responsible for the coordination of news broadcasts throughout Germany. This astonishing career move to one of the most influential positions in German radio came as part of a right-wing effort to take over the RRG and centralize the loose network of the independently run regional public broadcasting companies. In November 1932 Fritzsche gained recognition beyond professional circles when he started a new program called *Politische Zeitungsschau* (*Political Newspaper Digest*), which was syndicated by several stations throughout Germany.

With his nationalist credentials, Fritzsche was welcomed into the ranks of the Nazi party, which had taken over the German

government in January 1933. After Joseph Goebbels had been appointed head of the newly created Reich Ministry of Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda (Reichsministerium für Volkserziehung und Propaganda, or RMVP), Fritzsche and other staff members of the RRG were incorporated into the press section of the RMVP. Fritzsche continued his work as chief news editor. He was responsible for three daily national news broadcasts in the mornings, afternoons, and evenings. He also organized broadcasts during special events such as the 1936 Berlin Olympics. Because Fritzsche was trusted by Goebbels and enjoyed a good relationship with the population, he was often asked to explain difficult political situations to the public.

In 1938 German propaganda was in disarray after the German occupation of the Czech Sudeten border region, and Fritzsche was appointed first as deputy and then as head of the German press section of the RMVP. In this capacity Fritzsche daily held so-called "press conferences" where journalists were told what to include and exclude in their reporting. Even though Fritzsche was one of Goebbels' close lieutenants, he managed to keep good relations with journalists. He was well liked by the German press corps and knew how to relate to his former colleagues.

Fritzsche's great moment came with the start of World War II. His regular radio broadcast had gained some popularity by that point, but he remained only one of several well-known radio commentators. After September 1939, however, Fritzsche became *the* German broadcaster, someone whose voice was instantly recognized by a majority of the population. To this day, older generations of Germans remember his name and that of his radio show *Es spricht Hans Fritzsche* (*This Is Hans Fritzsche*). Unlike many German military radio commentators, Fritzsche was a seasoned journalist, an intriguing speaker with a penchant for good formulas, and someone who knew his trade and had a clear grasp of the medium.

The airwave battles between Fritzsche and his British counterparts are legendary. From the Allied point of view, Fritzsche was the most conspicuous German radio commentator, especially during the first phase of the war when his *Politische Zeitungsschau* (*Political Newspaper and Radio Digest*) consisted almost exclusively of "replies" to Allied reporting on the war. Wrapped in anti-British propaganda, his broadcasts highlighted the achievements of the Third Reich. As long as Germany was winning, Fritzsche's skirmishes with the Allies were hugely popular among Germans. After the tide had turned, however, his effectiveness as a propaganda weapon diminished. His radio show was scaled back but did continue until the end of World War II.

Later Life

In 1942 Fritzsche was appointed head of the Radio Section of the RMVP, becoming Germany's highest ranking radio official. Loyal to the Nazi regime until the very end, Fritzsche was captured by Russian troops in May 1945 and held in the Lubjanca prison in Moscow. After Goebbels' suicide, Fritzsche, although a comparative junior, was prosecuted among the main war criminals at the Nuremberg International Military Tribunal (IMT) in 1945–46. Acquitted by the IMT, he was subsequently sentenced to nine years in a labor camp by a German denazification court.

Pardoned in 1950, Fritzsche married his second wife, the journalist Hildegard Springer, who published his prison letters and diaries. An unrepentant apologist of the Third Reich, Fritzsche unsuccessfully tried to return to politics. He died in Cologne of cancer in 1953 while working as an advertising executive.

PHILIPP GASSERT

See also Axis Sally; Lord Haw Haw; Propaganda by Radio; World War II and U.S. Radio

August Franz Anton Hans Fritzsche. Born in Bochum, Germany, 21 April 1900. Army service, World War I, 1918. Studied German, history, and economics in Greifswald and Berlin. Editor with Telegraf-Union, 1924–1932; director of the News Service (Drahtloser Dienst), German Broadcasting Corporation (Reichsrundfunkgesellschaft or RRG) 1932–1938. Nazi party member 1933–1945; Chief Radio News Administrator, Propaganda Ministry, 1933–1938. Government Spokesman and Chief, Press Section, Propaganda Ministry, 1938–1942; Chief, Radio Section, Propaganda Ministry, 1942–1945; radio commentator and host, *Politische Zeitungs- und Rundfunkschau* (Political Newspaper and Radio Digest),

1937–1945. Defendant, International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg, 1945–46; imprisoned in a Bavarian labor camp 1947–1950. Advertising Executive 1950–1953. Died in Cologne, Germany, 27 September 1953.

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G

Gabel, Martin 1911–1986

U.S. Radio Actor and Narrator

Martin Gabel appeared in some of the most popular American radio programs of the 1930s and 1940s, while also winning critical praise for his work with radio innovator Norman Corwin.

Gabel was born to Jewish immigrant parents in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. His father supported the family by peddling watches and jewelry on the city's streets. Even as a boy, Gabel recited Shakespeare to himself, preparing for a career in the theater. In 1928, he entered Lehigh University in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, where he studied English. He left Lehigh in 1931 without a degree and enrolled in the American Academy of Dramatic Arts in New York City, graduating from there in 1933.

Gabel followed a path that was typical for many successful New York actors, combining radio and stage work. In 1935, he starred in the Broadway hit *Dead End*. At the same time, his rich voice and suave, cosmopolitan diction began to win him parts on New York-based radio series. Over the years, he would appear on such programs as *The Columbia Workshop*, *Matinee Theater*, *The Casebook of Gregory Hood*, and *The March of Time*. However, the series that vaulted him to radio celebrity was *Big Sister*. The CBS soap opera, initially sponsored by Rinso Soap Powder, premiered in 1936. Gabel originated the role of Dr. John Wayne, the love interest, and then husband, of the title character. The popular series revolved around "Big Sister" Ruth Evans' selfless devotion to her orphaned brother and sister. John's crises and philandering inspired Ruth to further self-sacrifice. *Big Sister* brought Gabel more than fame among soap-opera fans; it provided him with a handsome income and steady work. In its first years, *Big Sister* aired weekdays from 11:30 to 11:45 A.M., a schedule that left Gabel time to appear in other radio and theater productions.

In 1936, Gabel performed alongside Orson Welles in the Broadway play *Ten Million Ghosts*. The play flopped, but the

association with Welles soon would bring Gabel prestigious radio and stage roles. On 23 July 1937, the Mutual network broadcast the first episode of Welles' seven-part radio adaptation of *Les Misérables*, featuring Welles as Jean Valjean and Gabel as his pursuer, Javert. Meanwhile, Welles and John Houseman were forming the Mercury Theater company, with Gabel as a key member. In his memoirs, Houseman describes the young Martin Gabel as an actor of deep sensitivity, insatiable ambition, and furious energy. Houseman also recalls that: "His gravid voice had made him, in his early 20s, one of the country's most successful and sexy radio actors." After creating a sensation with its stage productions, Welles and Houseman's innovative repertory group launched a weekly series on CBS radio. *The Mercury Theater of the Air* debuted on 11 July 1938 with "Dracula." Welles played the vampire and Gabel his nemesis, Van Helsing. Though Gabel appeared in other Mercury radio productions, he was not cast in the "War of the Worlds" broadcast that famously inspired a national panic.

As the 1930s ended, Gabel also began to work with CBS writer-producer-director Norman Corwin. Corwin was already attracting attention for the poetry and aural experimentation of his radio plays. In 1939, Gabel narrated a segment in Corwin's *So This Is Radio* series. A year later, he appeared as the devil in the rebroadcast of Corwin's radio play *The Plot to Overthrow Christmas*. Gabel spent some of the World War II years in the Army, but in 1944 he was again a civilian. That year he appeared in three plays in *Columbia Presents Corwin: "New York: A Tapestry for Radio"*; "A Pitch to Reluctant Buyers"; and "The Long Name None Could Spell," a program about the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia.

By the summer of 1944, the collapse of Nazi Germany appeared inevitable. CBS vice-president Douglas Coulter asked Corwin to prepare a special program for VE Day, the moment of Allied victory in Europe. With Corwin working on the West Coast, the program would be broadcast from the

CBS affiliate KNX in Los Angeles. Corwin had tried to use Gabel whenever his radio plays were produced in New York. For such an important project, however, Corwin insisted on flying Gabel to California to serve as narrator. Germany's surrender finally came on 8 May 1945 and *On a Note of Triumph* was broadcast live that evening, with Gabel and a large supporting cast. The program celebrating Allied victory was itself an artistic triumph. *Billboard* editorialized that *On a Note of Triumph* was "the single greatest—and we use greatest in its full meaning—radio program we ever heard." CBS asked Corwin and Gabel to broadcast a live encore performance five nights later.

Corwin thought that Gabel brought the ideal mix of authority, range, and discipline to the two broadcasts. *Triumph* concluded with a prayer to "Lord God of the topcoat and the living wage," a Corwin synthesis of biblical phraseology and American vernacular. According to broadcast historian Erik Barnouw, Gabel gave the prayer a quality that was both Old Testament and Broadway, bringing many to tears. *Variety* praised Gabel's vocal timbre and dramatic restraint and called *On a Note of Triumph* a milestone in radio.

In 1946, Gabel married radio and stage actress Arlene Francis, and the couple had one son. Gabel continued his stage work, as producer and director as well as actor. He also appeared in films and television programs, sometimes teaming with Ms. Francis. Gabel took more radio roles in the postwar years and appeared in two Corwin radio broadcasts for the United Nations. In the 1950s, his radio appearances became less frequent, coinciding with the general decline of radio drama.

Martin Gabel died of a heart attack in 1986. Obituaries stressed his stage and film achievements. However, Norman Corwin believed that Gabel was one of radio's most brilliant and underrated actors, the closest to Orson Welles in range, mellifluousness, and musical power. Upon Gabel's death, Corwin wrote his widow Arlene Francis that: "My work had first found its eloquent expression through Martin."

JOHN S. ARMSTRONG

See also Corwin, Norman; Mercury Theater of the Air; Soap Opera

Martin Gabel. Born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 19 June 1911. Son of Isaac and Rebecca Gabel. Attended Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, without receiving degree, 1928–31; Associate Degree, American Academy of Dramatic Arts, New York City, 1933. Stage debut in *Man Bites Dog*, 1934; debut as Dr. John Wayne in soap opera *Big Sister*, 1936; joined Mercury Theater stage and radio company, 1937; narrator, *On a Note of Triumph*, 1945. Tony Award, Best Supporting Actor, Drama, for performance in *Big Fish, Little Fish*, 1961. Died in New York City, 22 May 1986.

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Gambling, John B. (1897–1974); John A. (1930–); and John R. (1950–)

U.S. Radio Show Hosts

The name John Gambling is synonymous with local New York morning radio. From broadcasting's infancy until the end of the 20th century, a dynasty of three John Gambblings greeted wake-up and commuter audiences via its *Rambling with Gambling* show on 50,000-watt WOR (AM).

This radio lineage was sparked by the 1912 *Titanic* sinking. British teenager John B. Gambling felt called to learn wireless telegraphy so that he might help save the lives of passengers aboard subsequent ill-fated vessels. After holding radio operator positions in the Royal Navy and with various commercial lines, John B. opted for the higher-paying American shipping firms. A U.S. citizen and chief wireless operator on a cruise ship by 1924, he fell in love with a young vacationer, proposed, then left the sea in favor of starting married life in New York City. His radio license landed him an engineering job at Newark, New Jersey based WOR, a fledgling 250-watt station that was about to double its power and open a studio in Manhattan.

First Generation

As the newest of the station's tiny technical staff, John B. Gambling was "stuck" with coaxing the transmitter to life for the gruff host of an early-morning New York based exercise show. Two days into this stint, he was told to do some announcing. Morse code had been his preferred stock in trade, but John B. dutifully approached the microphone and introduced the fitness guru. Letters swamped WOR's mailroom. "Who is that beautiful baritone voice?" the predominantly female writers wanted to know. They heard more of him when, a few months later, the calisthenics expert phoned an anxious Gambling to say he wasn't coming in that morning. By mid-1925, the original host (who was also the exercise program's sponsor) quit, leaving John B. Gambling to recite jumping-jack routines, read announcements, and banter with the show's modest musical group, all the while running around the studio and control room flipping switches and checking meters. It was supposed to be a temporary ordeal, but advertisers soon lined up to sponsor the friendly-sounding announcer/host of what was initially called *The Musical Clock*. WOR management lost little time in naming John B. Gambling as permanent host of what would later be affectionately dubbed *Rambling with Gambling*. Transmitter upgrades through the early 1930s eventually set the lighthearted proceedings on a firm 50-kilowatt footing.

The show was never an elaborate affair. Its 1940s incarnation, for example, included tunes from four erstwhile vaude-

ville musicians (branded "the world's greatest little orchestra"); 20 canaries (sponsored by a birdseed company) primed for song in front of their own WOR microphone; and Gambling, who did time checks every quarter hour between family-approved jokes that he collected, aired, and then promised not to repeat until the following year. And, not wanting to desert listeners while convalescing from hernia surgery, he went on the air from his hospital bed. Good old-fashioned folksy schlock, always under John B.'s avuncular direction, kept longtime listeners happy at the 710-kilohertz dial position.

Rival Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) morning man Arthur Godfrey felt *Rambling with Gambling's* influence, often finding himself leapfrogged in the New York ratings by the WOR staple. Circa 1951, John B. Gambling was producing half of the station's gross advertising revenues. His reported \$500,000 annual salary and commissions came to more than the entire WOR operation netted after expenses. In 1955 some 27,000 fans filled Madison Square Garden to witness *Rambling with Gambling's* 30th anniversary broadcast. Even so, radio insiders studying the younger generation believed the nearly 60-year-old host would eventually have trouble attracting the new audiences needed to keep WOR fresh in big advertisers' minds. They were not alone. Not long after that milestone show, John B. Gambling resolved to find another host for his show. He hoped to turn over the *Rambling with Gambling* microphone to his son, John A. Gambling.

Old-time WOR listeners quipped that the John Gambling selected to succeed the venerable John B. should at least display the linear courtesy of having a C for middle initial, rather than an A. No matter, on 5 October 1959 John A. Gambling became host of *Rambling with Gambling*. Alongside his father, he had been cohosting the program for about a year, and on that fall morning, the elder broadcaster decided it was time to just stay home. WOR listeners heard no flashy torch-passing announcements.

Second Generation

It was not an automatic ascension for the 29-year-old "new-comer." Some station brass remembered John A. as a toddler warbling Christmas ditties during his Dad's holiday broadcasts and were disinclined to think of him as his own person. They also cited the matter of John A.'s voice. Compared to the original Gambling's more resonant tones, his was quieter, somewhat "barefoot."

New Hampshire stations had provided John A. Gambling with serious steps toward learning his trade. Besides spending free time between Dartmouth classes volunteering at the college's radio station, he paid dues with stints on the Granite State network's outlets in Manchester, Claremont, and Lebanon. Common to most disc jockey starts, Gambling experienced the humble glamour of radio broadcasting in makeshift facilities where one is required to wear many hats . . . and where the plumbing is still something in the station owner's future plans.

Graduation 1951 saw John A., wife Sally, and new son John R. ready for a return to the metropolitan New York area. His father invited him to assist with *Rambling with Gambling* and to participate in other WOR shows, including several aired over the Mutual Broadcasting System. Five years later, the station wanted a test program to determine whether John A. could make the grade as a big-city broadcaster. The station chose the nightly *Music from Studio X*, which was aimed at a sophisticated, young listenership. The show (first offered locally and subsequently via the Mutual network) quickly became a respectably rated easy listening show (on which, for high-fidelity clarity's sake, no record was exposed to the stylus more than once), granting John A. Gambling an outlet for honing the personable, "one-to-one" announcing style he continued to make famous on *Rambling with Gambling* following his father's retirement.

The new host gently massaged his inheritance into a modern 1960s presentation. Most noticeable was a swing away from Sousa marches and Strauss waltz numbers to Broadway show standards and instrumental cover versions of Top 40 hits. Musically, however, John A. drew boundaries around anything that sounded too much like rock and roll. Teens would write to say they "liked *Rambling with Gambling*, but couldn't Mr. Gambling please play a short Beatles single once in a while?"

Record selection became a bit more liberal during the 1970s. By then, though, there was hardly time to spin more than a few each hour. The broadcast's pace had accelerated in order to accommodate the ever-expanding rush-hour commuter crowd, and Gambling shared his show with a helicopter-borne traffic reporter, a weatherman, news commentators, sportscasters, and others. The team exuded a serendipitous brand of good-natured symbiosis not easily fabricated. Without trendy music or questionable humor, *Rambling with Gambling*'s ratings, circa 1975, topped 2 million people weekly, making its formula better received than any other single-station program in America.

As society, as well as morning radio, got edgier, many of Gambling's competitors were mystified at his ongoing success. Instead of sexual innuendo, *Rambling with Gambling* was (and is) sprinkled daily with local public service messages and occasional lost pet announcements. WNBC's Don Imus tried

poking fun at the clean-cut WOR host by speculating about the name of a hypothetical game in which housing project tenants wagered on whether or not their commodes ("johns") would function. John Gambling's non-confrontational style stayed the course while many other "gimmicky" New York air personalities, station formats, and call letters took turns in the broadcast business' great revolving door.

Meanwhile, John R., John B.'s grandson and John A.'s son, set his sights on a radio career, but he was unsure about someday hosting *Rambling with Gambling*. A late-1960s summer job at WOR prompted him to get involved in college radio (during the 1970s) at Boston University. After graduation, he served in managerial positions at a number of stations, including some then commonly owned with WOR. Tenure as morning host in the Poughkeepsie, New York, area followed.

During the 1980s, as talk radio spread to many of AM's strongest outlets, WOR was already specializing in the genre. By dropping any remaining music, *Rambling with Gambling*'s helpful informational routine fully qualified as state of the art, opening a spot on the show for a third generation of Gambling. In 1985 John R. began co-hosting with his father, John A. Five years later (just as his dad had done some three decades before), John A. turned over *Rambling with Gambling* to his son.

Third Generation

To stay contemporary without losing a focus on the show's wholesomeness, the youngest of the triumvirate has added more humor, and he feels freer than his predecessors did to express controversial points of view. Even so, the *Rambling with Gambling* audience continued graying without sufficient replacement numbers of younger consumers. Many had been enticed by self-centered talkers offering edgier, decidedly caustic fare.

Not long after Labor Day 2000, WOR's management admitted that its morning show was top-heavy with a largely retirement-age demographic many 21st century advertisers ignore. The station notified Gambling that his contract would be allowed to lapse at the end of the year. John R. responded that he didn't want his listeners to hear him "day after day, dying a slow pathetic [cancellation] death," and then he shocked WOR officials by simply signing off after his 11 September broadcast, some 75 years after his grandfather began the program. Countless calls of disappointment swamped the station's phone system. Among the sympathetic messages were those from New York City's mayor Rudolph Giuliani and the governor of New Jersey, Christine T. Whitman. Each expressed hope that another metropolitan outlet would pick up the long-lived program. These wishes came true shortly thereafter when this third John Gambling showed up on WOR's cross-town rival, WABC.

PETER E. HUNN

See also WOR

John B. Gambling. Born in Norwich, England, 1897. Earned certificate from British School of Telegraphy, 1914; served in the Royal Navy, wireless operator, 1914–19; wireless operator on various commercial vessels, 1919–25; engineer, WOR Radio, New York City, 1925; host, *WOR Musical Clock* (later *Rambling with Gambling*), 1925–59; host of various Mutual Broadcasting System, WOR shows, 1930s–50s, and WOR-TV programs, 1949–50s. Died in Palm Beach, Florida, 21 November 1974.

Radio Series

1925–59 *WOR Musical Clock* (became *Rambling with Gambling*)

John A. Gambling. Born in Teaneck, New Jersey, 5 February 1930. Attended Dartmouth College, B.A. in English drama, 1951; announcer, WKBR, Manchester, New Hampshire, and WTSV Claremont, New Hampshire, 1950; announcer/sales/news, WTSN Lebanon, New Hampshire, 1950–51; host, *Music from Studio X*, WOR, 1956–60; programming assistant (1951–56), co-host (1956–59), and host (1959–90), *Rambling with Gambling*, WOR, New York City. Chairman, JAG Communications, 1983–89. Currently residing in Florida.

Radio Series

1956–60 *Music from Studio X*
1959–90 *Rambling with Gambling*

John R. Gambling. Born in Montclair, New Jersey, 8 April 1950. Attended Boston University, B.A., 1973; promotions director/operations manager, WROR-FM, Boston, Massachusetts, 1973–74; program Director, WAXY-FM, Fort Lauderdale, Florida, 1974–75; operations manager, program director, and morning host, WHPN/WHVW/WHVS FM, Hyde Park, New York, 1975–77; staff announcer and host, *Good Afternoon*, WOR, 1978–85; co-host (1985–90), then host (1990–2000), *Rambling with Gambling*, WOR, New York City. Currently living on Long Island.

Radio Series

1985–2000 *Rambling with Gambling*

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Gangbusters

Detective Drama Series

During the 1920s, the American public lost confidence in law enforcement officers as news of bribery and scandal involving real-life police officers became routine. The onset of the Great Depression in the early 1930s exacerbated this situation, and criminals such as Bonnie Parker and Clyde Barrow, Al Capone, and George “Baby Face” Nelson were often portrayed as folk heroes. Hollywood produced films (e.g., *Public Enemy* with James Cagney and *Little Caesar* starring Edward G. Robinson) that presented gangsters as tragic heroes. *Gangbusters*, the first successful regularly scheduled detective drama on network radio, played a major role in restoring America’s confidence in law enforcement officials.

Gangbusters was created by Phillips H. Lord, an actor and producer best known for his portrayal of the title character in

the radio series *Seth Parker*. Whereas the earlier series was known for its folksy warm feeling, Lord went in a different direction for his next project. *Gangbusters* was a blend of fact and fiction—dramatizations of actual crimes taken from the case files of local and federal law enforcement offices. The series premiered on the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) in 1935 under the title *G-Men*. After a brief run, the series moved to the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) in January 1936, and the title was changed to *Gangbusters*. The series also eventually appeared on the American Broadcasting Companies (ABC) and Mutual during its 22-year run.

The format of *Gangbusters* was simple. Each episode opened with a loud, identifiable opening of marching feet, sirens, and machine-gun fire. The series opening became so



Gangbusters
 Courtesy CBS Photo Archive

well known that it led to the phrase “coming on like gangbusters.” After the opening sound effects, the narrator would introduce the current episode, followed by an interview with a local law enforcement officer (usually from the locale of the current episode). At the end of each episode was a feature called “Gangbuster Clues,” which included information regarding a criminal currently at large. The audience was presented with a detailed description of the wanted person, along with information about how to contact law enforcement officials, and was asked to help bring the suspect to justice. These “clues” led to over 100 arrests during the series’ first three years. In subsequent years, many more were brought to justice through this forerunner to several successful television series (e.g., *Unsolved Mysteries* and *America’s Most Wanted*).

Lord employed actual law enforcement officials to comment throughout each episode. *Gangbusters*’ first narrator was Lewis Valentine, police commissioner of New York City. He was replaced after the first year by Col. Norman Schwartzkopf, former superintendent of the New Jersey State Police (Schwartzkopf’s son and namesake would later lead the U.S. troops during the 1991 Persian Gulf War). Schwartzkopf con-

tinued as narrator for most of the next ten years. In 1945, Valentine, now the retired police commissioner of New York City, replaced him.

The first episode was a dramatization of the Federal Bureau of Investigation’s (FBI) capture and shooting of John Dillinger. Lord had obtained the cooperation of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover on the condition that only “closed” cases would be dramatized in the series. Subsequent episodes featured the stories of “Machine Gun” Kelley, “Baby Face” Nelson, “Pretty Boy” Floyd, and Bonnie and Clyde. When the series moved to CBS in 1936, it began to feature the stories of lesser-known criminals.

Gangbusters portrayed detectives as modern-day heroes who led glamorous lives and risked their lives in the service of others. The plots were very simplistic plays in terms of “good versus evil,” with good always winning. Rarely was any mention made of the causes of such criminal behavior.

Gangbusters had many imitators, most notably *Dragnet*, which began in 1949 and was arguably the prototype for all crime and detective dramas to follow. Unlike that show, however, *Gangbusters*’ television history was short. The format

was the same as its radio counterpart. Phillips H. Lord appeared in each episode as the narrator in addition to serving as series writer and creator. As in the radio version, clues regarding at-large criminals were presented, along with photographs. The television version premiered in 1952, alternating each week with *Dragnet*. *Gangbusters* was designed as a temporary series because Jack Webb had trouble producing weekly episodes of *Dragnet* on time. Both were very successful, with *Dragnet* ranking 20th among all network prime-time series and *Gangbusters* ranking 14th. However, as was the initial plan, *Dragnet* was continued the following season, and *Gangbusters*, the fill-in, was canceled.

MITCHELL SHAPIRO

See also Lord, Phillips H.

Cast

Actors

Art Carney, Larry Haines, Frank Lovejoy, Don MacLaughlin, Alice Reinheart, Grant Richards, Julie Stevens, Richard Widmark

Chief Investigator

Lewis J. Valentine

Announcers

Roger Forster, Art Hannes, Charles Stark, Frank Gallop, Don Gardiner, H. Gilbert Martin

Narrators

Phillips H. Lord, Col. Norman H. Schwartzkopf (1938–45); Lewis Valentine (1945–57); John C. Hilley; Dean Carlton

Producer/Creator

Phillips H. Lord

Programming History

NBC (as <i>G-Men</i>)	1935
CBS	1936–40; 1949–55
NBC Blue	1940–45
ABC	1945–48
Mutual	1955–57

Gay and Lesbian Radio

A number of attempts, often short-lived, at broadcasting gay and lesbian programs on radio have occurred since the late 1950s. As of 2002 the United States led the way, with more than 100 original gay and lesbian radio shows, which could be heard in large and small cities across the country; however, only a few of these shows are syndicated overseas. Other countries with such radio programs include Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom, Japan, and New Zealand. Gay radio, which targets a multibillion-dollar market, is not represented by a specific format type; rather, its music and talk programming reflects the socio-economic and cultural diversity within the gay and lesbian community. Personal expression through “queer radio” empowered gays, lesbians, bisexuals, and transgender communities to seek new ways to work collectively toward providing information, resources, and fellowship to others in the United States and internationally.

Origins

Five Pacifica radio stations—in Berkeley, California; Los Angeles; New York; Houston; and Washington, D.C.—

located in cities with the largest populations of lesbians and gays in the United States, aired the queer perspective in their news, public affairs, and literary discussions, even before the 1969 Stonewall Rebellion—the birth of the modern-day gay movement. Pacifica station KPFA-FM in Berkeley went on the air in 1949 and became the first listener-sponsored radio station in the world. Pacifica’s second station, KPFA-FM, began broadcasting in Los Angeles in 1959. The following year, philanthropist Louis Schweitzer donated WBAI-FM, New York, to Pacifica.

The poet Allen Ginsburg would propel gay radio into mainstream debate by challenging the boundaries of American radio in 1956, when he read his controversial poem “Howl” on KPFA. Ginsburg’s life of drugs, jazz, and a liberal attitude toward sexuality and morality epitomized the Beatnik rebellion against the status quo of the 1950s. In the late 1950s, San Francisco’s KPFA aired what is believed to be the first comprehensive gay-rights radio documentary in the United States. The two-hour documentary brought together a small group of physicians, lawyers, and criminologists with the mother of a gay man and Harold L. Call, an editor for the *Mattachine Review*

and a member of The Mattachine Society, America's first gay-rights organization, to discuss the rights of gay men.

Then, in 1962, WBAI aired "The Homosexual in America," a 60-minute program focused on the opinions of a panel of psychiatrists. Protests by Mattachine New York organizer Randolfe Wicker demanded equal time from WBAI management. On 16 July 1962, WBAI aired a radio forum with Wicker and six other gay men, which prompted some listeners to file a complaint with the Federal Communications Commission (FCC). The rejected complaint paved the way for future discussions on homosexuality in the electronic media. In essence, the FCC upheld Pacifica's contention that broadcasts addressing gay issues served the public interest, as long as the topics were handled in good taste.

Radio After the Stonewall Rebellion

Queer broadcasting may be traced back to the people who fought for free expression and civil rights. No event revolutionized and liberalized the gay and lesbian movement more than the Stonewall Rebellion. The decision on what needed to be done to achieve equality, tolerance, and ultimately acceptance by all Americans was made during one fateful Friday night on 27 June 1969 on the streets of New York City. A routine police raid on a Greenwich Village bar that served transvestites, lesbians, and gays turned violent after patrons decided not to run away from the police. What might be perceived as an isolated incident to most Americans sent shock waves throughout the queer community. The riots continued in New York City for three days, and The Gay Liberation Front was formed within weeks.

In 1971 Pacifica's KPFK debuted *imru* ("I am; Are you?"), the first weekly gay radio show in Los Angeles, and perhaps in the United States. Another program, *Amazon Country*, celebrated its 25th anniversary in 1999. That year the show was also the recipient of the 1999 Lambda Award for Outstanding Overall Performance by an Organization/Social-Cultural Group. *Amazon Country* airs on Sunday nights on the University of Pennsylvania's public radio station WXPB-FM, featuring a lesbian/feminist perspective in its music and interviews with artists, authors, and leaders throughout the nation. Since 1974 WXPB has also aired *Q'zine*, a radio magazine show that was originally called *Gaydreams*. It was named partly after a Grateful Dead song and first aired in 1974. Several other queer radio shows were heard mainly on noncommercial college and community radio stations. These programs were almost always volunteer produced, represented the efforts of only a handful of radio collectives, and were limited financially and regionally. The longevity of these shows often depended on the whim of the station manager and program director, and gay and lesbian producers on occasion were forced to compete among themselves for limited time slots.

Repression and Restraint

The 1980s saw a sexual revolution on radio and television—one that prompted public calls for censorship, music labeling, and stronger FCC policies and penalties, as well as for boycotts on stores and stations promoting explicit music. The public outcry against naughty lyrics on the radio seemed stronger than its reaction to Howard Stern's racial and ethnic epithets and verbal gay bashing.

As right-wing conservatism swept the nation during the Reagan era, gay-rights activists were under attack in the mainstream media. The previous victories in civil liberties and free expression were to be challenged once again by the FCC and the religious right. As early as the 1980s, the FCC warned Pacifica that any further broadcast of "Howl" could result in heavy fines or the forfeiture of its license. AIDS would provide the justification and rationale for what would become the widespread abuse of human rights and rise in hate propaganda in the years to follow. It was in this environment that queer broadcasting would push forward and feverishly combat the stereotypical attitudes and hate propaganda that continue to target gays and lesbians.

In 1986 the freedom of queer radio was challenged again by the FCC after Reverend Larry Poland accidentally tuned in to *imru* on KPFK and heard "Jerker," a radio drama about the impact of AIDS on two gay men. The FCC threatened to fine the station "for the patently offensive manner in which the sexual activity was described." The Justice Department declined to take action on the case. In 1991, Pacifica was one of several parties to lead a successful appeal to overturn the 24-hour indecency ban initiated by Congress and put into place by the FCC.

By 1987 the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP) had attracted mainstream media attention to AIDS issues. "Outing" the famous became "in" among young queers who wanted to end hypocrisy in the media. The sexual revolution of the 1960s was being reinvented by George Michael and Madonna in the electronic media, as both challenged and toyed with gender boundaries in their music and videos. A number of radio stations aired promotional announcements that assured their audiences of "safe" lyrics, and the FCC began to wrestle with "safe harbor" policies designed to protect children from undesirable broadcast content.

The Rise of Queer Music

By the end of the 1980s, Melissa Etheridge and k.d. lang had expanded in popularity beyond college radio and were becoming household words on mainstream radio. The nation seemed ready for something different—and with the rise of alternative radio, a new breed of music was arriving on the scene; its new young audiences embraced the often mystical and mesmerizing

video clips of life and love projected across their television screen. For some musicians, it was time for the next step—queer music, in which gays and lesbians would share their experiences about lovers and life partners in their music.

The formation of the National Lesbian and Gay Country Music Association in 1998 was just one example of the trend toward acceptance of queer music in the United States. Other signs toward changing times include the acceptance of country musicians such as Mark Weigle, an independent singer/songwriter who has received regular airplay on Americana shows in Europe. He was nominated (along with Ani DiFranco, Rufus Wainwright, and the B-52's) for two 1999 Gay/Lesbian American Music Awards (GLAMA)—for both Debut Artist and Out Song “If It Wasn’t Love.” Weigle has been praised by music critics in gay and mainstream music publications such as *Genre*, *Billboard*, and *Performing Songwriter*. GLAMA is the first and only national music awards program to celebrate and honor the music of queer musicians and songwriters. Its first annual ceremony took place in New York’s Webster Hall in October 1996, with about 700 people in attendance. The judges comprised music reviewers from the gay and mainstream media; leaders in radio distribution; executives of major and independent record labels; and those working in performing rights, talent management, and retail. GLAMA’s final awards ceremony was held in April 2000; increasing administrative costs were cited as the reason for its demise.

Beyond the Gay Ghetto

In April 1988 Los Angeles radio producer Greg Gordon, a former *imru* producer and host (along with his volunteer staff), created the 30-minute newsmagazine program called *This Way Out*, which began with a weekly distribution to 26 public stations in the United States and Canada. It now airs on more than 125 radio stations—public and commercial—in six countries. The program contains news, author interviews, AIDS updates, humor, poetry, and music recordings by openly gay and lesbian performers rarely heard on commercial radio. The Gay and Lesbian Press Association honored *This Way Out* with its Outstanding Achievement Award in 1988, and the National Federation of Community Broadcasters presented the “Silver Reel” award to its producers in 1991 for their ongoing news and public-affairs commitment to cultural diversity. One affiliate station, Kansas City’s KKFI-FM, boasts that more than 500 individuals have presented a myriad of gay, lesbian, and transgender issues across its airwaves. In fact, KKFI is the first and thus far the only station in its market to air a local queer radio program. To some gay media activists, however, the failure to move beyond noncommercial radio and into the mainstream has been a form of “gay ghettoization,” or what some queer broadcasters have referred to as “preaching to the choir.” For years, noncommercial radio has been the primary

vehicle for communicating the queer perspective to the gay community, and increasingly to a straight audience. In 1992 WFNX-FM, a commercial Boston station, debuted *One in Ten*, a three-hour show with a mix of news, entertainment, music, and call-in discussions. In the early 1990s, several other commercial stations experimented, although unsuccessfully, with locally produced programs targeting gay and lesbian audiences.

In 1990 Thomas Davis became the president and general manager of two Amherst commercial stations located in a renowned gay and lesbian community in central Massachusetts. His company’s mission was to target listeners outside the gay community, in addition to gays and lesbians themselves. In doing so, the stations would attempt to convey the idea that gays and lesbians function much like any other members of society on a daily basis. As institutional members of the Gay and Lesbian Business Coalition, the stations have been supported on the air by many gay- or lesbian-owned businesses. Programming includes news stories relevant to gays and lesbians, as well as fund-raising efforts for a number of queer community concerns, such as AIDS research and hospice funding.

1992 was the year of the largest commercial venture for gay radio. The KGAY Radio network signed on the air on 28 November 1992 in Denver. KGAY, with its motto “All Gay, All Day,” was the inspiration of Clay Henderson and Will Gunthrie. Their previous efforts had included a short-lived 30-minute weekly gay commercial radio show and a weekly gay and lesbian news show called the *Lambda Report*, which first aired on public access cable television in 1989. KGAY Radio was the first attempt to market a 24-hour all gay and lesbian format in America. The KGAY founders planned to use a local Denver station as the headquarters for what they hoped would become a national cable FM operation. The decision to broadcast by satellite from Denver seemed easier and less expensive to the owners than purchasing a commercial radio station in a large or medium market. KGAY’s programming was uplinked to satellite dishes in North America, Canada, and the Caribbean. The music and news network was promoted as the first daily media vehicle for the gay and lesbian community in North America. Less than a year after it began, however, the KGAY network, with only a few sponsors and a mostly volunteer staff, failed.

In May 1994 another commercial radio venture was born on adult contemporary WCBR-FM in north Chicago. Les-BiGay Radio founder Alan Amberg conversed insightfully every weekday afternoon on America’s only drive-time gay radio show, as his signal reached into the Chicago neighborhoods where many gays and lesbians resided. By April 2001, his radio enterprise had logged more than 3,000 hours of programming and had a number of prominent national and local sponsors. Indeed, the show was hailed as the most successful

commercial queer radio venture of the 1990s in America, but Amberg was forced to end it in April 2001 because of financial difficulties. The internet is also home to a number of gay radio programs that can only be heard via the web, and this appears to be the trend among gay radio broadcasters who wish to seek a larger audience base to justify commercial sponsorship.

PHYLIS JOHNSON

See also Affirmative Action; Pacifica Foundation; Stereotypes on Radio

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General Electric

Manufacturer of Consumer Electronics

General Electric (GE) was instrumental in the shaping of early American radio broadcasting through its creation of the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) in 1919 and its subsequent operation of several pioneering radio stations. GE is a diversified company with holdings in consumer services, technology, and manufacturing. GE operates in more than 100 countries and employs nearly 340,000 people worldwide, including 197,000 in the United States.

Origins

General Electric traces its history to the Edison Electric Light Company, established in 1878 by Thomas Edison, and to the Thomson-Houston Electric Company, established by Elihu Thomson and Edwin Houston in the early 1880s. Both companies grew by the 1890s into leaders in their field and battled over adoption of electrical current standards for the United States. Thomson-Houston promoted alternating current, whereas Edison championed use of direct current. Alternating current was adopted in the United States, and in 1892 the two merged to form GE. GE is the only company that has been listed continuously on the Dow Jones Industrial Index since its inception in 1896.

After the merger, the new company could boast of having some of the best minds in the country. Thomson's financial genius Charles Coffin became GE's first president, and Edison became a director. Thomson helped establish a program of scientific research that led to the creation of GE's Research Laboratory in 1900 under the direction of Dr. Willis R. Whitney. In a career spanning five decades, Thomson was awarded 696 U.S. patents for devices as varied as arc lights, generators, X-ray tubes, and electric welding machines. His successful "recording wattmeter" was a practical method of measuring the amount of electricity used by a home or business. In 1893 a young German, Charles Steinmetz, joined GE, and he designed new methods of designing machinery using alternating current. After the turn of the century, GE expanded its power-generation business by developing the first steam turbine-generator large enough to power cities. In 1903 GE purchased the Stanley Electrical Manufacturing Company of Pittsfield, Massachusetts. William Stanley, the head of that company, joined GE and pioneered electrical line transmission equipment. He is credited with inventing the transformer, which became the heart of the electrical distribution system. In 1910 GE developed ductile tungsten for light bulb filaments; ductile tungsten is still used in virtually every incandescent lamp.

GE and Radio

By the turn of the 20th century, GE began developmental work in wireless radio, and in 1906, E.F.W. Alexanderson developed a practical alternator to produce the high frequencies needed for reliable long-distance transmission. Later, Dr. Irving Langmuir of GE's Research Laboratory designed an amplifier for Alexanderson's alternator, completing the components of a transoceanic radio-transmitting system. This system was the most powerful generator of radio waves then known, and it became the pivotal point for negotiations with American Marconi, the U.S. subsidiary of British Marconi's worldwide wireless enterprise; these negotiations eventually led to the formation of RCA.

During World War I, the navy had operated most radio stations in the United States, including those using GE's Alexanderson alternator. Naval radio experts became convinced that this equipment was vital to U.S. interests, and after the war Admiral W.H.G. Bullard and Captain Stanford Hooper convinced GE executive Owen D. Young not to sell improved vacuum tubes and the exclusive rights to the Alexanderson alternator to the British subsidiary. In a meeting in May 1919, Young told E.J. Nally of American Marconi that GE would not sell the equipment because the U.S. government did not want control of this equipment to pass into foreign hands. Over the summer the two companies' officers negotiated the sale of American Marconi's assets to GE, and the deal they struck resulted in RCA's incorporation on 17 October 1919.

Shortly after its incorporation, RCA and GE entered into patent cross-licensing agreements with American Telephone and Telegraph (AT&T) and Westinghouse. Under these agreements, all signatories shared their patents. With this patent pooling, RCA quickly became one of the leading companies manufacturing and selling wireless radio equipment. By 1922 the company had moved into wireless' newest application—broadcasting. Radio station WGY began broadcasting from Schenectady, New York, with one of the first U.S. radio dramas, *The Wolf*. As this new phenomenon caught on with the American public, GE, with RCA and Westinghouse, became engaged in a series of intercompany battles with AT&T and its manufacturing arm, Western Electric, over who held what rights in broadcasting. To resolve this issue, AT&T sold its radio interests, and RCA created the National Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) in 1926 to oversee network endeavors in broadcasting.

In the early 1930s the Justice Department filed an antitrust suit against General Electric, Westinghouse, and RCA, alleging restraint of trade. In 1932 the companies signed a consent decree, and GE was forced to divest itself of any interest in RCA.

During the Depression years, GE made important improvements and contributions to X rays, electric ship turbines, and

the efficiency of electrical light and appliances. In 1940 GE expanded its business by relaying television broadcasts from New York City and by starting FM broadcasts. During World War II, these operations were suspended, as GE turned its efforts to helping win the war. The company supplied much help to the war effort, from aircraft gun turrets and jet engines, to radar and radio equipment, to electrically heated flying suits. GE made propulsion units for nearly 75 percent of the Navy's ships, and from GE laboratories came new systems for the detection of enemy aircraft and ships.

After the war, GE carried out an extensive program of expansion and decentralization. As a result, autonomous product departments developed. Over the years, GE also expanded its research and development divisions as well as its international efforts. Its many manufacturing lines ranged from consumer products such as light bulbs and consumer electronics, to major appliances such as refrigerators and television sets, to industrial and military equipment such as locomotives, aircraft engines, nuclear reactors, and ICBM guidance systems. In addition, GE moved into services such as insurance, consumer credit, and data processing. In 1957 GE opened the world's first licensed nuclear power plant and entered the mainframe computer business, which it sold in 1970 to Honeywell. Two years later GE developed the TIROS 1 weather satellite. During the 1960s and 1970s, the company continued expanding its lighting, aircraft engine, and electrical equipment businesses both domestically and abroad.

Modern GE

In late 1986 GE bought RCA (and NBC) in a \$6.28 billion deal that some say ironically came full circle to the 1930s divestiture. The following July, GE sold off the NBC Radio Network to Westwood One for \$50 million so that GE/RCA could concentrate on television and newer consumer media. At the same time, the company began selling the NBC-owned-and-operated radio stations. Over the next ten years, GE and RCA combined their consumer electronics businesses and subsequently sold them to Thomson in exchange for its medical equipment business and \$800 million in cash. The companies' combined defense business was also sold, to Martin Marietta for \$3 billion. GE/RCA retained ownership of the NBC television operations, and during the 1990s these NBC operations became exceedingly profitable for GE.

In 1989, NBC launched the business financial cable television network CNBC, and GE formed a mobile communications joint venture with Ericsson of Sweden. In 1991 NBC acquired the Financial News network (FNN) and sold its interest in the RCA Columbia Home Video joint venture. In 1994 GE created one of the first major industrial websites, www.ge.com, and two years later NBC and Microsoft joined forces to launch MSNBC, a 24-hour television and

internet service. In 1999 GE began e-Business as a key growth initiative. NBC launched NBC Internet (NBCi), a publicly traded internet company that merged the network's interactive properties with XOOM.com and the internet portal Snap.com to form the seventh-largest internet site and the first publicly traded internet company integrated with a major broadcaster. NBCi will use Snap.com as an umbrella consumer brand, integrating broadcast, portal, and e-commerce services. NBC also maintains equity interests in cable channels Arts and Entertainment (A&E) and the History Channel. NBC also has an equity stake in Rainbow Programming Holdings, a leading media company with a wide array of entertainment and sports cable channels. It also holds interests in CNET, Talk City, iVillage, Telescan, Hoover's, and 24/7Media. In partnership with National Geographic and Fox/BskyB, NBC owns and operates the National Geographic Channel in Europe and Asia.

LOUISE BENJAMIN

See also Alexander, E.F.W.; National Broadcasting Company; Radio Corporation of America; Westinghouse

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The George Burns and Gracie Allen Show

Comedy Series

FOR 17 years, Burns and Allen provided one of radio's most enduring comedy series based on the vaudeville tradition.

Vaudeville Origins

George Burns, born Nathan Birnbaum in New York City on 20 January 1896, left school after fourth grade to sing professionally with the PeeWee Quartet. That move led to his career in vaudeville as a singer, dancer, and monologist (1910-31). Grace Ethel Cecile Rosalie Allen was born 26 July 1906 in San Francisco. She met George after a 1922 New Jersey vaudeville performance he had done with his partner, Billy Lorraine. Gracie, who began in vaudeville at 14 with her three sisters, wanted to work with Lorraine. She teamed with George instead, and they were married 7 January 1926. They per-

formed together in vaudeville, film, radio, and TV from 1922 until her retirement in 1958.

Gracie played "straight man" until George discovered she was funnier being nice yet dim-witted. George never considered changing Gracie, whom he loved because of her befuddlement and inverted logic. Gracie was a nervous performer, but audiences thought it was an act, part of her giddy, scatterbrained persona. She was uninterested in business, but George enjoyed other responsibilities as script supervisor and manager.

In 1929 Burns and Allen were invited to perform their Vaudeville act in London. After 21 weeks there performing to appreciative audiences at various nightclubs, the duo was asked to go on BBC radio—a successful stint that lasted 26 weeks. The team believed they could experience similar success on American radio.



George Burns and Gracie Allen
Courtesy Radio Hall of Fame

Network Success

In 1930 the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) rejected them because of Gracie's squeaky, high-pitched voice, but she performed on Eddie Cantor's show in 1931 to rave reviews. A week later Burns and Allen played Rudy Vallee's show, which led to their 15 February 1932 debut on the Columbia Broadcasting System's (CBS) *The Robert Burns Panatella Program*. In 1933 their popularity earned them their own show, which lasted 17 years. *The George Burns and Gracie Allen Show*—also known as *Maxwell House Coffee Time, Burns and Allen*, and *The Adventures of Gracie*—presented sketches, music, and vaudeville routines. Among the show's characters was Mel Blanc's Happy Postman, who spoke pleasant and cheerful thoughts but always sounded depressed and near crying.

Originally based in New York, the show made road broadcasts from other cities and military installations throughout the United States. By 1934, the couple began work in film and relocated to Beverly Hills with two adopted children, Sandra Jean and Ronald John. In 1942 ratings dropped temporarily and the sponsor in turn dropped the program. The premise of Burns and Allen as boyfriend and girlfriend no longer worked. George explained: "Everybody knew we were married and had growing children . . . you have to have truth in a joke just the way you do in anything else to make it any good. If it's basically dishonest, it isn't funny." George finally realized the problem was that he and Gracie were too old to do the boyfriend/girlfriend premise. The jokes were stale, so the format was changed to reflect their status as a married couple and the program experienced a renewal of popularity, attracting 45 million listeners per week.

Many promotional strategies featuring Gracie were employed for the program throughout its run. She went on a show-to-show search for her mythical brother. She ran for president in 1940, receiving several hundred votes. In 1942 bandleader Paul Whiteman wrote *Gracie Allen's Concerto for Index Finger*, which Gracie mentioned constantly on the show. Ultimately, she performed the number at Carnegie Hall and with major orchestras, including the Boston Pops.

George and Gracie were not social commentators, prevailing instead with timeless humor and talented performances. In 1950 they successfully moved to TV, and their 239 episodes continue to air in reruns decades later. George explained: "We talked in vaudeville, we talked in radio, we talked in television. It wasn't hard to go from one medium to another." Gracie retired after the final TV episode on 4 June 1958, to be Mrs. George Burns, a mother and a grandmother. Only after her 27 August 1964 death did the public discover she had retired because of heart problems.

In his book *Gracie: A Love Story*, George's first line read: "For forty years my act consisted of one joke. And then she died." George continued in TV as an actor, developer, and pro-

ducer of *Wendy and Me, No Time for Sergeants, Mona McCluskey*, and *Mr. Ed*. In 1975 he returned to film, replacing his late friend Jack Benny in *The Sunshine Boys*. He also starred in the *Oh, God!* trilogy and a handful of other films. George continued TV guest appearances before being slowed by a 1994 fall. He performed in Las Vegas until his death on 9 March 1996.

W.A. KELLY HUFF

See also Comedy; Vaudeville

Cast

George Burns	Himself
Gracie Allen	Herself
The Happy Postman	Mel Blanc
Tootsie Stagwell	Elvia Allman
Mrs. Billingsley	Margaret Brayton
Muriel	Sara Berner
Waldo	Dick Crenna
Herman, the duck	Clarence Nash
Also featured	Gale Gordon, Hans Conried, Henry Blair
Vocalists	Milton Watson, Tony Martin, Jimmy Cash, Dick Foran
Bandleaders	Jacques Renard, Ray Noble, Paul Whiteman, Meredith Willson
Announcers	Ted Husing, Harry Von Zell, Jimmy Wallington, Bill Goodwin, Toby Reed

Directors

Ralph Levy, Al Kaye, Ed Gardner

Writers

Paul Henning, Keith Fowler, Harmon J. Alexander, Henry Garson, Aaron J. Ruben, Helen Gould Harvey, Hal Block, John P. Medbury

Producer/Creator

George Burns

Programming History

CBS and NBC 15 February 1932–17 May 1950

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German Wireless Pioneers

Arco, Braun, Slaby, and Telefunken

In addition to the seminal figure of Heinrich Hertz, the first experimenter to prove that James Clerk Maxwell's theories concerning the potential of electromagnetic radiation for communication were correct, several later German innovators helped to pioneer the practical introduction of wireless telegraphy at the turn of the 20th century. This entry briefly outlines the lives and contributions of three of them and the early development of the Telefunken company, which in 1903 merged their efforts.

Origins

Born early in 1849, Adolph Slaby spent much of his life as an academic researcher at a succession of prestigious German institutions. Into the early 1890s, he focused his efforts on motors and gas engines, thermodynamics, and some aspects of electricity, and in 1893 he had become the science and technology advisor to Kaiser Wilhelm II, a testimonial to his position in the German academic world. Drawing on the findings of Hertz, Slaby began working in wireless in the mid-1890s, but he was unable to transmit more than about 300 feet (in other words only within the technical high school building where he taught), no matter what changes in his apparatus he tried.

Born in 1850, Ferdinand Braun also became an academic. After earning his Ph.D. at the University of Berlin in 1872, he served as a faculty member at Marburg, the University of Strasbourg, Karlsruhe, and finally again at Strasbourg, becoming the director of the Physical Institute there. Braun applied for his first wireless patent in 1898, for a detector circuit to determine frequency. He would later become best known as the inventor of the cathode-ray oscilloscope, precursor of the modern television tube.

George von Arco, a member of the German nobility, was 20 years Slaby's junior. He would join Slaby as a research assistant and would become an important figure in the early development of Telefunken.

Early Wireless

Thanks to diplomatic channels through William Preece, chief electrician of the British Post Office, Slaby was invited to be present for the important May 1897 Marconi tests across the Bristol Channel from England to Wales that achieved transmission over eight miles. Marconi was unhappy over aiding a possible competitor (as turned out to be the case), but had no choice as the Post Office controlled the experiment.

Slaby returned home impressed with what he had witnessed and determined to improve on the system Marconi had demonstrated. Just two months later he conducted the first German wireless transmissions between suburbs of Berlin where, among others, the Kaiser was in attendance. With the Kaiser's full support in terms of funds and personnel, Slaby made rapid progress, and in the fall of 1897 he initiated wireless experiments up to a distance of about a dozen miles, using aerials held up by captive balloons.

Count von Arco joined Slaby as an assistant in 1898 in the Charlottenburg Technical High School's department of wireless telegraphy. The developing Slaby-Arco system made many improvements. One was to move the signal detector (a coherer) away from the base of the antenna, providing far better results. Soon Germany naval and merchant vessels were experimenting with Slaby-Arco devices. Transmitting stations were established in Austria, Sweden, Norway, Portugal, Russia, Denmark, and Chile in addition to Germany. In 1899, the German General Electric Company (AEG) purchased Slaby-Arco patent rights and provided funding for further experimentation.

By 1897-98, Ferdinand Braun was actively experimenting with wireless systems as well. He focused on four elements, including higher transmitter power and use of an oscillating circuit plus a crude early form of tuning to develop a system, for which he would share the 1909 Nobel Prize in Physics with Marconi. In 1898 he received his first wireless patent for his conduction system that worked for limited distances through

water or earth (and was thus sufficiently different from Marconi's work to survive any patent appeal). A short time later, Braun realized what was limiting the range of all wireless experimenters when he added two types of coil to the transmitting circuit and quickly began to achieve greater range, efficiency, and safety in operation.

By 1899 Braun's patents were supported by a commercial syndicate known as Telebraun, which was, in turn, taken over by the Siemens-Halske firm in 1901 with the intention of commercializing the system.

Despite all this innovation, all was not well. Early in 1902, when a brother of the German Kaiser returned from a visit to America, Marconi-equipped ships and shore stations refused to communicate with the Slaby-Arco equipped German passenger liner on which he sailed. Or at least that was the German position—Marconi interests claimed the problem was poor performance and lack of distance achieved by the German radio equipment. At the same time this international rivalry was sharpening, fierce patent litigation developed in German courts between Slaby-Arco (whose patents were held by AEG) and Braun (backed by the Siemens-Halske firm). Concerned that Germany might lose out in the world competition to develop viable wireless systems (and thus would have to rely on Marconi or American wireless equipment), Kaiser Wilhelm II stepped in.

Telefunken

At the Kaiser's insistence, on 27 May 1903 some 30 Slaby-Arco (AEG) and Braun (Siemens-Halske) patents (and as many personnel) were combined to create a new company, Gesellschaft für drahtlose Telegraphie, soon better known as Telefunken. Thanks to substantial government support, the new company soon operated more than 500 stations. Telefunken sold rather than leased (as Marconi did) equipment that initially used coherers as signal detectors but soon transferred to electrolytic detectors and headphones. The quality German equipment and growing number of transmission stations soon created strong competition with Marconi, aided by cooperation among German electrical corporations under the umbrella of government purchases and investment.

In part as a result of the 1902 incident of lack of maritime cooperation, the German government required that all German facilities make use of Slaby-Arco equipment. Imperial Germany also hosted the first international wireless conventions in Berlin in 1903 and 1906 to encourage inter-system communication. These meetings bore testament to the growing importance of German radio efforts in the face of Marconi's attempted maritime radio monopoly.

By 1906 von Arco had conducted wireless-telephony (voice) experiments over distances greater than 20 miles, and Telefunken had developed "singing spark" and "quenched spark"

transmitters, which use shorter aerials and were more efficient than earlier devices. The German army was setting up portable Slaby-Arco wireless telegraphy units for use in the field. The U.S. Navy had relied heavily on Slaby-Arco equipment beginning in 1903 for lack of a reliable American source of wireless equipment and dislike of Marconi policies. The Russian Navy did likewise, though its loss in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–05 did not help the image of German wireless, especially as the winning Japanese fleet had made better use of its Marconi equipment.

Telefunken began to build a giant wireless transmission station at Nauen, outside of Berlin, to enable faster communication with distant German colonies. By 1910 it had developed into the largest transmitting station in the world, using a von Arco-developed alternator for transmission with antennas covering more than a square mile. By 1914, German wireless stations were communicating regularly with North America and Africa, and stations were being completed to allow regular communication to the Pacific as well. German wireless was certainly equal to anything created by Marconi in Britain or by various competing American companies.

Decline

Compared to the Marconi or American inventors' stories, however, there is comparatively little evident in English-language sources today about these early German innovators and companies.

Slaby died in 1913, and Braun, who had traveled to the U.S. to deal with patent infringement problems, died as an enemy alien in New York five years later. While von Arco continued with Telefunken and lived into the early part of World War II, outside of Germany only Braun is known today, primarily for his pre-television work.

But the end of Germany's growing radio success was due largely to the impact of World War I. Inception of the war in mid-1914 cut off Germany from her own colonies in Africa and elsewhere and isolated her business and industry. Most overseas German radio facilities were destroyed or captured by 1915. When the United States entered the war in April 1917, all German-owned wireless facilities there were taken over as enemy contraband. Losing the war in 1918 left Germany destitute and her industries, including wireless, in disarray. In just four years, Germany had lost her extensive network of international wireless stations and markets while many British and American concerns thrived as radio expanded into the 1920s.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Early Wireless; Hertz, Heinrich; Lodge, Oliver J.; Marconi, Guglielmo; Popov, Alexander

George Wilhelm Alexander Hans (Count) von Arco. Born in Grossgorschuetz, Germany, 30 August 1869. Joined Slaby as a research assistant in 1898. Appointed manager of German telegraphs in 1903. Eventually chief engineer of Telefunken. Died in Berlin, 7 May 1940.

Karl Ferdinand Braun. Born in Fulda, Germany, 6 June 1850, sixth of seven children of Johann Conrad Braun, a government official, and Franziska Göhring. Ph.D., University of Berlin, 1872. Associate Professor, Marburg, 1877–79; Associate Professor, University of Strasbourg, 1880–82; Professor, Karlsruhe, 1883–85; Professor of physics, later Director of Physical Institute, Strasbourg, 1895–1918. First wireless patent applied for, 1898. Shared 1909 Nobel Prize in Physics with Marconi. Died in Brooklyn, New York, 20 April 1918.

Adolph Karl Heinrich Slaby. Born in Berlin, 18 April 1849. Studied mechanical engineering and mathematics, Royal Trade School, Potsdam. Appointed to Berlin Trade Academy in 1876. First chair of electrical engineering (1882) and director (1884), Electrotechnical Laboratory of Technical High School at Charlottenburg. Honorary Professor, University of Berlin, 1892. Technical advisor to the German Kaiser, 1893–1912. Died in Charlottenburg, Germany, 6 April 1913.

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Germany

Despite increasing competition from other electronic media, radio continues to play an important role in Germany. The country's radio system is divided into the long-established network of public service stations—the Association of German Broadcasters (ARD)—and (since 1984) their commercial counterparts. Most stations are FM outlets and have regional or local reach. Although music and entertainment programs are important for German listeners, there are also many niche programs that offer anything from science magazines and minority programs to the renowned *Hörspiel* (radio drama) experiments. Moreover, radio still is an information medium; even music stations are expected to offer at least news on the hour and headlines in between.

Over the last two decades, the industry has experienced tremendous change stimulated by deregulation. This has led to an exponential increase of stations and intensified competition

resulting in many new radio formats and audience fragmentation. On average, Germans listen to radio for almost three hours per day, which is as much time as they spend watching television.

Origins

On 29 October 1923 the first German radio program was aired from Berlin. As was common in many European countries, the first German radio stations were not privately owned enterprises; instead, they were directly or indirectly controlled by national or regional governments. After World War I, when a nonmilitary radio network became a possibility, several wire services, newspaper publishers, the electrical industry, and other private investors tried to negotiate with the Weimar government to establish commercial radio stations. But ultimately the government prevailed, keeping broadcasts under their control.

A national broadcasting organization and nine regional publicly traded radio organizations were launched. These were controlled by the postal ministry but allowed limited private investments. Two programming organizations produced most of the content. Drahtloser Dienst AG (DRADAG; Wireless Service, Inc.) controlled by the department of internal affairs, produced political information (newscasts). *Deutsche Stunde* (German Hour), controlled by the postal and foreign ministries, was responsible for providing music and cultural programs. The system was financed through a license fee that was added to the price of new radio sets. In the last chaotic years of the Weimar Republic, broadcasting became progressively more centralized; by 1932, the national government took full power over the new medium.

Radio in the Third Reich

After the Nazis seized power in 1933, Joseph Goebbels quickly took control of all cultural and media institutions, restructuring them as part of his propaganda machine. As Minister for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda and head of the Chamber of Culture, he controlled all cultural productions including print, radio, film, theater, literature, and music.

An inexpensively produced radio set called *Volksempfänger* (people's receiver) became one of the Nazis' most successful propaganda instruments because it made tuning other non-German stations almost impossible. Because of these new sets, radio soon reached nearly 100 percent of the population and ensured the almost complete penetration of Third Reich propaganda. Both programming and staffing were monitored by the Chamber of Culture's department for broadcasting. From 1940 on, all German radio stations had to air the same government-created program.

As the war expanded, Allied countries made increasingly effective use of radio in their efforts to counter German propaganda broadcasts. The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and others aired programs in German and other languages of occupied territories. Despite being threatened by a death penalty, an increasing number of listeners turned to these programs as the war continued and Goebbels' propaganda lies became more and more obvious. As the war drew to a close, German radio programs became more limited. Many stations were destroyed until in May 1945 the last intact Nazi-controlled radio station at Flensburg announced Germany's unconditional surrender.

A Divided Postwar System

West Germany

At the end of World War II, the occupying powers (the United States, Britain, and France) established a new broadcasting sys-

tem. In the beginning, all three Western allies tried to establish their respective media systems in their occupied zones. Yet a commercial system such as that in the United States was not viable because war-torn and destroyed Germany could not generate enough advertising support to finance it. On the other hand, the centralized French system resembled too closely the former Weimar system that had allowed an effortless takeover by the Nazis. Therefore, all Western allies at last accepted the British public service system as the basis for the new German radio operation.

It was important to all of the Allies to keep broadcasting away from the influence of the German national government and to decentralize the powerful medium. At first the Allied representatives were directly in charge of programming and station management, but they soon hired German nationals for increasingly responsible positions. The first regional broadcasting organizations were launched right after the war and by the mid-1950s, the now sovereign West Germany had nine regional public broadcasting corporations. They were organized into the Association of German Broadcasters (ARD). Each of the nine independent regional broadcasting corporations covered either one large or several smaller federal states, and each subsequently increased its stations to as many as five that aired different niche programs.

Reflecting Germany's decentralized political structure, each state organized its own media systems. The ARD broadcast corporations were monitored by boards composed of representatives of political parties, unions and industry, youth organizations, religious groups, and other groups that are considered relevant for society. These boards set general programming guidelines and voted on major administrative and editorial staff. Public stations were required to offer a variety of programs that catered to all groups of the public they served. There were also boards that controlled financial matters.

Critics of this system argue that the political parties have too much influence on broadcasting, denying the constitutional freedom of the media. The system is financed by a monthly broadcast fee levied on every household with a radio and by the sales of some limited commercial time. Most ARD organizations had one general station with a broad pop music selection, in addition to news and short features. The other stations were educational and youth talk-based stations, classical and jazz stations (many ARD stations own symphony orchestras and sometimes big band and jazz orchestras), and stations playing traditional music catering to older audiences. More recently, some have added stations with all-news formats. The indirect financing through listener fees allowed the stations to produce programs other than just those with mass appeal, which has made radio an important cultural form. From the 1950s through the 1970s, niche departments (not infrequently headed by Ph.D.s) flourished, producing genres such as *Hörspiel* (radio drama) and other experimental radio work.

Reacting to new technological developments that ended channel scarcity, in the mid-1980s the West German broadcasting system, including radio, was deregulated and allowed commercial competition.

East Germany

The East German media system was organized according to the Soviet-totalitarian model. Following the Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist concepts of media, broadcasting outlets were state-owned and centrally organized and their main purpose was to educate people about communism (usually and rather confusingly termed “socialism” in practice).

The Soviets developed stations in Berlin and other major East German cities—all under a central administration. But by 1952 Soviet forces relinquished control and censorship rights to a state broadcasting committee that was directly monitored by the East German government. East Germany abolished the states as political entities and centralized the media system. After 1955 there were the *Berliner Rundfunk* (Berlin Broadcasting) for East (and potentially West) Berlin; the *Radio DDR* for all East Germans; *Deutschlandsender* (Germany’s Station; later *Stimme der DDR* [Voice of German Democratic Republic]) broadcast for West German listeners; and *Radio Berlin International*, which produced programs in German and ten other foreign languages for international listeners. During the height of the Cold War, AM propaganda channels were added: *Freiheitssender 904* (Freedom Station 904) aimed at communists outside the country after 1956; and *Soldatensender 935* (Soldiers’ Station 935) geared toward Western soldiers after 1960. They were on the air until a phase of détente in the early 1970s eased the Cold War rhetoric.

A reform in 1987 resulted in a new channel for young people—the soon popular *Jugendradio DT64* (Youth Radio DT64). In addition, the established stations changed to more distinctive formats, under different names. *Radio DDR 1* aired information and music; *Radio DDR 2* aired regional programming in the morning and cultural or educational programming during the day. The *Berliner Rundfunk* focused on Berlin current events. The broadcasting system in East Germany was mainly financed by viewer’s fees and state subsidies. All radio and TV sets had to be officially registered.

A special problem for the East German government was that an estimated 80 percent of its people could tune to broadcast signals from the West. Besides the public TV stations, people especially listened to radio stations close to the German border. Although at first the political elite tried to enforce a strict ban on tuning in foreign broadcasts, it later gave in to their popularity. During the first few years of East Germany’s existence, members of the state-controlled youth organization were sent out to destroy antennae that were positioned to receive Western broadcasts. Sometimes the government tried to

jam (electronically interfere with) transmissions from the West, but that always led to protest from audiences. Under the rule of state council chairman Erich Honecker in the early 1970s, the East German government officially accepted West German broadcasting. Only the most rigid party members then refrained from listening and viewing.

In fact, West German broadcasting became a part of the political agenda. Often East German politicians countered Western news that had not been aired on eastern channels. It has been argued that these years of Western broadcasting had a major impact on destabilizing East Germany, which finally led to the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. The constant exposure to unreachable Western consumerism definitely led to a serious level of dissatisfaction among the population. After a phase of several short-lived media reorganizations during the upheaval, with the final German reunification in 1990, the East and West German systems were merged, following the Western model.

Today: A Dual System

In 1984 the West German media system changed to a so-called dual system allowing commercial as well as state governmental radio and television stations. After the reunification, the whole country adopted this system. The new political situation led to the launch of two new ARD organizations in former East Germany and the merger of two Western ones; thus there are now ten regional public service networks under the ARD umbrella. Further deregulation has led to a tremendous growth in the number of commercial radio stations in East and West. Reflecting the decentralized political system, each state has a different setup for commercial radio broadcasting, but most states permit a combination of local and statewide commercial radio stations. Some states only have five or six statewide private stations. Sometimes they are even guaranteed a commercial broadcasting monopoly in their area to guarantee enough advertising support; more competitive systems such as Bavaria have 50 or more private stations. There are some ownership regulations, but they have not stopped many newspaper, magazine, and book publishers from acquiring stations. A number of local newspaper publishers have taken advantage of their existing editorial base to launch radio stations.

The dual system has been redefined repeatedly based on several decisions by the highest constitutional court (*Bundesverfassungsgericht*), state legislation, and joint accords of all states. The latest legislation tries to guarantee survival of public as well as private broadcast entities. Although the German constitution guarantees freedom of the press and independence from government interference, there are several content regulations that apply to public as well as commercial stations. ARD stations are controlled by their boards, but even commercial

broadcasters must follow certain rules similar to the former U.S. Fairness Doctrine. These concern the protection of children and young people and balanced coverage of topics of public importance. Each state sets up differently structured boards that license the stations and monitor commercial stations' compliance with these requirements.

Two additional radio organizations do not fit into either the public or the commercial category. *Deutschlandradio* is another result of the reunification. It was launched in 1994 by combining the former national public service AM station *Deutschlandfunk* (Germany Radio) with RIAS (Radio in the American Sector, a station of the U.S. Information Service in Berlin) and a cultural station of former East Germany. Jointly operated by ARD and the German TV network ZDF, it airs two programs from Cologne and Berlin. It is commercial free and governed by its mission to support the reunification of the two Germanys. Its main focus is on political and cultural programs that are broadcast on FM, AM, and shortwave. The second organization, *Deutsche Welle* (*DW*; German Wave), broadcasts programs worldwide via satellite and shortwave radio in 34 languages. Based in Cologne and Berlin, it also broadcasts television programs via satellite. The reunification brought about a new legal situation for *DW*, which was formerly a West German government-controlled station. It is now legally monitored by the ministry of interior affairs and financed by the government, commercials, and sponsoring. In accordance with constitutional broadcasting freedom, however, no government department can directly control its programming.

As of early 2003, every household owning at least one radio paid Euro 5.32 (US\$5.60); households with both television and radio paid Euro 16.50 (US\$17.30). Twenty-eight percent of the overall collected fees were used to finance radio stations. A committee of representatives from all states decides on changes in fee structure or levels. With commercial competition it has become more difficult for public service broadcasters to defend fee increases. Public service radio stations also air commercials that are by law restricted to Monday-through-Saturday broadcasts at certain times of the day. But commercial local and regional radio broadcasters, which are fully supported by advertising, face almost no advertising regulations.

In 1987 there were only about 44 stations in West Germany, but the 1980s deregulation and German reunification increased that number to about 246 in 1999 in the united Germany. Of those, 59 are public service stations. This number has been fairly stable since the mid-1990s. After a strong growth phase in the first decade after deregulation, Germany seems to have reached a saturation point for its local/regional markets. Recently, new transmission technology has triggered some new national private stations and there are also several internet-only stations in Germany.

Audiences

According to media research in 1999, radio stations reach an average of 82 percent of the German people over age 14, on any given day some time between 5:00 A.M. and 12:00 A.M. Germans listen to the radio an average of 179 minutes a day. These numbers have slowly but steadily been increasing in recent years. Radio has remained popular despite increased competition from other traditional and new media. German listeners seem to be fairly loyal to their stations. When asked how many stations they heard the day before, they name only 1.4, on average, and they name only 2.8 stations heard when asked about their listening habits over the last two-week period. Overall, the public stations in the ARD network are losing listeners to commercial stations; the market share of ARD was 53 percent in 1999, compared to 45 percent for commercial radio. Only seven years earlier, in 1992, the ARD network had a market share of 70 percent, compared to 29 percent for commercial stations.

When asked what they consider to be the most important aspect of radio, 69 percent of women and 65 percent of men name news, 63 percent of women/60 percent of men name music, and 55 percent of women/54 percent of men name services such as weather and traffic reports and time announcements. Other popular genres are general background information on political events and political reporting, as well as regional programs and consumer news. As in the United States, radio listening peaks on Mondays through Fridays during the 7:00 A.M. to 8:00 A.M. "drive time" or commuting period, when almost 40 percent of women and 33 percent of men tune in. Listening slowly declines to another light peak around lunchtime with 22 percent of women and 16 percent of men listening. The afternoon sees another decline, but listening picks up again from 4:00 P.M. to 6:00 P.M., with 21 percent of men and 18 percent of women listening.

Many ARD and commercial stations stream their programs via the internet. There are currently pilot projects in several states testing new digital radio transmission technology (DAB). It is expected that new technology will lead to new stations and might shift radio from local and regional to more national format based stations. Other important factors in the future are the tough competition between public service and commercial broadcasters and the increasing audience fragmentation. German media researchers have discovered a distinctive audience split. Younger, less-educated, less-affluent audiences seem to favor commercial stations, whereas older, better-educated, more-affluent people tend to listen to public radio. The maturation of the "dual" system and new technology will provide more challenges for public and private stations in finding and keeping their audiences.

See also German Wireless Pioneers; Propaganda by Radio; Radio in the American Sector (Berlin)

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Gillard, Frank 1908–1998

British Correspondent and Executive

Frank Gillard's radio career may be divided into three important phases. He was described as "one of the BBC's most distinguished war correspondents" during World War II. Then during the 1950s and 1960s he was a key management executive determining reforms in British national and local radio. Finally, during his "retirement," he was responsible for acquiring archive interviews and writing the history of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). He was also an adviser and consultant in North America and may have had some influence on the development of U.S. public radio. After his death on 20 October 1998, the then Director-General Sir John Birt described him as having made "an unrivalled contribution to the BBC."

War Correspondent

Following his death, a number of newspaper obituaries praised Gillard as a World War II war correspondent. For example, the London *Times* said, "Gillard's was one of the best known voices on British war time radio . . . his incisive reports kept listeners at home abreast of events from the raid on Dieppe to the Allied entry into Berlin and the final German surrender."

In fact, toward the end of his life Gillard had expressed "shame and disgrace" about the distorted and misleading nature of his BBC report on the ill-fated raid at Dieppe in 1942. This is hardly surprising given the fact that he had broadcast the extraordinary line: "As a combined operation this raid was an all-time model." It can be argued that no amount of censorship required him to express this degree of

enthusiasm for an event regarded as one of the greatest disasters of modern military history. He also regretted that he had followed the army's optimistic line too often in his reports and wished he had been more independent. (He was the only BBC correspondent with the Dieppe force because he had been the regional correspondent closest to Portsmouth.)

Throughout the war, Gillard had to be "on side" and operate in the context of a "white propaganda" role in war reporting. There was strict censorship, and journalistic presence depended on the approval and goodwill of commanding generals. Gillard had been a schoolteacher, not a journalist, before working as a part-time broadcaster and talks assistant for the BBC in western England. His war reports do not, therefore, indicate the instinct of the critical reporter seeking to "tell it as it is" but instead fall into the category of a performer operating as a public relations officer. He replaced Richard Dimpleby in North Africa because Dimpleby had been too closely associated with the failures of General Auchinleck's command. Gillard developed a rapport with Auchinleck's replacement General Bernard Montgomery. But after the Allied victory in North Africa, Gillard fell foul of Supreme Allied Commander General Alexander, who had mistakenly accused him of evading official censorship. But an examination of Gillard's war reports again reveals his role as a broadcast performer rather than a reporter detailing the truth of Allied slaughter in Bocage country between the invasion and break out.

An example of the wartime bias of his journalism is illustrated by this extract from a report broadcast 25 June 1944: "Almost the first words a German says when he is brought in

to a British or Canadian headquarters on this front are 'Please don't shoot.' Thousands have been amazed to find that we've no intention or thought of killing them." The fact was that there had been several occasions when Canadian troops did not take prisoners, and instances of prisoners on either side being shot dead or having their throats cut were being covered up by Allied reporting. Gillard and his colleagues failed to report, for example, that German tanks and anti-tank weapons were vastly superior to Allied equipment; that the Nazis had more automatic guns than the Allies; that British and Canadian army tactics in the Bocage were inadequate and contributed to an acceleration of casualties that eventually led to the British Army running out of reserves; that a number of Allied troops were killed by friendly fire; and that the bombing of Caen had been futile, resulting in the deaths of many more French civilians than German combatants. In fact, the Scottish playwright William Douglas-Home was court-martialed for refusing orders in relation to the Caen operation. An attempt to break out with British and Canadian armor in "Operation Goodwood" on 18 July 1944 was an unmitigated disaster and significant German military victory, but this was not even hinted at by any of Gillard's reports.

Management

The second phase of Gillard's career in broadcasting was much more significant. He demonstrated a cunning political ability to lobby for and to effect significant change in structures of BBC institutions and broadcasting. Beginning in 1956, he built up the resources, power, and importance of the BBC West Region and was appointed director of sound broadcasting in 1963.

Gillard went on a tour of the United States in 1954 and there realized that, despite the growing ascendancy of television, he did not meet a single person who thought that radio was dying. He noted that the changes were affecting "big battalion broadcasting" (networks) and "an increasing range of local stations." In particular, Gillard was impressed by the small station WVPO Stroudsburg in the Pocono mountains of Pennsylvania, which operated in daylight hours only and served a community of 15,000 people with a staff of 13. Gillard wrote a special report for the BBC, "Radio in the USA: A Visitor's View," which emphasized that WVPO "spoke to its listeners as a familiar friend and neighbor and the whole operation was conducted with the utmost informality."

His successes included the establishment of a network of BBC local radio stations; the redefining of BBC national networks to incorporate the popular musical format channel *Radio 1*; the introduction of more live, unscripted programming to reflect the changing nature of British popular culture; and the preservation of the BBC monopoly in radio broadcast-

ing long after it had been challenged in television. He could be criticized for axing the radio features department without establishing a context whereby its management could continue with the same force and creativity. He could also be condemned for canceling the *Children's Hour* without finding an alternative method of attracting and developing a new generation of young radio listeners. And his ruthless campaigning against a more democratic distribution of taxation for U.K. public radio and the suppression of commercial radio licensing may have had a negative impact on development and choice in British radio.

Historian

Gillard officially retired from the BBC in 1969, but he remained central to its establishment voice. In the 1970s he became the BBC's archival historian, and according to the *Guardian* journalist Maggie Brown, he was "the custodian of its inner secrets." He originated and managed a project of recording on audiocassette and film the memoirs of BBC personnel, which could only be used "on the BBC's centenary in 2022" when "everyone was safely dead or otherwise." As it has been argued that cultural memory and power are often determined by those who write history, Gillard's influence on historical portrayals/evaluations of the BBC is likely to endure. This is probably why the *Guardian* called him "a BBC Mandarin."

As Leonard Miall noted in his *Independent* newspaper obituary, Gillard, "would have been horrified that BBC News managed to get his age wrong in their announcement of his death." The BBC celebrated his memory by inaugurating awards for local radio broadcasting in his name.

TIM CROOK

See also British Broadcasting Corporation; British Radio Journalists

Frank Gillard. Born in Tiverton, Devon, England, 1 December 1908. Educated at Wellington School, Somerset, and St. Luke's College, Exeter; attended London University, 1929–31: B.S.; schoolmaster and freelance broadcaster, BBC West Region, 1936–40; talks assistant, BBC Bristol, 1941; war correspondent with Southern Command, 1942; accredited to operation on Dieppe, 19 August 1942; war correspondent BBC, accredited to North Africa, Italy, Normandy, Berlin, 1942–45; head of BBC West Regional Programmes, 1945–55; controller, West Region, 1956–63; director and later Managing Director, BBC Radio, 1963–69; consultant to U.S. Corporation of Public Broadcasting and Australian Broadcasting Commission, 1969–70. Officer of the Order of the British Empire, 1946; Commander of the Order of the British Empire, 1961; distinguished fellow of the U.S. Corporation for Public

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Godfrey, Arthur 1903–1983

U.S. Radio Personality

During the years following World War II, Arthur Godfrey was one of the great stars of radio, keeping alive a tradition of variety programming through his simulcast *Talent Scouts* amateur program and also doing a popular morning talk and variety program with a stable of stars. These were Godfrey's radio venues, but he did do other radio programs—particularly during the early 1950s—as Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) executives sought to take full advantage of his growing appeal. No one challenged the popularity of his other principle venue through the 1950s—a regular Wednesday night television variety program, *Arthur Godfrey and His Friends*.

Radio Origins

The red-haired ukulele player, whose gift for gab was a favorite of radio and television audiences through the post-World War II era, started his radio career in 1930 at WFBR-AM in Baltimore. Later, in the 1930s, he moved to Washington, D.C., first to WMAL-AM and then to CBS affiliate WJSV-AM (later WTOP-AM) for an early-morning program that would begin Godfrey's life-long association with the CBS network. Godfrey remained in Washington, D.C., until 1941, when he moved to New York and CBS's WABC-AM. During this decade and a half, Godfrey perfected what would be his fabled ability to communicate on an almost personal level with his listeners.

Based on his narration for the CBS broadcast of the funeral procession down Pennsylvania Avenue for Franklin Delano Roosevelt in April 1945, CBS executives moved Godfrey to

New York to begin a radio daytime series, *Arthur Godfrey Time*. This program would remain his staple for 27 years, frequently changing starting times but always running about an hour, and always ending before the noon CBS news.

In 1946 CBS added *Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts*, a copy of the long-running Major Bowes and later Ted Mack programs. *Talent Scouts* was Godfrey's first venture into prime time, and it became a big hit. Indeed, his move into television came in 1948 when he agreed to simulcast *Talent Scouts* on television. This would prove to be his launching pad to national fame.

Although others abandoned radio for television as soon as their popularity made it possible, Godfrey never gave up his morning radio chat fest. He did the morning program and then turned around on Monday nights—with the help of a capable production staff led by Janette Davis—and did *Talent Scouts*. Godfrey was smart enough to know where his comparative advantage lay, and he never gave up the morning radio show. (Indeed, once his popularity inevitably waned, he returned exclusively to radio, continuing his radio career until 1972.)

A Talent Scout

While his morning show touched an audience of housewives and baby boomer children, his fame, fortune, and pioneering activities in prime time brought him to the cover of *Time* magazine. Variety show *Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts* proved to be a far greater hit than Major Bowes' or Ted Mack's shows

ever were. *Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts* ran on both radio and television on Monday nights for a decade and was clearly Godfrey's best prime-time showcase. The show reached number one in the TV ratings in the 1951–52 season but fell behind *I Love Lucy* the next season and thereafter finished behind, but not too far behind, Hollywood-produced shows. It remained a radio staple even as other variety shows switched to TV and abandoned radio altogether.

The formula for *Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts* was simple enough, as old as the amateur hour idea from vaudeville, which had been popularized by Major Bowes on radio. For Godfrey's version, "scouts" brought on their "discoveries" to perform live before a national radio and television audience. Most of these "discoveries" were in fact struggling professionals looking for a break, and so the quality of the talent proved quite high, as thousands auditioned with the hope that exposure on Godfrey's show would provide that needed national boost. The winner, chosen by a fabled audience applause meter, often joined Godfrey during the following week on his morning radio show and less frequently as part of his televised *Arthur Godfrey and His Friends*. Some even joined his regular talent pool.

Godfrey and Janette Davis did well with pop and country singers. Through the late 1940s and 1950s, Godfrey significantly assisted the careers of Pat Boone, Tony Bennett, Eddie Fisher, Connie Francis, Leslie Uggams, Lenny Bruce, Steve Lawrence, Connie Francis, Roy Clark, George Hamilton IV, and Patsy Cline. But both Elvis Presley and Buddy Holly never made it past the audition. This Monday night 8:30 P.M. talent search was no place for early rockers, nor for African-Americans. That Godfrey lived in Leesburg, Virginia, and Janette Davis was from Arkansas seemed to enable them to find country talent on the fringes, but they always worked best when mining aspiring stars in the Tin Pan Alley tradition.

The "discovery" of Patsy Cline on 21 January 1957 was typical. Her scout (actually her mother), Hilda Hensley, presented Patsy, who sang a recent recording "Walkin' After Midnight." Though this was a country song, recorded in Nashville, and Cline wanted to wear one of her mother's hand-crafted cowgirl outfits that she wore while appearing on local television in Washington, D.C., Davis forced Cline to wear a cocktail dress. Still, the audience's ovations stopped the meter at its apex, and for a couple of months thereafter Cline appeared regularly on Godfrey's radio program. But despite the fact that Cline had been performing for nearly a decade, had been recording in Nashville since 1954, and had been a regular on local Washington, D.C., radio for more than a year, it is often stated that Godfrey, because of the great ratings and fame of his *Talent Scouts*, discovered Patsy Cline.

For *Arthur Godfrey Time*, Godfrey hosted a straight variety show, employing a resident cast of singers that at times included Julius La Rosa, Frank Parker, Lu Ann Simms, Pat Boone, and

the Cordettes. Tony Marvin was both the announcer and Godfrey's "second banana," as he was on *Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts*. Although the fame of *Arthur Godfrey Time* never matched that of *Talent Scouts*, the assembled company of singers, all clean-cut young people, remained a 1950s fixture in homes as Godfrey played host and impresario.

Fame and Fortune

By the early 1950s, Godfrey seemed unable to do anything wrong, despite a press that could find little reason for his popularity. During the summer of 1950, Godfrey even appeared twice a week on CBS, in addition to his television and daily radio shows, offering lessons on the ukulele to his television audience on Tuesday and Friday nights. This proved his peak of popularity.

His fall from grace began in October 1953 when he publicly fired the popular Julius La Rosa on the air. Through the mid- and late 1950s Godfrey feuded with newspaper critics who complained of his insensitivity to La Rosa and other employees. Although Godfrey's bout with cancer drew international sympathy, falling TV ratings led to his retreat back to radio.

But he did not give up on television. He flopped on *Candid Camera*. But CBS kept trying, and Godfrey continued to do specials: *Arthur Godfrey in Hollywood* on 11 October 1963, *Arthur Godfrey Loves Animals* on 18 March 1963, and so on once or twice a year. His final television special came on 28 March 1973: *Arthur Godfrey's Portable Electric Medicine Show*, filmed and shown on National Broadcasting Company (NBC) TV, was ironically his only major effort for that network. Radio was where Godfrey started and ended his career—and it was always his best medium.

Despite his critics, many of whom argued that Godfrey had no talent, he was one of the important on-air stars of radio and television for the 15 years after the end of World War II. Indeed, one can credibly argue that through the 1950s, there was no bigger star than this freckle-faced, ukulele-playing variety show host. Through most of the decade of the 1950s, Godfrey appeared in his two top ten prime-time television shows, as well as doing a daily radio program, all for CBS. Despite his fame as a discoverer of talent and as a host, in the end it was something about Godfrey's infectious chuckle, his offbeat sense of humor, and his ability to connect to middle-class Americans that made his fans tune in not one, but two, three, or four times per week, in the morning and during prime time.

To industry insiders, Godfrey's shows were simply vehicles for television's first great pitchman. Godfrey blended a Southern folksiness with enough sophistication to charm a national audience measured in the millions through the 1950s. For CBS in particular, Godfrey was one of the network's most valuable stars, generating millions of dollars in advertising billings each



Arthur Godfrey
Courtesy Radio Hall of Fame

year, with no real talent save being the most congenial of hosts.

On radio and television, Godfrey frequently kidded his sponsors, but he always “sold from the heart,” only hawking products he had actually tried or that he regularly used. No listener or viewer during the 1950s doubted that Godfrey really did love what he sold, for Godfrey’s rich, warm, resonant timbre made him sound like he was confiding to each audience member. Godfrey delighted in tossing aside prepared scripts and telling his audience: “Aw, who wrote this stuff? Everybody knows Lipton’s is the best tea you can buy. So why get fancy about it? Getcha some Lipton’s, hot the pot with plain hot water for a few minutes, then put fresh hot water on the tea and let it just sit there.” So, despite all his irreverent kidding and the uneven quality of his assembled talent, advertisers loved Godfrey and made him and his various shows a key part of broadcasting during the 1950s.

He did the same magic for Pillsbury, Frigidaire, and Toni (hair) products. Here was a friend recommending the prod-

uct, no snake-oil salesman hawking useless or overpriced merchandise. Godfrey drove CBS network efficiency experts crazy because he refused to simply read his advertising copy in the allocated 60 seconds. Instead, Godfrey talked for as long as he felt was necessary to convince his viewers, frequently running over. CBS chairman William S. Paley detested Godfrey but bowed to his incredible popularity. CBS president (and chief number cruncher) Frank Stanton loved Godfrey because his shows were so cheap to produce yet drew consistently high ratings.

By 1950 Godfrey was making well in excess of a million dollars per year and was among the highest-paid persons in the United States at the time. So popular was Godfrey in his heyday that in 1959, when he underwent one of the first successful operations for the removal of a cancerous lung, it was front-page news across the nation. At one point, in the mid-1950s, he had an estimated audience of 40 million and had more than 80 sponsors for his daily morning show. He received 60,000 letters a week. Because of his homey approach and sometimes

sly, off-color wit, radio great Fred Allen dubbed Godfrey “the Huck Finn of radio.”

The late 1950s and early 1960s were not kind to Godfrey. He battled cancer and saw his million-dollar yearly salary plunge. Godfrey finally retired from radio in 1972, by then a symbol of another era.

DOUGLAS GOMERY

See also Variety Shows

Arthur Godfrey. Born in New York City, 31 August 1903. Attended Naval Radio School, 1921; Naval Radio Material School, 1929; served in U.S. Navy as radio operator, 1920–24; served in United States Coast Guard, 1927–30; radio announcer and entertainer, WFBR-AM, Baltimore, Maryland, 1930; staff announcer, WRC-AM, Washington, D.C., 1933; worked at other local stations, particularly WJSV-AM (later WTOP-AM), a CBS affiliate in Washington, D.C., 1934–45; joined CBS network, 1945; host of several radio and television programs, 1940s and 1950s; returned exclusively to radio morning show, 1960; retired, 1972. Died in New York City, 16 March 1983.

Radio Series

- 1945–72 *Arthur Godfrey Time*
 1946–56 *Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts* (on television until 1958)
 1949–59 *Arthur Godfrey and His Friends*

Television Series

Arthur Godfrey and His Friends, 1949–59

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The Goldbergs

Comedy Serial Program

As early as 1937, just 8 years into its 16-year run on radio, *The Goldbergs* was selected by the industry magazine *Radio Daily* as one of the “Programs that Have Made History.” Indeed, *The Goldbergs* was a groundbreaking show that influenced both the form and content of later radio and television programming. Amid early radio fare, such as music variety shows and public talks, *The Goldbergs* (along with *Real Folks* and *Amos ’n’ Andy*) was one of the first dramatic serials on network radio and one of the first serials to concentrate on family life. *The Goldbergs* demonstrated the power of serials to attract a loyal audience. Its immediate success in 1929

prompted interest in radio programs that regularly featured familiar domestic situations, recurring characters, and continuing story lines.

The Goldbergs was a hybrid program, part comedy, part drama, and part serial; with its continuing story line and domestic focus, the program was the prototype for both later situation comedies and daytime soap operas. Yet *The Goldbergs* is most fondly remembered for its ethnic content. Among the first urban, ethnic comedies in broadcasting, the program spoke eloquently about the experience of immigrants during the Depression and their struggles to assimilate in their

adopted country. *The Goldbergs* remains one of the relatively few programs in the history of radio and television to offer a sustained ethnic perspective on American life.

The stories of the Goldberg family—at 1038 East Tremont Avenue, Apartment 3B, in the Bronx—emerged solely from the creator and writer of the series, Gertrude Berg. As Michele Hilmes (1997) writes, “no other daily serial drama reflected so explicitly its creator’s own ethnic background.” Gertrude Edelstein Berg (1899–1966) was born in Harlem to Russian Jewish parents. As a teenager at her father’s resort in the Poconos, Berg began writing plays to entertain the guests. This hobby continued even after Berg married and gave birth to two children. She soon developed a popular skit featuring a wife and mother named Maltke Talnitsky—modeled after her grandmother, her mother, and herself—her no-good husband, and her children. These characters were the earliest forms of the Goldberg family—Molly Goldberg, a Jewish immigrant mother; Jake Goldberg, a tailor and her sympathetic husband; and her two children, Sammy and Rosalie. Gertrude Berg sent a sample script through a family acquaintance to a New York radio station. Berg was offered jobs writing continuity and translating commercials and recipes into Yiddish on radio.

Although Berg’s first network offering, about two working-class salesgirls, *Effie and Laurie*, was picked up by the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) in 1929, it was canceled after just one broadcast. After this failure, Berg began to shop around her idea for a family comedy based on her earlier skits. Berg claimed that initially “radio studio big wigs” believed audiences would reject a program about Yiddish life. However, the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) saw the promise of radio’s first Jewish comedy and aired *The Rise of the Goldbergs* as a sustaining weekly evening series starting on 20 November 1929. Paid \$75 a week to write the series and produce the program, Berg controlled all aspects of the show’s development, from scripting the program in longhand to paying the performers. Berg, who voiced the character of Molly Goldberg, assembled a cast of New York stage actors to bring the rest of the Goldberg family to life: James Waters as Jake Goldberg, Alfred Ryder as Sammy, and Roslyn Silber as Rosalie. Berg’s importance to the series was recognized by fans; nearly 37,000 letters poured in when Berg became ill and was off the air for a week. NBC acknowledged Berg’s role, as well: Berg soon earned more than \$7,500 a week for the program. By fans and the industry, Berg was considered one of the most important personalities in broadcasting and one of the greatest women in radio.

By the 1931–32 season, the series, retitled *The Goldbergs*, aired six times a week and had become one of the highest-rated programs on radio. On 13 July 1931, the show was picked up by Pepsodent, who sponsored it for the next three years. Berg ended the serial briefly in 1934 to take the cast and the series on a nationwide promotional tour. When the networks cleared



Gertrude Berg of *The Goldbergs*
Courtesy CBS Photo Archive

serial dramas from the night-time air in 1936, *The Goldbergs* moved to daytime until 1945. In January 1938 Berg was signed to a five-year, million-dollar contract to write and star on *The Goldbergs*, making her one of the highest-paid writers on radio. Oxydol and Procter and Gamble picked up sponsorship of the show until the end of its run.

The Goldbergs was a serial that spoke about the economic and social tensions of the 1930s and 1940s, an assimilationist drama about an immigrant Jewish family living on New York’s Lower East Side. Many programs focused on typical domestic situations—report cards, dinner guests, schoolyard loves, and Molly’s worries about her family. In the early years of *The Goldbergs*, Berg described life in an urban tenement and the attempts of this immigrant family to achieve economic security during the Depression. But, most important, the serial vividly depicted the clash between old and new, yesterday’s traditions and today’s values, Old World parents and American-born children.

At the heart of this serial drama was the struggle of an immigrant family to assimilate culturally while still retaining their ethnic identity. Early episodes were marked by generational

conflict over how much the family should adapt to life in the United States. The parents, Molly and Jake Goldberg, were ethnic immigrants with “Old World” values. Molly’s voice revealed her immigrant background: she spoke with a heavy Yiddish accent and was famous for her “Mollyprops,” Yiddish malapropisms that twisted common phrases (“If it’s nobody, I’ll call back” or “I’m putting on my bathrobe and condescending the stairs”). Their American-born children, Sammy and Rosalie, spoke with relatively little accent and often challenged the traditions of their parents. However, by the end of the serial, the Americanization of Molly’s family was nearly complete; like so many other immigrants, the upwardly mobile Goldbergs eventually moved from their New York apartment to the suburbs.

The immigrant experience recounted in *The Goldbergs* clearly resonated in an era characterized by both massive immigration and calls for greater national unity. Although Gertrude Berg moved in more assimilated, upper-middle-class circles, she worked diligently to maintain the “realism” of the ethnic immigrant experience detailed in the series. In 1936, for example, Berg took Dan Wheeler, a writer from the *Radio Mirror*, to the Lower East Side to witness her research. In an article entitled “How the Ghetto Guides *The Goldbergs*,” Wheeler recounted Berg’s conversations with street vendors and immigrant women and her anonymous participation in a Lower East Side charitable club. Her efforts to represent the ethnic experience were appreciated by contemporary audiences. The program was cited at the time by groups such as the National Conference of Christians and Jews for promoting religious and ethnic tolerance.

The continued popularity of the radio program spawned the 1948 Broadway play *Molly and Me*, a comic strip, several vaudeville skits, and a 1950 film. After the program’s demise, *The Goldbergs* was briefly revived in 1949–50 for CBS as a 30-minute weekly radio series, but it endured in American culture as a television situation comedy from 1949 to 1955. *The Goldbergs* became one of the most popular comedies of early television, earning Berg the first Emmy Award for Best Actress in 1950. In 1961–62, Molly Goldberg inspired yet another television series, *Mrs. Goldberg Goes to College* (or *The Gertrude Berg Show*). Because of its acuity in representing a common immigrant experience, the magazine *TV Show* appropriately labeled *The Goldbergs* an “American institution” (Merritt, 1951).

JENNIFER HYLAND WANG

See also Comedy; Jewish Radio; Situation Comedy; Stereotypes on Radio

Cast

Molly Goldberg	Gertrude Berg
Jake Goldberg	James Waters, Phillip Loeb (1949–50)

Sammy Goldberg	Alfred Ryder, Everett Sloane (late 1930s), Larry Robinson (1949–50)
Rosalie Goldberg	Roslyn Silber, Arlene McQuade (1949–50)
Uncle David	Menasha Skulnik, Eli Mintz (1949–50)
Joyce	Anne Teeman
Edna	Helene Dumas
Solly	Sidney Slon
Jane	Joan Tetzl
Seymour Fingerhood	Arnold Stang, Eddie Firestone, Jr.
Sylvia	Zina Provendie
Mr. Fowler	Bruno Wick
Mr. Schneider	Artie Auerback
Esther	Joan Vitez
Mickey Bloom	Howard Merrill
Martha Wilberforce	Carrie Weller
Libby	Jeanette Chinley
Uncle Carlo	Tito Vuolo
Mrs. Bloom	Minerva Pious
Announcer	Clayton “Bud” Collyer, Alan Kent, Art Millet

Creator/Writer

Gertrude Berg

Programming History

NBC 1929–34; 1937 (briefly); 1941 (briefly)
CBS 1935–50

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Goldsmith, Alfred Norton 1888–1974

U.S. Radio Engineer and Inventor

Alfred Norton Goldsmith—teacher, engineer, and inventor—won the admiration of two generations of engineers for his contributions to the field of communication technology.

Goldsmith taught electrical engineering at City College of New York while working as director of research for the American Marconi Company. After World War I, he became the first director of research in the newly organized Radio Corporation of America (RCA), and he ultimately became vice president and general engineer of that company. Though RCA was organized to consolidate the patent rights held by different radio interests, under Goldsmith RCA also began to develop research interests in a number of key wireless technologies. His broad knowledge, both theoretical and practical, served RCA well as the company rapidly expanded.

Goldsmith was a prolific inventor with 134 American patents. He was a consulting engineer after 1930, and he served as editor (1912–54) of the highly influential *Proceedings of the IRE (Institute of Radio Engineers)*.

During a career that spanned more than 50 years, Goldsmith inspired those around him to apply rigorous and thoughtful science to the day-to-day engineering problems encountered by the infant broadcasting industry. The outgrowth of that research significantly influenced modern communications technology. He was responsible for patents related to many fields of communication technology, including radio, television, phonographs, aircraft guidance, and motion pictures. Included among Goldsmith's inventions were the shadow-mask cathode-ray tube used in modern color televisions; interlace scanning, which solved early television flicker problems; the radio diversity-reception system, which reduced signal fading; ultrasonic remote control systems; color facsimile transmission; an instrument landing system for aircraft; and the combination radio-phonograph.

Goldsmith was widely regarded as one of radio's outstanding early engineers. Friends, students, and colleagues described him as brilliant, citing his breadth of knowledge and quick insights, both of which won him the respect of those who worked with him and of the administrators who relied on his expertise. Archer (1939) claims that Goldsmith was responsible for christening RCA's early radios "Radiola," a trade name that became synonymous with RCA products. Later, Goldsmith became a freelance consultant and worked for RCA, Kodak, Radio-Keith-Orpheum (RKO), and other companies, but he remained a friend and trusted adviser to RCA's David Sarnoff.

Goldsmith was also an important voice in the formulation of broadcast policy, serving as a member of the Radio Advi-

sory Committee for the National Bureau of Standards at the four Radio Conferences held from 1922–1925. Later, he led the Board of Consulting Engineers, which helped the Federal Radio Commission develop a policy for international relay broadcasting and television. Goldsmith was able to popularize theoretical problems about early radio problems in language that was easily understood, and he published more than 100 papers and books. He edited several anthologies of technical papers by RCA engineers on facsimile, radio at ultrahigh frequencies, and electron tubes.

Although Goldsmith's engineering capabilities and inventions won him fame, perhaps his greatest contribution to the art of communication was his service to the engineering profession. He served as president of the Institute of Radio Engineers (IRE), an early professional society that he cofounded with Robert Marriot, and he edited the institute's journal, *Proceedings of the IRE*, for 42 years. Goldsmith also served as president of the Society of Motion Picture and Television Engineers. Throughout his career, he continued an active interest in these professional organizations, publishing dozens of technical papers on a remarkably wide range of different communication technologies.

FRITZ MESSERE

Alfred Norton Goldsmith. Born in New York City, 15 September 1888. Attended City College of New York, B.S. 1907; Columbia University, Ph.D., 1911; electrical engineering teacher, City College of New York, 1907–19; consultant, General Electric, 1915–17; Director of Research, American Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company, 1917–19; joined Radio Corporation of America (RCA) as Director of Research; promoted to Vice-President of Research and General Engineer, RCA, 1919–31; became independent consulting engineer for NBC, RCA, and Eastman Kodak, 1931; co-founded Institute of Radio Engineers (IRE; predecessor of IEEE), 1912; edited IRE journal *Proceedings*, 1912–54; served as president of the Society of Motion Picture and Television Engineers, 1932–34, and on Radio Advisory Committee for Bureau of Standards, National Television System Committee (NTSC); held 200 patents related to radio and television, 1919–72, as well as patents in motions pictures, communication technology, and air conditioning. Received Medal of Honor and the Founders Award of the IRE; Modern Pioneer Award, National Association of Manufacturers; Townsend Harris Medal, City College of New York; first recipient of the Haraden Pratt Award. Died in St. Petersburg, Florida, 2 July 1974.

Selected Publications*Radio Telephony*, 1918*This Thing Called Broadcasting: A Simple Tale of an Idea, an Experiment, a Mighty Industry, a Daily Habit, and a Basic Influence in Our Modern Civilization* (with Austin C. Lescarboursa), 1930**Further Reading**"Alfred N. Goldsmith, Biographical Notes," *Journal of the SMPTE* 81 (November 1972)Archer, Gleason Leonard, *Big Business and Radio*, New York: American Historical Society, 1939; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1971Dreher, Carl, "His Colleagues Remember 'The Doctor'" *IEEE Spectrum* (August 1974)Dunlap, Orrin Elmer, Jr., *Radio's 100 Men of Science: Biographical Narratives of Pathfinders in Electronics and Television*, New York: Harper, 1944Krauter, David W., "Alfred N. Goldsmith," in *Radio and Television Pioneers: A Patent Bibliography*, edited by Krauter, Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1992

The Goon Show

BBC Comedy Program

British radio comedy reached its peak in the 1950s, before television took over as the dominant medium around 1960. Of all the varied series, *The Goon Show* was the most outrageous, the most inventive, and the most demanding in its use of the medium. Rooted in off-the-wall humor such as Lewis Carroll, the Marx Brothers, and Hollywood cartoons, it became a cult item—loved by schoolboys and jazz musicians and hated by schoolmasters and the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) establishment.

It was the creation of four young performers, all of whom had been in the Armed Forces during World War II and had been involved with troop entertainments to some degree—Michael Bentine, Spike Milligan, Harry Secombe, and Peter Sellers. In the postwar period they performed in theatrical variety and made occasional radio appearances; Milligan made contributions to radio comedy scripts through his friendship with Jimmy Grafton, who ran a public house, Grafton's, in London's Victoria area and who wrote scripts for the conventional *Derek Roy Show*.

From meetings and experimental performances in Grafton's, the four put together a comedy show that they suggested to the BBC. After a pilot recording and some false starts, the first season began on 28 May 1951. The four had wanted to call it *The Goon Show*, borrowing from the Goons in the Popeye comic strip, but the BBC, not understanding the name (one official asked, "What is this *Go On Show*?") insisted that it be called *Crazy People*.

There were 17 shows in the first season and 25 in the second, which started on 22 January 1952. The format of the program included short sketches, very cartoonish in nature and

gradually building up the use of idiot logic and outlandish sound effects. After the second season, Michael Bentine left to follow his own slightly different comedy style, and the three others formed the basic cast for the rest of the show's life.

The third season, now at last called *The Goon Show*, offered 25 shows starting on 11 November 1952. It continued in the sketch format, with two straight musical items from mouth organist Max Geldray and Ray Ellington's jazz-style quartet. With the fourth season (30 shows from 2 October 1953), the shows took on the format that would become the standard, telling a single story that was interspersed with the two musical items. Plots included sending the Albert Memorial to the moon and chasing the Kipperd Herring Gang.

From the beginning of the fifth season (26 shows) on 28 September 1954, the series gained a worldwide audience through recordings sold to overseas radio stations by the BBC's Transcription Services; the show's overseas popularity outlasted the series itself by many years through repeats. The style had by now settled down, through the use not only of strong, daft plots but also of strongly drawn characters, created by scriptwriter Milligan both alone and in collaboration with Eric Sykes and Larry Stephens.

The main character, around whom all the plots revolved, was Neddie Seagoon (Secombe)—short, fat, stupid, noisy, patriotic, and well-meaning but gullible. In most cases, he was deceived into carrying out some ridiculous task—such as ferrying snow to the Sahara in cardboard boxes—for apparently patriotic reasons but in fact at the behest of the two master criminals, Hercules Grytpype-Thynne (Sellers), a smooth George Sanders type, and Count Jim Moriarty (Milligan), who

degenerated over the series into a cringing, starving wreck who dragged Grytpype-Thynne down with him (“Keep still, Moriarty—do you want us both out of this suit?”).

In the course of his adventures Seagoon would meet up with other eccentric couples. The senile Minnie Bannister (Milligan) (“We’ll all be murdered in our beds!”) and Henry Crun (Sellers) (“You can’t get the wood, you know”) were based, Milligan later claimed, on his parents: their dithering and bickering marked every appearance.

Another couple, usually cast as Seagoon’s helpers, were Eccles (Milligan) and Bluebottle (Sellers). Eccles was a combination of Walt Disney’s Goofy and the village idiot, and Bluebottle was the eternally hopeful Boy Scout, who almost always got blown up.

The main remaining character, Major Dennis Bloodok (Sellers), was a loose-boweled, lecherous, and greedy army officer of dubious morals. There were also many minor characters, including the baby Little Jim (Milligan), whose only line, whenever appropriate, was “He’s fallen in the water!” and the excitable Indians Lalkaka and Bannerjee.

In most radio series, the actors played characters who took part in the plot, but in *The Goon Show* it was the characters themselves who performed the plot, often making asides that showed they were indeed “only acting,” which gave an odd extra dimension to the comedy.

Apart from an occasional special show, the remaining seasons were the sixth (10 shows from 20 September 1955), the seventh (25 from 4 October 1956), the eighth (26 from 30 September 1957), a special season of reworked repeats for Transcription Services (14, recorded in 1957–58), the ninth (17 from 3 November 1958), and the final short season of 6 episodes beginning 24 December 1959. By this time the strain of writing and performing the shows had caused Milligan a nervous breakdown and a good deal of subsequent strain—which was showing in the writing—and the series came to an end on 28 January 1960.

Subsequently there were a few special appearances by the trio and a strange television series, *The Telegoons*, reworking old scripts with new recordings of the performers (without an audience) and puppets for the visuals: it was not successful.

The final appearance of the Goons was in the special show *The Last Goon Show of All*, recorded on 30 April 1972 for radio and also televised. The subsequent death of Sellers in 1980 made further reunions impossible.

The Goon Show had a lasting effect on British comedy. It took radio to the boundaries of what was possible through the use of detailed production and complex sound effects, and its irreverent and wildly illogical look at British life influenced many subsequent shows and performers—most famously television’s *Monty Python* team. The shows have continued to be extremely popular for many years through repeats and issues on records, tapes, and CDs.

ROGER WILMUT

See also British Broadcasting Corporation; British Radio Formats

Cast

Neddie Seagoon (in various guises)	Harry Secombe
Eccles	Spike Milligan
Miss Minnie Bannister	Spike Milligan
Count Jim Moriarty	Spike Milligan
Bluebottle	Peter Sellers
Mr. Henry Crun	Peter Sellers
Major Denis Bloodnok	Peter Sellers
Hercules Grytpype-Thynne	Peter Sellers

Creators

Spike Milligan, Jimmy Grafton, Peter Sellers, Harry Secombe, Michael Bentine, Eric Sykes, Larry Stephens

Programming History

BBC 1951–60

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Gordon, Gale 1905–1995

U.S. Radio, Film, and Television Actor

Gale Gordon, a hard-working radio (and, later, television) actor, may never have been a household name, but his voice and face were known to millions. Born into a theatrical family, he spent the first five years of his life in England. His father, Charles Aldrich, was a quick-change artist and his mother was actress Gloria Gordon, best known for her portrayal of Mrs. O'Reilly on radio's *My Friend Irma*.

Born with a cleft palate, Gordon endured two painful operations to correct the problem, and his parents pushed him into show business to help him perfect his speech. By the time he was 17, Gordon's voice was so richly developed that it became his trademark. "His voice was colorful and powerful so he could bend and shape the dialogue he was given," according to Lucie Arnaz. "He also used his whole body for effect, not just his voice," Arnaz added.

While still a teenager, Gordon made his Broadway debut with Richard Bennett in *The Dancers* in the 1920s. He then moved over to try the new medium of radio. Radio offered something new for actors: steady work. Gordon soon became one of the busiest actors in radio, sometimes appearing in 20 to 30 shows per week. In 1929, he moved to the West Coast for the role of Judas in *The Pilgrimage Play*. After a year of touring, he returned to Hollywood where he worked as a freelance actor and announcer. No role daunted him—he supplied the voices of villains, Tarzan, and Flash Gordon, in addition to playing straight dramatic roles in syndicated shows such as *The Adventures of Fu Manchu* and *English Coronets*.

Hy Averback, noted television and movie producer, described Gordon as a combination of Laurence Olivier and Charley Chaplin. Called the master of the slow burn and stack blowing, Gordon found his true forte in comedy. He became everyone's idea of the perfect stuffed shirt and comic foil. His bellowing voice proved to be indispensable and assured gainful employment in dozens of character roles on radio, including his well-known long-running radio roles as Mayor LaTrivia on *Fibber McGee and Molly*, the harried sponsor on *The Phil Harris and Alice Faye Show*, and the apoplectic banker Attenbury on Lucille Ball's *My Favorite Husband*.

Gordon was Lucille Ball's first choice for next-door neighbor and landlord Fred Mertz when *I Love Lucy* was brought to television in 1951. "My mother could always depend on Gale and trusted his acting choices on the radio show," Lucie Arnaz said. "And my mother wasn't fond of change; just for change's sake she would have gladly given Gale the part of Fred Mertz. But Gale was under exclusive contract with CBS Radio so William Frawley got the part."

Gordon worked with many notable actors in radio, including Jimmy Durante, Doris Singleton, Eve Arden, George Burns and Gracie Allen, Richard Crenna, Claire Trevor, Edward G. Robinson, Bea Benaderet, Jack Webb, Mary Pickford, Jack Haley, and Dennis Day. The only actor with whom he seemed to conflict was Mel Blanc, creator of the voice of Bugs Bunny and many other Warner Brothers cartoon characters; the two were constantly in competition for the same parts.

In October 1941, Gordon began playing the role of Mayor LaTrivia on *Fibber McGee and Molly*. (Mayor LaTrivia would arrive at the McGee house, start an argument, become tongue-tied, and blow his stack.) Gordon's only break from the show during 15 seasons was his service in the U.S. Coast Guard, where he served as chief gunner's mate during World War II.

In 1948 Gordon was given the role of Osgood Conklin in *Our Miss Brooks*, a situation comedy about a high-school English teacher forced to endure the supervision of this stuffy, by-the-rules, pain-in-the-rear school principal. Gordon's Conklin was dry, cynical, blustery, and explosive, all at once. It was to be his last role in radio; the show moved to television in 1952 and ran until 1956, with most of the original radio cast, including Gale Gordon, making a successful transition to the new visual medium.

Gordon met his wife, Virginia Curley, while working on the *Death Valley Days* radio program. They married in 1937 and later played together as Mr. and Mrs. Osgood Conklin in both the radio and television versions of *Our Miss Brooks*; they remained together until their deaths a few weeks apart in 1995.

ANNE SANDERLIN

See also *Fibber McGee and Molly*; *Our Miss Brooks*

Gale Gordon. Born Charles T. Aldrich in New York City, 2 February 1906. Made Broadway debut in "The Dancers," 1920s; radio debut, *The Church Mouse*, 1934; featured on *Michael and Mary*, *Flash Gordon*, and many other shows; served in the U.S. Coast Guard during World War II; returned to radio, 1945. Died in Escondido, California, 30 June 1995.

Radio Series

1934	<i>The Church Mouse</i>
1934	<i>Michael and Mary</i>
1938–40	<i>Irene Rich</i>
1940	<i>Those Who Love; Crossroads</i>
1942	<i>Maxwell House Coffee Time</i>
1941–42, 1945–56	<i>Fibber McGee and Molly</i>
1946–47	<i>The Fabulous Dr. Tweedy</i>

1947	<i>The Irene Show</i>
1947–50	<i>The Phil Harris and Alice Faye Show</i>
1948–51	<i>The Judy Canova Show</i>
1948–51	<i>My Favorite Husband</i>
1948–57	<i>Our Miss Brooks</i>
1950	<i>The Penny Singleton Show</i>
1950–53	<i>Fibber McGee and Molly</i>

Films

Here We Go Again, 1942; *A Woman of Distinction*, 1950; *Here Come the Nelsons*, 1952; *Francis Covers the Big Town*, 1953; *Our Miss Brooks*, 1956; *Rally 'Round the Flag, Boys!* 1959; *The 30 Foot Bride of Candy Rock*, 1959; *Visit to a Small Planet*, 1960; *Give Up the Ship*, 1961; *All Hands on Deck*, 1961; *Dondi*, 1961; *All in a Night's Work*, 1961; *Sergeant Deadhead*, 1965; *Speedway*, 1968; *The Burbs*, 1989

Television

Our Miss Brooks, 1952–56; *The Brothers*, 1956–57; *Sally Bascomb Bleacher*, 1958; *Pete and Gladys*, 1960–62; *Dennis the Menace*, 1962–63; *The Lucy Show*, 1963–68; *Here's Lucy*, 1968–74; *Life with Lucy*, 1986

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Gospel Music Format

The gospel music format is a popular genre of radio programming that features generally upbeat music with a Christian message.

Gospel music has long been a staple of radio, particularly in the Bible Belt, and it was featured on several early radio stations, including WFOR in Hattiesburg, Mississippi; KWKH in Shreveport, Louisiana; WSM in Nashville, Tennessee; WVOK in Birmingham, Alabama; and WKOZ in Kosciusko, Mississippi.

Today's gospel music format originated with and grew out of special programming. As local radio stations began to dot the landscape of the United States, many of them featured gospel music on Sundays, or perhaps 30 minutes to an hour each day. Typically, this special programming featured either white Southern quartets, groups, and soloists (including the Statesmen Quartet, the Blackwood Brothers, the Chuck Wagon Gang, and Tennessee Ernie Ford), or black groups and soloists (such as the Jackson Southernaires, Edwin Hawkins Singers, or Mahalia Jackson).

During the 1980s, some radio stations began to program gospel music exclusively, billing themselves as “all gospel all the time.” With deregulation of the broadcasting industry in the 1980s, the number of radio stations significantly increased, and program directors created specialized music formats to target specific audiences. The gospel music format began to burgeon; a number of stations chose it as the only

type music they featured, complete with the “clock hour,” which delineates and specifies every element of programming during each hour. The clock hour, also known as the “format wheel” or “programming wheel,” could be compared to a pie cut into approximately 25 parts. For example, the top of the hour on the format wheel might include five minutes of national news from a network (not a few gospel stations are affiliated with the *USA Radio Network* because its content and style of reporting correlate with issues with which some Christians are concerned). At five minutes past the hour, a number-one song from yesteryear might be featured, followed by a top-ten gospel hit, followed by a totally new selection that might prompt the disc jockey to remark, “And you heard it first right here.” In this way, the gospel music format is similar to the structure of a Top-40 station, with on-air personalities using their names, throwing in some pleasanties, and striving to create an image appealing to the target audience—in the case of gospel, a bright, happy, encouraging sound.

Top radio groups such as Jacor, Clear Channel, and Infinity see gospel as a viable format. Capitalizing on audience loyalty to the music, a number of stations have improved their ratings after switching to the gospel format, increasing their average quarter hour listening shares and paving the way for advertising acceptance. The gospel music format is typically appealing to advertisers, although gospel music stations decline to

advertise certain products or services, such as alcoholic beverages or night clubs. If a gospel music station is airing a sporting event, typically the operator at the station has been instructed to block any network advertisements which pertain to alcohol or tobacco products.

Radio stations have increasingly subscribed to gospel music programming via satellite services. Listeners to such services may well feel that the syndicated announcers are actually present at the local station playing the music and making the comments, even though these DJs are merely part of the down-load. One of the most popular formats is called *The Light*, which features a mix of black urban gospel artists and includes cross-over collaborations by mainstream artists such as Cheryl "Salt" James of *Salt-n-Pepa* and Stevie Wonder.

Some stations have recently begun to feature specific gospel subgenres, such as southern, African American, country, jazz, contemporary, bluegrass, and even rap.

DON RODNEY VAUGHAN

See also Christian Contemporary Music Format; Evangelists/Evangelical Radio; National Religious Broadcasters; Religion on Radio

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Grand Ole Opry

Country Music Variety Program

As the 20th century ended, the *Grand Ole Opry* was the most famous and longest-running live radio broadcast still on the air. A traditional radio barn dance, originating on WSM radio from Nashville, Tennessee, the *Opry* has reached homes across the eastern half of the United States. Although it started as a local show and later reverted to that status, through the 1940s and most of the 1950s the *Grand Ole Opry* was a staple on Saturday nights on the National Broadcasting Company (NBC). To most Americans, the *Opry* defined what a radio barn dance was and is. Because of its triumph over all major rivals, exemplified by the centralization of the country music industry in Nashville, the *Grand Ole Opry* occupies an important place in both radio and recording industry history.

The *Grand Ole Opry* made its debut on 28 November 1925 on WSM-AM's Studio B to an audience of 200 people. C.A. Craig, one of the founders of the National Accident Insurance Company of Nashville, Tennessee, owned a radio station during the early 1920s (later called WSM for "We Shield Millions"); in 1925 he hired George D. Hay away from WLS-AM in Chicago to develop a barn dance show for WSM, as Hay had done for WLS with the *National Barn Dance*. Hay

began in November 1925, and within a month the new show was a two-hour-long Saturday night staple.

By 1927, as an NBC affiliate, this two-hour local country hoedown followed the network broadcast of the National Symphony Orchestra, which aired Saturday nights from 8:00 to 9:00 P.M. One night, probably 8 December 1928, Hay reportedly stated, "For the past hour you have heard music largely taken from grand opera; now we will present the *Grand Ole Opry*." True or not, the title is now world famous.

Regional success can be measured by the show's need within a few years to move to a new studio, Studio C, which held 500 persons; later, after a series of temporary moves, the show made its permanent home in the 2,000-seat Ryman Auditorium at Fourth and Broadway in downtown Nashville in 1943. The show remained at that location throughout its network radio days and then, in 1974, moved to a new auditorium as part of the opening of the Opryland theme park in suburban Nashville.

The show had started informally as what scholar Charles Wolfe calls "a good natured riot." But although the program seems informal, getting on was always a struggle for the new



Marty Robbins on stage at the Grand Ole Opry at the Ryman Auditorium
 Courtesy Radio Hall of Fame

artist, and many argued that it became more and more commercialized. By the 1930s “hillbilly” stars had been developed, and some dead singers were immortalized. The music was spread thanks to the diffusion and growth of the population, and even greater stars emerged during the post–World War II era. The Opry management, particularly James Denny, took advantage of this interest, and the network (and many clear channel stations) carrying *Grand Ole Opry* enabled the broadcast to become one of the most popular radio programs in the country. Denny and his colleagues also worked with leading record labels to make Nashville the center of the “country and western” universe.

The *National Barn Dance*, from Chicago’s WLS, was already an NBC fixture when a half-hour segment of the *Grand Ole Opry* was added to a number of NBC’s regional broadcasts, including 26 stations in the Tennessee area. In 1939 NBC began to carry the *Opry* regularly on a regional

basis. Two years later the *Opry* went out all across the NBC network.

The coming of TV and format country radio signaled the end of the barn dance radio show. Yet WSM-AM stuck with the *Grand Ole Opry*, and Nashville became not just one center for the making of country music but the leading one. Indeed, many of the early Nashville recordings were done in WSM studios, until Owen Bradley and others began to fashion “Music Row” several miles west of the Ryman Auditorium. And by the time that Bradley at Decca and Chet Atkins at the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) began to remake “hillbilly” music into crossover country music with stars such as Hank Williams and Patsy Cline, the “Athens of the South” had become “Music City.”

DOUGLAS GOMERY

See also Country Music Format; National Barn Dance; WSM

Cast**Announcers**

George Dewey Hay, Grant Turner

Comedienne

Cousin Minnie Pearl

Singers (partial listing)

Roy Acuff, Hank Williams, Bill Monroe, Patsy Cline, Kitty Wells, Red Foley, George Morgan, Ernest Tubb, Grandpa Jones, DeFord Bailey, Uncle Dave Macon, Eddy Arnold, Loretta Lynn, Hank Snow, Little Jimmy Dickens, Lorrie Morgan, Trisha Yearwood, Vince Gill, Garth Brooks, Emmylou Harris, Ricky Skaggs

Programming History

WSM (and other local Tennessee stations at various times) 1925–present

NBC 1939–57

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The Great Gildersleeve

Situation Comedy

“Great” is the perfect epithet for the character Throckmorton P. Gildersleeve. First a foil on *Fibber McGee and Molly*, then star of his own program, he was a large man in the tradition of Shakespeare’s pleasure-loving Falstaff. Loud but never mean, he began sparring with Fibber, the archetypal windbag, in 1937. His character was honed as the bumptious, explosive Gildersleeve, who typically ended a duel with his exasperated phrase, “You’re a harrrrd man, McGee!” His very name, coined by script writer Don Quinn, combined dignity (Basil Gildersleeve was a famous Victorian classicist) and inside joke (the actor playing Gildersleeve lived on Throckmorton Place). The character left *McGee*, taking the train from the National Broadcasting Company’s (NBC) Wistful Vista to Summerfield on 31 August 1941, thus becoming radio’s first successful spin-off. The program would last 16 years, until March 1957. Gildersleeve, or “Gildy” to some, was played by actor Hal Peary to 1950 and by Willard Waterman from 1950 to 1957.

In his new town, Gildy’s abrasive personality mellowed as he embraced home, work, and social life. Each contact in Summerville deflated his grandiosity and humanized him. Once he planned to attend a costume ball dressed as an ancestor. He daydreamed about possible relatives—a romantic castaway on

a tropical island, a dashing pirate, a Gilded Age tycoon—only to learn that he was descended from Goldslob the Pennsylvania butcher (24 March 1948). His appetites kept housekeeper Birdie Lee Coggins busy. More feisty than most of radio’s black domestics, Birdie moderated his pomposity by repeating herself (“You know what I said? That’s right! That’s what I said”). Birdie often mirrored her employer. Both belonged to fraternal groups (she to “The Mysterious and Bewildering Order of the Daughters of Cleopatra,” he to “The Jolly Boys”); both sang well. Her talents and industriousness silently rebuked Gildy’s natural sloth. Her chocolate cake won a prize, and when she went on vacation, no one could prepare a suitable dinner. She also provided a mother surrogate for Gildy’s wards, niece Marjorie Forrester and nephew Leroy.

In an era when single-parent families usually implied a widow with children, Gildy was unusual. Like other unmarried guardians (Donald Duck, Sky King), he coped with the younger generation by combining bossiness, wheedling, and exasperation. Marjorie usually abided by his rules, but she began dating a series of boys who fell short of Gildy’s expectations. After wedding Bronco Thompson on 10 May 1950 and bearing twins (21 February 1951), she set up her own house-

hold next door. Although she dutifully catered to Gildy's whims, double dating with him before the marriage and asking him to babysit after the kids arrived, her in-laws tried his patience. Used to dominating her husband, Mrs. Thompson openly defied Gildy until they bonded on a picnic. But everyone else had become accustomed to their bickering, so they obligingly pretended to spat (22 March 1950).

Leroy gave little promise of accepting maturity: he reacted to his "Unk's" apparently foolish directions with an exasperated "Oh, for corn sakes." Gildy tried patience but often resorted to the ultimate threat, a menacingly drawn-out "Leeeroy." Certainly Leroy needed direction. His academic work would have embarrassed anyone, but it particularly discomfited Gildy, who courted the school principal, Eve Goodwin. Leroy's troubles with bullies, jobs, attractive girls, stolen lumber, and toothaches often defied logical advice, yet they somehow solved themselves.

Gildy seemed to be an unlikely source of practical wisdom. He loitered through his job as water commissioner, sometimes aided by his simple secretary Bessie. His campaign for mayor in 1944 floundered when he lost his temper on a political broadcast. When he discovered that no one in the city knew him or his job, he hatched a publicity stunt: to dive into the reservoir (23 April 1952). The bungled descent temporarily dampened his quest for recognition. Romance, at any rate, interested him more. Various women with descriptive names like Eve Goodwin and Adeline Fairchild prompted him to buy perfumes and candy from the crusty druggist, Peavey. Gildy should have imitated Peavey's famous tag line, "Well, now, I wouldn't say that," because his amorous crusades never led to the altar. His closest approach, with Leila Ransom, a flirtatious Southern widow, ended when her supposedly dead spouse Beauegard turned out to be alive (27 June 1948).

Gildy's male friends provided enough excitement to compensate for these losses. Judge Horace Hooker, the "old goat" who monitored Gildy's care of Marjorie and Leroy, diminished his ego by staying when Gildy wished to court a lady friend or by demanding vegetarian food when he came for dinner. So did Rumson Bullard, Gildy's wealthy and insulting neighbor, who drove a big car and disdained to invite him to a neighborhood party. The "Jolly Boys"—Peavey, Hooker, Floyd Munson the barber, and police chief Gates—met to gossip and sing. The bonding sometimes frayed, inspiring Chief Gates to plead, "Aw, fellows; let's be Jolly Boys!"

Network politics might have caused disaster, because the original Gildy, Hal Peary, launched his own short-lived Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) show, *Honest Harold*, in 1950. Luckily, Willard Waterman, a friend of Peary's who often teamed with him on other shows, sounded like him and took over the lead until the show ended in 1957. Both men had fine singing voices and incorporated easy listening songs into the plot.

The two prolonged Gildy's life in movies and television. Peary appeared briefly in four amusing films (*Comin' Round the Mountain*, 1940; *Look Who's Laughing*, 1941; *Country Fair*, 1941; *Unusual Occupations*, 1944) and starred in four others (*The Great Gildersleeve*, 1942; *Gildersleeve's Bad Day*, 1943; *Gildersleeve on Broadway*, 1943; *Gildersleeve's Ghost*, 1944). Waterman was featured in 39 TV episodes (September 1955–September 1956). Radio writers Paul West, John Elliotte, and Andy White followed, sometimes recycling story lines (Gildy's aforementioned dive into the reservoir; his attraction to Bullard's sister from 19 September 1951). However, they overemphasized Gildy's womanizing tendencies for the first 26 programs. Other shows toned down Leroy's mischief, substituted new actors (only three originals remained), and lost a major sponsor. Still, both films and TV communicated some of the great man's foibles and successes familiar to radio fans.

JAMES A. FREEMAN

See also Comedy; Fibber McGee and Molly

Cast

Throckmorton P. Gildersleeve	Hal Peary (1941–50), Willard Waterman (1950–57)
Leroy Forrester	Walter Tetley
Marjorie Forrester	Lorene Tuttle (1941–44), Louise Erickson (mid 1940s), Mary Lee Robb (mid 1940s–56)
Judge Horace Hooker	Earle Ross
Birdie Lee Coggins	Lillian Randolph
Mr. Peavey	Richard Legrand, Forrest Lewis
Floyd Munson	Arthur Q. Bryan
Police Chief Gates	Ken Christy
Leila Ransom	Shirley Mitchell
Adeline Fairchild	Una Merkel
Eve Goodwin	Bea Benaderet (1944)
Nurse Kathryn Milford	Cathy Lewis (1950s)
Bashful Ben	Ben Alexander (mid 1940s)
Bronco Thompson	Richard Crenna
Rumson Bullard	Gale Gordon, Jim Backus (1952)
Craig Bullard	Tommy Bernard
Bessie	Pauline Drake, Gloria Holliday
Announcer	Jim Bannon (1941–42), Ken Carpenter (1942–45), John Laing (1945–47), John Wald (1947–49), Jay Stewart (1949–50), Jim Doyle, John Hiestand

Producers/Directors

Cecil Underwood, Frank Pittman, Fran Van Hartesveldt, Virgil Reimer, and Karl Gruener

Programming History

NBC 1941-57

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Greece

Radio began in Greece later than in most other European nations, and the country was one of the last to develop an official government station. In a radio industry characterized by its state of constant flux, private stations and others controlled by the armed forces have existed alongside government outlets. Advertising has been accepted on some outlets, not on others.

Origins

Experimental radio stations were operated in Greece in the 1920s, but the first station offering a regular program schedule was established in Thessaloniki in 1928 as a private operation. Greek radio listeners relied primarily on stations in other nations, and considerable confusion and change was evident as the ministry in charge of radio kept switching. Despite several attempts, no other regularly operated stations existed in the country until the 1930s. In 1936 the government decided to develop a national broadcasting system that could educate Greek society. In 1938, Greece became one of the last European nations to develop a state-run radio station. The Ethnikon Idryma Radiophonias (EIR), or National Radio Foundation, provided programs consisting largely of music by the station's orchestra, choirs, and news.

At the beginning of World War II, the station helped boost the morale of the soldiers and the public. Eventually, the occupying German forces sealed radio receivers in Athens to receive only the national station, which they controlled. In the countryside people were ordered to turn in their radios or face severe punishment.

In 1945, EIR closed down the private station after an unsuccessful attempt to force it to broadcast the national signal. In the late 1940s, additional stations were built by EIR, as well as by private interests and the Armed Forces. Armed Forces stations were established to "enlighten" the people of Northern Greece about the dangers of communism. The United States,

which had taken a major role in the Greek Civil War, built two radio stations that transmitted Voice of America programs part of the day and state programming the rest of the day.

The Armed Forces stations were financed through army funds and advertising. In 1952, as Armed Forces stations gained popularity, EIR established a Second Program. This service carried commercials and more popular music, unlike the original station's (First Program) more serious orientation. That service carried news, information, and fine arts programming, but no commercials. In 1954, EIR established the Third Program that primarily provided classical music broadcasts. All stations from 1946 to 1953 were under strict government censorship, while some form of censorship continued until 1975.

A new Greek constitution drafted after the fall of the military junta (1967-1974) placed radio and television "under the immediate control of the state." A new state organization, Hellenic Radio-Television (ERT), heavily controlled by the government, was created to operate the public stations.

Structure

According to a 1975 law, and subsequent broadcast laws, the purpose of ERT is to provide "information, education, and recreation for the Greek people (through) the organization, operation and development of radio and television." In addition, the act states that "ERT programs must be imbued with democratic spirit, awareness of cultural responsibility, humanitarianism and objectivity, and must take into account the local situation." Finally, this law stated: "The transmission of sound or pictures of any kind by radio or television by any natural person or legal entity other than ERT and the Armed Forces Information Service (YENED) shall be prohibited" ("Greek Radio-TV Law," 1976). This brought an end to any legal private broadcasting in Greece.

In 1982, the socialist governing party, PASOK, placed all YENED stations under civilian government control. Nevertheless, there was a great reluctance to open the airwaves to private citizens. No political party was willing to part with control of broadcasting, which they could use for self-promotion when in power.

In 1987, a new legal structure for broadcasting created one company, Hellenic Radio-Television S.A. (ERT), now a corporation owned by the state, to control all public service broadcasting in Greece. One of its entities is Hellenic Radio (ERA), made up of the four domestic radio services (ERA-1, ERA-2, ERA-3, ERA-4) and the Voice of Greece shortwave radio service (ERA-5).

Nevertheless, the major importance of the 1987 law was that, despite initial opposition from the government, it provided for the establishment of private stations. The impetus for this change came from political pressure brought on by opposition political parties that wanted a piece of the airwaves. Candidates running for local elections pledged to build municipal radio stations. Eventually, opposition candidates won the mayoral races in Greece's three largest cities and the breakdown of the state broadcasting monopoly was imminent.

The new mayor of Athens insisted that if a legal structure for "free" radio was not created by the end of March 1987, he would build a municipal radio station anyway. On May 31, 1987, municipal station "Athens 98.4 FM" went on the air without a license.

A major problem with the 1987 law, and relevant decrees that followed, was that it did not deal with the issue of the number of frequencies available. Nevertheless, the first non-state radio station licenses were approved in May 1988, most going to municipalities and publishing companies (Roumeliotis, 1991). However, the Licensing Commission never announced the criteria used in allocating these licenses and did not tie them to specific frequencies.

Following the initial allocation of licenses, which had to be renewed in two years, the government failed to implement legislation regulating private broadcasting. Related laws and decrees were passed, but since no action ever took place, all radio station licenses expired at the end of the initial two-year period. Thus, technically some 1000 radio stations in Greece were operating illegally.

Current Scene

It was not until May 2001 that the first "permanent" radio station licenses were allocated for the Athens area. This license approval process is to continue for the rest of the country. However, given its history, Greek radio likely will not stabilize for some time to come. The radio environment in Greece, despite some maturation that forced many stations to go out of business, remains in a state of anarchy. In addition to hundreds

of illegal stations, there are stations that never even requested licenses and others that hold more than one frequency, while most do not pay the relevant taxes as required by the broadcast laws (Zaharopoulos, 1993).

State radio broadcasting has dramatically diminished in importance as its audiences have dwindled. Nevertheless, ERA still has 19 local and regional stations on AM, two AM relay stations, and 40 FM transmitters throughout the country. The ERA networks have also undergone certain changes. In 2002 the First Program was renamed NET Radio—NET (New Hellenic Television) being the name of Greek television's second channel, which has a serious orientation. The Second Program (ERA-2) carries more popular music and a few magazine and public affairs programs. One of the Second Program's frequencies in Athens was used to create ERA's fifth domestic service called "Kosmos" radio in 2002, carrying primarily world music. ERA-4 became ERA Sport, carrying mostly sports programming.

Municipal stations have also diminished in importance. Many have closed down, as their audiences were won over by commercial stations, and as cities could no longer afford to subsidize municipal radio.

Private stations built by former pirates have generally not succeeded either. Many of them either went out of business, were sold to larger corporations, or still broadcast as "mom and pop" operations. The real winners in the Greek radio scene have been the large media corporations or other industrial companies with their own stations. Most Greek industrialists who went into broadcasting did so in order to use their media voices to gain government contracts for their other businesses. Thus, even if most of these stations today lose money, their owners still view them as valuable sources of revenue.

Despite the trend toward program specialization resulting from a great number of stations, the two most popular stations in Athens (Sky, Antenna) feature variety formats with emphasis on news, political talk, and music entertainment. Another successful station is Flash, which is a news and information station. Generally, on the Greek airwaves today one can find any radio format imaginable. At the same time, public service broadcasting struggles to survive, while municipal public service broadcasting, with a few exceptions, is nearly dead. The next wave in Greek radio is expected to see foreign conglomerates entering the Greek market by buying existing stations.

THIMIOS ZAHAROPOULOS

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The Green Hornet

Juvenile Drama Series

Joining a number of American fictional superheroes already entertaining the large radio audience from the late 1930s through the war and into the 1950s, *The Green Hornet* debuted over Detroit station WXYZ on 31 January 1936. The series began simply as *The Hornet* (the descriptive color was added later in order to copyright the title, according to radio historian Jim Harmon). Another brainchild of Detroit station operator George W. Trendle, who also created *The Lone Ranger*, the two half-hour action dramas shared more than classical music themes (for which no copyright fees needed to be paid) and the same creator. In this case, the famous sound of a buzzing hornet was made by a musical instrument called the theremin, while the music was Rimsky-Korsakov's "The Flight of the Bumblebee."

Russo (2001) reports that the first 260 episodes of the series lacked individual titles (they were simply numbered), but those broadcast after 9 August 1938 carried episode names as well. Most if not all of the early scripts (perhaps the first five years) were written by Fran Striker (who also authored *The Lone Ranger*), but they increasingly became a WXYZ team effort for the remainder of the 16-year run. At different times the half-hour drama appeared weekly or twice-weekly.

The protagonist was Britt Reid (also the Green Hornet), who served as a wealthy young newspaper publisher of *The Daily Sentinel* during the day and transformed into evil's arch enemy after sunset. The Green Hornet's mission, according to the opening narration, was to protect us (the law-abiding American citizen) from those "who sought to destroy our way of life." If one listened carefully, one of the series' conceits was made clear—the familial connection of the Green Hornet with his great uncle, the Lone Ranger. References to the earlier legendary figure were abundant. Young Reid was seen as carrying on the family tradition of fighting for justice and the American way. Against the backdrop of an uncertain world, the Green Hornet reassured listeners that the forces of good would always triumph over the forces of darkness. Only three charac-

ters knew that Reid was also the Hornet—his father (who appeared rarely), his secretary (who never lets on until late in the series), and Kato.

Kato served as the Green Hornet's faithful valet and partner in crime fighting. Kato also drove the Hornet's famous high-speed car, Black Beauty, during countless breathtaking chases in pursuit of the bad guys. A famous radio legend has it that Kato, who had been described for five years as Japanese, became a Filipino overnight after the 1941 Pearl Harbor attack. Harmon and other sources say, however, that Kato had been described as a Filipino of Japanese ancestry well before the war began. The role partially reflected a continuing American fascination with things oriental.

Unlike most crime fighters, the Green Hornet did not use lethal weaponry; his gun fired a knockout gas instead of bullets. And in contrast with most other radio superheroes, the Green Hornet often assumed a bad guy persona in order to capture criminals, and this frequently confused law enforcement officials, richly adding to the plot line. He and Kato would always escape the crime scene just before law enforcement officers (and reporters from Reid's own paper) arrived. The final scene would usually feature a newspaper boy hawking the latest headlines of the Hornet's ventures as featured in *The Daily Sentinel*, noting that the Hornet was "still at large" and being sought by police. They never did catch him.

Like other superhero programs of the day, *The Green Hornet* adventure series had its genesis in the pulp detective novels of the 1920s, and the characters also appeared in comic books during and well after the radio broadcasts. The series was resurrected for one season on ABC television in the mid-1960s, riding on the coattails of the tremendously popular *Batman* series.

MICHAEL C. KEITH AND CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Lone Ranger; Striker, Fran; WXYZ

Cast	
Britt Reid (The Green Hornet)	Al Hodge (to 1943); Donovan Faust (1943); Bob Hall (1944–51); Jack McCarthy (1951–52)
Kato	Tokutaro Hayashi, Rollon Parker, Michael Tolan
Lenore Casey Case	Leonore Allman
Michael Axford	Jim Irwin (to 1938), Gil Shea
Ed Lowery	Jack Petruzzi
Dan Reid	John Todd
Newsboy	Rollon Parker

Announcers

Charles Woods, Mike Wallace, Fielden Farrington, Bob Hite,
Hal Neal

Director

James Jewell

Writer

Fran Striker and several others

Programming History

WXYZ, Detroit January 1936–April 1938

Mutual	April 1938–November 1939
Blue Network/ABC	November 1939–December 1952
ABC (Television)	September 1966–July 1967

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Greenwald, James L. 1927–

U.S. Radio Marketing Executive

James L. Greenwald was one of the most important leaders of the station representative business. He was also an early proponent of the commercial value of FM radio.

Early Career

Greenwald began his career as a songwriter. In 1955 he determined that it might be more profitable to sell "air." Thus began a career in the national media sales business that spanned 41 years at the Katz Agency, Katz Communications, and Katz Media Corporation, where he served as chairman and chief executive officer until 1995. When Greenwald joined Katz Radio as a salesman, the firm represented only 25 stations. When he retired, the firm represented over 2,500 stations.

He was named assistant manager of the radio division in 1963 and president in 1970. With a company that by then had 65 clients, he began building an organization that launched

many innovative sales and marketing concepts. Greenwald was among the first national radio sales executives to foresee the emergence of FM radio. In a speech before the West Virginia Broadcasters Association, he said: "The days of FM stations being looked upon as supplements to AM stations are over. FM is radio."

In 1972 one of his first major steps as president of Katz Radio was to begin selling FM radio audience. Until then, most FM stations, if they were sold to national advertisers at all, were coupled with sister AM stations. Nearly all FM stations, except those that programmed classical music, simulcast programming with their AM counterparts, and Katz Radio was particularly steeped in the history of selling large AM stations only.

Greenwald visited with the owners of the major Katz AM stations that also had FM stations and first convinced them to sell their fledgling FM stations in combination with their AM stations. In many instances the additional audience, which was

essentially sold for the same price as the AM-only audience, resulted in higher rates and larger shares of budgets for the AM station. The Katz clients responded favorably. When the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) in 1965 passed the rule limiting simulcasting to 50 percent of the program day, Greenwald formed an in-house programming consulting unit within the Radio Division that urged the owners of FM stations to aggressively program their FM properties independently. Greenwald foresaw a national sales market rapidly developing that was willing to spend large sums to reach the emerging FM audience. By 1976, national sales on Katz-represented FM stations had grown to represent over 20 percent of the company's total volume. By 1980 it had eclipsed 35 percent, and by 1990, 70 percent.

Greenwald was an early believer in packaging audiences for advertisers. He recognized that with the represented FM stations emerging with strong audience, there was an opportunity to package stations for a larger share of market dollars. He created a concept called the Katz AID Plan, which provided an advertiser a substantial discount based on the share of budget placed exclusively on the Katz-represented stations.

During the early 1970s, the only network selling of national radio was being done by the traditional wired networks. Greenwald, having expanded the list of Katz Radio-represented stations to over 200, developed the non-wired radio network and formally organized the Katz Radio Network. This sales unit combined the Katz-represented stations on a customized basis to fit a particular advertiser's audience and demographic needs. Furthermore, the advertiser was offered the convenience of one invoice and could thus avoid dealing with hundreds of stations individually. It was part of Greenwald's marketing plan to make radio advertising easier to plan and buy.

Radio audience research was another Katz Radio innovation fostered by Greenwald. He strongly believed that radio should not sell against newspapers and other media but rather with them. Under his leadership, the Katz Radio Probe Research System was developed in 1975 using early computer technology; the system demonstrated how a radio schedule could enhance the reach of a newspaper buy by utilizing a relatively small portion of the newspaper budget. Later, the same concept was enhanced to include the combination of radio with television and outdoor, and the name Katz Probe Media Mix was created.

By the end of the 1970s, Greenwald had been promoted to executive vice president of the corporate entity, Katz Communications. His responsibilities were expanded to include the Katz Television representation. However, he never removed himself from close contact with and oversight of the radio division.

In 1976 Katz Radio, with Greenwald's support, took the bold step of representing more than one station in a single market when it simultaneously served WRNG and WGST in

Atlanta and later WAIT-AM and WLAK-FM in Chicago. Greenwald reasoned that two weak stations had a better chance of getting larger budgets if they combined their sales pitch. The concept of dual representation quickly spread within Katz markets, because even though exclusive representation was considered desirable by many owners, the huge advantages of the research, network sales operations, and the expansion of sales offices into regional territories was compelling to the stations. They understood that having a representative who could partner them with compatible stations would allow them to gain larger shares of budgets. This concept was the beginning of the consolidation of the representation industry and later of the radio industry in general.

Greenwald was instrumental in establishing an employee stock ownership plan at Katz that made the purchase of the firm from the Katz family possible, and Katz became the first employee-owned station representative firm in the industry.

The next giant step for Katz under Greenwald's leadership came in 1984, when Katz Communications purchased Christal Radio Sales from Robert Duffy. Katz-owned representation companies now competed directly against one another in nearly all of the top 100 radio markets. Katz also purchased the Jack Masla Company, Eastman Radio, Blair Radio, RKO Radio Sales, and Metro Radio Sales. These purchases set in motion the total consolidation of the radio representation industry. By 1992 there were only three major national representatives, Katz Radio Group, Interep, and Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) Radio Spot Sales. CBS Radio Spot Sales was sold to Interep in 1995, leaving just two.

From his position as executive vice president of Katz Communications, Greenwald went on to become chairman, president, and chief executive officer of the newly named Katz Media Corporation. During Greenwald's tenure as the leader of the company, Katz entered broadcast ownership for the first time in its 100-year history when it purchased Park City Communications from Richard Ferguson in 1982. Katz sold the radio group in 1986. During his leadership of Katz Media Corporation, Greenwald expanded Katz Television into dual-ownership representation within a single market; purchased Seltel, a competing television representation firm; and instituted many of the innovative selling and research strategies created during his tenure at Katz Radio. Greenwald retired in 1995 and remains chairman emeritus of Katz Media Corporation.

GORDON H. HASTINGS

See also FM Radio; Station Rep Firms

James L. Greenwald. Born in New York City, 2 April 1927. Began career as songwriter; salesman, Katz Communications and Katz Media Corporation, 1955, assistant manager, radio division, 1963; formally organized Katz Radio Network;

executive vice president of corporate entity and assumed responsibility for Katz Television representation, 1970–75; president, 1975–82; chairman of the board of directors and chief executive officer, 1975–95; sold radio group of Katz Media Corporation, 1986; director, Granite Broadcasting Company, Paxson Communications Corporation and the

Young Adult Institute; honorary trustee, Foundation of American Women in Radio and Television; past president, International Radio and Television Foundation; past president, Station Representatives Association; chairman emeritus, Katz Media Corporation, 1995–; director, Source Media, 1996–.

Ground Wave

A ground wave is a radio signal that propagates along the surface of the earth. It is one of two basic types of AM signal propagation, the other being the sky wave, which travels skyward from the transmitting antenna and then may be refracted back toward earth by the atmosphere. The behavioral characteristics of both types of wave are important both to frequency allocation and to the nature of various radio services.

The term *ground wave* includes three different types of waves: surface waves, direct waves, and ground-reflected waves. Surface waves travel directly along the surface of the earth, following terrain features such as hills and valleys. Direct waves follow a “line-of-sight” path directly from the transmitting antenna to the receiving antenna, and ground-reflected waves actually bounce off the surface of the earth.

Both ground-wave and sky-wave signals can be used to provide radio communication. The distance each type of signal can travel is determined by a number of factors, among them frequency, power, atmospheric conditions, time, and—in the case of ground waves—terrain and soil conductivity.

The principal determinant of which type of signal provides the communication is transmitting frequency. At very low frequencies (below 300 kilohertz), signal propagation takes place mostly by surface ground waves, which at these frequencies may provide a reliable signal for several thousand miles. At medium frequencies (300 kilohertz to 3 megahertz), surface ground waves may propagate hundreds of miles, and sky waves may travel thousands of miles. At high frequencies (3 to 30 megahertz), sky waves provide the principal means of signal propagation, and they may provide usable signals for many thousands of miles. At very high frequencies (30 megahertz and above), propagation is largely by ground-reflected and direct ground waves, although at these frequencies the waves generally travel less than 100 miles.

The standard broadcast (AM) band (535–1705 kilohertz) is a medium-frequency band and is thus characterized by both ground-wave and sky-wave signals. During the day, AM propagation takes place mainly by ground-wave signals; sky-wave

signals generally travel through the atmosphere and into space. However, during night-time hours, changes in a portion of the ionosphere known as the Kennelly–Heavyside layer cause the sky waves to be reflected back toward the earth’s surface. These refracted sky waves can then provide usable service over many hundreds—or even thousands—of miles, although sky waves are generally more susceptible to interference and fading than are ground waves. A certain amount of AM sky-wave propagation also takes place in the hours immediately before sunset and immediately after sunrise. In contrast, propagation in the FM band (88–108 megahertz) takes place by line-of-sight or near-line-of-sight direct and ground-reflected ground waves only.

The complexities of signal propagation in the AM band have presented significant challenges for the allocation of frequencies since the inception of broadcasting in the 1920s. Primary among these, of course, is the presence of both ground-wave and sky-wave signals at various times of the day. The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) has established three service area categories for AM stations: (1) primary service area, in which the ground-wave signal is not subject to objectionable interference or fading; (2) intermittent service area, in which the ground-wave signal may be subject to some interference or fading; and (3) secondary service area, in which the sky-wave signal is not subject to objectionable interference.

Another significant factor is that AM signals—both ground-wave and sky-wave signals—can cause objectionable interference over a much wider area than that for which they can provide usable service. For example, although a given station may not be able to provide a listenable signal more than 50 miles from its transmitter, that station’s signal can still create objectionable interference to other stations on the same frequency over a much wider area. Signals in the FM band do not create this type of wide-area interference, and thus FM stations can be placed geographically closer together on the same frequency.

Perhaps the best illustration of the problems of allocation in the AM band is the dispute over clear channel stations, which began in the 1930s and was not completely resolved until 1980. Clear channel stations were originally created to provide wide-area service to rural audiences through their vast secondary service areas; other stations that were assigned to clear channel frequencies had to sign off at sunset in order to avoid interfering with the dominant stations' sky-wave signals. Clear channel stations sought to maintain and enhance their status by seeking power increases and the maintenance of their clear night-time frequencies. Other classes of stations called for the "breakdown" of clear channels by adding more stations to clear frequencies and by allowing daytime-only stations to broadcast full-time. At the heart of this dispute was an engineering argument over the best way to provide radio service to isolated areas: Clear channel stations maintained that the only way to provide effective rural service was by increasing the power of clear channel stations so that their secondary service areas would expand. On the other hand, other classes of stations called for more stations, located in close geographic proximity to the isolated rural areas, to provide ground-wave service to those areas.

Ultimately, the FCC decided to assign additional full-time stations to use clear channel frequencies, but the FCC protected a substantial portion of the clear channel stations' existing secondary service areas (a roughly 700- to 750-mile radius). Only clear channel stations (now called "Class A" stations) receive protection from interference in their secondary service areas.

The characteristics of ground waves and sky waves are in many cases the determining factors in the purposes for which radio services at various frequencies are used. AM broadcast service can provide reliable ground-wave communication at all times of the day and somewhat less reliable sky-wave communication at night. FM broadcast service can provide reliable line-of-sight service over shorter distances, with less blanketing of interference. Broadcasters in high-frequency bands (short-wave) can provide international sky-wave service.

JAMES C. FOUST

See also AM Radio; Antenna; Clear Channel Stations; DXers/DXing; Federal Communications Commission; FM Radio; Frequency Allocation; Shortwave Radio

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Group W

Westinghouse Radio Stations

Westinghouse Broadcasting (Group W after 1963) remained active in radio broadcasting longer than any other company—beginning with the initial airing of Pittsburgh's KDKA in November 1920 and lasting into the late 1990s. Thanks to constant retelling of the KDKA story, the earliest years of Westinghouse Broadcasting are well known, but throughout the history of broadcasting the company was an important owner of both radio and later television stations, eventually merging into the once-independent Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) network.

Getting into Radio (to 1931)

A Westinghouse engineer, Frank Conrad, had been experimenting with wireless for a number of years, and in 1919–20 he operated amateur station 8XK, playing recorded music one or two nights a week. A September 1920 newspaper advertisement by a local department store seeking to sell receivers to people who wanted to hear Conrad's broadcasts caught the eye of Harry Phillips Davis, a Westinghouse vice president in charge of radio work. Davis perceived that making receivers

for a possible new radio service could be the answer to Westinghouse's predicament. He urged Conrad to develop his hobby station into something bigger, and the inauguration of station KDKA on 2 November 1920 was the result.

The success of that initial operation led Davis to the development of a second station, WJZ, at the company meter plant in Newark, New Jersey, in September 1921 (the station was sold to the Radio Corporation of America [RCA] a year later). In the same month, station WBZ took to the air in Springfield, Massachusetts, followed by station KYW in Chicago in December and by WBZA in Boston in 1924. These pioneering outlets made Westinghouse an important early station operator that pioneered many types of program service.

Westinghouse stations were initially located at the factories, which meant that early performers had to learn to entertain in a room filled with electronic equipment, with only an engineer as their audience. Ultimately, the studios were moved to more aesthetically pleasing locations, such as hotels or office buildings.

Experimenting with the potential of shortwave technology, Westinghouse placed KFKX on the air in Hastings, Nebraska, in 1923 to make KDKA's signal more widely available. Another experimental shortwave station, W8XK, was established in Pittsburgh and was soon broadcasting 18 hours per day including a "far north" service to the Arctic. It was joined in 1930 by yet a third station, W1XAZ, in East Springfield, Massachusetts. By the late 1920s, Westinghouse was also pioneering in television research.

Evans Years (1931–55)

On Davis' death in 1931, Walter Evans became the next Westinghouse radio chief. He had joined the company as chief of operations in 1929 and would serve for more than two decades. Evans took a different approach to managing the company's stations and in 1933 signed a contract with the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) network to manage them all, including provision of all local and national programs selling advertising time. The agreement lasted until 1940, when it ended as part of the Federal Communications Commission's (FCC) investigation of national networks, and Westinghouse took over day-to-day operations itself.

Westinghouse operations expanded in the prewar years. Station KYW was moved from Chicago to Philadelphia in late 1934 as part of a deal with the FCC to provide service in underserved areas. Two years later, Westinghouse purchased its first station (it had built its previous operations), WOWO in Fort Wayne, Indiana, along with WGL in the same city, both of which were licensed to a new entity, Westinghouse Radio Stations (WRS). In 1940, WRS took control of all Westinghouse stations, separating the broadcast operations from other company functions.

Westinghouse shortwave (international) stations consolidated operations in Pittsburgh (8XS, which became WPIT in 1939 but closed a year later) and Boston (WIXT, which became WBOS). Westinghouse's international broadcasting was a multilingual operation that by late 1941 was providing 12 hours of programming a day: 5 hours to Europe and 7 to Latin America. Government programs expanded that total to 16 hours just a few months later. Early in 1942, the Boston station was taken over by the government's Office of War Information.

Westinghouse was an early player in FM radio: by 1943 the company owned five FM stations in cities where it also operated AM outlets. Original programming was provided on those FM facilities, but they had all reverted to simulcasting by the end of 1948. That same year, Westinghouse placed its first television station, WBZ-TV in Boston, on the air. As the operation continued to grow, the broadcast subsidiary's headquarters moved several times, finally ending up in New York in 1953, when it became known as Westinghouse Broadcasting Company (WBC), in part because of the addition of television.

McGannon Years (1955–81)

The man who served longest as head of the Westinghouse stations was Donald H. McGannon, who ran the operation from 1955 (after a few interim leaders) until 1981. McGannon soon earned a reputation as a man concerned about public service and program quality as well as profit. He brought Westinghouse back to Chicago with the 1956 purchase of WIND for \$5.3 million—at that point the highest price paid for a station. He also began a Washington news bureau to serve his stations in 1957. That same year WBC initiated an arts and classical music format from 4 P.M. to midnight on the four FM stations it still owned. But FM was then a weak service, and by 1970 Westinghouse was down to just two FM outlets, one in Boston and the other in Philadelphia, both programming classical music and suffering from a lack of promotion or advertising.

McGannon faced three serious policy crises early in his tenure. The first concerned Philadelphia's KYW AM and TV. Under at least an implied threat of losing NBC network affiliations for its Philadelphia and Boston television stations, Westinghouse agreed to "trade" its Philadelphia radio and television stations (KYW) for NBC outlets in smaller Cleveland in 1955. Over the next decade various business, FCC, and Congressional investigations brought to light the network threats that had created the deal, and it was undone in 1965, with the KYW stations returning to Philadelphia.

Two other problems briefly threatened Westinghouse licenses. Its Cleveland and Boston radio stations were implicated in the national payola scandal of the late 1950s, and several disc

jockeys were fired. Their activities figured in widely covered Congressional investigations. In 1961 antitrust price-fixing convictions against Westinghouse threatened the company's ownership of broadcast stations. Because of the independence of WBC from the parent manufacturing company, its licenses were renewed after several months of threatened FCC hearings. In mid-1963, WBC was renamed Group W.

Because the Westinghouse stations were situated in major cities, they produced sufficient revenue to allow for further acquisitions. In 1962, for example, Westinghouse shut down WBZA in Springfield (which had mainly been simulcasting the much more successful WBZ in Boston for years), making it possible to buy another station, KFWB in Los Angeles and by 1965 was offering an all-news format on WINS in New York. By the early 1960s, Westinghouse had begun using the term "Group W" to make its owned radio and TV stations more memorable.

A contemporary move was the successful implementation of all-news operations at three major-market radio stations. The conversion began with station WINS in New York, purchased in 1962, which suffered from a weak rock music format. Likewise, KYW had returned to Philadelphia to follow a weak decade of NBC station operation in its place. Westinghouse stations became known for a commitment to news and public affairs (Group W had operated its own news bureau in Washington, D.C., since 1957). All-news operations began KYW and WINS in 1965. KFWB in Los Angeles was purchased in 1966, and two years later it was also converted from rock music to an all-news format. Although not first with the format, Group W was the first to make it a lasting success in major markets.

Only toward the end of McGannon's tenure as Group W chief did the company begin to reconsider FM radio, which by 1980 was dominating national radio listening for the first time. That year Group W purchased two major-market Texas FM stations, KOAX (FM) in Dallas, which soon was renamed KQZY (FM), and KODA-FM in Houston. But although there were adjustments in station lineup, Group W's overall size and contribution to the Westinghouse bottom line (roughly 15 to 20 percent of annual revenues) remained remarkably stable.

Final Decades (1981–2000)

On McGannon's retirement, Daniel L. Ritchie became Group W's leader and served into the late 1980s, to be succeeded in turn by Burton B. Staniar. The expansion into FM continued with the purchase of KJQY (FM) in San Diego and KOSI (FM) in Denver in 1981. A San Antonio FM station, KQXT, was purchased in 1984; KMEO AM and FM in Phoenix were bought a year later; and WNEW-FM in New York was added to the Group W stable in 1989. Although some outlets were

spun off, the overall effect was to slowly grow the company—and to increase the proportion of FM to AM stations.

Group W switched AM outlets in Chicago as well. In the aftermath of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s 1968 assassination, WIND suspended popular on-air figure Howard Miller, whose statements about race and the police were becoming more strident. A breach of contract suit was settled out of court, but the station lost audience steadily for years thereafter and was sold in 1985 to a Spanish language broadcaster. Three years later, Group W purchased WMAQ, the one-time NBC outlet, thus resuming a role in Chicago radio.

In the late 1990s, Group W underwent a series of mergers and acquisitions that changed the face of the company and eventually caused it to disappear into other entities. The process began with the 1995 purchase by Westinghouse Electric of the weakened CBS network from Lawrence Tisch for \$5.4 billion dollars. The deal needed and received several cross-ownership waivers from the FCC, as the radio and television stations of Group W and the network were located in many of the same cities. The new entity controlled 39 radio stations, worth \$1.4–1.7 billion, and became the largest group owner in terms of revenues. In buying CBS, Westinghouse purchased a radio division that provided two services Westinghouse had been paying other companies to provide—network news and national sales representation.

In late 1996 CBS/Westinghouse merged with Infinity Broadcasting, combining under the CBS Radio Group name 83 stations, for a time the largest single ownership block in the industry. Over the next couple of years, Westinghouse sold off its traditional manufacturing base (power systems, which had been losing money, and electronic and environmental systems) and its original name to concentrate on the development of its radio and television holdings under the CBS name. The Group W trademark was briefly retained to identify technical support for television distribution and sports marketing, and as owner of record of six AM radio stations, the original KDKA (Pittsburgh), WBZ (Boston), and KYW (Philadelphia), as well as the later-acquired outlets WNEW (New York), WMAQ (Chicago), and KTWV (Houston).

By the turn of the 21st century, however, the radio group was operating under the Infinity name and the one-time Westinghouse (or Group W) stations were merely one integrated part of what had become the country's third largest group owner of radio stations.

MARY E. BEADLE, DONNA L. HALPER,
AND CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Columbia Broadcasting System; Conrad, Frank; FM radio; KDKA; KYW; McGannon, Don; National Broadcasting Company; Network Monopoly Probe; Radio Corporation of America; Westinghouse; WBZ; WINS; WMAQ; WNEW

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Gunsmoke

Western Series

Gunsmoke, a western on the CBS Radio Network, was introduced at a time when most radio drama was disappearing. It not only lasted nearly a decade but also spawned television's longest-running drama series. *Gunsmoke's* devoted fans, who have praised its historical accuracy and realism, would likely attribute the program's longevity to its brilliant writing and acting. Others would say, "it's just a good story."

The stories on *Gunsmoke* provided the groundwork for the so-called adult western, a dominant TV genre for nearly 20 years. There were many radio westerns before *Gunsmoke*, particularly as daytime serials or evening programs, but most of them, such as the even longer-running *Lone Ranger*, were aimed primarily at a young audience.

Origins

Gunsmoke was the result of a collaboration between several writers and producers (all "urban oriented," according to William N. Robeson), including John Meston and producer Norman Macdonnell, who worked together at CBS from 1947 on *Escape* and other radio dramas. Robeson, who created *Escape*, admitted that that program was "pretty darned close to *Suspense*." Macdonnell was an assistant director with Robeson, and William Conrad was the announcer on *Escape*. With writer John Meston, several experimental western stories were tried between 1947 and 1950. In 1949 the team also produced two pilots of what they conceived of as an "adult western" with a hero named Mark Dillon.

The first *Gunsmoke* program came about when another program was abruptly canceled. Norman Macdonnell and writer Walter Brown Newman used elements from several of Macdonnell's earlier western stories to create "Billy the Kid," the first episode, which ran on 26 April 1952. Although unforeseen at the time, after "Billy the Kid" there would be 412 more episodes of *Gunsmoke*; the final show aired 18 June 1961.

Raymond Burr and Robert Stack (both of whom later became famous TV actors) were considered for the lead role, but at the last moment the job went to William Conrad. While he was the announcer on *Escape* and a veteran radio actor (he would also later star in several TV series), Conrad had just finished the movie *The Killers* and was considered a "heavy." In the pilot, the hero had to narrate much of the story in voice-over. Chester, his assistant, appeared in the first episode, but the part quickly grew larger, and the important characters of Doc and Miss Kitty evolved. From the first show to the last, *Gunsmoke* kept its cast of William Conrad as Marshal Matt Dillon, Georgia Ellis as Kitty Russell, Howard McNear as Doctor Charles Adams, and Parley Baer as Chester Wesley Proudfoot. While the relations between the four characters held the program together, it was the deep, booming voice of Conrad that provided the program's unmistakable signature. In addition to these regulars, veteran radio actors appeared in episode after episode.

Among fans of radio drama, *Gunsmoke* is considered the best western ever made. The series was marked by high-caliber writing and used only a score of authors during its entire run. Meston wrote 183 stories, and there were three years in which he wrote more than 45 episodes per year. His scripts often concerned the difficulties of frontier life, particularly for women.

After a light Christmastime show in 1952, Meston wrote "The Cabin," broadcast on 27 December, to assure the audience that *Gunsmoke* had not "gone soft." The episode concerned a young woman named Belle who had been raped. By the end of the program the marshal has killed the men who raped her (though this is not acted out explicitly) and is asked by the woman if he is married. "Too chancy," he replies. Matt tells Belle, "Don't let all this make you bitter, there are lot of good men in the world," and she replies, "So they say." As he heads back to Dodge, Matt ends by noting that the blizzard



Gunsmoke soundman Bill James beside William Conrad, who plays Marshall Dillon
Courtesy CBS Photo Archive

was gone but it was still bitter cold, "like riding through a vast tomb."

Most of the episodes end violently and tragically, usually with Matt being forced to kill someone. Meston said that violence was rampant in the Old West; there was no medicine, no sanitation, no heat, just sand, little water, and not much food. Meston's view may not be entirely accurate as history, but his shows appealed to an audience raised on the myths of the American West. Meston's scripts were also marked by their mostly factual treatment of Native Americans (called Indians in the shows). The stories often noted that Indians intermarried with whites, suffered as the buffalo were wiped out, were forced into virtual concentration camps, and that federal policy toward the Native Americans was to wipe them out. In "Sunday Supplement" (24 June 1956), a citizen of Dodge says to Matt, "Marshal, you're not standing up for a redskin are you?" Of course he was.

The 19 July 1954 episode, "The Queue," by Meston, is about a Chinese man who has come to Dodge. When others ridicule him and make nasty remarks about foreigners, Matt says, "Except for the Indians we're all foreigners here." Matt learns that the man speaks good English but feigns a Chinese accent because he knows it is expected of him. Kitty also talks of "darn few jobs that a woman couldn't do [she pauses] anywhere." Later the Chinese man is murdered (choked to death by his own pig tail, which is cut off) and robbed of a small box he always carries. Matt tracks down and kills the robbers. The box contains a faded paper indicating that the Chinese man had been honored for his service in the Army of the Potomac in the Civil War, and thus was awarded citizenship. Marshal Dillon suggests that the man be buried at a nearby army fort, whereas they just "plant" the two robbers he has just killed in "Boot Hill." The story was also produced as a first-season TV episode on 3 December 1955.

Although Meston was the principal writer, there were also many scripts by Les Crutchfield and Katherine Hite (Hite was one of the first women writers to work regularly on a western). The program frequently used three technicians creating sound effects. The sound patterns and music were often used to carry a program when the dialogue was sparse. Macdonnell noted that people who are working just don't talk all the time.

Within two years of its start, the program was a big hit for radio, which was losing programs, stars, and especially advertisers to television. *Gunsmoke* was sponsored by a cigarette company, and soon several other radio westerns appeared on the air. By 1957, however, most weeks' shows had no sponsor but only public service announcements and promotions for other CBS programs, and Meston was spending most of his time writing for the television version. A number of the early radio episodes were adapted for the TV program, which began on 10 September 1955. When it finished its run 20 years later, the TV series boasted 233 half-hour and 402 one-hour episodes. Later four made-for-TV movies were also produced. The final radio broadcast—a repeat—aired in June 1961 as the CBS announcer said matter-of-factly, "This concludes the series of *Gunsmoke*."

LAWRENCE W. LICHTY

See also Conrad, William; Westerns

Cast

Marshal Matt Dillon	William Conrad
Miss Kitty	Georgia Ellis
Doctor Charles Adams	Howard McNear
Chester Wesley Proudfoot	Parley Baer

Producer

Norman Macdonnell

Programming History

CBS 1952–61

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H

Ham Radio

Hobbyist or Amateur Radio Operators

The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) defines amateur radio operators as “qualified persons of any age who are interested in radio technique solely with a personal aim and without pecuniary interest.” Amateur operators are an international phenomenon. Since 1925, the International Amateur Radio Union (IARU) has championed their cause with governments around the world. In the United States, an early amateur radio pioneer named Hiram Percy Maxim organized the American Radio Relay League (ARRL) in 1914. The ARRL is a member of the IARU. There are currently more than 700,000 licensed amateur stations in the United States alone.

Since their beginnings in the early 1900s, amateur radio enthusiasts have also been known as “ham” radio operators. Historians are unsure of how the name came into common usage, but there is strong evidence that the term was bestowed by commercial telegraphers, who considered amateurs to be “ham-fisted”—that is, they sent Morse code very poorly. For many years, operators were also known in official circles as “Citizen Operators”—not to be confused with today’s Citizens Band (CB) radio operators.

Although he clearly had commercial interests in mind, the first amateur radio operator was arguably Guglielmo Marconi himself. Until about 1908, all radio experimenters hoped to capitalize on wireless communication. When Marconi successfully sent a wireless signal across the Atlantic in 1901, he used equipment of the same type used by radio hobbyists.

Origins

The history of amateur radio is in essence the history of all wireless communication. Amateurs developed many of the processes key to electronic communication and refined others. In 1909, when the first radio clubs were formed, radio frequency energy was generated by allowing a spark to jump across a wide gap. The frequencies used at the time were in the

range of today’s commercial AM broadcast band and below (300–6,000 meters).

With the onset of U.S. participation in World War I in early 1917, amateurs in the United States were ordered to dismantle their facilities for the duration of the conflict. Technical developments during the war included the replacement of spark-gap transmission with continuous-wave (vacuum-tube powered) transmission. The bandwidth of such emissions is much narrower, is not as prone to interference, and allows clear voice operation. The celebrated November 1920 broadcasts of pioneer station KDKA in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, began as experimental amateur programs under the call sign 8XK. The radio transmission of the Dempsey–Carpenter boxing match in 1921, another milestone in early radio, was organized by the National Amateur Wireless Association.

During this period, the issue of who controlled the airwaves was very unclear. In 1926 a federal court declared the only existing law, the Radio Act of 1912, to be essentially unenforceable. The Radio Act of 1927 created the Federal Radio Commission and federal statutes using the word *amateur* for the first time. The Communications Act of 1934 (which later created the Federal Communications Commission) continued many of the FRC’s policies and precedents, including licensing of amateurs.

All amateur activity was again suspended when the United States entered World War II in late 1941; amateurs were only allowed back on the air on 15 November 1945. Within those four years, wartime research opened up new communication options. Single sideband (SSB)—a mode of voice transmission in which the carrier and one of the duplicate sidebands are suppressed—was described in *QST* magazine in 1948. (*QST*, defined as a signal meaning “Calling All Radio Amateurs,” is the official house organ of the ARRL.) The popularity and advantages of SSB transmissions were well established by 1960. While most amateur equipment was still powered by

vacuum tubes, transistor technology was beginning to appear in both commercial and self-built equipment.

Amateur radio has always been attractive not only to the general citizenry, but also to the rich and famous. Howard Hughes was a licensed amateur radio operator. Senator Barry Goldwater (K7UGA/K3UIG) tried to become the first ham in the White House. Heads of state include the late King Hussein of Jordan (JY1), who encouraged amateur radio as a means of providing technical education for the citizens in his country. Noted radio broadcaster Jean Shepherd (K2ORS) was a very active amateur radio operator. The son of President Herbert Hoover was eventually elected as the president of the ARRL. Marlon Brando operated on the amateur bands from his South Sea compound for many years. Owen Garriott (W5LFL) became the first amateur to operate on board a space shuttle in 1983.

Licensing

With the pressure on the U.S. government to cut costs, in 1984 the FCC created the Volunteer Examiner Program. Tests for all classes of amateur licenses (which were once handled by the FCC) are now administered by approved volunteer examiner programs. In 1991 the privileged place of Morse code, long a tradition and requirement for an amateur license, finally yielded to the first code-free amateur radio license. The FCC administers six classes of operator license, each authorizing varying levels of privileges. The higher classes still require knowledge of Morse code.

In the United States, amateur call signs once consisted of the letter "W" and a numeral from 1 to 0, followed by two or three alphabetic characters. (The numerals 1 through 9 are used and roughly translate to geographical regions. For example, the ninth call area includes Illinois, Indiana, and Wisconsin. The numeral 0 [zero] is also used for the tenth call area.) These replaced the earliest call signs, which consisted of only the numeral and the following letters—often the operator's initials. Prior to World War II, the United States agreed to begin all call signs with prefix letters assigned by international agreement. By 1953, all possible W call signs had been issued, and the K prefix came into use. Today, prefixes include combinations of the letters W and K, followed by other letters in the alphabet as demand requires. The N prefix is also in use, as well as A.

New Directions

In 1961, through the efforts of a group of amateur operators collectively known as Project OSCAR (Orbiting Satellite Carrying Amateur Radio), thousands of amateur operators around the world listened in on the 50-milliwatt Morse code beacon of OSCAR I as it sent its "HI" message. The relative speed of the

code transmitted rudimentary telemetry and told of the condition of the satellite.

The OSCAR satellite rode into space in place of "ballast" on a regularly scheduled rocket launch. Current OSCAR satellites rival early commercial communication satellites (such as Telstar and others) in that they have the capability to relay both voice and data transmissions over half the planet simultaneously. OSCAR satellite experiments in the 1970s served as a prototype for the Global Positioning Satellite Service. Amateurs have also pioneered communication by bouncing signals off of the Earth's moon, off the tails of comets, and via reflection from the aurora borealis. Schoolchildren participate in direct communication with the space shuttle via amateur radio stations.

Morse code, the basis of all early wireless communication, is a very rudimentary form of digital communication. With an abundance of surplus equipment available after World War II, amateur operators adapted teleprinter systems to work via their stations. Later, radioteletype transmissions switched from the five-bit Baudot code to standard ASCII code.

By the early 1980s, with the interest in computers and the availability of components at hobbyist prices, a group of both Canadian and U.S. amateur operators began experimenting with advanced forms of digital communication. Their efforts would eventually lead to the creation of the AX.25 packet protocol—a wireless version of the X.25 protocol that underpinned much of the data communication through the end of the 20th century. Some OSCAR satellites (known as PACSATs or Packet Satellites) are even capable of relaying packet transmissions. Amateurs also experiment with spread-spectrum technologies. This system spreads the information in a transmitted signal over a wide frequency range. While it is not an efficient use of radio spectrum, its attraction is that it can coexist with narrowband signals using the same frequency range. To narrowband users, the spread spectrum signal appears only as a slight increase in noise level.

The Future

In spite of dire predictions during the 1980s that amateur radio was dying, the number of amateurs in the United States alone by the end of the 1990s stood at 710,000, nearly triple the number of amateurs in 1970. The code-free license, in combination with the popularity of low-cost very-high-frequency (VHF) and UHF portable transceivers and repeater stations, fueled much of the expansion. Growth of the internet, low-cost cellular phone communication, and other new technologies serve as a formidable detractor to future growth, but many amateurs have learned unique ways to marry the two forms of communication. Amateurs have developed shortwave radios and scanners that can be controlled remotely over the worldwide web. Another group provides a real-time experimental

navigational service that locates participating amateurs and displays the results on a graphical web interface. Messages move freely from the internet to amateur satellites to amateur packet repeaters. Amateur radio will likely continue to adapt and endure for many years to come.

JIM GRUBBS

See also Armstrong, Edwin Howard; Shepard, John;
Shortwave Radio

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Harvey, Paul 1918-

U.S. Radio Personality

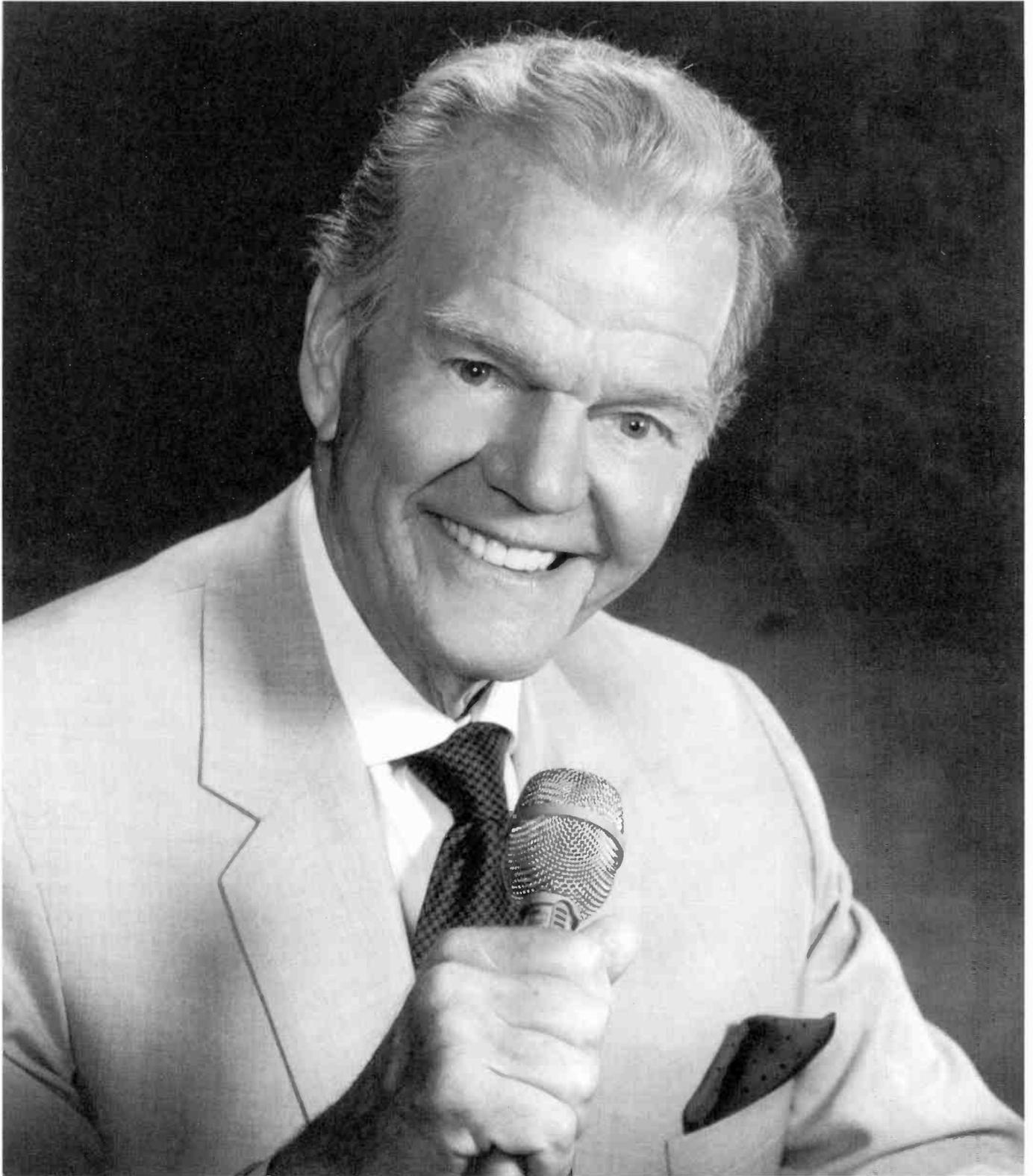
Six days a week, some 1,300 radio stations across the United States air Paul Harvey's *News and Comment* and *The Rest of the Story* radio programs. Twenty-four million listeners tune in to hear his combination of news and views.

Harvey was born Paul Harvey Aurandt in Tulsa, Oklahoma, in September 1918. Harvey and his sister were raised by his mother after his police officer father was killed in action when the boy was three years old. His interest in radio first emerged when he built his own crystal radio sets as a boy. Harvey was a high school student and champion orator when an English teacher encouraged him to go into broadcasting. Like others enamored of radio, he hung around and did odd jobs at a local station, KVOO-AM in Tulsa, until he was eventually hired. Harvey attended Tulsa University while still a staff announcer at KVOO, but a radio career proved more enticing than an academic degree.

In the mid-1930s and early 1940s Harvey worked at KFBI (Abilene, Kansas), KOMA (Oklahoma City), KXOK (St. Louis), and WKZO (Kalamazoo, Michigan), learning about

radio news, management, and programming. KXOK was the most memorable stop, as it was there that Harvey met his wife-to-be, a young student teacher named Lynne Cooper. He proposed to "Angel" (his pet name for Lynne) on their first date, and they married on 4 June 1940. Angel would become an energetic business partner as both producer of Paul Harvey's *News and Comment* and president of Paulyne Productions.

In late 1943 Harvey enlisted in the U.S. Army Air Corps, but he was given an honorable medical discharge just a few months later, after an obstacle course injury ended his military service. Heading back into broadcasting by 1944, Harvey was attracted to Chicago because it was home to several famous broadcasters and was the originating city for many national radio programs. Harvey hoped to move into "major market" broadcasting with his news reporting and radio drama skills. While he was in Chicago, two important events took place. First, he dropped his last name to become the more radio-friendly "Paul Harvey." Second, on the advice of his wife, he no longer did radio plays and concentrated on radio news. He



Paul Harvey
Courtesy of Paul Harvey News

was given a 10 P.M. news slot on WENR-AM and within a year was at the top of the ratings in Chicago.

Depending on which source is used, Harvey was propelled into network broadcasting either by Joseph P. Kennedy or by Harvey's wife, Lynne. One story suggests that the elder Kennedy befriended Harvey and urged the new ABC network to use him as a substitute broadcaster. His newscasts were so well liked by the affiliate stations that he was put on the network schedule by popular demand. The other story indicates that Harvey's wife persuaded an advertising agency to sponsor his broadcasts on the same network. In either case, 1951 marked the beginning of Paul Harvey's *News and Comment* on network radio.

Harvey's program is a blend of news of the day, trivia, amusing small-town yarns, and inspirational narratives. Some of the appeal of his program comes from the entertaining stories that Harvey composes. He has said that he applies the "Aunt Betty" test to his radio copy. Aunt Betty (based on Harvey's sister-in-law) is your typical old-fashioned, Middle American housewife, and if his story content is perplexing for Aunt Betty, then he rewrites it using simpler words or throws it out entirely.

Perhaps more than skillful writing, it is the unmistakable, resonant voice and inimitable delivery style that draw his huge radio audience. Harvey has a rhythmic reading style that features a mastery of changing inflection, pace, and use of the dramatic pause. Each news program begins with the familiar, "Hello, Americans. This is Paul Harvey. Stand by . . . [pause] . . . for news!" According to Harvey, that pause came about by accident when he allowed "dead air" while waiting for the clock to be where it should be before beginning his actual newscast. That dramatic halt often shows up during the news to deliver the punch line to a story, and Harvey uses it again at the end of the newscast in his stock close, "Paul Harvey . . . [pause] . . . Good Day!"

In 1976, with the help of his son, Paul Jr., Harvey expanded a segment from his news program into a new program, *The Rest of the Story*. In *The Rest of the Story*, Harvey uses the patented Harvey delivery style to spin a human-interest tale about the life of a famous person or little-known facts about a well-known event. Presented as a mini-mystery, amusing anecdotes and facts tell the story, with the identity of the individual or event revealed only at the end. Two collections of these stories have made their way into print: *Paul Harvey's The Rest of the Story* and *More of Paul Harvey's The Rest of the Story*.

Radio has always been Harvey's mainstay, but he has also had a syndicated TV series, a newspaper column syndicated by *The Los Angeles Times*, and a weekly commentary on *Good Morning America*. He also still maintains an extensive speaking schedule at conventions and college campuses across the country.

Over the years, Harvey has not only reached millions of listeners, but he has been frequently recognized by the radio industry. He has won the prestigious Marconi Award four times as "Network Personality of the Year." The National Association of Broadcasters and the Museum of Broadcasting have both inducted him into their Halls of Fame. The National Radio Broadcasters Association and the International Radio and Television Society gave him the Golden Radio Award and the Gold Medal Award, respectively. Paul Harvey earned a Peabody Award in 1993 and, in 1998, was included by *George* magazine as one of "The Twentieth Century's Most Significant Americans."

DAVID E. REESE

See also Commentators; News

Paul Harvey. Born in Tulsa, Oklahoma, 4 September 1918. Attended Tulsa University; announcer, KVOO, Tulsa, Oklahoma, 1941; station manager, KFBI, Abilene, Kansas; special events director, KXOK, St. Louis, Missouri, 1933-40; married Lynne Cooper, 1940; newscaster, KOMA, Oklahoma City; program director, WKZO, Kalamazoo, 1941-43; news director, Office of War Information, 1941-43; served in U.S. Army Air Force, 1943-44; news broadcasts, radio drama, and eventually 10 P.M. newscast at WENR, Chicago, 1944-51; started *Paul Harvey News*, ABC radio network, 1951; added radio program, *The Rest of the Story*, 1976. Received American Legion Radio Award, 1952; elected to Oklahoma Hall of Fame, 1955; Top Commentator of the Year award, *Radio-TV Daily*, 1962; Illinois Broadcaster award, 1974; named to National Association Broadcasters Hall of Fame, 1979; Marconi Award for Network Personality of the Year, 1989, 1991, 1996, and 1998; Museum of Broadcast Communications Radio Hall of Fame, 1990; Broadcasting & Cable Magazine Hall of Fame, 1995; George Foster Peabody Award, 1993. Currently resides in River Forest, Illinois, and on a ranch in Missouri.

Radio Series

1951- *Paul Harvey's News and Comment*
1976- *The Rest of the Story*

Television Series

Paul Harvey Comments, 1968-88

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Hate Radio

Extremist Views on the Air

The messages of extremists are no strangers to radio. From the medium's inception there have been those who have exploited the airwaves to promote their agendas of prejudice and hatred. Despite the obligation of broadcasters to operate as public trustees, programs featuring blatant contempt and unvarnished loathing for different racial, ethnic, religious, political, and lifestyle groups have long been aired. Malevolent and inhumane attitudes and beliefs have unfortunately comprised the core of thousands of radio broadcasts.

Early Rancor on the Air

Beginning in the early 1920s, a number of radio programs were promoting ideological, philosophical, and political rancor. The first nationally successful (and what many consider one of the most influential) use of the airwaves to spread political and social invective were the broadcasts of a Catholic priest, Father Charles E. Coughlin. Coughlin began his radio career in Detroit in 1926 and moved to the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) in 1930, where he established the format and approach that right-wing media personalities over the decades have emulated.

Similar to some televangelists today, Coughlin's approach was to target certain groups in order to obtain the support of others and to garner, through his radio talks, millions of dollars in donations. He railed against Jews, labor unions, immigrants, and racial minorities, stirring and reinforcing resentment and hate against these competitors for jobs and social status in pre-World War II, Depression-ridden America. He called for a nation of Christians who would rule politics and the economy. This type of language anticipated the rhetoric that would be employed by far-right radio personalities of the 1990s. Indeed, Coughlin was the forerunner of the Holocaust-deniers and neo-Nazis of today.

Many people think of Walter Winchell, arguably the best-known radio commentator of the 1930s–1950s era, as a precursor to modern radio's Rush Limbaughs. His radio show, begun in 1932, was ostensibly a gossip program, but it expanded into right-wing political commentary. His shows had a huge, loyal audience, and he could affect national policy and make or break an individual's career with a few seconds of on-air commentary. He spread rumors, set styles, waged feuds, and excoriated some politicians while promoting the programs of others; he articulated the public's moods, fears, and prejudices.

The differences between the so-called left and right radio commentators became more pronounced in the late 1940s, when Senator Joseph R. McCarthy (R-Wisconsin) began to exploit Cold War fears and exercised great influence on American thought and action, throwing fear and obeisance not only into the media industries—principally film, radio, and television—but also into leaders and opinion makers of the country. Almost all commentators either supported McCarthyism or, out of fear of being blacklisted, were afraid to criticize him or his methods.

Most commentators in the pre- through postwar era were similar to Fulton Lewis, Jr., who is considered by some as the predominant right-wing commentator of that time and to whom Rush Limbaugh is often compared. Lewis supported McCarthy's contention that the U.S. government was infiltrated by communists and that secret plots were being hatched by communist secret agents throughout the country. This view helped fuel the later witch-hunts that often resulted in the professional, if not mental and physical, destruction of those accused—nearly always without foundation—of being communist sympathizers or fellow travelers.

After McCarthyistic suppression and punishment were no longer a concern to the media and the counterculture of the

1960s began to emerge, the media reinstated some elements of free speech, including several news and public-affairs shows that dealt with controversial issues, and more talk shows. It was not until after full-service radio networks disappeared in the early 1950s and specialized limited-time networks consisting mostly of music took their place—along with community-targeted narrowcasting, also mostly music, on local stations—that talk show hosts with set opinions emerged in force.

The far right seemed to understand more fully than the middle or the left the power of talk radio and quickly deluged stations with calls and opinions and stimulated a demand for, as some put it, loud-mouthed right-wing talk show hosts. One such host was Joe Pyne, who became one of the most popular talk personalities in the country with glib, biting, and unabashedly opinionated comments. A number of hosts, such as Bob Grant, later became famous for using Pyne's caustic approach. Grant often referred to African-Americans as "savages" and used expletives about other targets freely. Grant attributed his reputation to show business techniques, not bigotry. Ira Blue, who hosted a talk show in San Francisco in the 1960s, openly admitted during his on-air reign that the radio talker succeeds most when he is brazenly opinionated.

As the 1950s and 1960s progressed, many right-wing talk show programs and hosts became more subtle, using twisted logic rather than blatant vituperation to persuade their audiences. Meanwhile, right-wing rancor on talk shows went in two distinct directions during the decades that followed. As the number of stations increased, more on-air opportunities existed for fringe advocates. Ranters and ravers, some affiliated with organizations dedicated to violence, found microphones available to them. At the same time, soft-spoken intellectuals dispensing the same bottom line also had their access.

Late Millennium Waves of Rancor

The 1990s saw the greatest rise in the use of radio by far-right extremist groups, among them white supremacists, armed militias, survivalists, conspiracy theorists, and neo-Nazis. Many of these groups had effectively used the shortwave radio medium to promote their dark agendas in the 1980s, and they sought to go more mainstream with their messages by utilizing the AM and FM bands in the 1990s. Dozens of broadcast stations around the country gave airtime to organizations and individuals intent on denigrating people of color as well as those with non-Christian religious orientations. The bulk of these stations were smaller AM outlets, many of which were battling for their economic survival in the face of vastly declining audi-

ences and shrinking revenues. Far-right programs were a source of income.

Today, far-right hate groups still promote their ideologies over radio stations, but not to the degree that they did prior to the Oklahoma City federal building bombing in 1995. This tragic extremist deed prompted the president to issue an anti-terrorism bill making it clear that anyone employing the airwaves to promote violence and hatred would be hunted down and prosecuted. Technology, however, provided right-wing radicals with yet another way to propagate their racist and antigovernment views. The internet soon became the new home and the preferred medium for hate groups, which relished the freedom and lack of censorship that cyberspace afforded them.

In 1996 a white supremacist organization calling itself Stormfront launched what is considered the first extremist website. A former grand dragon of the Ku Klux Klan, Don Black, operates the internet site, which also features a link for children—"Stormfront for Kids"—run by his 11-year-old son. Within four years, a nearly incalculable number of radical-right websites, replete with sophisticated graphics and chat rooms, were in full operation, and many claimed thousands of hits each week. Several watchdog groups, among them the Simon Weisenthal Center, the Anti-Defamation League, Political Research Associates, and the Southern Poverty Law Center, reported that many of the same organizations and individuals, once so dependent on the airwaves to get their messages out to the public, now download their proclamations of hatred to thousands of websites, thus relegating radio to a secondary medium for their egregious purposes. One cannot help but note an ironic analogy in this migration of radio users to another medium. However, one suspects that the impact of this conversion will be far less traumatic for radio than the one brought on by the rise of television.

MICHAEL C. KEITH AND ROBERT L. HILLIARD

See also Controversial Issues; Coughlin, Father Charles; Pyne, Joe; Winchell, Walter

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Hear It Now

CBS Documentary Program

Hosted by esteemed newsman Edward R. Murrow, *Hear It Now* was more important in broadcasting's history than its mere six-month run on the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) radio network would suggest. The program developed from a series of successful documentary record albums and helped to pave the way for the even more important television documentary series *See It Now*, which presented some of Murrow's finest work.

The Recordings

The idea of making record albums featuring the actual sounds of historical events originated with Fred Friendly, a World War II veteran working as a producer for the National Broadcasting Company (NBC). Friendly saw that the relatively new medium of magnetic tape would make editing sounds recorded during historical events far easier. When Friendly realized that he needed a narrator for his recordings, CBS producer Jap Gude introduced him to newsman Edward R. Murrow and a team was born. Sometime around 1947, Friendly and Murrow approached Decca Records, but that firm was not interested in "talking" records, which were usually money losers. On the other hand, Columbia Records (a subsidiary of CBS) had available capacity as well as interest: a "scrapbook for the ear" they called it.

The initial recording, *I Can Hear It Now, 1933-1945*, was released in the winter of 1948 as a boxed set of five 78-rpm records (10 sides, about 45 minutes total). Murrow provided the historical context and narrated the many sound bites. There was no music or sound other than those of the actual events. To the surprise of virtually everyone involved in the project, the set sold 250,000 copies in the first year, highly unusual for talking records. It was said to be the first financially successful non-musical album.

A second album covering the postwar years (1945-48), with sound bites drawn largely from the extensive archives of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), came out a year later, and a third, *I Can Hear It Now: 1919-32* (which did use actors for some events when recordings were not available), appeared in 1950. Although the reasons are no longer clear, plans for a fourth album were abandoned. All were issued as 78-rpm albums originally, but some were later reissued in long-playing (LP) format. The title was resurrected in the 1990s for *I Can Hear It Now: The Sixties*, a two-compact-disc set narrated by Walter Cronkite.

The Broadcasts

The idea of broadcasting recorded sounds of historical or present-day events was anything but new. It had been done for *The March of Time* series beginning in 1931, and was often used during World War II. But there had been limited use of such material in part due to the networks' long-standing ban on use of recordings on the air. Something of a pilot program existed in CBS files—a 1948 proposed "Sunday with Murrow" documentary that had never aired for lack of advertiser support. Murrow and Gude now proposed a new program, called simply *Hear It Now* to stress its current-events emphasis, for a half-hour time slot. CBS Chairman William S. Paley so liked the idea, however, that he urged them to make it an hour-long program. Part of the difference in acceptance from the 1948 attempt to 1950 was a change in world events: the Korean War had begun and people once again were interested in world events.

When CBS began to look for a producer for the series, Gude suggested Friendly and CBS hired him away from NBC while the second *I Can Hear It Now* record album was being made. It was an easy choice, given Friendly's role as producer for the recordings and with several radio documentaries for the senior network. The series also provided a vehicle for Murrow upon his return from reporting from the Korean War battlefield.

As it aired, *Hear It Now* included "columnists" covering different subjects: CBS correspondent Don Hollenbeck discussed the media, Abe Burrows dealt with entertainment, and sportscaster Red Barber covered professional teams in several sports. The program had an original musical score by U.S. composer Virgil Thomson. Murrow decided which topics would be included and the order in which they were presented, but he and Friendly wrote the program together. Friendly was the key editor of essential sound bites. The result was a "magazine of sorts, covering the news events of the previous six days in the voices of the newsmakers themselves, by transcription and hot live microphones" in an era before recordings of actual events were common in radio news (quoted in Dunning, 1998). *Show Business Weekly* said the program, which won a Peabody Award, was "almost breath-taking in scope and concept." It was carried on 173 CBS affiliates. Other networks quickly caught on to the idea and imitated it. NBC's *Voices and Events* and ABC's *Week Around the World* provided essentially the same sort of content, but without Murrow and Friendly.



Fred Friendly (left) and Edward R. Murrow on *Hear It Now*, 1950
 Courtesy CBS Photo Archive

In many ways, the program was a radio vehicle for Murrow, who was then little interested in (and indeed, uneasy about) television. But as the realization became clear that pictures would add considerably to the *Hear It Now* idea, the audio version left the air while video preparations began. *See it Now* premiered on 18 November 1951 and ran until 1955.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Columbia Broadcasting System; Documentary Programs; Friendly, Fred; March of Time; Murrow, Edward R.; News

Commentators

Edward R. Murrow, Red Barber, Abe Burrows, Don Hollenbeck

Writer/Producer

Fred Friendly

Programming History

CBS 15 December 1950–15 June 1951

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Heavy Metal/Active Rock Format

The "Heavy Metal/Active Rock" format encompasses a musical genre that has played a marginal role in commercial radio programming, while the medium of radio has at times played crucial roles in the acceptance, rejection, and content of the music itself. The moniker is the radio industry's term for a category that has gone in and out of style while maintaining a core fan subculture since heavy metal's emergence in the early 1970s. The music in this format is characterized by a distorted guitar sound, a heavy bass-and-drums rhythm section, and a vocal approach that eschews traditional melodic conventions in favor of an aggressive, emotionally raw sound. The name "heavy metal" was at first uncomfortably accepted by first-generation rock bands such as Led Zeppelin, Deep Purple, and Black Sabbath and later happily adopted by second-generation acts such as AC/DC, Kiss, Blue Öyster Cult, Motörhead, and others.

Initially, few heavy metal bands found a place on commercial radio. Commercial rock radio itself was only then taking shape on the FM dial, as progressive/free-form stations (such as WOR in New York and KMPX in San Francisco) gave way to the new album-oriented rock (AOR) format, at stations such as WNEW in New York and WMMS in Cleveland, designed to reach a larger listening and buying public. Thus, heavy metal was not welcome in the earlier progressive rock format that grew out of the late-1960s counterculture, whose ideology did not complement the nihilism of groups like Black Sabbath. A few bands, however, did find their place on the FM dial in the early 1970s. One band, Led Zeppelin, in fact became central to AOR playlists through much of the decade.

If radio largely ignored heavy metal during the 1970s, in the 1980s the format would find new popularity. By the late 1970s, music on the radio was still functioning much as it had earlier in the decade, due to the continuing influence of AOR, which increasingly programmed the most benign rock music to appeal to the largest audience possible. The heavy metal music that did find its way onto the airwaves was limited to a few songs played endlessly in a station's rotation. The effect was that a few songs on AOR radio came to stand in for heavy metal as a musical genre and in the process became emblematic of the genre's perceived creative bankruptcy by the end of the decade.

In the late 1970s, competition from new genres such as disco and punk had some influence on American radio formats, but both musical styles returned to the level of subculture within a few years. Meanwhile, heavy metal was being reinvigorated, first by British bands such as Def Leppard, Iron Maiden, and Judas Priest, and then by U.S. bands such as Quiet Riot and Guns N' Roses. By the mid-1980s, heavy metal from bands like Scorpions and Mötley Crüe could regularly be

heard on American radio. Still, some saw a certain sacrifice in the newfound popularity of the genre on the airwaves. The anticommercial heavy metal of the 1970s gave way, slowly but surely, to a new style sometimes derisively called "lite metal," which meant less emphasis on long instrumental breaks featuring virtuosic guitar solos and greater emphasis on radio-friendly melodies and more traditional pop song structures.

In recent years, the heavy metal format has struggled amidst the relative fragmentation of radio into new formats that have eroded a once-loyal listenership. The format has become one choice in a sea of others, and stations carrying the format increasingly find themselves fighting for audiences in an ever-smaller market share. The emergence of the classic rock format in the mid-1980s and the alternative rock format in the 1990s has meant the loss of both older listeners alienated by newer bands and younger listeners with little allegiance to older heavy metal. Interestingly, the classic rock format has largely not designated earlier heavy metal music as classic. Heavy metal radio was slow to incorporate the music of alternative rock formats after the "grunge" explosion of the 1990s, headed by bands such as Nirvana, Pearl Jam, and Soundgarden. While grunge had stylistic links to the heavy metal bands of the 1970s, it also embraced the punk aesthetic.

The music played on heavy metal radio in the late 1980s and early 1990s, in comparison, largely catered to the mainstream music industry. Alternative rock formats encroached on both heavy metal and classic rock listeners with the success of stations such as KNDD in Seattle and WHTZ in New York, both of which made significant gains in their respective radio markets. Later in the decade, newer bands stylistically associated with heavy metal, such as Limp Bizkit and Rage against the Machine, developed. These groups owed much to the emergence of hip-hop music as a predominant popular style in the 1990s. The heavy metal/active rock format has embraced these groups in order to garner younger listeners, while the format expands and absorbs influences in a confusing radio market environment.

As the radio industry continues to change and programmers again return to once-outmoded formats, it will be interesting to see whether the heavy metal/active rock format will thrive in the new fragmented format environment. Other new venues for radio, including both internet and low-power radio initiatives, may serve heavy metal music fans in ways that commercial radio cannot.

KYLE S. BARNETT

See also Album-Oriented Rock Format; Alternative Rock Format; Classic Rock Format; Contemporary Hit Radio Format/Top 40; Music; Progressive Rock Format

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Herrold, Charles D. 1875–1948

U.S. Broadcasting Pioneer

Charles Herrold is a relatively little-known broadcasting pioneer whose most significant work took place between 1912 and 1917. Although today most historians believe Herrold's claim that he was the first to broadcast radio entertainment and information for an audience on a regularly scheduled, pre-announced basis, he is dismissed as a minor figure because he failed to have a long-lasting impact on the radio industry. Nevertheless, his early broadcasts show innovation and originality and are of interest because Herrold is symbolic of many of the early broadcast pioneers: unknown, underfinanced, and overshadowed by the major corporations that would control broadcasting beginning in 1920.

Herrold was born in 1875 in the Midwest and grew up in San Jose, California. In high school he was recognized by his teachers and classmates for his superior grasp of mechanical and scientific subjects. After graduation, he attended Stanford University in nearby Palo Alto, but he dropped out for health reasons. In 1900 Herrold set up an electrical manufacturing company in San Francisco, but when the Great Earthquake of 1906 destroyed his residence, he moved to Stockton, California, to teach at a technical college. Building on his work as an inventor and his experience with students, Herrold returned in 1909 to San Jose and opened a vocational school. The Herrold College of Wireless was a way to provide an income and at the same time to allow him access to the laboratory environment necessary to continue his research.

Like Lee de Forest, Reginald Fessenden, and others, Herrold was most interested in inventing a radiotelephone system that would make him rich and famous. His contributions to the technology of the radiotelephone were lacking in scientific originality, although his device did allow him to broadcast. As the inventor of an arc transmitting system, he spent years attempting to differentiate his system from that of Danish

inventor Valdemar Poulsen. Herrold received six U.S. patents for his devices, patents that certainly would have been challenged by the Poulsen people were it not for the fact that by 1917 the perfection of the vacuum tube as the basis of all future radiotelephones made such arc-based devices obsolete.

Early notice of Herrold's use of the radiotelephone to "broadcast" to an audience is a notarized statement by Herrold, published in an ad for wireless equipment in the 1910 catalog of the Electro-Importing Company: "We have been giving wireless phonograph concerts to amateur men in the Santa Clara Valley," a statement prophetic of what broadcasting was to become. And although his 1910 listeners were amateurs and hobbyists, he did broadcast to public audiences daily during the 1915 San Francisco World's Fair. But Herrold's most significant contribution was that between 1912 and 1917 he operated a radio station providing programs of information and entertainment for an audience on a regular schedule, many of them announced previously in the newspapers. That he accidentally stumbled onto what was to become radio broadcasting may have been a function of his role as the headmaster of a wireless trade school. Because Herrold had the responsibility of providing daily technical activities for hundreds of eager young boys, it is likely that the broadcasting of the popular music of the day by his students to an audience of friends, families, and possible future students was the cauldron from which broadcasting emerged, Charles Herrold style.

Interviews with former students indicate that Herrold was broadcasting to a sizable audience: "It was a religion for 'Prof' Herrold to have his equipment ready every Wednesday night at nine o'clock. He would have his records ready, all laid out, and what he wanted to say. And the public or listeners, it became a habit for them to wait for it," according to Herrold's assistant, Ray Newby. Recalled Newby in an interview with Gordon

Greb, "We even had a San Jose music store that supplied us records, of course free of charge, and I think we played them all. We would take the *Mercury-Herald* in San Jose, and we would read headlines and discuss them a little bit, just something to yak about and make it interesting at the same time, to develop an audience, I would say." A local news story of a typical Herrold broadcast illustrates the method:

For more than two hours they conducted a concert in Mr. Herrold's office, which was heard for many miles around. The music was played on a phonograph furnished by the Wiley B. Allen Music company. Immediately after the first record was played numerous amateurs from various points in the valley notified (the announcer) that they had heard the music distinctly. He gave the names of the records he had on hand and asked those listening to signify their choice (San Jose *Mercury-Herald*, 22 July 1912).

The question remains: if Herrold's was the first broadcasting station, why do not more people know about it? Some of the misunderstanding surrounding the "who was first" broadcasting claims can be traced to an early historian, George Clark. In 1921 Clark, RCA's in-house historian, dismissed the claims of all who broadcast before KDKA, because, as he wrote, "ordinary citizens" could not buy radios until KDKA, and therefore men like Herrold and de Forest were not really broadcasters, because their audiences were engineers or amateurs, not "citizens." Still, Herrold was the first to use radio to broadcast entertainment programs to an audience on a regular basis. He was not the first to broadcast pre-announced to an audience—that was Fessenden in 1906; he was not the first to broadcast election returns—that was de Forest in 1916; he was not the first to get a broadcast license—that was Conrad in 1920. Herrold returned to the air in 1921 licensed as KQW, ran the station until 1925, and later specialized in radio adver-

tising. During World War II, he worked as a janitor at the Oakland shipyards. He died in 1948. Until 1958, when his story was uncovered by San Jose journalism professor Gordon Greb, almost no one outside of northern California had ever heard of Charles Herrold.

MICHAEL H. ADAMS

See also De Forest, Lee; Fessenden, Reginald; KCBS/KQW

Charles D. Herrold. Born in Fulton, Illinois, 16 November 1875. Studied astronomy, Stanford University (no degree), 1895; head of technical department, Heald's College, Stockton, California, 1906–08; started Herrold College of Wireless and Engineering, San Jose, California, 1909; began a regularly scheduled, pre-announced broadcast operation, 1912–17; invented a wireless radiotelephone and developed other new products in various fields; broadcast operation licensed as KQW, 1921; sold airtime for several Bay area radio station, 1925–30; worked at Oakland Public Schools as media technician, 1932; worked as janitor at Oakland shipyards during World War II. Died in Hayward, California, 1 July 1948.

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Hertz, Heinrich 1857–1894

German Physicist

In a series of laboratory experiments in 1887–88, Heinrich Hertz verified James Clerk Maxwell's theory that electromagnetic waves, or wireless transmissions, existed, and that these invisible forms of radiant energy traveled at the speed of light. Hertz paved the way for the development of wireless radio communications by notables such as Edouard Branly, Sir Oliver

Lodge, Guglielmo Marconi, Reginald Fessenden, Sir John Ambrose Fleming, E.F.W. Alexanderson, and Lee de Forest.

Hertz's research placed the field of electrodynamics on a firm footing, sparked enormous activity among scientists, and laid the foundations for the development of wireless telegraphy. He showed that electricity could be propagated or trans-

mitted as electromagnetic waves through space (without wire connections) and could be detected at a point distant from the transmitting source. The discoveries that he described in his May 1888 paper "Electromagnetic Waves in Air and Their Reflection" would later move the scientific community to call these waves "Hertzian" in his honor.

Hertz began wireless research in 1879 just as mathematical physics began to be recognized as a separate subdiscipline in Germany. Hermann von Helmholtz was a pre-eminent figure in the 19th-century scientific renaissance in Germany and was Hertz's lifelong mentor in Munich. Helmholtz encouraged Hertz to participate in a competition designed to solve a problem posed by James Clerk Maxwell's theories. Hertz's active wireless experimentation began in 1886 while he was a faculty member at the Technische Hochschule (Technical High School) in Karlsruhe. His discoveries began as he was conducting a class demonstration in electricity.

Hertz experimented with gaps in a wire coil connected to a Leyden jar to generate waves at various frequencies. The inner and outer foils of the Leyden jar became the two arms of a dipole or two-part transmitting antenna. Hertz tuned two flat coils of wire or metal strips to the same frequency so that the waves generated and received were identical. The Leyden jar stored the electrical charges while an induction coil magnified them as the spark gap and metal plate radiated the charges into the ether (or across the metal-laden laboratory). Thus, Hertz demonstrated the transfer of energy that Maxwell had predicted.

Hertz conducted his experiments in less-than-ideal laboratory conditions: steel and lead in the lab affected his measurements. His scientific apparatus (use of a spark gap) was crude. He used simple laboratory devices and often built his own devices to confirm Maxwell's prediction that electromagnetic waves existed, both as light and radio waves. The physically confined space Hertz used for his experiments required him to work with fast laboratory oscillations and short wavelengths. Eventually, Hertz showed that, like light waves, electromagnetic waves were reflected and refracted and, most important, that they traveled at the speed of light but had a much longer wavelength.

European scientists were reluctant to accept the results of Hertz's experiments. Researchers were slow to see the significance of Hertzian waves and to accept his conclusion that such waves traveled at the speed of light. They tended to cling to older, more familiar concepts, such as the corpuscular theory of light, which implied that light traveled in the form of material particles. However, Hertz's mentor, Helmholtz, never wavered in his support for his protégé.

Hertz did influence several scientific studies and research efforts around the world. He was generally regarded not as an innovator but as an uncommonly critical and lucid intelligence who addressed the conceptual problems of physics. Hertz

helped connect the traditional study of mechanics and the evolving study of electrodynamics.

Other scientists credited Hertz for their achievements. Albert Einstein, in an 1899 letter to his fiancée, indicated that Hertz's *Electric Waves* stimulated his interest in the electrodynamics of moving bodies; this interest would ultimately lead to his special theory of relativity. Hertz's work on the photoelectric effect (although the existence of electrons was unknown at the time) helped to verify Einstein's quantum equation for the photoelectric effect and identified certain phenomena as being clearly associated with the ultraviolet portion of the spectrum. Hertz also influenced Max Planck's development of quantum physics by providing equations for the emission and absorption of energy by oscillators. Wilhelm Conrad Roentgen credits his discovery of X rays in late 1895 to Hertz and Lenard's cathode-ray experiments.

Hertz did not extend his work to include potential applications of his discoveries. He was not interested in going beyond the theoretical stage of study. His experimental work on electromagnetic waves, however, led directly to radio telegraphy and to later innovations. The material he read about Hertzian waves influenced Guglielmo Marconi significantly. Marconi became the practical inventor and took Hertz's studies further.

Hertz helped move wireless theories and experiments to practical reality and refinement. He helped formulate suggestions on the proper approach theoretical physicists should take toward the physical universe. He suggested future research to build on his discoveries. His fusion of theory and experiment with a creative interest in philosophical and logical foundations is unique among scientists. Hertz succeeded in delineating central concepts and pointing the way to fruitful future research initiatives, and his achievements were lauded in science publications, the popular press, and in public speeches. He was a model for many future generations of physicists.

Leading physicists of the day had profound respect for Hertz both as a physicist and as a man. John Ambrose Fleming, who would use Hertz's discoveries for his own experiments, noted that Hertz's work marked a fresh epoch in electrical discovery. Hertz's name is used internationally to indicate a unit of frequency (what had been called a cycle, as in kilocycle, is now hertz or kilohertz) in his honor.

Hertz's final years were devoted almost entirely to exploring the theoretical implications of Maxwell's electrodynamics for the rest of physics. While at the peak of his productivity, Hertz died tragically at age 37 of chronic blood poisoning. At his funeral in Hamburg, Hertz was praised for his noble simplicity and genuine modesty.

Heinrich Hertz was one of the last classical physicists. Had he lived longer, he would doubtless have been a major participant in the development of modern physics.

Heinrich Rudolf Hertz. Born in Hamburg, Germany, 22 February 1857. Attended private school of Richard Lange, 1863 and 1872–74; admitted to upper class of *Johanneum Gymnasium*, Hamburg, 1874; began engineering studies at Dresden Polytechnic, 1876; switched from engineering to physics at University of Munich, 1877–78; attended Friedrich-Wilhelm University, Berlin, doctoral degree *magna cum laude*, 1880; Master builder intern, Frankfurt Public Works Department, 1875–76; military service with railway regiment, Berlin, 1876–77; assistantship with Hermann von Helmholtz, Berlin Physics Institute, 1880–83; lecturer, mathematical physics, Kiel, 1883; appointed professor of physics, Technische Hochschule in Karlsruhe, 1885; appointed professor of physics, Friedrich-Wilhelm University, Bonn, 1888. Received Philosophical Faculty prize, 1879 (leading to the discovery of electromagnetic waves); Matteucci Medal, Italian Scientific Society, 1888; Baumgartner Prize, Vienna Academy of Sciences, 1889; La Caze Prize, Paris Academy of Sciences, 1889; Rumford Medal, British Royal Society, 1890; Bressa Prize, Turin Royal Academy, 1891; elected corresponding member of several major scientific societies, including the Berlin Academy of Sciences, the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, the Cambridge Philosophical Society, and the Accademia dei Lincei; official adoption by the International Electrotechnical Commission of the name *hertz* as a unit of frequency, 1933. Died in Bonn, Germany, 1 January 1894.

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Hicks, Tom 1946–

U.S. Broadcast Executive

Thomas O. "Tom" Hicks is the president and chief executive officer (CEO) of Hicks, Muse, Tate, and Furst, a Dallas-based leveraged-buyout firm. At one point during the late 1990s, Hicks and his investment firm held ownership interests in more radio stations in the United States than any other company or individual. Hicks, Muse, Tate, and Furst came into existence in 1989 when Hicks and three partners formed the private investment firm after several successful industry buyouts. Today, the portfolio of companies controlled by the firm includes real

estate, consumer products, movie theaters, sports franchises, and broadcast stations.

Hicks became a common name in the radio industry during the 1990s, when he served as CEO for AMFM Incorporated, formerly Chancellor Media Company. Under Hicks, Chancellor invested heavily in radio prior to the passage of the 1996 Telecommunications Act. With the elimination of ownership limits under the new legislation, Chancellor was well positioned to take advantage of further consolidation in radio.

Within a few months, Chancellor became one of the largest radio operators in the United States, at one point owning more than 400 radio stations.

Thomas O. Hicks was born in 1946 in Houston, Texas. One of four sons of a Dallas media representative, Hicks grew up with a strong understanding of and appreciation for the radio business. His father became an owner of a few radio stations in a number of small Texas markets, including Beaumont, Bryan, Port Arthur, Laredo, and Big Springs. As a teenager, Hicks worked as a radio announcer at his father's station in Port Arthur. Following high school, Hicks graduated from the University of Texas with a business degree in 1968. He then moved west, completing a master's of business administration degree at the University of Southern California.

Hicks and his partner, Bobby Haas, established a strong reputation for putting together profitable deals for investors, acquiring companies such as Dr. Pepper, Sybron Corporation, 7-Up, Thermadyne Industries, and Spectradyne. In 1989 Hicks formed Hicks, Muse, Tate, and Furst, as a venture capital firm with a buy-and-build philosophy.

Hicks began acquiring radio stations in earnest in 1993, with Chancellor Broadcasting and CapStar Broadcasting forming the cornerstones of the radio group as part of Hicks, Muse, Tate, and Furst's overall investment strategy. Acquisitions continued in 1996 and 1997 as Chancellor was renamed Chancellor Media. The company acquired several existing radio group holdings, including Evergreen, SFX, and Viacom.

The firm also ventured into television with the purchase of stations owned by LIN Television, as well as several outdoor advertising companies. In July 1999 shareholders approved the merger of the former Chancellor Media and CapStar into a new company known as AMFM Incorporated to reflect the emphasis on radio as well as to match the name of the company's national radio network. Early in 1999, AMFM owned 460 radio stations.

Aside from being one of the largest radio owners in the country, Hicks established a new type of entrepreneurial spirit in the radio industry. By clustering stations in geographical areas and appealing to different target audiences, Hicks capitalized on the changing economics of radio and the resultant cash flow that would come with streamlined operations. In an interview published in *Broadcasting and Cable* in 1997, Hicks called radio "one of the all-time great businesses for pre-cash flows." Hicks understood that by clustering operations, fixed costs could be lowered, while profit margins would increase.

Hicks' business philosophy toward radio spurred other groups to consolidation in order to maintain a national presence in the radio industry. Hicks demonstrated to other investors that radio was still a profitable investment. Although the consolidation movement in radio was not without controversy, there is no doubt that the radio industry experienced renewed

interest among the investment community and higher valuation as an industry group with Hicks as one of its leading advocates.

Throughout 1999, the stock value of AMFM remained flat amid investor concerns that the company was carrying too much debt. The company surprised the radio industry by disclosing in March 1999 that it would consider a possible sale or merger. In October 1999, a dramatic \$23.5 billion merger was announced between Clear Channel Communications and AMFM, creating the world's largest radio company. Once the merger was finalized in 2000, Clear Channel owned a total of 830 radio stations, capable of reaching an audience of more than 100 million listeners.

With the merger, Tom Hicks moved into a new role as the vice chairman of Clear Channel, working closely with Chairman L. Lowry Mays. Hicks remains one of the company's largest stockholders. Although he maintains less of a public role in his new position, he will continue to influence the radio industry with his presence on Clear Channel's board of directors.

ALAN B. ALBARRAN

See also Clear Channel Communications; Ownership, Mergers and Acquisitions; Telecommunications Act of 1996

Thomas O. Hicks. Born in Houston, Texas, 7 February 1946. Attended University of Texas, B.A. in business administration, 1968; University of Southern California, M.B.A. 1970; became disc jockey at father's radio station at age 15; worked at Continental Illinois; investment officer, Morgan Guaranty Trust Company; president of venture capital affiliate, National Bank of Dallas, First Dallas Capital Corporation; first leveraged buyout with Louis Marx, Jr., 1977; co-managing partner, Summit Partners, LBO; co-chairman and CEO, Hicks and Haas, 1980s; formed buyout firm Hicks, Muse, Tate and Furst, 1989; owns Southwest Sports Group; chairman, University of Texas Investment Management Company.

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High Fidelity

High fidelity is a term used to mean the highly accurate reproduction of sounds within the spectrum of human hearing, usually considered to be between 20 hertz and 20,000 hertz. English engineer Harold Hartley first applied the term in 1926. Much of today's understanding of what constitutes high fidelity reproduction stems from pioneering research into the way humans hear and interpret sound done by Harry Olsen for the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) and Harvey Fletcher at the American Telephone and Telegraph Company's (AT&T) Bell Laboratories.

Origins

Early sound reproduction devices such as Edison's cylindrical phonograph (1877) and Emile Berliner's Gramophone disk developed a decade later demonstrated the feasibility of recording, but they produced tinny sound with significant distortion and limited reproduction of voice and music. The near-simultaneous developments of radio broadcasting and sound motion pictures led engineers to search for ways to improve sound quality.

E.C. Wente's invention of the condenser microphone (1916) and improvements in loudspeaker technology by Rice and Kellogg at General Electric, Peter Jensen and others (1925) greatly improved the ability to record and reproduce audio. In the 1920s Edwin Armstrong's development of the heterodyne circuit improved the sensitivity and selectivity of radio receivers, and Harold Black's discovery of negative feedback provided improved audio reproduction, but several obstacles still prevented accurate reproduction of sound. The surface noise associated with records, coupled with their limited audio range and short playing time, sharply curtailed improvements in mechanical sound reproduction. AM radio transmissions were subject to significant noise and static interference. Engineers thought that reducing the audio bandwidth would reduce annoying whistles and associated distortions.

Simultaneous research into improved audio occurred in Britain, Germany, and the United States, but it was AT&T that spearheaded high-quality audio development. AT&T's Bell Laboratories undertook long-term development of sound reproduction in conjunction with high-quality long-distance telephone service. With the 1922 construction of WEA, AT&T's flagship New York City radio station, the telephone company carried out research to improve broadcasting microphones, consoles, and transmitters. Bell Labs also developed the transcription turntable using a slower speed (33 1/3 revolutions per minute) to increase playing time to 30 minutes to meet the needs of broadcasters and motion picture engineers.

By 1929 the introduction of the matched-impedance recorder, coupled with development of gold master records, increased the attainable frequency response to 10,000 Hz and greatly reduced surface noise for records.

By 1930 both RCA and Bell Labs were experimenting with various means of improving audio quality for records. One year later Leopold Stokowski, the famed conductor of the Philadelphia Orchestra, enlisted Bell Labs' help in setting up an audio test room at the Academy of Music. The first disk recordings capable of accurate sonic reproduction were cut with Stokowski's help, and Bell Labs made more than 125 high-quality recordings of the 1931-32 Philadelphia musical season. During this time Stokowski recorded the first binaural recording using AT&T's new two-styli cutter, developed by Arthur C. Keller, and in 1933 the first U.S. stereophonic transmission over telephone lines occurred when Bell Labs demonstrated a three-channel audio system in Constitution Hall in Washington, D.C. In 1938 Keller received a patent for a single-groove stereophonic disk record system.

Improving Radio

Although various advancements in the technology allowed AM radio to improve substantially, the narrow channel bandwidth adopted by the Federal Radio Commission and static interference problems created technical limitations to full high fidelity transmission. By 1935 radio stations that specialized in quality music were eager to adopt improved technology. The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) licensed four stations on three channels at the high end of the AM frequencies (in the 1500-1600 kHz region) to experiment with high fidelity broadcasting using a wider channel bandwidth. WHAM, a clear channel station that originated Rochester Philharmonic Orchestra broadcasts on the National Broadcasting Company's Blue Network, and WQXR in New York were among the early pioneers of high fidelity AM broadcasting. These stations used new Western Electric transmitters boasting better frequency response with a wider dynamic range. Improved radio receivers capable of better fidelity were manufactured by WHAM's parent company, Stromberg-Carlson, E.H. Scott, and others.

Regularly scheduled high fidelity FM broadcasts began on 18 July 1939 as Edwin Armstrong's station retransmitted classical music programs from New York's WQXR via special telephone lines. That same year, the Yankee radio network began high fidelity FM broadcasting, soon followed by General Electric and others. In 1944 Britain's Decca records introduced full fidelity recordings capable of reproducing most of the audio spectrum.

Hi-Fi Era

After World War II, rapid improvements in recording and playback technology accelerated the development of true high fidelity sound reproduction. Crosby Research and Ampex (1948) introduced high fidelity tape recorders. The broadcasting and recording industries quickly adopted these new machines. Columbia Records (1948) and RCA Victor (1949) revolutionized the record industry with their respective introduction of the 33 1/3 rpm long play album (LP) and the 45 rpm record. The new records used small microgrooves and a vinyl medium to reduce surface noise and improve fidelity. With the introduction of the LP, entire symphonic movements could be played at home without having to change records. Quality three-speed record changers developed by Webster-Chicago (Webcor), Voice of Music, and Garrard could play stacks of records without interruption. These innovations substantially improved the sound quality of recorded music, making affordable record players available to the general listening public. In 1950 Seeburg introduced its soon-legendary 100 series jukebox, boasting high fidelity amplifiers and large speakers and capable of playing 100 different 45 rpm selections. These jukeboxes were immediate hits with teens and helped usher in the era of the 45 hit single.

By the early 1950s all of the components necessary for accurate sound reproduction were available to consumers and the "high fidelity era" industry began. Fairchild and General Electric introduced magnetic phonograph cartridges, while Rek-O-Kut, Thorens, and Grado introduced specialized turntables and tone arms for audiophiles. Webcor's famous model 210 high fidelity tape recorder was introduced and specialized radio manufacturers such as Fisher, H.H. Scott, Macintosh, and Sherwood Labs began selling limited production high fidelity amplifiers and FM tuners. Speaker manufacturers improved the quality of home loudspeaker systems. Jensen's development of the SG-300 triaxial speaker (1949) and bass-reflex enclosure made it possible for enthusiasts to build their own high-quality systems, whereas AR introduced the acoustic suspension system (1954), capable of reproducing powerful bass with small bookshelf enclosures. Altec Lansing and JBL speakers became popular with audiophiles. Specialized magazines such as *High Fidelity* and *Audio* catered to the "hi-fi" enthusiast by reviewing the latest in audio equipment.

Commercial development of stereophonic sound continued throughout the 1950s, culminating with RCA Victor's intro-

duction of the stereophonic LP in 1958 and the FCC's approval of FM stereophonic broadcasting in early 1961. Combination AM/FM phonograph consoles gained popularity throughout the early 1960s, but with the introduction of transistorized equipment and new smaller sound formats such as the audio cassette (1963) and the 8-track (1966), compact stereophonic equipment eventually replaced larger console systems. Although four-channel record systems were introduced in the 1970s, they never received wide acceptance. By 1988 audio cassettes and compact discs were outselling LP records more than three to one.

The introduction of the compact disc player by Sony and Phillips ushered in the beginning of the digital audio era in 1982. Various digital recording formats, including digital audio tape systems (1986), recordable compact discs (1990), and minidisks (1992) currently provide the capability to make high fidelity recordings that are virtually indistinguishable from the original sound sources. Today, new broadcasting technologies such as satellite-based and in-band digital audio broadcasting and computer data compression advances suggest that even higher-quality broadcast distribution of music is on the horizon.

Fritz Messere

See also Dolby Noise Reduction; Receivers; Recordings and the Radio Industry; Stereo

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Hill, George Washington 1884–1946

U.S. Innovator in Radio Advertising

One of the key figures in the development of early radio advertising, George Washington Hill was a strong believer in using repetitive slogans to hammer home his products' benefits. His singular devotion to selling Lucky Strike cigarettes helped to underpin several popular network radio programs.

Hill was one of those larger than life figures who helped to shape both the tobacco industry and the advertising business. He grew up in the former as his father took on increasingly senior roles in the American Tobacco Company after it had been broken into 14 parts by a 1911 Supreme Court decision. In 1911, Hill became the vice president in charge of merchandising the company's products while his father served as president. On the senior Hill's death in 1925, G.W. Hill began two decades of company leadership.

He was singularly devoted to the company and its products. Concerned about the sales of the competing "Camels" brand of cigarettes, he initiated the "Lucky Strike" brand in 1917 and appeared to devote his every waking hour to its success. Working with such publicity experts as Edward Bernays and advertising genius Albert Lasker of the Lord and Thomas advertising agency, Hill sought out new and innovative ways to sell his brand of cigarettes, including widespread use of billboards and print advertising. He was also an early user of fledgling network radio.

From all reports, Hill was not an easy man to work for. His blustery personality and single-mindedness (other than fishing, he seemed to have few hobbies) gave him a focus few could—or wanted to—match. Hill was the model for the unlikable Even Llewelyn Evans, the protagonist in Federick Wakeman's 1946 (the year Hill died) best-selling novel *The Hucksters*, which was made into a successful 1947 motion picture. Wakeman was a former Lord and Thomas employee and wrote from his own experience as well as that of others.

Hill's Radio Role

Hill was an early if initially somewhat hesitant advertiser on network radio. Perhaps noting William Paley's success in selling La Palina cigars on the struggling Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) network, Hill decided to see what the new medium could do for his Lucky Strike brand. He sponsored the *Lucky Strike Dance Hour* on the National Broadcasting Company (NBC; 1928–31). "Hill dictated the format, chose the announcer and orchestra, and approved all the tunes before broadcast" (Fox, 1984). He wanted loud, lively, and syncopated music that people would remember. To test the new medium's ability to attract buyers, in November and December

1928 he stopped all other Lucky Strike advertising, and sales rose 47 percent on the basis of radio advertising alone. With that, he was sold on radio. He went on selling cigarettes even when he got into trouble, as he did with the "Reach for a Lucky instead of a sweet" campaign, designed to get women to smoke. Candy manufacturers took him on, and he had to modify the sales approach. The program featured popular music, and Hill played a central role:

George Washington Hill—a churlish, canny fellow who even in his office wore a titled sombrero adorned with fishhooks, and who rode down Fifth Avenue in an open Cadillac manned by a bodyguard and decorated on the windshield with Lucky Strike packages—lived and breathed to increase Lucky Strike sales. All his waking hours were apparently spent in devising new schemes to that end. At Lord & Thomas, he found willing lieutenants. On Saturday mornings, Hill insisted that Lord & Thomas and NBC executives, male and female, join him at rehearsals of the Lucky Strike orchestra to foxtrot to music and test its danceability. America should defeat the Depression by dancing its way out, said Hill. Therefore such dignitaries as John Royal, NBC vice president in charge of programs, and Bertha Brainard, his stylish program manager, had to dance at the Saturday morning command performances. Meanwhile the commercials got longer and more strident. NBC acquiesced, dancing to Hill's tune (Barnouw, 1968).

Long-time New York radio critic Ben Gross repeated virtually the same story in his memoirs, as told to him by NBC President Deac Aylesworth, another occasional dancer.

On this and subsequent programs he sponsored, Hill sought a "loud, hard-hitting style of performance" (Barnouw, 1968), making use of repeated slogans and often inflated claims. Sometimes it was shock value—"There is no spit in Cremo," cried the announcer in some cigar advertising on the CBS network in 1930–31.

His focus remained on his beloved Lucky Strike brand, and Hill is credited with some of the best-known and most-remembered slogans of radio advertising, such as "Lucky Strike green has gone to war" (the material used in making the package color was needed in some wartime product); "LS/MFT," which was first heard in 1942 and stood for "Lucky Strike Means Fine Tobacco," a statement both spoken and sometimes tapped out with Morse code keys; and another claim for the cigarettes as being "so round, so firm, so fully packed." Hill



George Washington Hill, 1935
Courtesy AP/Wide World Photos

retained two auctioneers (L.A. "Speed" Riggs and F.E. Boone) at \$25,000 per year just to open and close programs he sponsored with rapid-fire tobacco auction sounds ending with a very clear "sold American."

Hill supported several later programs, including *Your Hit Parade*, which he "ran with an iron hand" (Dunning, 1998), meaning he controlled the songs played, the voices used, and, of course, the advertising that supported the program. One of the ad phrases promoting the show was "The best tunes of all go to Carnegie Hall," when the program moved to the New York concert hall normally known for classical music.

The *Information Please* quiz show cost American Tobacco some \$11,500 a week in production and advertising costs—not including the network time—in early 1946. The company spent even more for the top-rated *Jack Benny* program, which cost the company \$22,500 a week—the highest price of any show then on the air, again exclusive of airtime charges. American Tobacco remained a big radio sponsor for years after Hill's death.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

George Washington Hill. Born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 22 October 1884. Graduated from Horace Mann school, 1902; attended Williams College; entered tobacco business working for American Tobacco in North Carolina factories and leaf market operation, 1904; purchased tobacco company, Butler and Butler, with his father, Percival Hill, and headed merchandising, 1907; after American Tobacco trust was

reorganized, became vice president and sales manager of cigarette division, 1911–12; inaugurated Lucky Strike brand, 1917; president, American Tobacco, 1925. Died near Matapedia, Quebec, 13 September 1946.

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Hill, Lewis 1919–1957

U.S. Founder of KPFA-FM and Pacifica Foundation

Lewis Hill was the founder of the world's longest-running listener-sponsored, noncommercial radio station, KPFA-FM in Berkeley, California, and its parent organization, the Pacifica Foundation. In his writings in the 1950s, Hill articulated the first general outline of listener-supported broadcasting.

Early Years

Hill was born in 1919 in Kansas City, Missouri. His father was an attorney and his mother an heir to the Phillips petroleum fortune. Hill's father, who also owned interests in oil, later became speaker of the Oklahoma state legislature. The Hills

sent Lewis to a military academy. As a teenager he rebelled against this decision by enrolling at Stanford University. There he majored in philosophy and poetry, studying with the noted poet and scholar Yvor Winters.

At Stanford, Hill fell in with the pacifist student movement and filed as a conscientious objector (CO) during World War II. After a short stay at a CO camp in Coleville, California, he served in Washington as the American Civil Liberties Union's advocate for pacifists in CO camps and prison. Possessing an excellent voice, he also worked as a radio news announcer for the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) Blue network. When asked in 1945 to read a newswire story about an incident at a Japanese internment camp in California that he

believed to be false, Hill refused to do so and quit his job. Shortly afterward, he relocated to San Francisco.

Hill came out of these experiences convinced that the pacifist movement, with its emphasis on dissent against an overwhelmingly popular war, had marginalized itself. He felt that pacifism's task should now be to build institutions that both demonstrated and advocated the possibility of what he called "a pacific world in our time." With his background in poetry, he convinced a number of people associated with San Francisco's literary scene, especially poet Kenneth Rexroth, to endorse his pilot project, the construction of a pacifist-controlled radio station supported by listeners. In 1946 he and a small group of pacifists filed articles of incorporation with the state of California for the Pacifica Foundation. The organization would "carry a radical war resistance program into a mass medium," explained a 1948 circular written by Hill, "to make possible a more and more intensive cultivation of the interests of common people in resisting war." Hill warned in an early fundraising prospectus against "ivory-towerism" in the Foundation's approach to broadcasting. The Foundation's first project, KPFA-FM in Berkeley, went on the air on 15 April 1949.

KPFA and Pacifica

Between Pacifica's incorporation and KPFA's inauguration, however, the overall goals of the organization underwent significant change. Although the Foundation had originally planned an AM station in the working-class city of Richmond, the Federal Communications Commission denied Hill's application for an AM license in 1947. The foundation was forced to file for an FM license in Berkeley at a time when FM service was marginal. This adjustment transformed the social character of KPFA from a venue designed to attract "common people" to a mecca for those few, primarily university-educated individuals who owned FM receivers in the late 1940s.

When KPFA temporarily went silent in 1950 because of a lack of subscriptions, Hill felt he had no choice but to return to the ivory tower strategy. Accordingly, he created a praxis for listener-sponsored broadcasting designed to attract support from the wealthy benefactors Pacifica was to rely on for its first two difficult decades. This philosophy first surfaced in a 1952 article on KPFA in the *Quarterly of Film, Radio and Television*. "The survival of this station is based upon the necessity of voluntary subscriptions from 2 percent of the total FM audience in the area in which it operates" (Hill, 1952). This percentage most likely had its origins in pacifist dogma rather than in statistics and math. Since the early 1930s, war resisters such as Albert Einstein had argued that if 2 percent of the populace of most nations would refuse to cooperate with the draft, wars would become extinct. Now Hill used such logic to appeal to a sense of noblesse oblige in potential benefactors. The 2 percent the-

ory, Hill wrote in *Voluntary Listener Sponsorship*, his final report to the Ford Foundation, represents "a way of extending the legitimate functions of social and cultural leadership. Obviously, to earn systematic support from the community's intellectual leadership, the listener-sponsored station must give the values and concerns of that leadership an accurate reflection at their highest level" (emphasis in original).

Hill's KPFA tended to reflect these values; for example, the station broadcast the sermons of Zen scholar Alan Watts, the film commentary of Pauline Kael, and the book reviews of Kenneth Rexroth. A "highbrow's delight," *Time* magazine called KPFA in the 1950s. In 1953 a small faction of ex-COs within KPFA, many of them resentful of Hill's leadership, staged a bureaucratic coup and expelled him from his position as general manager at KPFA. After a long and draining struggle, Hill used his leverage with the Ford Foundation to restore himself to even greater formal authority than he had enjoyed before the quarrel.

But, probably because of the bitterness of the conflict, by the mid-1950s Hill became increasingly distant from Pacifica's affairs. He spent more time on a Rockefeller grant that, with assistance from Rexroth, he had received to produce radio programs about poetry and the famous poets of his time. This project enabled Hill to travel about the United States and Europe, corresponding with Marianne Moore, T.S. Eliot, and Wallace Stevens, the last of whom was probably Hill's favorite writer. Hill himself was a published poet, his verse appearing in *Poetry* magazine in the early 1950s. One of Hill's last surviving programs on KPFA consists of a 1957 panel discussion on Allen Ginsberg's *Howl*, copies of which had just been confiscated by the San Francisco police department at the City Lights bookshop.

By that year, Hill's health had significantly deteriorated. He had long suffered from painful arthritis of the spine and had been taking harmful amounts of cortisone for the malady. In August of 1957 Hill took his own life, leaving a mysterious suicide note: "Not for anger or despair/but for peace and a kind of home." He was survived by his wife and three children. The Pacifica Foundation went on to acquire the licenses for four more radio stations, in Los Angeles, New York City, Houston, and Washington, D.C.

MATTHEW LASAR

See also Community Radio; Educational Radio to 1967; KPFA; Pacifica Foundation; Public Affairs Programming

Lewis Kimball Hill. Born in Kansas City, Missouri, 1 May 1919. Interned as conscientious objector, 1942-43; lobbyist for ACLU National Committee on Conscientious Objectors, 1943-45; concurrent service as announcer at WINX (Washington, D.C.), 1944-45. Moved to San Francisco, early 1946, and took position as announcer, station KYA. Studied

philosophy and poetry, Stanford University, 1939–41; filed Articles of Incorporation with California, forming Pacifica Foundation, 1946; launched KPFA-FM, Berkeley, 15 April 1949. Died (suicide) 1 August 1957, in San Francisco.

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Hindenburg Disaster

The broadcast of a recording of the 1937 explosion, crash, and incineration of the German zeppelin *Hindenburg* marked the first time NBC played a recording of a news event over its networks. Because the original of that recording was slightly off speed, and because in subsequent years only short excerpts have been broadcast, many people have an incomplete understanding of the reporting of the event.

The Original Recording

On 6 May 1937, at about 6:30 P.M., Herbert Morrison, an announcer and program host from WLS, Chicago, began: “How do you do everyone. We’re greeting you now from the Naval Air Base at Lakehurst [New Jersey].” His words were preserved on an experimental portable Presto phonograph disc being made by WLS engineer Charles Nehlsen. Announcer Morrison and engineer Nehlsen had flown to New York on American Airlines, which had DC-3 airliners standing by for connecting flights for passengers bound to many American cities. The broadcast was intended to be good publicity for American Airlines.

Morrison told his listeners that the giant airship had been due that morning, but adverse winds over Newfoundland had slowed the trip. The *Hindenburg* had appeared over New York at noon but had to wait till dusk, when there was less wind, to dock. The ship had left Frankfurt, Germany, two and a half days earlier. This was the first crossing of the season, and also the first anniversary of this air service across the Atlantic.

For about eight minutes Morrison described the hovering *Hindenburg*, its crew, the trip, and carefully related the setting and the preparations for what everyone assumed would be a routine landing. He planned to interview several Chicago-bound passengers. Here is part of his description:

The ship is riding majestically toward us like some great feather, riding as though it was mighty, mighty proud of the place it’s playing in the world’s aviation. The ship is no doubt bustling with activities, as we can see, orders are shouted to the crew, the passengers probably lining the windows looking down [at] the field ahead of them, [voice in background over a loudspeaker: “. . . mooring now”] getting their glimpse of the mooring mast. And these giant flagships standing here, the American Airlines flagships waiting to rush them to all points in the United States when they get the ship moored. There are a number of important persons on board and no doubt new commander Captain Max Pruitt is thrilled too, for this is his great moment. The first time he commanded the *Hindenburg*, for on previous flights he acted as the chief officer under Captain Leyman. It’s practically standing still now, they lowered ropes out of the nose of the ship, and uh, it’s been taken ahold of down on the field by a number of men. It’s starting to rain again, the rain had slacked up a little bit. The back motors of the ship are just holding it uh, just enough to keep it from. [A shout is heard, from some one apparently standing nearby.]

It burst into flame! [There is a click, as the arm with the needle is knocked off the recording machine. It is replaced by the engineer and Morrison is heard again.]

Get out of the way. Get out of the way. Get this Charlie. Get this Charlie. And it’s crashing, it’s crashing terrible. Oh my, get out of the way please. It’s burning, bursting into flame and it’s falling on the mooring mast, and all the folks between it. This is terrible. This is one of the worst catastrophes in the world. Oh, it was four or five hundred feet in the sky. It’s a terrific crash ladies

and gentlemen, the smoke and the flames now. And the frame is crashing to the ground, not quite to the mooring mast. [His voice is cracking, and he almost seems to cry.] Oh, the humanity and all the passengers screaming around here.

Morrison tells Nehlsen to stop the recording so he can catch his breath. (The recording was stopped five or more times.) He reports that he has “raced down to the burning ship” and met a dazed man who was burned but had survived. Morrison says the man told him that a number of passengers had jumped clear of the ship and were safe.

Until approximately 8:30 P.M., over a span of about two hours, Morrison and Nehlsen recorded some 40 minutes on several discs, including Morrison’s accounts of helping with the wounded and his interviews with survivors. Although he first reported that it would not be possible for anyone to survive, he soon corrected himself. Amazingly, 61 people did survive, but 35 passengers, crewmen, and one ground handler were killed in the fire that lasted just over half a minute.

The first news bulletin describing the tragedy was reported on NBC’s Red and Blue networks at about 7:45 P.M. EST. There were later bulletins, and a live report from an NBC mobile unit at about 2:50 A.M.

Morrison hid the four 16-inch discs under his coat and said they had to avoid people—maybe American Airline officials and other reporters—in Newark, Buffalo, and Detroit on their trip back, fearing someone might try to confiscate the recordings. In Chicago they came into the WLS studios through a back freight elevator.

Impact of the Recordings

That next day NBC broke a long-standing rule prohibiting recordings on the networks and presented parts of Morrison’s recording and interviewed him live from a Chicago studio to which he and Nehlsen had returned. An announcer on NBC Blue said, “we present now one of the most unique broadcasts we have ever presented.” Morrison set the scene and a recording was played. WLS later made commemorative copies of the recordings. Most radio, television, and phonograph documentaries, however, use only the most sensational first few seconds, beginning with “It burst into flame.”

Broadcast historians long suspected that the original discs (or later copies) were recorded too slowly, so that when they were played back they pitched Morrison’s voice too high, making him sounding rushed and hysterical. Sixty years later another recording of Morrison at a band remote in May 1938

was found that could be used for reference. Chuck Schaden of the Museum of Broadcast Communication in Chicago produced a restored, speed-corrected version of the original *Hindenburg* broadcast and played it on his program on WNIB 3 May 1997.

Repeated presentations of the slightly off-speed version and the selective use of only a small part of the recordings have given an incorrect impression. While Morrison was naturally horrified by the explosion and erroneously assumed that all on board had died, he quickly corrected himself as new information became available. Listening to the entire set of recordings reveals that he was generally calm. Despite very difficult operating conditions, his reporting was mostly clear and accurate.

John Houseman, speaking of the Mercury Theater and Orson Welles’ production of “War of the Worlds,” has recalled that the actor portraying a radio news reporter at the Martian ship in a New Jersey field listened repeatedly to the disc of the *Hindenburg* report, and one of his lines is: “This is the most terrifying thing I’ve ever witnessed.” (Morrison at the *Hindenburg* had said: “Listen folks I’m going to have to stop for a few minutes because I’ve lost my voice, this is the worst thing I’ve ever witnessed.”)

Morrison, a native of Pennsylvania, had begun his radio career at WMMN in Fairmont, West Virginia. His stint at WLS in Chicago was followed by work at stations in New York, and for many years in Pittsburgh. In the 1960s he returned to West Virginia to help West Virginia University develop a radio-television program. After Morrison retired from the university, he lived in Morgantown until his death in 1989.

The crash of the *Hindenburg* was a tragic beginning for on-the-spot recording of broadcast news. The original recordings were presented by WLS to the National Archives in January 1938.

LAWRENCE W. LICHTY

See also Documentary Programs; News; Recording and Studio Equipment; WLS

Further Reading

Chuck Schaden’s restored, correct-speed recording of the *Hindenburg* broadcast, including a discussion of his research and his method of correcting the speed, is available from the Museum of Broadcast Communications in Chicago.

“Hindenburg Disaster: Herb Morrison Reporting” website,
<www.otr.com/hindenburg.htmlhtml>

“WLS Scoops the World,” *Broadcasting* (15 May 1937)

Hispanic Radio

U.S. Spanish-Language Broadcasting

Whether described as *Spanish language* or *bilingual*, programming that targets people of Latin American descent has been among the fastest-growing segments of the U.S. radio industry. From its inception in the 1920s to the present, its development has been closely tied to the character of Latin American immigration to the United States.

Early U.S. Spanish Language Radio

U.S. Spanish language radio differed significantly from the Spanish language press on the key question of ownership. Unlike newspapers, which were largely owned by members of the immigrant community, radio stations that broadcast Spanish language programming were almost never owned by Hispanics. There were no immigrant-oriented radio stations in the 1930s—only immigrant-brokered foreign language radio *programs*. The principal reason for this was cost. Compared to a small newspaper, the initial capital outlay for radio stations was seen as prohibitively high.

In the first decades of the broadcasting industry, radio station owners found that some hours of the day were less viable commercially. Owners sold these “off hours” for nominal fees to Spanish (and, in other parts of the country, to other minority) language radio programmers, who were responsible for acquiring their own sponsors. In this early period, radio station owners and advertisers did not think of the Spanish-speaking audience as consumers. This can be attributed to the relative isolation of Mexican and Mexican-American communities—the largest Latino immigrant group then and now—from the rest of society. Spanish speakers were occupationally and residentially segregated from the merchant and business classes, including radio station owners. Until Spanish speakers were conceptualized as a product that could be sold profitably to advertisers, the importance of Spanish language programming to station owners remained negligible.

However, for immigrant radio producers in the late 1920s and early 1930s, the audience was not in any sense an abstract one. Rather, programming was shaped within the immigrant enclave: face-to-face communication was key. For example, in Los Angeles, broker/programmer Rodolfo Hoyos spent much of his time walking through the commercial district of his southern California *barrio* (neighborhood) making personal calls on potential sponsors of his one-hour daily live music and talk program. During these sales calls on bakeries and *bodegas* (shops), that day’s musical selections, or a recent community event that might be mentioned on the air, would also be discussed.

Emblematic of these early Spanish language radio broadcasters was Mexican musician and radio producer Pedro González. His radio program, *Los Madrugadores*, (The Early Risers) began broadcasting from KELW, Burbank, California (just north of Los Angeles) in 1927. The program mixed live performances by Mexican musicians with information about jobs and community services and was extremely popular with the city’s Mexican immigrant community. González was, by training and predilection, a musician and performing artist. His response to social and political circumstances of the late 1920s and 1930s transformed him into one of the best-known Mexican-American political figures of his generation, a man *The New York Times* described in an obituary as a “folk hero and social advocate.”

Following on the heels of World War I and growing isolationist feelings, and again at the onset of the Great Depression in the late 1920s, the U.S. government deported tens of thousands of Mexican immigrants. González was arrested in 1934 and was subsequently convicted on trumped-up rape charges. He was sentenced to 50 years in prison, all the while protesting his innocence. After sustained protests from the Los Angeles Mexican community, he was released from jail and deported in 1940.

González translated and broadcast advertisements from general market advertisers, such as Folger’s Coffee, who were discovering the Spanish-speaking consumer market. Nonetheless, under political pressure after González’s arrest, the radio station discontinued all Spanish language programming. During the early 1930s, other broadcasters in Texas and throughout the Southwest also curtailed their foreign language programming in response to harassment directed at ethnic broadcasters and the imposition of more stringent radio licensing rules. These rules from the Federal Communications Commission closely examined ownership of stations (one had to be a U.S. citizen) and required that station management be fully aware of the English meaning of all material broadcast.

The reaction of American political and commercial sectors to the emerging Spanish-speaking audience was contradictory. On the one hand, advertisers had begun to recognize the potential profitability of this audience, and radio station owners discovered that by selling blocks of formerly “dead” airtime to immigrant brokers, they could generate increased revenue. At the same time businesses were courting this community, however, politicians, labor unions, and other community leaders were characterizing Mexican immigrants as a threat.

As a cultural complement to mass deportations, in the mid-1930s the Los Angeles district attorney and other government

authorities campaigned to ban Spanish from the airwaves. Although many stations continued to program Spanish language blocks, others wishing to reach Mexican-Americans moved their operations to the Mexican side of the border out of the reach of U.S. authorities. The tension created by the contradictory responses of the Anglo establishment to the Mexican community—commercially welcoming, but politically and culturally rejecting—would continue to shape the development of a Hispanic audience.

The Early Transnational Hispanic Audience

Emilio Azcárraga, patriarch of the Mexican entertainment conglomerate today known as *Televisa*, began his broadcasting empire with radio stations in the 1930s. Shortly thereafter, he began transmitting music from his Mexico City station XEW, *La Voz de América Latina* (The Voice of Latin America), to a radio station in Los Angeles, which then relayed it to other U.S. stations. In addition, Azcárraga owned five radio stations along the United States–Mexico border that transmitted directly into the United States. For Azcárraga and his fledgling broadcasting empire, the border that separates the United States from Mexico was little more than a bureaucratic nuisance. Mexicans who listened to radio lived on both sides of the official separation of the two countries.

By the 1940s U.S. broadcasters were discovering that the emotional impact of an advertising message delivered in a listener's first language and suggestively enfolded in a program of music or drama, evoking the most nostalgic memories of a listener's far-away birthplace, was infinitely greater than the same message in English. These Spanish language radio programs were broadcast weekly, not daily, in four states: New York, Arizona, Texas, and California, most of them in the off hours.

The early Spanish language radio audience in the United States was defined by its "otherness," particularly its continuing close ties to Mexico. When the commercial establishment began to imagine Spanish speakers as members of *their* marketplace, they began to mold Spanish language radio for an imagined audience more commensurate with that of the dominant, majority society. Immigrant program hosts were urged to shorten their commentary and pick up their pace, so as to better match the quick tempo of the new advertisements they were reading. The length of the music selections was also shortened to make room for more advertising breaks.

Changing the Immigrant Paradigm

In the postwar period outside the Southwest, Spanish language radio shared off-hour time slots with other foreign language radio. By the 1950s, German, Polish, Scandinavian, and other

foreign language radio broadcasting began a steady decline. This was largely attributable to the assimilation of European immigrants into the dominant culture. As these peoples were recognized as predominantly English monolingual, the commercial appeal of foreign language radio programs declined; these consumers could be reached with general radio programming and advertising. As such, foreign language broadcasting was not as attractive to advertisers and thus not as appealing to radio station owners.

During this period, the number of weekly hours of U.S. Spanish language radio doubled. Two-thirds originated in the Southwest, the region most heavily populated with Spanish speakers. By 1960 Spanish language radio accounted for more than 60 percent of all U.S. foreign language radio. Spanish was the only foreign language to command entire stations and entire broadcast days. Because of continuing immigration, U.S. Spanish language radio was growing at a time when other foreign language broadcasting was dying.

Radio station owners and their advertisers were among the first to notice (in commercial terms) that the European paradigm of immigration to the United States was not identical to that of Latin American immigration. Most European immigrants, within a generation or two of their arrival, were socially and economically integrated into the majority culture, losing their European "mother tongue" in favor of English monolingualism. In addition, European immigration to the United States was discontinuous, disrupted by two world wars and the vastness of the Atlantic Ocean. Once new German immigrants, for example, stopped arriving, a generation or so later all but a few reduced their use of German or stopped speaking German completely. Consequently, the market for German language radio dropped off precipitously.

In contrast, immigrants from Latin American countries, primarily Mexico, have arrived in a steady stream (of varying size) to the United States for most of this century. Monolingual Spanish speakers settling in the United States renew the life of the language and provide a core audience for Spanish language radio programming. Today, the Spanish-speaking audience is in many ways the ideal specialized audience. Language, race, and continued close association with Latin America made it an easily identifiable audience. Between 1960 and 1974, spurred by immigration from Cuba and Puerto Rico, the number of radio stations carrying Spanish language programming doubled.

In the next quarter century, that number doubled again as immigration from Mexico and Central America increased and, in equal measure, the United States born Latino population grew. At the same time, the Hispanic audience was "discovered" by Madison Avenue and the narrowcasting broadcasting industry to be "targetable," that is, definable in market terms, and therefore a potentially profitable "niche market."

Today there are more than 400 Spanish language radio stations in the United States. Like general market U.S. radio, it is shaped by ownership chains, with the Spanish Broadcasting System being the largest. Spanish language radio formats vary from news/talk to different kinds of music—*salsa*, *norteña*, and *rock en español*. In Los Angeles and Miami, the two U.S. cities with the highest concentrations of Latinos, Spanish language radio has been consistently rated first by audience measurement firms such as Arbitron throughout the 1990s.

Reflecting the permanence and diversity of Latino communities, radio programmers have begun experimenting with bilingual radio. Youth-oriented music dominates this format, with the disc jockeys' patter and the advertisements in Spanish and English, as well as in Spanglish.

AMÉRICA RODRÍGUEZ

See also Border Radio; Mexico; South America

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Hoaxes

Pranks, Policies, and FCC Rulings

Until the early 1990s the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) had taken a relatively laissez-faire attitude toward radio hoaxes, admonishing offenders but avoiding several penalties. From 1975 to 1985 the Commission threw out a number of programming content policies initiated a decade earlier. In 1985 the FCC, under Chairman Mark Fowler's leadership, voted to eliminate its policy of restricting "scare" announcements as part of its deregulation initiatives during the Reagan administration. When the public became subject to a number of hoax abuses, however, in May 1992 the FCC issued a ruling prohibiting pranks that cause immediate public harm or divert resources from law enforcement.

War of the Worlds

Orson Welles perpetrated the first hoax in radio history in his 1938 radio play, "War of the Worlds." The national public panic over a well-crafted imaginary Martian invasion of the east coast of the United States was the ultimate demonstration of radio's impact on an audience. Subsequently, after the Welles broadcast, the FCC warned broadcasters not to use the words *bulletin* or news *flash* in entertainment programs and to provide adequate cautionary language in the airing of dramatizations.

Beginning in the 1950s legendary deejays such as Dick Biondi and Wolfman Jack attempted to shock their audiences with crazy stunts and wild antics. Radio stations across the nation undertook many pranks and trickery, such as turkeys thrown out of airplanes and a scavenger hunt for a \$1,000 bill hidden in a public library, in the name of fun and higher market ratings. In the 1960s the FCC began a new era of regulation, in part because of what it perceived to be the public's vulnerability to deceptive programming and promotions. In 1960 it issued a policy statement that addressed intentional distortion or falsification of programming (i.e., news staging). In 1966 the FCC issued a stronger policy, which warned against airing "scare" announcements. The 1966 policy was a reaction to specific complaints about radio contests that disrupted traffic, caused property damage, diverted law enforcement, alarmed listeners with imaginary dangers, and threatened life. The FCC stand slowed down the occurrence of hoaxes over the next several years.

Then, in 1974, Rhode Island's WPRO-FM recreated "War of the Worlds." The program had been promoted as a spoof throughout the day. During the actual broadcast, however, 45 minutes elapsed before the station aired a public disclaimer. One hundred and forty listeners called the radio station. While station personnel had warned the local police department of its

intent to air the program, the FCC admonished WPRO on the basis of its 1966 statement concerning broadcast of scare announcements.

In another instance, that same year a Tucson, Arizona radio personality, with the help of the news director, faked his own kidnapping. The commission failed to renew the license of KIKX-AM, specifically based on its violation of FCC policies related to the "fake kidnapping" (i.e., news staging, false newscasts, and licensee failure to exercise adequate control over station operations) and to a lesser extent on its technical violations on several station program logs and its Equal Employment Opportunity record. The commission affirmed its position in 1980, and two years later the District of Columbia Circuit Court upheld the decision.

Serious Radio Hoaxes

After the FCC eliminated its scare announcement policy, between 1989 and 1991 a number of serious radio hoaxes popped up across the United States; at least five are documented in the commission's ruling "Regarding Broadcast Hoaxes." Four of these incidents resulted in admonishment by the FCC, although only one resulted in a \$25,000 fine. On 2 October 1989 the FCC admonished KSLX-FM in Scottsdale, Arizona, for a stunt that faked the station being taken hostage by terrorist activity. In July 1990 the commission admonished WCCC-AM/FM in Hartford, Connecticut, for reporting a nearby volcanic eruption.

In 1991 three other serious hoaxes were perpetrated by St. Louis' KSHE, Los Angeles' KROQ, and Rhode Island's WALE. On 29 January 1991 KSHE morning personality John Ulett staged a mock nuclear alert during the morning drive time, complete with a simulated Emergency Broadcast System (EBS) tone and an authentic-sounding civil defense warning that announced that the nation was under nuclear attack. There was no disclaimer until two hours after the broadcast. Four hundred listeners called the station. The FCC fined KSHE \$25,000 based on the false use of EBS during the hoax. The KROQ morning team staged a false confession from an anonymous caller who claimed to have brutally murdered his girlfriend. Police spent nearly 150 hours investigating the case and the incident was featured twice on the syndicated TV program *Unsolved Mysteries*. On 9 July 1991 the WALE news director in Rhode Island announced that the overnight on-air personality had been shot in the head. Police and media rushed to investigate the incident. Upon hearing the broadcast, the program director called the station and told the producer to cease the hoax. When the producer failed to do so, the program director shut off the transmitter. The station went back on the air one minute later, with a disclaimer that aired every 30 minutes for the following 30 hours. Although the program director terminated the news director, the talk show host, and the pro-

ducer, the FCC admonished WALE for broadcasting false and misleading information and stated that the licensee was not excused by subsequent remedial action.

Anti-Hoax Ruling

The Commission's 1992 anti-hoax rule (Section 73.1217) did not discourage the morning crew at WNOR-FM in Norfolk, Virginia, from staging a series of news reports that the city park built over a landfill was about to explode. Local police, overwhelmed with concerned calls from listeners, filed complaints with the FCC. A month after the WNOR-FM incident, the FCC issued its anti-hoax ruling in an effort to target those incidents involving a false report of a crime or catastrophe. The FCC was eager to clear its docket of what appeared to be a stream of hoax violations and to enact a middle range of enforcement. The commission said that its ruling would provide enforcement flexibility by allowing fines that could range up to \$25,000 a day. In the ruling the commission states:

No licensee or permittee of any broadcast station shall broadcast false information concerning a crime or catastrophe if (a) the licensee knows this information is false, (b) it is foreseeable that broadcasting the information will cause substantial public harm. Any programming accompanied by a disclaimer will be presumed not to pose foreseeable harm if the disclaimer clearly characterizes the program as fiction and is presented in a way that is reasonable under the circumstances (amendment to Part 73 Regarding Broadcast Hoaxes, Communications Act, Report and Order, 7FCCRcd4106 [1992]).

This ruling clearly demonstrated the FCC's desire to manage promotional content abuses on the airwaves by assigning specific monetary punitive actions for serious hoaxes that posed a substantial threat to the public safety and welfare.

PHYLIS JOHNSON

See also War of the Worlds

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U.S. Radio Inventor and Engineer

Jack Hogan was a key figure in early American wireless and radio broadcast development, combining invention with practical innovation. He developed the single-dial radio tuner, the first high-fidelity radio station, and later turned to mechanical television and then facsimile.

Origins

Hogan was born in Bayonne, New Jersey, in 1890. He built his first amateur radio station in 1902 at age 12, using a coherer as a detector. (A coherer was a device in which iron filings cohered in the presence of an electrical signal, making it a useful "detector" of those signals.) Just four years later he was working as a laboratory assistant with Lee de Forest. Hogan attended the Sheffield Scientific School at Yale University, as had de Forest, specializing in physics, mathematics, and electric waves. In 1910 he went to work for Reginald Fessenden's National Electric Signaling Company (NESCO) at its Brant Rock, Massachusetts, station, as a telegraph operator. Fessenden was so impressed with Hogan that he assigned him to supervise erection of a terminal station in Brooklyn, New York. There he developed perhaps the first ink tape siphon (a method for permanently recording on a paper tape) for recording transatlantic radio signals, using an Audion amplifier. Hogan remained with Fessenden until 1914.

Radio

Hogan was a cofounder of the Institute of Radio Engineers in 1912 (he served as IRE president in 1920). In 1913 he directed acceptance tests of the U.S. Navy's first high-power station at Arlington and served as the Navy's chief research engineer until 1917, focusing on high-speed recorders for long-distance wireless. In 1917 he became commercial manager of the Inter-

national Radio Signal Company. He was placed in charge of operations and manufacturing with emphasis on radio for what were then called submarine chasers (destroyers) and aircraft. In 1918 he was made manager of the International Telegraph Company.

Hogan established his own consulting practice in 1921 (founding Radio Inventions, Inc. in 1929), where he specialized in broadcast apparatus and radio regulations. During this period he also wrote *The Outline of Radio* (1923), a guide for the general public about how radio worked; the book was so well received that several subsequent editions appeared. Always interested in tonal quality, Hogan built the first high-fidelity experimental radio station, licensed as W2XR, in 1929. Hogan and Elliott Sanger converted it to become commercial classical music station WQXR in New York City in 1936.

Graphic Communication

In the 1930s Hogan began to work on television technology, and then on facsimile systems. Since his television efforts had concentrated on what turned out to be outmoded mechanical scanning systems, Hogan soon dropped television to concentrate on the more promising field of facsimile transmission, which he worked on well into the 1940s. His system was said to be both faster and to provide more fidelity of reproduction than the crude systems that preceded his. He demonstrated his system to industry observers in New York and Milwaukee in the late 1930s, using experimental radio transmitters licensed by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC). The Radio Corporation of America (RCA) nearly adopted the Hogan system, but World War II intervened.

Hogan wrote a number of articles in the 1940s, for both specialist and lay readers, on what facsimile systems could do. During World War II, he acted as advisor to several govern-

ment agencies on radar, guidance systems, and missiles. He also chaired Panel 7 of the radio industry's Radio Technical Planning Board during World War II, which concerned itself with spectrum needs and technical standards for facsimile and made recommendations about these topics to the FCC.

After the war, Hogan returned to his facsimile work (resigning from WQXR in 1949 to focus his efforts further), but the systems then being touted did not develop commercially and are unrelated to facsimile as we use it today. Today Hogan is perhaps most remembered for his invention of single-dial tuning and as one of three cofounders of the Institute for Radio Engineers, the predecessor of today's Institute of Electrical and Electronic Engineers (IEEE).

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also De Forest, Lee; Fessenden, Reginald; Technical Unions; WQXR

John Vincent Lawless ("Jack") Hogan. Born in Bayonne, New Jersey, 14 February 1890. Son of John Lawless Hogan, salesperson, and Louise Eleanor Shimer, writer and musician; worked with Lee de Forest, 1906; attended Sheffield School, Yale University, 1908–10; telegraph operator with Fessenden's

NESCO, 1910–14; patented single-dial radio tuning system, 1912; co-founder, Institute of Radio Engineers, 1912; chief research engineer, U.S. Navy, 1914–17; commercial manager, International Signal Company, 1917; manager, International Radio Telegraph Company, 1918–21; consultant, 1921; formed Radio Inventions, 1929; founded station W2XR (later WQXR) in New York, 1929; worked with government agencies during World War II, including Office of Scientific Research and Development; chaired Panel 7 of Radio Technical Planning Board, 1943–45; resigned as president of WQXR, 1949. Died in Forest Hills, Queens, New York, 29 December 1960.

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Hollywood and Radio

In this era of studio-owned television networks, it is difficult to remember that only a few years ago, accounts of the history of television and broadcasting cast their relationship in terms of a bitter bicoastal rivalry. Hollywood hated and resisted television as it had radio, these historians said: they turned their back on it and refused to let their stars appear on it, and one studio even forbade television sets from appearing in its films.

If we take a closer look at history, however, nothing could be further from the truth. From the earliest years of radio, Hollywood studios regarded the upstart sound-only medium with a great deal of interest—despite the fact that in those days movies had no voice at all. After a period of experimentation with movie/radio cross-promotion, a few studios attempted to enter the network business. Thwarted by both economics and regulation, the film industry turned to steady and profitable production for radio, to the point that in the mid-1930s both major networks, the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) and the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), constructed major studios of their own in the heart of filmland. This pro-

ductive relationship continued through the early years of television, and although radio lost its importance in the Hollywood scheme of things as television quickly took over the production of dramatic programs, film companies still maintained a presence in radio station ownership and also in the production of recorded music, so vital to radio's new format mode. The merger mania of the 1980s and 1990s consolidated these cross-ownership positions, as radio, television, film, music, and new media became interlocking parts of the same communications conglomerates.

Origins

One of the earliest instances of film/radio cooperation took place not in Hollywood but on the stage of the Capitol Theater in New York City, part of the Loews/Metro Goldwyn Mayer (MGM) chain. In 1923 theater manager Samuel L. Rothafel entered into an agreement with American Telephone and Telegraph (AT&T) to broadcast his prefilm stage show over their

new station, WEAJ. The results were so positive that the show quickly became a regular feature, called *Roxy and His Gang*, one of the earliest hits of radio broadcasting. Soon other theaters jumped on the bandwagon.

Movies might not have been able to talk, but that didn't mean there wasn't a lot of musical entertainment in the theaters. Many big-city theaters featured elaborate stage shows and enormous theater organs, whose musical accompaniments animated their film showings. Concerts by theater organists were broadcast over WMAC, WGN, and KWY in Chicago and in many other cities starting in 1925. That year, Harry Warner of Warner Brothers Studios proposed that the film industry as a whole should start a radio network to publicize their pictures. He began by opening a Warner Brothers radio station, KFJB in Los Angeles, and in 1926 a second one, WBPI in New York City. Other studios took note. Pathe, producers of newsreels, announced that they would begin distributing a script version of their news films for delivery over local stations. By 1927 Universal chief Carl Laemmle inaugurated the *Carl Laemmle Hour* over WOR-New York, presenting vaudeville and film stars and giving previews of upcoming pictures. MGM experimented with the world's first "telemovie": a dramatic, blow-by-blow narration of MGM's new release, *Love*, starring Greta Garbo and John Gilbert, delivered on the air by WPAP's announcer Ted Husing (usually known for his sports coverage) as it unreeled before his eyes in the Embassy Theater in New York.

That same year, MGM announced an ambitious project with the Loews theater chain: a planned network based on movie materials and promotion that would link over 60 stations in more than 40 cities. This proposal followed a more detailed one announced the previous spring by Paramount Pictures Corporation. Paramount, in conjunction with the Postal Telegraph Company, planned to start up the Keystone network "for dramatizing and advertising first-run motion pictures." Because AT&T had a lock on the land lines vitally needed to link stations together into a network, and because AT&T had an exclusive contract with the existing radio networks, Paramount needed Postal Telegraph to provide its lines. Despite much excitement in the industry, neither the Keystone Chain nor the MGM/Loews network reached fruition. A combination of regulatory discouragement, exhibitor opposition, and competition from other sources diverted studios' radio ideas in other directions. Paramount shortly thereafter purchased a 49 percent interest in the CBS network, still struggling to compete with its deep-pocketed competitor. Meanwhile, NBC's parent company, the Radio Corporation of America (RCA), acquired its own film studio, Radio-Keith-Orpheum (RKO), in 1929. Though this was intended more as a way to capitalize on RCA's new sound-on-film system than as a radio venture, the era of "talking pictures" would facilitate a renewed interest in the potential of film/radio cooperation.

Depression Years

By 1932 America had been hard hit by the Depression. Film industry profits suffered, as theaters went out of business and box office receipts slowed to a trickle. Radio, however, continued to thrive. As advertising agencies began to take the broadcast medium seriously as an outlet for their customers' campaigns, a new and influential partnership was about to emerge. Dissatisfied with CBS's and NBC's staid approach to programming, several aggressive advertising firms turned their attention to Hollywood's untapped potential for radio-based product promotion. One of the most influential in this Hollywood/agency alliance was John U. Reber of the J. Walter Thompson Company (JWT), whose plan for radio advertising envisioned big-budget, star-studded productions sponsored by JWT clients over the major radio networks. He determined to form a working relationship with the proven entertainment producers in Hollywood, and by the mid-1930s JWT was producing at least five shows out of each year's top ten, most of them featuring Hollywood talent. Other major agencies included Young and Rubicam, Blackett-Sample-Hummert, and Dancer Fitzgerald. When in 1936 AT&T, as a result of an investigation by the Federal Communications Commission, reduced their land line rates to the West Coast, a "rush to Hollywood" resulted, and most major agencies, along with the two national networks, opened up studios in Los Angeles. Radio had gone Hollywood.

This productive and profitable association would have great impact on both the radio and film industries. A variety of radio programs developed that centered on movie industry stars, properties, and Hollywood celebrities. The most prestigious was the movie adaptation format pioneered by JWT's *Lux Radio Theater*. Hosted by celebrity director Cecil B. DeMille, *Lux* presented hour-long radio adaptations of recent Hollywood film releases, introduced and narrated by DeMille and featuring well-known film stars. It started on NBC in 1934 but jumped in 1935 to CBS, where it ran until 1954. From 1936 on, the program was produced in Hollywood. Others in this format, often referred to at the time as "prestige drama," included *Screen Guild Theater*, *Hollywood Premiere*, *Academy Award Theater*, *Dreft Star Playhouse*, *Hollywood Startime*, and *Screen Directors' Playhouse*. A popular feature of these programs was the intimate, casual interviews with famous stars; DeMille, for instance, would chat at the end of each show with that night's leading actors, often casually working in a mention of the sponsor's product.

The second major venue for Hollywood stars and film promotion was radio's leading genre, the big-name variety show. Starting with the *Rudy Vallee Show* in 1929, almost all of the top-rated programs on the major networks in the 1930s belonged to this genre: the *Kate Smith Hour*, *Maxwell House Showboat*, *Shell Chateau* (Al Jolson), the *Chase and Sanborn*

Hour (Bergen and McCarthy), the *Jack Benny Program*, *Kraft Music Hall* (Bing Crosby), *Texaco Star Theater*, the *Eddie Cantor Show*, *Burns and Allen*, *Town Hall Tonight* (Fred Allen), and many more. All featured regular guest appearances from Hollywood's best and brightest, often promoting their latest pictures or acting out skits related to film properties. Many stars eventually began hosting such programs themselves, especially in the late 1930s and early 1940s. Adolph Menjou and John Barrymore served as hosts for *Texaco Star Theater*; Al Jolson appeared on radio almost exclusively after 1935; and William Powell and Herbert Marshall hosted *Hollywood Hotel* at various times. Some directors also got into the act: Orson Welles was a frequent variety show guest and often guest-hosted for Fred Allen, and Alfred Hitchcock established a reputation on radio before becoming a television personality. Furthermore, a whole set of Hollywood's secondary ladies became more famous via radio performances than their film careers had permitted: Lucille Ball, Dinah Shore, Joan Davis, Hattie McDaniel, Ann Sothern, and many others began as frequent guest stars, then headlined their own continuing programs on radio and later television.

Dramatic series programs also featured Hollywood talent. Most were the anthology-style programs that would also become early television's most prestigious fare. *First Nighter*, *Cavalcade of America*, *Hollywood Playhouse*, *Grand Central Station*, *Four Star Playhouse*, *Ford Theater*, *Everyman's Theater*, and many others brought film stars to radio in a wide range of stand-alone drama and comedy pieces. During the war years, Hollywood generously donated its talent to morale-boosting programs, sometimes on the regular networks and sometimes for the Armed Forces Radio Service only, such as *Command Performance*, *Free World Theater*, *Everything for the Boys*, *The Doctor Fights*, and many more. Hollywood stars moved freely between film and radio, and they would host and perform just as frequently on television's early dramas. Only in the mid- to late 1940s, however, did film stars begin turning up as leading actors in series comedies and dramas. The situation comedy form, pioneered by radio programs such as *Amos 'n' Andy*, *The Goldbergs*, *Fibber McGee and Molly*, and *Vic and Sade*, would be given a new gloss and prestige as Hollywood luminaries, particularly the comediennes mentioned above, moved into regular series production in shows such as *Joan Davis Time*, *My Favorite Husband*, *My Friend Irma*, *Maisie*, *Our Miss Brooks*, and *Beulah*.

Finally, mention should be made of the ever-popular genre of Hollywood gossip and talk. Many leading figures built their reputations on film industry chitchat, including the print divas Louella Parsons and Hedda Hopper. Walter Winchell also started in print but achieved full status on radio, combining gossip with news-related material. Ed Sullivan, Earl Wilson, and Jimmy Fidler all trafficked in celebrity news and views. A late-developing genre, the so-called breakfast pro-

gram, presaged the television morning show *Today* with a combination of host chatter, celebrity guest interviews, and light news. Journalist Mary Margaret McBride pioneered the talk show format on radio in her long-running program of the same name. Another writer, Pegeen Fitzgerald, tried out McBride's formula in an early-morning show called *Pegeen Prefers*; she and her husband Ed would develop the first of the big-time breakfast shows, *The Fitzgeralds*. Others in this genre were *Tex and Jinx* (Tex McCrary and Jinx Falkeberg) and *Breakfast with Dorothy and Dick* (Dorothy Kilgallen and Richard Kollmar).

The film industry came increasingly to rely on the star-producing capabilities of radio as well. Radio personalities starred in many popular Hollywood films, from Freeman Gosden and Charles Correll ("Amos" and "Andy") in *Check and Double Check* in 1929, to special "radio" movies such as *The Big Broadcast of 1936* (and 1937 and 1938), to the Bing Crosby/Bob Hope/Dorothy Lamour "Road" movies in the 1940s (*Road to Morocco*, *Road to Zanzibar*, *Road to Rio*, etc.). Rudy Vallee, Eddie Cantor, and Jack Benny all met with box-office success. Orson Welles' flamboyant production of *War of the Worlds* for the CBS *Mercury Theater of the Air* won him the contract to make *Citizen Kane* in Hollywood.

Radio and Television

As television loomed on the horizon after World War II, movie studios stood in a strong position to move into television production. A combination of network economics, the emphasis on "live" programming during television's early days, and royalty disputes within the film industry would delay the Hollywood/television alliance until the late 1950s. Though the nature of radio changed dramatically once television came onto the scene, some studios did maintain a persistent presence in radio ownership and production. Warner Brothers, Paramount, RKO, and MGM all owned radio stations, and they were to get in on television station ownership early on as well. MGM went into syndicated radio program production and distribution in the late 1940s with such programs as *MGM Theater of the Air* and *Maisie*, starring Ann Sothern. As attention and dollars shifted to television in the late 1940s and early 1950s, and as radio became once again primarily a musical medium, Hollywood stars and on-air production would migrate to the newer medium as well. Soon film studios would dominate prime-time television programming, though this would not translate into network power until passage of the FCC's financial interest and syndication rules broke up the networks' tight vertical integration in the 1970s. However, just as film companies diversified into television, they also began to acquire interests in the music industry, the new backbone of radio, with frequent cross-promotion between music and film.

Merger Mania

As the 1980s wave of mergers and acquisitions continued into the 1990s, the film majors of yore became part of diversified media conglomerates. Warner became part of the Time/Warner/Turner empire, with more than 50 labels under its imprint, including Warner Music International, Atlantic, Elektra, Rhino, Sire, and Warner Brothers. The conglomerate also has interests in music publishing, record clubs, recording technology, and music distribution. Time Warner accounted for 21 percent of U.S. music sales in 1997. Columbia Pictures was acquired by the Sony Corporation, owner of Columbia Records (acquired from CBS) and associated labels, the Columbia House music club, and other manufacturing and distribution arms, all of which accounted for 15 percent of U.S. music revenues. Universal became a part of the Music Corporation of America (MCA), which was later acquired by Seagram. MCA has long been a major presence in the music industry, with 11 percent of the U.S. market. Its labels include A&M, Decca, Def Jam, Deutsche Grammophon, Interscope, Geffen, MCA, MCA Nashville, Motown, Island, Phillips, Polydor, Universal, and Verve.

In 1995 Paramount was acquired by Viacom, owner of MTV and related cable music channels (M2, VH1), a considerable power in the music business. MTV produces radio programming as well, including radio versions of *MTV Unplugged*, *MTV News*, and *Weekend Revolution*. In 1995 Viacom announced a partnership with radio's largest program syndicator and station groups, Westwood One, to launch a new MTV Radio network featuring music-related material. The Disney Corporation also holds extensive interests in music recording, and with its merger with American Broadcasting Company (ABC) in 1995, it now owns radio stations that reach 24 percent of U.S. households. Twentieth Century Fox was purchased by Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation in the 1980s and is now linked with satellite music channels worldwide. News Corporation also owns the Australian Mushroom and Festival record labels. And in this age of synergy, the tie between movies and music has become tighter than ever before, with movie sound tracks used to promote artists and recordings, and sound track releases often achieving billions of dollars in sales.

In the era of new media, where the lines between film, radio, television, music, recordings, and the internet seem to be growing more blurry every day, the integrated entertainment

corporations formerly designated by the term *Hollywood* have fingers in nearly every form of media that reaches into the home—or that reaches the viewer anywhere she or he might be. Now internet radio technology gives companies the ability to go on-line with their own “radio” services. DisneyRadio.com already provides a schedule of music and features from its films and artists, oriented toward children. Television shows on studio-owned networks promote recordings distributed by the company's record arm, which become hits on pop radio. Recording stars launch film careers; even radio personalities such as Howard Stern might receive a moment of celluloid fame. Though in the United States the days of radio drama and comedy faded, transferring their stars and audiences to television, the film industry continues to play a vital behind-the-scenes role linking radio to a host of other media. Without Hollywood, American radio could never have risen to the heights of creativity and popularity it achieved in its heyday. That the older medium bequeathed this tradition to a newer medium might be radio's loss, but it was television's gain.

MICHELE HILMES

See also Film Depictions of Radio; Television Depictions of Radio

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Hooperatings

Radio Ratings Service

Hooperatings was radio's best known and most widely quoted rating service in radio broadcasting during its heyday from 1934 to 1950. C.E. Hooper (1898–1955) pioneered a technique, the coincidental telephone call, that became an industry standard. Hooper sold subscriptions to his ratings information, making his service the first commercial venture in the field of radio ratings. C.E. Hooper, known as “Hoop,” was imbued with a mission, and through his salesmanship he made his ratings service famous not just to the broadcasting industry but also to the public.

Origins

Hooper began his business career by selling aluminum utensils from door to door. He went on to earn an MBA (1923) from Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration. He took a job in Yakima, Washington, as assistant manager of the Liberty Savings and Loan Company. Between 1924 and 1926, he was advertising manager at the *Harvard Business Review*. He then took a similar job at *Scribner's Magazine*. He switched from selling space to buying space in 1929 as an account executive for Doremus and Company. After two years, at age 33, he entered the market research field as a member of the Daniel Starch organization.

Daniel Starch had taught business psychology at Harvard when Hooper was a student there. Starch conducted pioneering radio audience research for the new NBC network in 1928 and 1930, and in 1931 established the first continuous service for measuring the readerships of magazine and newspaper advertisements.

Since March 1930, Archibald Crossley had been “rating” broadcasts to estimate audience size for advertisers and for agencies that supported the Cooperative Analysis of Broadcasting (CAB). Crossley used a telephone recall method to ask listeners about their previous day's listening. He limited his surveys to areas of equal network opportunity, the 32 cities where all four networks (National Broadcasting Company [NBC] Red and Blue, Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS], and, after 1934, Mutual) could be heard with equal ease.

Hooperatings Begin

In 1934 Hooper left Starch to go into business as president of Clark–Hooper, a service that measured magazine and newspaper effectiveness. He also entered the field of radio audience measurement that same year using telephone *coincidental* calling when the audience was still listening, a method suggested

to him by George Gallup. The team of Clark–Hooper, Inc. was encouraged by a group of magazine publishers who wanted to set up a more valid measure of radio's advertising effectiveness. These publishers were convinced that Crossley's ratings overstated the actual number of radio homes. More popular programs under Crossley's rating system would achieve ratings as high as 40 to 60 percent of the radio audience. To make matters worse, despite the fact that Crossley merely provided a rating index, many broadcasters persisted in projecting CAB ratings to total radio homes, resulting in an astronomical number of radio homes. The reason for this rating inflation was that Crossley initially used only the “identified listening audience,” or what is now called the “share” (proportion of people tuned to a given channel based on all those using radio receivers at that time), as the base for his ratings. All of these factors hurt magazines and were factors that Clark–Hooper, Inc. undertook to correct.

Hooper's first important publicity came when, in collaboration with CBS, he estimated the number of adult listeners to President Roosevelt's fireside chat of 10 June 1936 in time for the next day's newspapers.

By 1938 the team of Clark–Hooper, Inc. had disbanded, and Hooper continued alone in the field of radio measurement. Although magazine publishers encouraged Hooper's service, they did not underwrite it. Hooper's method allowed him to innovate such features as the available audience base, resulting in ratings half the size of Crossley's. (The available audience included those not listening as well as those listening, whereas Crossley used only those listening.) Hooper also supplied an average audience rating, rather than give the total program listeners as CAB had done. An average audience rating was a program's total audience divided by the time intervals. Crossley's method, by comparison, presented only the total listeners to a given program in a sample or only the program's total audience. Furthermore, the coincidental technique eliminated what Hooper considered another major flaw with the recall method: the memory factor.

Hooper managed to make his name a household word. CAB reports had been primarily available to the buyers of advertising time, and consequently reports were guarded. Hooper, on the other hand, openly courted the press, making himself and his ratings newsworthy. His name began to appear in a vast assortment of trade magazines. In addition, he was written up in daily newspapers and even garnered a feature article in the *Saturday Evening Post* in 1947. Publicity surrounding Hooperatings rode such a crest during this period that Crossley was later to remark wryly that his defeat could

be traced to the fact that his name did not rhyme with anything. (A genius at promotion, Hooper had a field day attaching his name to such derivatives as Hooperuppers, Hooperdowners, Hoopermania, and Hooperhappy.)

Whereas Crossley's reports aided the advertising community, Hooper courted the other side of the street, the networks and the stations. In particular, he did this by introducing services specifically designed to aid stations and networks. Hooper's next move, in the early 1940s, was to introduce his "Stations Listening Area Reports" for local radio markets, quickly signing up 205 local markets to CAB's none. Stations were quick to assume 44.5 percent of the cost of Hooper's operation. Hooper was, of course, weakest in advertising clients, the community sponsoring CAB. This move to local market reports, together with Hooper's open press policy, made a major impact on CAB's clients—the advertising community.

By 1944 the CAB had lost ground to Hooper's coincidental method, and over time, Crossley also switched his service to the telephone coincidental method. With both services using the coincidental method, with growing costs, and with increasing numbers of interviews yet different results, industry executives began to argue that having two services was repetitive and wasteful. CAB was considered superfluous and was forced out of business in 1946.

In 1945 Hooper made his reports available to advertisers, agencies, and networks. This strategy, which included local stations as a vital part of his service, resulted in both economic and methodological advantages. The economic results were to increase the scope of Hooper's service without excessive financial burden to any one subscriber. In this sense, Hooper operated the first radio pool made up of the commercial interests in radio, a precedent that became an industry norm.

As Frank Nye points out in "*Hoop*" of *Hooperatings*, the odds had been against Hooper, an unknown selling a deflationary method to those who wanted optimal figures; furthermore, his service was based on a technique one-third more costly and was pitted against a service backed by three powerful associations. Whereas CAB had been developed to serve the advertising community, Hooper had worked the other side of the street, serving stations in 60 cities and their rep firms.

Through Hooper's showmanship, the Hooperatings became increasingly important. Although Hooper took great pains to emphasize in his writings that radio program ratings are measures of quantity, not quality, many critics complained that the ratings took on the sinister quality of being an absolute artistic standard for radio programming.

Although the industry had attacked CAB in particular, telephone-based methods were coming under closer scrutiny in general. In 1929 there were 10.25 million radio homes in the U.S. (approximately 35 percent of all homes), compared to 12.4 million telephone homes (42 percent of all homes). However, the situation changed rapidly when the number of radio

homes began to grow substantially faster than the number of telephone homes, raising the question of the representativeness of a telephone-based sample to measure radio. As radio went into World War II, radio homes were approaching saturation and were estimated to reach a national average of 85 percent of all homes, growing at twice the rate of telephone homes. The radio industry was beginning to grumble about the exclusion of listeners on farms, in small towns, and in areas remote from transmitters.

Coming Up on the Outside: Competition from A.C. Nielsen

Hooperatings did not survive the challenge of a new competitor, A.C. Nielsen. Its defeat lay, oddly enough, in the method it had championed, the telephone coincidental, as it attempted to measure the rise of a new advertising medium, television. The year was 1948, a year that brought attacks on two key fronts of the established Hooperatings by the up-and-coming A.C. Nielsen. These two fronts were projectable ratings (ratings projectable to a true national cross section) and TV ratings.

It became increasingly apparent that Hooper's telephone-based service was doomed if it could not develop a national sample. Hooper's Program Hooperatings measured only urban areas and were not projectable to a national audience. Because projectable ratings required a sample representative of national radio homes, Hooper's key challenge was to develop a representative sample. In April 1948 Hooper launched U.S. Hooperatings, his first projectable service of radio's listening audience. U.S. Hooperatings were an attempt to achieve this national cross section by adding a diary method to the coincidental method, in order to measure non-telephone homes. Hooper's projectable ratings were not an entity of their own but took the coincidental measurements as a base and projected them to a national total through information collected from diaries. Hooper planned to charge a separate fee to subsidize this new service, and he planned to operate it on a regular basis if enough subscriptions could be found. His primary client for such a service would be the networks.

However, Nielsen had begun integrating projectable ratings as a feature of his service with no extra charge. In addition, by March 1948 Nielsen had expanded his sample to a national basis. The bottom line was that, until ratings could be projected, they were merely indices of arbitrary value: the numbers were comparable one to another within urban areas but not representative of a national population. Nielsen thus offered a significant product innovation through the development of projectable ratings. Nielsen's projectable ratings offered both a pricing advantage and a superior method. Both strategies resulted in an eventual defeat of Hooperatings. U.S. Hooperatings failed to achieve enough subscriptions to launch the projectable rating service as a regular feature.

A second critical factor in Hooper's defeat by Nielsen was the rise of television. The Hooper network service covered only the larger urban areas with telephone homes. This coverage, however, represented only 20 percent of the population. Television had hit these urban areas the hardest and had made the most impact in cities where Hooper had based his radio rating service. In other words, although radio use was falling in the areas measured by Hooper's network service, it was not falling in 80 percent of the nation's homes. Thus, according to Nielsen, it was utterly unrealistic for Hooper to ignore TV's impact in his network radio cities.

Hooper had based his network program ratings wholly on telephone homes in the urban areas where television had made the greatest inroads. Thus, his sample was attacked for overweighing the influence of TV on radio listenership. To make matters worse, telephone subscribers were found to own a disproportionate number of TVs, when compared to nonsubscribers. Hooper consequently was accused of shortchanging and deflating radio.

In February 1950 Hooper sold his national ratings services (national radio and national TV ratings) to A.C. Nielsen, Inc. Hooper cited three factors in his decision. First, the number of sponsored network radio programs on the air had dropped 40 percent in three years. Thus, his radio network service had declined because of the flight of advertisers to network TV. Second, Hooper noted the increased competition from Nielsen. According to Hooper, without Nielsen competition, he would have continued his network Hooperatings, "riding the radio curve down and the television curve up." With the growing revenue split between Hooper and Nielsen, even the network TV rating business did not bring the total network ratings to a profitable level. Revenue had dropped from \$40,000 annually in January 1949 to \$25,000 by January 1950. Third, Hooper stated that television had so changed listening habits in cities with TV service that the averaging of listeners in cities with and without TV was no longer plausible.

The 36-city-based network Hooperatings assumed that "conditions" under which measurements were taken remained relatively constant and that consequently the change in the rating index or rank was a valid indication of change in popular-

ity. Because television came first to the big cities, where Hooper had based his samples, his reports indicated that radio audiences were moving in large numbers to TV. However, this was not true in most of the country. In not being representative, National Hooperatings indices had become essentially meaningless.

Although Hooper quit the national rating business, he planned to continue at the local level with city Hooperatings, city teleratings, area coverage indices, and sales impact ratings. These local markets were now where Hooper was getting two-thirds of his profits. In a prophetic statement, Hooper argued that the shift in their packaging was away from one average index to analytic reports of individual markets and of differences between markets. Hooper left the national rating field for TV and radio to A.C. Nielsen, Inc., and his Audimeter. Though he planned to continue his local market services, Hooper's untimely death in a boating accident prevented these plans from reaching fruition. The American Research Bureau (later Arbitron) purchased Hooper's remaining local service in 1955.

KAREN S. BUZZARD

See also A.C. Nielsen Company; Arbitron; Audience Research Methods; Cooperative Analysis of Broadcasting; Diary

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Hoover, Herbert 1874-1964

United States Secretary of Commerce (1921-1928) and President (1929-1933)

Although he later became President (1929-33), Herbert Hoover's importance to radio broadcasting lies in his service as the medium's first federal regulator. Hoover's cabinet department licensed and regulated radio stations while he served as Secretary of Commerce (1921-28). Managing the largest department of government at that time, Hoover attempted to influence the fledgling radio industry through speeches and called four national radio conferences in an effort to develop support for legislation that he eventually achieved with the Radio Act of 1927.

Among Hoover's vast array of concerns as Secretary of Commerce was the growth of radio broadcasting. When broadcasting burst onto the scene in the early 1920s, Hoover defined, explained, and advocated certain fundamental principles of public policy that today remain the accepted foundation upon which U.S. broadcasting rests.

Almost immediately after becoming Secretary of Commerce, Hoover was made aware of the challenges plaguing broadcasting. Because of the limited use of wireless prior to the advent of radio broadcasting, there had been no pressing need for spectrum planning, let alone further legislation. Hoover had to make policy decisions using the expertise of his staff, who supplied him with an array of recommendations on the direction radio regulation should take. The staff perceived the primary difficulties to be the determination of who was to broadcast, what was to be broadcast, and under what conditions.

From his experience in public life, Herbert Hoover had developed a strong philosophy of the proper relationship between government, business, and the individual. Facing a rising storm of listener protest over growing signal interference from the flood of stations taking to the air on a limited number of frequencies, Hoover undertook three approaches to resolving the policy impasse. From 1922 through 1925 he called four national radio conferences in Washington to poll industry figures for a consensus on what should be done. The first was attended by about 30 engineers and attorneys; the fourth attracted the attendance and participation of several hundred people from all parts of the growing industry. Department staff drafted agendas for the meetings, made recommendations, and supported conference results that paralleled their own thinking, often ignoring those that did not. Each conference concluded with ever stronger pleas to Congress to replace the obsolete and limited Radio Act of 1912 with something specifically designed for broadcasting.

At the same time, Hoover's department slowly expanded the number of frequencies available for broadcast station use—from only one in 1920 to three channels by August 1922

and the beginnings of a band of continuous frequencies in mid-1923. By April 1927, most of the present AM band had been so allocated. But Hoover and the department were doing this largely on their own initiative, as the Radio Act of 1912 provided little guidance and gave the secretary no discretion.

That lack of regulatory discretion eventually halted his activity, laudable though everyone agreed that it was. When Hoover sought to rein in what he saw as renegade stations that changed frequency, power, or location, thus adding to interference problems, he lost. A 1926 Chicago case held that he lacked the authority to issue such orders—the Radio Act merely allowed the department to issue licenses. Adding to the bleak picture, the U.S. Attorney General issued an advisory opinion that Hoover had largely exceeded his authority under the 1912 Act. It was clear that Congress would have to take action on new legislation.

Hoover often used the term "public interest" in reference to radio. He asserted that radio had become a "public concern impressed with the public trust" and that its use should be considered primarily "from the standpoint of the public interest to the same extent and on the same basis of the same general principles as our other public utilities." Use of this language by Hoover and his staff helped Congress to settle on the phrase "public interest, convenience, or necessity" in the 1927 Radio Act. Hoover stated often and consistently that broadcast regulation must: (1) establish service to the public as its paramount characteristic; (2) avoid monopoly in the control of facilities but not restrict necessary growth; (3) prohibit censorship by either private parties or groups or the government; (4) sustain broadcasting as an area for free and full development by private enterprise; and (5) be subject only to the degree of regulation necessary to protect the public against abuses.

Through trial and error, the essential ingredients of the regulatory scheme embodied in the Act of 1927 were refined during the daily operations of the Bureau of Navigation and Standards of the Department of Commerce. The new legislation that finally passed was greatly influenced by the philosophy expressed and promoted by Secretary Hoover and was a reflection of his general influence in government and of the respect with which he was viewed.

MARVIN BENSMAN

See also Dill, Clarence C.; Frequency Allocation; Public Interest, Convenience, or Necessity; Regulation; United States Congress and Radio; White, Wallace H.; Wireless Acts of 1910 and 1912/Radio Acts of 1912 and 1927



Herbert Hoover (left), 1939
 Courtesy CBS Photo Archive

Herbert Clark Hoover. Born in West Branch, Iowa, 10 August 1874. Graduate of first four-year class of Stanford University, 1895; organized assistance for U.S. citizens stranded in London at start of World War I, 1914; organized Commission for Relief of Belgium, 1914–17; appointed Food Administrator by President Wilson, 1917; organized European Children's Relief Agency and campaigned for League of Nations, 1921; became Secretary of Commerce, 1921; served as 31st President of the United States, 1928–32; lost presidential election to Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1932; active in public service as leader of Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch of Government under Presidents Truman and Eisenhower, 1947–49 and 1952–55; received numerous honors from broadcast

industry for his role in the development of the U.S. system of broadcasting. Died in New York City, 20 October 1964.

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Hope, Bob 1903-2003

U.S. Comedian and Actor

Recognized for his versatility in vaudeville, on Broadway, in films, and on television, and for his USO performances for military troops around the world, Bob Hope is also remembered for his contributions to radio, where he starred in variety programs for a decade. In company with comedian Jack Benny and ventriloquist Edgar Bergen, Hope was consistently listed among the top ten network radio shows during World War II, perhaps because such programs helped audiences to forget the serious world outside.

Although Hope initially rejected radio because he thought it "would never amount to anything," Henderson (1988) remarks that Hope's "crackling, one-liner patter suited radio and he soon became one of the most popular performers on the air." His radio appearances on Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) and National Broadcasting Company (NBC) radio were memorable because of his non-sequiturs and barbed monologues that he had honed in vaudeville and on Broadway.

In May 1937 Hope signed a 26-week contract for the *Woodbury Soap Show*, broadcast from New York. Later that same year, when he traveled to Hollywood to film *The Big Broadcast*, he continued the show on a transcontinental hookup. After the Woodbury program, he was signed to *Your Hollywood Parade*, which originated in California. By the time he signed to work with Paramount, the show blended with his plans, enabling him to fulfill the demands of both film and radio. It was during this period that he developed his trademark topical joke and monologue. Morella (1973) says the tone for the radio shows would be set by the breezy, irreverent monologue, heavily spiced with pointed allusions to current affairs. During the airing of one show, Hope was clocked at seven jokes per minute. To help maintain the frenetic radio

pace, he had as many as a dozen writers producing about 150 jokes a week just to fill his three-minute monologue and four-minute guest spot. *The Bob Hope Pepsodent Show* was the top-rated radio program of 1944.

Among the many techniques Hope used to become a major radio entertainer was his arranging for an ongoing feud with singer Bing Crosby. They pretended dislike for one another over Hope's envy of Crosby's wealth, singing ability, and status as leading man. Thompson (1981) says that the early radio broadcasts of the Pepsodent Show from 1938-1948 established a pattern to the Hope-Crosby relationship: Crosby was the archetypal city slicker and Hope the brash country bumpkin who was always being used but somehow managed to come out right in the end. Hope's efforts at ridicule sometimes backfired, however. For instance, in an episode in which Hope pretended to kill his sidekick Jerry Colonna (who was playing the part of Santa Claus), the level of negative reaction was so intense that for a short time the sponsoring Pepsodent company considered canceling the show. Colonna was an important part of Hope's radio broadcasts that audiences associated with the show, in addition to orchestra leader Skinnay Ennis and the vocal group Six Hits and a Miss.

When World War II began, Hope tried to enlist but was told he could better serve as an entertainer. With his USO troupe he made trips to Sicily, Britain, Alaska, North Africa, and the South Pacific. He was the mainstay of the Armed Forces Radio Service (AFRS), the network of stations the army and navy set up in the European and Pacific war theaters, and he performed regularly on such AFRS programs heard only by military personnel, such as *Command Performance*, *Mail Call*, and *GI Journal*.



Bob Hope
Courtesy of NBC

After the war, both the critics and the public began to desert Hope and his new sponsor, Lever Brothers. Some criticism was directed at the sameness of Hope's material; "the old zing was missing," writes Morella. In 1948 Hope dropped two of his best-known associates, Colonna and Vera Vague. However, in 1953 a move to morning radio and new sponsor General Foods landed Hope a \$2 million contract, the biggest single-season deal in radio history to that date. Morella explains that, although Hope's experiment with daytime radio was successful and his show lasted for five years, he eventually decided to stop bucking the tide. Radio listeners preferred music and talk shows; radio comedy had lost its appeal.

With the decline of network radio, Hope was one of a number of CBS stars (others included Groucho Marx, Kate Smith, and Ed Wynn) who were lured to NBC television in 1948–49. After doing stand-up humor and slapstick sketches on several programs, Hope was able to add a visual dimension to his established radio format and his own *Bob Hope Show* made its debut in 1952.

Unlike Hope's *Pepsodent Show*, his television work was confined mostly to monthly specials, particularly his Christmas shows for service personnel in remote areas. Schulman and Youman (1966) note that his popularity and acceptance were such that whoops of laughter greeted his barbed comments on social and political problems—comments that, from another comedian, might have been considered a breach of taste and manners.

The basic format of Hope's comedy shows—a monologue followed by sketches with other guest stars—remained unchanged since his radio days in the 1930s. The passing years diminished neither the polish nor the exuberance of his performance. When he was honored by the Kennedy Center in 1985 for his mastery of television, film, and radio, it was estimated that, during seven decades in show business, he had been seen and heard by more people than any other entertainer on earth. A resolution passed by the U.S. Congress in October 1997 declared Hope "a part of American folklore."

ALF PRATTE

See also Comedy; Crosby, Bing; Hollywood and Radio

Bob Hope. Born Leslie Townes Hope in Eltham, England, 29 May 1903. Moved to United States, 1907; raised in Cleveland, Ohio; fought briefly as amateur boxer; worked in vaudeville, and theaters across country; appeared in first Broadway show, 1927; first radio appearance on *Capital Family Hour*, 1932; first movie appearance in *The Big Broadcast of 1938*; first TV show, *The Bob Hope Show*, 1952; appeared in over 50 films; president, American Guild of Variety Artists, 1953. Received Oscars for humanitarian work, Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, 1940, 1944, 1952, 1959, 1965; Peabody Award for three decades of broadcasting, 1968; Presidential

Medal of Freedom, 1969. Died in Toluca Lake, California, 27 July 2003.

Radio Series

- 1937 *Woodbury Soap Show*
- 1938 *Your Hollywood Parade*
- 1938–48 *The Bob Hope Pepsodent Show*

Television Series

- The Bob Hope Special*, 1950–51; *The Colgate Comedy Hour*, 1952–53; *The Bob Hope Show*, 1952–56; *The Bob Hope Christmas Special*, 1954–74; *Academy Awards* (master of ceremonies), 1960–75; *Bob Hope Presents the Chrysler Hour*, 1963–67

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Horror Programs

Horror programs occasionally featured classic monsters like vampires and werewolves, but more often were home to the walking dead, disembodied spirits, or unique creations. In the 1940s, *Inner Sanctum's* no-holds-barred formula set the standard, and its “creaking door” is one of radio’s best-remembered icons. Listeners never knew what would happen on *Inner Sanctum* or who would be the next victim. In many cases, the episode’s narrator turned out to be the murderer! As John Dunning observes, “without benefit of the guilty knowledge, the listener was recruited as the killer’s sidekick.”

Origins

The real origins of radio horror can be found in the 1930s, but like all popular phenomena, the trend did not occur in isolation. Dime novels had been popular since before the turn of the century, and their direct descendants, the pulp magazines, had become increasingly lurid throughout the 1920s and early 1930s.

Pulps like *Weird Tales* displayed fantastic, horrific, and just plain odd cover images. The March 1923 *Weird Tales* cover, illustrating the story “Ooze,” depicts a tentacled, shadowy figure. Horned devils (October 1925), fiendish dwarves (March 1926), wolf-women (September 1927), treacherous druids (October 1930), and monstrous gorillas (September 1929) were common. Stories included Carl Jacobi’s “Mive” (January 1932), about carnivorous butterflies, and H.P. Lovecraft’s stories of unnamable, lurking monstrosities and rats inside walls. Horror was certainly in the air when Universal Studios inaugurated its series of “monster movies” with 1931’s *Dracula* and *Frankenstein*.

Radio’s *Collier Hour* serialized stories of Fu Manchu in 1929, complete with menacing fungus and poisonous green mist. “The Shadow” first appeared as a nameless narrator on the *Street & Smith Detective Story Magazine Hour* but would reincarnate in his own program, as an adventurer “with the power to cloud men’s minds.” Research is now uncovering isolated references to early 1930s horror programs, but the first significant horror program was *The Witch’s Tale*, which began on New York’s WOR on 28 May 1931.

Written by Alonzo Deen Cole, the series derived from the folk tale tradition. “Old Nancy, the witch of Salem,” began by gathering listeners around her fire. “A hunnert and fifteen year old” (her age changed frequently), she sat with “Satan, her wise black cat,” inviting listeners to “turn out them lights” and “gaze into the embers” as she wove her tales. Old Nancy’s dialect and stories are “straight from the Middle Ages,” as Dunning notes. The supernatural dominates, as ghosts seek vengeance, tombs are defiled, and curses are cast. Caucasians

laugh at “silly native superstitions” in “Spirits of the Lake” and “The Boa Goddess,” only to die horribly. Cole adapted legends like “The Flying Dutchman” and even tackled Mary Shelly’s *Frankenstein*. In “The Bronze Venus,” a man dies in the arms of a living bronze statue, and in “The Troth of Death,” a man betrays his lover, only to be doomed to spend eternity chained to a cemetery.

Nationally syndicated in 1934, the program survived at least half a dozen incarnations. (Ironically, one of the best and most popular surviving *Witch’s Tale* episodes, “Four Fingers and a Thumb,” originated in Australia.) Adelaide Fitz-Allen, Martha Wentworth, and 13-year-old Miriam Wolfe provided Old Nancy’s voice.

In 1934, Wyllis Cooper created *Lights Out* for Chicago’s WENR, drastically changing the tone of radio horror. Creative sound effects embellished imaginative nightmares, like people turned inside out, or the “Chicken Heart,” which grows to monstrous size. In “Murder Castle,” a killer suffocates. “Snake Woman” gains revenge with trained serpents. A chemist discovers “Oxychloride X,” a chemical that eats through anything. By 1939, writer Arch Oboler turned to more mainstream fare, claiming that he couldn’t keep on topping his own horror stories.

The Hermit’s Cave originated in 1935 on Detroit’s WJR. It was syndicated nationally by the 1940s, with a later West Coast version. The Hermit (played variously by John Kent, Klock Ryder, Toby Gremmer, and Charles Penman, who also directed) was a cackling counterpart to Old Nancy. He spoke over howling winds, promising “Ghost stories! Weirrrrrd stories! And murders, too! The hermit knows of them all!” Detroit acting troupe “The Mummies” produced ghost stories like “A Haunted House,” witchcraft tales like “The Red Mark,” and grisly fare like “The Vampire’s Desire.”

By the mid 1930s, local stations were anxious to cash in with programs like WKY’s *Dark Fantasy*, which broadcast from Oklahoma City. Network “Creepy hosts” like Ted Osborne can be heard on two surviving episodes of *The Black Chapel*, while Charles Penman hosted *The Devil’s Scrapbook* in 1938. Others like *The Devil’s Roost* and *The Witching Hour* no longer exist.

Inner Sanctum Mysteries began on 7 January 1941. “Raymond” was a new model for the “creepy host,” and *Inner Sanctum* incorporated both strands of previous horror programming—Old Nancy’s melodramatic supernatural tales and *Lights Out’s* explicit detail—and added its own unique flavor. Shamelessly theatrical, *Inner Sanctum* resorted to any melodramatic device to engage the listener. Background screams and sudden appearances of characters thought dead were common. Best of all, Raymond relished puns. He professed to keep

a "happy medium around to keep in the right . . . spirit." Raymond's moral of an ax murderer story was "Knife can be beautiful . . . if you look out for people with an ax to grind. They may be trying to get a HEAD of you."

Many non-horror series contained occasional genre trappings during their run. Orson Welles had famously adapted *Dracula* in 1938, and his *War of the Worlds* adaptation frightened thousands. The high profile *Suspense* adapted H.P. Lovecraft's *The Dunwich Horror*, and in "The Diary of Sophronia Winters," Agnes Moorehead's character wallops Ray Collins in the head with an axe. A werewolf stalks "The House in Cypress Canyon."

The Shadow fought monsters like "The Gibbering Things" and "The Weird Sisters" (both written by Alonzo Deen Cole), and *The Hound of the Baskervilles* was periodically reincarnated in *The New Adventures of Sherlock Holmes*. Beginning in 1939, the best-remembered serial adventure, *I Love a Mystery*, depicted gruesome murders and (apparently) supernatural menaces. Jack, Doc, and Reggie often encountered weird horrors like "Temple of the Vampires" or the "Monster in the Mansion," which involved an arm amputation and a headless black cat. A slasher roams the halls as a ghostly baby cries in "The Thing That Cries in the Night."

Still, *Inner Sanctum's* influence dominated, as new narrator/hosts appeared on other programs. *Suspense* was introduced by "The Man in Black," and by 1942 even a crime melodrama like *The Whistler* featured a nameless host. *The Mysterious Traveler* (Maurice Tarplin) rode a ghostly train, inviting listeners to join "another journey into the strange and terrifying." The Traveler told science fiction (insects seek revenge), ghost stories (haunted honeymoon cottage), and originals like "Behind the Locked Door." In this gem, trapped archaeologists discover sightless, horribly mutated descendants of a lost wagon train. *The Strange Dr. Weird*, who lived "on the other side of the cemetery," was a 15-minute version of *The Mysterious Traveler* and was also voiced by Maurice Tarplin.

A 1942 *Lights Out* revival had new narration, droned by Arch Oboler: "It-is-later-than-you-think." (The original *Lights Out* Chicago series began more effectively with "This is the witching hour. An hour when dogs howl, and evil is let loose on a sleeping world.") *The Haunting Hour's* opening was similar to the *Lights Out* original, with "Stay where you are! Do not break the stillness of this moment!" but the scripts were *Inner Sanctum* rewrites. *The Sealed Book* from 1945 sounded like *The Hermit's Cave*, as Philip Clarke, "The Keeper of the Book," unlocked "the great padlock," revealing "all the secrets and mysteries of mankind through the ages." Astonishingly, Don Douglas provided all the voices on *The Black Castle*.

Mystery in the Air, a 1947 summer replacement series with oily-voiced Peter Lorre, adapted classics like "The Tell-tale Heart," "The Black Cat," and "The Horla." Lorre's effective

performances usually ended with his screaming insanely. Willis Cooper returned with one of the finest horror/fantasy programs in 1947. *Quiet, Please* was surrealistic, lyrical and subdued. In "Let the Lillies Consider," Cooper asked, "What if plant life could think . . . and plot against us?" A resurrected god appears in "Whence Came You?" and something perches atop an oil rig in "The Thing on the Fourble Board." Each week, the *Quiet, Please* host signed off with, "I'm quietly yours, Ernest Chappell."

The Hall of Fantasy, originally broadcast from Salt Lake City's KALL, was revived by producer/director/writer Richard Thorne for Chicago's WGN in 1949. The show began with sounds of footsteps on wet concrete and featured unusually excellent production values, adapting Poe's "The Cask of Amontillado" and J. Sheridan LeFanu's "Green Tea." Thorne also contributed originals like "The Hand of Botar," in which a man develops intelligence in his right hand, and "The Jewels of Kali," in which a bizarre four-armed body searches the world for four mystical rubies.

Himan Brown's *CBS Radio Mystery Theater* adapted Poe and Shelly in the 1970s and 1980s, and similar radio programming continues today. Recreations are popular at conventions, and amateur groups often mix horror programs and science fiction productions. Still, as Hollywood movies feature increasingly realistic digital effects, it remains for new talents to harness the imagination with the aural medium and convincingly recreate the horror genre on radio.

DIXON H. CHANDLER II

See also Brown, Himan; *I Love a Mystery*; *Inner Sanctum Mysteries*; *Lights Out*; *Oboler, Arch*; *The Shadow*; *Suspense*; *War of the Worlds*

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Hottelet, Richard C. 1917–

U.S. News Correspondent

One of the legendary “Murrow boys,” Richard Curt Hottelet served as a radio correspondent for Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) News during World War II. Edward R. Murrow hired the 26-year-old Hottelet in January 1944. He worked for CBS from 1944 until 1985, as both a radio and a television reporter.

Of German descent, Hottelet was born on 22 September 1917 in New York. During the Depression, his father lost his import-export business, and his family moved around frequently. After Hottelet graduated with a B.A. degree in philosophy from Brooklyn College in 1937, he had no clear-cut career ambitions, so his father suggested that he go to Berlin to study and live with a family relative. After he saw his philosophy professor at the University of Berlin greeting students with the Nazi salute, Hottelet tried out several other classes before dropping out altogether. Though he held no real interest in becoming a journalist, the United Press hired him as a stringer, and eventually he became a full-time correspondent. Along with another future “Murrow boy,” Howard K. Smith, Hottelet worked at the United Press’ Berlin bureau from the late 1930s until 1941.

Hottelet became a seasoned reporter in his early 20s. He covered Germany’s marches into the Sudetenland and later into Belgium and France by the time he was 22; he also witnessed the Dunkerque evacuation. His penchant for investigating the aftermaths of British bombing raids in Berlin and his “unconcealed abhorrence of Nazism” caught the attention and ire of the Gestapo (Bliss, 1991). He already had been taken into custody and questioned after phoning in a story on the deporting of Jews. Hottelet’s girlfriend, Ann Delafield (whom he later married), worked at the British passport control office in Spain, and she had formerly worked at the British embassy in Berlin. The Gestapo arrested Hottelet for espionage and charged him with sending German secrets to his girlfriend in Spain (Cloud and Olson, 1996).

The only American reporter arrested by the Gestapo, Hottelet spent four months in jail in 1941, in Alexanderplatz and

Moabit prisons, where he was threatened with execution. His arrest became a *cause célèbre* back in the United States. He was finally released in July 1941, along with another reporter, in exchange for the U.S. release of two German spies. After returning to the United States, Hottelet worked at the United Press’ Washington bureau and then for the Office of War Information (OWI) in London. Hottelet’s duties at the OWI included making broadcasts in German and writing propaganda leaflets that were dropped over Germany.

Hottelet resigned from the OWI in December 1943. He later described his decision: “I felt that government service was not for me and asked Ed Murrow for a job. He was thinking about building up the staff for the events of 1944, and in January I joined CBS” (quoted in Bliss, 1991). Murrow had already known him by that time. Hottelet was the youngest of the Murrow boys, and the most conservative in his personal views (Cloud and Olson, 1996).

As the newest of Murrow’s crack reporting team, Hottelet covered the D-Day landing from a B-26 Marauder bomber while reporting on the Ninth Air Force. His was the first news report made at the beginning of the Battle of the Bulge in December 1944; he covered the U.S. First Division, popularly known as the Big Red One. In March 1945, Hottelet covered Operation Varsity from an unarmed B-17 bomber with other reporters, photographers, and observers and had to bail out after the plane was hit.

As did other war correspondents, Hottelet saw firsthand the Nazi death camps in 1945. In April of that year, he was the first to report on the monumental meeting of the U.S. and Russian armies at the Elbe River. Among his other exploits, Hottelet went into Berlin on 4 May 1945, against military regulations; Russian soldiers detained him for a short time.

After the war’s end, Hottelet’s reporting assignments took him to Moscow, New York, and Philadelphia. In 1951, he went back to Europe, with an assignment in Bonn. When CBS decided to combine its radio and television divisions into one



Richard Hottelet
Courtesy CBS Photo Archive

news department in 1954, Hottelet became a television correspondent. Starting in 1957, Hottelet anchored *The CBS Morning News*; his stint lasted four years before CBS changed the program's format. Hottelet became well known for his expertise in reporting international stories; he was assigned to the United Nations in 1960 and anchored a special report on the

1967 war in the Middle East. He served as editor of the volume on the United Nations in *The Dynamics of World Power* series.

Just as he was the last of the Murrow boys hired, Hottelet was also the last to leave CBS. He retired from the network in October 1985, around the time of the cutbacks that occurred at CBS in the mid-1980s. However, Hottelet has remained

active in the world of international affairs. In addition to having served as the spokesperson for the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, he returned to radio in 1993 as moderator of *America and the World*, an interview show sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations that aired on National Public Radio (NPR). In 1995 Hottetlet served as the NPR representative on a panel program concerning President Franklin D. Roosevelt and radio, which aired on C-SPAN. His expertise in analyzing foreign affairs found several media outlets well into the end of the century; during the 1990s he narrated a series of audiobooks on political hot spots around the world and continued to write on foreign affairs for the *Christian Science Monitor* into the early 2000s.

ERIKA ENGSTROM

See also Murrow, Edward R.; National Public Radio; News; Office of War Information; World War II and U.S. Radio

Richard Curt Hottetlet. Born in New York City, 22 September 1917. Attended Brooklyn College, B.A. in philosophy, 1937. Started as stringer and then became United Press correspondent, Berlin, Germany, 1938–41; only U.S. reporter arrested by the Gestapo, 1941; worked in UP Washington bureau, 1942; U.S. Office of War Information, London,

England, 1941–43; radio and television correspondent, originally hired by Edward R. Murrow, CBS TV and radio, 1944–85; host, *America and the World*, National Public Radio, 1993; foreign affairs columnist, *Christian Science Monitor*, late 1990s and as of late 2002.

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Howe, Quincy 1900–1977

U.S. Radio Commentator

In 1939 Quincy Howe began broadcasting news and commentary on radio station WQXR in New York. In 1942 he moved to the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), where he helped make analysis an accepted part of news reporting. He was one of the first radio journalists to bring the news of World War II into American homes.

Howe was born on 17 August 1900 in Boston, Massachusetts, to Fanny Howe and Mark Howe, who worked as an editor and a writer at the Atlantic Monthly Company. Howe attended St. George's School in Newport, Rhode Island, and then matriculated to Harvard University, from which he graduated *magna cum laude* in 1921. Howe then studied for a year at Christ's Church, Cambridge University, in England. When he returned to Boston in 1922, he became an editor for *Living Age*, a magazine published by the Atlantic Monthly Company. *Living Age* was sold in 1928, however, and Howe soon moved to New York. Archibald Watson, who had purchased the mag-

azine, hired Howe as editor in chief in 1929. Howe selected articles that were topical and also contributed a regular column about world affairs.

Howe, a Boston liberal, married Mary L. Post, with whom he had two children. He helped get food to striking miners in Harlan County, Kentucky, in 1932. Later that year, he became the director of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), which, under his guidance, opposed censorship. Howe served as director of the ACLU until 1940.

In 1934 Howe published *World Diary: 1929–1934*, an arresting study about the causes of the Great Depression as well as a prediction about the growth of nationalism. A year later he became editor in chief of Simon and Schuster. Under Howe's leadership, the company published more topical non-fiction. In 1937 he published his controversial book *England Expects Every American to Do His Duty*, in which he proposed isolationism for the United States. Howe argued that the



Quincy Howe
 Courtesy CBS Photo Archive

United States should not get involved in another war merely to protect Britain's empire. Politicians on both sides of the Atlantic discussed his ideas. Two years later, he published *Blood Is Cheaper than Water: The Prudent American's Guide to Peace and War*, which examined the differences between isolationists and interventionists.

Howe gained experience on radio in 1938, when he provided analysis of the Munich Agreement for the Mutual Broadcasting System. Then, beginning in 1939, he provided three 15-minute news commentaries a week for WQXR, a radio station in New York. Howe's New England twang and educated opinions were well suited for radio, and his voice became one of the most recognizable for listeners almost immediately. Howe maintained his isolationist views until the United States entered World War II in December 1941.

Howe moved to CBS in 1942. He was hired to do news commentary, and he helped to make commentary an important ingredient of broadcast journalism. Like other notable commentators at the time, Howe wrote his own scripts, each containing about 1,500 words. These scripts contained informed

opinion about newsworthy events, especially about the war in Europe. Howe was able to accomplish the task because he was a professional writer as well as an excellent speaker. He usually opened his analysis with several maxims about world affairs to make his commentaries interesting and coherent. He became known for his insightful analysis. Others who worked in radio viewed him as one of the most authoritative news analysts around, primarily because of his vast knowledge about world affairs. Howe did more than read the news: he informed his listeners as to how national and international events would affect their lives.

Under H.V. Kaltenborn's leadership, Howe and 30 other commentators based in New York helped organize the Association of Radio News Analysts in 1942. The guild advocated that commentators be permitted to comment when presenting news. In 1943 Howe wrote about the power of those who advertised on radio in "Policing the Commentator: A News Analysis," published in the November *Atlantic Monthly*. He warned that advertisers could cause news and commentary to become slanted.

When World War II ended, Howe attempted to enter television. He worked as a commentator on the CBS evening news until the network was urged by an advertiser to let him go because he was too bombastic and too liberal. Howe was dropped from the evening news, but he continued to work as a reporter and narrator of documentaries for the network. In 1948, for instance, he covered the Republican and Democratic national conventions.

In 1949 he published the first volume of his three-volume history of the 20th century, *A World History of Our Times* (the last volume appeared in 1972). Later that year he left CBS and taught journalism at the University of Illinois until 1954; he left when the American Broadcasting Companies (ABC) hired him. At ABC Howe covered world affairs. In addition, he moderated the last presidential debate between John F. Kennedy and Richard M. Nixon in 1960 as well as the trial of Adolf Eichmann in Israel a year later. He received several awards, including the George Foster Peabody Award and the Overseas Press Club Award, for his work in broadcast journalism.

In addition to his work for ABC, Howe contributed articles to the *Saturday Review of Literature* and other magazines. In 1961 he became the editor of *Atlas: The Magazine of the World Press*, a monthly that featured articles from the foreign press. He served as editor until 1965. Howe died in 1977.

EDD APPLGATE

See also Commentators; News; Peabody Awards

Quincy Howe. Born in Boston, Massachusetts, 17 August 1900. Served in U.S. Marine Corps, SATC, Harvard Unit, 1918; attended Harvard University, A.B. degree (magna cum

laude), 1921; studied at Christ's College, Cambridge University, England, 1921–22; staff member, *Atlantic Monthly*, 1922–29; editor, *Living Age*, 1929–35; editor-in-chief, Simon and Schuster, 1935–42; news commentator, WQXR, New York, 1939–42; news commentator, Columbia Broadcasting System radio and television, 1942–50; associate professor of journalism and news analyst for WILL, University of Illinois, Urbana, 1950–54; news analyst, ABC, 1954–63; editor, *Atlas: The Magazine of the World Press*, New York, 1961–65; news analyst, Radio New York Worldwide, 1966–70; commentator, WTFM, New York, 1973–74; contributing editor, *Atlas World Press Review*, New York, 1974–77. Received George Foster Peabody award, 1955; Overseas Press Club award, 1959; Columbia-Catherwood award, 1962. Died in New York City, 17 February 1977.

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Hulbert, Maurice "Hot Rod" Jr. 1916–1996

U.S. Disc Jockey

Maurice "Hot Rod" Hulbert Jr. was one of the most popular black disc jockeys in radio during the 1950s and 1960s. For a period during his heyday, he could be heard hosting different programs on radio stations in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York. His fluid and at times nonsensical on-air patter and high profile in the black broadcasting world helped him inspire a generation of black disc jockeys who came of age in the late 1950s and the 1960s.

Hulbert was also one of America's pioneering black disc jockeys, joining WDIA in Memphis, Tennessee, as it was evolving into the nation's first all-black-oriented radio station. Before arriving at WDIA in 1949, Hulbert had worked as a dancer, comedian, bandleader, and emcee in various mid-South nightclubs and traveling tent shows. Hulbert also helped produce musicals with black students in the Memphis school system, and it was while working on one such production that WDIA's general manager, Bert Ferguson, approached him about working at the station. The meeting led to a job, and soon Hulbert was hosting three shows for WDIA: *The Sepia Swing Club*, an afternoon blues and jazz show; *The Delta Melodies*, an early-morning program of spiritual music;

and *Moods by Maurice*, a midmorning program tailored to housewives.

At WDIA Hulbert became increasingly adept at switching personas as each show required. On his *Sepia Swing Club*, he became "Hot Rod," describing for listeners his rocket ship on which they would be flown through a solar system of hot music. Listeners to the *Sepia Swing Club* responded enthusiastically, as did those who were charmed by the suave "Maurice the Mood Man" on the *Moods by Maurice* program. By 1951 Hot Rod prepared to board his rocket ship for a galaxy in a larger market called Baltimore.

The management of WITH in Baltimore had cast its net for a popular established black disc jockey to pull in black listeners, and after a national search, they had located Hulbert, whose high ratings in Memphis confirmed his popularity. WITH hired him in 1951, making him the first full-time black disc jockey in Baltimore history. The Hot Rod-rocket man persona followed Hulbert to Baltimore, and almost immediately the rhythm and blues music shows he hosted became popular among young blacks and whites. Listeners enjoyed Hot Rod's outer-space persona as well as the tongue twisters and slick

shtick that he rained on Baltimore. They had never heard such on-air wildness before. With good-natured bravado, he might greet the city with, "Not the flower, not the root, but the seed, sometimes called the herb, not the imitator but the originator, the innovator, the true living legend—The Rod!" In addition, he peppered his on-air patter with extra, nonsensical sounds, for example, *ee-us*, as in "This is Hee-us-ot Ree-us-od." This jive complemented the music he played and tickled the ears of his listeners. He ended many programs and pronouncements by proclaiming "VOSA," which meant the "Voice of Sound Advice."

By the late 1950s, Hot Rod moved on to WHAT in Philadelphia where, in his morning time slot, he repeated his Baltimore success. It was in Philadelphia that he became a three-market personality. WWRL in New York, hoping to grab some of Hulbert's luster, paid him to commute to Manhattan for an afternoon show, and then WWIN in Baltimore asked him to tape a program for broadcast there. Few, if any, black disc jockeys enjoyed such exposure in the 1950s and 1960s.

Hot Rod was back in Baltimore exclusively by the late 1960s, hosting a popular live show, first on his old home station WITH and then on WWIN. Hulbert's popularity, particularly among Baltimore's black audiences, was never more evident than during the riots that plagued the city in the wake of Martin Luther King Jr.'s 1968 assassination. Government officials asked the popular local figure to go on television to help calm the violence and tension. "I could get through," he told author Gilbert Williams in 1991, "and I talked to the people, trying to sober them up because people had gone mad. . . . I think many jocks did that all over the country." Hulbert frequently spoke out in advocacy of civil rights for blacks, marching in the streets and discussing related issues on the air.

In the 1970s, Hulbert switched to the sales and management side of radio, working for various Baltimore radio stations. By the time of his retirement in 1993 he was the general

manager of WBGR/WEBB. He died in 1996 after a battle with throat cancer.

MICHAEL STREISSGUTH

See also Black-Oriented Radio; Disk Jockeys; WDIA

Maurice Hulbert, Jr. Born in Helena, Arkansas, 30 July 1916. Senior disc jockey on several radio stations, including WDIA, Memphis, Tennessee, 1949–51; became first full-time African-American disc jockey, WITH, Baltimore, Maryland, 1951–late 50s; simultaneous disc jockey positions, WWIN (Baltimore, Maryland), WHAT (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania), WWRL (New York City), 1950s–60s; disc jockey, WITH, then WWIN, Baltimore, Maryland, late 1960s; worked in sales and management for various Baltimore radio stations, including WKTK, WWIN, and WBGR/WEBB, 1974–93; became general manager of WGBR/WEBB, Baltimore, Maryland, 1993. Died in Towson, Maryland, 24 December 1996.

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Hummert, Anne 1905–1996 Hummert, Frank 1885–1966

U.S. Writers and Producers, Creators of Soap Operas

Anne and Frank Hummert nearly monopolized the creation of radio daytime serials—soap operas—in the 1930s and 1940s. Working within an advertising agency, they took advantage of the advertiser's interest, the new medium, the available audience, and the era. The Hummerts were not the

creators of the first soap opera, a form that evolved over a few years, but they were responsible for molding the genre and moving soap operas from evening to daytime, convincing advertisers that women could listen to radio while they were doing their housework. The Hummerts provided programming

that included advertising and propaganda (the latter including messages supporting government policies during World War II) plus entertainment for as much as half of daytime network; they also originated sponsored children's programming and many other programs.

Despite speaking to so many people for decades, the Hummerts maintained a very private, secluded life, leaving few biographical details. Frank is reputed to have been a Texas Ranger, a reporter on the *St. Louis Dispatch*, a manager of a writing school, and then a highly regarded copywriter in New York City. He is credited with coming up with the idea of writing advertising as feature news, having written the slogan "Bonds or Bondage" during World War I and Camay's slogan, "For the skin you love to touch." Blackett and Sample lured Frank Hummert away from the Lord and Thomas agency in New York to Chicago with the opportunity to set up his own radio production unit in 1927. Although Hummert was not a partner in the agency, his name was put on the masthead and he retained ownership of all the programs he produced. Hill Blackett and John Glen Sample were interested in attracting clients by providing programming for women during the day, and to get their desired audience's perspective they encouraged Frank Hummert to hire a woman. Anne S. Ashenurst had just come from a newspaper job with the *Paris Herald*, had a young son, and was looking for a job. Frank reluctantly hired her in 1927. Anne was a very deft writer and was able to communicate with Frank. They married after seven years, and were partners in producing serials for three decades.

After Pepsodent's success with the daily 15-minute program *Amos 'n' Andy*, other writers attempted to produce popular evening serials. As advertisers, Frank and Anne Hummert had program ideas for their clients and hired their writers. It was one way both to control the content and also to produce many hours. In 1931 Anne Ashenurst and Frank Hummert hired Charles Andrews to write *The Stolen Husband*, a very simple program that was then adapted to become *Betty and Bob*. Their first success was *Just Plain Bill* in 1932, also written by Andrews, and Anne convinced the sponsors to move it to daytime in 1933, arguing that women would be able to listen while doing their chores. Within a few years the Hummerts had as many as 18 daytime serial dramas on the air at the same time, bringing in as much as one-half of network daytime revenues.

The Hummerts used a technique that many have called a soap opera factory to produce the programs. By 1935 the Hummerts had moved their agency to New York City and had a staff of about 20 writers, 6 editors, and 60 clerical workers. Anne and Frank worked out of their house in Connecticut, first creating the title and the rough summary for each show. The staff in the office expanded this, and then the Hummerts created the story line, a sketch of the action for five to six episodes. The Hummerts then sent the theme and story line to five

writers, called dialoguers, who would produce sample scripts, with the best script winning the writing job. The writer would then have to stay at least three weeks ahead at all times. The Hummerts would relay any ideas they had for character and plot development to the writer through one of the six editors—all in writing. By 1938 more than 5 million words were being written annually for the Hummert serials alone, the equivalent of 50 full-length novels.

Their control is documented by noting the copy on the first page of all scripts, written in lavender ink: the title followed by the notation that this is a Hummert Radio Feature. The Hummerts gave themselves the credits for the title, original story line, the general supervision of script and production, and ownership. They had a set of rules that covered every eventuality. Nothing could be added in production that was not in the script: no extra sound effects, lest the dialogue not be heard; no overlapping of speeches; and the actors had to have the clearest enunciation—a trait Anne Hummert had herself.

Most of the 36 daytime serials produced by the Hummerts were melodramas about domestic life that moved very slowly and included lengthy advertisements. The Hummerts described them as "successful dramas about unsuccessful people, people who were not wealthy but had successful family lives and were able to help others have good relationships." The themes were often based on relationships of people from different backgrounds, worried about their future happiness. As Anne later said, "Worry, for women, is entertainment. . . . Nobody can understand the phenomenal success of the soaps without knowing when they were born. It was during the Depression. The housewife was at home worrying about everything. Would her husband lose his job? Where was the family's next meal coming from? They found escape in the lives of the people on the soaps."

The format for most of their daytime serials started with a lead-in delivered by the announcer; for example, for *Our Gal Sunday*, the lead-in was, "Can a girl from a little mining town in the West find happiness as the wife of England's richest, most handsome lord?" with "Red River Valley" as theme music. Then the announcer read a chatty commercial for a minute and a half and gave background for this particular program, followed by nine minutes of dialogue, a few leading questions for the next day's show, and a closing commercial. The commercials were written in the problem-solution formula—for example, try new improved Oxydol to make washing easier. Premium promotions were also written in as a means of proving there were large audiences for the advertisers. The offer of a Love Bird Pin just like Helen Trent's with "real simulated-gold flashing," a lavalier designed by Mary Noble, or a can opener said to have been invented by Lorenzo Jones were written into the scripts months ahead. The audience was asked to send in a dime with a box top or some other proof of purchase of one of the advertised products to receive



Anne and Frank Hummert
 Courtesy CBS Photo Archive

the premium. During World War II, at the request of the Office of War Information, the Hummerts wrote their dramas to help overcome the white soldier's fear of the black soldier and to help the war effort in general. After the war, the Hummerts were two of the few writers who never flinched during the McCarthy Era, continuing their work without any concern about the blacklist.

Some say that the reason the Hummerts led such a secretive life was that they were aware of the disdain held by much of the public for their work. Anne did admit that her son disapproved of her work and told a reporter, "As a matter of fact I sit behind my desk with two black eyes." But they did feel they were writing for audiences all over the country. The Hummerts also produced musical programs and crime dramas and were the first to convince advertisers to sponsor children's programming.

When the networks cut back on programming and the soaps were taken off the air in the early 1950s, the Hummerts retired to travel rather than taking their soaps to television.

MARGOT HARDENBERGH

See also Ma Perkins; Premiums; Soap Opera

Anne Hummert. Born in 1905. Graduated from Goucher College, Baltimore, Maryland, 1925; married John Ashenhurst, 1926–27; writer, *Paris Herald*, 1926; writer, Blackett, Sample and Hummert advertising agency, 1927; married Frank Hummert, 1934; co-producer of 36 radio serials. Died in New York City, 5 July 1996.

Frank Hummert. Born circa 1885. Reporter, *St. Louis Dispatch*; copywriter, Chicago, 1920s; worked in New York

City for Lord and Thomas agency; writer for Blackett and Sample when he hired Anne as his assistant; firm became Blackett-Sample-Hummert, although Hummert had no interest in the firm; married Anne Ashenhurst, 1934; started Air Features, a radio production company, where he and Anne produced more than 35 different radio series. Died in New York City, 1966.

Radio Series

- | | | | |
|---------|---|---------|---|
| 1931-51 | <i>American Album of Familiar Music</i> | 1939-42 | <i>Orphans of Divorce</i> |
| 1932 | <i>The Stolen Husband</i> | 1940-46 | <i>Amanda of Honey Moon Hill</i> |
| 1932-35 | <i>Skippy</i> | 1941-44 | <i>Helpmate</i> |
| 1932-40 | <i>Betty and Bob</i> | 1941-48 | <i>American Melody Hour</i> |
| 1932-49 | <i>Manhattan Merry-Go-Round</i> | 1941-54 | <i>Front Page Farrell</i> |
| 1932-55 | <i>Just Plain Bill; Judy and Jane</i> | 1943-50 | <i>Lora Lawton</i> |
| 1933-48 | <i>Waltz Time</i> | 1944-48 | <i>The Strange Romance of Evelyn Winters</i> |
| 1933-60 | <i>Ma Perkins; The Romance of Helen Trent</i> | 1948-51 | <i>Molle Mystery Theater</i> (also produced as <i>Mystery Theater</i> , with spin offs known as <i>Mark Sabre</i> and <i>Hearthstone of the Death Squad</i>) |
| 1934-36 | <i>Lavender and Old Lace</i> | 1950-51 | <i>Nona from Nowhere</i> |
| 1935-38 | <i>Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch</i> | | |
| 1935-59 | <i>Backstage Wife</i> | | |
| 1936-37 | <i>Rich Man's Darling</i> | | |
| 1936-41 | <i>John's Other Wife</i> | | |
| 1936-51 | <i>David Harum</i> | | |
| 1937-42 | <i>Arnold Grimm's Daughter</i> | | |
| 1937-46 | <i>Second Husband</i> | | |
| 1937-55 | <i>Lorenzo Jones; Mr. Keen, Tracer of Lost Persons; Stella Dallas</i> | | |
| 1937-59 | <i>Our Gal Sunday</i> | | |
| 1938-39 | <i>Alias Jimmy Valentine; Central City; Those Happy Gilmans</i> | | |
| 1938-56 | <i>Young Widder Brown</i> | | |

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I

I Love a Mystery

Adventure/Mystery Thriller Series

Though relatively short-lived (five years in its original run with a three-year revival based on the original scripts), *I Love a Mystery* (*ILAM*) continued its hold on radio aficionados for several decades after it aired. This was due in part to its creator and writer—Carleton E. Morse—but also to the wide-ranging nature of the adventures of the three key characters.

The Radio Serial

A serial with dozens of continuing stories that were usually presented in three-week units for a total of 1,784 episodes, the program varied from 15-minute to half-hour segments depending on the network carrying it. The program was more of an adventure/thriller than a classic detective story, despite its detective agency basis. *ILAM* originated in Hollywood for its original five-year run, moving to New York when the Mutual Broadcast System reused all but five of the original scripts (and added one new script) with a new cast. Adding to later collector confusion, the Mutual series often used different story titles. Though audition tapes were made in 1954 for a revival on CBS, that series never materialized.

In the program, Jack Packard, a one-time medical student, is head of the Triple A-1 Detective Agency, located “just off Hollywood Boulevard and one flight up,” whose motto is “no job too tough, no mystery too baffling.” At 37, he is older than the other staff members and is clearly the most cool-headed and clear thinking under pressure. His fellow-adventurers include the Texas-born roughneck “Doc” Long, who loves women and adventure in about that order. The third member of the original trio is Britisher Reggie Yorke, who is refined but also serves as the group’s muscle. These original protagonists met in China while fighting the Japanese, and they took over an abandoned detective agency on returning to the United States.

Yorke was written out of the series in 1942 when the actor portraying him took his own life. His character was replaced

with distaff interest in the form of handsome secretary Jerry Booker. When she joins the WACs during World War II, her secretarial role is taken on by Mary Kay Brown.



Carlton E. Morse, writer-producer of *I Love A Mystery*, working with soundperson
Courtesy CBS Photo Archive

The programs concerned exotic adventures, and while they sometimes had far-fetched aspects, the resolution of the stories was always rational and realistic. Each segment ended with a cliff-hanger situation designed to bring listeners back regularly. Unlike many serials, a given ILAM story ended before another began.

ILAM in Other Media

Three movies (only the first with a script by Morse) were developed from the series, and a 1967 television pilot film, *I Love a Mystery*, was made though not shown until 1973. No series resulted. An earlier (1956) attempt to develop a television series had also failed.

Don Sherwood created a short-lived 1960s comic strip based on the stories and characters of the radio series. ILAM creator Carleton E. Morse wrote one related novel and published it before his death; others were planned but did not appear.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also *One Man's Family*

Programming History

NBC West Coast network	January 1939–September 1939
NBC	1939–40
Blue Network	1940–42
CBS	1943–44
Mutual	1949–52

Cast

Jack Packard	Michael Raffetto (1939–44), Russell Thorson (1949–52), Robert Dryden (1952)
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Doc Long	Barton Yarborough (1939–44), Jim Bowles (1949–52)
Reggie Yorke	Walter Paterson (to 1942), Tony Randall (1949–52)
Jerry Booker	Gloria Blondell (after 1942), Athena Lord (1949–52)
Mary Kay Brown	Athena Lord (1949–52)

Creator-Writer-Producer-Director

Carleton E. Morse

Films Based on the Series

I Love a Mystery (1945)

The Devil's Mask (1946)

The Unknown (1946)

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Unofficial I Love a Mystery Page, <www.angelfire.com/on/ilam>

Imus, Don 1940–

U.S. Radio Disc Jockey and Host

Don Imus moved to WNBC New York in 1971 after just three years in radio. After working at stations in California (Palmdale, Stockton, Sacramento), as well as in Cleveland, Ohio, Imus came to the largest market in the U.S. and to the station with the best combination of a low frequency and high power—arguably the biggest station in the United States. Thirty years later, Imus is still at WNBC.

Origins and Early Radio Years

John Donald Imus, Jr., was born 23 July 1940 in Riverside, California, and lived with his family in the nearby town of Perris. While in high school, he lived briefly in Scottsdale and then Prescott, Arizona. Imus wanted to be a popular singer and participated in theater, but he joined the Marine Corps before his

last year of high school. After two years in the military and the failure of a rock band formed with his brother Fred, he worked as a miner in Arizona and for a railroad in California. Using money from an injury lawsuit (and/or the GI bill), he attended the Don Martin School of Broadcasting in Hollywood—then a well-established trade school known for turning out a number of announcers and disc jockeys.

Before graduation, and apparently still owing the school tuition money—which he says he has never paid—Imus got a job at a Palmdale station in the high desert north of Los Angeles. Like most morning DJs, he got attention with stunts like saying he was running for congress in 1968 and holding a press conference—“Put Don Imus on the gravy train.” He quickly moved to KJOI in Stockton, where he apparently completed one course in political science at San Joaquin Delta College. Then he moved to KXOA in Sacramento, began calling his show *Imus in the Morning*, and created outrageous characters such as “Judge Hanging,” “The Reverend Billy Sol Hargis,” and “Crazy Bob,” who presented his own suggestive versions of fairy tales. Imus often used phone calls in his stunts—such as calling a local McDonald’s one morning, identifying himself as a sergeant in the Air National Guard and ordering 1,200 hamburgers to go. Then he confused the manager by specifying, “on 300 hold the mustard but put on plenty of mayonnaise and lettuce.”

Imus began broadcasting in Cleveland in September 1970 and was named by *Billboard* as “the major market DJ of the year.” For many of his more memorable bits, he called people on the phone: asking to buy silver bullets as the Lone Ranger, trying to order a rental car to race in the Indianapolis 500, and saying that he had left his clothes in a hotel phone booth after changing from Clark Kent to Superman and asking that they be returned. Often he talked with women whom he told to “get naked.”

One character, The Reverend Billy Sol Hargis, who sounded much like Billy Graham, was from “The First Church of the Goopy Death and Discount House of Worship, right here in Del Rio, Texas,” and sang “I don’t care if it rain or freezes, long as I’ve got my plastic Jesus riding on the dash board of my car, I can go a 100 miles an hour as long as I got the almighty dollar glued up there by my pair of fuzzy dice.”

Imitating President Lyndon Johnson, Imus explained “Why shouldn’t the Viet Nam war costs 150 billion dollars?” with: “Let Judge Hanging remind you, my fellow Americans, that you pay for what you get. You don’t run down to Sak’s Fifth Avenue and pick up some slick suit for \$29.95 and you don’t wage war for 15 cents. It cost money to dress well and it cost money to kill people.”

An Imus character called “Tricky Dick” sold used cars from 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. Like many other radio comedians, Imus crafted characters that sounded a bit like real life radio



Don Imus
Courtesy of Don Imus

personalities of his youth. Certainly anyone hearing Rev. Hargis was instantly reminded of various paid religious programs from stations across the Mexican border that Imus had heard as a young man in Arizona or while in the Marines at Camp Pendleton.

Cleveland newspaper reviews called Imus “gross, tasteless, vulgar, and nauseating.” But in just a few months the station ranked number one in ratings. In December 1971, Imus was hired by WNBC in New York, which then was an adult contemporary to middle-of-the-road music station.

New York Radio

The transition was not easy. Imus missed many days of work—an average of two days a week in 1973—and later admitted to problems with alcohol and cocaine. Later he said: “I was drunk and coked up for 20 years, it’s a wonder I’m even alive.” In a 1976 interview Imus explained, “I have an aversion to authority, some kind of immaturity . . . it’s just the way I am.” His appeal, he assumed, was to those many people who rose each morning thinking that they would like to “take their job and shove it,” as a song of the time put it.

While insisting that he had 19 lawyers to protect him against his employers, Imus said that he thought he could find

a job in radio anywhere. But he was fired from WNBC at the end of August 1977 and remained out of work for some time, eventually ending up back in Cleveland. The shooting star seemed to have fizzled.

Imus did return to WNBC in 1979, but there was more drinking and drugs. In 1985 he was one of the first video jockeys on the cable program service VHI. In 1988 WNBC, with the new call letters of WFAN, adopted a sports talk format, and Imus continued to produce about one half of the station's revenues during his morning shift. He adopted a more mature tone, which better fit with the station's new format and with the fact that fewer AM stations were playing music, but his trend to more serious topics, he says, was accelerated by the Gulf War controversy beginning in the fall of 1990. Now more and more of his phone conversations were with journalists and politicians, the latter particularly during campaigns.

Beginning in July 1993 the program was also syndicated, and by 2001 it was carried on about 55 stations. Since 3 September 1996, it has also been carried on MSNBC and was said at times to be the highest-rated program on the cable channel. While MSNBC uses multiple cameras and adds many graphics and tape clips, Imus insists that he is still doing a radio show and usually ignores or disparages the video coverage.

In 1981 Imus and Charles McCord, the newsman on his program, published a novel, *God's Other Son*, but it did not sell well. Reissued in 1994, it became a best seller. In 1997 Imus also published, with his brother Fred, a book of photographs of the American Southwest.

Yet another controversy involved remarks he made 21 March 1996, at the Radio and Television Correspondents dinner in Washington. Beforehand he had apparently told Bill Clinton it would be a little "rough" and the President said that would be "fine." The President also said that appearing on the Imus show might have helped him get elected. However, as Imus spoke of Clinton's legal problems, his family, and other matters, it was clear from the telecast and from later news reports that the President was angry.

In 1997 *Time* magazine named Imus one of its "most influential" people, and *Newsweek* did a cover story on him in December 1998. Since 1997, he has also operated a ranch in New Mexico for children with cancer. His program is frequently broadcast from the ranch, especially during the sum-

mer when the children visit, and fund raising for the ranch is often discussed.

Since the beginning of his radio career in 1968, Imus' strong opinions and remarks about people in public life have been the main attraction for his listeners. Here is a recent sampling:

Bill Clinton: "is a dirt bag and a low rent weasel."

Al Gore: "phoniest person on the planet, disgraceful human being."

George W. Bush: "we're going to be stuck with that moron George Bush [and] Cheney and a bunch of old people will run the country."

Chris Matthews (who is also on MSNBC): "a blow hard and the most annoying person on television."

XFL football (carried on channels owned by Viacom which also owns WFAN): "The fans are neanderthal morons. It is lame. It really sucks."

"I'm trying to be entertaining, I'm trying to show a different side of these people. We are not trying to hurt people. We are trying to make people laugh."

LAWRENCE W. LIGHTY

John Donald Imus, Jr. Born in Riverside, California, 23 July 1940. Quit high school, but later earned GED. U.S. Marine Corps 1957–1959. Worked at radio stations in California before moving to Cleveland, Ohio, 1970; on-air host at WNBC (later WFAN), New York, 1971–77, 1979–present.

Radio Series

1971–77; 1979–present *Imus in the Morning*

Selected Publications

God's Other Son: The Life and Times of the Rev. Billy Sol Hargus, 1981

Two Guys, Four Corners: Great Photographs, Great Times, and a Million Laughs (with Fred Imus), 1997

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Indecency. See Obscenity/Indecency on Radio

India. See All India Radio

Infinity Broadcasting Corporation

Infinity Broadcasting Corporation, a subsidiary of media giant Viacom, is one of the largest radio broadcasting companies in the U.S. Infinity is focused on the "out-of-home" media business, which includes operations in radio broadcasting through Infinity Radio and outdoor advertising through Viacom Outdoor. Infinity's self characterization of being an "out-of-home" media business comes from the fact that the majority of radio listening and practically all viewing of outdoor advertising occurs outside the consumer's home, from places such as automobiles and public transportation systems. The majority of Infinity's revenue, therefore, is generated from the sale of advertising. Infinity Radio consists of more than 180 radio stations serving over 40 markets. Approximately 94 percent of Infinity's radio stations are located in the 50 largest U.S. radio markets. Infinity also manages and holds an equity position in Westwood One, Inc.

The original Infinity Broadcasting Corporation is not the same as the Infinity currently in existence. The original Infinity was formed by two former Metromedia Communications Corporation executives, Gerald Carrus and Michael A. Weiner, in 1972 and acquired its first radio station in May 1973. Carrus and Weiner planned to emulate Metromedia president John W. Kluge's strategy of acquiring unsuccessful radio stations in the country's largest media markets, where the greatest amount of radio advertising dollars are spent, and developing them.

Seeking someone to run the original Infinity, Carrus and Weiner turned to Mel Karmazin in 1981. Karmazin had spent the previous 11 years working for Metromedia, where he managed the company's AM and FM outlets and gained a reputation for paying substantial amounts of money for on-air talent while exercising the tightfistedness he had learned from Kluge to keep operating costs down. When Karmazin requested the opportunity to manage one of Metromedia's TV properties, Kluge turned him down, and Karmazin began to consider other options. By offering him a lucrative salary and equity in the original Infinity, Carrus and Weiner were able to lure Karmazin to the company.

The original Infinity, under Karmazin's leadership, substantially increased its acquisitions by paying record prices for top radio stations in large cities. The success of the original Infinity

was also based on its ability to acquire the radio broadcast rights to a number of professional sports teams and to seek out high-profile radio personalities for its stations.

One of those high-profile personalities was "shock jock" Howard Stern, who signed on with the original Infinity in 1985 after being fired from WNBC. The original Infinity provided Stern with a national platform. As a result of Stern's bold activities on the airwaves, the company received numerous warnings from the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) that the *Howard Stern Show* was dangerously close to violating indecency standards. The warnings brought substantial publicity to the original Infinity, and the show's ratings soared, to the dismay of the many national and community watchdog groups working to have the show taken off the air. In 1995, as the fines from the FCC escalated, the original Infinity agreed to put the controversy to rest by paying \$1.7 million in exchange for the FCC's dismissal of all pending complaints against the company's stations.

Despite the controversy, the original Infinity became popular not only with the listening audience, but also with Wall Street. The original Infinity went public in 1986 and was then bought back in a leveraged buyout in 1988. The original Infinity was again taken public in 1992. Shares issued in 1992 for \$17.50 each were worth \$170 when the company was eventually purchased in 1996.

In November 1995 Westinghouse Electric Corporation acquired the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), creating the nation's largest TV and radio station group. After Congress passed the Telecommunications Act in February 1996, which permitted the expansion of TV and radio station holdings, Westinghouse began considering its options for growth and, recognizing the potential of the radio industry, purchased the original Infinity in December 1996 for \$4.7 billion. After acquiring the original Infinity, Westinghouse decided to sell its industrial businesses and reinvent itself solely as a media company. In December 1997 the new media company was launched as the CBS Corporation, the largest radio and television entity in history, with Karmazin as its president and chief operating officer.

In September 1998 CBS formed the currently existing Infinity Broadcasting Corporation in the largest initial public

offering in media history. The “new” Infinity was created as a wholly owned subsidiary to own and operate CBS’s radio and outdoor-advertising business. In addition to his duties at CBS, Karmazin was named president and chief executive officer of Infinity. The name of the original Infinity had been changed to Infinity Media Corporation in anticipation of the creation of the new corporation with the same name.

In May 2000 CBS was merged with and into Viacom, Inc. with Farid Suleman becoming Infinity’s Chief Executive Officer. In March 2002 John Sykes replaced Suleman as Chief Executive Officer. The company is headquartered in New York City. Among its stations are WFAN-AM in New York (sports format), which is the nation’s top-billing station in terms of advertising dollars, and KDKA-AM in Pittsburgh (news/talk format), the oldest regular radio broadcaster in America. In addition to Stern, notable personalities at Infinity include Don Imus, Casey Kasem, Larry King, Charles Osgood, and Tom Snyder.

KARL SCHMID

See also Columbia Broadcasting System; Karmazin, Mel; Westinghouse

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Inner Sanctum Mysteries

Horror Series

Squeeeeeeakkkk!!!!!! “Good Evening, friends of the inner sanctum. This is your host, Raymond, to welcome you through the squeaking door. Been shopping around for a nice case of murder? Of course you have. And you have come to the right place because the characters on this program simply *kill* themselves to keep you amused. Why only the other day we were accused of making murder our business. But we wouldn’t do that friends, oh no, because that would be mixing business with pleasure, and we consider it a *pleasure* to give some stiff the *business* . . . heh heh heh.”

So began one of the most famous openings in radio history. The squeaking door and host Raymond’s gallows humor marked *Inner Sanctum Mysteries* as a distinctively campy horror series that reveled in its grisly subject matter. It was one of the first and most successful of radio thriller dramas, a genre that peaked in popularity during the 1940s. *Inner Sanctum* was created, produced, and directed throughout its entire run from 1941 to 1952 by Himan Brown, one of radio’s most prolific showmen. Brown balanced the program’s macabre humor with carefully chosen organ sounds, blood-curdling screams,

and other effects, creating some of the most unsettling soundscapes ever heard on radio. Brown used the organ to heighten the listener’s fear, incorporating sharp stings to spark terror and creating suspense by using what John Dunning has called “doom chords” to signal approaching trouble. Murders were conveyed in the most disturbing manner possible through sound effects: Jim Harmon notes that when Brown wanted to produce the sound of a head being bashed in, he “devised a special bludgeon with which he would strike a small melon” (1967).

Inner Sanctum took its name from a line of Simon and Schuster mystery novels, but its scripts were generally original (although Edgar Allen Poe’s work was a favorite of Brown’s and was frequently adapted). Like other programs of the genre, *Inner Sanctum* relied on realism to heighten the listener’s fear that “this could happen to me!” Ghostly behavior was commonly explained by the presence of a mad relative or an actual dead body that refused to stay quiet. As critics and even the show’s own writers have noted, however, *Inner Sanctum*’s plots were driven by contrivances and coincidences that were highly implausible. The nurse hired by the judge’s wife happens to be the girlfriend of the murderer the judge just sent

to the gallows (and she's not happy with him!). The wailing of a man's dead wife that haunts him for 40 years is actually caused by a hole in the wall in which he entombed her body (and which he, so terrified, had never thought to investigate earlier). Frequently, the program employed the device of an insane narrator to throw listeners off track and increase their horror at identifying with a murderer. The violence and gore of the program occasionally got Brown into trouble with parents and with the Federal Communications Commission, who were particularly concerned that youth, especially, might be unduly traumatized and might even pick up a thing or two about how to carry out a murder. Brown himself was proud of the fact that "[s]hrinks said [the program] was scaring people out of their wits."

Like other programs in the genre, *Inner Sanctum* stories were a counterpoint (some might even say an antidote) to the suburban ideal of the postwar period. Husbands and wives did not get along well in *Inner Sanctum* stories, which were replete with film noir-type characters (including a healthy number of femme fatales) who murdered each other at terrific rates. Titles such as "Til Death Do Us Part," "Til the Day I Kill You," "Last Time I Killed Her," and "Honeymoon with Death" give some sense of the program's portrayal of marriage. Host Raymond took great glee in the violent disintegration of the postwar family and the impossibility of happy coupling; his closing puns or rhymes commented approvingly on the evening's grim outcome: "He hid her body in a bell, and that's where he made his mistake because she *tolled* on him." "Never tangle with a girl with red hair," he would chuckle, "A man is safer in the electric chair" (which, of course, is where this particular man ended up). The trademark tongue-in-roting-cheek humor of the program is perhaps best conveyed by some of its more amusing titles, including "Hell Is Where You Find it," "The Dead Want Company," "Death Has a Vacancy," "The Meek Die Slowly," "The Girl and the Gallows," "Death Is a Double-Crosser," "The Long Wait Is Over," "The Man on the Slab," "Ring Around the Morgue," "Corpse on the Town," "Corpse without a Conscience," "The Corpse Who Came to Dinner," "Blood Relative," "One Coffin Too Many," and "The Corpse Nobody Loved."

Screen horror great Boris Karloff was the program's regular star for much of its first season, appearing in the Poe classics "The Tell-Tale Heart" and "The Fall of the House of Usher." According to radio program historian John Dunning, Karloff wanted more gore than the networks would allow, and he appeared much less frequently thereafter. *Inner Sanctum* devel-

oped its own stable of stars, which included Larry Haines, Mason Adams, Alice Rhinehart, Everett Sloane, Santos Ortega, Lawson Zerbe, and Elspeth Eric. In addition, up-and-coming film stars such as Mercedes McCambridge and Richard Widmark made frequent guest appearances. Although the programs emphasized plot over character, the alternately haunted and psychotic characters gave the actors a chance to stretch their range; women especially got the rare opportunity to narrate stories and play some very unladylike people.

Paul McGrath replaced Raymond Edward Johnson as host in 1945; he set a lighter tone than his predecessor, but the substance of the programs remained the same. Himan Brown attempted to revive the program in other forms in 1959 (as the *NBC Radio Theatre*) and 1974 (as the *CBS Radio Mystery Theatre*), but neither version proved as successful as the original. Of the more than 500 programs that were produced of *Inner Sanctum Mysteries*, more than 100 are available on tape, providing a unique and still entertaining radio legacy.

ALLISON MCCRACKEN

See also Brown, Himan; Horror Programs

Hosts

Raymond Edward Johnson (1941-45), Paul McGrath (1945-52)

Producer/Creator/Director

Himan Brown

Programming History

January 1941-October 1952 (528 episodes)

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Intercollegiate Broadcasting System

The Intercollegiate Broadcasting System (IBS) was founded in 1940 by the originators of AM carrier-current college campus radio. Initially, college radio's primary interest concerned exchanging technical information among colleges via this new avenue of transmission. As more college stations were established, the interest evolved to include station management, programming, funding, recruiting, and industry training. Today, IBS is a nonprofit association of student-staffed radio stations located at schools and colleges throughout the United States. Approximately 600 IBS stations operate various types of radio facilities, including closed-circuit, AM carrier-current, cable radio, and Federal Communications Commission (FCC)-licensed FM and AM stations.

The majority of the early college radio stations in the United States were operated under the auspices of campus academic departments of electrical engineering; the primary objectives of these stations focused on the technical aspects of radio broadcasting rather than the public service potential. In 1925, 171 such stations were on the air, but by 1937, only 38 remained in operation. The decline in stations is credited to a general loss of campus interest or funding after the novelty of radio wore off. The few stations that sought to continue as AM broadcasters lost their licenses to commercial interests through comparative hearings before the FCC.

Lobbying in favor of college-based stations led to the FCC's 1938 decision to preserve such stations and to its 1941 and 1945 decisions to reserve FM channels designated for educational use. From the 1960s into the 1980s, the FM stations licensed to colleges and universities in the United States continued to provide leadership for the nation's public radio movement. By the mid-1990s, the majority of the 1,800 noncommercial so-called public radio licenses were granted to colleges and universities.

The formation of IBS was crucial to the preservation of college radio. IBS actively campaigned for reserved FM channels for college radio use. The result was the 1945 continuation of a reserved band of FM frequencies (this time at 88.1 to 91.9 MHz) where most noncommercial stations are now located. IBS was also active in convincing the FCC to establish the category of Class D (10-watt) noncommercial FM stations as an entry-level training ground for college radio. The Class D decision permitted hundreds of fledgling stations to get started; most of these gained momentum and graduated to the increased power of a Class A facility, 100 watts.

Increasingly throughout the years, IBS has taken on the fight for the protection of college radio. In 1978, when copyright laws changed to allow performing rights associations to collect fees for noncommercial broadcast performances, IBS presented testimony that resulted in lower rates being applied

to college radio than to other classes of broadcast stations. IBS also filed objections against FCC on a proposal governing underwriting announcements. The IBS favored changes, which were adopted, and gave stations unprecedented latitude in the frequency and content of broadcast announcements, thus encouraging new interest from potential underwriters. Additionally, IBS was the first industry organization to file an FCC Petition for Reconsideration, which resulted in the FCC ruling exempting noncommercial operators from the \$35 application permit fee.

IBS is a centralized information source by which college radio remains informed about industry politics, problems, and solutions. IBS lobbies for educational radio through an aggressive campaign of printed materials, e-mail, ground mail, telephone and fax communication, and regional and national seminars and workshops. Beyond addressing the needs of individual member stations, IBS acts as college radio's primary representation before the FCC and other governmental and industry agencies. IBS directors comprise a cross section of professionals representing a broad range of industry-experienced people who contribute their expertise on a voluntary basis.

The volunteer efforts of IBS personnel make sponsorship of new stations possible. IBS assists in launching new stations through a plan of action that includes advisory tips on conducting a frequency search; purchasing an existing station; and implementation of legal alternatives, such as utilizing on-campus carrier-current AM or cable FM piped into existing cable systems. Additionally, IBS offers basic advice regarding the complicated paperwork involved in filing for FCC permits.

IBS also provides helpful tips to member stations on increasing a station's coverage. IBS advises conducting frequency research to see if expansion is possible. They will assist in discussing the pros and cons of increased power versus increased height. For example, maintaining the same power but increasing the antenna height could give the increased coverage desired.

ELIZABETH COX

See also College Radio; Educational Radio to 1967; Low-Power Radio/Microradio; Public Radio Since 1967; Ten-Watt Stations; WHA and Wisconsin Public Radio

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International Radio Broadcasting

International radio broadcasting is usually associated with national governments, which certainly do make great use of it to communicate their viewpoints to listeners in other nations. Yet that is only one of many uses by one of many agencies: religious groups, commercial firms, and numerous others have also employed it. By the end of the 20th century, more than half of the world's sovereign nations were or had at one time been hosts to such services, which continued to attract many listeners despite the ending of the Cold War and the rising worldwide popularity of television.

Origins

Although radio amateurs often communicated across national borders, it was not until 1926 that any nation made even occasional use of radio to reach listeners in other nations. The Soviet Union broadcast to the then-Romanian (but formerly Russian) province of Bessarabia in an attempt to intimidate Romania into relinquishing its control of the province. The broadcasts lasted for several days and had no immediate effect. The Soviets also broadcast to miners in Great Britain for a few days during the General Strike of 1926, encouraging their dissatisfaction with the government, but again without visible effect. Both ventures were early examples of short-term tactical uses of the medium, but in 1927 the Netherlands launched the first long-term international broadcasting service when the Phillips electronics company's shortwave radio station PCJ began to broadcast to Dutch citizens living overseas. Over the next five years, Great Britain, France, and Germany launched similar services for their present and former citizens living abroad; the Soviet Union joined their ranks, but mainly for the purpose of reaching communists and gaining converts to communism from around the world.

It is doubtful that any of those services attracted large numbers of listeners since they broadcast almost exclusively over shortwave transmitters, and the shortwave radio sets needed to receive the signals were expensive. France and Great Britain ruled large colonial empires and used the newly created international radio services to keep overseas citizens in touch with their homelands; in those cases, the investment in receivers

probably seemed little enough to pay in order to have a touch of "home away from home." However, as fascism began to spread through Europe in the 1930s, Germany, Italy, and Spain began to use mediumwave transmissions to reach nearby nations (in the case of Spain, reaching the opposition during the Spanish Civil War was at least as important as reaching foreign listeners), intimidating some with threats, reassuring others of their good intentions, and even attempting to persuade a few to join them. Because most of Europe was in the midst of an economic depression at the time, the relative economic strength of Germany and Italy provided their international radio services with potentially attractive success stories, and workers in other European nations were a frequent target of those services. Whether the messages were persuasive is an open question, because survey research was still in its infancy.

The increasing level of activity in international radio wasn't limited to politically motivated services. Radio Vaticana had come on the air in 1931, thanks in part to a generous financial donation by Italy's "father of radio," Guglielmo Marconi. Radio Vaticana brought a Catholic message to much of the world, in many languages. It also had company before the end of the year: a Protestant service to Latin America, HCJB, operated from Quito, Ecuador, but received financial and administrative support largely from the United States. HCJB was far more interested in converting its listeners to its version of Protestantism, whereas Radio Vaticana hoped to sustain its listeners in their Catholic faith. A commercially oriented service also appeared during the early 1930s: Radio Luxembourg, taking advantage of its location amid several European nations with little or no commercial broadcasting of their own, began to provide these nations with services in their own languages, heavily laden with popular music and ads.

But it was the politically motivated services that dominated, a domination that only increased as World War II drew nearer. The Soviet service, Radio Moscow, and the German *Weltrundfunk-sender* had been exchanging condemnations of each other's governments since the early 1930s. Italy's Radio Bari began to foment discord in British-ruled Palestine starting in 1934; four years later, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) began its first foreign language service with its Arabic

language broadcasts to listeners in the Middle East, largely to defend Great Britain against the continuing attacks of Radio Bari. Japan's Radio Tokyo became active in broadcasting intimidating messages to China in the late 1930s, as the Japanese army moved to occupy parts of the country. Some broadcasters began to make use of a more personality-oriented approach, with conversational styles breaking the pattern of highly formal speech that had predominated on most stations. Some also made use of clandestine (concealed or false identity) stations in hopes of deceiving listeners into believing that broadcasts came from within the listeners' own nations.

World War II

Once World War II had begun, international radio moved into high gear, with most of the major combatants—Great Britain, the United States, Germany, Italy, and Japan—rapidly adding language services, increasing their broadcast hours, and strengthening their transmitter power. The Nazis also attempted to ensure that German citizens would not have access to German language broadcasts from the Western allies by using jamming (electronic interference), by exacting severe penalties for such listening, and by making available only inexpensive radio receivers incapable of picking up the more distant incoming signals. Nevertheless, the Allied services developed an array of specialized programs designed to reach German officers, frontline soldiers, U-boat (submarine) crews, and others; these programs featured fake Germans in roles such as “Der Chef,” a German “officer” who spread rumors about misconduct and luxurious lifestyles among high-level German civilians in his broadcasts over Great Britain's *Soldatensender*—a clandestine radio service for German military personnel. However, the success of any of the broadcasts was difficult to determine. Survey research was not well developed at the time, and conducting surveys in areas governed by the enemy was not an option.

The Cold War

When the war ended in August 1945, there was considerable sentiment in Great Britain and the United States favoring sharp reductions and even elimination of the international radio services. The Voice of America (VOA) was nearly disbanded in 1945–46, and BBC external services were considerably reduced. Radio Moscow at first reduced its services slightly but then expanded them, even as it worked with the Central and Eastern European nations now under Soviet influence to create miniature Radio Moscows in Poland, Hungary, and elsewhere. Influential legislators returning from trips to those nations reported hearing strong anti-Western messages over Radio Moscow, Radio Warsaw, and other stations in the region. This fact, coupled with the virtual disappearance of cooperation

between the Western allies and the Soviet Union, helped lead to dramatic reversals of fortune for VOA and BBC, which soon had sizable Czech, Romanian, Russian, and other language services appropriate for the situation.

The United States went even further. The British had operated more clandestine stations during the war, but now the United States took the lead on a grand scale with the creation of Radio Free Europe (RFE) and Radio Liberation from Bolshevism (later Radio Liberty [RL]). The U.S. authorities considered these to be “the sorts of services the captive peoples of eastern Europe and the Soviet Union would want if they had a free choice.” Although their broadcast messages did not call for the overthrow of communist governments, RFE and RL at times suggested work slowdowns and other actions that might help weaken those governments and eventually lead to liberation from communism. The stations spent far more time pointing out the rapid economic growth of the West, comparing that growth with the allegedly poor economic progress of the East. The communist international stations reported on strikes and other signs of the “inevitable decline of capitalism,” contrasting that decline with what they claimed was the generally robust performance of the communist economies. Increases in broadcasts from the West were met by increases in jamming in the East. However, surveys taken among refugees from Eastern Europe indicated that some of the signals were getting through and that they seemed particularly effective in causing those who heard them to be more and more skeptical of communist media claims that life under communism was far superior to life under capitalism and that the gap between the two was steadily growing.

When China joined the ranks of communist nations in 1949, it soon added its own international broadcast voice, causing the United States to create an Asian equivalent of RFE/RL in the form of Radio Free Asia (RFA, 1951–55; a new Radio Free Asia came on-air in 1996). The small numbers of radio receivers in North Korea and in China, the difficulty of recruiting suitable Asian language speaking talent, and heavy jamming of RFA caused the United States to drop the service, even as China's newly founded Radio Peking (later Beijing) grew to become one of the largest of all international broadcast services, with North Korea's Radio Pyongyang not far behind. In each case, the Soviet Union assisted both materially and ideologically; the Soviet Union played a similar role with respect to Radio Havana Cuba starting in the early 1960s.

The Third World Speaks and Listens

The Soviet Union had become increasingly active in broadcasting to the Third World (industrially developing nations) during the late 1950s, as African, Asian, and Latin American nations emerged from their colonial status. The Chinese, North Korean, and Cuban international services added their voices to Radio Moscow's in denouncing colonialism where it still

existed while praising the efforts of the newly independent nations to stake out their own ideological positions in the Cold War. Two of those nations—Egypt and India—were already operating international radio services by the mid-1950s, with Africa and the Islamic nations as prime targets of the former and South and Southeast Asia the targets of the latter. Although they too denounced colonialism, and therefore Western nations such as France and Great Britain, they were not necessarily sympathetic to communism, either. Thus, they constituted yet another international radio voice with yet another cultural and political perspective. As more newly independent nations emerged, some of them also developed international services; Radio Ghana was broadcasting in several West African and European languages by the end of the 1950s. But no single nation among them ever set out to coordinate their efforts into a unified anticolonial voice, as the Soviet Union managed to do to some degree with the other communist international services during the 1950s.

That coordination began to crumble as China increased in strength and in prestige. By the late 1950s, China had begun to part ways with the Soviet Union over the correct interpretation of Marxism–Leninism. The disagreement gave rise to the broadcast of many verbal duels between the two communist powers, generally of little or no interest to anyone but committed Marxist–Leninists. The United States and Great Britain were beginning to see that, as the old colonial system broke apart, they faced both an opportunity and a challenge in reaching African, Asian, and Latin American audiences. It took a few years for each to realize that a new message would have to speak to a new relationship—one that respected the independence of what were now sovereign nations. BBC's World Services and VOA were sufficiently alert to recognize, as Radio Moscow often had not (although it made an effort to do so through Radio Peace and Progress, founded in 1964), that programs dealing with African, Asian, and Latin American events, cultures, and personalities were likely to prove far more attractive than had the one-worldwide-size-fits-all approach generally taken by Moscow. (Radio Peking was generally more sensitive to Third World cultural aspirations and often portrayed the People's Republic of China as a Third World nation.)

By the late 1960s, both VOA and BBC had developed African, Asian, and Latin American services with a variety of cultural and informational programs tailored for those regions. VOA also had introduced a limited-vocabulary/slow-rate "Special English" newscast in 1959; because it was well suited to English language learners, of which there were many in the Third World, the newscast was able to attract listeners. Surveys taken by or for VOA and BBC during the 1960s showed increasing numbers of Third World listeners for both and minuscule numbers for the communist services, with the notable exception of Radio Havana in Latin America. Cuban President Fidel Castro enjoyed considerable popularity among

Latinos for his willingness to stand up to the United States, and Radio Havana blended programs featuring Cuban and other Latin American cultures with informational programs that generally avoided the heavy ideological jargon of many such programs broadcast over Radios Moscow, Peking, Pyongyang, and other communist stations.

Religious Voices

There was yet another major entrant in the post–World War II international radio lists, although it grew more slowly than had the communist or Western sectors. Religious stations, few in number in the 1930s, began to multiply in the late 1940s and early 1950s, in part as a reaction to the spread of "godless communism," in part in recognition of the beneficial effects for fund-raising of broadcasting international religious programs for non-Christians and for religion-deprived listeners in communist nations around the world. Most of the new services were financed by U.S. religious groups, most were evangelical, and virtually all were Protestant. They established stations and relay transmitters in Africa (Morocco, Liberia, Ethiopia; in the 1960s, Burundi and Swaziland); Asia (Sri Lanka, the Philippines, Korea); Latin America (Netherlands Antilles); and also in the United States and Europe. Many of the English language programs were rebroadcasts of U.S. evangelical preachers, many of whom had heavy southern accents and made references to people and places that would be unfamiliar to foreign listeners, so it was not surprising that religious stations on the whole did poorly in listener surveys. The exceptions were HCJB in Quito, Ecuador, and FEBC in the Philippines, both of which provided a widely varied assortment of information and entertainment and were careful to show respect to other religious denominations and faiths.

Clandestine Services

Clandestine stations generally flourished in the unstable atmosphere of the Cold War. Not only were they prominent in the conflict between East and West, but they also played roles in the many regional conflicts taking place in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. Their programs generally were political and often featured exceptionally strong language, including calls for the assassination of political leaders. They also served as channels through which politicians in exile could reach their former homelands with messages criticizing government officials and even encouraging uprisings.

The Cold War Ends

With the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union by the early 1990s, the Cold War came to an end. That also brought radical changes for international radio,

which had been so heavily involved in the struggle between communism and capitalism. No longer did many of the governments that had financed the stations see the need for so many language services, so many hours of transmission, and so many foreign transmitter bases, and annual financial appropriations began to decline. Most of the communist countries either cut their international services to the bone or dropped them altogether. The clandestine stations also felt the pinch, since many of them had been partially or wholly financed by the East and the West so that they could play roles in Cold War politics in addition to serving the more narrowly focused ends of some of the groups operating them. Their places were taken to a limited extent by Islamic fundamentalist and paramilitary group operations, and political exile groups continued to use them in Africa and Asia.

Still, there were some bright spots for the international stations during the 1990s. The spread of the internet made it possible for them to begin to provide interference-free service through websites, and by the end of the decade virtually all of the major stations were doing so. There was also the prospect of direct transmission via satellite to individual receivers (the use of satellites to relay signals to foreign transmitter bases had been around since the early 1980s), although the cost of such receivers was discouragingly high. A U.S.-based commercial firm, WorldSpace, launched a satellite-delivered multichannel radio service to Africa in October 1999, but economic data suggested that few African listeners could afford the specialized receivers needed to bring in its transmissions.

As the new millennium dawned, there was every indication that international radio would continue to be viable, even if on a reduced scale. Some of the international commercial radio services from France—Radio Monte Carlo Middle East, Radio Méditerranée Internationale, Afrique Numéro Une (Africa No. 1; for sub-Saharan Africa)—still enjoyed financial success, largely because they provided their audiences with more “worldly” entertainment (largely Western or Western-flavored pop music) and broader and less-biased perspectives on regional and world events than did domestic stations in those areas. Instability in parts of southeast Asia, Africa, the Balkans, and the former Soviet Union helped to ensure that the comprehensive and generally reliable informational broadcasts of the BBC World Service, the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Germany’s Deutsche Welle, and smaller-scale services such as Radio Netherlands, Radio Canada International, Radio Australia, and Radio Japan would have audiences, especially in the areas of conflict themselves.

The Voice of Russia (formerly Radio Moscow), Radio Beijing, Radio Pyongyang, and certainly Radio Havana Cuba also continued to provide their versions of current events to listeners who appreciated Russian, Chinese, North Korean, and Cuban perspectives, even if those perspectives might have become less meaningful with the ending of the Cold War. Reli-

gious stations seemed no more or less popular than they had been in earlier decades, but the chief reason for the existence of many of them—to help stimulate contributions from those anxious to bring the gospel message to nonbelievers—remained viable. Increases in the efficiency of distribution of television broadcasts on an international basis, especially when coupled with the invention of modestly priced television sets capable of receiving signals directly from satellites, almost certainly would reduce the attraction of international radio. So would the provision by domestic broadcast services in presently autocratic nations of more balanced and detailed coverage of events at home and abroad. Neither of those changes seems an immediate prospect.

DONALD R. BROWNE

See also Africa No. 1; Axis Sally; BBC World Service; Clandestine Radio; Cold War Radio; Developing Nations; Far East Broadcasting Company; Jamming; Lord Haw-Haw; Propaganda by Radio; Radio Free Asia; Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty; Radio Luxembourg; Radio Martí; Radio Moscow; Radio Sawa/Middle East Radio Network; Religion on Radio; Tokyo Rose; Vatican Radio; Voice of America; World War II and U.S. Radio

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International Telecommunication Union

The International Telecommunication Union (ITU) is a specialized agency operating under the auspices of the United Nations. It attempts to assist in the development of broadcasting and point-to-point communication by providing fora for the discussion of, and adoption of agreements on, issues common to all countries' communications activities, including tariffs, technical standards for interconnection across frontiers, the sharing of broadcasting frequencies, the allocation of geosynchronous satellite locations, and the permissible uses for international communication. It also registers countries' use of shortwave frequencies to provide the basis for frequency coordination among the different users of this broadcasting medium.

Origins

Originally called the International Telegraph Union, the ITU was formed on 17 May 1865 by 20 European countries that desired to facilitate international telegraph communication. Until the convention that established the ITU was signed, telegraph activities occurred entirely within individual countries: messages had to be transcribed at each border, translated into the language of the neighboring country, and then carried across the frontier where they would be rekeyed for further transmission. Each country also used its own telegraph code to safeguard its military and political messages. This made international telegraphy cumbersome at best and prevented the new technology from having a significant positive impact on the relations of the suspicious European powers.

Linking up the different domestic telegraph systems required that three issues be resolved. First, the electrical transmission systems used had to be standardized. Different wire gauges, signal voltages, and wire connection systems had to be standardized so that there would be no technical breaks in lines traveling across frontiers. Otherwise, communication

would be impossible. Second, the allocation of revenues had to be agreed on, so that if a message traveled, say, between London and Berlin, the British, French or Belgian, and German telegraph companies (usually state-owned) would each receive an equitable portion of the tariff. Otherwise, there would be no financial inducement to connect the lines. Messages often traveled through a country's system without actually being delivered to anyone within it. (As in the above example, in which the message must travel across France to Germany for delivery.) So a system was devised that compensated different telegraph authorities according to the miles of line used for a message to reach its destination, regardless of origination or destination point. Third, a common language had to be used for messages so that their meaning could be accurately transcribed regardless of the language of the telegraph operator. Morse code, which represented all the letters of the alphabet with a combination of short and long pulses, was adopted as this common language. Also, agreements forbade private codes that shortened messages (such as FYI for "for your information") to assure that those who used the telegraph system were paying their fair share of its costs.

The original Telegraph Convention (or treaty) established the basic rules that the ITU was to administer on behalf of the signatory states and provided the foundation for subsequent agreements as new technologies developed. The ITU was not granted, and still does not have, any enforcement powers to use against states (called administrations) that break the conventions, so it functions as technical advisor, facilitator of new conventions as required, and administrator of agreements between signatory nations.

Since that first convention adopted to coordinate telegraphy, new technologies have called for new agreements and expansion of the ITU's activities. The submarine cable, which connected countries under the sea, began to be widely used in the 1850s, and the first transatlantic cable was successfully laid

in 1866. This new form of telegraphy, as well as wired telephony, invented in 1876, both required essentially the same type of agreements between states that the overland telegraph had.

The ITU and Radio

Wireless telegraphy, however, required a different set of agreements. Wireless crossed international frontiers whether a country objected or not. And although wireless operators did not require the use of facilities within every country whose territory they crossed, signals were subject to interference from other transmitters using the same frequency. Furthermore, wireless signals were important as a means to communicate with ships that were not on any country's actual territory. Two issues emerged beyond the earlier concerns. First, should all ships, regardless of country of registry, be required to have both wireless apparatus and trained operators on duty 24 hours per day? Second, were the private monopolies that were being pursued by private companies (such as British Marconi) to take precedence over safety at sea? Marconi, for instance, forbade its operators from communicating with ships using wireless apparatus manufactured by its competitors. This policy was not successfully broken until the *Titanic* disaster (1912) demonstrated the necessity of doing so. The development of wireless telegraphy resulted in the convening of a preliminary radiocommunication conference at Berlin in 1903 and a Radiotelegraph Conference in 1906 that resulted in the first International Radiotelegraph Convention. Three principles emerged from these radiotelegraph meetings. These were (1) that frequencies should be reserved for specific services; (2) that all administrations should take the steps necessary to avoid interference with other users; and (3) that all use of frequencies should be registered.

During the 1920s, three consultative committees were established under the auspices of the ITU to draw up international standards for the telegraph, telephone, and radio. The International Telephone Consultative Committee was set up in 1924, the International Telegraphy Consultative Committee in 1925, and the International Radio Consultative Committee (CCIR) in 1927. These committees all coordinated the technical studies undertaken to develop new standards, developed means to conduct tests and measurements, and made recommendations to conferences convened to adopt new regulations. The telephone and telegraph committees were combined in 1956 into the International Telephone and Telegraph Committee (CCITT).

In 1927 the ITU allocated frequencies to the different radio services that were in operation at that time. These included fixed services (point-to-point wireless radiotelegraphy), maritime and aeronautical mobile services (for ships and airplanes), radio broadcasting, and amateur and experimental services.

The Modern International Telecommunication Union

On 1 January 1934, the old ITU officially became the International Telecommunication Union. This was a result of a decision made at the 1932 Madrid plenipotentiary conference to combine the two original agreements (the International Telegraph Convention of 1865 and the International Radiotelegraph Convention of 1906) into a single International Telecommunication Convention. The ITU became a specialized agency of the United Nations on 15 October 1947.

In the same year, the table of frequency allocations that had been established in 1912, which allocated to each type of radio service specific frequency bands to use so as to avoid interference with other types of uses, was made mandatory. The International Frequency Registration Board (IFRB) was set up to manage the radio frequency spectrum under the auspices of the ITU.

In 1959 the CCIR established a study group to look into space communications as a result of the launch of the Soviet *Sputnik* in 1956. In 1963 the first administrative conference on space communications was held to allocate frequencies to space services.

The ITU has divided the world into three regions for purposes of dealing with frequency allocation issues and technical standards. These regions, roughly, are Region 1, Europe and Africa; Region 2, Asia; and Region 3, the Americas. Some differences in technical standards may exist among these regions, although within each area technical standards are consistent. For instance, in Europe medium wave (or what Americans call AM) bands are 9-kilohertz wide, whereas in the Americas they are 10-kilohertz wide. This small difference allows the larger number of countries in Europe to have additional frequencies for this service that are not needed in the Americas, which are dominated by large countries (especially Brazil, Canada, Mexico, and the United States).

The ITU has a complicated organizational structure. Its permanent staff is included in the General Secretariat headed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations. Since a 1990s reorganization, there are three bureaus in this secretariat, including the Radiocommunication Bureau, the Telecommunication Standardization Bureau, and the Telecommunication Development Bureau. The members of the ITU elect a Council that oversees the secretariat between their plenipotentiary conferences, which is where major policy changes are made and regulations or resolutions are adopted concerning either radiocommunication or telecommunication. Specialized conferences are also held to deal with specific issues, such as World or Regional Administrative Radio Conferences (WARCs and RARCs), World Telecommunication Standardization Assemblies, and World or Regional Telecommunication Development Conferences. Each of these three types of conferences also has advisory and study groups that survey

world practice in their subject concern, commission studies, or distill technical information that is used as the basis for determining new regulations or standards in the different areas. In addition, the WARC/RARC conferences have a Radio Regulations Board because of the more difficult matter of administrations coming to agreements and enforcing them when the communications activity in question is wireless (whether terrestrial or satellite point-to-point or terrestrial or satellite broadcasting). This is because such radiocommunication activities (including the assignment of geosynchronous satellite “parking spaces”) either cross frontiers or operate in the “air space” above countries that may not derive any benefit from them.

ITU Functions

The ITU’s responsibilities under this organizational structure can be grouped into three main activities. First, it coordinates radio frequency assignments, including band assignments for services and the use of the geostationary orbit for satellites, including orbital slots. Second, it recommends technical standards for international communications, including those for wired connections, bandwidths, and other technical parameters. Third, it regulates international common carrier services, including telegraphy, telephony, and data communication.

The globalization of communication that has occurred in the satellite age—including intercontinental distribution of radio and television programs, satellite-based telephony, the development of Global Positioning System (GPS) receivers and maritime communication; the explosive growth of the internet; and the need to allocate the limited number of “parking spaces” for geosynchronous satellites serving countries that are, themselves, not on the equator above which these satellites “park”—has involved the ITU in an increasing number of sovereignty-based technical issues. For instance, developed countries have argued that the allocation of orbit slots should be based on need, whereas developing countries have contended that, despite their inability to use satellites at a given time, slots should be reserved for their future use. So the question of whether technological change will enable more satellites, or more powerful satellites, to be deployed in time to meet future needs has had to be considered alongside the demands for access made by those over whose territory the satellites orbit. And because all geosynchronous satellites must orbit above the equator to maintain their positions relative to the Earth’s surface (and thus appear to be stationary), the application of sovereignty arguments has had to be considered alongside the

technical or economic arguments of more advanced countries. It is under the auspices of the ITU and its various technical committees, study groups, conferences, and plenipotentiaries that such issues are ultimately resolved.

One significant issue that the ITU has had to confront concerning radio has been the use and abuse of shortwave frequencies. Shortwave is the one radio service for which individual stations are not assigned particular frequencies. There are a variety of technical reasons for this, but the bottom line is that, depending on various factors, shortwave radio stations have to change their frequencies periodically. Keeping track of the use of stations’ use of these frequencies is thus a major activity of the IFRB. Also, shortwave radio has historically been used for international broadcasting, and stations have purposely broadcast in multiple languages to the people of other countries. Two contentious issues developed. The first was the question of whether stations were engaged in propaganda. The second, related issue was whether a country was deliberately interfering (or jamming) the signals of a station originating outside its borders to stop the station’s propaganda. Purposely interfering with another station’s signal is against ITU radio regulations, so even countries that are widely known to jam others’ signals have steadfastly denied that they engage in such practices. The IFRB could only register use, however, since it had no enforcement power to use in such cases.

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See also Digital Audio Broadcasting; Frequency Allocation; International Radio Broadcasting; North American Regional Broadcasting Agreement; Shortwave Radio

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Internet Radio

Delivering Radio Programs Online

Internet radio involves the delivery of audio programming via digital means from one computer to other computers over the internet. It involves both simulcasts of existing over-the-air radio stations and content from internet-only stations. Internet radio was made possible by the 1995 arrival of streaming. Previously, users had to download an entire audio file before being able to listen to it. Even audio clips of short duration could take hours to download. Streaming allows the user to listen to the audio programming as it arrives in real time. This means users do not have to wait for a complete audio file to download before listening to it. Internet radio streaming can involve both live material and archived clips of audio content recorded earlier. In either case, the user must have special software that matches the software used by the station to encode and transmit the data.

Internet radio was a booming enterprise into the late 1990s, but legal decisions and a downturn in internet advertising have effectively shut down many stations today. In 2002, a dispute between internet broadcasters and the music industry came to a head when a copyright appeals board required internet radio stations to pay a per-song, per-listener fee that was prohibitively expensive for many stations. The fee was an especially great hardship for small operations, such as religious broadcasters and college radio stations, and amounted to thousands of dollars more than they made. This led to hundreds of internet-based radio stations shutting down.

By late 2002, a compromise was worked out whereby internet broadcasters could pay royalty fees on a percentage of their revenue instead of on a per-song, per-listener basis. The *Small Webcaster Settlement Act of 2002* was seen as a big victory by small webcasters and by early 2003 many small internet broadcasters were beginning to reappear.

The three leading technologies for delivering internet radio are the RealOne Player, Microsoft Windows Media, and MP3 streaming. Internet radio stations will often select one of the technologies for the delivery of their content. In some cases, stations choose to make their audio stream available in more than one of these formats, allowing listeners to choose the way they want to listen.

Streaming generally sacrifices audio quality because of the need to compress the data for delivery via narrowband (56k) telephone line modems still used by most households. Early internet radio quality was very poor, and many listeners became discouraged by the poor audio quality and problems maintaining a continuous stream. The stream would often stop and buffer (download data before it was used), inhibiting continuous delivery of the program.

Today, technological improvements and new broadband connections allow better streams and near-CD-quality sound. Listeners with cable modems or telephone DSL (digital subscriber line) services are the biggest beneficiaries. The adoption of these faster broadband connections is rising sharply. In an 18-month period between January 2001 and July 2002, the percentage of Americans with residential broadband internet access surged from 13 percent to 28 percent. As that number continues to grow, the audience for internet radio services will build as well.

Radio Stations on the Internet

Studies show that internet usage is cutting into time people would otherwise spend listening to broadcast radio. For traditional broadcast stations, delivery of programming on the internet may help recapture some of these listeners and may even generate new listeners in distant locations. Even small-market radio stations can reach the same international audiences as stations in larger markets. The concept of signal strength does not apply in the on-line world, and all stations start out on equal footing. Location is no barrier, either. It costs no more to send an internet radio program 1,000 miles than it does to send it 10 miles. On-line radio listeners say they listen more to radio stations outside their local market than they do to stations in their own locale.

One Arbitron and Edison Media Research study showed that by the middle of 2002, 35 percent of Americans had listened to internet radio, compared with 19 percent in 1998. This growth has given traditional radio broadcasters cause for concern because radio listeners now have a much greater number of listening choices on-line than they do on the radio dial.

Internet radio listeners are sometimes referred to as "streamies." As a group, streamies represent a very desirable demographic for advertisers. Streamies are among the most active group of internet users, spending more time on-line than the average internet user. Streamies are twice as likely to click on web ads and to make on-line purchases and are very interested in new devices to enable even more convenient listening. Internet radio listeners tend to be better educated and come from homes with higher incomes than regular internet users.

Capturing the internet audience and persuading listeners to revisit, however, is made more difficult with such a range of choices. Developing content worthy of repeat visits is one of the biggest challenges for internet broadcasters. Merely having a web presence to promote a station's broadcast operation is not enough. Internet broadcasters are using interactive features

such as contests and live chat rooms to gain and hold on to the elusive internet audience. Concert information, celebrity interviews, and fashion information are also important content categories for the young internet radio audience.

Broadcast radio stations have traditionally had strong local identities. On the internet, some stations may decide to adopt a more national identity. Far-flung listeners with ties to a community can stay up to date with “local” news, sports, and community events from anywhere in the world.

Stations looking for a national audience may develop niche programming such as specific music genres or sports. Certain music formats may be more popular than others in the on-line world. A 1999 Arbitron and Edison Media Research study showed that 91 percent of radio listeners who have internet access prefer alternative rock. The next highest categories were Top 40 (68 percent), classical (68 percent), religious (54 percent), adult contemporary (52 percent), and news/talk (50 percent). The top-rated internet radio stations tend to be eclectic and unique-sounding outlets not commonly found on the air.

Some broadcasters remain unconvinced of the value of internet radio. For one thing, there are far fewer internet-connected computers than there are available radio sets. Internet radio also lacks the portability of broadcast radio and is not generally available in cars, at the beach, a picnic, or other gathering places outside the home or workplace. Sound quality of internet radio varies greatly, and listeners with low-speed modem connections or slow computers are often disappointed with the overall quality. Furthermore, studies have shown that many people sample on-line stations but don't return regularly. Many broadcasters are still waiting to see a return on their investment in internet radio.

Making Money on Internet Radio

Although broadcast radio is an audio-only medium, internet radio stations are free to offer interactive programming and can include images, animation, and even video. Whereas broadcast radio relies on estimating the size of audiences via ratings, internet radio can measure each time a user accesses a particular page or program and in many cases can provide detailed demographic data about the people visiting their sites.

There are three ways for internet radio stations to make money on-line; advertising, transactions, and subscriptions. Advertising is the model broadcast stations have adopted and used for decades. The ability of internet radio to reach a global audience means not only the potential for a greater number of listeners, but also that stations may be able to attract national, as well as local, advertisers. Internet radio listeners represent a desirable demographic of technology-savvy young people to advertisers as well.

Besides the standard audio-only commercials so familiar on the radio, internet radio allows stations to generate revenue

through graphic advertising banners and pop-up ads as well. The “banner ad” is an easy and effective way to display advertising on a station's website. Stations charge different amounts, depending on banner size, placement, and duration on a page. The banner ad may be placed on the same page listeners go to when they want to listen to the station on-line. A greater amount can be charged for what are called “click-throughs” (money earned when users click the banner ad and go to the advertiser's site).

Other sources of revenue can be generated through classified ads and direct sales or transactions. For example, many internet radio listeners say that they would like to be able to buy music on a station's site. Advertising on internet radio stations can be tied directly to transactions conducted on-line. Whereas broadcast radio commercials depend on delayed gratification (listeners hear a commercial and will ideally buy something later), internet radio is more interactive and allows the user to go immediately from the desire to buy directly to a page where a purchase can take place. This immediacy in the on-line world changes the very nature and approach of advertising for the new medium.

Many internet radio stations have moved away from being a free service and are now charging a subscription fee. KPIG in California was the first commercial broadcaster to use the internet back in 1995. Because of copyright fees and dwindling advertising revenue, KPIG is now charging a per month fee for listeners to access their content.

Internet-Only Radio Stations

In many cases, internet radio stations exist only on the internet. Often referred to as music “channels,” these ventures often play lesser-known groups and alternative music formats. In many cases, internet-only sites are providing original content, multiple channels, and fewer commercials. For artists and labels finding it difficult to get playtime on traditional stations, internet radio provides a viable option for exposure of new music.

The cost for starting up an internet radio station is far less than the cost of building or buying a broadcast station. An internet radio station can be established for less than \$10,000 and does not require a license from the Federal Communications Commission.

One of the major targets of internet-only stations is the workplace. There tend to be more computers in use around offices than radio and television receivers. Internet-only stations hope to attract workers disenfranchised by traditional radio by offering more finely niched music choices, fewer commercials, and the opportunity to buy on-line. However, since internet radio uses a tremendous amount of bandwidth, workers listening to it could put a strain on a company's network and the ability to handle e-mail and other work-related applications.

Personal Internet Radio Stations

New technology and software allow anyone to become an internet radio broadcaster. Individuals can start their own stations and operate them from their homes. All it takes is a computer, an internet connection, and some free software. Users can create and customize their own radio stations on-line without the trouble of acquiring and setting up a server. Some on-line sites allow users to create their own playlists of genres and artists and to actually specify how often each is heard. The sites have large archives of music available. Once users have built their stations based on their music preferences, they can go to a webpage and listen to their own personalized station. The web address can be given to others so they can listen to the station as well.

One of the most successful audio technologies on the internet is the MP3 format. MP3 (MPEG Audio Layer 3) is a highly compressed audio format that delivers near-CD-quality sound with very small file sizes. Users can download high-quality MP3 music files even on low-bandwidth connections. On-line MP3 sites offer a great deal of free downloadable music, and one is often able to listen to new artists who promote and distribute their music on these sites. MP3 player software is available free on-line.

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See also Audio Streaming; Digital Audio Broadcasting

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Ireland

Radio enjoys a special place in Irish public discourse. Ireland is a society of strong literary and verbal traditions, out of which have emerged writers such as William Butler Yeats, James Joyce, Kate O'Brien, and Samuel Beckett. The words spoken on Ireland's airwaves likewise have had considerable significance and power. From 1926, following the formation of an Irish state independent of the United Kingdom, radio came to play an important role in creating a new sense of nationalist identity. Extensive radio coverage of the Eucharistic Congress of 1932 greatly helped to consolidate close connections between the

Roman Catholic Church and Irish politicians, connections that remained until recently a characteristic feature of the state.

Before 1988, the single state-owned broadcaster (Radio Eir-eann, later Radio Telefis Eireann [RTE]) enjoyed a monopoly of all broadcasting in the Republic of Ireland. Eamon de Valera, the predominant Irish prime minister (*Taoiseach*) of the mid-20th century, used radio effectively to disseminate his protectionist vision of an Ireland that was not only politically neutral but that he thought might also stand apart culturally from the modern world.

Listening to radio in the Republic of Ireland has often been a community experience, and people have consistently shared their relationship with the medium. In the 1950s and 1960s, men regularly gathered around a radio set on Sunday afternoons to listen to the distinctive commentaries of Michael O'Hehir on "Gaelic" football, a sport with its own special rules designed to distinguish it from "foreign" games. Today the contents of particular radio programs frequently provide a principal topic of conversation at home and in the pubs or restaurants.

Notwithstanding the fact that most householders in the Republic of Ireland now receive directly from the United Kingdom many English language television services of high quality, in addition to the four national Irish television channels, radio still has a wide listenership during the daytime and significantly influences political and media agendas. The Irish have for many years spent more time tuned to the radio than have their British neighbors.

In particular, Radio 1, the main radio service of the state-owned RTE, has provided coverage that emulates the best of the tradition of public broadcasting in Europe. During the daytime, Radio 1 creates a public space within which current and sometimes sensitive or controversial issues are discussed in a participatory fashion by well-known presenters; their guests; and members of the public, who are encouraged to phone in. During the 1990s, a wide variety of privately owned county and local radio services developed rapidly and have attracted many listeners away from RTE. Yet the main characteristic of most of these services is their local speech content. The most critically acclaimed programs on the privately owned national radio service, Today FM, are also speech centered, as opposed to music centered.

The perceived power of the spoken word in Ireland is reflected in special legislative provisions, known as Section 31, that have allowed the government to prohibit from time to time the broadcasting of interviews or reports of interviews with spokespeople for organizations that are deemed by the government to be involved in violent and undemocratic political activity, especially that relating to the conflict in Northern Ireland (the broadcasting of visual images of such organizations has never been banned).

The Republic of Ireland's transition from being a postcolonial and economically underdeveloped country to its status as the thriving "Celtic Tiger" of Europe has been reflected in part by the emergence of populist music-driven radio. Perhaps the most anomalous example of this phenomenon was Atlantic 252 (also known as Radio Tara), a long-wave station owned ultimately by RTE but managed in practice by CLT (Luxembourg). This station's diet of pop music and Americanized disc jockey patter was targeted principally at audiences across the Irish Sea and was created in 1989 to derive revenue from British advertisers, who were eager to sell their products to young

English audiences. As the U.K. gradually licensed new national stations aimed at the same audience, Atlantic 252 ceased to be viable and finally went off the air on 31 December 2001.

Development

The history of Irish radio enjoys associations with several "firsts" in broadcasting. Most Irish histories of wireless point to the early radio broadcast from leaders of the Irish uprising that occurred during Easter week, 1916, when leaders of the uprising transmitted Morse code messages from their headquarters in the General Post Office on what is now Dublin's O'Connell Street. Many of the early experiments in wireless conducted by Marconi emanated from Ireland (RTE's headquarters in Dublin's Donnybrook area, the home of Marconi's Irish mother, Annie Jameson). The development of Irish radio can be seen as emerging in five phases.

Beginnings of Irish Broadcasting 1926–1945

Irish broadcasting had a modest beginning. Broadcasting began with a 1-kilowatt transmitter and an aerial system mounted on wooden sailing masts in the center of Dublin. The first broadcast was a speech by the soon to be first President of the Republic, Douglas Hyde, in January 1926. The radio service reported to the minister for post and telegraphs, and by the early 1930s the service had transmitters in Dublin, Cork, and Athlone, allowing for national coverage. Sponsored programs were part of Irish radio from the beginnings, and news coverage was provided by Irish radio reporters, rather than relying on news services. In 1937, the year that the Irish Constitution was adopted, the service became known as Radio Eir-eann; it held that name into the 1960s.

Quest for Independence 1945–1953

This period saw Irish radio attempt to forge a model of broadcasting that was different from that of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and one that was not mired in the bureaucracy of government. With the government of Eamon DeValera firmly in place, the radio service continued to develop in order to serve the political and economic goals of the new Free State.

Ireland did not participate in World War II, officially referring to this time period as "The Emergency." Radio Eireann featured a professional repertory company, symphony orchestra, light orchestra, news service, staff scriptwriters, outside broadcast officers, and engineers. Broadcasting during The Emergency and maintaining neutrality put a strain on what could be reported. All programming was required to be cleared by the director, and often this spilled into the Dail (parliament) debates and became a matter of public debate. Mentions of the

weather, for example, were prohibited from all broadcasts, as was the coverage of sporting events. As Gorham noted, "the Government was not going to let Radio Eireann be used as an advanced weather station in the Atlantic for the belligerents of either side" (Gorham, 1967).

It was from this "emergency" situation that Radio Eireann sought independence in the years immediately following the Allied victory in Europe. The postwar move toward freedom of expression for broadcasting included the establishment of an advisory panel in 1952 that laid the groundwork for the establishment of an independent authority to oversee broadcasting that was not directly under the control of the government.

Rise and Fall of Comhairle Radio Eireann 1953-1960

The deficiencies of Irish radio were the subject of much public and government debate during this period. Some favored the continuation of direct government control, whereas others advocated following the European ethos of public service broadcasting with oversight by an independent authority. A compromise established an advisory committee, Comhairle Radio Eireann.

Comhairle Eireann's five-member council provided oversight for the radio service, subject to the approval of the minister for post and telegraphs, until the 1960 establishment of Radio Eireann. The director of broadcasting was Maurice Gorham. There was continual disagreement over the scope and function of Irish broadcasting because of lack of public funds, the need to make a decision about television, and the British electronic "invasion." There were nearly 500,000 licensed listeners for Irish radio during this period, though not all areas of the country could receive a signal. The government subsidy was augmented with the sale of program sponsorships. There were 380 employees of the radio operation, including actors, writers, and engineers, as well as the Irish Symphony Orchestra.

Radio Telefis Eireann, the "Pirates," and the Coming of Television 1960-1984

Irish radio in this period found a new regulatory environment, new sources of revenue from advertising, expanded coverage throughout the day, a Gaelic language station, authoritative news coverage, FM stations, and radio pirates. It was during this era that building a television service appeared foremost in the minds of government officials. Radio Eireann was established as an autonomous entity to be the authority over both radio and television. The first director general of the authority was an American, Edward Roth, who had been a consultant to the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) and had experience in starting up stations in Mexico and Peru. His attention, and that of others at Radio Eireann, was on television. There

was a grand exodus from the radio service to the television side of "The House," which moved to new quarters in Donnybrook. Radio Telefis Eireann (RTE) was adopted by the authority as the official name of the public service broadcaster.

The rise of rock and roll and pirate radio stations had a tremendous impact on Irish broadcasting. In 1978 alone, more than two dozen pirate stations went on the air. There were numerous raids to shut them down in the early years, but these proved to be ineffective. There was little direction from the government regarding these popular broadcasters, and this, coupled with the lure of advertising dollars, allowed illegal radio operators to play popular music to the delight of their audiences. RTE's response was to launch its own music station (RTE 2) directed toward the under-25-year-olds, who represented more than half of the population. By 1984 there were more than 70 illegal radio stations operating and gaining increasing numbers of listeners and advertising dollars.

Pirate radio became a part of Irish life, it was commercially successful, the announcers had "star" status, and the government appeared helpless to do anything about it. Raids to shut down Radio Nova and Sunshine Radio in Dublin in 1983 resulted in large public demonstrations in support of these highly popular stations.

Rise of Independent Broadcasting since 1984

Ireland entered the local and private broadcasting arena at a different time and under different circumstances than most countries. The procedures and means for silencing the pirates and bringing on board replacements suitable for the audience was to be no small feat. The Irish audience had grown to depend on the illegal broadcasters during their raid on the island. The Radio and Television Act of 1988 created Ireland's independent broadcast operators and silenced the illegal operators. The Independent Radio and Television Commission (IRTC) was formed, and by the summer of 1990, new radio licenses had been awarded to 24 different ownership groups serving all counties. By 2000, 12 community radio stations, 21 independents, and a new national radio service (Today FM) were serving Irish listeners—with several new licensees set to go on the air as well. RTE introduced Lyric FM as a new service specializing in classical music and extended coverage for its Gaelic language stations.

Organizations and Stations

There are three major types of radio in Ireland, all of them claiming some allegiance to the public service broadcasting ideals that are associated with European radio generally: the state-owned RTE radio network stations, independent local commercial radio, and community radio. In addition, there are five hospital/institutional radio stations.

RTE radio channels that provide national coverage on a variety of frequencies throughout the country include RTE Radio 1; 2FM; Lyric FM; and the Irish language station, Raidió Na Gaeltachta. One local RTE radio service, Radio Cork, operates a limited schedule.

There is one independent national radio channel that provides national coverage on a variety of frequencies throughout the country, called Today FM. By 2000, there were 21 independent local commercial stations: CKR FM, East Coast Radio, Radio Kilkenny, South East Radio, WLR, Radio Kerry, Galway Bay FM, Clare FM, FM 104, LFM, Tipp FM, Shannonside 104 FM, Highland Radio, Cork 96 FM/County Sound, 98 FM, North West Radio, Midlands Radio 3, Tipperary Mid West Radio, Northern Sound Radio, Limerick 95FM, and Mid West Radio. Ten of these stations serve the Dublin metro area, and the others serve listening areas across the countryside.

The newest radio stations on the air are the community and community of interest radio stations. Community radio stations are owned and controlled by not-for-profit organizations whose structure provides for membership, management, operation, and programming primarily by members of the community at large. These include Community Radio Castlebar, Wired FM, Dublin South Community Radio, West Dublin Community Radio, FLIRT FM, Phoenix FM, South West Clare Community Radio, Cork Campus Radio, Connemara Community Radio, NEAR FM, Community Radio Youghal, Tallaght Community Radio, Radio na Life, and the special interest station Anna Livia FM.

There are three hospital/institutional stations in Dublin, one in Waterford, and one in Cork city.

Programming

Radio programming in Ireland was long associated with extensive sports coverage of the "national" games of Gaelic football and hurling and in particular with the voice of Radio Eireann's best-known sports commentator, Michael O'Hehir. The broadcasting of popular music from outside Ireland was for decades restrained, although an antijazz campaign led by a Catholic priest in the 1930s was not entirely successful. In the 1970s young people in large numbers began to tune into foreign and domestic pirate (unlicensed) radio stations. Since 1988, local independent broadcasting has steadily grown in size and stature.

During the last quarter of the 20th century, the most influential programs on Irish radio were broadcast by RTE Radio 1 and included *Women Today*, which was feminist in concept and execution, and *Morning Ireland*, which still enjoys a very large breakfast and drive-time listenership. The main presenters associated with the great success of daytime speech programming on RTE Radio 1 during this period included David Hanly; Marian Finucane; Pat Kenny; John Bowman; Colm Keane; Myles Dungan; and Ireland's best-known broadcaster,

Gay Byrne. Other well-known RTE radio personalities who present lighter programs on 2FM include Gerry Ryan, Dave Fanning, and Larry Gogan. The abiding influence and popularity of speech programming in Ireland is underlined by the fact that the most critically acclaimed program on Ireland's only privately owned national radio service, Today FM, has been *The Last Word*, which is presented in the early evening (5:00 P.M. to 7:00 P.M.) and whose establishing presenter Eamon Dunphy developed a distinctive style of in-depth discussion of controversial issues.

The programming of the independent and community radio stations reflects local content and in some cases local music. They have captured the listening ears of the contemporary audience with personalities and recorded music. Both RTE major radio services (2FM and RTE 1) and the majority of the independent stations also have digital signals that allow Irish programming to be heard worldwide via the internet.

Financial Support

Most revenue for radio comes from advertising, although RTE does receive a subsidy from a broadcast license fee, which in 2000 was 70.00 Irish punts (approximately U.S. \$100) per subscribing household. In addition to RTE stations, the license fee also subsidizes the National Orchestra and three television services, among other entities. Traditionally, two-thirds of RTE's revenue has come from advertising.

The advertising and sponsorship revenue for the independent radio sector has seen steady growth, with increases of 14 to 17 percent in the years 1997 and 1998. The total radio advertising revenue in 1998 for independent stations was £32.87 million (\$45 million U.S.).

Policy and Regulation

Irish radio was first established under the aegis of the Wireless Telegraphy Act of 1926, four years after a bitter civil war and six years after Ireland won its independence from Great Britain. The act defined "wireless telegraphy," in a prophetic manner, as "any system of communicating messages, spoken words, music, images, pictures, prints or other communications, sounds, signs or signals by means of radiated electromagnetic waves." Radio in Ireland operated under the portfolio of the minister for posts and telegraphs until the Broadcasting Authority Act was passed in April 1960. Under terms of this law, the Radio Eireann Authority regulated radio broadcasting; it became the Radio Telefis Eireann Authority in 1966 and is most commonly referred to as RTE. The Radio and Television Act of 1988 created Ireland's independent broadcast operators.

The Irish Constitution and its regulations regarding broadcasting pose several restrictions on freedom of expression. Irish

radio, like other broadcasting, operates with a “fairness doctrine.” There is an affirmative obligation on the part of all broadcasters, RTE, private, and community stations to be fair, objective, and impartial. The legacy of public service broadcasting includes statutory restrictions on several content areas, including an absolute prohibition on editorializing, the requirement that private radio broadcasting services devote a minimum of 20 percent of their airtime to news and public-affairs programming, and the absolute prohibition on broadcast advertising of religious or political advocacy.

The amount of advertising is statutorily limited to 5 percent for RTE stations and 10 percent for independents. The Broadcasting Authority Act of 1993 amended the Broadcasting Act of 1990 (passed in order to implement the European Communities Directive on Television Broadcasting) and liberalized the amount of revenue that RTE could make from advertising. A 1995 Green Paper on broadcasting examined philosophical and strategic issues for Irish radio and other electronic media.

Two separate oversight committees govern regulation of Irish radio. The Broadcasting Commission of Ireland (BCI, known as the Independent Radio and Television Commission from its foundation in 1988 until 2001) provides oversight and licensing for the independent broadcasters, and the RTE Authority sets policy and oversight for the government-owned broadcasters. Members of both these autonomous policy-guiding bodies are government appointees.

Audience Research

The Joint National Listenership Research Committee (JNLR), comprising all broadcasting organizations, the advertising agencies, and the major advertisers, conducts audience research in the Republic of Ireland. Control of the comprehensive twice-yearly survey is handled by a JNLR Technical Committee consisting of representatives of RTE (the state-owned broadcaster), Today FM (the only privately owned national radio station), the BCI (the regulator), and the Institute of Advertising Practitioners in Ireland (the agencies). The JNLR data provide very specific information on audiences and their preferences, including a detailed analysis of the social class, age, and gender of listeners over the age of 15 for each quarter hour of the day. A JNLR software package is available to permit media buyers to plan their advertising campaigns.

JNLR findings are based on personal interviews, conducted in the home, with a sample of 6,660 people over the age of 15 in the Republic of Ireland. Special adjustments are made to ensure a minimum sample of 200 for each local radio franchise area. Results of the JNLR research are divided into “listenership” and “market share.” The “listenership” figures total more than 100 percent because they give equal weighting to

any stations heard by the respondents on the day before the survey date, regardless of the duration of listening in each particular case. The “market share” information does total 100 percent and requests that respondents state how long they tuned in to any particular station on the day before the survey date. The latter figure is a better indicator of overall performance than is the former.

During 1999, for the first time, the combined market share of privately owned radio stations edged ahead of the combined market share of the radio services operated by the state-owned RTE. However, Radio 1, which is RTE’s flagship radio service and which broadcasts mainly speech programming, continues to surpass by far any other single service, either public or private, with a national audience share around 33 percent.

As the state-owned RTE is dually funded, both from public monies and from advertising, the JNLR results are important to both RTE and the private sector in their competition for revenue.

Radio Audience and Irish Emigration

In the United States, some 30 to 35 million Americans claim Irish ancestry, quite a feat for a country of 3.5 million people. Since the beginning of Irish radio, broadcasters have considered ways and means to reach the millions of people who are connected via ancestors or interest. In 1946 the Irish Government initiated a plan to develop a high-power shortwave station that could broadcast to the United States. The project was aborted before its first broadcast, but not before a 100-kilowatt transmitter and a directional antenna that stretched over 40 miles were constructed. Today’s satellite feeds and digital radio on the internet finally allow Irish broadcasters to serve their extended world audience. Irish radio stations are electronically connected via e-mail; all of the national networks and most of the local independent stations have websites; and many are “streaming” their programming, making it available to listeners worldwide. A metamorphosis of Irish radio policy and practice from an insular, nationalistic, and pastoral focus to one that includes international, local, and national constituencies has occurred over four decades. The 21st century promises continued transformations for Irish radio. The voices of Irish radio have always had something to say. They have said it with style. Today they have an expanding world audience tuning in.

COLUM KENNY AND THOMAS A. MCCAIN

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Isay, David 1965–

U.S. Radio Producer

Independent producer David Isay's acclaimed documentaries and features, broadcast on National Public Radio (NPR), beginning in the 1990s served as the benchmark for aurally lush, compelling, and socially responsible radio. Isay, the first radio producer awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship, received a MacArthur Fellowship in 2000.

In an era in which marginalized group members are often depicted as freakish or dangerous, Isay's work paints sensitive portrayals of people living in poverty (*Charlie's Story*, among others), people with all-consuming passions, or people caught up in social struggles (*Remembering Stonewall*). Many pieces investigate spirituality; others highlight vanishing professions or fading historical icons, such as Coney Island, roadside dinosaur museums, and Jewish synagogues in the South.

Isay attended a Jewish elementary school and then a prep school in Connecticut before moving to Manhattan, where he attended high school at Friends Seminary. He graduated from New York University in 1987 and planned to start medical school, a path chosen because many of his family members are physicians. Meanwhile, however, he received grant money to produce a small documentary film about drug addiction. He

notified local media about a story he felt merited attention when he met two former addicts planning to open an addiction museum. Only Pacifica station WBAI was interested, and they asked him to report the story. WBAI provided equipment and later helped edit the piece. NPR editor Gary Covino heard the broadcast and lightly re-edited it for airing on NPR; Isay earned \$250 for this five-minute debut. Covino has edited most of Isay's projects since then, and Isay set aside plans for medical school to take up a brilliant career as an independent producer. He found that working in audio neatly drew together his abilities and interests.

Isay's mother, Jane, served as an early mentor; her work as a book editor influenced his finely honed editing style. From his father, Richard, a psychoanalyst, he developed an interest in people on the margins of society.

Though based in New York City, Isay has interviewed individuals across America: he has stalked poisonous reptiles with snake handlers in West Virginia and has spent time with men serving life terms in Louisiana's Angola Prison. This latter piece, *Tossing away the Keys*, resulted in the release of an inmate who had unfairly served more than 40 years in Angola.

His concerns about capital punishment earned him his third Peabody Award, one shared with longtime collaborator Stacy Abramson. The 2000 piece, *Witness to an Execution*, provided an insider's glimpse into the Texas death chamber as experienced by the narrator, Warden Jim Willet, and others who work on death row. The program generated more correspondence than any NPR had ever broadcast.

Isay's best work springs from collaborations in which he guides people as they provide accounts of their own lives. His most celebrated pieces, *Ghetto Life 101* and *Remorse*, resulted from a collaboration with African-American teenagers LeAlan Jones and Lloyd Newman, who reported on life in and around a Chicago housing project. *Our America*, a book compiled from transcripts from these collaborations, has sold 50,000 copies. In 1999 Miami University required freshmen to read the book, and companion materials for high schools have been prepared. Because the teens' forthright on-air conversations encompassed revelations of criminality by the boys and others in their neighborhood, *Ghetto Life 101* infuriated some African-American staff members at NPR, who argued that it propagated racist stereotypes. Isay, devastated by the criticism, feared that the network might bar all future work, but the piece then won several prestigious awards.

NPR occasionally turns down Isay's pieces, claiming that materials are too raw or exhibit a lack of balance. Documentaries about a Mormon town and about a former prostitute dying of AIDS were rejected, as was one about a hospital for the criminally insane, a piece later commended by the American Psychological Association.

Most of Isay's work, however, is virtually guaranteed distribution, and many of his works are reviewed in the *New York Times* and elsewhere. Isay feels this acclaim from outside NPR has been crucial to his success at the network and with grantors.

Although Isay is known for his meticulous editing and strong story sense, his writing is also superb. Drawing from conversations with collaborators, he writes a highly natural-sounding script. His use of outsider narrators is often copied; he himself is rarely heard in his pieces.

Isay's style is richly symphonic. Such intricately edited surround sound results from painstaking work and deep on-site immersions. Isay and colleague Stacy Abramson spent 14 months working on *Sunshine Hotel*, an award-winning project recorded at a New York City flophouse.

The Corporation for Public Broadcasting underwrites most of Isay's productions, but this support and NPR's fees cover only a portion of production costs. Because few foundations provide grants to individuals, Isay established his nonprofit Sound Portraits Productions in 1994. Support comes from a wide array of large and small foundations. Grant monies are supplemented with outside projects, such as a Showtime movie deal about his relationship with the Chicago teens; monthly

transcripts, newly collected, for the *New York Times Sunday Magazine*; and a deal with audible.com to lend his name and some of his work to their enterprise. He allots just \$50,000 for his salary. His business model and high-quality work provide inspiration for other independent producers.

Isay's website, soundportraits.org, is often mentioned in the press as a "cool site." The site, which receives about 1,000 hits weekly, posts soundfiles and updates about people profiled in previous pieces.

Isay shares his fees and prize money with collaborators and develops long-lasting, supportive friendships. He hopes to expand his organization to include a social worker and an education coordinator.

Isay has also collaborated with mainstream writers to produce features. Isay sometimes finds such work frustrating because of pressures from marketing departments. He now prefers to collaborate only if the writer is obscure. He believes his mission is to broadcast voices from the margins; he aspires to draw attention to poverty and other social ills.

Sound Portrait's productions have been translated into many languages and broadcast in Europe. A 1999 work, *The Jewish Giant*, debuted at a Jewish museum, an unusual way to draw audiences to radio fare. Working with all-but-forgotten Yiddish-language programming miraculously salvaged by ethnomusicologist Henry Sapoznik, Isay showcased "The Yiddish Radio Project" on NPR and in a multimedia presentation that toured major cities in 2002.

In 2003, Isay began a long-term initiative called Story-Corps, a network of public kiosks where families can work with facilitators to record intergenerational interviews. A related Sound Portrait project includes training for high school students in conducting and editing oral histories.

PATRICIA JOYNER PRIEST

See also Documentary Programs; Jewish Radio; National Public Radio

David Isay. Born in New Haven, Connecticut, 5 December 1965. Attended New York University, B.A. in psychology and chemistry 1987; produced *The Museum of Addiction* as freelancer for WBAI, New York, 1988; produced *Remembering Stonewall*, his first documentary to air on NPR, 1989; produced, with two Chicago teenagers, the award-winning *Ghetto Life 101*, 1993, and *Remorse*, 1996; founded not-for-profit company Sound Portraits, 1994; produced acclaimed *Sunshine Hotel*, 1998; honored with ten-year retrospective by WNYC, 1998. Received Livingston Award for Young Journalists for *Tossing Away the Keys*, 1990; American Psychological Association recognition for *Ward 2-West*, 1991; Peabody Award for *American Folklife Radio Project*, 1992; Livingston Award and Prix Italia for *Ghetto Life 101*, 1993;

Guggenheim Fellowship, 1994; Robert F. Kennedy Journalism Award for Reporting of the Disadvantaged, *All the Way Broken*, 1995; Peabody Award and Robert F. Kennedy Journalism Award Grand Prize and Radio Winner for *Remorse: The 14 Stories of Eric Morse*, 1996; Prix Italia and Society of Professional Journalists Award for *Sunshine Hotel*, 1999; MacArthur Fellowship, 2000; Peabody Award for *Witness to an Execution*, 2000.

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- 1988 *The Museum of Addiction; Pledge of Allegiance and Jehovah's Witnesses*
- 1989 *Remembering Stonewall; Statue of Liberty's Flame Keeper; Rat Patrol; Workman's Circle Rest Home; Obituary Writing; Harlem Youth Write about Inner-City Life; Russian Baths in New York City's Lower East Side; Underground NYC: Shocking Aging System; Harlem Renaissance and Black Physicians; Telephone References at NY Public Library; WWI and WWII Black Veterans Overlooked for Medals*
- 1990 *Dan Field, Marriage Broker; Bedford-Stuyvesant Volunteer Ambulance; "Angolite": Louisiana Prison Magazine; Tossing Away the Keys; Brooklyn Black Opinion of FAMA Conviction; Brooklyn Elite Checker Club; Prison Radio Station in Angola Louisiana; Coney Island; Cynical Santa*
- 1991 *Passover Hangover at US's Oldest Winery; Automat's Last Day in New York City; Airplane Ashes; Ward 2-West; Joe Franklin, Longest Daytime TV Talk Show Host; Mississippi Jews*
- 1992-94 *American Folklife Radio Project*
- 1992 *Jefferson County Gospel Quartets; Hunan Chef; Riverside Hotel; "Steam Train" Maury Graham, Hobo; They Shall Take Up Serpents; Brewer Bell Museum*
- 1993 *Dinosaur Gardens; Foxhunters; American Talkers; Ghetto Life 101; Kipperman's Pawnshop; Woolworth's Closes Famous North Carolina Location*

- 1994 *Robert Shields World's Longest Diary; The Gods of Times Square; Slaves in the Family*
- 1995 *All the Way Broken*
- 1995-96 *Julius Knipf: The Radio Cartoon*
- 1996 *Jim Bishop, Castle Builder; Remorse: The 14 Stories of Eric Morse; Lindy Hop Step Creator; Museum of Jurassic Technology; A Letter to Butchie; Looking for Mary*
- 1998 *Charlie's Story; My Grandmother Was a Slave; The Sunshine Hotel; 1953 Polygamy Arrests*
- 1999 *Death Row Diaries; The Jewish Giant*
- 2000 *Summer Triptych; Weegee; Witness to an Execution*
- 2001 *The Execution Tapes*
- 2002 *Youth Portrait Series; Yiddish Radio Project*

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Israel

It is not uncommon to observe parallels between a nation's political events and the development of its media. Because of the ability of the media to influence opinion, governments recognize the value of using those media to propagate political points of view. At the same time, citizens in free societies recognize the value of media that are not under the control of governments, and those citizens often exert great and passionate effort to contend for free media. Such has been the case with the history of radio in Israel, a history that can be divided into three periods corresponding to diverse political and historical circumstances.

Three Historical Eras

Israel's radio history begins with the Palestine Broadcasting Service (PBS) era, which began in 1936 when the British Mandate Authority introduced radio to the Middle East. Not surprisingly, PBS was modeled after the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) domestic service. Programming was produced in Hebrew, Arabic, and English by broadcasters who were given some degree of autonomy. But ultimate authority remained with the government, first as part of the British Post Office and then as a department of the colonial government of Palestine. A number of clandestine radio services were also in operation. Although the British attempted to stop the illegal broadcasts, various Jewish and Arab political organizations were engaged in a discreet electronic battle, voicing their respective views on underground stations while the Palestinian conflict ensued.

The second period might be referred to as the Voice of Israel era, which began in 1948 when the State of Israel was established. With the organization of the new independent government, broadcasting was first placed under the control of the Ministry of Interior and was later transferred to the prime minister's office and given the name *Kol Yisrael* (the Voice of Israel). During this time, the government exercised great control over the medium in an effort to maintain security and to protect Israelis from potential negative influences by immigrants of diverse backgrounds. An official Israeli military station was also established.

The third period of Israel's radio history is the Israeli Broadcasting Authority (IBA) era, which began in 1965 and has continued into the 21st century. The IBA was established when the Israeli government yielded to public pressure to create a public authority to manage broadcasting. Radio in Israel had come full circle and again resembled the British model. Like the BBC, its existence was created by legislation, its economy funded in part by taxation, and its function mandated by law.

Israeli Broadcasting Authority

Under the Broadcasting Authority Law, the IBA serves five functions: information and entertainment; the promotion of Israeli creative efforts; Arabic language broadcasts promoting peace and understanding with Israel's Arabic-speaking population; broadcasts targeting the Diaspora (dispersed Jews); and broadcasts to foreign countries. Within the scope of that mandate, the IBA formulates policy related to programming, management, and operations.

The organizational structure of the IBA is three-tiered. A 31-member *Plenum* (council) is appointed by the government. The *Plenum* is responsible for general broadcasting policy, including a range of matters from budget oversight to program schedule approval. It is helpful to note that because the council's membership politically reflects the membership of the *Knesset*, or legislature, consensus can sometimes be elusive. From the *Plenum*, the government selects seven members to serve as the Managing Committee, which has responsibility for broadcast operations, including budget preparation. Finally, a director general is appointed to implement the policies and procedures put in place by the *Plenum* and the Managing Committee.

In addition to the three-tiered structure of the IBA, there is the potential for further governmental involvement with radio in Israel. The Ministry of Telecommunications is responsible for the technical operation and transmission facilities. The Ministry of Defense and the military both have censorship authority when it is deemed to be in the national interest. The Ministry of Finance has significant control over budget matters, at least on the revenue side of the ledger, because of the methods used for funding broadcasting in Israel.

The IBA—and consequently radio in Israel—receives its funding from several sources. Like the British model, it is funded by a hybrid of public and private revenues. Israeli citizens pay a license fee each year for television sets in the household and an additional fee for radios in automobiles. These license fees are a major part of funding for the IBA. In addition, radio advertising is a growing source of revenue, and some funds also come from the Jewish Agency (specifically for broadcasts targeting the Diaspora) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Although advertising has become a significant source of revenue for radio in Israel, it should be noted that there are restrictions and guidelines on advertising, mostly related to the religious aspects of Jewish law. For example, until recently radio advertising by physicians, dentists, lawyers, psychologists, and many other professionals was banned. There are stringent controls on advertising copy and commercial content.

Commercial scheduling is limited or forbidden on the Sabbath and on religious holidays.

Radio programming in Israel is quite varied, owing in part to the diverse mix of cultures and languages within the population. Additionally, some programming targets audiences beyond the geographic boundaries of the state. Programs are broadcast in Hebrew, Arabic, English, French, Hungarian, Romanian, Russian, and Spanish, as well as in several Jewish dialects. Domestic radio service includes music and entertainment, variety, news and public affairs, drama, children's programming, and religious features. An Arabic channel programs music, talk, and news to Arabic-speaking citizens of Israel, as well as to the Arabic-speaking populations of neighboring states. An external radio service broadcasts news programs and features on Israeli culture in various languages to nations around the world by shortwave.

Beyond standard entertainment and information, radio in Israel is involved in the media battle of ideologies being waged by the different participants in the Middle East conflict. On one hand, Israel presents the issues from its perspective using its terrestrial media system. At the same time, the United States beams its Radio Sawa ("together") signal into Israel, targeting young Arabs by mixing popular music with Western ideology in Arabic. On the other hand, the Palestinian "intifada"—using the internet—attempts to counter the Israeli message

with its own take on the issues, while Syria, Egypt, and Iran transmit messages into Israel (in Hebrew) that oppose Israel's governmental policies.

RICHARD TINER

See also Radio Sawa/Middle East Radio Network

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Italy

Italy, the country where radio was invented, is home to one of the most advanced and diversified of the world's radio systems. The distinguishing feature of Italian radio is its 3,000 different stations, a figure that places Italy second only to the United States in the total number of signals available. With an average of one radio set for each of its 60 million people, Italy has one of the world's highest levels of radio penetration. Generating more than \$400 million in annual revenues, Italy's commercial radio sector is the seventh largest in the world.

Developments

In few other countries does radio have a more colorful history. The home of Guglielmo Marconi, the Italian city of Bologna was where, in 1895, a practical system of wireless communication was first demonstrated. Patents for radio that Marconi subsequently obtained in Great Britain led to the formation of Compagnia Marconi, a multinational radio manufacturing

enterprise that in the 1920s and 1930s helped advance the growth of radio in Europe.

State control of the Italian radio system began shortly after the country's first regular radio broadcasts in October 1924. Although a private company called URI (Union Radio Italiana) had transmitted the first broadcasts, from a facility located in the Corrodi Palace in Rome, radio was soon nationalized when URI was compelled to enter into a licensing compact with Italy's Fascist government. In 1927 Fascist leaders gained full control of URI and transformed the operation into the state-owned monopoly that became RAI.

Italian radio grew steadily during the 1930s and 1940s. Although most of its facilities were destroyed during World War II, RAI was rapidly rebuilt. Second and third RAI channels had been added by 1950. In 1952 RAI launched Italy's first TV service. The first attempt to privatize and expand Italian radio ended unsuccessfully in 1960 when the country's Constitutional Court upheld RAI's monopoly status.

In the early 1970s, however, a public protest movement directed at the management of RAI and at the system's close ties to the Christian Democratic Party erupted throughout Italy. The result was sweeping reforms. Beginning in 1974, a series of rulings by the Constitutional Court not only rescinded the RAI monopoly but expedited the rapid proliferation of privately owned local stations. Italy's terrestrial, cable, and satellite TV systems were similarly deregulated.

Contemporary Italian Radio

Contemporary Italian radio was shaped during a significant period of deregulation and privatization that began in the mid-1970s and culminated in the early 1990s. Ten to 15 years before Great Britain, France, Germany, and other European countries took similar steps, Italy was the first country in the region to abandon a system that had begun as a state-run public broadcasting monopoly. In Italy, this public broadcast unit is known as RAI (Radiotelevisione Italiana). Operating several channels, RAI remains one of the most widely used Italian radio services. Yet Italy's vast number of additional stations—all propelled by privatization—now define radio throughout the country.

In structure, Italian radio is similar to that in the United States. Regulation defers to a radio-television governing board that is active mainly in the licensing of stations and in spearheading a strict policy of local operations. In a country no larger in area than the state of Arizona, more than 150 cities, towns, and communities have licensed local radio stations. In major cities such as Rome, Milan, Naples, and Turin, upward of 100 stations can be heard. Roughly 60 percent of the stations operate on an FM band nearly identical to that in the United States. The remainder are medium wave stations with frequencies analogous to those of the American AM band.

One of the main outcomes of privatization has been the conversion of Italian radio from a taxpayer-supported public system into a system supported mainly by commercial advertising. Virtually all of Italy's 3,000 stations depend on advertising. Although RAI, the public unit, still relies on tax support, it, too, has developed commercial revenue streams. No country (including the United States) surpasses Italy in levels of commercial competition.

Radio stations in Italy narrowcast to niches in the broadcast audience. The culture of Italy has generally led to a preponderance of music and personality-driven entertainment formats. Music, ranging from symphonies and operas to popular fare, has been a mainstay of programming on RAI. The many newer stations have dramatically increased the number of offerings and, in many cases, have imported musical formats—from country and western music to Top 40 and blues—that were developed in the United States.

Two of Italy's most popular radio stations are Radio DeeJay and Radio Sunshine. Both specialize in popular music and high-profile announcers, and both are available in Rome and Milan, the country's two largest cities. Another leader is the Milan-based progressive music outlet Radio Planet FM. Other well-known Italian radio stations, all with music and entertainment formats, are RClub (Naples), Musica (Milan), Dimensione Suono (Rome), Radio Babboleo (Genoa), and Radio Base Popolare (Venice).

Although Italian radio has not traditionally been a showcase for news and public-affairs broadcasting, a series of political scandals in the 1990s, which resulted in the removal of Italy's long-dominant Catholic-oriented Christian Democratic Party, helped inspire several news-and-information ventures. RAI, traditionally the main source of news in Italy, is now challenged by the country's first all-news broadcast station, the Rome-based Radionews, which has correspondents and outlets in most major Italian cities. Another all-news station is Radio Reporter. In addition, talk and discussion stations are widely available. Although most news and talk stations broadcast in Italian, several cater to French, German, and Slovenian audiences in and around the country's northern border regions.

Although Italian radio thrives, the country's general lack of a public service philosophy, its assimilation of new technologies, and its collaboration with other European Union countries are issues. Another concern is the consolidation of Italy's leading radio properties into corporations such as those owned by Italian media magnates Silvio Berlusconi and Callisto Tanzi, who dominate the country's television industry.

Besides its domestic operations, Italy is identified with two important international radio services. One of these is Vatican Radio, initiated under the leadership of Marconi in 1931 and today available in 34 languages on shortwave, medium wave, and FM radio. Like Vatican Radio, Radio Roma, a shortwave service operated under the auspices of RAI, has a global audience.

CRAIG ALLEN

See also Marconi, Guglielmo; Vatican Radio

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J

Jack Armstrong, the All-American Boy

Children's Adventure Series

Even before World War II, Jack Armstrong of *Jack Armstrong, the All-American Boy* (a sort of *Johnny Quest* of the radio airwaves) was the image of the patriot, the great white hope, the upstanding citizen. The creation of former journalist Robert Hardy Andres, *Jack Armstrong, the All-American Boy* was a daily adventure series whose core audience skewed just slightly older (and, we can assume, more male) than its closest radio rival, *Little Orphan Annie*. It ran on various networks from 1933–51.

Jack, a perpetual teenager despite his nearly 30 years on the air, was a student and star athlete at Hudson High, where the school fight song (which doubled as the series theme) frequently cheered him on to end-of-the-game saves. But young Jack's real role was as globe-trotting adventurer with his Uncle Jim Fairfield and cousins Billy and Betty. Only barely into the first year of the program, the pep rallies and classrooms of Hudson High were abandoned by Jack and his program's writers in favor of death-defying, hair-raising adventures played out at the four corners of the world. From mountain climbing and airplane flying (Uncle Jim owned a hydroplane) to undersea diving and chasing down evildoers and pirates, from the Arctic Circle and the Philippines to other "wild," "exotic," and "untamed" locales, Armstrong's adventures ran daily in late-afternoon, 15-minute episodes. In true serial format, similar to the Saturday afternoon matinee escapades of *The Crimson Ghost* and its ilk, each story had a cliff-hanger ending that encouraged listeners to tune in the next day. And millions of kids and preteens did so with near-religious devotion.

This being radio, the producers were free to create outrageous situations and transport their audience to any number of "real-life" places—Jack and company traveled from the Amazon jungle to the Far East via only a few carefully chosen sound effects. A foghorn simulated a ship, and conga drums conjured up images of the darkest places of the dark continent. Meanwhile, the actors never had to leave the comfort of a Chicago radio studio.

Though Jack Armstrong was not technically an orphan, he was one at least symbolically, for in his traipsing around the world with his uncle and cousins, little mention was ever made of Mom and Dad back home.

Though Uncle Jim, with his authoritative voice, was along on all the adventures as a parental role model (a catchall character to represent the entire world of adulthood), it was not unusual to find him missing in action or conveniently at a distance when the real events began, thereby leaving the three youngsters on their own. However, the adultless world that Jack, Bill, and Betty inhabited never devolved into a *Lord of the Flies*-like scenario. Instead, the trio, like a modern-day Tom Sawyer, Huck Finn, and Becky Thatcher with Jack acting as ad hoc leader, proved themselves smart, resourceful, and empowered enough to save the world, a message they no doubt imparted to their youthful audience. As the program ran during the entire duration of World War II, Jack and company did their bit for the war effort, encouraging listeners to plant victory gardens and to write letters to overseas servicemen.

As with Jack's streamlined family situation, his growing-up years were equally simplified. For Jack (and Betty and Billy, for that matter), there was no mention of such staples of adolescence as self-doubt, acne, and romantic yearnings—and no youthful rebellion. Such sentiment and realism would serve not only to turn off most of the young listeners but would surely also get in the way of all the exciting action. There was no time for planning for the prom in the world of Jack Armstrong!

Not to say that Jack's freewheeling lifestyle did not come under scrutiny during the program's long run. Several sources report that enough mothers (and perhaps fathers, too) wrote to criticize the program for Jack's never being in school that, in response, a few references to homework were eventually dropped into scripts, as was a later character who acted as the children's traveling tutor.



Charles Flynn as Jack Armstrong, the All American Boy
 Courtesy of Mrs. Charles Flynn

Although child psychologist Martin Reymert was engaged to scrutinize each script to make sure it contained no torture or excessive violence, such restraint did not extend to protecting children from heavy-handed consumerism. For *Jack's* entire run, the show was sponsored by Wheaties, and the show's ongoing celebration of athletics, clear good-versus-evil storytelling, and basic American values worked well for the "breakfast of champions." In addition, *Jack Armstrong* was the airwaves' perhaps most aggressive pitchman for product tie-ins. For the right number of Wheaties box tops, youthful listeners could send in for secret decoders or "hike-o-meters." Girls could send away for a bracelet "just like Betty's."

During its run, the broadcast went through many cast changes, including five different Jacks (the longest-playing one was Charles Flynn, whose voice sounded youthful enough that in his 30s, he was still playing the teen). Eventually, in the program's last years, it dropped Uncle Jim (played for the entire run by Jim Goss) and the others altogether. And Jack, who had become too old to be considered a "boy," became an adult agent for justice in the retitled series *Armstrong of the SBI*.

An entertaining, fun, quaint relic now, *Jack Armstrong, the All-American Boy*—the all-American kid from an all-American town—despite its wild, world-traveling adventures, always had a certain air of innocence about it, portraying a world of honesty and virtue, where the good guys always won.

CARY O'DELL

See also Premiums

Cast

Jack Armstrong	St. John Terrell (1933), Jim Ameche (1933–38), Stanley Harris (1938–39), Frank Behrens (1939), Charles Flynn (1939–43; 1944–51), Michael Rye (Rye Billsbury) (1943)
Billy Fairfield	Murray McLean (during war years), John Gannon (1933–43), Roland Butterfield, Milton Guion, Dick York (postwar years)
Betty Fairfield	Scheindel Kalish (Ann Shephard) (1933), Sarajane Wells (1933–41), Loretta Poynton (1941–43), Naomi May (1943), Patricia Dunlap (postwar years)
Uncle Jim Fairfield	James Goss
Gwendolyn Duval	Sarajane Wells, Naomi May
Coach Hardy	Arthur Van Slyke, Olan Soulé, Ed Davison
Vic Hardy	Ken Griffin (1950–51), Carlton KaDell (1950–51)
Captain Hughes	Don Ameche, Jack Doty, Frank Dane
Babu	Frank Behrens
Blackbeard Flint	Robert Barron
Sullivan Lodge	Kenneth Christy
Talia-San	Kenneth Christy
Lal Singh	Michael Romano
Pete	Art McConnell
Dickie	Dick York
Michael	Frank Behrens
Weissoul	Herb Butterfield
Lorenzo	Herb Butterfield
Announcers	David Owen (1930s), Tom Shirley (1930s), Truman Bradley (1930s), Paul Douglas (1930s), Franklyn MacCormack (1940s), Bob McKee (postwar years), Ed Prentiss (1950–51), Ken Nordine (1950–51), Norman Kraft (postwar years)

Creator/Writer

Robert Hardy Andrews

Producer

James Jewel

Programming History

CBS	July 1933–April 1936
NBC	August 1936–September 1941
Mutual	September 1941–July 1942
NBC-Blue	August 1942–August 1947
ABC	September 1947–June 1951

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Jamming

Jamming is the deliberate interference of one radio transmission by another. As long as there have been two or more radio transmitters on the air at the same time, there has been some form of jamming. A somewhat more technical definition describes jamming as an activity *designed* to interfere with someone else's effective use of the electromagnetic spectrum. The Voice of America (VOA) defines *jamming* as intentional interference created through the transmission of broadcasting noises or programming on the same frequency as a signal that some entity (often a political body) does not want others to hear.

More recently, jamming has been referred to as “electromagnetic countermeasures” to reflect more accurately the broad range of electronically based communication systems targeted. The most recent literature refers to jamming as “electronic attack.” No matter what you call it, jammers actually target receivers—not transmitters.

Origins

Before the inception of regular broadcasting in the United States, radio hobbyists and experimenters shared the radio spectrum primarily with government stations. Communication was restricted to signals using Morse code. By their nature, the spark-gap transmitters commonly used created very broad signals. Early detectors or receivers did not help the situation. Most were unable to discriminate between two signals of widely different carrier frequencies, much less between those in close proximity. What government operators often took to be deliberate jamming was really just hobbyists using equipment unable to detect the other signal.

By the 1920s, as broadcasting began to gain popularity, the number of stations grew while the frequency range made avail-

able was limited. Interference was inevitable, but some of it was intentional, because competing broadcasters jammed rival radio programs; still, much of the suspected jamming was really unintentional interference.

History generally attributes the first organized jamming to Germany's use of it during World War I. Jamming was used as a political weapon beginning in the 1930s. With the onset of World War II, sophisticated jamming networks were aimed at disabling military communication and radio-guided weapons systems. All sides participated in jamming.

Jamming of Shortwave Broadcasts

At the end of World War II, a massive jamming campaign became part of the Cold War. In 1948 the Soviet Union committed perhaps a dozen jammers to operate against Russian language broadcasts of the VOA. By 1956 the number of jammers in this service was estimated at 3,000—all aimed at Western broadcasters in a variety of languages—from approximately 200 different sites. It is estimated that more than 600,000 kilowatts of transmitting power was used to block shortwave broadcasts. According to estimates by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) monitoring service, the equivalent of up to \$918 million was spent annually by the Soviet Union on jamming.

According to Rimantas Pleikys, author of *Jamming*, on 3 February 1948, one year after the VOA began broadcasting in Russian, jamming started to become a part of international shortwave broadcasting. This jamming effort continued for the next 40 years. On 29 November 1988, much of the jamming against Western broadcasters ceased. Soviet leadership stopped the activity without an announcement but apparently in response to the easing of East-West tensions.

Despite the reduction in jammers in Eastern Europe, other countries maintain active jamming operations. In addition to operations in Cuba, many jammers still operate from Asia and the Middle East. Radio Martí's AM-band transmissions from Marathon, Florida, have been jammed by Cuba since the service first went on the air.

Interestingly, some former jammers have found new life as local, regional, and international broadcasting outlets. George Jacobs, who spent nearly 40 years in government service, is credited with pioneering and developing the worldwide broadcasting system of the VOA and the post-1974 modernization of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty broadcasting facilities. Jacobs was involved in transforming the OPEN RADIO in Moscow from a Soviet jamming station into a successful Russian broadcasting operation; Jacobs also markets the leasing of shortwave facilities at a former Soviet jamming center in Tbilisi, Georgia.

Characteristics of Jamming

In order to effectively block international shortwave broadcasts, two different techniques can be used. *Skywave* jamming blocks shortwave reception in targeted areas by sending signals from one part of the world to another. The distance from the jammer to the area to be blocked needs to be the same as the distance from the broadcaster being targeted to the intended audience. In metropolitan areas, *groundwave* jamming simply overpowers signals by operating in close proximity to the targeted audience. In addition to these two basic forms of jamming, which are based on two different types of radio propagation, a variety of techniques are used to enhance the effectiveness of jamming.

Cochanneling involves operating a jamming transmitter on or very near the same frequency as the signal being jammed. The signal may be well modulated and carry a standard program from the host country. But the intent is not to reach the audience with this outlet; rather, blocking out or interfering with the unwanted signal is the goal. A variation on this technique is called *Mayak* jamming. A country's home broadcasting service is used to overmodulate the jamming transmitter, making it very unpleasant to listen to. This technique was commonly used against Radio Liberty and some VOA programs prior to 1987. So-called growling or grinding noise is likely a Mayak jammer when it is not being modulated by a program.

During the Gulf War and afterward throughout the Middle East, a bubble or warble sound had been used for jamming. *Wobblers*, *warbles*, or *bubbles* jammers modulate a single frequency with a slowly varying tone that is low in pitch. Howling noise is the result. Synthetic radio noise can be transmitted

with random variations in amplitude and frequency. Because of the similarity to background noise, these warbling methods are often difficult to detect as jamming.

By using a series of tones that increase and decrease in pitch, stepped tones can be used against AM or FM voice circuits. The result often sounds like bagpipes. Another technique electronically imitates the sound of sea gulls, and yet another technique creates the electronic equivalent of grunting. Even the venerable spark signal remains a very effective jamming technique.

Jamming systems may be relatively simple or highly sophisticated. International broadcasters often employ a worldwide monitoring system to determine the effectiveness of their broadcasts to allow adjustments in order to reach the target audience. These operations, sometimes known as control and correction facilities, can also be used to target stations for jamming and can be used to determine the relative effectiveness of the jamming efforts. Some jamming stations transmit an identification in Morse code, making it possible to coordinate efforts throughout a jamming network.

Countermeasures

Countermeasures are often used in order to overcome jamming. For example, during the 1960s, prior to the availability of communication satellites, Armed Forces Radio (AFRS) routinely used its shortwave facilities to deliver major events, especially professional sports, to its international outlets. Although the programming sounded just like that heard on advertised frequencies, these feeds were made on multiple shortwave frequencies determined just before the broadcast. On the receiving end, affiliates would choose the frequency with the least interference, often trying to stay one step ahead of the jammers.

In spite of the number of jamming stations available worldwide, often only a single jamming site would be assigned to such a broadcast, making it possible to try to stay a step ahead of the interfering signal. From a vantage point in Tokyo, Japan, for example—where one of the AFRS shortwave facilities used to feed stations in Vietnam was located—it was possible to monitor several of these frequencies and listen to the jamming follow as the control operator for AFRS in Tokyo switched between frequencies.

Using electronic spectrum analyzers, jamming operations can automatically detect a change in a targeted frequency range when a new carrier appears, automatically assigning a jamming signal to the new carrier. Some broadcasters appear to try to counter this technique by randomly popping up silent carriers to attract the jamming transmitters before beginning their scheduled broadcasts.

Jamming Across the Spectrum

Jammers target more than just AM, FM, and shortwave broadcast operations. A 1999 report released by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) reports that the commission handled more than 1,200 interference complaints from federal, state, and local public safety and emergency officials during 1998. Jammers targeted police communication and interfered with communication between dispatchers and officers. Some pretended to be dispatchers or other police officials.

During 1998, the Federal Aviation Administration requested assistance from the FCC 75 times, including instances involving interference on air traffic control frequencies. Several cases of intentional jamming were discovered.

In late 1999 the FCC's Office of Engineering and Technology and the FCC's Compliance and Information Bureau warned against the "manufacture, importation, marketing or operation of transmitters designed to prevent or otherwise interfere with Cellular Radio Communication."

Entrepreneurs interested in addressing a perceived market for devices designed to prevent or jam the operation of cellular telephones in hospitals, theaters, and other locations asked for the FCC's position on such devices. According to the Communications Act of 1934 and the commission's rules, these devices are not allowed in the United States.

The history of jamming begins with the taming of the electromagnetic spectrum for communication and continues to this day. The basic techniques have changed little over the medium's 100-year development.

JIM GRUBBS

See also Armed Forces Radio Service; Cold War Radio; International Radio; Propaganda by Radio; Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty; Radio Marti; Shortwave Radio; Voice of America

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Japan

Japanese radio broadcasting was initiated by commercial corporations, transformed into a government corporation, used as an effective tool of government propaganda in World War II, and shaped by the democracy brought in by the Occupation after the war. Radio broadcasting has been an important medium for disseminating information, education, and entertainment to the people in Japan.

Origins

The Ministry of Communications—called *Teishinshou*—and various individuals had conducted wireless experiments after

Marconi's initial research in Italy. By 1920 the ministry began to consider establishing radio broadcasting stations in Japan, particularly when they heard about station KDKA in the United States. Responding to the call for radio broadcasters, a total of 64 applications were submitted to the ministry. Many applications came from manufacturers of wireless equipment, newspaper companies, or news agencies. The ministry encouraged them to consolidate among themselves and to form nonprofit public corporations to establish stations. After the consolidation process, stations in Tokyo, Nagoya, and Osaka each received a license and started broadcasting in 1925.

The successful deployment of radio broadcasting service by the three stations soon caught the attention of the government, which then proposed to incorporate them into one public corporation under government supervision. The government argued that such operation was necessary to spread the service across the whole nation. Some critics observed that the government could not leave broadcasting to the private sector after seeing the potential of its great influence.

Despite their strong resistance, the three stations were forced to merge, and *Nippon Hoso Kyokai* (NHK) was established in 1926 as a nonprofit legal entity under the supervision of the Ministry of Communications. NHK completed the construction of most of its nationwide broadcasting network by 1929. Two years later, it launched a second radio service called NHK Radio 2 to broadcast mostly educational programs.

NHK started broadcasting a national baseball tournament played by high school teams in 1927; *Radio Taiso* (an instruction for physical stretching with a special music) began in 1928; and NHK broadcast games of the 1932 Olympics from Los Angeles. *Radio Taiso* is still broadcast every morning and is the oldest radio program in the world.

Radio Before 1945

In the late 1920s, Japan began to experience turmoil, which was exacerbated by the deepening economic recession, the slump in the stock market, increasing unemployment, and the acceleration of antigovernment activity by right-wing groups. Under these circumstances, the government gradually tightened its control of NHK. In 1934 NHK's regional branches were dissolved and placed under the control of headquarters in Tokyo. Later, even NHK's program planning was to be largely dictated by government officials.

On 26 February 1936, a group of 1,400 military officers and soldiers attempted a coup d'état, which lasted three days. The government had little success in persuading them to surrender until a message was broadcast through NHK radio that led to the surrender of the group. This single incident made the government and the military realize the power of radio and encouraged both to use it as a propaganda tool.

On 8 December 1941, Japan began war with the United States (war in China had been underway for five years). NHK was placed under the direct control of military authorities. All programs were designed, produced, and broadcast to make the people understand government policy, to guide thinking favorable to the military, and to create patriotism among the people. Widespread broadcasting of false information about how well the Japanese military had been fighting ended when atomic bombs were dropped in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. On 15 August 1945, the emperor announced the nation's defeat over NHK radio facilities—the first time most Japanese had heard his voice.

Postwar Transition

The restructuring of Japan's radio broadcasting was set out by Supreme Commander Allied Powers (SCAP), headed by General Douglas MacArthur. SCAP aimed at democratizing radio broadcasting by removing all government and military controls over NHK. SCAP submitted a memorandum on 11 December 1945 delineating its plans to democratize NHK's organization. SCAP also instructed NHK to modify its programming by introducing continuous broadcasting from early morning to late evening without any break in between, changing the minimum length of a program from 20 minutes to 15 minutes, and establishing a weekly program. It also encouraged NHK to produce programs that would involve audience participation in various ways. *Nodojiman Shirouto Ongakukai* (Amateur Song Contest) was the first entertainment program in which non-media-related people appeared in a radio program. The program has been broadcast since 1946. Entertainment programs including games, quizzes, and soap operas (the concept for these having been brought from the United States) increased in number.

On 16 October 1947, the Civil Communications Section of SCAP presented to NHK and the government its view about the desirable nature of broadcasting in Japan. The four principles pushed forward were freedom of broadcasting, impartiality, a public service obligation, and conformance with technical standards. They also instructed that an autonomous regulatory organization be established, which would be completely separate from any ministry of the government as well as from any interest groups such as political parties and private corporations. In addition, they suggested that privately owned broadcasting companies be developed to compete with NHK in the future.

The then-Ministry of Telecommunications, called *Denkit-sushinshou*, which had replaced Teishinshou in 1949 following SCAP's recommendation, soon began to prepare necessary bills to establish these principles, and three bills were passed by the Japanese Diet in 1950: the Radio Law, the Broadcast Law, and the Radio Regulatory Commission Establishment Law. The Broadcast Law changed the characteristics of NHK from a monopoly public corporation financially supported by the government as well as by private media-related corporations to an independent public corporation of which income was mostly in the form of receiving fees collected from the audience. The Radio Regulatory Commission was made responsible for allocation of broadcasting frequencies and the granting of broadcasting licenses. On 21 April 1951, 16 preliminary licenses were given, and soon *Chubu Nihon Hoso* in Nagoya and *Shin Nihon Hoso* in Osaka aired programs as the first commercial radio broadcasting stations in Japan. Their financial source was advertising revenue. The Radio Regulatory Commission itself was dissolved in 1952, and its functions were transferred

to the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications, called "Yuseishou," which was established by combining the Ministry of Telecommunications and the Ministry of Posts in the same year.

After World War II, NHK produced many popular radio programs influenced by similar American shows, and radio broadcasting played an important role in comforting people during the often difficult transition period after the war. Some of those NHK programs included a song program, *Nodojiman Shirouto Ongakukai* (Amateur Song Contest); radio dramas such as *Mukou Sangen Ryoudonari* (My Neighbors) and *Kaneno Naru Oka* (The Hill with a Bell); and quiz programs such as *Kiminonawa* (What Is Your Name?), *Watashiwa Dare-deshou* (Who Am I?), and *Tonchi Kyoushitsu* (The Wit Class). Commercial broadcasting stations also aired many entertainment programs.

Radio and Television

Following the postwar reestablishment of radio broadcasting, the first TV service was begun by both NHK and a commercial company, Nihon Television (NTV), in 1953. Because people were quite satisfied with radio broadcasting and enjoyed many favorite programs, initial deployment of the TV service was slow. However, a 1959 live broadcast triggered an increase in the sale of receivers—the wedding ceremony of Prince Akihito and Miss Michiko Shouda, who was the first ordinary citizen to become the bride of an imperial prince. Many advertisers shifted their messages from radio to television, and as a result, the radio services began to lose their major revenue.

Commercial radio stations came up with several strategies to rebuild the popularity of radio listening. They extended broadcasting hours after midnight to target individual audiences; marketed their disc jockeys' unique and interesting personalities as the appeal of a program; and reduced the number of dramas and quiz programs, which were more expensive to produce. Audience segmentation was introduced, meaning that a certain audience group, such as family, housewives, or young people, was targeted as the major audience sought during a certain time period in a day. Another strategy most commercial broadcasters began to use in 1964 was to air night games of professional baseball, especially those played by the *Yomiuri Giants*. Because of the necessity to broadcast those games across the country, commercial radio stations formed two networks, Japan Radio Network (JRN) and National Radio Network (NRN). As of December 2001, JRN had 34 affiliated stations, and NRN had 40. The networks are still mainly used to relay professional baseball games.

These strategies proved successful, and the popularity of radio broadcasting resumed by 1965. Midnight broadcasting was geared toward teenagers. Many disc jockeys played the roles of big brothers and sisters and became national celebrities

among younger listeners. In addition, as the number of automobiles in Japan increased significantly in the 1960s and 1970s, radio stations succeeded in demonstrating their importance by providing timely news and information in drive time.

Although there had been strong demand for a license for FM radio broadcasting since the mid-1950s, the ministry had been worried about the commercial feasibility of FM stations. In the meantime, the ministry encouraged NHK to try to explore FM broadcasting by granting it a license as an experimental station. By 1968, NHK's FM broadcasting network covered almost 80 percent of the country. People had begun to realize the high quality of FM reception, and FM radio receivers were becoming widely diffused. Because of that circumstance, Japan's first licensed FM radio broadcasting was started by FM NHK and FM Aichi Music in 1969, and by FM Osaka Music, FM Tokyo, and FM Fukuoka Music a year later.

NHK

A 1950 Broadcast Law reestablished NHK as an independent public corporation responsible for public broadcasting service. NHK neither receives direct funding from the government nor is responsible for any governmental work. Article 7 of the law states that NHK's goal is to broadcast for the public welfare throughout the country. In order to meet this goal, Article 9 requires that NHK be responsible for domestic and international broadcasting, plus research and development to improve broadcasting in general.

NHK has a Board of 12 governors as its supreme decision-making body. Each governor represents a geographical district, and governors are chosen from various fields such as education, culture, science, and industry. Governors are appointed with a term of three years by the prime minister with the approval of the Parliament, and they are expected to operate NHK for the benefit of the people. The board is responsible for an annual budget, operating plans, and master plans for program production. A board of directors runs NHK on a day-to-day basis and consists of a president appointed by the board and a vice president and three directors who are appointed by the president with the approval of the board. In contrast with many other public corporations in Japan, in which finance, management, and personnel matters are subject to strong government influence, NHK possesses complete autonomy.

NHK is financed by fees collected from the audience. The basis of the receiving fees is included in Article 32 of the Broadcast Law, which requires that those able to tune to NHK "have to agree on a receiving contract with NHK." What this means in practice is that listeners have to pay fees to NHK regardless of whether they listen to NHK programs. Because NHK is the sole public broadcasting station independent from any government organization, receiving fees are regarded as the price necessary for its operation. In 2000 such receiving

fees accounted for almost 99 percent of NHK's total operating income. A budget that includes projections of the amount of the receiving fees for the coming year, an operational report, and a settlement of accounts of the past year is annually prepared by NHK, submitted to the Minister of Posts and Telecommunications, endorsed by the Cabinet, and approved by the Parliament. Although the minister can add some comments to the budget plan, he or she is not allowed to change it.

NHK has several missions to achieve, as delineated in Article 44 of the Broadcast Law. They are (1) to broadcast quality programs in order to meet a variety of needs of the public and to contribute to the elevation of cultural standards through the broadcasting of quality programs; (2) to support the traditional culture as well as to foster new culture; (3) to provide a nationwide broadcasting network so that programs can be received at any place in the country; (4) to produce programs not only geared toward the whole country but also tailored to individual regions; (5) to conduct research and development and to disseminate the results as widely as possible; and (6) to broadcast NHK programs in foreign countries to contribute to better international understanding. Because of the public nature of NHK (and its past involvement in the government/military propaganda), the Japanese people expect NHK to produce programs that are accurate, fair, politically impartial, and neutral, with the presentation of the widest possible range of viewpoints.

NHK operates three radio services: Radio 1, Radio 2, and FM. According to 2000 statistics, Radio 1 devoted about half its time to news, about a quarter to cultural programs, and the final quarter to entertainment (a minimal amount of time, about 2 percent, went to education). On Radio 2, 66 percent was educational programs, followed by cultural programs with 20 percent and news with 14 percent. For the FM service, 41 percent was devoted to cultural programs, 37 percent to entertainment, 18 percent to news, and 4 percent to education. These data show that the primary focuses of Radio 1, Radio 2, and FM are news, education, and culture, respectively. In international broadcasting, 66 percent of the programs were news, and 32 percent dealt with various types of information. As of July 2001, Radio 1 had 214 stations, Radio 2 had 140 stations, and FM NHK had 520 stations in the country. These stations effectively cover all of Japan.

Present Radio System

All radio stations in Japan today are categorized as either general (i.e., they must air news, and more than 30 percent of programs must be education and culture related) or specialized. The latter are further divided into education or music. For an education station, more than 50 percent of programs must be educational, and more than 30 percent must be cultural. NHK Radio 2 fits into this category.

As of December 2001, there were 47 commercial radio companies, holding among them 252 AM stations; 35 of these companies were also operating TV broadcasting stations. There were 53 companies holding altogether 242 FM stations. All FM stations (except for nine outlets) were music stations and belonged to either Japan FM Network (JFN: 37 stations) or Japan FM League (JFL: five stations). Other stations included one short-wave station, one BS analog station, 10 BS digital stations, one CS analog station, six CS digital stations, and 140 FM community stations.

Sixty-eight percent of all radio programs in both NHK stations and commercial stations focused on entertainment, 14 percent was related to culture, 13 percent was news, and 3 percent was education. Advertising expenses in radio in 2000 amounted to \$1.73 billion in U.S. dollars and accounted for 3.4 percent of the total advertising expenses in Japan.

RYOTA ONO

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Jazz Format

The growth of television in the early 1950s gradually replaced commercial radio as the primary family entertainment medium in the home. Radio adapted to a new role by establishing radio formats. Individual stations targeted narrow audience segments by specializing in news, talk, or any of a variety of music genres.

Although jazz music traces its roots to the formative years of the United States, it did not evolve into a bona fide radio music format until the 1950s. During the 1920s and 1930s, mainstream society viewed jazz music in the same way that rock and roll was viewed in the late 1950s: it was considered decadent. Because jazz was closely identified with black culture and affected by the racism that prevailed nationwide during that time, many of the greatest black jazz artists fled to Europe, some permanently, where they and their music were accepted openly. Paris became a cultural center of American jazz music, and the jazz music genre remains very popular there to this day in clubs and on radio. In fact, jazz radio is probably more popular in Europe than it is in the United States.

What is jazz radio? Jazz fans sometimes refer to it as music by musicians, not electricians. It includes blues, swing, bebop, fusion, Latin, and a number of other subcategories within its overall definition. Music that includes flat line piano, boring guitar, and braying saxophone is sometimes associated with jazz, but not legitimately so. New-wave music is not jazz.

Jazz grew out of blues, ragtime, and Dixieland music during the early 20th century. Following the swing era of the 1930s and 1940s, the style evolved into bebop, modern, cool, and other straight-ahead sounds by the 1960s. By this time, jazz had also been accepted as a legitimate popular art form throughout the United States. American audiences embraced the music as much as the Europeans had a decade earlier.

Jazz radio on the East Coast most likely had its roots in "Symphony Sid" Torin's live WJZ-AM radio broadcasts from the Royal Roost in New York City. Trumpeter Rex Stewart and critic and composer Leonard Feather had their own shows on AM in the early 1950s, as did Felix Grant and Ed Beech. These jazz disc jockeys are important, because early jazz formats were very much personality driven and involved a lot of talk in addition to the music.

"Sleepy" Stein, who was doing all-nighters in Chicago, moved his show to KNOB-FM in Los Angeles in 1956, and West Coast jazz radio was established. KJAZ in San Francisco had Pat Henry. KNOB and KJAZ had similar formats: one- and two-hour programs that were oriented totally toward personalities, with disc jockeys involved in lengthy announcements preceding and following each song played, which included mentioning every player or sideman, the composer, and even the record label. There were not that many jazz recordings at the time, and talkative disc jockey personalities

could play virtually every current jazz record release over a 24-hour period. Other jazz radio personalities included Dick Buckley, Howard LaCroft, Frank Evans, Bob Young, Al Fox, Al "Jazzbo" Collins, Jim Gosa, Pete Smith, Dick McGarvin, and Chuck Niles. Niles, probably the "dean" of active jocks, was still doing a regular show on KLON-FM, Long Beach, as the new millennium began.

The growth of FM radio and the intrusion of album-oriented rock and underground radio during the 1970s resulted in the erosion of commercial jazz formats. For example, KKGQ in Los Angeles converted to a classical music format, and KZJZ in St. Louis simply went off the air. By the mid-1990s, only a few jazz formats remained on commercial radio stations in the United States. Noncommercial radio filled the void, however, with jazz being adopted as a format at several large public radio stations and at many college stations. In 1977 National Public Radio (NPR) initiated *Jazz Alive*, a public radio network show that almost all NPR stations carried. Today, the two stations with the largest international audiences are both noncommercial: WBGO-FM in Newark, New Jersey, and KLON-FM in Long Beach, California. Both of these large public radio stations are carried on numerous cable systems and are relayed via satellite to the far corners of the globe. KLON has a special program titled *Euro Jazz* that is relayed via satellite throughout the European continent.

The format itself has changed as well. Research into audience behavior has demonstrated that most listeners want less talk and more music. This "modal music research" calls for serving a greater number of people, replacing talk with 30-second breaks, limiting the number of announcements, and not airing anything squeaky or long. The jazz format of the future will involve less talk, sharpen the focus of the music, and include memorable moments in jazz history. In all likelihood, the music will be based in the jazz styles made popular in the 1950s and 1960s (i.e., bebop, cool, straight-ahead). The big band era is blending with early rock and roll popular music into a successful commercial format.

New developments in electronic technology, such as digital audio via satellite and multiple stream audio on demand via the internet, provide new venues for jazz radio formats. For example, DirecTV carries jazz programming in Japan, and the number of internet radio stations is growing rapidly. XM Radio and Sirius are two commercial satellite radio services that offer more than 100 channels each, several of which are devoted to various forms of jazz music. These mobile services are provided to subscribers for a monthly fee and are not likely to supplant FM radio as a mainstream jazz music format. Given the fact that mainstream jazz music will always target a narrow niche, the new multi channel environment provides an ideal conduit for delivering jazz to a

growing number of fans all over the world. The music itself is established as a truly American music genre; it is taught in schools and clinics and performed by prestigious musical groups throughout the world, much as classical music has been for centuries. Accordingly, the music will continue to evolve but will also remain a viable radio format for years to come.

ROBERT G. FINNEY

See also FM Radio; National Public Radio

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Jehovah's Witnesses and Radio

The religious group that took the name Jehovah's Witnesses in 1931 (prior to that date the group preferred the name Bible Students) owned and operated several radio stations in the United States and Canada beginning in 1924 and used syndicated recordings on hundreds of commercial stations to supplement its broadcast outreach between 1931 and 1937. The controversial and often confrontational views of the sect involved it in frequent conflicts with other denominations and with broadcasting regulators.

The story of the Bible Students'/Jehovah's Witnesses' involvement in radio is largely the story of their second president, Judge Joseph Franklin Rutherford—a former Missouri lawyer and substitute judge with a commanding personality and a booming orator's voice. Born in 1869, Rutherford took control of the Watch Tower Society and its associated groups in 1916, following the death of the sect's founder, Pastor Charles Taze Russell. In 1917 Rutherford and several associates were convicted of sedition for their public opposition to the World War I draft; their convictions were overturned in 1919. Upon his release from prison, Rutherford took steps to revive the struggling movement, implementing a renewed program of publishing and public speaking.

As part of this effort Judge Rutherford delivered his first radio address over station WGL in Philadelphia on 16 April 1922. Soon afterward, the Bible Students acquired a plot of land on Staten Island, New York, and began construction of their own broadcasting station.

On 24 February 1924 the Bible Students inaugurated station WBBR. The noncommercial station featured classical music and hymns performed by Bible Student musicians, talks on home economics and other practical subjects, and lectures on the group's complex interpretations of Bible prophecy and

chronology by Rutherford and others. The success of WBBR led to the operation of additional Bible Student stations over the next several years, including WORD in Batavia, Illinois (later WCHI), KFWM in Oakland, California, CYFC in Vancouver, British Columbia, CHCY in Edmonton, Alberta, CHUC in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, and CKCX in Toronto, Ontario.

During 1927 and 1928 the broadcasting activities of the Bible Students began to attract the attention of government regulators. In June 1927 Rutherford testified before the Federal Radio Commission (FRC) to protest a decision denying WBBR's application to share the frequency of station WJZ, owned by the Radio Corporation of America and the flagship of the newly formed National Broadcasting Company's (NBC) Blue network, alleging that NBC was part of a religious/commercial conspiracy seeking to deny his group fair access to the radio audience. Although the FRC dismissed Rutherford's complaint, NBC offered the Bible Students free air time for the broadcast of a talk by Rutherford. The speech, entitled "Freedom for the Peoples," was delivered on 24 July 1927 and in it Rutherford denounced all other religions, the clergy, big business, and all human governments as agents of Satan. A barrage of complaints received in the wake of this address led NBC to deny Rutherford and the Bible Students any further access to its stations.

The following year the Bible Students ran afoul of broadcasting authorities in Canada. Protests from clergymen over the broadcasts of Bible Student stations in Canada were followed by allegations that the group had on two occasions sold time over its Saskatoon outlet to the Ku Klux Klan. On the strength of these complaints the licenses for the Canadian stations were revoked in March 1928.

Unable to secure time on any established network, the Bible Students turned to a network of their own—buying time on over a hundred stations from 1928 through 1930 for “The Watchtower Hour.” Anchored by WBBR, and connected by American Telephone and Telegraph (AT&T) circuits, the “Watchtower Network” functioned for an hour each week, presenting talks by Rutherford and hymns performed by Bible Student musicians.

Increased costs led the organization to discontinue the live network at the end of 1930, replacing it with transcribed syndication. The Watch Tower Society purchased time on local stations and the lectures of Judge Rutherford were distributed on 16-inch shellac transcriptions manufactured by the Columbia Phonograph Company. By 1933 over 400 stations around the world were broadcasting these 12-minute talks. This “wax chain” would be supplemented by occasional live hookups from the organization’s annual conventions.

As the Depression deepened, the Witnesses (adopting that name in July 1931) became increasingly combative in their attacks on organized religion, politicians, and big business and this, in turn, brought them into further conflict with station owners and the FRC. Catholic authorities, especially, took offense at Rutherford’s statements and pressured station owners to discontinue the broadcasts. In 1933 the Witnesses began a nationwide petition drive for “freedom of broadcasting” and presented more than 2 million signatures to the FRC in early 1934. Allegations were immediately made that many of the signatures were forged, but the petition led Representative Louis McFadden (R-Pennsylvania) to introduce a bill that would require broadcasters to guarantee free and equal use of air time to all nonprofit organizations. Several Watch Tower Society representatives were among those testifying for this bill in March 1934. Buried under an avalanche of opposition from the National Association of Broadcasters, the established networks, and the Federal Council of Churches of Christ, the bill died quietly in committee.

Opposition to the Witnesses’ broadcasts mounted steadily during the mid-1930s, culminating in Philadelphia in 1936 when Catholic leaders urged a boycott of Gimbels Department Store, owners of station WIP, which had carried the Rutherford programs for several years. Stations became increasingly reluctant to sell time to the Watch Tower Society and finally, in October 1937, the organization announced its withdrawal

from commercial broadcasting, although it used special hookups for convention broadcasts until 1941.

Rutherford died in 1942 and his successors have moved away from his aggressive stances, ignoring the broadcast media in favor of direct house-to-house canvassing. Station WBBR remained in operation until 15 April 1957, when it was quietly sold. The call letters were changed to WPOW and the once-combative voice of the Watch Tower Society became a commercial station specializing in recorded music.

ELIZABETH MCLEOD

See also Religion on Radio

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Jepko, Herb 1931-1995

U.S. Radio Talk Show Host

Herb Jepko began what would later become the Nitecap Radio Network on KSL, Salt Lake City, Utah, on 11 February 1964 and is acknowledged by many to be the father of network talk radio.

Origins

Born in Colorado and adopted as an infant by his stepparents in Prescott, Arizona, Jepko was the only child in his family. His adoptive mother left before he was four years old and his adoptive father, Metro, was forced into Veteran's Administration hospitals on and off for the next ten years for injuries he sustained in World War I. During those times Jepko was raised by a series of foster parents until he and his father were reunited for most of his late teenage years. At age 18 Jepko entered the U.S. Army, where he learned the crafts of film production and radio broadcasting.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s Jepko pursued a series of radio jobs along the California coast, in Idaho, and eventually in Utah. He was hired by KDYL in Salt Lake City to play late-night jazz, but he soon grew bored playing music. Working a late-night shift, he began talking to his listeners about the mountains, the weather, and non-controversial news of the day. Since there were no facilities for broadcasting calls over the air, Jepko would talk to his listeners over the phone off the air while music was playing. Mail began arriving from all over the Rocky Mountain area, and it was not long before the managers of Mormon-owned 50,000 watt KSL took note of the new, talented air personality across town. While KSL had a history of hiring only Latter Day Saints (Mormons), exceptions were sometimes made for on-air talent. Jepko's nominal Catholicism and occasional drinking would later create significant tensions.

In 1962 Jepko was hired to host KSL's midday program *Crossroads*. He quickly realized that this was a different audience than the one he had been connecting with in his late-night shift at KDYL. Perhaps in part because of his unstable childhood, it was this late-night audience of the lonely, fearful, sickly, or disaffected for whom he felt the greatest affinity. Despite being a 50,000-watt clear channel, KSL was off the air from 1 A.M. to 5 A.M., and Jepko was anxious to use that time period. KSL management felt no good could come from giving listeners a reason to be awake at that hour and no advertisers would pay to reach those listeners who were awake all night. Jepko had so much confidence in his ability to make the time period work, however, that he accepted a 50 percent cut in pay, resigned from his midday job, and agreed

to a six-week deadline to prove he could make the show work, or be fired.

Nitecaps Program

Just after midnight on 11 February 1964, Jepko began what would become the most successful program in KSL's history. For the first few weeks of the program, station engineers had rigged only one phone line that could be put on the air. Even on that first night, however, Jepko was seldom at a loss for callers. One of the first advertisers was for a venison cookbook, and Jepko's wife Patsy, who supported him in this late-night experiment, found herself filling orders on the kitchen table while listening to the show at night. After a night on the air, Jepko would return at 7 A.M. to shower, change, and begin making sales calls while Patsy took care of the kids. For the first year of the show, they subsisted on two or three hours of sleep each weeknight.

The program's unprecedented success was almost immediate. Within a year, local chapters of *Nitecaps*, as they became known following an on-air contest to choose a name, were meeting in five states. As the only workable method for responding to the thousands of letters received each day, Jepko began publishing *The Wick*, a monthly magazine, in June 1965. Conventions were held that drew thousands of listeners from over 30 states. KSL managers and Latter Day Saints church officials belatedly realized they had a perfect platform from which to reach those in need with proselytizing messages, but Jepko fought to keep the program away from issues of controversy and denominational religion. Some within the station expressed concerns that such a successful program was being run on church-owned facilities by a nonmember. Eventually Arch Madsen, president of KSL, would side with Jepko, allowing him to buy time from the station and operate as an independent contractor, but tensions between other KSL personnel and Jepko continued to intensify.

In January 1968 KXIV Phoenix signed on as the first Nitecap Radio Network affiliate, and network talk radio was born. The 50,000-watt clear channel KVOO, Tulsa, Oklahoma, carried the show from October 1969 to September 1971. In January 1973 WHAS Louisville, Kentucky, another 50,000-watt clear channel station, picked up the show, giving Jepko the first-ever coast-to-coast coverage for a talk show. By mid-1974, more than 80 "Nitestands" were active, with members meeting for socializing and to organize service to the elderly in their areas. While the core of the *Nitecap* audience was retired, Arbitron estimates showed a surprising number of 18-24 year

olds in the midnight-to-1 A.M. hour (the only overnight hour measured by Arbitron at the time). Outside of Salt Lake City (KSL) and Louisville, Kentucky (WHAS), the audience was largely rural, because of the difficulties of receiving, in a dense metropolitan area, a clear signal from a distant AM station.

Almost all revenues from the show were derived from direct-response advertising, and Jepko insisted that *Nitecap* staff handle all order fulfillment. Too often he had seen listeners of other programs robbed by direct-response advertisers who went bankrupt without fulfilling paid orders. So Jepko required Nitecap Radio Network advertisers to ship sufficient product to his Salt Lake City offices before allowing the commercials to air. Other revenue streams included commissions earned by a travel agency and insurance company franchise operated by Nitecaps International. At its peak, a staff of 15 full-time employees handled order fulfillment, insurance policies, Nitecap tours, membership cards, and publishing of *The Wick*.

In November 1974 WBAL Baltimore affiliated with the Nitecap Radio Network, providing a clear signal into Washington, D.C., Philadelphia, and New York. This provided the first exposure to the program for many media executives living on the East Coast. On 4 November 1975, the Mutual Broadcasting System (MBS) began carrying the *Nitecap* program nationally. Thanks to the dozens of new affiliates, membership in the Nitecaps International Association (NIA) soared to over 300,000. Within a year, Arbitron estimated 10 million listeners were tuned in to the program nightly. NIA memberships likewise soared as new "Nitestands" were established across the nation. Following the affiliation with MBS, Jepko distanced himself further from KSL by building separate studios and offices for the show.

Unfortunately, as part of the agreement for MBS to carry the show, Jepko had to relinquish control over order fulfillment and sales strategy to the network. MBS sales executives attempted to sell the program on a cost-per-thousand (CPM) basis to national advertisers, but the reputation of the show as appealing primarily to an older, less-affluent, rural audience made this a difficult sale. MBS account executives quickly moved on to more profitable dayparts, and Jepko, while still enjoying the largest audience in the history of the program, began to suffer extraordinary financial losses. The combination of the increased expenses of operating his own studios and the decrease in revenue from the shift in sales strategy away from proven direct-response advertising would ultimately prove fatal.

By the fall of 1976 Jepko was under intense pressure from MBS to change the program to attract a younger audience. MBS felt more controversy and conflict would serve to attract the younger demographics, which would be easier to sell on a CPM basis to national advertisers. Jepko in turn pressured MBS to continue to serve the existing audience, to whom he



Herb Jepko
Courtesy Radio Hall of Fame

felt a strong commitment. With MBS account executives unwilling, or unable, to work deals for sufficient direct-response advertising, the show began to fail. On 28 May 1977 MBS replaced the *Nitecap* program with Long John Neble and Candy Jones. When Long John died less than a year later, MBS gave Larry King his first shot at a national audience. (Others later mistakenly cite King's program as the first network radio talk show.)

In June 1977 the Nitecap Radio Network was reborn with 10 affiliates, including KSL, but without WHAS. By 1977 14 more affiliates had joined the network, but most used low power at night and the vast majority of the core audience was unable to receive the program. Network radio, in an era before satellite distribution, required expensive American Telephone and Telegraph (AT&T) landlines, which were feasible only with the economies of scale offered by scores of stations sharing the cost. Larry King, other all-night radio programs, 24-hour broadcast television, and cable TV had fractionalized the late-night radio audience. As renewal of *Wick* subscriptions dropped, Nitestands disbanded, and orders from direct-response appeals declined, old tensions between KSL management and Jepko resurfaced, aggravated by his increased drinking. In August 1978 KSL, without advance notice to listeners or to Jepko, dropped the *Nitecap* program.

The show continued for about a year before going off the air in August 1979. Jepko made several attempts to resurrect the program in the 1980s, with the most successful involving purchasing time on WOAI, a 50,000-watt clear channel in San Antonio, Texas, which lasted for several months. The last attempt to restart the program over was made at KTKK in Salt Lake City in 1990 with Randy Jepko, Jepko's son from Patsy's first marriage, serving as co-host, but the show lasted only a few months. When Jepko's son Herb Junior died in 1992, it

proved to be the final tragedy from which Jepko could not recover. He died in Salt Lake City of complications from drinking on 31 March 1995.

JOSEPH G. BUCHMAN

See also All Night Radio; KSL; Mutual Broadcasting System

Herbert Earl Jepko. Born in Hayden, Colorado, 20 March 1931. Adopted by Metro and Nellie A. Jepko of Prescott, Arizona; completed two years of college and enlisted in U.S. Army as broadcast specialist, 1953–55; worked odd jobs in radio in California and Idaho; landed late-night shift at KDYL, Salt Lake City, 1961; joined KSL, Salt Lake City, as host of midday *Crossroads*; launched *The Other Side of the Day*, midnight to 6:00 A.M., 11 February 1964, later renamed the *Nitecaps*; first network talk radio program, 1 January 1968;

operated as *Nitecap Radio Network* through 4 November 1975. Died in Salt Lake City, Utah, 31 March 1995.

Radio Series

1964–77 *The Other Side of the Day* (became *Nitecaps*)

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Jewish Radio Programs in the United States

Religious broadcasts usually connote church services and evangelists. Although it is true that most radio religious programs have been directed at a Christian audience, a number of Jewish programs have been on the air since radio's earliest years.

Origins

In March 1922 New York station WJZ's radio listing announced a "radio chapel service," featuring a talk by Rabbi Solomon Foster and music by cantor Maurice Cowan. Although it had been customary for radio stations to offer short inspirational messages (usually in the morning), these were usually provided by well-known Christian clergy. In some cities with large Jewish populations, however, a rabbi was occasionally asked to speak. To the listener in 1922–23, this was something of a social revolution. Most Christians had never met or heard a rabbi before.

Rabbi Harry Levi of Temple Israel, a Reform congregation, was invited to take a turn on a daily religious program that was broadcast over Boston's WNAC in mid-1923. He got such a positive response that he was invited back. By January 1924 WNAC made arrangements to broadcast Temple Israel's services twice a month, certainly the first time most non-Jews had encountered what a Jewish worship service was like. (In March 1926 listeners could also hear a Jewish wedding, as New York's WRNY made Winnie Gordon and Julius Goldberg,

along with Rabbi Josef Hoffman, radio stars for a day.) Boston's "Radio Rabbi" Harry Levi became so popular during 16 years on the air that two books of his sermons were issued, and numerous non-Jews who heard him on WNAC wrote him fan letters or came to his temple to ask for his autograph.

Radio in the early 1920s provided its audience with the chance to hear some of Judaism's biggest names, including New York's Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, long regarded by the print media as a spokesman for liberal Jews: both the *New York Times* and *Time* magazine often quoted him. As early as March 1922, Rabbi Wise gave a radio talk to encourage donations to help European Jewish refugees. On a fairly regular basis throughout the 1920s, his speaking engagements were broadcast from a number of cities; Rabbi Wise's sermons were often about the dangers of intolerance, such as a 1924 speech to protest the growing popularity of the Ku Klux Klan. A dynamic orator, Rabbi Wise developed such a following that the radio editors at major newspapers often used a bold headline and a photo to let the audience know that he was about to give another radio sermon.

Radio produced a sort of ecumenism; one listing for New York's WEAJ in December 1923 featured Christmas songs for children at 6 P.M. followed by Hanukkah songs at 7. Seeing the possibilities in radio as a vehicle to promote understanding, Dr. Cyrus Adler, a scholar and president of Dropsie College in Philadelphia, helped to create a weekly program that would not be limited to sermons. In cooperation with the United Syn-

agogues of America, an organization of Conservative Jews, the Wednesday night program went on the air in late August 1923 on WEAJ, after first offering an experimental broadcast in May to see if the response would be positive. It was. This weekly Jewish program featured Jewish folk and liturgical music (sometimes sung in Yiddish, sometimes in Hebrew), discussions of Jewish holidays, and a number of famous speakers from all over the United States.

Entertainment

Jewish programming in the 1920s was not only religious in nature. Thanks to radio, listeners were able to hear two famous Cantors—the great cantor Josef (Yossele) Rosenblatt, along with the popular Jewish comedian Eddie Cantor; both appeared at a 1924 banquet to honor the Young Men's Hebrew Association's 50th anniversary. There were also programs of popular music to benefit Jewish causes; Jewish bandleaders and performers such as Irving Berlin, Leo Reisman, and Eddie Cantor were among those who participated. And by the late 1920s, most cities from the East Coast to the West Coast had rabbis on the air, usually around the major Jewish holidays. In addition to rabbis and scholars discussing Jewish customs, there was at least one popular radio show with a Jewish immigrant family as the protagonists—Gertrude Berg had created a comedy-drama called *The Goldbergs*, which began a successful run on the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) in November 1929. It was an era when many performers with ethnic names changed them to sound more “American,” yet Gertrude Berg did not hide the ethnicity of her characters, nor did she hide her own ethnicity. She wrote a syndicated advice column for the Jewish press and did speaking engagements on behalf of Jewish charities. And unlike some comedy routines such as “Cohen on the Telephone,” a hit record that made fun of a Jewish immigrant who was losing his battle with the English language, the Goldbergs were portrayed sympathetically, and anyone of any religion could identify with their problems. (There were also a number of popular singers and comedians on radio who were Jewish, such as Jack Benny, Fanny Brice, and Al Jolson, but at a time when anti-Semitism still flourished, most Jewish entertainers did not make overt mention of their religion.)

By the 1930s, some network programs featured Jewish themes. One of the earliest was *Message of Israel*, first heard on NBC Blue in late 1934 and hosted by Lazar Weiner, the music director of New York's Central Synagogue. Boston's Harry Levi was invited to speak on this program, which featured some of America's best-known Reform rabbis, in 1937 and again in 1938.

There were also a number of charitable and philanthropic organizations that provided radio programs, such as Hadasah, the Federation of Jewish Charities, and the American Jew-

ish Joint Distribution Committee. Also, when a special occasion took place, such as the 50th anniversary of the Jewish Theological Seminary in March 1937, highlights from the event were broadcast. At a time when Federal Communications Commission (FCC) guidelines called for a certain amount of religion and public service, such programs served a useful purpose for the station while providing the Jewish organizations far-reaching exposure they would not otherwise have received.

And then there was the rabbi who decided to leave the pulpit to become a radio singer. Rabbi Abraham Feinburg took the air name “Anthony Frome”; known as the “Poet Prince of the Airwaves,” he could be heard singing love songs on several New York stations from 1932 to 1935, at which time he gave it all up and went back to being a rabbi again. On the other hand, there was a famous opera singer who also became a cantor; his radio concerts were critically acclaimed whether he was doing Hebrew prayers or portraying the lead tenor role in “La Traviata.” Jan Peerce was discovered by the famous impresario Samuel Rothafel (better known as Roxy) while singing at a hotel banquet in 1932. Soon, he was singing on NBC Blue's *Radio City Music Hall of the Air*, and by 1941 at the Metropolitan Opera, where he performed for 27 years. But throughout his life, as he had done in his neighborhood synagogue before he became famous, Peerce would chant the Jewish liturgical prayers at the High Holy days. He also made a number of recordings of sacred Jewish music, some of which have been reissued.

During the 1930s a few radio stations were airing mainly ethnic and foreign language programs, brokering out segments of the day to particular groups. One of the best known ethnic stations was New York's WEVD, where some long-running Yiddish programs made their home; thanks to WEVD, it was possible to hear anything from folk songs to entire Yiddish plays. And because WEVD had a working agreement with a Jewish newspaper called the *Forverts* (“Forward”), there were always commentators and critics who discussed the news from a Jewish perspective. WEVD also had Moses Asch, who would go on to found Folkways Records, but who in the mid-1930s hired and recorded many of the performers whose music was played on WEVD. America in the 1930s still had many immigrants who missed the culture of the old country, and radio helped to provide it. One program, *Yiddish Melodies in Swing*, went on the air on New York's WHN in 1939, and in 1941 fans were still waiting in line to get tickets to be in the studio audience.

Speaking Out

However, the 1930s became a more serious time for Jewish broadcasters as the situation in Europe worsened. As news of Hitler and the Nazis dominated newspapers, some Jewish

radio programs began providing news and information that the network newscasts were hesitant to mention. Nazi military conquests were front-page news, but it was not until the 1940s that newspapers such as the *New York Times* finally decided the extermination of Jewish people was a major story. Thus, it was up to the Jewish press, and the news commentators on Jewish programs (along with a few non-Jewish commentators who spoke out, most notably NBC's Dorothy Thompson), to make sure the story was told. Rabbi Stephen Wise took to the airwaves to condemn fascism overseas while also condemning bigotry in America, as personified by Father Charles Coughlin, the anti-Semitic radio priest. The chairmen and women of many Jewish organizations, such as the American Jewish Committee and the Jewish Labor Committee, decried the persecution of Jews in Europe and tried to raise funds to help them. But Jewish public affairs programs were usually short and were seldom on the air more than once a week. Although they did call attention to the problems Jews faced, they could not compensate for the lack of coverage the rest of the week.

Ethics and Culture

The next major network program with a Jewish theme came from the Jewish Theological Seminary. Developed by seminary president Louis Finkelstein, *The Eternal Light* first aired on NBC in October 1944, featuring radio dramas about biblical personalities and famous Jewish men and women past and present. It often presented thought-provoking stories with ethical dimensions, and it was still on the air (having moved to television) in the 1980s, celebrating its 40th anniversary in 1985. Among the famous performers who were heard on this award-winning program over the years were Ed Asner, Gene Wilder, and E.G. Marshall. At the height of its popularity, this program was heard on more than 100 stations, and it won a Peabody Award for excellence.

Some Jewish celebrities began to offer their own radio shows, making use of Jewish or Yiddish culture. From 1951 through 1955, parodist and comedian Mickey Katz starred in his own radio show on KABC in Los Angeles, and in the 1960s, actor and folksinger Theodore Bikel starred in *Theodore Bikel at Home*, which aired on FM stations in New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles. Some announcers who began their careers doing Jewish-oriented programming in the 1930s or 1940s could still be heard many years later. Zvee Scooler, who had originally been an actor in Yiddish theater, did commentary on WEVD for four decades. Max Reznick, whose show *The Jewish Hour* included everything from parodies to cantorial records to the popular style of Jewish jazz known as "klezmer," was on the air on several Washington, D.C., stations from the 1940s until he retired in 1986. Ben Gailing's Jewish program *Fraylekher Kabtsen* (The Happy Poor Man)

was on the air in Boston for more than 50 years. And in Chicago, Bernie Finkel's *Jewish Community Hour* celebrated its 37th anniversary in the summer of 2000.

Jewish Programs Today

Jewish music or commentary was readily available on radio as the new century began. There were radio talk shows with Jewish themes, such as *Talkline with Zev Brenner*, heard on stations in New York and New Jersey. (Brenner had even started an all-Jewish radio station, WLIR, Long Island, NY, in May 1993, and after that venture, he resumed his job as a radio and cable television talk host.) Another popular radio program with a loyal following combined requests and dedications with a wide range of Jewish music, plus commentary from an Orthodox point of view—*JM in the AM* ("Jewish Moments in the Morning") with Nachum Segal had been on the air since 1983 on WFMU in Jersey City, New Jersey. The growth of the internet enabled Jewish programs from foreign countries (including Israel) to be heard in America. The internet was also helpful to those Jewish programs that at one time were heard on small AM stations; they could now broadcast on the world wide web and gain a much larger potential audience. Newspaper owner Phil Blazer was among those who took advantage of the new technology; the *Phil Blazer Show* has been on radio in Los Angeles since 1965, but it began webcasting in 2000. Talk show host Zev Brenner also began doing webcasting, and Boston radio host Mark David, whose show *Yiddish Voice* aired on WUNR in Brookline, MA, also made his program available over the internet. National Public Radio has aired holiday concerts of Jewish music at Hanukkah (including one concert featuring Theodore Bikel), and a number of Jewish recording artists are making their music available to be heard or downloaded.

Unlike the Jewish radio programs of the early days, there are not as many radio sermons or famous radio cantors, although there certainly are Jewish programs that have a moral or ethical dimension and shows that stress Jewish theology. There are even internet programs that teach Torah (Jewish Bible) on-line and play sound files to help with singing and pronunciation.

Although much of Jewish radio programming today is oriented toward music, there are also shows about Israel and current events. And even though tolerance is much more a part of American life than it was during radio's early years, myths and stereotypes still exist; when a celebrity utters an anti-Jewish remark, or when there are questions about Jewish beliefs (such as in 2000 when U.S. Senator Joseph Lieberman, an Orthodox Jew, was the Democratic candidate for vice president), agencies such as the Anti-Defamation League or the American Jewish Congress send spokespeople to address the issue on radio and television talk shows.

One continuing controversy is the presence on the air of so-called Messianic Jewish programs, such as Sid Roth's syndicated *Messianic Vision* or *Zola Levitt Presents*, which is now heard over the internet in addition to its long run on television. Messianic programs are broadcast by Christian stations, but their intention is to convert Jews. Hosts claim they are still Jewish even though they have accepted Christianity; they use Hebrew words and Jewish terminology to disguise evangelical Christian concepts, such as referring to Jesus as "Yeshua HaMoshiah," with the hope that Jewish listeners will be less threatened by a show that says one can convert to Christianity without leaving Judaism. These shows have evoked some vehement protest from leaders of the organized Jewish community, who object to what they feel is a distortion of Jewish teachings and accuse the hosts of using deceptive tactics.

Now that there is no longer an FCC guideline encouraging religious programming, few stations are willing to give free time to a religious show. As a result, the majority of religious programs on the air are sponsored by Christian denominations or individual preachers. With the radio networks no longer providing free time, and with production costs so expensive, there are few if any religious shows of the caliber of *The Eternal Light* on radio anymore. In fact, most of the popular music stations air no religious programs at all, and yet there are still Jewish programs on radio, just as there were in the 1920s. The shows offer a wide range of styles: some are traditional, with old-timers who play the great cantorial music of the past and reminisce about the old days, but others are quite modern and exemplify the interests of the younger audience. One such show is heard on WSIA, Staten Island, New York; it features Jewish women's music and is hosted by Michele Garner, who calls herself the "Rockin' Rebbetzin" (the Yiddish word for a woman who is married to a rabbi is *rebbetzin*, and not only is her husband Eliezer a rabbi, but he too does a show on WSIA, playing Jewish rock music). Thanks to Jewish radio shows and the performers who love European Jewish culture, the Yiddish language is being kept alive; klezmer music has enjoyed a rebirth and newfound popularity with a younger demographic. Jewish radio shows are also proving helpful to Jews-by-choice, people who have converted to Judaism on their own and now want to learn more about Judaism's various customs and musical traditions.

Although it is certainly true that most religious programs on radio are done by and for Christians, there continues to be a consistent Jewish presence on the air, with shows that help to create a sense of community and a sense of identity.

Another interesting trend is the resurgence of Yiddish radio programs. Although only a few American Jews speak the language, there has been great interest in reviving it, especially given its impact on Jewish music and theater in the Golden Age of Radio. Leading this effort is the Yiddish Radio Project, which, beginning in March 2002 (some excerpts appearing in late 2001), could be heard on National Public Radio. Much of the work restoring the recordings and doing the historical research was done by a New York author and musician, Henry Sapoznik. A two-volume compact disc has been issued by the Yiddish Radio Project containing the first ten episodes of the NPR program, and the Project has a website with updated information (see below).

DONNA L. HALPER

See also Cantor, Eddie; The Goldbergs; Israel; Religion on Radio; Stereotypes on Radio; WEVD

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Jingles

Station identification jingles—catchy musical motifs often accompanied by vocals—are a basic ingredient of the sound of radio stations in most regions of the world. Although they are most associated with pop and rock music commercial radio services, jingles are also common in speech-based stations and even in publicly funded radio services.

Jingles are principally used by stations to insinuate their names and slogans into the minds of listeners. In so doing, jingles help ensure that, when questioned by audience researchers, listeners will recall particular stations over their rivals. This is especially vital for commercial stations, whose advertising rates are largely dictated by the results of such surveys.

In addition to this near-brainwashing technique of implanting the station names in the minds of listeners, radio jingles can be regarded as having the following attributes:

- They provide a positive, confident, “station sound” and a general “feel-good” factor.
- They promote the most important programming elements, for example, the style and quantity of music, contests, and local information.
- They “announce” different program elements, such as news, weather, sports, and disc jockey names.
- They serve as a way of “changing gears” between different program elements, for example, between news, commercial stop-sets, and travel information.
- They serve as a way of making musical transitions, for example, between slow- and fast-paced music.

Origins

The first known singing radio jingle was done in the mid-1920s, when Ernie Hare and Billy Jones, known as “The Happiness Boys,” sang songs for a number of consumer products. By the late 1930s, advertising jingles had developed to a sophisticated level of production, often involving singing choirs and full big band orchestras. The station identification jingle developed naturally from this by the 1940s: WNEW in New York, for example, asked recording artists to sing short ditties incorporating the station’s call letters.

By the mid-1950s radio station management saw the jingle as part of the battle for audience ratings success in a marketplace that was becoming ever more competitive—not just with other radio stations but with the new medium of television. In this period, radio stations were rapidly moving away from the “full-service” network model with a variety of programs and toward local operations, with most adopting one of three or four basic formats, and managements had to convince listeners that their stations were in fact better than and different from

the opposition. They therefore marketed and promoted in ways similar to those of any consumer product. The fact that the station jingles sounded very similar to the advertising jingles of products and services was no coincidence: they were often written, performed, and produced by the same companies.

The “founding fathers” of station jingles as a distinct entity were Bill Meeks and Gordon McLendon. The latter bought KLIF in Dallas in 1947 and appointed Meeks as his music director with a specific brief to put together live music shows. As with so many other innovations, the modern station jingle happened by accident: the jingles were used as a way of bridging the time needed in live broadcasting to set up each new vocal group.

Meeks left KLIF to start his own company, Production Advertising Marketing Service (PAMS), in Dallas in 1951. By the mid-1950s he was compiling individual station jingles into “packages”—whole series of jingles using variations of the same musical structure and slogans—to different stations across the country. By the end of 1964 the primary business of PAMS had become station jingles, and the company became the world leader in a new stratum of services to the radio industry. Meanwhile, McLendon hired another musical director, Tom Merriman, who developed and elaborated on the station identification jingles at KLIF; other stations in different parts of the United States heard these and asked for customized sets of their own. Merriman also left KLIF and in 1955 formed the Commercial Recording Corporation; his company produced some of the first jingles specifically for Top 40 radio, which was rapidly emerging as the number-one radio format.

There was a good deal of creativity and innovation in this period. PAMS is credited with being the first company to use the Moog synthesizer and the Sonovox—a device originally developed to enable people who had lost the use of their vocal chords to make intelligible speech—to create an extraordinary electronic “singing” voice. The “variable station logo” technique meant that many disparate programming elements could be linked and blended using variations on the same musical motif, often with lyrical variations of the same slogan or “positioning statement.”

Despite this, the overall style of these jingles—close vocal harmonies and lush orchestrations common in the pre-rock and roll period—was outdated even by the late 1950s, and yet, curiously, the style persisted for at least another 20 years. It appears that for many years, the radio jingle was accepted by the listening public as being a musical genre of its own, with no need to bow to changes in popular music.

Occasionally, though, attempts were made to overcome this anachronism by somewhat cheekily adopting more contemporary styles: one of the PAMS jingle sets adopted the Beatles’

sound, even using the group's trademark "yeah yeah." Even here, though, the jingles outlasted the creations of the form on which they were based. Stations playing more contemporary formats belatedly moved away from the traditional close harmonies and lush orchestrations, seeing these techniques as distinctly "uncool" and embarrassingly old-fashioned (U.S. FM rock stations had always taken this view of jingles and had consequently eschewed them from the start).

In 1974 former PAMS employee Jonathan Wolfert and his wife Mary Lyn set up a new company, JAM (Jon and Mary)—also based in Dallas, the world's center for station jingles—which quickly established itself as one of the leading companies in the jingles field. In 1976 they secured the contract for the most famous and imitated Top 40 radio station in the world—WABC in New York—which used PAMS jingles from 1962 to 1974. Probably the most-played jingle in the world was recorded for this station in the spring of 1976—lasting just two and a half seconds. In 1990 Wolfert bought up the rights to the jingles from PAMS (which had suspended operations in 1978 after a series of financial crises). These jingles were still in demand in many radio markets throughout the world—especially on golden oldies stations, which had their own station names and slogans sung over the original music tracks, often using many of the same singers.

Modern Era

The length of station jingles varies greatly, although most average between five and seven seconds. JAM also claims to have recorded the longest known jingle—for WYNY in the fall of 1979—which lasted three and a half minutes. "The New York 97 Song" is a vocal and musical narrative of a day in the life of a listener in New York, with repeated use of the station location, frequency, and call letters—"New York 97, WYNY."

The international ubiquity of the station identification jingle cannot simply be explained as the result of the competitiveness of the U.S. commercial radio system. Jingles are used in radio services in very different types of economic and media systems. For example, the British public service broadcaster, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), which held a monopoly on domestic radio in the United Kingdom until 1973, began using PAMS jingles in 1967 on its new rock and pop network, Radio 1. This service was set up on instructions from the government after it had produced legislation outlawing the "pop pirates" of the mid-1960s—many of which had copied U.S. Top 40 and beautiful music formats and used jingles from PAMS in Dallas. Radio 1 ordered the same series of jingles that had been used by the most commercially successful

of the offshore pirates, the Texan-backed Radio London. Even though the BBC carried no commercials and had no authorized competition during the late 1960s and early 1970s, its managers thought that station jingles had become an essential part of pop music programming and youth culture. Many other state broadcasters have also felt the need to invest in the "Dallas Sound" of jingles, as have the publicly funded armed forces radio networks of both the United States and the United Kingdom. The jingles have also been sung in languages other than English: the U.S. radio jingle can be fairly regarded as a form of cultural imperialism, albeit one of a benign nature.

By the mid-1980s, a new vogue for electronically produced "Sweepers," with a spoken rather than sung vocal track, became the vogue on many contemporary hit radio and adult contemporary stations. As with all commercial operations, the jingles business—dominated in the world market by JAM and TM Century—had to adapt to these new demands or face extinction. In the late 1990s, there was some indication that the fashion had moved, if not full circle, then perhaps 180 degrees, when many stations—especially those targeted to the baby boom generation, which had grown up with the Dallas Sound—began investing in the more traditional type of jingle production, albeit with a more contemporary edge.

Although fashions in station jingles will no doubt evolve still further, the one constant need for stations faced with ever more competition for listeners' loyalty is to ensure that they promote themselves on the air in the most attractive and distinctive audio fashion possible.

RICHARD RUDIN

See also McClendon, Gordon; Promotion on Radio

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Joyce, William. *See* Lord Haw-Haw

Joyner, Tom 1942–

U.S. Radio Disc Jockey

Tom Joyner's daily round-trip airline commute of 1,600 miles between Chicago and Dallas earned him the moniker "The Fly Jock." Beginning in 1985, Joyner continued this daily commute for eight years. It was one of several accomplishments that transformed a once small-town disc jockey into one of America's most well known on-air personalities. Another well-deserved nickname would come later, one that was just as fitting and appropriate as the earlier one—"The Hardest-Working Man in Radio."

Early Career and Life

The Tuskegee, Alabama, native started announcing during college. He had at first sung with Lionel Ritchie and the Commodores, a rhythm and blues group, but he was discouraged by his father in this pursuit. So Joyner tried announcing instead. He first worked as a local announcer at Tuskegee Institute, where he attended college, playing records in the university cafeteria and announcing at sporting events. Upon graduation, he landed an on-air position at WMRA-AM in nearby Montgomery, Alabama.

He left that job for other on-air positions in successively larger markets. For example, after WMRA, Joyner worked at Memphis' WLOK-AM. From Memphis, he moved up the river to St. Louis, where he found an announcing job at KWK-AM. From there, Joyner was hired as an announcer at Chicago's WJPC-AM. While there, he worked as a morning air personality and program director (1978–83). Moreover, he was also producer and host of the *Ebony/Jet Celebrity Showcase*, a television show. While at WJPC-AM, the station's owner and Joyner's mentor, John H. Johnson, publisher of *Ebony* and *Jet* magazines, gave Joyner his first big break. Johnson put Joyner's picture in *Jet* magazine each week as part of the promotion for the television program, and Johnson featured him in a television commercial with boxing great Muhammad Ali. In addition to his work at WJPC-AM, Joyner also worked as a disc jockey at several other Chicago radio stations, including WVON-AM, WBMX-FM, and WGCI-FM.

The Fly Jock

Joyner left WGCI-FM for a morning air personality position at Dallas' KKDA-AM. By the time his contract at the Dallas station was nearing its end, WGCI-FM management wanted him back. Joyner listened to both offers and decided to take both because neither contract had an exclusivity clause that would prevent him from working at another radio station. Joyner said "greed" got the best of him, and he signed two concurrent \$1 million-plus contracts, running six years (Dallas) and five years (Chicago). Thus began the odyssey of the Fly Jock.

From 1985 to 1993, Joyner accrued 7 million frequent-flier miles, as he made the round-trip commute three days each week between Dallas and Chicago. Joyner did a morning show in Dallas at KKDA-FM (the station had acquired the license for an FM facility) from 5:30 to 9:00 A.M. In the afternoons, from 2:00 to 6:00 P.M., he did an afternoon show at WGCI in Chicago. Joyner paid \$30,000 to reserve a guaranteed round-trip seat on an airline over five years.

The Hardest-Working Man in Radio

In 1994 the American Broadcasting Companies (ABC) Radio network approached Joyner with the idea of developing his radio program for national distribution and syndication. With its debut in 1994, the *Tom Joyner Morning Show* became the first live syndicated program produced by an African-American performer on radio. It is broadcast from 5:00 to 9:00 A.M. central time to a nationwide audience, Monday through Friday. Joyner's Dallas-based show combines, in more or less equal parts, rhythm and blues music, comedy, and politics. Although based primarily in Dallas, the *Tom Joyner Morning Show* is often broadcast from remote studios in various cities around the United States. It is the number-one-rated urban morning radio show in the country. Joyner's show is heard on 95 stations, reaching 5 million listeners. The show targets the 25–54 demographic group, an attractive group for advertisers. Joyner's show, when broadcast on other outlets, has catapulted many of these radio stations to number one in their respective



Tom Joyner
 Courtesy ABC Radio Networks

markets. Critics complain, however, that Joyner's success has come at the expense of local disc jockeys, who are fired because they are no longer needed. Joyner, on the other hand, sees his success as an opportunity for low-rated radio stations to increase listeners and advertising revenues and to provide national programming that comes with his syndicated show.

Joyner also produces a weekend program. The *Tom Joyner Movin' on Weekend Show* can also be heard nationally and is distributed by the ABC Radio network.

Community Service

Joyner's sustained support of community service activities has endeared him to the African-American community. Among the issues he has supported include a 1980s campaign called "Drop a Dime on the Man," which identified speed traps targeting African-Americans in Dallas. In 1999 Joyner, along with political commentator and fellow team member Tavis

Smiley, started a crusade to persuade retailers such as CompUSA, for example, to expand their advertising in black-owned media.

In addition, he has started the Tom Joyner Foundation, a nonprofit organization that assists college students in completing their college education at historically black colleges and universities. The foundation accepts donations from many sources, but Joyner's "Dollars for Scholars" campaign has raised more than \$40,000 for students at historically black colleges, which is made available to them through his Foundation.

GILBERT A. WILLIAMS

See also Black-Oriented Radio; Disk Jockeys

Tom Joyner. Born in Tuskegee, Alabama, 1942. Bachelor's degree in Sociology, Tuskegee Institute, 1964; after graduation worked at radio stations WRMA-AM, Montgomery, Alabama; WLOK-AM, Memphis, Tennessee; KWK-AM, St. Louis, Missouri; worked at WJPC-FM (on-air personality and program director, 1978-83), WVON-AM, WGCI-FM, WBMX-FM, Chicago, Illinois; worked simultaneously at KKDA-AM, Dallas, Texas and WGCI-FM, Chicago, Illinois, earning him nickname "Fly Jock"; worked at KKDA-FM, Dallas, Texas; television producer and host, *Ebony/Jet Showcase*, 1982-83; host of ABC-syndicated radio show *Tom Joyner Morning Show*, 1994-; established Tom Joyner Foundation, 1998. Received four *Billboard Magazine* "Best Urban Contemporary Air Personality" awards; *Impact Magazine's* Joe Loris award for "Excellence in Broadcasting"; Mickey Leland Humanitarian Award, Congressional Black Caucus; named "Man of the Year", 100 Black Men; President's Award, NAACP; elected to the Radio Hall of Fame, 1998.

Radio Series

1980s *On the Move*
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Judis, Bernice 1900–1983

U.S. Station Manager

In the midst of network radio's golden age and on through television's first wave of success, Bernice Judis developed an inexpensive music-oriented radio program style that survived big-budget competition. Her implementation and massaging of the format over WNEW New York was analyzed and often imitated by countless media insiders from Los Angeles to Luxembourg.

Judis enjoyed admitting that she loved radio the way most men love fine cars. Reportedly, every room in her home, as well as a compartment in her handbag, was equipped with a receiver. She was always listening, or so it seemed: none of her announcers was exempt from an instructive studio hotline call, sometimes well past midnight. They affectionately nicknamed Judis "La Mama," though they never called into question their teacher's talent to motivate. Each remembered her as an executive with an instinct for hiring good people and then challenging them to be great. Even the disc jockey she fired for violating WNEW's "fashion code" by wearing red socks considered his strict boss a valued mentor.

Her entrance into broadcasting resulted from a friendship with a woman whose husband had recently purchased part interest in a radio station. In 1934 the well-heeled Judis had just returned from a European tour when her friend casually suggested that she help out the new enterprise. Within a year of Judis' agreeing to the request, her programming acumen was so evident that she graduated to general manager of fledgling WNEW.

The independent station had inadequate funding to stage the types of celebrity-oriented comedy, music, drama, or soap opera fare that was typically the province of network outlets. That never mattered, though, because Judis considered such offerings boring. She preferred a steady diet of positive pop tunes, and she maintained that others (especially young women, who often controlled the family radio dial) would share her tastes. One of her specialties was an instinct for hiring announcers who possessed the voice and ability to create a descriptive picture in the listener's mind. Judis looked for radio people ready to bloom into true "air personalities." Paramount was their potential to sell WNEW audiences the products offered by the station's growing list of advertisers.

Martin Block had a smooth spark in his delivery that Judis believed represented star quality. Her direction of the erstwhile \$20-per-week announcer rocketed him to disc jockey stardom and, for years, propelled Block's *Make Believe Ballroom* program to highly salable ratings. Judis instructed him to work closer than normal to the microphone in order to generate an air of gentle romantic authority.

When authoritative columnist Walter Winchell wished (in print) for a radio station that would keep metropolitan New York's all-night work force company during the wee hours, Judis introduced the *Milkman's Matinee*. In 1936 the decision made WNEW a pioneer in 24-hour broadcasting. Although she scheduled some shows with live musicians, most of her format (including *Milkman's Matinee* and *Make Believe Ballroom*) was built around disc jockeys skillfully ad-libbing between recorded tunes. Prior to the late 1940s, most other big-city programmers considered transcriptions (in place of live bands and singers) the stuff of minor-league presentation. WNEW's shrewd manager used her sizable record library to offer people an anticipated radio staple: consistency in repeated elements. Such is the stuff that turns an ordinary song into a familiar hit recording. Literally hundreds of daily record requests flooded WNEW's switchboard. Some listeners sought to hear again and again obviously goofy selections the airstaff had spun purely as gags.

Judis is also known for adding non-musical content to what would be subsequently dubbed the "modern radio format." In the mid-1930s, Americans were gripped by the kidnapping of the infant son of transatlantic flight hero Charles Lindbergh. During the ensuing trial, the then novice WNEW official ordered her station's remote news crew to report proceedings directly from the New Jersey courthouse. Since their microphones were barred from courtroom use, Judis had her staff headquartered in the venue's nearest lavatory. Although at risk of transmitting indelicate sounds, these bathroom broadcasts were the sole electronic media offerings from inside the judicial building. Between reports, disc jockeys in the main studio played popular music. Listeners were captivated.

When the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor, Judis was convinced that people would want more news. She scheduled round-the-clock, hourly (initially, on the half hour) newscasts by 1942—something no one else was doing. Judis' hunch quickly made "WNEW—Your station for music and news" an even more important companion for increasingly busy audiences. She rightly speculated that regular bites of pertinent information sandwiched between friendly disc jockeys conveying uplifting pop would yield a compelling soundtrack. At World War II's end, the Judis-directed WNEW targeted a young, urbane demographic, and her approach received high marks for successfully standing up to radio's postwar enemy: television.

When many radio veterans were moving to the expanding visual medium, Judis, along with her husband Ira Herbert, Rhode Island broadcaster William Cherry, and several others

paid more than \$2 million for WNEW. The savvy general manager and new part owner wagered that the spread of suburbs and concomitant commute of workers into cities would strengthen radio's influence, even in the face of television's quickly growing popularity. Judis met TV's evening primetime dominance by further tweaking her various 6 A.M. to 8 P.M. slots. Fourteen hours daily of popular music favorites, news briefs, and chatty disc jockeys gave ample opportunity for reaching the increasingly mobile and sophisticated thirty-something audience that corporate America's advertising agencies desperately sought to influence around the clock. People not glued to nighttime TV caught Judis' unique early-1950s counter-programming experiments. For example, she had disc jockeys spin spoken-word records, hired Milton Berle to do a serious Shakespeare performance, and tried a game show spoof in which contestants were eligible to lose their personal effects.

An attractive offer for WNEW led its owners to sell in 1954. With their share of the proceeds, Judis and her husband bought an interest in a Southern broadcast group. She oversaw the firm's Birmingham, Alabama, AM outlet. By the late 1960s, the couple had left the radio business. Judis died in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, in 1983.

PETER E. HUNN

See also Block, Martin; WNEW; Women in Radio

Bernice Judis. Born 1900. Only daughter of New York-area real estate tycoon; socialite activities and European travel, 1920s-early 1930s; New Jersey Women's Golf Champion, early 1930s; program director, WNEW New York, 1934; general manager, WNEW New York, 1935-54; part owner, WNEW New York, 1950-54; part owner of Basic Communications Stations, 1960s. Died in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, 24 May 1983.

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Kaltenborn, H.V. (Hans von) 1878–1965

U.S. Radio Commentator

Hans von Kaltenborn was radio's first news commentator and a pioneer in radio news for three decades. Prior to his broadcasting career, Kaltenborn engaged in newspaper reporting and editing and in public lecturing on current events. He is best remembered for his live broadcasts of battles during the Spanish Civil War, his marathon broadcasts of the 1938 Munich Crisis, and for President Harry S. Truman's mimicking of his 1948 election reports.

Origins

Kaltenborn was born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in 1878. His father, Baron Rudolph von Kaltenborn, was a former officer in the Hessian Army who came to the United States to protest the absorption of Hesse by Prussia. His mother, an American schoolteacher, Betty Wessels, died soon after Hans was born, and he was raised by a stepmother.

The family moved to Merrill, Wisconsin, when Hans was 14 years old. After only a year in high school, he ran away to work in a lumber camp. Then, for five years he worked for his father in the building material business and did odd jobs for the local newspaper, the *Merrill (Wis.) Advocate*. Later, while serving in the army during the Spanish-American War, young Hans sent articles about army life back to the *Merrill Advocate* and to the *Milwaukee Journal*. Although he did not leave the United States during the war, young Kaltenborn, who was athletic and nearly six feet tall, developed a desire for travel and adventure. After a short time as city editor of the *Merrill Advocate*, he worked his way to Europe in 1900 and spent the next two years in Germany and France. He attended the Paris International Exposition of 1900 and continued sending freelance news material back to newspapers in the United States. When he returned to the United States in 1902, he worked as a reporter and editor for the *Brooklyn Eagle*, a newspaper with which he would be associated, on and off, for about 27 years.

Lacking a high school diploma, Kaltenborn entered a special one-year program for journalists at Harvard College in 1903. After completing high school equivalency exams—he had great difficulty with the mathematics section—Kaltenborn was admitted as a regular student, majoring in political science. In 1909 he received his B.A. degree cum laude and was elected to the prestigious Phi Beta Kappa honor society. At Harvard, he debated, studied speech, won oratorical contests, ran cross country, organized a dramatic club, and perfected his distinctive German accent.

Following college, Kaltenborn traveled around the world on shipboard as a tutor to Vincent Astor. In 1910 he married Olga von Nordenflycht, a German baroness, and returned to the *Brooklyn Eagle*, for which he served as a Washington, and later, a Paris correspondent before being named the *Eagle's* war editor. With his growing reputation as a geopolitical expert, Kaltenborn delivered, as an *Eagle* editor, a series of weekly public talks about current events in the newspaper's auditorium.

On to Radio

In 1922 Kaltenborn delivered his first radio commentary from station WYCB on Bedloe's Island in New York Harbor. The following year, he became the first regularly scheduled radio commentator when the *Eagle* sponsored Kaltenborn's regular weekly news commentaries over WEAJ in New York. He remained with the *Brooklyn Eagle* until 1930, when he joined the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) to devote himself full-time to radio news.

During the early 1930s, when wire service reports were seldom available to radio stations, CBS and the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) employed a number of experienced newsmen to comment on the day's events. Although Kaltenborn had the advantage of being the first radio



Paul White and H.V. Kaltenborn
Courtesy CBS Photo Archive

commentator, he also benefited from his speech training, his lecturing experience, and several other unique abilities, all of which kept him in the forefront of news commentary. His spoken delivery was distinctive—clipped, precise, and easy to understand even when he spoke at a rapid pace. Among his special attributes were a firsthand knowledge of many world leaders, whom he interviewed during frequent travels abroad; fluency in the French, German, and English languages; and training in world politics. Kaltenborn also had the advantage of being able to speak without a script. For many years he delivered his radio commentaries extemporaneously with only a few notes. He also extemporaneously described political conventions, international conferences, wars, and other crises.

One of Kaltenborn's early broadcast triumphs was his live description of a 1936 Spanish Civil War battle. Perched on a haystack on high ground in France overlooking a besieged Spanish town, the commentator, wearing a steel helmet, described the battle to CBS listeners in the United States. His report was accompanied by live sounds of machine-gun fire in the background. Radio's first on-air battle report, though physically risky for 58-year-old Kaltenborn and his engineer, added greatly to his stature as a radio newsman.

Two years later, Kaltenborn was called upon by CBS to coordinate and anchor a series of radio broadcasts during the Munich Crisis in 1938. At stake was the future of the Sudetenland, as Germany's dictator Adolph Hitler, British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, and other European leaders met to

seek a solution to the conflict in Czechoslovakia. Kaltenborn's role was to interpret and analyze the wire dispatches, short-wave reports from CBS newsmen on the scene, and speeches by the participants. Relying on his ability to understand German and French, Kaltenborn translated and provided instantaneous commentary on the speeches of various government officials received in New York by shortwave. A *Time* reporter noted that without pause, Hans von Kaltenborn translated and distilled a 73-minute speech and then for 15 minutes proceeded extempore to explain its significance and to correctly predict its consequences. Kaltenborn remained at his post at CBS in New York for some 18 days, giving about 100 separate broadcasts. He subsisted mainly on soup brought to him by his wife and napped on a couch in the studio between the frequent broadcasts.

Because of a tendency for outspokenness on controversial issues, Kaltenborn had some difficulty keeping a sponsor during the 1930s. However, by the end of the decade the Pure Oil Company became Kaltenborn's regular sponsor on CBS. In 1940 the sponsor moved Kaltenborn's commentaries to NBC to get a better time on the evening schedule. Soon Kaltenborn's keen insight into geopolitical developments was evident in his warnings about Japanese aggression, including a warning only a few days before Pearl Harbor. During World War II, Kaltenborn was exempted from the Office of War Information's requirement that commentators not deviate from scripts submitted in advance of their broadcasts. Also during the war, Kaltenborn began using the initials *H.V.* to minimize his German ancestry.

In covering the 1948 presidential election while at NBC, Kaltenborn assured listeners that even though President Truman was running a million votes ahead in the early popular vote, when the rural votes came in, the winner would certainly be Thomas E. Dewey, the governor of New York. In probably the best-known instance of presidential mimicry of a news commentator, President Truman, at a post-election dinner, told the audience that he had heard Mr. Kaltenborn's broadcast. Then the president imitated the crisp Kaltenborn's remarks and said he just went back to sleep undisturbed. The next morning, the nation learned that, as Mr. Truman had never doubted, the president was reelected to serve a full four-year term.

Kaltenborn continued to broadcast his regular commentaries until 1953. Afterward, he did occasional broadcasts on a semi-retired basis until 1958. For 33 years, *H.V.* Kaltenborn had covered practically all of the world's major news events

and had given the public his views on the meaning of the news. He also contributed to many magazines and was the author of several books. He spent his retirement years living in Florida and died in New York City in 1965 while visiting his son.

HERBERT H. HOWARD

Hans von Kaltenborn. Born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 9 July 1878. Served in U.S. Army, Spanish American War; worked as city editor, *Advocate*, Merrill, Wisconsin, 1899-1900; traveled in Europe, 1901-02; reporter, *Eagle*, Brooklyn, New York, 1902; attended Harvard University, B.A. in political science, 1909; returned to *Eagle*, 1910, correspondent in Washington and Paris, later served as *Eagle's* war editor; delivered first radio commentary from experimental station on Bedloe's Island, 1922; first regularly scheduled news commentator on WEAJ, for *Eagle*, 1923; hired as full-time radio commentator by CBS, 1930; broadcast battle descriptions of Spanish Civil War live on CBS, 1936; broadcast 18-day coverage of Munich Conference from CBS in New York, 1938; moved to NBC, 1940; predicted Dewey victory in presidential election, 1948. Received Phi Beta Kappa, Harvard University, 1909; DuPont Foundation Award, 1945; honorary doctorates from University of Wisconsin and Hamilton College. Died in New York City, 14 June 1965.

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Karmazin, Mel 1943–

U.S. Radio Executive

There was no more powerful executive in radio in the last two decades of the 20th century than Mel Karmazin. After gaining a decade of experience in radio sales and management, Karmazin formed and ran Infinity's profitable group of radio stations during the 1980s. He then merged Infinity with the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) in the 1990s and moved to "Black Rock," the Eero Saarinen-designed headquarters building for CBS on 6th Ave in New York City, first to run its radio operation and then to head the entire company as it merged with media conglomerate Viacom. Karmazin brought effective consolidation and cost cutting to radio station and group operation as he headed CBS's second most lucrative division and radio's top revenue-producing chain as the 20th century ended.

Born and raised in Long Island City, New York, across the East River from Manhattan, Mel (never Melvin, his given name) worked days as an account executive at the Ziowe Advertising Agency in the city while attending Pace University at night. Upon graduation, he took a position in sales, rising quickly to manager at WCBS-AM, an all-news radio powerhouse located in the heart of Manhattan. During the 1970s, Karmazin worked for Metromedia, eventually rising to general manager of its WNEW-AM and FM combination. It was from this position that he launched Infinity Broadcasting and became his own boss at the age of 37.

As a manager, Karmazin became most famous for his relentless cost cutting and format switching. Yet he was willing to try any technique to raise profits. In 1993, for example, as others were selling radio networks, Karmazin purchased Westwood One; three years later, with the merger with CBS (for \$5 billion), Karmazin lorded over all the major radio networks—save American Broadcasting Companies (ABC). These networks could and did feed programming cheaply not only to stations owned by Infinity and later CBS, but also to thousands of other stations across the United States.

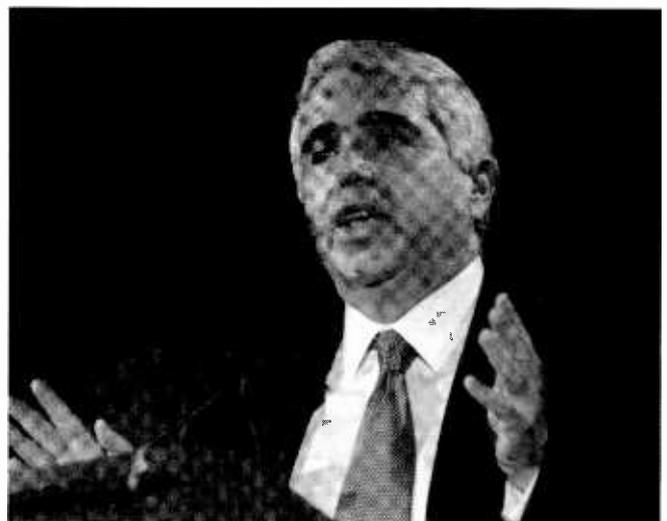
Karmazin never sought to own all radio stations; instead, he aimed to group stations in nearly every major city—led by stations in the top four markets of New York City, Los Angeles, Chicago, and San Francisco. Under Karmazin, CBS owned far fewer radio stations than 1999 top dog Clear Channel Communications, yet its more than 160 radio stations earned just as much in revenues, as advertisers looked to radio in major markets to couple with television and newspapers to complete their advertising plans.

Thus, through radio station operation, Karmazin was able to quietly generate about half of CBS's profits in the late 1990s. Karmazin aimed to be either number one or two in

every major radio market where CBS had stations. When Mel Karmazin succeeded Michael Jordan in 1998 in CBS's top executive position, he had already formulated this plan, and thereafter he always counted on squeezing significant profits from the CBS radio group while the world looked at the ups and downs of the far more famous television network. As the 1990s ended, Karmazin operated not only flagship WCBS-AM in New York City but dozens of other stations in the country's top-twenty media market cities, including eight stations in Los Angeles (the #2 media market) and seven in Chicago (#3).

Just after Labor Day 1999, a Hollywood company most people had never heard of—Viacom—took over CBS. Although the deal was announced by Sumner Redstone, chairman and chief executive officer of Viacom, Mel Karmazin was named president and chief executive officer of the new colossus. Redstone would step aside, and Karmazin would run the day-to-day operations. This made Karmazin one of mass media's top executives, with radio now only a part of his overall responsibilities.

Redstone and Karmazin's goal in the 21st century would be to make Viacom a media conglomerate the equal of Disney, Time Warner, or the News Corporation. Redstone retained his ownership majority and thus control of the new Viacom, and Karmazin took over day-to-day operations of a corporation able to produce, promote, distribute, and present all forms of mass entertainment, from radio and television to movies and music. With a portfolio of some of the world's most recogniz-



Mel Karmazin, 25 March 1999
 Courtesy AP/Wide World Photos

able brands, Karmazin and Redstone boldly proclaimed global superiority for an operation conservatively estimated as worth \$35 billion.

The union of CBS and Viacom promised to test the economic theory that owning significant stakes in many mass media can provide a synergy by which the parts together can produce more profits than if they operated individually. Could CBS's radio division cross-promote and make more profitable Viacom's cable music channels (MTV, VH1, and TNN)—and vice versa? Karmazin will test his management skills in an arena wider than radio, encompassing all of mass entertainment. Owner Sumner Redstone has passed the torch, because the fine print in the merger obligates him to stick with Karmazin until 2003.

DOUGLAS GOMERY

See also Columbia Broadcasting System; Infinity Broadcasting; Ownership, Mergers, and Acquisitions; Westinghouse

Mel Karmazin. Born in New York City, 24 August 1943. Grew up in Long Island City, Queens, New York; attended Pace

University, B.A. in business administration, 1965; account executive for Ziowe Advertising Agency, 1966; sales manager, WCBS, New York, 1967–70; vice president and general manager, WNEW-AM and WNEW-FM, Metromedia, 1970–81; president of Infinity Broadcasting, 1981–96; CEO of CBS Station Group, 1996–98; president and CEO, CBS, 1999–present.

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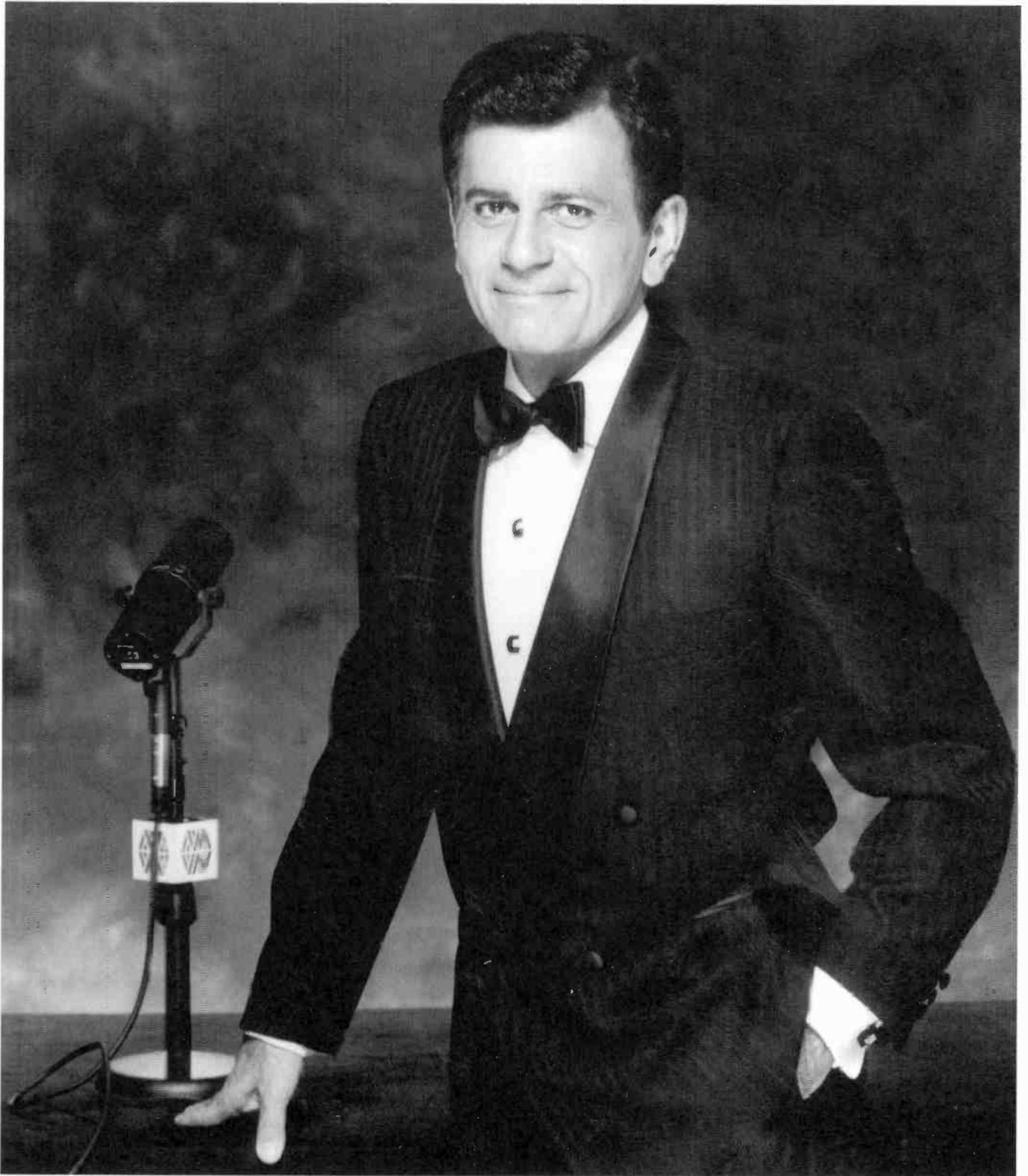
U.S. Radio Personality

For many rock and roll fans, the name Casey Kasem is synonymous with the American Top 40 Countdown, a weekly radio program of the most popular songs in the United States. It was the first nationally syndicated countdown program, and as its host and one of its founders, Kasem's impact on the landscape of American popular music is undeniable. His voice is among the most recognizable in rock and roll, joining the likes of Wolfman Jack as both a disc jockey and a celebrity.

The son of Lebanese immigrants, Kemal Amen Kasem was born in 1932 in Detroit, Michigan. Upon graduating from Northwestern High School, Kemal became an intern at WDTR, Detroit Public School's radio station. From there, he attended Wayne State University, where he landed the lead role as "Scoop Ryan, Cub Reporter," the most popular show on the campus station. As a result of his success there, he earned his own 15-minute Saturday morning show on WJR, a 50,000-watt Detroit station. He also took a position as a full-time actor on WXYZ, an American Broadcasting Companies (ABC) affiliate.

In April 1952, Kasem was drafted for army service in Korea. Because of his broadcast experience, he was assigned to Radio Station Kilroy, an Armed Forces Radio Network Affiliate in Taegu, Korea, where he started his own production team. After the war, he returned to Detroit and took a job as a newsman at WJBK, where he adopted the moniker "Casey at the Mike." After a successful stint of substituting for a disc jockey, Kasem became the station's primary disc jockey. That same year he became Krogo the Clown, hosting a children's TV program on WJBK-TV. He then left television to assist at his family's grocery store and finally relocated to Cleveland in 1959, where he took a job as a radio host at WJW.

The most prominent Cleveland disc jockey at this time was Mad Daddy (Pete Meyers), whose fast-talking, slang-laden, rhyming radio patter influenced Kasem's on-air personality. Kasem again used the nickname *Casey at the Mike*. In Cleveland, Kasem also hosted the television show *Cleveland Bandstand*, while working at WJW. The program was canceled after



Casey Kasem
Courtesy of Casey Kasem

a few months, and WJW switched formats, so he began looking for other work.

Kasem worked at WBNY in Buffalo and KEWB in Oakland before arriving at KRLA in Los Angeles in 1963. During the process, Kasem shed his comic routines and fast talk, and became a more serious, informative disc jockey following his chance discovery of a 1962 copy of "Who's Who in Pop Music," which he used thereafter to provide his listeners with information on bands and singers.

In Los Angeles, Kasem began calling himself simply *Casey Kasem*, a simpler and more serious name than *Casey at the Mike*, and he was hired by Dick Clark to host an *American Bandstand*-type program called *Shebang*, which ran on KTLA from 1965 to 1968. Kasem made his mark on the program by improvising his introductions rather than reading the prewritten cue cards. Mike Curb, a producer for Tower Records, introduced Kasem to the world of commercial voice-overs, which eventually led to his two biggest roles off the radio dial: providing the voice of Robin on the cartoon series *Batman and Robin* and also the voice of Shaggy on *Scooby Doo, Where Are You?* In addition, he provided voices for countless other cartoon shows and promotions for the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) network.

In late 1968, Kasem reunited with his old friend Don Bustany and created Kasem-Bustany productions, which they operated from Kasem's Hollywood apartment. In the summer of 1969, Kasem and Bustany met with Tom Rounds, an executive at Charlatan Productions, and Ron Jacobs, a respected program director in Los Angeles. Rounds and Jacobs had earlier formed Watermark Productions, a Los Angeles radio production company. With the financial backing of Tom Driscoll, heir to a strawberry-growing fortune, Kasem, Bustany, Rounds and Jacobs laid the groundwork for *American Top 40 (AT40)*, which would change Casey Kasem from a local disc jockey to a household name. *Casey's Coast to Coast*, in partnership with *Billboard Magazine*, was launched on 3 July 1970, a Friday night, at 7:00 P.M., by KDEO in El Cajon, a suburb of San Diego.

In order to increase its exposure, *AT40's* creators bartered with stations; for instance, they would provide a three-hour *AT40* program, and the station would receive airtime for two advertisements in exchange. However, in late 1971 Rounds decided to begin selling *AT40* for varying amounts depending on the size of the market. (The show lost approximately \$600,000 before it began to turn a profit.) In 1973 Kasem produced a special episode called "The Top 40 Disappearing Acts," a show based on one-hit wonders. This show highlighted his talent with human-interest storytelling and helped to put *AT40* on the map.

During the 1970s, musicians began to record much longer songs, which made the three-hour format difficult to maintain. So in 1978, *AT40* expanded to four hours, and Kasem intro-

duced two other signature features of the program. First, he would begin each program by playing the top three songs from the past week's countdown. This served as a teaser for the listening audience. Second, he would introduce the "long-distance dedication," *AT40's* most popular feature. On 26 August 1978, Kasem played Neil Diamond's "Desiree."

Kasem's work on the program was publicly recognized on 26 April 1981, when he received a star on Hollywood's Walk of Fame. His charm, storytelling ability, and embracing voice made *AT40* the most popular radio program in history, with an audience stretching from coast to coast. In 1988, he left *AT40* to begin *Casey's Top 40* for the Westwood One Radio Network, which he broadcast until March 1998, when he made a triumphant return to *AT40*. Kasem and Bustany bought the program, and revived it 38 months after it had been taken off the air.

Kasem's return to his countdown roots and the rebirth of his signature program seem to exemplify the phrase with which he ended each program: "Keep your feet on the ground and keep reaching for the stars."

ARI KELMAN

See also American Top 40; KRLA

Casey Kasem. Born Kemal Amen Kasem in Detroit, Michigan, 27 April 1932. Son of Amin and Helen Kasem, Lebanese immigrants; attended Wayne State University, 1948-52; worked at WJR and WXYZ Detroit, 1950-52; served in Korean War as broadcaster on Radio Station Kilroy, Taegu, Korea, 1952-56; host, *Krogo the Clown*, WJBK-TV Detroit, 1956; disc jockey, WJW, Cleveland, 1959; disc jockey, KRLA, Los Angeles 1963-69; host, *Shebang*, KTLA-TV, Los Angeles, 1965-68; host, *American Top 40*, 1970-88, 1998-present.

Radio Series

1970-88, 1998-present	<i>American Top 40</i>
1988-98	<i>Casey's Top 40</i>

Selected Television Series

Krogo the Clown, 1956; *Shebang*, 1965-68

Films

The Girls from Thunder Strip, 1966; *The Glory Stompers*, 1967; *The Doomsday Machine*, 1967; *Wild Wheels*, 1969; *55,2000 Years Later*, 1969; *The Cycle Savages*, 1969; *Scream Free!* 1969; *The Transplant*, 1971; *The Incredible 2-Headed Transplant*, 1971; *The Night that Panicked America*, 1975; *The Day the Lord Got Busted*, 1976; *The Gumball Rally*, 1976; *New York, New York*, 1977; *Disco Fever*, 1978; *The Flintstones Meet Rockula and Frankenstein*, 1979; *Ghostbusters*, 1984; *The Transformers: The Movie*, 1986; *Wild Wheels*, 1992; *Mr. Wrong*, 1996; *Undercover Angel*, 1999

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KCBS/KQW

San Jose, California (Later San Francisco) Station

KQW, San Jose, was one of the pioneering radio stations in the United States, the eighth to receive a Department of Commerce license, which was granted on 9 December 1921. But the major significance of KQW was that its owner, Charles Herrold, was the first person to operate a broadcast station. And although being one of the earliest stations to go on the air is important, it is the story of how Herrold got there, beginning in 1909, that makes KQW important. Today KQW is the 50,000-watt all-news KCBS in San Francisco.

Charles Herrold, after dropping out of Stanford University in 1899 and spending a decade as a freelance inventor and college instructor, decided to go into business for himself. He borrowed money from his father and in 1909 opened the Herrold College of Wireless and Engineering in a downtown San Jose bank building. The purpose of the college was to prepare young men for what was becoming a lucrative profession: wireless operator. Herrold also had a vision of inventing a new technology for a radiotelephone. Wireless was primarily Morse code based, but several inventors were just beginning to find ways to make the wireless talk. Herrold had invented and patented a system based on an oscillating DC arc, a device with its roots in the bright arc lighting of the day. His patents were for a water-cooled carbon microphone, an array of arcs burning under liquid, and a unique antenna system.

Between 1912 and 1917 Herrold, his wife Sybil, and his assistants and students at the school began a broadcasting station, regular in schedule and announced in the newspapers, with programming consisting of phonograph music and news read from the local papers. It was new, it was popular, it attracted students to the college, and it allowed Herrold to have audio content for his radiotelephone inventing. Prior to 1912, the students on the air identified the station by saying, "This is the Herrold college station broadcasting from the Garden City bank in San Jose." Later, Herrold used the call sign FN, and in 1916 he received an experimental radiotelephone license, 6XE. The evidence indicates that Herrold's small audi-

ences began to look forward to the broadcasts, and he would have continued them were it not for the United States' entry into World War I. In April 1917, all amateurs and experimenters were ordered to cease all radio activities.

When the ban on radio activity was lifted in 1919, the arc technology once used successfully by Herrold was obsolete. So in 1919, Herrold opened a store in San Jose and built radios as a source of income. He wanted to return to the air and broadcast as before, but he lacked money for the equipment. By December 1921, Herrold had applied for and received a license as KQW, and a new transmitter using vacuum tubes was put on the air.

Like many broadcasters in the early 1920s, Herrold did not have a way to support his station. Advertising was in its infancy, and local stations had to share dial space, making it difficult for listeners to separate stations amid the interference. Many stations were sold or just went off the air, their operators giving up. In 1925 Herrold turned over his KQW license to the First Baptist Church of San Jose. In exchange for the license, the church agreed to retain and pay Herrold as its chief engineer. After a year, his contract apparently up, the church, citing financial problems of its own, fired Herrold. A headline in the San Jose paper read, "Father of Broadcasting Fired!"

In 1926 Fred Hart approached the church and offered to run KQW and make a profit with agricultural programming. In return, Hart promised the Baptists that KQW would air their Sunday morning services. The station made money as an agricultural news outlet, and Hart soon bought the station. By the end of the 1920s, broadcasting was a fully formed business, but Fred Hart still had his eye on the historical significance of his station. Contacting Charles Herrold, then a freelance sales representative for several Bay Area stations, Hart asked Herrold to try to resurrect some of the early 1909 to 1917 history and bring in materials and photos of the early station, and a promotion was developed around this information.

In 1934 Hart sold KQW to Ralph Burton and Charles McCarthy of San Francisco, and its power was soon raised to 5,000 watts. In 1942 KQW began its affiliation with the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS). The main studios were moved to the Palace Hotel in San Francisco, although legally KQW was still licensed to San Jose, so its transmitter had to remain there. KQW was an important station during World War II, acting as a relay for shortwave transmissions for the Pacific Coast, along with airing well-known CBS network personalities. In 1945 KQW attempted one final time to publicize its pioneer history. An engineer was sent with a disc recorder to the local rest home where the aging Charles Herrold was spending his final days. A one-hour historical documentary was written, produced, and aired, with Herrold's recorded voice used at the end of the show. The actor hired to portray Herrold was Jack Webb.

After the end of World War II, KQW and CBS fought a long Federal Communications Commission battle with another station over the rights to relocate to 740 kilohertz and to increase power to 50,000 watts. In 1949 the call letters were changed from KQW to KCBS, and the transmitter was relicensed and legally moved to San Francisco; a 50,000-watt transmitter went into operation in 1951. Throughout the 1950s KCBS operated as a "full-service" station, airing a combination of news, personality, music, and CBS network offerings.

It was not until the late 1950s that CBS rediscovered that KCBS might have some status as a pioneer station. Research leading to this celebration began in 1958, when San Jose State University professor Gordon Greb discovered the Herrold history in a private local museum. The curator had pieces of the early Herrold arc transmitter technology and strong evidence that the long-forgotten broadcasts took place. Greb located the still-living witnesses to the events, including Herrold's first wife and son and former students and teachers at the Herrold school. Greb located a collection of Herrold correspondence, patents, and photographs from the important pre-1920 period. In 1959, 50 years after Herrold's 1909 beginning, a "50th Anniversary of Broadcasting" was staged by KCBS and San Jose State University's journalism department. A Herrold arc transmitter was reassembled from parts found in a local museum, and dignitaries and personalities from CBS in New York were brought to San Jose, where dinners and a parade highlighted a week of celebration. Several historical audio documentaries were aired, and a congressional resolution pro-

claiming KCBS the first radio station was read into the public record in Washington, D.C.

Then the most important event in the Herrold/KQW/KCBS story took place: the publication in 1959 of Greb's article in the *Journal of Broadcasting*. This story of Charles Herrold not only became the scholarly basis for the KCBS claim but also provided the historical community with evidence of Herrold's work, which has found its way into subsequent broadcast history texts.

What about the KCBS claim of "first station?" The most significant study on first broadcaster claims was published in the *Journal of Broadcasting* in 1977. In a study of four claimants by two respected historians, it was determined that KDKA in Pittsburgh could claim the title of "oldest station," because that station began on the air in 1920 and has continued, uninterrupted, to broadcast up until the present. KCBS, because of the lapse between when Herrold left the air during World War I and his return as KQW in 1921, was deemed not to be the oldest, but it could legitimately claim to be the "first station." In an ironic twist, the two large station owners, Westinghouse with KDKA and CBS with KCBS, who battled for years in the court of public opinion for the title of first broadcaster, are today owned by the same company—Viacom.

MICHAEL H. ADAMS

See also CBS; Herrold, Charles D.; KDKA

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KCMO

Kansas City, Missouri Station

KKCMO-AM is known both regionally and nationally for two reasons: (1) it was once a high-power, 50,000 watt station that could be received across a large portion of the Midwest; and (2) because the station once employed Walter Cronkite, who has mentioned it often in discussing his early career. Originally based in Kansas City, Missouri, its studios are now located in a nearby Kansas suburb. It now operates on 10,000 watts during the day and 5,000 watts at night.

The KCMO call was first used in 1936 for a station formerly known as KWKC (which had been on the air since the 1920s) that was taken over by investors Lester E. Cox and Thomas L. Evans. By the mid-1930s, the station suffered from low power (100 watts) and no network affiliation.

Walter Cronkite, who worked for the station at that time, recalled in his biography that KCMO did not subscribe to a news wire. Cronkite, who was assigned the air name “Walter Wilcox” while at KCMO, recalls announcing sports play by play (from Western Union telegraph wire dispatches), covering news, and eventually leaving the station (but not before meeting his wife-to-be Betsy Maxwell, another station employee) when he had a dispute with management over how to react to reports of a fire at City Hall. Cronkite’s version of the story is that he wanted to verify the seriousness of the fire—which turned out to be minor—with the fire department, but the station’s program manager wanted to go on the air with false reports of people jumping from the building. Cronkite says that he was fired for “daring to question management’s authority” and that his KCMO experience “cooled any thought I had that radio might be an interesting medium in which to practice journalism” (*A Reporter’s Life*, 1996).

KCMO made major advances in solving its coverage problems by increasing to 1,000 watts in 1939 (the same year it

received National Broadcasting Company [NBC] network affiliation), to 5,000 watts in 1940, and to 50,000 watts (daytime, with reduced power at night) in 1947, at which time it was assigned the frequency of 810 AM, which it occupied until the late 1990s.

The station’s most stable period (and its longest continuity of ownership) began not in the golden age of radio, but as radio was being surpassed by television in 1953, when the Meredith Corporation purchased KCMO at a cost of \$2 million. Under Meredith, the station heavily promoted the range and quality of signal that its 50,000 watts gave it, allowing it to reach listeners across western Missouri, much of Kansas, and parts of Iowa and Nebraska. Despite its strong daytime signal, however, its reduced power and especially its directional pattern at night often resulted in poor reception after dark in the Kansas suburbs.

Under Meredith, the station built a strong news department, and from the 1950s through the 1970s KCMO offered popular and country music formats (at one time referring to its air sound as a combination of the two). After serious losses in ratings in the late 1970s, Meredith invested heavily in a news format in 1980, at one point employing well over a dozen people in news-related capacities alone. The hoped-for surge in audience never came, however, and the news format evolved to a less expensive talk format, which also failed to move the station to a dominant position in the market. In 1983 Meredith sold KCMO to Fairbanks Communications, beginning a string of ownership changes with subsequent sales to Summit (1983), Gannett (1986), Bonneville (1993), Entercom (1997), and Susquehanna (2000).

MARK POINDEXTER

KDKA

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania Station

KKDKA in Pittsburgh began operation in 1920 and is often called the oldest regular broadcast station in the United States. The station, still owned by Westinghouse (now merged with Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]), pioneered in many

areas during its initial years on the air. Within months of its debut, the station broadcast the first regularly scheduled church services; the first program broadcast from a theater; the first on-air appearance by a Cabinet member (the Secretary of

War); and the first sporting event, a 10-round boxing match, soon followed by regularly broadcast baseball scores. KDKA developed the first orchestra exclusively used on radio, another precedent soon adopted by many other stations. The station had by then hired the first full-time radio announcer, Harold W. Arlin, a Westinghouse engineer. And a regular farm program was begun in mid 1921.

Westinghouse experimented with different means of extending and improving KDKA's signal. A shortwave station, KFKX, was placed on the air in Hastings, Nebraska, in 1923 and another followed in Pittsburgh. These and others lasted into World War II, eventually under government operation. They were one means of providing KDKA's "Far North Service" that sent the sounds of home to explorers and pioneers in northern Canada in the 1920s and early 1930s, often their only connection with the outside world.

Origins

KDKA radio began as experimental radio station 8XK in the Wilkesburg, Pennsylvania, garage of Frank Conrad, an electrical engineer employed by the Westinghouse Corporation's East Pittsburgh plant. Conrad's experimental station was established as a point-to-point operation to test radio equipment manufactured by Westinghouse for U.S. military use in World War I. In 1919 the U.S. government canceled Westinghouse's remaining military contracts and the corporation was facing idle factories. Conrad was among the first to put his 8XK back on the air as an amateur radio telephone station and in contact with ham (amateur) radio operators. Conrad's main concerns were with the quality of his signal and the distance it would travel. He would read from newspapers and then await reports from listening posts commenting on the quality of the reception.

The people operating the listening posts soon tired of hearing news they had already seen in the newspapers and they grew weary of hearing Conrad's voice. One of them suggested that Conrad play a phonograph record. Conrad did so and soon the Westinghouse headquarters received a flood of mail requesting newer music and specific song titles. Frank Conrad had become the world's first disc jockey.

The news of Conrad's airborne music reached a department manager at Pittsburgh's Joseph Horne Department Store, who realized that people who wanted to listen to Conrad might want to purchase assembled radios. An ad was placed in the *Pittsburgh Sun's* 29 September 1920 issue, featuring wireless sets for \$10.00. That ad was seen by Harry P. Davis, a Westinghouse vice president who realized that a vast potential market could be developed for home wireless sets and that Westinghouse already had the ideal product: the SCR-70, a radio receiver made for the U.S. military in the recently concluded world war.

Decisions were made to move Conrad's station to the roof of the East Pittsburgh plant's administration building, to install a stronger transmitter, and to redesign the station for public entertainment. All was to be ready by early November 1920, a presidential election year. On 2 November, the Harding-Cox election results were broadcast by KDKA, the newly assigned call letters on its Department of Commerce license. The success of KDKA was rapidly assured, and soon many newspapers across the country were publishing the station's program schedule (usually an hour of music and talk in the evening).

According to Baudino and Kittross (1977), KDKA is the oldest U.S. station still in operation, as reckoned by the following standards: KDKA (1) used radio waves (2) to send out non-coded signals (3) in a continuous, scheduled program service (4) intended for the general public and (5) was licensed by the government to provide such a service.

Later Developments

The station's frequency shifted several times in the 1920s, between 950 and 980 kilohertz, and one final time in March 1941 (due to the North American Regional Broadcasting Agreement) to 1020 kilohertz, which it still uses. KDKA became a 50,000-watt clear channel operation by the late 1920s. In 1933, Westinghouse turned over daily management of KDKA and its other radio stations to the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) network, an arrangement that lasted until 1940.

Beginning in 1927, engineers experimented with FM transmission, using that mode for KDKA signals several hours a day. A Westinghouse commercial FM outlet was on the air in Pittsburgh by April 1942, initially programmed separately but simulcasting the AM outlet by 1948. Likewise, KDKA personnel experimented with a crude system of television in the late 1920s. However, a regular television operation appeared only when Westinghouse purchased DuMont's Channel 2 (then the only television station in Pittsburgh), dubbing it KDKA-TV, in January 1955.

As it did to most other stations, the decline of network programming brought hard times to KDKA for several years as management attempted a host of middle-of-the-road format ideas in the struggle to maintain listener loyalty, a challenge shared by other major market stations. In 1954 disc jockey Rege Cordic was hired from competing station WWSW and his huge morning drive-time popularity (in part because of his zany characters and fake commercials) helped propel KDKA up the ratings ladder over the next decade, until he left for Los Angeles. A decision in 1955 to resume broadcasts of Pittsburgh Pirates baseball games also contributed to KDKA's renewed popularity. Station newscasts expanded from several years of rip-and-read wire service-based summaries to a full news staff with substantial local presence.

The station celebrated its half-century anniversary in 1970 with considerable promotion and again laying claim to being the oldest radio station in the country. At that time it was the ratings leader in its market, reaching 50 percent more homes than its nearest competitor. In July 1982 KDKA became one of the first AM outlets to provide stereo service. A decade later the station switched from its long-time "full service" or "middle of the road" programming to take on a news/talk format that continued into the new century.

REGIS TUCCI AND CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Conrad, Frank; Group W; Westinghouse

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Keillor, Garrison 1942–

U.S. Radio Humorist

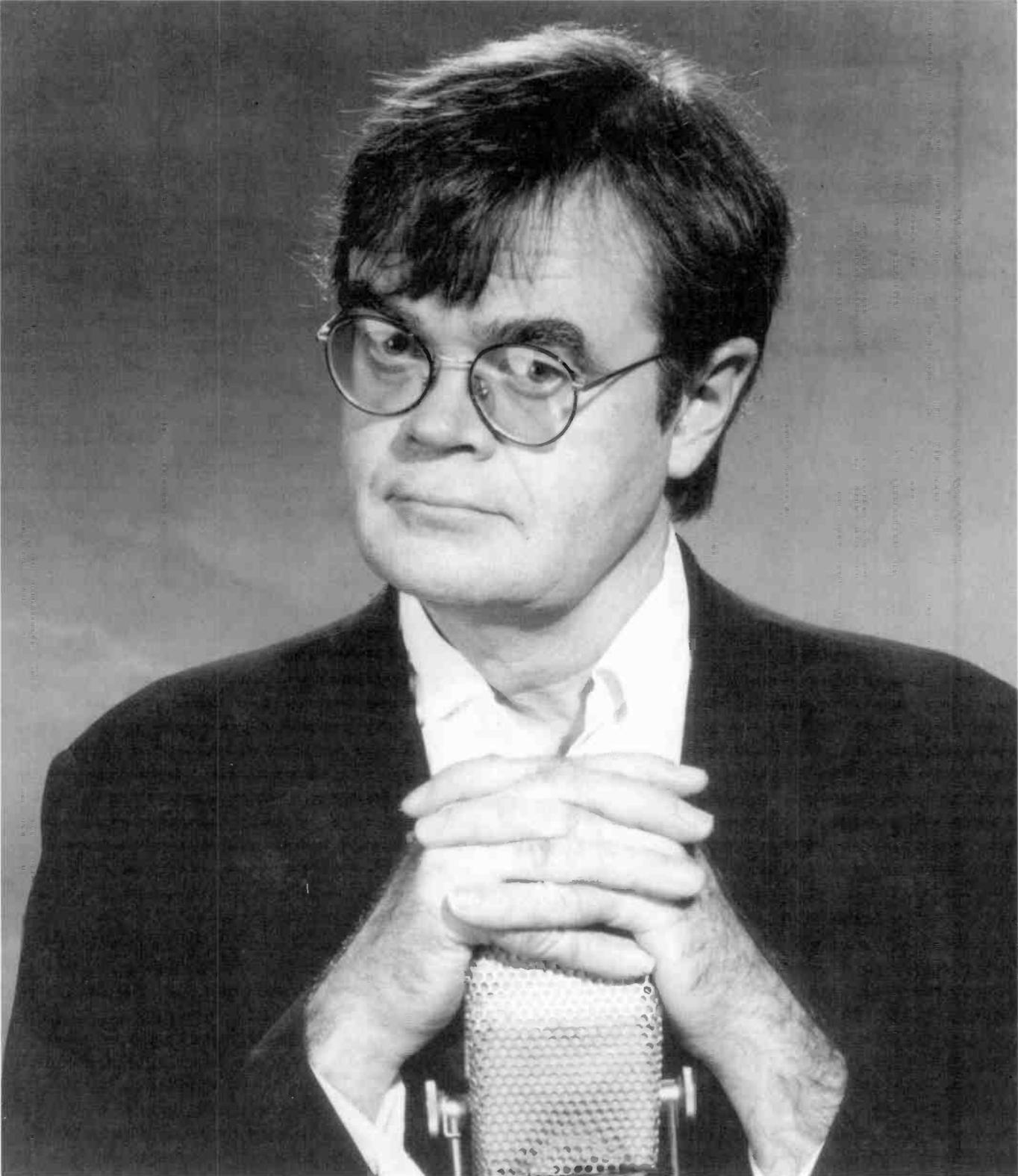
Garrison Keillor is a public radio personality and writer best known for his variety program *A Prairie Home Companion*, which is produced live on Saturday evenings by Minnesota Public Radio (MPR) and distributed by Public Radio International (PRI). The program features a weekly monologue from Lake Wobegon, Keillor's fictitious hometown, where "all the women are strong, all the men are good looking, and all the children are above average." Keillor's main contribution to modern radio was to reintroduce the variety-show format. A *Time* magazine cover story called Keillor "a radio bard" and noted that his "storytelling approaches the quality of Mark Twain's."

Keillor was raised Gary Edward Keillor in a rural area eight miles outside of his hometown of Anoka, Minnesota. His family belonged to a conservative religious sect called the Plymouth Brethren, which shunned television and motion pictures but found enjoyment in a "strictly monitored" Zenith radio set. Keillor's early radio idol was Cedric Adams, star of Minneapolis Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) station WCCO, which also carried variety shows such as *The Red River Valley Gang* and *The Murphy Barn Dance*. As a boy, Keillor would also pull in clear channel radio station signals carrying exotic rhythm and blues from far-away cities. At age 14 he discovered *The New Yorker* and dreamed of being a literary figure. In

1966 he graduated with a BA in English from the University of Minnesota, where he performed on radio station KUOM and edited the campus literary magazine.

He went to work for Minnesota Public Radio in 1969 at KSJR in the central Minnesota town of Collegeville. There he developed a three-hour morning program that evolved from classical music into an eclectic mix of musical styles that included folk, rock, and bluegrass. It was on this show that Keillor began referring on the air to the fictitious town of "Lake Wobegon." He published his first *New Yorker* fiction piece in 1970. Entitled "Local Family Keeps Son Happy," it was a short parody of small-town journalism about parents who hire a live-in prostitute to keep their teenager off the streets at night. Keillor quit radio in 1971 to concentrate on writing, but after six months he joined the staff at KSJN, MPR's St. Paul flagship station. In 1973 he again quit in order to write full-time.

During the summer of 1973, Keillor spent time listening to tapes of his boyhood WCCO radio favorites, including *The Red River Valley Gang*, which featured a regular monologue about the banjo player's visits to an uncle in North Dakota. That summer he also listened to tapes of Gene Autry programs from the "Melody Ranch" studio and to recordings of Smilin' Ed McConnell's vintage radio program, which also featured a



Garrison Keillor
Courtesy Radio Hall of Fame

story in the middle of the broadcast. When he returned to KSJN in 1974, Keillor called his morning program *A Prairie Home Companion*, its name taken from the Prairie Home cemetery in Moorhead, Minnesota. In April of 1974 he traveled to Nashville to cover the *Grand Ole Opry*'s last broadcast from the old Ryman Auditorium for *The New Yorker*. During and shortly after this trip, an idea crystallized in his mind. Keillor pitched to MPR his concept for a weekly, live, old-fashioned musical variety show revolving around a monologue about Lake Wobegon. On 6 July 1974 he hosted the first broadcast of the program, which, like his KSJN morning show, was called *A Prairie Home Companion*.

Despite the growing popularity of the program, National Public Radio (NPR) declined to distribute the show nationally because it felt the show was too regional, contributing to Minnesota Public Radio's decision to set up its own network, American Public Radio (APR; today called Public Radio International). National syndication on APR began in May 1980. The program won the George Foster Peabody Award for broadcast excellence in 1981. In 1985 Keillor married Ulla Skaerved, who had been a Danish exchange student at Anoka High School and with whom Keillor became reacquainted at their 25th class reunion. Two years later, as the Twin Cities newspapers ran front-page coverage of what Keillor considered his private affairs, he abandoned *A Prairie Home Companion* and moved to Denmark, and later New York. In 1989 he began a new radio show in New York called *The American Radio Company of the Air*, which was similar in format to his earlier program. In 1992 he moved the program's production site to St. Paul, and in 1993 he reclaimed the concept and the title of *A Prairie Home Companion*, which at the beginning of 2003 was heard by some 5 million listeners weekly on more than 450 public radio stations. Keillor continues to publish works of fiction and keeps a rural Wisconsin home outside of the Twin Cities, as well as a residence in New York City.

MARK BRAUN

See also Comedy; Minnesota Public Radio; Prairie Home Companion; Public Radio Since 1967

Garrison Keillor. Born Gary Edward Keillor in Anoka, Minnesota, 7 August 1942. Married Mary Guntzel, 1965; attended University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, B.A. in English, 1966; worked for Minnesota Public Radio, Colledgeville station, KSJR, 1969–71; MPR's Saint Paul flagship KSJN, 1971–73, 1974–82; broadcast *A Prairie Home Companion* on Minnesota Public Radio, 1974–87; hosted *American Radio Company* (similar to *Prairie Home Companion*), New York, 1989–92; revived *A Prairie Home Companion*, 1993–present; hosts daily five-minute radio program, *The Writer's Almanac*, 1993–present; writes biweekly

romance advice column for online magazine *Salon*. Received National Humanities Medal, National Endowment for the Humanities, 1999; inducted into Radio Hall of Fame, Museum of Broadcast Communications, Chicago, 1994; George Foster Peabody Award, 1981; Edward R. Murrow Award, 1985; two ACE Awards for work in cable television, 1988; Grammy Award for recording of *Lake Wobegon Days*, 1985.

Radio Series

1974–87, 1993–present *A Prairie Home Companion*
 1989–92 *The America Radio Company of the Air*
 1993–present *The Writer's Almanac*

Selected Publications

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Lake Wobegon Days, 1985
Leaving Home: A Collection of Lake Wobegon Stories, 1987
Don: The True Story of a Young Person, 1987
We Are Still Married, 1989
WLT: A Radio Romance, 1991
The Book of Guys, 1993
Cat, You Better Come Home, 1995
The Old Man Who Loved Cheese, 1996
The Sandy Bottom Orchestra (with Jenny Lind Nilsson), 1996
Wobegon Boy, 1997
The Best American Short Stories (coedited with Katrina Kenison), 1998
Me: By Jimmy "Big Boy" Valente as Told to Garrison Keillor, 1999
Lake Wobegon Summer 1956, 2001
Good Poems (editor), 2002

Recordings

A Prairie Home Album, 1972; *The Family Radio*, 1982; *Gospel Birds and Other Stories of Lake Wobegon*, 1985; *Lake Wobegon Days*, 1986; *A Prairie Home Companion: The Final Performance*, 1987; *A Prairie Home Companion: The 2nd Annual Farewell Performance*, 1988; *More News from Lake Wobegon*, 1989; *Garrison Keillor's American Radio Company: The First Season*, 1990; *Local Man Moves to the City*, 1991; *Songs of the Cat*, 1991; *A Visit to Mark Twain's House with Garrison Keillor*, 1992; *The Young Lutheran's Guide to the Orchestra*, 1993; *A Prairie Home Companion 20th Anniversary Collection*, 1994; *A Prairie Home Christmas*, 1995; *The Hopeful Gospel Quartet: Climbing Up on the Rough Side*, 1997; *Garrison Keillor's Comedy Theater*, 1997; *Mother, Father, Uncle, Aunt: Stories from Lake Wobegon*, 1997; *The Best American Short Stories 1988* (coedited with Katrina Kenison), 1998; *Life These Days: Stories from Lake Wobegon*, Vol. 2, 1997; *A Prairie Home Companion*, 1999; *Me: By Jimmy "Big Boy" Valente As told to Garrison Keillor*,

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Kent, A. Atwater 1873–1949

U.S. Radio Inventor and Manufacturer

From 1921 to 1935 A. Atwater Kent's company was one of the most important U.S. manufacturers of radio receivers.

Early Years

Born in New England of an upper-middle-class family, A. Atwater Kent (he never used his first name) attended the private Wooster Polytechnic Institute from 1895 to 1897 but left before graduating to enter business. (Three decades later, he was awarded an honorary doctorate by the institution, whose laboratory he endowed in his will.) His father had been a part-time inventor and machinist before becoming a doctor, and his handiwork may have been the son's first exposure to mechanical devices. Kent's first foray into the working world came with the Kent Electric Manufacturing Company, which he formed in about 1895, with financial support from his father, and which made small electric motors, fans, and even "Amperia," a battery-powered electrical game. Although this foretold his future, it may not have been financially successful, because in about 1900 he sold his firm to Kendrick and Davis of Lebanon, New Hampshire, and briefly worked for that company.

The central part of his career came with his formation of the Atwater Kent Manufacturing Works in downtown Philadelphia in 1902. The new company made telephones, small voltmeters, and other small electrical devices. Three years later the product line was expanded to include automobile devices, including the 1906 Kent-invented spark generator ignition system, later dubbed the "Unisparker," that remained widely used into the 1970s. By the end of his life, Kent would hold 93 patents granted from 1901 to 1943.

During World War I the Kent company, by now located on Stenton Avenue in Germantown just north of center-city Philadelphia, manufactured military equipment for the U.S. Army, including a panoramic gun sight, fuse-setting equipment, a gun-training (aiming) theodolite, and a device to precisely incline a rifle. Using his trained staff, which in 1919 numbered about 125, and the manufacturing facilities developed during the war (which after wartime contracts were completed or terminated would otherwise become largely redundant), Kent's company joined the postwar bandwagon to radio receiver manufacturing. Though other firms were also entering the radio market, Kent's company enjoyed the benefits of extensive manufacturing expertise and facilities as well as an existing chain of dealerships for his automobile and electrical devices.

Radio Years

The Atwater Kent firm began selling radio receiver components in late 1921, trading on its reputation and network of dealers. Just a year later Atwater Kent radio advertising depicted fully assembled receivers in response to the growing demand for sets. The several initial models were dubbed "breadboards" because they lacked an external case and arranged their components along a wooden base. Over several years more than 120,000 steadily improved breadboard models were sold. Though successful, the radio market was changing and demanded furniture-like devices rather than experimental-looking breadboards. The company needed more space and was unable to expand in Germantown, so a new 20-acre site on Wissahickon Avenue was purchased and a



Atwater Kent, 24 November 1942
Courtesy AP/Wide World Photos

new factory begun, the first part of which began turning out radios in 1923.

The first fully enclosed Atwater Kent receivers, the Model 20, appeared in April 1924. By the end of 1926 the company had manufactured 1 million radio receivers and was making them at the rate of more than 5,000 a day, or 11 sets per minute. The factory had been enlarged twice so that the roof covered 15 acres, a feature often noted in company advertising featuring the plant. By then virtually all radios were offering single-dial tuning, which was far easier to operate than the multiple dials required before. By late 1927 the company offered metal-encased AC-powered receivers that plugged into a wall socket, dispensing with heavy and messy batteries. The trend to ever-bigger and fancier radios worked well through the late 1920s. A 16.5-acre addition to the manufacturing plant opened in 1929; together all the buildings presented a half-mile frontage on Wissahickon Avenue.

The Atwater Kent company sponsored the popular *Atwater Kent Hour* of concert and opera music, which first aired in 1925 on New York station WEAJ and its hookup of stations. The program was continued on the new National Broadcasting Company (NBC) network from 1926 to 1931 and again briefly as a half-hour program on the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) in the fall of 1934. As a pioneering radio manufacturer, Kent was one of several hundred delegates to the 1924 and 1925 National Radio Conferences called by Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, which called for a stronger governmental role in the licensing of stations.

The coming of the Great Depression in 1929 brought tighter competition from a number of small-radio manufacturers seeking to meet growing demand for less-expensive receivers. But the Atwater Kent firm had moved to manufacturing larger console radio models with higher profit margins—a classic case of poor timing. Atwater Kent models only belatedly met the demand for smaller sets as factory production peaked in about 1931. From that point on, however, production slipped, and little new research or improvement on receiver models took place. Parts of the newly enlarged factory lay idle. The added competition and lower profit margins from smaller receivers caused Kent to lose interest in the business.

Final Years

The company ceased operations in 1936, and Kent destroyed the firm's remaining records. Through his foundation he endowed the Atwater Kent Museum (1938), which focuses on social history and everyday life in Philadelphia, and purchased and refurbished the Betsy Ross Home in the same city. Kent retired to Hollywood, California, and lived a lavish retirement until his death there in 1949. An Atwater Kent Manufacturing Company (Wilmington, Delaware) still exists; now an investment entity, it is controlled by the family and retains some family papers.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Receivers

Arthur Atwater Kent. Born in Burlington, Vermont, 3 December 1873. Son of Prentiss J. Kent, physician, and Mary Elizabeth Atwater; formed Kent Electric Manufacturing Company, 1895; attended Wooster Polytechnic Institute, 1895–97; formed Atwater Kent Manufacturing Works, 1902–36; awarded John Scott Legacy Medal from Franklin Institute, 1914; delegate to National Radio Conferences, 1924; received honorary degree, Wooster Polytechnic Institute; endowed Atwater Kent Museum, Philadelphia, 1938. Died in Hollywood, California, 4 March 1949.

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Kesten, Paul 1898–1956

U.S. Radio Network Executive

Paul Kesten served as a key Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) executive who helped to shape the network through the end of World War II. Before retiring because of ill health, he was the likeliest heir-apparent to network chief William Paley, having run CBS during the latter's wartime service.

Early Years

Born in Milwaukee in 1898, Kesten was the son of George Henry Kesten (a pharmacist and optometrist) and Lucy (Davies) Kesten. He attended high school in Milwaukee and briefly attended but did not graduate from the University of Wisconsin, Madison. He joined the U.S. Marine Corps in 1918 but was released a few months later at the war's conclusion.

For the next dozen years, he held a number of advertising positions, first in Milwaukee, then Chicago, and finally New York. He began as the assistant advertising manager for the Gimbel's Department Store in Milwaukee late in 1918, becoming manager in 1919. The next year he moved to the McJunkin Advertising Agency in Milwaukee and remained there as vice president and advertising manager until 1922. He returned to the retail clothing business as vice president and advertising manager for Foreman and Clark, a clothing store chain, for four years. In 1926–27, he took a year off and studied abroad at the Sorbonne, Oxford, and Heidelberg, among other places, before returning to Foreman and Clark. Kesten moved to New York as a copywriter for the Lennon and Mitchell agency in 1929.

Radio and CBS

Kesten moved into radio when Edward Klauber of CBS hired him as the first director of sales promotion for the network in 1930. As network founder William Paley later noted, Kesten “just bubbled from the start with ideas and strategies for promoting the network.” But perhaps more important—and a key to Kesten's rapid career growth from that point—was how closely he “clicked” with the boss. Paley relates:

Kesten and I were so compatible that we understood each other in a kind of mental shorthand. We could cover a lot of ground in a few minutes of conversation. We saw eye to eye from the start on the importance of design and good taste. In those early days it was necessary to persuade some advertisers about what was tasteful and effective in the spoken advertisement on radio. Kesten had a feeling for elegance and taste along with a

touch of majesty, with which he presented the image of CBS to certain advertisers. We proved to be able to work together as a unique and effective team (Paley, 1979).

Kesten's interest in fine arts, literature, and the theater paralleled Paley's and contributed to their good working relationship—and to Kesten's work for the network. This is especially evident, even today, in the host of research and promotion publications issued by the network, nearly all under Kesten's direct supervision, in the early 1930s. Each assessed some aspect of radio and featured CBS. They were handsomely designed and printed efforts—many in hardcover formats—far above the normal throwaway material issued by most companies of the time. Some featured strikingly handsome art deco photography and multicolor graphics. Most of them dealt with aspects of radio's audience and how that audience might best be reached (through CBS, of course) by advertisers. To many, Kesten was the father of the network's image.

Kesten also made his mark in his decisions to hire others. In 1935 he brought on Frank Stanton to work on audience research (Stanton would eventually succeed him as senior network officer under Paley in 1946), and he hired engineer Peter Goldmark in 1936. Encouraging the work of the latter, Kesten committed CBS to a strong television developmental effort. By 1940 he strongly backed Goldmark's system of semi-mechanical color transmission, which was designed to operate on UHF frequencies. Kesten was soon dubbed the “vice president in charge of the future” around CBS headquarters. Kesten persuaded Paley to bet much of the network's future on Goldmark's color system, a decision that would cost CBS heavily by the early 1950s, long after Kesten had left, when the network belatedly had to develop its own stations and operations in black and white.

As Kesten rose in the hierarchy of the expanding network—becoming a network vice president in 1934 and a member of the board of directors three years later—he increasingly clashed with his chief rival, ironically the man who had originally hired him, Edward Klauber. Men of very different character and personalities, both were featured as key network executives in a warm *Fortune* essay in the middle of the decade.

For a variety of reasons, chief among them Klauber's difficult personality, Kesten won out in 1942, becoming general manager of the network when his senior colleague left in 1942. For all practical purposes, Kesten was already running CBS when Paley left for war work in Europe. Kesten became executive vice president and chief executive officer for two

years in Paley's absence, 1943–45. At the same time, he served as a director of the National Association of Broadcasters (1942–44) representing CBS and as director of the War Advertising Council. Kesten was one of the industry's leading figures.

Final Years

During this period, he formed firm ideas about how best to develop CBS in the face of fierce competition from the National Broadcasting Company (NBC). On Paley's return in 1945, Kesten gave him a 15-page design for the network's future, arguing that CBS should concentrate on educated and cultivated listeners rather than on mass-appeal programs. He felt strongly that the network should play up what both Kesten and Paley had often discussed before the war—radio's proven ability to bring culture and elite-appeal programs into discerning homes. For perhaps the first time in their working relationship, Paley was appalled. He saw Kesten's plan as a surrender to NBC's hegemony, and he was having none of it. In many discussions, the two sharply disagreed over the future direction of the network.

Yet at the same time, Paley could see what Kesten had done for CBS. And being unsure of his own future plans, Paley offered Kesten a continuing top role, essentially working as in partnership. He was genuinely shocked when Kesten turned him down, first in 1945 and more finally a year later. Pleading ill health (Kesten had suffered serious arthritis for years), but also no longer comfortable working for Paley, both because of their divergent visions of CBS's future and because of Paley's increasingly autocratic ways, Kesten moved up to be vice chairman of the CBS board before his final retirement from the network in August 1946.

Kesten lived for another decade, but he played no further role in broadcasting save for occasional consulting work with CBS. He became vice chairman of the fledgling company Cinerama, working to develop a wide-screen system for theatrical films. Foreseeing television's impact on motion pictures, he worked to help the film industry develop one of the means of holding audiences in the face of the electronic box in the living room. He married late in life and spent more time on the arts

that he had always enjoyed. But his health continued to deteriorate, and he died at age 58 in late 1956.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Columbia Broadcasting System; Klauber, Edward; Paley, William S.; Stanton, Frank N.

Paul W. Kesten. Born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 30 August 1898. Son of George Henry, pharmacist and optometrist, and Lucy (Davies) Klauber; attended University of Wisconsin; joined U.S. Marine Corps, 1918; assistant advertising manager, Gimbel's Department Store, Milwaukee, 1918, manager, 1919; vice president and advertising manager for McJunkin Advertising Agency, Milwaukee, 1920–22; vice president and advertising manager for Foreman and Clark, a clothing store chain, 1922–26; studied at University of Sorbonne, University of Oxford, and University of Heidelberg, 1926–27; copywriter, Lennon and Mitchell agency, New York City, 1929; joined CBS as director of sales promotion, 1930, became vice president, 1934, Class A Director (Board of Directors), 1937, general manager, 1942–43, executive vice president and CEO, 1943–45; concurrent service as director of War Advertising Council; resigned as vice chairman of the board, becoming executive consultant, 1946; vice-chairman, Cinerama Inc., 1946. Died in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, 5 December 1956.

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KFFA

Helena, Arkansas Station

Starting in the 1940s, KFFA played an important role in disseminating blues music to black listeners throughout the upper Mississippi Delta region of the mid-South. The primary showcase for the station's blues offerings was the *King Biscuit Time*, a program that gave valuable exposure to blues performers and that inspired various young black listeners to pursue careers in blues music. The station's black-appeal programming also served as an example to other stations in the region that would later target the black audience.

Sam W. Anderson, a former superintendent of schools in Dyess, Arkansas, conceived the idea of establishing KFFA and recruited John Thomas Franklin and J.Q. Floyd to join him in the investment. Operating as the Helena Broadcasting Company, the men put the station on the air on 19 November 1941. Within a few months, KFFA was carrying a regularly scheduled blues music program.

At the time of KFFA's inception, blacks in the Mississippi Delta region had begun enjoying a measure of increased prosperity, in part because wage labor in farming had replaced the sharecropping system. As a result, businesses had begun marketing more frequently to blacks. Max Moore, who distributed flour through his Interstate Grocer Company, was seeking to market a high-quality flour to blacks and approached KFFA about sponsoring a program that would reach his target population. The new station, ready to try anything that might succeed, inaugurated *King Biscuit Time*, which aired blues music from 12:15 to 12:30 P.M. Monday through Friday. Named for Moore's high-grade flour, the show featured bluesman Rice Miller (also known as Sonny Boy Williamson II), a harmonica player who attracted a large number of listeners who, in turn, began to spend their dollars on the sponsor's product. The show became so popular that Moore began marketing to blacks a cornmeal dubbed "Sonny Boy Meal" after *King Biscuit Time*'s star.

Although KFFA and Max Moore paid Rice Miller very little, the musician could advertise his gigs, which helped fill the venues he played. Club owners, therefore, were more likely to book Miller and to pay him more because of his radio-fueled prominence. Shortly after *King Biscuit Time* debuted, Miller, who had initially performed solo, began recruiting a band for the broadcast. First came Robert Lockwood Jr. on guitar, and then James "Peck" Curtis on drums and Robert "Dudlow" Taylor on piano. Exposure on KFFA helped promote these men's careers. Furthermore, throughout the 1940s and 1950s bluesmen such as Muddy Waters, Little Walter Jacobs, Houston Stackhouse, Robert Nighthawk, Joe Willie "Pintop" Perkins, and Willie Love appeared on KFFA, reaching audiences

that otherwise would never have heard their music; each would go on to enjoy influential careers in the world of blues music.

As KFFA became an important amplifier for blues music in the 1940s, it was inevitable that aspiring blues performers would be influenced by the music and musicians they heard on the station. James Cotton, a well-known harmonica player, was so inspired by the sounds he heard as a child on *King Biscuit Time* that he traveled to Helena to learn from Rice Miller. America's foremost blues performer, B.B. King, also paid close attention to the sounds of *King Biscuit Time* during his boyhood in the Mississippi Delta. "We'd come in from the fields for our noon meal and relax by listening to Sonny Boy," wrote King in his 1996 autobiography. "He had him some famous songs like 'Fattening Frogs for Snakes,' but nothing made him as famous as this show, sponsored by King Biscuit Flour. I'd been listening to it so long, I felt like I knew Sonny Boy personally."

In the immediate wake of *King Biscuit Time*'s burgeoning success, other blues music shows joined the KFFA schedule as advertisers saw the value of reaching the black audience. By the mid-1950s, more than 30 hours of KFFA's weekly programming was black oriented. The station's success with the black-appeal programming that began in the early 1940s served as a significant model for other stations. The station helped fuel a small groundswell of black-oriented programming in the mid-South and was a major impetus in the rapidly growing number of black voices that actually appeared behind the microphones on mid-South radio in the 1940s. The growth of black-oriented programming on mid-South stations like KFFA culminated in the all-black format that debuted on Memphis radio station WDIA in 1949. Just as KFFA promoted the dissemination of blues music, it also promoted black-appeal programming.

Except for a few years in the 1980s, KFFA's *King Biscuit Time* has continued to broadcast on weekdays around noon-time, but now disc jockey Sonny Payne provides the music. Payne, who was working at KFFA on the day Rice Miller debuted on *King Biscuit Time*, has carried on the blues tradition at the station, featuring plenty of Rice Miller's recordings and helping to coordinate Helena's annual King Biscuit Blues Festival. KFFA is currently owned by Delta Broadcasting, which bought the station from the Helena Broadcasting Company in 1980.

MICHAEL STREISSGUTH

See also Black-Oriented Radio; Blues Format; King Biscuit Flower Hour

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KFI

Los Angeles, California Station

KFI radio was one of three Los Angeles radio stations to emerge from 1922's early broadcasting confusion and survives today as one of the top radio stations in the United States.

Origins

The story of KFI begins with California's leading Packard automobile distributor, Earle C. Anthony. He became one of the most important early radio station owners, not only on the West coast, but also in the entire nation. An article in the *Saturday Evening Post* gave Anthony the idea to use radio to communicate between his Packard auto dealerships. He built a 50-watt transmitter on his kitchen table and on 16 April 1922 began broadcasting in Los Angeles as KFI radio.

The KFI studios were on the roof of his Packard dealership at 1000 South Hope Street, at the corner of 10th (now Olympic) and Hope in downtown Los Angeles. The station started out with only two employees, who put the station on for a few hours per day. They would then take KFI off the air for a dinner break and return to the air for the evening program. One man booked talent for programs, announced them on the air, played musical accompaniments, and, when necessary, filled in program gaps with music. The other man's job was to take care of the technical aspects of putting the programs on the air. In 1923 KFI presented the "June Bride Contest of 1923." The winner had her wedding broadcast over KFI. The bride and groom also received \$1000 worth of electrical appliances (a tidy sum in those days).

With radio becoming the new national fad, KFI did its part to help new listeners. People who bought a crystal set or a more complicated radio could call KFI for help. The station would then send out a technician to help them set up their radio and antenna. KFI is also one of four stations that claim to have used musical chimes between programs before the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) began using them. The chimes were also used when KFI signed on the air each evening in the early 1920s. By the time KFI celebrated its fourth anniversary in 1926, the station boasted a staff of 20 people in the program, technical, and office departments.

Anthony soon realized that KFI could attract new customers into his car dealership. Programs were carefully tailored to the tastes of listeners that Anthony believed would buy Packards. High-class musical and educational programs were featured. The Los Angeles *Herald* and *Examiner* newspapers cooperated with KFI to provide news coverage in the early years. To promote both the station and his car business further, Anthony made sure that the station identification announcements always included the words "This is KFI, Los Angeles. The Radio Central Super Station of Earle C. Anthony, Incorporated, California Packard Distributors." The words "KFI-PACKARD" were also placed on the transmitter towers atop the Packard dealership to keep KFI radio in the public's mind as they traveled through that section of Los Angeles. Program listings in magazines and newspapers during the mid-1920s show that Anthony advertised Packard cars on KFI through such programs as the *Packard Six Orchestra*, *Packard Ballad Hour*, and *Packard Radio Club*.

Development

KFI soon initiated a policy of cooperating with schools, government agencies, and civic groups. In 1924 the first broadcast of a symphony orchestra in the West was presented over KFI; it also sponsored the first remote broadcast of a complete opera from the stage. That same year the first West coast network was set up when KFI exchanged programs with KPO in San Francisco. Over 500 miles of telephone lines connected the two stations. Another "first" was a broadcast of the Hollywood Bowl Summer Concert Season. As the station gained a reputation for its good programming and public service, nearly every important person who visited Southern California made it a point to be heard over KFI's microphone. A mid-1920s favorite of KFI listeners was real-life detective Nick Harris, a forerunner of the "who-done-it" shows. Harris would tell stories proving the folly of committing crime. The Nick Harris program remained a KFI feature through the 1930s.

KFI started a steady growth in popularity and began increasing its output power: from 50 to 500 watts in early 1923, to 5,000 watts by 1927, and finally to 50,000 watts in 1931, all on 640 kHz (since May 1923). The station's signal had already been heard coast to coast on cold winter nights, and radio fans in England and Australia sent in letters in 1924 and 1925 reporting reception of KFI—this owing to occasional sky wave reception. In 1927 KFI supplied the remote equipment for NBC to provide the first national radio coverage of the Rose Bowl football game from Pasadena. KFI's slogan, "A National Institution," made sense when readers of *Radio Listeners Guide* magazine voted KFI as the only West coast station among the 10 most-popular radio stations in the United States. KFI's program schedule was listed regularly in the *New York Times* and other Eastern newspapers.

KFI had several talented announcers on its staff over the years, including two of the most popular men heard on network radio throughout the 1930s and 1940s. Don Wilson was KFI's chief announcer from 1929 to 1933. He later gained fame as Jack Benny's longtime announcer on radio and TV. Ken Carpenter also served as chief announcer at KFI, was later heard on many network radio shows, and was chiefly identified with Bing Crosby's *Kraft Music Hall*. Roger Krupp was another network announcer who did local work on KFI. Chet Huntley was a newscaster from 1937–39 at KFI, years before he became a household name on NBC television's *Huntley Brinkley Report* in the 1950s and 1960s.

As an original NBC affiliate, KFI brought music, comedy, and dramatic programs from New York and Hollywood into Southern California homes, along with the daytime soap operas. The long-time NBC favorites included shows such as Jack Benny, Burns and Allen, *Fibber McGee and Molly*, Fred Allen, Abbott and Costello, and many others. KFI continued to carry its share of local programming, such as *Packard Fiesta*

and *Great Moments in History*. One longtime KFI feature that started in 1938, *Art Baker's Notebook*, was heard on the station for two decades.

By December 1939 KFI (and co-owned station KECA) had grown so much that it moved to new studios and offices at 141 North Vermont Avenue. The building included the latest broadcasting equipment and a 250-seat theater for audiences to see local KFI shows on the air.

During World War II, KFI was the station Southern Californians tuned to each night at 10 P.M. to hear the latest war news from reporter John Wahl, sponsored by Richfield gasoline. The 15-minute newscast was followed by *Inside the News*, with Jose Rodriguez and Sid Sutherland and later John Burton. Because the area surrounding Los Angeles was mostly agricultural at the time, KFI presented daily farm news reports and had a full-time farm director. Farmers were also served by KFI with nightly fruit frost warnings in the winter, at 8 P.M. each night. These were heard on KFI into the early 1970s.

Postwar Development

In the 1950s KFI's all-night talk show, *Ben Hunter's Nite Owls*, became quite popular. During the 1960s the station changed from block programming to middle of the road music with local disc jockeys, local and NBC news on the hour, and Los Angeles Dodgers baseball. Later, morning personalities Al Lohman and Roger Barkley tickled listeners' funny bones on KFI from 1969 until 1986.

KFI founder Earle C. Anthony died in 1961. His corporation held the KFI license until the station was sold to Cox Broadcasting in 1973 for \$15.1 million. The music on KFI gradually changed to a more contemporary Top 40 format, with several air personalities over the years, including Dave Hull, Bob Hudson, Dave Diamond, and Sonny Melendrez. The station also moved from the more than 30 year old studios on Vermont to a new facility at 610 South Ardmore Avenue in late 1975.

Since the late 1980s KFI has turned from broadcasting music and become one of the most listened to talk radio stations in the United States, using the slogan "More Stimulating Talk Radio." KFI's program director, David G. Hall, is behind much of that success. The station has been the flagship for such talk hosts as Dr. Laura Schlessinger and Phil Hendrie. KFI also has an award-winning local news staff of 16, which has won many Golden Mike and Associated Press awards. As of early 2001, KFI was owned by Clear Channel Communications.

JIM HILLIKER

See also Clear Channel Communications; National Broadcasting Company; Wilson, Don

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KGO

San Francisco, California Station

When West Coast residents first tuned to KGO on 8 January 1924, the station was an innovative business experiment. The General Electric Company (GE) wanted to sell radio sets by attracting consumers to the new medium. During the next 75 years, KGO would symbolize the powerful "key stations" of radio's golden age, develop and name a major new radio format, and be recognized as one of the nation's most successful radio stations.

Early Years

KGO's first studios and transmitter were built at a GE factory in Oakland. This mid-coast tower site reached listeners up and down the West Coast. Its power of 1,500 watts at 790 kHz made it one of the five most powerful stations in the nation. It switched to 810 kHz in 1941. KGO's first program schedule totaled six hours weekly: 8-10 P.M. on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday. Most radio shows of this era were produced live in the station's studios. San Francisco's enormous wealth of musical, dramatic, and educational talent provided the station with an unlimited supply of performers. Adding studios in the St. Francis Hotel in May 1924 encouraged participation by world famous touring artists.

When radio drama was born on the networks in the late 1920s, KGO reacted by producing local plays. The station employed a full-time dramatic director for the *KGO Players*, a weekly drama. These shows broke new ground by fully enhancing the spoken word with music and sound effects. Top orchestras and community events were also broadcast live. But as broadcast hours expanded, all programming could not remain local. In 1927 both KGO and KPO became San Francisco affiliates of the National Broadcasting Company (NBC).

KGO was affiliated with NBC's Red Network and KPO was affiliated with NBC's Blue Network. KPO later became KNBC, then KNBR.

A momentous turning point in KGO's history occurred in 1929, when NBC assumed management of the station, named it the key station for the Blue and Gold networks on the West Coast, and moved it into NBC's studios with KPO. This placed KGO in the creative environment where nationally broadcast network programs such as *One Man's Family* were being produced. (It was the first network radio serial to originate in San Francisco, became the longest-running serial drama in U.S. radio history, and paralleled the golden age of radio from 1932 to 1959.)

In 1942 NBC, KGO, and KPO moved to a \$1 million state-of-the-art studio then called the most perfect plant of its kind ever designed. Ten air-conditioned studios were mounted on springs with suspended walls and ceilings for perfect sound-proofing and acoustics. One studio seated an audience of 500 people. NBC was ordered by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to sell the Blue Network in 1943 for anti-trust reasons. The change gave KGO a new owner, the American Broadcasting Company, and a network re-named ABC (in 1945).

When the FCC authorized an increase to 50,000 watts in 1947, a new three-tower transmitting facility was built near the Dumbarton Bridge. This facility included the first multi-tower directional antenna system in San Francisco. Three 300-foot towers were anchored in salt water and guided KGO's signal in a north-south direction. The station was then billed as "The Sunset Station" because of its powerful nighttime coverage of the Pacific Coast region from Alaska to Mexico. The new transmitting facilities also doubled KGO's daytime

coverage area. One of the towers partially collapsed during the 17 October 1989 Loma Prieta earthquake, but the station returned to the air in less than five minutes.

The explosive growth of television in the 1950s captured radio listeners and marked an end to the so-called golden age of radio. As KGO's network shows such as *Don McNeill's Breakfast Club* suffered declining ratings, the station turned to personality disk jockeys. Innovative programs such as *Coyle and Sharpe* (a combination of *Bob and Ray* and *Candid Camera*) and broadcasts by *Les Crane Live from the Hungry I* were featured. But by 1962 the ratings placed "The Sunset Station" eighth in the San Francisco market.

Introducing Talk

The most significant transformation in KGO's history came in 1964 when station manager Don Curran engineered a dramatic change in format by introducing an all-day talk format and leading a team that invented the terms *newstalk* and *infotainment*. The success of this experiment proved the viability of talk radio and eventually led to its expansion into a major new radio format; by 1998 talk radio was being offered by more than 1,000 stations and earned a national audience share of 10 percent. By 1978 KGO had become the most popular radio station in the Bay Area among persons 12 and over.

In October 2000 KGO celebrated its 75th anniversary by continuing its dominance of the nation's fourth-largest market for more than 20 consecutive years. The station's 6.3 share among persons 12 and over captured the number one slot for the 90th consecutive San Francisco Arbitron Ratings book. *Radio Ink* wrote, "This is something that has never occurred in a major market in America before." About 850,000 different listeners tuned in to KGO each week at that time.

A long list of "firsts" contributed to these impressive ratings. KGO was the first Bay Area station with helicopter traffic

reports. Its 27-member news department was the first to send a local radio reporter to cover national and international news. In 1997 KGO ranked as the 14th highest-billing station in the nation with revenues of more than \$30 million. In 1994 Duncan's *Radio Market Guide* called NewsTalk 810 "the most admired station in the nation." KGO's strengths lay in hiring and keeping enormously talented people and in understanding, serving, and relating to the people and issues of the Bay Area to an extraordinary degree.

In 2000 NewsTalk 810 was one of the first stations in the nation to add a "Push to Talk" feature to its website (www.kgo.com). This allowed visitors to the website to participate in talk shows via the internet with one click of the mouse. And the industry trend to ownership of multiple stations in a single market brought KGO's management team a fresh challenge from owner ABC/Disney—to duplicate their success at sister newstalk station KSFO-FM.

JERRY CONDRA

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KHJ

Los Angeles, California Station

The second-oldest station in Los Angeles, KHJ was a broadcast pioneer and prominent originator of network programming during radio's golden age. In the late 1960s, KHJ became the most-imitated radio station in North America following a dramatic ratings turnaround by means of a variant of the basic Storz Top 40 formula.

KHJ began broadcasting with 5 watts at 760 kilohertz on 13 April 1922 from a 10- by 12-foot room atop the Los Angeles *Times* building. Although the *Times* operated the station, C.R. Kierulff, an electrical pioneer, founded it. The first program included "The Star Spangled Banner," an address by *Times* publisher Harry Chandler, vocal selections, a comedy

routine, news bulletins, and children's bedtime stories. Three days later the station aired Easter services. The *Times* purchased the KHJ call letters (kindness, health, joy) from Kierulff in November 1922 and increased power to 500 watts. During its earliest years, KHJ stopped broadcasting for 3 minutes out of each 15-minute period in order to clear the air for distress calls. On 31 December 1922, KHJ broadcast throughout New Year's Eve, reported to be an unprecedented event.

As radio entered its golden age, KHJ became the principal West Coast affiliate of Mutual and the flagship of the regional Don Lee network, which was named for its owner, an automobile sales tycoon. The station originated numerous network programs, including the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) show *Hollywood Hotel*, hosted by Louella Parsons (during the years before CBS acquired station KNX). Other programming included Raymond Paige and a 50-piece staff orchestra, *Chandu the Magician*, Eddie Cantor, Burns and Allen, *Queen for a Day*, and *Hopalong Cassidy*.

Some prominent figures in mass communication passed through KHJ during its early years. Sylvester (Pat) Weaver, later president of the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), was an announcer in 1934. Helen Gurley Brown, later responsible for revamping Hearst's *Cosmopolitan*, answered listeners' letters while she was a student.

In 1950 RKO General (Tire) purchased the Don Lee broadcast properties, which included KHJ, KHJ-FM, and KHJ-TV. As music and news began to dominate local radio programming in the 1950s, KHJ featured disc jockeys and popular records. In the early 1960s, the station featured the talk personality format that had been successful at RKO General's WOR in New York. Nevertheless, by the end of 1964 KHJ had not developed a niche in the competitive Los Angeles market. In the ratings, the regional facility—on 930 kilohertz with 5 kilowatts of power and a directional antenna at night—was a lusterless 17th from the top.

The management of RKO General's radio division announced that KHJ would undergo a complete change of programming by May 1965. Although initially opposed to rock and roll or country and western, management chose to pursue an around-the-clock contemporary music format that would draw the bulk of young listeners without offending any other segment of the potential audience. That decision set in motion a chain of events that ultimately brought KHJ from virtual obscurity to legendary status.

In early 1965 RKO General retained "two men who had previously taken 'average' stations and transformed them into number one ranking in areas similar to our own." Those specialists were Gene Chenault and Bill Drake. Chenault was licensee of KYNO in Fresno, the original Top 40 station in the central valley of California. Drake had worked for Gerald Bartell's WAKE in Atlanta and KYA in San Francisco prior to join-

ing Chenault as program director of KYNO. Drake's programming had led KYNO to victory in a tough ratings battle with KMAK, Chenault's tough Fresno competitor.

After Drake's success with KYNO, he and Chenault formed a consulting service. Their first client was KGB in San Diego, which rose from lowest to first in ratings on the 63rd day of Drake-Chenault programming. The success of KGB brought Drake-Chenault to the attention of RKO General management.

Drake and Chenault brought in Ron Jacobs, who had been program director of their Fresno opponent, KMAK, to be the new program director at KHJ. Drake and Jacobs crafted a streamlined version of Top 40 for KHJ centered on a very limited playlist of contemporary favorites aired, when possible, in sweeps of two or three songs. Most sound effects associated with Top 40 (e.g., horns, tones, beepers) were eliminated. A cappella jingles by Johnny Mann were short. Commercial loads were cut to 12 to 13 minutes per hour and clustered in strategically scheduled stop sets. News aired at 20 minutes past the hour or 20 minutes before the hour to counterprogram competitors' newscasts on the hour or at five minutes before the hour. The mix was given an on-air slogan, "Boss Radio."

Jacobs premiered a "sneak preview" of the Boss Radio format in late April 1965. Compared with other Los Angeles Top 40 stations (KFWB, KRLA in Pasadena), KHJ was noticeably uncluttered. KHJ rose to lead Los Angeles ratings during the first six months with Drake-Chenault as consultants. At the height of its popularity in the late 1960s, KHJ attracted one out of four Los Angeles radio listeners. After KHJ's phenomenal success, RKO General signed Drake and Chenault as consultants for KFRC in San Francisco, CKLW in Windsor (Detroit), WOR-FM in New York, WRKO in Boston, and WHBQ in Memphis.

By 1968 stations paid Drake-Chenault up to \$100,000 annually for Bill Drake's services. Although Drake-Chenault consulted a total of only nine stations (including KAKC in Tulsa), the influence of their 1965 win in the tough Los Angeles market diffused throughout the radio broadcasting industry as managers across the nation copied the KHJ format and conservative playlist. Drake-Chenault also attracted critics who blamed the widespread imitation of the KHJ playlist for constrained promotional efforts for innovative music during the late 1960s.

The turnaround of KHJ is a classic business success story of personalities, competition, performance, and impact. In 2000, KHJ continued to thrive with a successful Spanish language format, and the Drake-Chenault sound remained popular in Los Angeles via KRTH's (formerly KHJ-FM) oldies format, which is reminiscent of KHJ during the late 1960s.

See also Chenault, Gene; Contemporary Hit Radio Format/Top 40; Don Lee Broadcasting System; Drake, Bill; Mutual Broadcasting System; Weaver, Sylvester

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King Biscuit Flower Hour

Syndicated Showcase for Rock Artists

During the 1970s and 1980s, the *King Biscuit Flower Hour* presented recorded concert performances by more than a thousand artists, including the Rolling Stones, the Who, Eric Clapton, Elton John, U2, John Lennon, Elvis Costello, Aerosmith, the Beach Boys, the Fixx, Led Zeppelin, and many current and future members of the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame. It was the first live performance radio show to offer a glimpse into the daily lives of rock bands on tour. At its peak of popularity, more than 300 U.S. radio stations carried the *King Biscuit Flower Hour*, and the syndicators estimated that the weekly audience surpassed 5 million listeners.

The program's name pays homage to *King Biscuit Time* (later called *King Biscuit Flour Hour*), a famous radio program that originated in 1941 on KFFA, Helena, Arkansas. Sponsored by the makers of King Biscuit Flour and hosted by Sonny Boy Williamson and Robert Lockwood Jr., *King Biscuit Time* showcased the country blues music of the Mississippi Delta region, one of the important roots of rock and roll. Every important performer who played the honky tonks and juke joints along the "Chittlin' Circuit" from New Orleans to St. Louis appeared on the show until it left the air in 1967. Helena is now the site of the annual King Biscuit Blues Festival, which keeps the musical tradition alive.

Bob Meyrowitz and Peter Kauff were the first producers for the *King Biscuit Flower Hour*. Their company, DIR Broadcasting, began syndicating the program in 1973. The first show featured John McLaughlin's Mahavishnu Orchestra, a popular jazz-fusion band; Blood, Sweat and Tears; and an unknown group named Bruce Springsteen and the E Street band. For the next 17 years, the format remained the same. Live performances were interspersed with backstage interviews and minimal intrusion from the hosts for continuity. Venues ranged

from stadiums to large auditoriums to small clubs. Every hour featured 50 minutes of music heard just as it had been performed before the live crowd.

Later, the company began a similar weekly series featuring country music artists. Production of the original *King Biscuit Flower Hour* ceased in 1990, with a library of more than 24,000 master tapes of classic rock and roll live performances. Soon thereafter, King Biscuit Entertainment bought the series and began syndication of reruns in the United States and Great Britain.

In 1996 King Biscuit Entertainment started releasing a limited number of *King Biscuit Flower Hour* performances on tapes and compact discs, using the syndicated program as a promotional vehicle. Although the classic rock radio format suffered from declining audience shares in the mid-1990s, *King Biscuit Flower Hour* retained its syndication base because its library contained material from other genres such as new wave, modern rock, blues, and alternative.

For the 25th anniversary of *King Biscuit Flower Hour* in 1998, the syndicator produced a two-hour special retrospective program, released a commemorative double compact disc, and made an important announcement. Production had begun on a new series of live performances for future *King Biscuit Flower Hour* programs. King Biscuit Entertainment also added a streaming media website (king-biscuit.com) to promote the radio series and sale of recordings and related merchandise. At the turn of the millennium, the *King Biscuit Flower Hour* could be heard weekly on nearly 200 radio stations in the United States as well as on BBC-2 in Great Britain.

ROBERT HENRY LOCHTE

See also KFFA; Rock and Roll Format

Programming History

Nationally Syndicated 18 February 1973–present

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U.S. Radio and Television Talk Show Host

Larry King, who estimates he has conducted more than 35,000 interviews during his 40-year career, revitalized the possibilities of the radio and television talk show for a national as well as worldwide audience during the cable era. Although King has crafted a laid-back persona in his signature suspenders, the *Guinness Book of World Records* recognizes the indefatigable King as having logged more hours on national radio than any other talk personality in broadcasting history. From the 1980s on, King's omnipresence on radio and television and in print made him the interviewer of choice for many celebrities and politicians.

King's agreeable style and "everyman" appeal refashioned the talk show format into an international town meeting. His first interview series, on Mutual Radio, pioneered the concept of the nationwide talk show. His television series on CNN, also simulcast on Westwood One radio stations since 1994, created the first international arena for talk, reaching more than 230 million households in well over 200 countries. King credits his innate curiosity as the main ingredient for this far-reaching popularity and commercial success.

Throughout King's career, critics have questioned his ability to ask insightful and tough questions of his guests. Howard Kurtz of the *Washington Post* labeled him "a great schmoozer who makes no pretense to being a newsman." King readily admits that he never covered a news event and that, in fact, he does little research or preparation for any interview. His technique is to ask short, conversational questions, hoping to connect with his guests on a friendly level. For King, who detests confrontation, the best guest is "anyone passionately involved in what he does."

Like many broadcasters of his generation, King grew up listening to network radio, which would disappear because of television as he came of age. Born Lawrence Zieger in Brooklyn, the young King was an indifferent student, enthralled only

with everything related to radio, from the escapism of *Captain Midnight* to the quiet satire of Bob Elliott and Ray Goulding. Aspiring to be the next Red Barber, the colorful sports announcer of the Brooklyn Dodgers, or Arthur Godfrey, whose on-air folksiness King would adopt with an urban twist, the frequent studio visitor was told to seek his broadcasting fortune in a smaller market. In 1957 King journeyed to Miami and got his first job, as a handyman at WAHR, a 250-watt AM station. He took over for the late-morning disc jockey and, at the station manager's suggestion, changed his name from the ethnic Zieger to King.

King was quickly noticed by larger Miami stations, and in 1958 he was hired by WKAT to anchor the valuable early-morning broadcasts. Encouraged to stand out among other drive-time disc jockeys, King created offbeat characters in the style of his comic heroes, Bob and Ray. The popularity of one such character, Captain Wainright of the Miami State Police, a *Highway Patrol* takeoff, led to his first talk show. Pumpernik's restaurant hired the entertaining upstart to host a four-hour show, live from the eatery. King discovered his talents in the ad-lib interview, first talking with waitresses and garrulous patrons, then with anyone who came by. Celebrities began to drop by the restaurant, and King flourished in the freewheeling atmosphere of the spontaneous interview. King's ability to draw people out was on display with such young performers as Don Rickles, Lenny Bruce, and Bobby Darin.

King's horizons began to expand when he was hired by WIOD in 1962. Management recognized his potential and moved his Pumpernik's show to the houseboat that served as the luxurious setting for the American Broadcasting Companies (ABC) television series *Surfside Six* for nightly broadcasts of interviews and phone calls. He realized his dream to be a sportscaster when WIOD offered him Sunday duty as color



Larry King
 Courtesy Radio Hall of Fame

commentator for the Miami Dolphins. His fame opened other media doors. King began writing columns, first for the *Miami Beach Sun-Reporter*, followed by stints at the *Miami Herald* and the *Miami News*. He hosted a local talk show on Sunday nights with no time limits on WLBW in 1963, and a year later he switched to WTVJ-TV with a weekend show.

King has said he felt as if he “owned Miami” and piled up outrageous debts. Embroiled in a larceny scandal, King’s career was shattered by his high-living notoriety. By 1972 he lost every media position he had accrued. During the mid-1970s King accepted any job he was offered, working as a public relations official with a horse-racing track in Shreveport, Louisiana, and as a radio commentator for the Shreveport Steamers of the World Football League. The freelance phase of his career ended when a new general of WIOD listened to archival tapes of King’s best work. He was rehired to host an evening talk show, and soon the newspaper and television assignments returned. King still could not control his spending and eventually declared bankruptcy in 1978.

While getting his finances in order, King was hired to do a late-night program on the Mutual radio network. The *Larry King Show*, running from midnight to 5:30 A.M. (EST), debuted on 30 January 1978 in 28 cities and legitimized the format of the nationwide talk radio show. There had been other national talk hosts, including Herb Jebco from Salt Lake City and Long John Nebel from New York, but King demonstrated that the talk format was not a local phenomenon. Although King reveled in an uncontrolled environment, there was a distinct tripartite structure to most broadcasts. Most programs featured an hour-long interview with a guest; two hours of call-in questions for that guest; and the final hour, “Open Phone America,” in which King’s assorted group of “insomniacs and graveyard-shift workers” would call and chat about anything. Unlike most hosts, King did not screen calls, and he described this formula as “talk show democracy.”

For the first two months, King’s radio series was broadcast from Miami, and then the show was relocated to Arlington, Virginia, so that government officials could appear as guests.

The coverage grew exponentially; by the time the broadcast switched to daytime in 1992, more than 430 stations were carrying King's brand of talk. In 1982 he received the coveted George Foster Peabody Award. As he did in Miami, King used his radio fame as a calling card for other pursuits, such as writing a weekly column for *USA Today* and working for Ted Turner's CNN.

In 1985 he adapted his mostly single-guest and call-in format for cable television. *Larry King Live* has consistently been CNN's highest-rated show, emerging as a national forum on topical issues. In 1992 the major presidential candidates courted King's viewers, including H. Ross Perot, who declared his availability if "drafted" by the people. King also made headlines by arranging a debate on the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) between Perot and vice president Al Gore. Guests have ranged from world leaders and newsmakers (Mikhail Gorbachev, Margaret Thatcher, Norman Schwarzkopf, and the Dalai Lama) to entertainment and sports luminaries (Frank Sinatra, Marlon Brando, Barbra Streisand, and Arthur Ashe).

Larry King emerged as one of the dominant figures from radio's post-network era. His agreeable interviewing style attracted a wide audience across diverse demographic lines. King demonstrated that radio still has possibilities as a national medium. When music programming held sway on the FM band in the 1970s, King was one of the pioneers to conceive of the AM band as a nationwide vehicle for talk radio. The self-described "street kid from Brooklyn" helped to revive the tradition of network radio that had inspired him as a youngster.

RON SIMON

See also Mutual Broadcasting System; Peabody Awards; Talk Radio

Larry King. Born Lawrence Harvey Zeiger in Brooklyn, New York, 19 November 1933. Educated at Lafayette High School; disc jockey and interviewer at various Miami stations, 1957–71; columnist, various Miami newspapers, 1965–71; freelance writer and broadcaster, 1972–75; radio talk-show host, WIOD, Miami, 1975–78; host, Mutual

Broadcasting System's *Larry King Show*, 1978–94; host, CNN's *Larry King Live*, 1978–present; host, the Goodwill Games, 1990; columnist, *USA Today* and *The Sporting News*. Received George Foster Peabody Award, 1982; National Association of Broadcasters' Radio Award, 1985; founded Larry King Cardiac Foundation, 1988; International Radio and TV Society's Broadcaster of the Year, 1989; named to Broadcaster's Hall of Fame, 1992; Scopus Award from American Friends of Hebrew University, 1994; Emmy Award, Outstanding Interviewer, 1999.

Radio Series

1978–94 *The Larry King Show*

Films

Ghostbusters, 1984; *Lost in America*, 1985; *Contact*, 1997; *Primary Colors*, 1998

Television Series

Larry King Live, 1978–present (CNN); cameos on *Murphy Brown*, *Frasier*, and *Murder One*

Selected Publications

Larry King (with Emily Yoffe), 1982
Tell It to the King (with Peter Occhiogrosso), 1990
When You're from Brooklyn, Everywhere Else Is Tokyo (with Marty Appel), 1992
On the Line: The Road to the White House (with Mark Stencel), 1993
The Best of Larry King Live: His Greatest Interviews, 1995
Future Talk: Conversations About Tomorrow with Today's Most Provocative Personalities, 1998
Anything Goes! 2000

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King, Nelson 1914–1974

U.S. Country Music Disc Jockey

Historians have rated Nelson King among the disc jockeys who exerted the greatest influence on the commercialization of country music in the years following World War II. For almost 15 years, King served up country music to millions of listeners on his *Hillbilly Jamboree*, broadcast from 50,000-watt radio station WCKY in Cincinnati, Ohio. King's *Jamboree* transmitted strongly into the eastern United States, proving that his show could garner large audiences for country music from that populous region. He belongs to a class of early pioneering country music disc jockeys that includes Randy Blake (WJJD, Chicago, Illinois) and Rosalie Allen (WOV, New York).

After graduation from Portsmouth (Ohio) High School in 1932, King worked briefly as a stock boy at Woolworth's, but soon joined a small band, serving as its master of ceremonies. His resonant speaking voice, exhibited on various Ohio bandstands, helped him land his first radio job at WPAY in Portsmouth, where he was a staff announcer. Two years later, he became the chief announcer and musical director at radio station WSAZ in Huntington, West Virginia. At WSAZ, King's tenure included his role as part of an announcing team that covered the devastating West Virginia floods of 1937 for 381 continuous hours.

Departing soggy Huntington for Cincinnati in 1938, King began hosting a recorded music program over radio station WCPO; his *Jam for Supper* showcased the swing music of Benny Goodman, Tommy Dorsey, Artie Shaw, and others. After subsequent brief stays at radio stations WGRC in Louisville, Kentucky, and WKRC in Cincinnati, he joined WCKY in January of 1946.

It was at WCKY that management asked the new employee (then known as Charles Schroeder) to find a radio name. He was handed a Cincinnati phone book and plucked from it the pseudonym Nelson King (a change he later legalized). Soon after his arrival, he took the helm of WCKY's *Birthday Club*, *Man in the Street*, *Keep Happy Club*, and *Hillbilly Jamboree*; however, it would be *Hillbilly Jamboree*, the latter program carrying his name to national prominence.

WCKY and King had introduced the *Jamboree* in 1946, riding the growing popularity of country music during that time. King and the *Jamboree* would fuel that popularity. On the nightly show, King featured popular country music recording artists Eddy Arnold, Ernest Tubb, Red Foley, and others who were helping to establish country music as a commercial force in the late 1940s. The music of Arnold and others enjoyed burgeoning record sales and exposure on Saturday night music programs such as WSM radio's *Grand Ole Opry* and WLS radio's *National Barn Dance*. Their following would

increase even more on the airwaves of the four-and-a-half hour *Jamboree*, one of the few nightly country music disc jockey programs to reach a national audience during the mid-to-late 1940s. The show also streamed into Canada, Mexico, and parts of South America.

From early in the *Jamboree*'s run, it was evident that King was attracting a significant audience during the nighttime hours. When WCKY offered to send listeners promotional pictures of the hillbilly jockey, more than 76,000 letters deluged the station over a two-week period. Products that King hawked on the air—everything from baby chicks to “genuine imitation granite” tombstones to Last Supper tablecloths that glowed in the dark—sold briskly.

King's ability to reel in a vast audience greatly impressed record companies. In an interview with the present writer, Bob McCluskey, a promotional representative for RCA Victor Records, recalled that King's show influenced tastes: “Nelson's program really controlled [the East] late at night. The people that listened to the station were very, very record conscious at that time because what was played, they bought” (see Streissguth, 1997). In light of King's influence, record companies worked diligently to court his favor. Major stars such as Gene Autry and Eddy Arnold regularly called on the powerful disc jockey, and the record companies rained refrigerators, color television sets, and crates of liquor on him. “One of the things I did . . . was I bought time on the station,” said McCluskey. “In doing so, I involved Nelson . . . with a promise to play the records that I asked [him] to play.” The record company practice of buying influence with popular disc jockeys was widespread during the 1940s and 1950s. However unethical the record companies' gifts and King's acceptance of them, the exchanges served to illustrate King's immense sway with listeners as well as his country music ambassadorship.

Nelson King also proved to be a boon to bluegrass music, the acoustic sub-genre of country music popularized by Bill Monroe, Lester Flatt and Earl Scruggs, and others. King loved the dynamic bluegrass sound, sitting mesmerized for hours at bluegrass performances and featuring a liberal helping of the music on his broadcasts. A major retailer of bluegrass records, Jimmie Skinner's Music Center of Cincinnati, advertised regularly on King's show and saw remarkable sales in part because of it.

Throughout the 1950s King continued to distinguish himself as an important conduit for country music. He became active in the Country Music Disc Jockey Association (which would evolve into the Country Music Association, an important trade group), and he collected *Billboard* magazine's top

disc jockey award for eight consecutive years. Not even the growth of rock and roll music could wrench him from his disc jockey slot.

In the end, it would take alcoholism to mute King. Years of alcohol abuse caught up with him in 1961, when the station fired him for going on the air inebriated. He worked outside radio until 1968 when he assumed the morning disc jockey shift at radio station WCLU in Cincinnati. But his continuing alcoholism and the onset of lung cancer ended his radio career in 1970. Although he eventually gave up alcohol, he succumbed to the cancer in 1974.

Nelson King was elected posthumously to the Country Music Disc Jockey Hall of Fame in 1975, recognized as one of country music's foremost emissaries.

MICHAEL STREISSGUTH

See also Country Music Format; Disk Jockeys; Grand Ole Opry; Perryman, Tom; WSM

Nelson Charles King. Born Charles Edward Schroeder in Portsmouth, Ohio, 1 April 1914. One of three children born to Stanley and Sue Schroeder; announcer, WPAY, Portsmouth, Ohio, 1934-36; chief announcer and musical director, WSAZ,

Huntington, West Virginia, 1936-38; disc jockey, WCPO, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1938-45; announcer, WGRC, Louisville, Kentucky, 1945; announcer, WKRC, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1945-46; host of *Hillbilly Jamboree*, WCKY, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1946-61; disc jockey, WCLU, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1968-70. Inducted posthumously into Country Music Disc Jockey Hall of Fame, 1975. Died in Cincinnati, Ohio, 16 March 1974.

Radio Series

1946-61 *Hillbilly Jamboree*

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Kirby, Edward M. 1906-1974

U.S. Broadcast and Advertising Executive

Edward Kirby had a long and successful career in broadcasting, advertising, and public relations. His most important contributions to radio, however, were made while wearing his nation's uniform, working for the biggest sponsor of them all, the U.S. government.

Origins

Born in Brooklyn, New York, on 6 June 1906, Kirby was the son of a coal merchant. Sent off to boarding school at a young age, he returned to New York for a time in his high school years before going to a private military academy in upstate New York. He was later accepted at the Virginia Military Institute (VMI), where he wrote for various humor and literary magazines. Kirby received his bachelor's degree from VMI in 1926.

After graduation, Kirby worked as a reporter for the *Baltimore Sun* and later undertook economic, statistical, and market analysis for several investment banks. He eventually worked his way into advertising and public relations with C.P. Clark, Inc., of Nashville in 1929. For that firm, he directed national advertising campaigns for several important clients, including the General Shoe Corporation. He also got his first radio experience, producing nationally distributed programs for General Shoe and others.

While with C.P. Clark, Kirby came to the attention of Edwin Craig, vice president of the National Life and Accident Insurance Company of Nashville, owner of radio station WSM. Craig hired Kirby in 1933, and soon the company had increased its insurance in force by 57 percent (to \$525 million) owing largely to Kirby's use of WSM as a sales tool. In 1936 Kirby married Marjorie Arnold, daughter of the dean of the

Vanderbilt Law School and a staff actress at WSM; in time they had two daughters, Patricia and Kip.

Toward the end of his tenure at WSM, Kirby gained valuable experience in working under duress during the disastrous 1937 floods. Radio's response proved exemplary and gave Kirby hints of what the medium was capable of in times of national emergency. Later that year Kirby became the National Association of Broadcasters' first full-time director of public relations, helping set up what later became the Broadcast Advertising Bureau. He initiated a campaign to make "radio as free as the press" and also participated in the creation of Broadcast Music Incorporated.

Wartime Service

In December 1940 Kirby was loaned to Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson as a "Dollar a Year" civilian adviser for radio, eventually becoming the de facto head of the army's radio branch. In that capacity, he successfully lobbied for the continued independence of radio in the face of the increasing inevitability of the United States' entry into World War II. Shortly after the U.S. entered the war, work began under Kirby's direction on two radio programs: the *Army Hour*, for listeners on the home front, and *Command Performance*, for all those in uniform. The *Army Hour* was an attempt to bring the war home to the American people through the power and immediacy of radio. As Kirby saw it, the show would "let the Army drop the stuffed-shirt approach . . . instead, go directly to the people with its own radio program, supplied by the men who were doing the fighting." The program was heard on the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), and highlights included interviews with top brass and returning combat veterans, as well as some of the most descriptive battlefield reporting of the war. The program did not sugarcoat the war: it showed the army at its darkest moments as well as in victory. An early broadcast featuring the terse translation of the last Morse code message from the besieged defenders of Corregidor in May 1942 had no equal for drama on the airwaves.

Command Performance was the brainchild of Louis Cowan, the creative force behind such hit programs as *Quiz Kids*, who was asked by Kirby to come up with a show to entertain the troops overseas. As Kirby later wrote, "The GI who was trained to obey commands in the line of duty could now command anything he wanted from the radio world in the way of entertainment. . . . It was unique, it was democratic, it was American." The requests ranged from the sentimental to the bizarre. A corporal who had never met his infant son reported that the "little guy is teething" and asked "to hear him yowl!" Soldiers from New York City asked to hear the hubbub of Times Square on New Year's Eve. Stars from Bob Hope and Bing Crosby to Judy Garland and Merle Oberon appeared gratis in response to soldiers' letters. The single most

famous request involved film star Carole Landis, who was commanded to "step up to the microphone and sigh. That's all brother, just sigh!"

In May 1942 Kirby became a lieutenant colonel in the army with substantially the same duties he had had as a civilian. In 1944 he was attached to General Eisenhower's staff to carry out perhaps the most important broadcasting-related assignment of the war: coordinating all radio coverage of D Day and the subsequent invasion, as well as establishing an Allied radio network to serve all the troops involved in the operation. For his efforts, he was promoted to full colonel and was awarded the Legion of Merit and the Order of the British Empire. In 1944 he was honored with a Peabody Radio Award for "Yankee Ingenuity on a global scale."

Later Years

After the war, Kirby did freelance public relations work for a time, gathering an impressive list of clients that included Paramount Pictures. He also wrote a book (with Jack Harris) chronicling radio's part in World War II. Called *Star-Spangled Radio*, it remains an excellent eyewitness description of the tremendous role played by radio during that period.

After Kirby made an abortive attempt at radio station ownership, the army recalled him during the Korean conflict for an emergency tour of duty as chief of the army's Radio-TV Branch. Col. Kirby reactivated the army's public information activities and effectively launched its use of television, creating the program *The Big Picture*, a fixture on American television for the next two decades. Kirby left the army in March 1953. Work with the Washington, D.C., Board of Trade (where he originated the Christmas "Pageant of Peace") and the People-to-People Foundation kept Kirby busy until 1957, when he accepted the position of director of public relations for the United Service Organizations (USO). He worked tirelessly to raise funds and established strong ties with the Advertising Council to facilitate national exposure for USO radio, television, and print campaigns. Col. Kirby resigned from the USO in 1970, and he and wife Marjorie returned to Washington, D.C., where he died in 1974.

CHUCK HOWELL

Edward M. Kirby. Born in Brooklyn, New York, 6 June 1906. Attended Virginia Military Institute, A.B. 1926; reporter and feature writer, *Baltimore Evening Sun* 1926-28; statistician, newsletter writer for investment banks, 1928-29; vice president and account executive, C.P. Clark Advertising Agency, Nashville, Tennessee, 1930-33; advertising manager, National Life and Accident Insurance, Nashville; Public Relations Chief for station WSM-AM, 1933-37; director of public relations, National Association of Broadcasters, 1937-40; civilian advisor to Secretary of War for Radio, 1940-42;

commissioned lieutenant colonel, U.S. Army, 1942; chief, Radio Branch, War Department, Bureau of Public Relations, 1942-44; produced *Army Hour* and *Command Performance*; attached to staff of General Eisenhower; coordinated D-Day radio coverage, acted as allied radio liaison for SHAEF (supreme headquarters, allied expeditionary forces), 1944-45; promoted to full colonel, 1945; public relations consultant, 1945-50; co-author *Star-Spangled Radio*, 1948; recalled to active duty as Chief, U.S. Army Radio-TV Branch, 1950-53; public relations work with Washington, D.C. Board of Trade, People-to-People Foundation, 1953-57; director of public relations, USO, 1957-70. Peabody Radio Award, 1944; awarded Legion of Merit and Order of the British Empire, 1945. Died in Washington, D.C., 1974.

Selected Publications

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Klauber, Edward A. 1887-1954

U.S. Radio Network Executive

Edward Klauber, a key Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) executive through the 1930s, helped to formulate what would become CBS News, defining many basic policies for all of radio journalism.

Early Years

Born in Louisville, Kentucky, in 1887, Klauber graduated from high school in 1903. Intending to study medicine, he briefly attended the University of Louisville and the University of Pennsylvania. He did not earn a degree from either institution, having in the meantime become far more interested in journalism. His uncle, Adolph Klauber, was then drama critic for the *New York Times* and may have had something to do with Klauber's direction. In any case, his uncle helped Klauber obtain his first news job, as a copy editor for the *New York World* in 1912.

After four years in this post, Klauber moved uptown as a reporter for the *Times* in 1916, covering a variety of stories around the city. He became especially well known for his coverage of the September 1920 anarchist bombing of Wall Street, in which 30 were killed and 100 injured. By the late 1920s, he had become the *Times*' night city editor, although he was anything but popular to those who worked for him. In a pattern that would later become familiar at CBS, Klauber became a hated boss—taciturn in mood, quick to criticize (often in front of others), and slow to give compliments.

CBS Executive

In 1928 Klauber left the news business for public relations, joining the Lenman and Mitchell advertising agency in New York as director for that area. He served for a year, moving on to join the offices of Edward L. Bernays, already the guru of the growing field. But his sometimes abrasive personality did not work well in a small office, and Bernays suggested Klauber to William Paley, president of CBS, as a good organizational manager, knowing that Paley needed such a person. Klauber joined the network in 1930 as assistant to the president. Years later, Paley noted that Klauber was "an indefatigable day-and-night worker, always keeping in touch with me, providing me with written reports and eventually becoming my advisor on all sorts of things" (Paley, 1979). Indeed, he became the virtual gatekeeper controlling access to Paley and something of the network hatchet man (early on, he terminated the network's contract with his old boss Bernays, saying that CBS didn't need two public relations experts on salary). Klauber was also the oldest member of the management team.

Although he was given wide credit for imposing discipline and organization on Paley as he firmly streamlined CBS operations, Klauber's personality got in the way time and again. "Charmless and utterly lacking in humor, Klauber seemed the antithesis of everything Paley valued in a man" (Smith, 1990). Klauber was already uncomfortable with Paul Kesten, the promotion and advertising expert he had hired in 1930, who in



Ed Klauber
Courtesy CBS Photo Archive

many ways was closer to Paley—the two increasingly became rivals for Paley’s attention and affection, which was somewhat evidenced in the *Fortune* profile of the network’s leadership that was published in 1935.

Radio Journalism

Where Klauber made a lasting difference in radio was in the rise of broadcast news. As Paley described him, he was an “advisor, guide and mentor on how CBS should handle news.” Faced with the cutoff of press association news during the 1933 press-radio “war,” Klauber persuaded General Mills to put up half of the cost to develop a Columbia News Service (the immediate predecessor to CBS News), hiring Paul White as his chief news aide. The two men added CBS news bureaus in Chicago and Los Angeles and contracted with many news stringers elsewhere. They hired the men (and virtually all were men at that point) who, in turn, provided the base for what CBS News became during World War II. In August 1939

Klauber persuaded respected journalist Elmer Davis (whose best man he had been) to join CBS as a commentator.

Behind all of this were Klauber’s strongly held views, growing out of his decade and a half in New York newspaper journalism, of just what radio news should be and thus could become. He knew and disseminated the importance of presenting news fully and fairly, in accurate form and without bias. He helped to shield news people and content from advertiser demands as needed. He was a perfectionist in his own work and required the same level of achievement by others. He enforced the network’s policy of not espousing editorial views when he wrote in 1939:

Columbia’s announced policy of having no editorial views of its own and not seeking to maintain or advance the views of others will be rigidly continued. In being fair and factual, those who present the news for Columbia must not only refrain from personal opinions, but must refrain from microphone manner designed to cast doubt, suspicion, sarcasm, ridicule, or anything of that sort on the matter they are presenting (quoted in White, 1947).

But Klauber also grew increasingly tyrannical as he assumed greater day-to-day responsibilities. By 1936 he was making \$71,000 per year (worth more than ten times that amount today), second only to Paley. This was a clear indication of his value to the network. But at the same time, Paley noted that “Klauber developed a strong sense of possessiveness toward me, which . . . caused management problems.”

The many complaints about Klauber’s working relationships with his subordinates began to wear. At the same time, as the network faced substantial wartime pressures in news and elsewhere, Klauber faced his own personal hell. His first wife was dying of cancer, and, torn between caring for her and his network duties, he had two heart attacks in a short span of time. Sometime in 1941 or early 1942, Paley made a decision on the network’s leadership future. To clear the way for Paul Kesten, Paley appears to have eased the way for Klauber to resign from CBS in March 1942.

Klauber moved to the Office of War Information (OWI), where he worked as associate director for Elmer Davis, OWI’s director, until 1945. While at OWI, he played much the same hatchet man and organizational role for Davis as he had fulfilled for Paley. After the war, many of his ideals for broadcasting showed up in the National Association of Broadcasters Code of Good Practices, which he helped to revise and update in 1948. Klauber died in New York in 1954 at age 67.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Columbia Broadcasting System; Davis, Elmer; Kesten, Paul; Office of War Information; Paley, William S.; White, Paul

Edward A. Klauber. Born in Louisville, Kentucky, 24 February 1887. Son of Morris and Ray (Forst) Klauber; attended but did not graduate from Universities of Louisville and Pennsylvania; reporter, *New York World*, 1912-16; reporter, *New York Times*, 1916-27; night city editor for the *Times*, 1927-28; public relations director, Lenman and Mitchell advertising agency, New York City, 1928-29, with Edward L. Bernays, 1929; assistant to president, CBS, 1930; vice president, CBS, 1931; executive vice president, CBS, 1931-42; named to board of directors, 1937; chaired executive committee, 1942; retired, 1942; associate director, Office of War Information, 1943-45. Died in New York City, 23 September 1954.

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Kling, William 1942-

U.S. Public Radio Executive and Entrepreneur

William (Bill) Kling enjoys several distinctions in the field of public radio. His tenure of more than 30 years as head of Minnesota Public Radio (MPR) and its predecessors easily surpasses that of any of his peers heading major U.S. public radio services. The sheer scope of the enterprise that he has been largely instrumental in creating is unmatched in the field of public radio. And his particular devotion to local and regional broadcast journalism has helped the MPR news department to become the largest (more than 70 staff members as of 2003) and by some accounts the most prestigious local radio newsroom in the country.

Origins

Kling's background before public radio gives relatively little indication that he would excel along those lines. Born in St. Paul, Minnesota, in 1942, he attended grade and high school there (and also built radio sets), then went to nearby St. Johns University (SJU) in Collegeville. He began a liberal arts degree with an emphasis in physics but ended up majoring in economics. He worked briefly with the SJU student radio station but did not care for its pop music format. Following graduation, he enrolled in the master's program at Boston University's School of Public Communication, and returned to Minnesota early in 1966. His fellow students at various levels recall him as being bright, congenial, well organized, and very persistent in reaching his goals. He was devoted to a seemingly chimerical goal of creating a high-quality, non-commercial radio service based in central Minnesota that would

provide a balanced mix of classical music with local and regional news.

That devotion may be part of a world outlook nurtured by Kling's high school and college teachers, some of them Jesuit or Benedictine monks and priests. Broadly speaking, Jesuits stress the need to question, Benedictines the need to serve and the importance of the fine arts. Kling's brief experience with student radio, as well as his development of a self-operated "alternative" radio service while at SJU, showed him that radio can serve society and that it can do a better job of that by questioning existing models. Two non-commercial stations then operated in Minnesota: KUOM at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis/St. Paul and WCAL at St. Olaf College in Northfield. Neither service impressed Kling in its presentation of classical music; both seemed inadequate in providing daily coverage of local and statewide news.

In 1965 Kling created the opportunity to realize his goal by convincing SJU professor (soon to be SJU president) Father Colman Barry that the school could further distinguish itself by supporting a public service-oriented radio station that would reach listeners throughout Minnesota. Barry agreed, but financial support would be modest. Kling recruited a staff that was willing to work for low wages, as he did, and to produce a classical music service that would improve upon what KUOM and WCAL were providing. There also would be a small-scale news service that would concentrate on Minnesota news, but its development would be slower. KSJR-FM came on the air from Collegeville in January 1967 under the title of Minnesota Educational Radio (MER).

The classical music service began to attract the attention of newspapers in the Twin Cities, as Kling had hoped it would. Listeners in the northwest suburbs could pick up the signal, and owners of lake cottages in central Minnesota found that they had a new and very different voice to add to the chorus of mosquitoes and the few stations readily available to them as they vacationed. Twin Cities residents began to write to the station, expressing the hope that there would be an increase in signal strength or perhaps even a Twin Cities version of KSJR in the near future. Kling secured additional financial backing, applied for a non-commercial license, and KSJN-FM came on air from makeshift St. Paul studios in September 1967. By the following year, it was providing a Talking Book Service over a subchannel—another idea of Kling’s and a service of particular pride to him.

The expansion to St. Paul was not without risk. Operating costs would be higher than they had been in Collegeville, especially as more of the KSJR staff moved. Although the U.S. Congress had passed the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967, stations such as KSJN and KSJR were realizing little financial benefit from that source. St. John’s had provided as much as it could, but that stretched only so far, and some people in the SJR administration found it difficult to argue for increased support as the service became more and more of a Twin Cities operation. In 1971 Kling reached an agreement with SJU that KSJR and KSJN would become independent public service radio stations affiliated with National Public Radio (NPR), although St. John’s would remain a sponsoring organization.

By the early 1970s, NPR was establishing itself as a major journalistic presence. Kling applied for a Corporation for Public Broadcasting grant to develop a full-fledged newsroom, and in 1972 KSJN began to provide daily coverage of Minnesota news. While operating costs increased, revenue did not keep pace, and Kling arrived at work one day to find a bank overdraft notice on his door. A bank loan resolved the crisis, but Kling realized that the financial situation needed major attention if the stations were even to survive, let alone expand. Yet, as he said in a 1999 interview with *Current*, he was determined to press on with expansion of the existing levels of service while at the same time redoubling efforts to attract corporate and individual sponsors.

Rather than emphasize MER’s precarious financial state, Kling indicated how far it had come in such a short time and how much more public service it could provide if financial support were to increase. Several institutions of higher education signed on as sponsors; so did some of the state’s larger businesses, foundations, and private donors. Listener pledge drives, which had been around since 1968, were expanded and made more attractive through the offering of premiums donated by individuals and businesses. The outpouring of support attested to Kling’s skills as a fund-raiser and also convinced him that one more aspect of his goal—a truly statewide service with

transmitters and studios in cities throughout Minnesota—might be attainable. So might a still more ambitious plan: separate frequencies throughout the state for a classical music service and a news and public affairs service.

Minnesota Public Radio

The statewide service proved easier to realize than did the dual service concept. Several institutions of higher education found it economical to affiliate with the renamed (in 1974) Minnesota Public Radio (MPR), to set up relay transmitters, and in some cases to create small studios. By 1980 most parts of Minnesota were served by at least one MPR signal. However, a few independent public radio ventures, notably in the Twin Cities (KFAI-FM), at St. Cloud State (KSCU-FM), and in Grand Rapids (KAXE-FM), found Kling to be an obstacle to their efforts to come on air or to increase their transmitter power. While reasons for the creation of a statewide service varied, a recurrent theme ran through them all: why put money into a host of small public radio stations when one large service could do the job so much better? A Governor’s Task Force on the future of public radio in Minnesota recommended in 1975 that steps be taken to develop a statewide dual-service public radio system and praised MPR for its efforts along those lines but stopped short of saying that MPR should necessarily be the parent organization for both. Kling had no doubts that it should.

Kling knew that he would have to obtain a second FM frequency in the Twin Cities if MPR were to function effectively as a dual service. However, all the reserved frequencies for non-commercial services were taken, and the commercial frequencies had long since been claimed. Purchase of an existing station seemed to be the only option, but the expense would be great. He secured pledges of financial support from business and industry, but the only stations available at a reasonable price were on the AM band. In 1979 the MPR board approved purchase of KRSI-AM (St. Louis Park, a first-tier Minneapolis suburb), which allowed MPR to shift the bulk of its news and public affairs programming over to 1330 AM and to make KSJN-FM into a largely classical music service. It wasn’t until 1990 that MPR was able to acquire a Twin Cities FM frequency (99.5) by purchasing WLOL-FM. The Minnesota Broadcasters Association objected on the grounds that the action deprived listeners of a commercial radio service and that the purchase itself probably involved state funding. (MPR and other public radio stations have received state support since the late 1970s.)

During the 1980s, Kling continued to develop “second channel” services throughout Minnesota (as of 2000, there were ten of them, plus an eleventh in Decorah, Iowa), aided by the money being generated through two further MPR initiatives in which he played a leading role: American Public Radio (APR), later named Public Radio International (PRI), and Riv-

ertown Trading Company. APR was created in 1983, after Kling and four other managers of major public radio stations were unable to convince NPR to syndicate some of its leading programs—in MPR's case, Garrison Keillor's *A Prairie Home Companion*. They leased satellite time, and soon had a sizeable lineup of public radio stations as paying subscribers. (PRI's revenues in 1999 were \$19.7 million.)

The popularity of Keillor's various fictional creations, especially Powdermilk Biscuits, led Kling to propose to the MPR Board of Directors that T-shirts and other paraphernalia associated with *A Prairie Home Companion* be marketed through a catalog. The board approved. The venture proved highly successful and led to the creation in 1981 of the Rivertown Trading Company but also drew criticism from commercial broadcasters as yet another example of MPR having its non-commercial cake and eating it, too. In the mid-1990s, a few state legislators pressed MPR for full disclosure of Kling's salary and called for details on the nature of the relationship between non-commercial MPR and the for-profit Greenspring Company (which by then included the MNN Radio Network, the MPR magazine *Minnesota Monthly* and other periodicals, and Rivertown). Kling and a number of MPR Board members defended their action by pointing out that this was just what the U.S. Congress and the Reagan administration had encouraged public broadcasting stations to do: become less dependent on government appropriations.

The Minnesota legislature eventually found nothing illegal in the MPR-Rivertown arrangement. However, Rivertown was sold to the Dayton-Hudson Corporation (now the Target Corporation) in 1998, by which time it had annual sales of about \$195 million. MPR's "parent" company, the Minnesota Communications Group (MCG), reported a gain on the Rivertown sale of about \$94 million, of which \$85.6 million was set aside as a permanent endowment for MPR. As Robert Unmacht (publisher of the radio industry newsletters *M Street Journal* and *M Street Daily*) observed of Kling, "He's figured out how to provide a service to the public and make a lot of money."

The "Klingon Empire," as some of Kling's critics and supporters alike have dubbed it, continues to grow. In May 2000, the public radio program service *Marketplace* was sold to MPR. This again raised speculation regarding Kling's motives. Was he bidding to compete directly with NPR? He dismissed that possibility and could point to a May 2000 agreement with NPR to develop an internet service. However, he clearly was delighted with the acquisition of Southern California Public Radio (KPCC-FM, in Pasadena), which would provide MPR with the opportunity to show listeners in the Los Ange-

les area what a *real* news and public affairs service was like: as Kling said in a May 1999 interview with *Current*, "I think we need a model in a tough city, a big city, the second largest city."

Kling's goal remains the same as it was more than 30 years ago: service. He has not exercised editorial control over MPR's news and public affairs programs, although he did stop a few stories (abortion, politics, feminist perspectives on violence) from appearing in *Minnesota Monthly* in the mid 1970s. Rather, it is the capacity of public radio to provide a reflection of the social, political, and cultural life of the community and the region that seems to continually excite him—and to drive him to seek the resources necessary to maintain excellence in that realm, whether he pleases or angers people in the process.

DONALD R. BROWNE

See also Minnesota Public Radio; National Public Radio; Public Radio International; Public Radio Since 1967

William H. Kling. Born in St. Paul, Minnesota, 29 April 1942. Attended St. Johns University, B.A. in economics, 1966; operated own radio station while at St. Johns University, 1963–64; attended Boston University School of Public Communication M.A. program, 1964–66. Founding member and manager of KSJN-FM, Collegeville, Minnesota, 1967–69; manager, Minnesota Educational Radio, 1969–70; Assistant Director of Radio Activities, Corporation for Public Broadcasting, 1970–71; President, Minnesota Educational Radio, 1971–74; President and CEO, Minnesota Public Radio, from 1974. Cofounder and Vice Chairman, American Public Radio, 1983–93; President, Minnesota Communications Group, from 1987; President, Greenspring Company (for-profit arm of Minnesota Public Radio), from 1987; President, Rivertown Trading Company (direct marketing division of Greenspring until 1998), 1981–98; Vice Chairman of Southern California Public Radio, from 1999.

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KMOX

St. Louis, Missouri Station

KMOX (1120 kilohertz) is a 50,000-watt clear channel AM radio station in St. Louis, Missouri. The station is best known for the talk-centered format it introduced in 1960, which for many years gave it the largest market share of listeners of any radio station in the top 50 U.S. markets. KMOX was put on the air on Christmas eve (the origin of the X in the station's call letters) in 1925 by a group of investors called "the Voice of St. Louis." In 1927 it began carrying programs from United Independent Broadcasters, which later became the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), initially receiving \$50.00 per hour of broadcast time. CBS has owned and operated the station since 1932.

KMOX was a fairly typical network station until February 1960 when, faced with erosion of audience to television and with competition from new radio stations that had joined the market in the postwar period, KMOX initiated a radical change in format and became one of the first stations in the United States to offer a talk-centered format. Although a number of stations pioneered the talk format in the 1960s (including KABC in Los Angeles), KMOX was unusual both in the success it achieved with the format (moving rapidly to first in the market) and in the amount of influence that was exerted over the station for decades by a single individual—Robert F. Hyland Jr., who became general manager of KMOX in 1955 and CBS vice president in 1959 and who continued in both those roles until his death at the age of 71 in 1992.

A number of characteristics set KMOX's air sound apart from that of other stations. In an industry where the norm is short stints for on-air talent, under Hyland's direction the station developed a reputation for just the opposite—talent stayed for decades. From the 1960s through the early 1990s, KMOX's style and content were often closer to those of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) or public radio in the United States than to those of other commercial stations. The style was slightly formal, sometimes described as "dignified," and placed emphasis on both breadth and depth of information. Talk often consisted of a brief interview with a public figure or an expert on topics ranging from medicine to plumbing, followed by telephone calls from listeners. Although he eventually allowed some pure "open line" discussion in which the on-air talent simply chatted with callers, Hyland demanded even then that information of substance be a part of the presentation. If callers were kept on the line too long, Hyland would often reprimand hosts for "back fencing" or engaging in "therapy" with a listener, rather than keeping the discussion on topic. Hyland said in 1960 that one of the

purposes of the new talk-oriented format was to educate in addition to entertain.

One of the puzzling paradoxes of KMOX was how it could sound so much like noncommercial, public service radio and yet achieve ratings so much higher than such stations usually do. In 1976 KMOX had a 26 share of the audience in its market, with its nearest competitor holding less than a 9 share. The best clue to understanding this success may be found in a common saying that had developed among journalists and politicians in Missouri by the 1970s: "KMOX is more like a newspaper than a radio station." It was sometimes called St. Louis' "third newspaper" (when the *Globe Democrat* and the *Post-Dispatch* were the other two) and then the "second newspaper" after the *Globe-Democrat* ceased publication. It was idiosyncratic (running marches and prayers as part of a morning ritual) and involved in its community, much like some of the famous editor-dominated newspapers of the 19th century, such as Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune* and Joseph Pulitzer's *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. The approach Hyland used to advance his radio station was indeed similar to what Pulitzer had tried successfully in the same city almost a century earlier: heavy community involvement (Hyland was reputed to have belonged to approximately 100 different organizations), aggressive investigative reporting, and a combination of entertainment (Hyland tied up all the major professional sports teams for KMOX and carried play-by-play broadcasts of important college games as well) and serious reporting, all seasoned with heavy self-promotion and one editorial campaign after another. Shortly after he became general manager, Hyland made KMOX the first CBS-owned station to carry editorials (the first was in advocacy of fluoridation of St. Louis county water and accused the county government of cowardice for refusing to take a stand). Hyland also followed the lead of newspapers and had KMOX endorse specific candidates for office.

The format that gave KMOX dominance and made it one of the most valuable properties owned by CBS (chairman William Paley once called it "the jewel in the CBS crown") was expensive. At its peak, the station employed more than 100 people, more than 70 of them full-time, and kept a number of "retainers" on the payroll, especially in sports, so that the station would have access to them and so that they would not sell their on-air services elsewhere (a practice that was abandoned as too expensive not long after Hyland's death). The station was intensely local, so much so that when President John F. Kennedy was assassinated in 1963, Hyland ordered the staff to

break away from the CBS network feed and to focus on reaction to the assassination in the St. Louis area.

KMOX's similarity to a newspaper illustrates its strengths as well as its vulnerability. The station's high costs required continued high ratings in order to remain profitable, and it could not maintain those ratings as younger people turned away from KMOX's type of serious talk, much as they had also turned away from newspapers. In 1989 a headline in the *Post-Dispatch* read "How Long Will KMOX Be No. 1?" and the accompanying article reported that the station (although still strong overall and especially among the older population) held only a 9.2 percent share of the audience aged 18 to 34. In the 1990s the share in that critical age group would drop even more, to less than 5.0. Even more important, by 2002 the station's overall share had dropped to below 10, which, although still enough to make it number one in the market, was down dramatically from what it had been a decade earlier. The shift from AM to FM listening and the aging of its audience had finally caught up with KMOX.

Robert Hyland maintained until his death in March of 1992 that KMOX should not trivialize or tabloidize its programming, asserting in a 1990 speech to the St. Louis Press Club:

The fact that we live in a fast-paced, entertainment-oriented age does not relieve us of the responsibility to live up to the sacred trusts inherent in our profession. . . . Virtually everyone reads newspapers, hears radio and views television. It must be our sacred mission that what they read, hear and view shall have meaning and import beyond filling space and killing time.

Hyland argued that as long as the station maintained its stronghold on major-league play-by-play sports, young listeners would learn its dial position and would eventually turn to KMOX as they got older and became more interested in being informed than in the latest music trends.

Following Hyland's death, a number of changes took place at the station and at CBS that would change KMOX's sound. Much of the station's long-standing on-air staff left. Bob Hardy, who had been on the air for more than 30 years, died, and Jim White and Anne Keefe, also on the air for decades, retired. Jim Wilkerson left for a competing station in a 1996 talent raid that also grabbed two other established voices at KMOX (Wendy Wiese and Kevin Horrigan), transplanting the station's morning sound almost intact to the competing station. But the most drastic change to come to KMOX in the wake of Hyland's death took place in 1994, when a key daytime slot once used for local interviews was turned over to Rush Limbaugh's nationally syndicated show. The decision to put Limbaugh on the air appears to have been primarily defen-

sive—Limbaugh had begun running on a competing station, and the choice was either to have him on KMOX or to compete against him. Limbaugh went on the air from 11 A.M. to 2 P.M. in April 1994, and late in 1999 he was still scheduled in that period. The decision to put Limbaugh on the air may or may not have saved KMOX from further ratings erosion, but it definitely changed the station's sound in three significant ways: (1) where KMOX had long been intensely local, Limbaugh's show has no sense of a particular place; (2) Limbaugh uses various news vignettes and excerpts to support discussion centering on a conservative political point of view; and (3) his sometimes frenetic delivery style is quite different from the calm, public service radio tone that even the younger, post-Hyland KMOX hosts employ.

In 1996 major cutbacks, including reductions in staff, were ordered by Westinghouse, the new owner of CBS. When one irate program host, Kevin Horrigan, walked out and took a job with a competing station, he charged that KMOX was in "chaos," that "part-timers and college kids are writing news and producing shows," and that "everything is being done on the cheap." The cause of the problem, according to the *Post-Dispatch*, was that Westinghouse was demanding a 40 percent profit margin, meaning that the station would have to produce a profit of about \$9 million on total advertising sales of about \$22.5 million per year, or about double what its past profits had been.

In November 2002 another program host, former CNN correspondent Charles Jaco, was fired (for reasons KMOX management never publicly revealed), and as he left Jaco blasted station management for "dumbing down" its program content in an attempt to raise ratings. The controversy over Jaco's firing (which was covered extensively by St. Louis news media) came on the heels of a number of setbacks, including the erosion of the station's dominance in professional sports play by play. By 2001, KMOX no longer had broadcast rights for the games of the St. Louis hockey and football teams, although it did still provide play by play for Cardinal baseball games. In the first years of the 21st century, KMOX could be viewed as embattled, owing to its decline in ratings and to increasingly negative coverage by other media, including the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (a 2002 headline proclaimed the station was "losing its grip on listeners") and the *St. Louis Journalism Review* (which in its December 2002/January 2003 issue carried an article on what it referred to as the "unsavory underside" of KMOX in which allegations of right-wing bias and anti-union policies appeared). However, the station could also be viewed as a survivor: in 2002, more than a decade after a newspaper article questioned how long it could remain in the top position, KMOX was still the number one station in St. Louis in total audience.

MARK POINDEXTER

See also Columbia Broadcasting System; Talk Radio

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KNX

Los Angeles, California Station

From its beginnings in a small bedroom of a Hollywood residence more than 80 years ago, KNX has grown to become one of the nation's most substantial all-news radio stations. KNX is the oldest radio station operating in Los Angeles and one of the oldest stations in the United States.

Origins

What eventually became KNX started as a 5-watt amateur radio station, with the call sign of 6ADZ. The station was built and operated in a back bedroom of his Hollywood home by Fred Christian, a former shipboard wireless operator. KNX historical records indicate that on 20 September 1920 Christian began broadcasting records he had borrowed from music stores, in return for plugs on the air. It is not known how often Christian provided such broadcasts at 200 meters/1 500 kilohertz, and he had to leave the air quite often so other amateur radio operators could take their turns at their common hobby.

Christian's main occupation was running the Electric Lighting Supply Company on West Third Street in Los Angeles, selling parts for people to build their own receivers and broadcasting music for them to enjoy. By late 1921 the U.S. Department of Commerce decided to license radio stations that could broadcast music and entertainment to the public, thus removing congestion from amateur radio bands. On 8 December 1921 Christian was granted a license for 360 meters (833 kilohertz), with the call letters KGC.

Christian soon grew tired of broadcasting only recorded music. He moved KGC to the top of the California Theatre Building in downtown Los Angeles. His plans were to broadcast "live" music from the theater. KGC took up the new call sign of KNX when it moved on 1 May 1922. Christian built a new 50-watt transmitter to send its signal to more listeners. (The station was briefly off the air a year later while a new 100 watt transmitter was installed.) The station was also known as

the "California Theatre Radiophone" between 1922 and 1924. Because there were so few available frequencies and no viable government regulation, stations during that period had to share air time. KNX negotiated with about 15 active radio stations in the Los Angeles area to determine each month the hours the stations would go on the air. KNX usually featured Carli Elinor's California Theatre Concert Orchestra of 50 to 60 musicians during an afternoon or evening broadcast four days a week, along with music from the theater's organ. The orchestra often performed musical scores from movies playing at the theater, to draw KNX listeners to see the films. Several early Hollywood film celebrities were heard over KNX, including Conrad Nagel, Wallace Reid, Harry Langdon, and Lon Chaney.

Radio magazines of the day that printed KNX program schedules also showed ads for the Electric Lighting Supply Company. Christian sold radios and radio parts to help defray the cost of running the station, because advertising on radio was not common yet. He sold KNX to the Los Angeles *Evening Express* newspaper on 14 October 1924, and the station shifted from 833 to 890 kilohertz and increased power from 100 watts to 500 watts. Under the leadership of owner-publisher Guy C. Earl, KNX soon promoted itself to radio fans as "The Voice of Hollywood" and used that slogan for many years. Earl had used KNX before to promote his newspaper and soon sold advertising regularly on the station. When KNX showed a profit of \$25,000 in 1925, Earl focused more of his time on the radio side, and other Los Angeles stations took notice of what selling advertising could do for them. In the mid- and late 1920s, KNX offered a daily schedule from early morning to late night. One regular feature was music from Ray West's Cocoanut Grove Orchestra from the Hotel Ambassador. KNX also offered listeners sports and a variety of informational talks, plus drama from the KNX players. From its earliest days, news was an important part of KNX's broadcast day.

In late 1928 KNX shifted from 890 to 1050 kilohertz and moved to the Paramount Pictures lot in Hollywood. The station increased transmitter power to 5,000 watts in 1929 and doubled that in 1932. Earl sold the Los Angeles *Evening Express* but stayed in radio, running KNX under the ownership of the Western Broadcasting Company. When KNX moved its offices and studios again in 1933, to the corner of Vine Street and Selma Avenue, station power was boosted to 25,000 watts and finally to 50,000 watts in 1934. In 1936 KNX moved to Sunset Boulevard.

CBS Ownership

KNX was sold to the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) for \$1.25 million in 1936, then the highest price ever paid for a radio station. New KNX/CBS studios were constructed and opened on 30 April 1938 at 6121 Sunset Boulevard. The Hollywood landmark station remains there today. Known as Columbia Square, the studios were home to several top-rated radio shows through the 1940s, including *Silver Theater*, *Melody Ranch* with Gene Autry, *Lucky Strike Hit Parade*, Jack Benny, Burns and Allen, Edgar Bergen and Charlie McCarthy, and Red Skelton. The long-running *Lux Radio Theatre* originated from the Vine Street Playhouse nearby. During World War II, *GE Radio News* with Frazier Hunt was heard. Local shows such as *The Housewives Protective League*, *Hollywood*

Melody Shop, and *Hollywood Barn Dance* were favorites with southern California listeners. On 29 March 1941 KNX shifted its frequency one last time, to 1070 kilohertz.

In the late 1940s comedian Steve Allen worked at KNX as a disc jockey, but he soon turned his airtime into a very popular late-night interview and comedy show. The program got Allen noticed by CBS executives and was a springboard to his highly successful subsequent TV career. Bob Crane, who gained fame on TV's *Hogan's Heroes*, was a very funny morning personality on KNX from 1956 to 1965. During this time KNX had become mostly a music station with news and sports features.

In April 1968 KNX initiated an all-news format and soon operated the largest radio news department in the western United States. KNX claims to have won more awards for broadcast journalism than any other radio station in the United States. These honors include Best Newscast Award from the Associated Press and Best Newscast Award from the Radio-TV News Association (RTNA) 27 times in the past 30 years. KNX has also won more than 150 Golden Mikes from the RTNA.

JIM HILLIKER

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KOA

Denver, Colorado Station

As a 50,000-watt clear channel station, KOA is said to stand for "Klear Over America." One of the first radio stations in Denver, KOA later became one of the West's most popular stations. KOA's powerful signal is capable of reaching 38 states in the evening hours, and the station has been heard in Canada, Mexico, and nearly every state in the United States under the right atmospheric conditions.

Changing Hands

KOA went on the air on 15 December 1924 and was authorized for 1,000 watts at 930 kilohertz. Built and operated by the General Electric Company, the station underwent many changes in operating power and dial position before settling at 50,000 watts in 1934 and at 850 kilohertz in 1941.

KOA underwent many ownership changes over the years. The station became affiliated with the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) in 1928. In 1929 NBC took over operation of KOA from General Electric, and the license was officially assigned to NBC in 1930. However, the actual change of ownership did not occur until NBC bought the transmitter from General Electric in 1934. NBC added a sister station, KOA-FM (later KOAQ-FM, now KRFX-FM), in 1948. The stations were sold to the Metropolitan Television Company (MTC) in 1952. One of MTC's principal stockholders was legendary radio, television, and motion picture entertainer Bob Hope. This group added a television station in 1953, channel 4 KOA-TV (now KCNC-TV). Bob Hope sold his interest in 1964, and General Electric repurchased the station in 1968. In 1983 General Electric sold KOA-AM and sister station KOAQ-FM to

Belo Broadcasting. In 1987 KOA was sold to Jacor Broadcasting, which merged with Clear Channel Communications in 1999.

Programming

The opening broadcast in 1924 was launched with much fanfare. With colorful prose, the station avowed its purpose “to serve with special intimacy the states that lie in the great plain—from the Dakotas and Minnesota to Texas—to the Mississippi and beyond; to spread knowledge that will be of use to them in their vast business—to further their peoples’ cultural ambitions—to give wider play to their imaginations, and make melody in their ears—to bid them lift up their eyes unto these western hills whence comes new strength” (cited in *Colorado Mac News*, 1984)

In the early days, a large number of KOA radio listeners were farmers, and the station had a heavy emphasis on farm, weather, and agriculture market-related programming. *Farm Question Box* and *Mile High Farmer* were two of the longest-running and most popular agriculture-related programs on the station.

KOA claims a number of historical “firsts” in broadcasting. On 18 February 1927 KOA did a remote broadcast of the “hole-ing through” of the Moffatt Tunnel, which was at the time the longest railroad tunnel in the world. Using the railroad’s telegraph circuit, which ran to the entrance of the tunnel, KOA engineers ran lines more than three and one-half miles into the tunnel to broadcast the event. On 15 November 1928 KOA engineers lugged a transmitter to the top of Pikes Peak near Colorado Springs to become the first station to originate from atop a 14,000-foot peak in the Rockies. On 6 May 1936 KOA successfully broadcast a concert nationwide from a specially equipped Radio Corporation of America (RCA) Victor train heading into Denver. Leopold Stokowski conducted Stravinsky’s *The Firebird* with a portion of the Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra on board. On 27 February 1937, a ski official involved in a ski race at Berthoud Pass in Colorado was set up with one of NBC’s first “pack sets” on his back and a catcher’s mask with a microphone mounted inside. The idea was for him to describe what he saw and felt

as he sped down the mountain. The nation waited to hear how it felt to ski down a challenging mountain course. The technical apparatus worked perfectly, but the skier forgot to talk, and all the nation heard was several minutes of heavy breathing and the rush of air.

For a number of years, the KOA Staff Orchestra, an all-string ensemble, was featured on the NBC network as a sustaining program. Such programs as *Golden Memories*, *Rhapsody of the Rockies*, and *Sketches in Melody* spread the fame of the KOA Staff Orchestra across the country.

The 1960s and 1970s saw the development of KOA as a news powerhouse. The station built a reputation as a leading source of news and information throughout the Rocky Mountain West.

On 18 June 1984 outspoken KOA talk show host Alan Berg was murdered in front of his condominium in Denver. The slaying, which had political and religious overtones, generated a tremendous amount of national media coverage because of the circumstances. Berg took on many groups on his high-rated talk show, including right-wing Christians, knee-jerk liberals, and the Ku Klux Klan. There were connections between Berg’s death and a group called “The Order,” a white supremacist group in Colorado and the Pacific Northwest. The murder weapon was later found in the home of Gary Lee Yarbrough of Sandpoint, Idaho, a member of The Order.

Today, KOA concentrates its efforts as a news/talk/sports station. The station has the largest news-gathering staff in the market and carries play-by-play coverage of the Denver Broncos National Football League team, the Colorado Rockies baseball team, and the University of Colorado football games. The station’s internet address is www.koaradio.com, which includes the KOA broadcast signal.

STEVEN D. ANDERSON

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KOB

Las Cruces/Albuquerque, New Mexico Station

KOB was a pioneering noncommercial, educational radio station established in Las Cruces, New Mexico, in the years after World War I. Affiliated with the New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts (NMA&MA)—now New Mexico State University—and supported by the college's engineering department, KOB began as an experimental student project using equipment salvaged from the U.S. Army. Ralph W. Goddard, a professor of engineering at NMA&MA, organized the school's Radio Club on 11 October 1919. The campus organization soon acquired not only a 500-watt Marconi standard Navy spark transmitter and 60-foot tower, but also three experimental radio licenses—5CX, 5FY, and 5FZ. License 5XD, which would become KOB, was granted on 3 June 1920.

In 1922, 500 new stations began broadcasting and KOB was one of them, going on the air on 5 April. Programming included market and stock reports, live performances, recorded music, weather reports, and news accounts provided by two El Paso newspapers, the *Times* and *Herald-Post*. The college's Agricultural Extension Service was an early ally for KOB and provided ongoing support for the radio project's contributions to rural life in southern New Mexico.

Goddard, who was eventually named Dean of Engineering at NMA&MA, was a key figure in the growth and development of KOB. He was responsible for guiding the station from its beginning as a project of the Radio Club—which was largely interested in amateur and relay work—to its status a few years later as a station broadcasting to all of New Mexico. He led efforts to expand the station's programming, facilities, and wattage, negotiating for clear channel status and a power allotment of 5,000 watts with the Federal Radio Commission (FRC); both were granted on 11 November 1928. By March of the following year, the station had been approved for an allotment of 10,000 watts, making it the most powerful college radio station in the United States and the country's 13th most powerful station of any type. In the fall of 1929, Goddard applied for FRC permission to double the station's power again, which would increase its power to 20,000 watts.

Ironically, even as KOB developed as one of the country's premier radio stations, its support from the university community decreased. In spite of continuing interest in and contributions to the station by the Agricultural Extension Service, local civic groups, and segments of NMA&MA, the college administration began suggesting in late 1928 that Goddard should start looking for a buyer for the station. This diminished administrative support for KOB would ultimately prove fatal. Goddard's dream of building an educational radio station that would broadcast throughout most of the Southwest dissolved

with his tragic death on New Year's Eve, 1929. While attempting to shut the station down for the afternoon, Goddard—whose shoes were soaked from a walk in the rain—was electrocuted. Although another NMA&MA professor was named station director and the application for 20,000-watt status was approved, KOB never recovered from the loss of its founder and most ardent supporter. Lacking his hands-on leadership and personal drive, station staff could muster neither adequate management expertise nor local support to keep KOB on the air. When the FRC began sending off-frequency reports and complaints that the station was not modulating, the college decided to accept a lease-purchase offer from T.M. Pepperday, owner of the *Albuquerque Journal*.

The station's assets were subsequently leased to the *Journal* in the fall of 1931; all equipment was transferred by truck more than 200 miles to Albuquerque in September 1932; and KOB's first broadcast from Albuquerque aired on 5 October 1932. The station's disposition was completed in August 1936, when NMA&MA sold KOB to the *Journal*'s newly-formed subsidiary, the Albuquerque Broadcasting Company. KOB affiliated with the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) the following year.

KOB is one example of the way in which a number of non-commercial, educational radio stations were transferred from public to private ownership in the 1930s. Lacking financial resources, institutional support, and strong leadership, this flagship western station could not endure as a publicly owned, noncommercial entity. Like many college stations, KOB's purchase and network affiliation helped to facilitate the development of a network-dominated broadcasting system in the United States. Many local listeners in Las Cruces were grieved by the station's departure, and the New Mexico State Legislature conducted an extensive debate about the station's sale to a private company. Governor Floyd Tingley, a New Dealer with close ties to Franklin D. Roosevelt, suggested that KOB become a state owned and operated public station, an idea that would be echoed in later discussions of state public networks elsewhere.

The North American Regional Broadcasting Agreement (1941) forced KOB (and many other U.S. stations) to change frequencies. In 1941 KOB moved to 1030 kilohertz, the same channel used by a Boston clear channel outlet. Later that year, just before U.S. entry into World War II, KOB moved again, this time thanks to a Federal Communications Commission (FCC) temporary permit, to 770 kilohertz, a clear channel frequency then used by what is now WABC in New York. The potential for mutual interference between the stations led to

the longest legal battle in FCC history. Attorneys for each station inundated the commission with legal attempts to force the other outlet off the shared frequency. KOB was allowed to raise its power to 50,000 watts in the daytime but was required to drop back to 25,000 watts at night in an attempt to protect the New York station. In 1956 KOB was also required to install a directional antenna to reduce interference with WABC. By 1962 it had FCC permission to raise its nighttime power to 50,000 watts. Legal filings from both outlets continued to plague the FCC into the early 1980s, when KOB's final appeal to overcome WABC's primary status on the channel was turned down. Both stations remain on 770 kilohertz today, with KOB continuing to shield the New York outlet by means of directional antenna patterns.

A KOB television station was added in 1948, and in 1967 an affiliated FM outlet was added in Albuquerque. The station changed hands several times; it was purchased by Hubbard Broadcasting in 1957, which operated KOB for three decades before selling it in 1986. It changed hands again several times

in the 1990s, by which time its call letters had been changed to KKOB. On 15 October 1994 the station was purchased by Citadel Communications, and by 2000 it was programmed as news/talk.

In the meantime, the university that had first supported the radio outlet lost its right to free airtime in 1951, although for a number of years that arrangement continued informally. Ralph Goddard's important role in its early years was remembered when the Las Cruces university again became a licensee in 1964 and placed KRWG (Goddard's initials) on the air as the first college/university FM station in the New Mexico. It, too, was joined by a television outlet with the same call letters eight years later.

GLEND A R. BALAS

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KPFA

Berkeley, California Station

KPFA-FM in Berkeley, California, is the first station of the Pacifica radio network and the first listener-sponsored station in the United States. Poet, philosopher, and conscientious objector Lewis Hill created the station as a means to "help prevent warfare through the free and uncensored interchange of ideas in politics, philosophy and the arts."

KPFA first went on the air 15 April 1949, and controversy dogged the non-commercial station from the start. In a post-war America known for Cold War conformity and rampant consumerism, KPFA brought many non-mainstream voices to its microphones, including African-American actor and activist Paul Robeson, Zen philosopher Alan Watts, leftist commentator William Mandel, Beat poet Lawrence Ferlinghetti, political theorist Herbert Marcuse, film critic Pauline Kael, and voices from the Bay Area's academic, pacifist, and anarchist communities.

Hill created the idea of listener sponsorship in order to fund the station's operation without having to sell commercials. This freed the station of corporate control and gave it the chance to promote political alternatives. The operating funds,

Hill theorized, would come if 2 percent of the potential audience paid \$10 a year to support the station.

Listener sponsorship was not the only unusual aspect of the station's operations. In the beginning, despite a bureaucratic hierarchy, everyone on staff at KPFA was paid the same salary, and decisions were made collectively. Also, clocks were removed from on-air studios so that programs could run to their natural conclusions.

Despite such innovations, financial problems and internal tensions among the staff, the volunteers, and the station's advisory board quickly came to the fore. In 1950 the station went off the air for nine months because of lack of funds. The following year, Pacifica received a \$150,000 grant from the Ford Foundation, which allowed it to resume broadcasting.

In June 1953 Lewis Hill resigned because of internal political struggles at the station. A new group felt constrained under his leadership. Despite the internecine problems, KPFA continued to make history with its innovative and intellectually challenging programming. Throughout the 1950s, the station's public-affairs programs regularly addressed such hot-button

issues as racial segregation, economic disparity, and McCarthyism. In April 1954 a pre-recorded radio program that advocated the decriminalization of marijuana created an uproar and led to the tape's impoundment by California's attorney general.

In August 1954 founder Lewis Hill returned to run the station. But three years later, in late July of 1957, the 38-year-old Hill, suffering from crippling rheumatoid arthritis and depression, committed suicide. He left the following note: "Not for anger or despair/but for peace and a kind of home."

KPFA and Pacifica won numerous broadcast awards for children's programming and for special programs on the First Amendment by legal scholar Alexander Meiklejohn. KPFA's public-affairs director, Elsa Knight Thompson, continued pushing the broadcast envelope despite attempts to censor the station. The Federal Communications Commission (FCC), for example, questioned KPFA's broadcasts of poets Allen Ginsberg and Lawrence Ferlinghetti, broadcasts that the government found to be "vulgar, obscene, and in bad taste."

In 1960 KPFA broadcast a three-hour documentary on the riots following House Committee on Un-American Activities (popularly known as HUAC) hearings in San Francisco. It subsequently broadcast programs on homosexuality, the blacklist, and the FBI. HUAC reacted by investigating Pacifica for "subversion," and the FCC investigated "communist affiliations" at the station, but the Commission ultimately renewed KPFA's license after a 3-year delay. KPFA later gave extensive coverage to the Berkeley Free Speech Movement, and many University of California, Berkeley, faculty members were heard regularly.

Though the public-affairs programs often stirred controversy, the station's arts programming had a significant impact on the Bay Area's cultural scene. KPFA's first music director, Americo Chiarito, boldly mixed jazz, classical, folk, and other forms of noncommercial music throughout the broadcast day. Over a 25-year period, subsequent music director Charles Amirkhanian interviewed and gave exposure to the work of nearly every living composer of importance in the West, including Terry Riley, LaMonte Young, Steve Reich, Lou Harrison, Pauline Oliveros, and John Cage. Philip Elwood, later the jazz critic for the San Francisco *Examiner*, hosted various on-air jazz programs for nearly 40 years. Sandy Miranda's *Music of the World* program featured live music, interviews, and rare recordings that drew a large and devoted following that made significant financial contributions to the station. For nearly a quarter of a century, the station devoted considerable airtime to contemporary poetry and literature under the direction of Erik Bauersfeld.

Through the 1970s and 1980s there was a gradual, if fundamental, shift in how KPFA and the Pacifica network (which by then included stations in New York, Los Angeles, Houston, and Washington, D.C.) defined themselves and their target audience. Unlike the early days in Berkeley, when the audience

was presumed to be an elite, educated, intellectual minority, KPFA gradually became known as a "community" radio station. Its audience, and even many on-air programmers, became increasingly defined not by ideas but by gender, ethnicity, race, and class. Third-World and women's departments were eventually created at the station. As these and other groups in the community demanded a place on the broadcast schedule, bitter arguments ensued over ideology and over questions about who speaks for whom and which groups deserve access to the microphone.

In 1999 many of these questions came to a head when the Pacifica network attempted to make programming and staff changes at KPFA, removing the station's popular general manager. The network defended the changes as an attempt to increase audience numbers and diversity. Many of the staff and volunteers, as well as activist members of the community, charged that the network was engaging in strong-arm tactics in an attempt to consolidate power and avoid accountability. What started as a personnel matter soon mushroomed into a widely publicized struggle over the station's future, prompting walkouts, strikes, and demonstrations.

Although such controversies have occurred periodically at a number of the Pacifica stations over the years, it was especially ironic that an organization that has done so much to protect the broadcast of free speech would resort to censorship when its newscasters attempted to cover the story. When KPFA's investigative reporter Dennis Bernstein defied a network gag order by covering the crisis at the station, he was suspended from his job, then arrested along with 51 KPFA staff and activists who refused to leave the building. A live, open microphone caught the entire drama. Pacifica officials then cancelled regular programming and boarded up the station for much of July and September.

But faced with a demonstration of 10,000 angry KPFA supporters, Pacifica relented and permitted KPFA staff to go back to work. This and subsequent controversies at all five Pacifica stations sparked a grassroots campaign to democratize the network. By December of 2001 a new Board of Directors had been assigned the task of revising the foundation's by-laws to give the network's listener-sponsors more say over governance.

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See also Community Radio; Hill, Lewis; Pacifica Foundation; Public Radio Since 1967

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KQW. See KCBS/KQW

KRLA

Los Angeles, California Station

KRLA (1110 kilohertz) is a 50,000-watt AM station serving the Los Angeles market. It was a popular Top 40 station in the 1960s, featuring stand-out radio personalities such as Casey Kasem, Bob Eubanks, Dave Hull, and Bob Hudson. KRLA associated itself strongly with the Beatles at that time, sponsoring several Beatles concerts in Los Angeles. It became the number one station in that market in 1964 and held that distinction for several years. Ironically, it was during KRLA's ratings heyday that its long legal struggle with the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) began. In 1962 the FCC denied a license renewal to station owner Donald Cooke and his company, Eleven Ten Broadcasting, over questionable on-air practices. This set off a 17-year battle, during which KRLA was operated by a nonprofit interim company. The license renewal case for KRLA is a rare instance of FCC license denial based on content and behavior rather than technical considerations.

Origins

The station's history began in 1940 when J.R. Frank Burke and other investors formed the Pacific Coast Broadcasting Company in order to apply for a broadcasting license in Pasadena, California. Burke was a fund-raiser for the Democratic Party and publisher of the *Santa Ana Register*. The FCC issued a construction permit in September 1941, just months before the United States entered World War II and placed a moratorium on all new radio construction. The new station would have the call letters KPAS and operate at 10,000 watts on 1110 kilohertz. By February 1942 an operating license was issued and KPAS went on the air as an unaffiliated station with block pro-

gramming typical of the time period. Burke's accountant, Loyal King, became the station manager. In addition to music, news, and religious programs, KPAS featured dramatic sketches performed by the Pasadena Playhouse actors. Local programming and public service were hallmarks of the station in the 1940s.

In 1945, Burke sold his interest to religious broadcaster William Dumm, who in turn sold his share in the station to Loyal King two years later. The license was retained by Pacific Coast Broadcasting. The station's call letters were changed to KXLA in 1945 to suggest a more metropolitan target audience. In 1948 King began to run a popular syndicated program called *Country Crystals* and by the early 1950s, KXLA had become a country western station. Most commercial radio stations in the United States were switching to musical formats at this time, as radio talent and network financing were migrating to television.

In 1958 a major change for the station occurred when New York businessman Donald Cooke signed an agreement to purchase KXLA from Pacific Coast Broadcasting. Cooke's brother, Jack Kent Cooke, was the true interested party, but as a Canadian citizen, he was prohibited by the Communications Act of 1934 from owning a U.S. radio station. In order to help his brother finance the purchase, Jack Kent Cooke would buy the station facilities through his newly formed company, Broadcast Equipment Corporation (BEC). Don Cooke's company, Eleven Ten Broadcasting, would file for the license transfer and lease the facilities from BEC.

In March 1959, the FCC approved the transfer with the understanding that Jack Kent Cooke would have no role in

managing the station. In fact, he had already been heavily involved, and in the months to come he would play a significant role in station management by making personnel decisions and planning on-air contests and promotions. The Cookes' intention was to change the format to Top 40 rock and roll and to concentrate on the teenage demographic throughout the Los Angeles market. At midnight on 1 September 1959, the station officially switched over. Nineteen-year-old disk jockey Jimmy O'Neill announced, "You have been listening to KXLA. You are now listening to KRLA-Radio for the young at heart."

Fifteen Years of "Interim" Owner Operation

In August 1959, all southern California stations were required to submit applications for license renewal according to the regular FCC schedule of renewals. KRLA did so, but in July of 1960, the FCC notified Donald Cooke that there would be a hearing for KRLA's license renewal. The FCC was concerned about several problems, including programming promises not being met, falsified logs, fraudulent contests, and the involvement of a non-citizen in station management. Although the hearing examiner recommended a one-year probationary renewal, the FCC denied renewal in 1962. The decision was upheld on appeal and the FCC ordered KRLA off the air. Comparative hearings would be held to determine the new licensee, but the FCC was concerned about leaving the frequency vacant in the meantime, as that meant the Mexican station XERB would be allowed to increase its power under provisions of an international treaty.

Oak Knoll Broadcasting, a nonprofit company, was selected to be the interim owner and licensee of KRLA. Eighty percent of their profits were to go to KCET, an educational TV station, and the other 20 percent would be distributed to other charities. Oak Knoll took possession of the station in 1964 and continued to operate it until 1979, when a new company, KRLA Incorporated, was finally selected to take over the license, ending the interim period. Oak Knoll's long period in control stemmed from the protracted FCC proceedings required to choose between more than a dozen applicants for the station license.

The early Oak Knoll years were KRLA's strongest in terms of its position in the market. In 1964, KRLA sought to distinguish itself from KFVB, its primary competitor, by focusing on a single band, the Beatles. The station played all of the cuts from Beatles LPs rather than just the hits and provided infor-

mation about the music and the band members, promoting itself as "Beatle Radio." KRLA also sponsored three Beatles concerts in Los Angeles from 1964 to 1966. This strategy enabled KRLA to become a contender in the competitive and saturated Los Angeles AM market.

During the 1970s KRLA's format changed several times. In 1971 the station switched to album-oriented progressive rock in an attempt to appeal to young people in the counterculture. This move proved unsuccessful, as FM radio was already offering that format with better sound quality. In 1973 KRLA moved to soft rock, which was more successful, but not enough so to make the station profitable. In 1976, under the direction of Art Laboe, KRLA changed to an Oldies format in a successful move to recapture a segment of the dwindling AM audience.

KRLA Incorporated was actually a merger of five of the companies that had applied for the KRLA license in 1964. It operated the station until 1985, when it was purchased by Greater Los Angeles Radio, Inc. Greater Los Angeles Radio moved the studios from the Huntington Hotel in Pasadena, where they had been since 1942, to Wilshire Boulevard in Los Angeles. The transmitter was moved to Irwindale the following year. In 1997 KRLA was acquired by Infinity Broadcasting, a subsidiary of Viacom, and its format was changed to talk radio. Infinity sold KRLA to Disney-owned ABC Radio in 2001. The format was changed to sports programming with an ESPN affiliation and the acquisition of Anaheim Angels baseball games. ABC Radio relaunched the station under the new call letters KSPN and as of January 2003 had swapped frequencies with KDIS-AM (Disney Radio) on 710 kilohertz. KDIS, now on the 1110 frequency, is formatted for children with Disney product. The KRLA call letters were acquired by Salem Communications for its talk station KIEV-AM at 870 kilohertz.

CHRISTINA S. DRALE

See also Contemporary Hit Radio Format/Top 40; Kasem, Casey; Licensing; Oldies Format

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KSL

Salt Lake City, Utah Station

In the early days of radio, one of the key groups of licensees was composed of churches. As is the case with many such stations, it is difficult to discuss the vision and role of KSL without considering its church affiliation and the dream to proselytize. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS; Mormon) acquired a radio station to broadcast general conferences of the LDS Church to people throughout the area without their having to come to the tabernacle on the city's Temple Square. Although the functions and operations of the station's mission have changed dramatically over the years, the religious influence can still be found.

KSL's predecessor, KZN, went on the air on 6 May 1922 and was among the first in the Western United States. It broadcast on 1160 kilohertz, and was designated a class A (clear channel) station in 1925. The station is still located at 1160 AM. At 8 P.M. on the first day of its broadcast, from atop the building housing the LDS-operated *Deseret News* newspaper, the station broadcast LDS Church President Heber J. Grant, who spoke of the church's mission and doctrine, quoting from the church's scriptures. Some observers felt that President Grant's remarks were the beginning of the fulfillment of a dream voiced earlier that the president of the church could deliver his sermons "and be heard by congregations assembled in every settlement of the Church from Canada to Mexico, and from California to Colorado" (see Anderson, 1922).

During its first years of operation, the station carried the voices of several famous figures. In addition to church authorities, other noted speakers used this new, fascinating, and promising medium. William Jennings Bryan delivered a ten-minute address on 25 October 1922. In 1923 President Warren G. Harding spoke over the station in a broadcast originating from the church's tabernacle. It was the first known instance of a U.S. President speaking over radio in that area.

In June 1924 *The Deseret News* sold KZN to John and F.W. Cope, who planned to overcome some of the station's engineering problems. The call letters were changed to KFPT. Later that year, in October, the station broadcast the general conferences of the LDS Church, an event that was to occur semi-annually through the rest of the century. Listeners could sit at home in their own living rooms next to their radio receivers and attend to the business and spiritual matters of that faith.

In June 1923 the Mormon Tabernacle Choir began its first formal broadcast on KZN (whose call letters were changed to KFPT in 1924, then to KSL in 1925) with the program *Music and the Spoken Word*, a program that continues in the early 21st century. A few years later, when KSL joined the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) as an affiliate, it began a regu-

lar Sunday broadcast of the choir. The program continued when, in 1932, KSL moved its affiliation to the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS). (The radio station is still a CBS affiliate, although KSL-TV is now affiliated with NBC.) It continues as the oldest continuous sustained radio program in America. The program brought fame to the station and the church, as well as a wider audience for the choir and for the tabernacle organ, from their rich acoustical setting in the century-old tabernacle.

As radio developed into a commercial medium, troubles loomed for the Mormon-owned station. Although church leaders saw nothing wrong with the business operation in conjunction with its function as "a factor in the spread of the gospel of Jesus Christ across the world" (see Hinckley, 1947), the church's standards came into conflict with some commercial practices. For example, the church advocated against the use of alcohol and tobacco. Yet network programs carried by KSL contained commercials selling beer and cigarettes, and programs contained themes or characters using these products. Not to carry such programs with their commercials could mean severance from network feeds and a drastic reduction in profits and income. Continuing to carry the programs appeared hypocritical in light of the church's teachings of abstinence from these products. With CBS's position of hard business practices guiding the decision-making process, the church was poised to lose the network affiliation and become a secondary, perhaps insignificant influence in radio in the intermountain area. Policy was established not to accept spot advertising (contracted individually with the station) for beer, wine, or tobacco, but the national network ads would continue to be carried as a necessary evil. KSL would not try to restrict network advertising or interfere with network contracts. KSL-FM was Utah's first FM station, beginning operation on 26 December 1946. Its programming was different and separate from its AM outlet.

Becoming successful as a business, KSL became the flagship station in the church's broadcast ownership, Bonneville International, established in 1964. The group owned radio and television stations in Seattle, Washington, then acquired FM outlets in New York City, Chicago, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Dallas, and Kansas City. As of 2003, Bonneville had 15 stations. From the mid-1960s to 1975, Bonneville operated an international shortwave radio station reaching various countries.

KSL quickly realized that its clear channel signal of 50,000 watts AM served more than just Salt Lake City, extending to the entire Western region of the United States. It also tried to

reflect a sense of commitment to serve this extended community, as mandated by church president David O. McKay in the mid-1960s. The station moved from broadcasting high school and church basketball tournaments in the 1950s to political broadcasts of substance. Bonneville's production arm created the "Home Front" public-service messages, which sent non-denominational messages about families and values to listeners who might not otherwise tune in to religious programming. These "Home Front" features were distributed to stations throughout the country to air in a variety of programs.

The church influence in KSL's programming has brought occasional criticism of censorship and biased influence. Yet the wide range of political viewpoints, the representations of other religious denominations, and the respect garnished from its news reporting seem to quell such criticism for many observers. One KSL news director disavows any meddling in the news agenda or its coverage of stories, including those local stories critical of church policies. Although some complaints have gone to the Federal Communications Commission, none has been taken seriously enough to limit the church's operation of its stations.

Broadcast management has indicated that today KSL is a station intent to make a profit, "not to evangelize." It is a commercial broadcast enterprise owned by a religious organization "operated strictly as a business and seeking no special treatment" (see Brady, 1994). Although the station started with a dream to evangelize, the realities of commercial broadcasting make its mission for community good more general in nature.

VAL E. LIMBURG

See also Mormon Tabernacle Choir

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KTRH

Houston, Texas Station

A longtime news, talk, and information station, KTRH was the starting point for the careers of several national celebrities, including the two best-known anchors on Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) television.

The history of KTRH meshes with the history of modern Houston. KTRH was a relative latecomer when it signed on the air 5 March 1930. The city had boasted an experimental radio station as early as 1919. Several commercial stations were on the air in the early 1920s, although none lasted longer

than a few years. Only rival KPRC, launched by the *Houston Post-Dispatch* during a newspaper convention in the city in 1925, hinted at the promise radio would hold in the city.

The opportunity to build KTRH came as a result of the Great Depression. The economic downturn caused the regents of the University of Texas to decide against supporting their experimental station in Austin, KUT. Houston real estate magnate Jesse H. Jones, builder of Houston's emerging skyline and owner of the *Houston Chronicle*, purchased KUT and had the

station's equipment boxed and transported the 165 miles to Houston.

Jones hoped to house his new station at the *Chronicle*, but the paper's editor dismissed the idea. The manager of Jones's Rice Hotel, on the other hand, was enthusiastic about a station's broadcasting from his facility and wanted the station to be "irretrievably tied to the hotel," according to Jesse Jones's nephew, John T. Jones, who would ultimately inherit KTRH from his uncle. The TRH in the new station's call letters stood for "The Rice Hotel."

When Ross Sterling, owner of KPRC and the *Houston Post-Dispatch*, suffered financial reverses in 1931, Jesse Jones came to the rescue and briefly controlled the *Post-Dispatch*, the *Chronicle*, and KTRH and KPRC radio stations. Jones gained such power that when he secured the Democratic Party's national convention for Houston in 1928, he also won the hearts of Texas Democrats: all 40 of Texas's electors cast their ballots for Jones's nomination for president, even though New York Governor Al Smith would ultimately win the nomination.

In 1947 the *Chronicle* established the first FM station in Houston and called it KTRH-FM. For its first two years, it simulcast the programming of KTRH-AM, and then it launched a "fine music" program of light classics. After a few years, the station returned to simulcasting. The popularity of album rock music in the late 1960s and early 1970s prompted a change of format and call letters for KTRH-FM. The letters KLOL were chosen because they resembled the 101 dial position.

On the death of Jesse Jones in 1956, the ownership of KTRH, sister station KLOL, and the *Chronicle* passed to Jones's nephew, John T. Jones, who operated the stations under the corporate name "The Rusk Corporation" (named for the downtown street where Jones's offices were located). The *Chronicle* was operated by a private foundation, Houston Endowment, that was established by the elder Jones for charitable purposes.

A graduate of Houston's San Jacinto High School, Walter Cronkite worked part-time at KTRH on his way to a journalism degree at the University of Texas in Austin. During the early 1930s Cronkite worked for the University of Texas newspaper, *The Daily Texan*; at United Press International (UPI); and at several state capital news bureaus at the same time. Dan Rather began working at KTRH in 1950, shortly after his graduation from Sam Houston State University in nearby Huntsville, Texas, where he had been a reporter for both the Associated Press and UPI. Rather's early KTRH broadcasts originated in the newsroom of the *Houston Chronicle* with the clack of wire service teletype machines in the background. "We got (the) bright idea that it would give the news program more authenticity," said John T. Jones. The younger Jones told the story of a *Chronicle* religious editor whose desk was next to

Rather's broadcast desk. At the end of each newscast, said Jones, the editor would correct Rather's grammar. In 1956 Rather became the station's news director.

CBS-TV sports anchor Jim Nantz also began his career at KTRH, in 1981. While studying on a golf scholarship at the University of Houston, Nantz was an intern at the station and later host of the *Sportsbeat* call-in program.

KTRH is credited with originating the *Dr. IQ* radio quiz show during the 1930s. Ted Nabors, then KTRH program director, performed as the Doctor, and announcer Babe Fritsch took a roving microphone into the audience to choose contestants who won silver dollars when they answered questions correctly. Fritsch was the first to say, "I have a lady in the balcony, Doctor!" *Dr. IQ* was developed for national broadcast on the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) network beginning in 1939, with Lew Valentine performing as the Doctor and Allan C. Anthony as the announcer.

In the mid-1960s, KTRH began a move to the talk format under General Manager Frank Stewart. Although KTRH was not the first station to adopt the new format, it was an early entry into the talk arena. Texas farm and ranch industries prompted KTRH to establish a strong presence in agribusiness reporting, at first with information for area ranchers and later with lawn and garden programs.

In 1981 the station broadcast two live talk shows from the People's Republic of China, a first for U.S. broadcasters. Talk host Ben Baldwin and KTRH Vice President and General Manager Hal Kemp answered listener questions and described events of their travels, including a rare firepower demonstration by the People's Army Infantry. "They literally blew up a mountain for us," Baldwin reported. The station staged subsequent live broadcasts from China during the early 1980s and aired weekend features prepared by the English language staff of Radio Beijing.

Because KTRH had affiliated with the CBS Radio network in the first year of its operation, one of the stories the Houston radio rumor mill circulated in the 1970s and 1980s was that CBS had a blank check ready if John T. Jones ever decided to sell KTRH. He didn't—and the stories were never confirmed. At Jones's retirement, his son Jesse Jones III, known as "Jay," assumed operation of the stations and acquired properties in San Antonio and Austin, expanding Rusk Corporation holdings.

In 1989 Jacor Communications made a \$60 million offer for KTRH and KLOL, but the deal was never consummated. Ultimately, the two stations were sold in 1993 to Evergreen Media for \$51 million. Evergreen became Chancellor and later AMFM after mergers made possible by the Telecommunications Act of 1996. KTRH moved to the Clear Channel Communications roster after that company's merger with AMFM.

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Kuralt, Charles 1934–1997

U.S. Broadcast Journalist

One of the most beloved of journalists, Charles Kuralt was a traveler. Most of his life was spent "on the road," a phrase that became the title of his best-known television series. But he began his career in radio, first at WUNC, the student-run station at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, and later at Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) Radio. Accompanied by a few years' newspaper experience at *The Charlotte News*, where he won a prestigious 1956 Ernie Pyle Memorial Award for his writing skills, Kuralt showed great promise as he began work at CBS Radio.

Kuralt began as a radio writer in 1957, becoming the youngest ever network correspondent just two years later at age 24 and quickly winning a reputation as a hard-news reporter. At the time he was hired by CBS, network radio's viability was uncertain. As at the other major networks, news head Dick Salant was dealing with the sweeping loss of audiences and advertisers to the upstart television medium. After dropping all its soaps and traditional programs in favor of an all-news format, CBS Radio needed unique programming to hold on to affiliated stations, and Salant's solution was a series of very short, horizontally scheduled features—"programlets" that ran four minutes or so and were embedded in commercials. The network would repeat these features as many as eight times each day, returning with fresh stories on successive weekdays. Salant picked Kuralt to do the feature series called *To Your Health*, which quickly became a popular element of CBS's successful Dimension Radio and established Kuralt as a top-notch writer and on-air reporter. After gaining television experience as host of *Eyewitness to History*, Kuralt was expected to step rapidly into the nightly network newscast—a prestigious position on the Tiffany network with the most lauded news of the day. Salant and others had tremendous expectations, touting the young Kuralt as perhaps "the next Edward R. Murrow!" Those were very big shoes for anyone to

fill, but in typical fashion, Kuralt dismissed the comparison as "ridiculous."

Because Kuralt preferred the adventure of travel to the stability of a daily news job, he moved from radio to television, covering the war in Vietnam for four tours and reporting on other world trouble spots. He became CBS's chief correspondent in Latin America and later on the West Coast, but he eventually left the hard-news side of television and radio in 1967, when he found his ideal vehicle in the famed *On the Road* series. For more than two decades, Kuralt roamed America's small towns and back roads in a CBS camper, reporting on heartwarming events in ordinary people's lives. Often called the Walt Whitman (or the Norman Rockwell) of American television, he did offbeat Americana stories, telling viewers about, for example, a school for unicyclists, a gas station/poetry factory, and a 104-year-old entertainer who performed in nursing homes. He talked to lumberjacks, cooks, poets, and farmers. He told of the Franciscan Sisters of Perpetual Adoration in Wisconsin, who have been continuously praying—in shifts—for the last 100 years. Finding everyman poetry in everyday life, his offbeat human-interest stories enchanted, delighted, and touched millions of television viewers and radio listeners. These reports became part of the *CBS Evening News*, *CBS Sunday Morning*, and the weekday *Morning* program; they also aired on the CBS Radio Network. Kuralt is said to have logged more than a million miles on the road. He is quoted as saying about CBS Radio: "Going wherever I wanted to go and doing whatever I wanted to do, CBS didn't even know where I was; didn't care much where I was. I just wandered. And that was probably the best job in journalism." After more than a decade as host of the television program *CBS Sunday Morning*, he retired, only to come back as host of *An American Moment*, a 90-second series that harked back to his radio days. He also hosted for a short time the CBS Cable

show *I Remember*, a weekly reexamination of significant news stories from the historical past. After a brief illness, Charles Kuralt died in 1997 of complications arising from lupus.

During his career at CBS, Kuralt wrote several best-selling books, won 11 Emmy Awards, three Peabody Awards, and numerous other prestigious broadcasting awards. At his death, Walter Cronkite called him "one of the true, greatly talented people in television." A month later, the North Carolina legislature passed a resolution honoring him, observing that "Charles Kuralt possessed a peculiar insight that enabled him to contribute substantially and effectively to the improvement and betterment of the world around him, enriching the lives of those with whom he was associated and came in contact." He was a truly great storyteller.

SUSAN TYLER EASTMAN

Charles Kuralt. Born in Wilmington, North Carolina, 10 September 1934. Son of Wallace Hamilton Kuralt and Ina Bishop Kuralt; attended University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, B.A. in journalism, 1955; WUNC radio dramatist, 1953; editor, *Daily Tar Heel*; reporter for *Charlotte News*, 1955–57, received Ernie Pyle Memorial Award for writing, 1956; joined CBS as writer, 1957, news correspondent, 1959–94. Received 11 Emmy Awards, three Peabody Awards, George Polk Memorial Award, 1981; inducted into North Carolina Journalism Hall of Fame, 1981; International Radio and Television Society (IRTS) Broadcaster of the Year, 1985; John Tyler Caldwell Award for the

Humanities, 1997 (posthumous). Died in New York City, 4 July 1997.

Television Series (many also carried on CBS Radio)

To Your Health, 1957–59; *Eyewitness to History* (later, *Eyewitness*), 1960–61; *On the Road*, 1967–80; *Who's Who*, 1977; *CBS Sunday Morning*, 1979–94; *CBS Morning News* (later, *Morning with Charles Kuralt*), 1980–82; *I Remember*, 1997; *An American Moment*, 1997

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KWKH

Shreveport, Louisiana Station

KWKH, a 50,000-watt clear channel station, played an important role in the commercialization of country music and rock and roll music during the 1940s and 1950s. In addition, as one of the first radio stations in Louisiana, it helped pioneer radio broadcasting in the state.

The station that KWKH would become first crackled on the air in early 1922. Engineer William E. Antony built the physical operations under the auspices of the Elliott Electric Company; in 1923 a team of investors led by a retailer of radio sets purchased the station, dubbing it WGAQ. One of the investors bought out his partners in 1925 and rechristened the station with his initials. William Kennon Henderson, who owned and operated the Henderson Iron Works and Supply in Shreveport,

promptly turned KWKH into his own soapbox. At arbitrary moments during the broadcast day, he often burst into his studios and grabbed the microphone from his announcer. "Hello world, doggone you! This is KWKH at Shreveport, Lou—ee—siana, and it's W.K. Henderson talkin' to you." He railed against the national debt and chain retail stores and ridiculed over the air anybody who dared to disagree with him. He condemned the Radio Act of 1927 and sparred with both the U.S. Department of Commerce and the Federal Radio Commission, claiming that both favored chain (network) stations over independent outlets.

In the late 1920s, when Henderson applied for a power boost to 10,000 watts, federal regulators turned him down,

claiming that KWKH was nothing more than a broadcaster of phonograph records. But Henderson argued that his format—which in actuality encompassed more than just record playing—satisfied his listeners' wishes. The rejection only incited the maverick's ranting resolve, and by 1930 Washington conceded to him and granted the increase in power.

As eccentric and egotistical as Henderson was, his desire to see KWKH prosper and expand its signal range helped consolidate radio's presence in Louisiana. His on-air tirades forced people to note the presence of radio, and entrepreneurs looked to the growth of KWKH as an example when they invested their own dollars in radio stations. Furthermore, it was probably Henderson's distaste for the uniformity of chain stations that led KWKH to recruit local talent to perform on its airwaves. The use of local talent, most of whom performed hillbilly music (as country music was known in the 1920s and 1930s), planted the seeds that would grow into KWKH's *Louisiana Hayride*.

In 1932 Henderson sold KWKH to the International Broadcasting Corporation, and the station changed hands again in 1935 when the *Shreveport Times*, owned by oilman John D. Ewing, took control. Under Ewing, KWKH continued the growth that Henderson had initiated, moving to modern facilities in downtown Shreveport's Commercial Building in 1936 and receiving permission to operate at 50,000 watts in 1939. (In 1934, probably much to the former owner's ire, KWKH had established a network affiliation with the Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS].) Carrying on Henderson's tradition of hiring local talent, station manager Henry B. Clay, who was Ewing's son-in-law; program director Horace Logan; and commercial manager Dean Upson established the *Louisiana Hayride*, which would become KWKH's most lasting mark on country music history and, indeed, on radio history.

KWKH's *Louisiana Hayride* was a country and western stage show that played weekly on the station from 1948 to 1960. Dubbed "the Cradle of the Stars," the program aired on Saturday nights from Shreveport's Municipal Auditorium and boasted among its cast members musical performers who would be the primary shapers of post-World War II country music. Important country music figures such as Hank Williams, Jim Reeves, and Johnny Cash appeared as regulars on the *Hayride* early in their careers; each used the program as a springboard to broader acceptance. In addition to providing a stage for important country music performers, KWKH and the *Hayride* would leave a lasting mark on the history of rock and roll in the mid-1950s, when singer Elvis Presley became a regular cast member on the show; the exposure he received as a cast member from 1954 to 1956 helped fuel his rise to national prominence.

KWKH's 50,000 watts of power gave the *Louisiana Hayride* its muscle. The station's signal stretched like a fan across the southwestern and northwestern regions of the United States and clipped across national borders to reach countries as near as Mexico and as far as Australia. A regular spot on KWKH's Saturday night hoedown, any aspiring country act knew, could attract recording contracts and generate bookings. The *Hayride*'s influence grew mightier in the early 1950s with its insertion into the schedule of a CBS regional network.

However, the *Hayride* would never be as mighty as the *Grand Ole Opry* on WSM in Nashville, Tennessee, and because of that, KWKH failed to hold on to its rising stars. As *Hayride* personalities gained momentum, they inevitably shifted their eyes toward the *Opry* and Nashville, where a colony that included booking agents and music publishers awaited to capitalize on the artists' successes. KWKH and Shreveport lacked such ancillary components of the music industry and therefore could not keep name artists on the show very long. The *Louisiana Hayride* became known as an "Opry farm club," and, largely because of the constant talent drain, it ceased regular broadcasting in 1960. The program has been reincarnated in various forms over the years, but it has never achieved the influence it enjoyed in the late 1940s and 1950s.

Today, KWKH is owned by Clear Channel Communications, which acquired the station in 1999. Although the *Louisiana Hayride* disappeared long ago from its airwaves, the station still recalls former glories with its "country gold" format, which features vintage country music from as early as the 1940s.

MICHAEL STREISSGUTH

See also Clear Channel Stations; Country Music Format; Grand Ole Opry; WWL

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Kyser, Kay 1905–1985

U.S. Big Band Leader and Radio Host

Largely forgotten today, Kay Kyser's band scored 11 No. 1 records and 35 top 10 hits. Kyser hosted a top-rated radio show for 11 years on the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), and he and his band starred in seven motion pictures. He has two stars set into the sidewalk on Hollywood Boulevard in Los Angeles, one for radio and another for film work. Although best known as a musical figure, in fact Kyser could not sing, read music, or play any instrument.

Origins

Kay Kyser's roots and much of his life are based in North Carolina. Born there, he originally intended to study law while attending the state university. Instead, at the suggestion of bandleader Hal Kemp, Kyser (then a university cheerleader) formed his first small band in 1926, the group consisting of six fellow students. With this initial group, Kyser soon established his role as an energetic MC, rather than as a musician. Over the next several years, the band added some professional musicians and slowly improved, but life on the road was a series of relatively short performance gigs in Depression America.

In the mid-1930s, appearances at venues in Santa Monica and then in Chicago (at the Blackhawk restaurant and club) propelled the band to national recognition and appeal. In part this was due to the music played, but much of the band's particular appeal was built around the light-hearted humor and antics of Kyser as its energetic leader. The band was something of an extension of Kyser's outgoing personality.

Radio Years

Sometime in 1937, the "college" concept was first developed to attract more customers on otherwise slow Monday evenings at the Blackhawk. Originally called "Kay's Klass," it was a kind of amateur performers night, supplemented with questions from Kyser to the musical contestants to both relax them and amuse the audience. The classroom notion may have been the idea of Kyser's young agent, Lew Wasserman. Chicago station WGN began to broadcast the band's performances as *Kay Kyser's Kampus Class*. By this point the Kyser band had developed another unique feature that would remain for many years: the "singing song title," in which a band vocalist would sing the title's words at the beginning before a full performance of the song.

In February 1938, the Mutual Broadcasting System began an eight-week series of programs carrying the Blackhawk-based band program regionally. The American Tobacco Com-

pany took up sponsorship of the show for its Lucky Strike cigarette brand and brought it to New York City and the NBC network, with the first program airing on 30 March 1938. Now known as *Kay Kyser's College of Musical Knowledge* (sometimes *College* is rendered *College*) with Kyser cast as "The Old Professor," the program was an almost instant hit.

The *College* program's format was classic radio variety, built around the band's music but adding the related quiz feature along with comedy routines. Each broadcast began with Kyser's warm North Carolina-accented "Evenin' folks, how y'all?" "Diplomas" were mailed to listeners sending in music quiz questions used on the air.

Among the many instrumentalists and singers in Kyser's band, several stood out over the years. Perhaps best known was "Ish Kabibble" (Merwyn Bogue), who got his odd show business name from his comedy version of an old Yiddish song, "Isch Ga Bibble" (loosely translated, "I should worry?"), which he first performed after joining the band in 1931. He played the cornet but thrived on developing the rural "Ish" character with a "pudding bowl" hair cut, who constantly interrupted the show to recite nonsensical poems to a seemingly frustrated Kyser, becoming his onstage comedy foil. As is often the case with such performers, he was no dummy off-stage, and he handled the program's payroll. He stayed with the band until the program wrapped up its television series in 1951. Among the many singers heard over the years were tenor Harry Babbitt, San Antonio native Ginny Simms, who was the band's first permanent female voice and often sang duets with Babbitt, and Mike Douglas, who would go on to become a famous variety and talk show host for television.

Kyser recorded no fewer than 11 number one songs in the space of seven years. These were "The Umbrella Man" and "Three Little Fishies" (1939); "(Lights Out) Til Reveille" and "(There'll Be Bluebirds) Over the White Cliffs of Dover" (1941); "Who Wouldn't Love You," "Jingle, Jangle, Jingle," "He Wears a Pair of Silver Wings," "Strip Polka," and "Praise the Lord and Pass the Ammunition" (1942); and "Old Butter-milk Sky" and the "Woody Woodpecker" song (1946). Overall, the band recorded some 400 songs beginning in 1935, mostly on the Brunswick, Columbia (parent of Brunswick), and Victor labels.

Kyser's band became one of the first to perform at military bases even before World War II. The first such performance took place at the San Diego marine base on 26 February 1941. Kyser became a highly successful wartime bond salesman with these and other appearances—a total of more than 500 shows at military camps and bases by the time the war ended. These



Kay Kyser
Courtesy Radio Hall of Fame

“road shows” had a somewhat different sound from the earlier broadcasts. A band bus fire in April 1942 destroyed 15 years’ worth of musical arrangements, prompting a hiatus for the act. When the band reappeared, the singing song titles were gone and a newer, updated musical style became evident. Because of the pressure of the wartime appearances, the band undertook no commercial gigs (except those booked previously) for the duration, concentrating on the continuing radio show, military service shows, and the seven movies that featured Kyser and the band, all of them made within a five-year period.

Later Years

Kyser and the band moved to television with their own series, debuting in 1949. With the end of the TV series in 1951, Kyser retired at the top of his form and with nary an announcement that he was going. He was tired after years of relentless perfor-

mance, had earned more than enough money, and wanted to return to North Carolina to do other things. There was also a medical reason: Kyser had begun to have serious trouble with his feet due to an arthritic-type condition in his toes, perhaps exacerbated by his years of energetic performance. Not finding help in traditional medicine, he turned to Christian Science to find relief. He became very active in the church, managing its film and broadcast department in Boston for five years in the 1970s.

He also undertook many altruistic projects, including highway safety campaigns, a health-related campaign in North Carolina, funding scholarships and providing other support for his university alma mater, and helping to establish an educational TV station for Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

James King Kern (“Kay”) Kyser. Born in Rocky Mount, North Carolina, 18 June 1905. Graduated from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in Commerce, 1928. Formed first orchestra, 1926; toured with orchestra, 1926–34; played Blackhawk Club, Chicago, Illinois, 1934; made radio debut in a band remote, 1937; known as host of *Kay Kyser’s College [or Kollege] of Musical Knowledge*, 1938–49; retired from broadcasting, 1951; managed radio and television broadcast department, Christian Science Church, Boston, 1974–79. Died in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 23 July 1985.

Radio Series

1937 *Kay Kyser Band Remote*
 1938–49 *Kay Kyser’s College of Musical Knowledge*

Television

Kay Kyser’s Kollege of Musical Knowledge, 1949–50, 1954

Film

That’s Right, You’re Wrong, 1939; *You’ll Find Out*, 1940; *Playmates*, 1941; *My Favorite Spy*, 1942; *Around the World*, 1943; *Swing Fever*, 1943; *Carolina Blues*, 1944

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KYW

Chicago, Cleveland, and Philadelphia Station

One of Westinghouse's original outlets, KYW has been described as "the wandering radio station." Though it has served the Philadelphia area for most of its life, the call letters were also found on stations in Chicago and Cleveland. KYW's wanderlust is a result of the federal government's intermittent efforts to manage how much control large broadcasters had over America's most important cities. In the end, these labors produced voluminous litigation but little in the way of permanent results.

KYW had a Chicago address for only a dozen years, but its early start earned it a place in radio history as a pioneer radio station. In fact, it was Chicago's first radio station. Legend has it that the call letters stood for "Young Warriors."

The station first broadcast from the Commonwealth Edison office in Chicago on 11 November 1921. KYW was originally started as a partnership. Westinghouse provided the transmitter and Commonwealth Edison the broadcast location. For its part, Westinghouse rushed KYW and sister stations WBZ in Massachusetts and WJZ in Newark, New Jersey, to the air as a direct result of the success of KDKA in Pittsburgh. Westinghouse's motivation was to stimulate sales of the crystal radio sets the company manufactured. For five years, KYW was operated as a joint venture, although Westinghouse dominated the partnership. In 1926 the working relationship ended, and Commonwealth Edison eventually became associated with crosstown radio station WENR.

Three notable early programming experiments punctuate KYW's Chicago history. The first broadcast by KYW featured opera, and regular weekly opera broadcasts on the station proved an immediate success. At one point, the opera broadcasts were credited with selling nearly 2,000 radio receivers a week in the Chicago area. Second, KYW featured an early version of children's programming. Early radio personality Uncle Bob (Walter Wilson) broadcast children's stories each night, being sure to finish by 7 P.M. so as not to disturb his listeners' bedtimes. KYW also featured breaking news supplied by the *Chicago Tribune*. Seeing potential in the new medium, the Tribune Company decided to get in on the business itself and launched WGN in 1924.

The Federal Radio Commission soon grew concerned about the large number of stations in Chicago. Westinghouse offered to shift KYW out of Chicago and moved the station on 3 December 1934 to Philadelphia. Then the nation's third-largest media market, Philadelphia would prove less lucrative to Westinghouse than broadcasting from Chicago, then the nation's second most important city.

In its new hometown, KYW continued its tradition of reporting breaking news. For example, KYW covered the June 1937 *Hindenburg* disaster in nearby Lakehurst, New Jersey. From a telephone booth, a KYW reporter described to the radio audience the horrific fire, and the on-the-spot report was broadcast over both National Broadcasting Company (NBC) networks.

The association with NBC would eventually set the stage for KYW's third move—to Cleveland, Ohio. On 22 January 1956, Westinghouse, under great pressure from NBC, which wanted to upgrade its own facilities to a larger market, exchanged its Philadelphia broadcast operations for NBC's Cleveland stations. In consideration for Westinghouse receiving the smaller and less profitable Cleveland outlets, NBC also paid Westinghouse \$3 million.

Later, as a result of federal investigation into NBC's actions, it was demonstrated that NBC had forced Westinghouse into the exchange. Had Westinghouse not complied, it would have lost its valuable NBC network affiliation for its budding television operations. The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) ordered the swap undone in 1964 and found NBC culpable of abusing its network power. KYW's call letters were shifted from Cleveland, and the AM, FM, and television stations to which they were attached returned again to Philadelphia in June 1965 (the Cleveland AM station is now known as WTAM, formerly WWWE).

In October 1965, KYW became one of the first radio stations to adopt an all-news format. The format change did not bring immediate ratings success, and, reportedly, the station lost money for several years. The first decade was particularly difficult, given the popularity of crosstown AM contemporary music outlets such as WFIL and WIBG.

Today, KYW's competition comes mostly from FM stations, because KYW has long been the market's leading AM station. Like other historic AM broadcasters, KYW found that information-based spoken-word programming can be effective against music-based FM competitors. In programming its all-news format, the station uses a 30-minute news wheel and features traffic reports every ten minutes. The station does particularly well in the winter season, when the station issues snow-related closing notices for schools in eastern Pennsylvania, southern New Jersey, and northern Delaware. Arbitron reports that KYW, in addition to regularly being one of the top-three radio stations in the market, has a weekly cumulative audience of well over 1 million listeners.

Though technically the radio station is not on a full clear channel frequency, the 50,000-watt signal produced from the

station's directional antenna can regularly be heard across the northeastern United States, far outside the station's primary Delaware Valley coverage area. The station has been located at 1060 kilohertz since 1941. The studios of KYW radio are housed on Independence Mall within sight of the Liberty Bell. It shares the same building as its sister television station, KYW-TV 3, now a Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) television affiliate. The television station was Philadelphia's first when it began experimental operations just as W3XE in 1932

Despite Westinghouse's historic attempts to keep its network-owning rivals at arm's length, the company, disappointed by its prospects in manufacturing, eventually decided to concentrate on broadcast programming and merged with the CBS

network in 1995. Subsequently, the Westinghouse identity disappeared. Today, the license to KYW radio is owned by Infinity Broadcasting, the radio company closely associated with CBS.

A. JOSEPH BORRELL

See also Hindenburg Disaster

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Landell de Moura, Father Roberto 1861–1928

Brazilian Wireless Pioneer

In the 1890s and early 1900s, Father Roberto Landell de Moura produced a series of wireless communication devices that were as original in their day as they were unrecognized.

Origins

Roberto Landell de Moura was born in Porto Alegre, the capital of Rio Grande do Sul, on 21 January 1861. Graduating as a distinguished student from a local Jesuit high school, he moved to Rio de Janeiro to study at the Polytechnic Institute. Unable to pay tuition, however, he took a job as a store clerk.

In 1881 his brother, on his way to Rome to study for the priesthood, visited him; Roberto decided to accompany him and also become a priest. He studied theology at the seminary in Rome for students from the Americas and physics and chemistry at the Gregorian University. He also became aware of scientific developments in Italy and Europe. Ordained in 1885, he returned to Rio de Janeiro and for a brief period was a temporary chaplain in the Brazilian imperial court, occasionally conversing with Emperor Dom Pedro II, who had met Alexander Graham Bell and later introduced the telephone to Brazil.

From 1887 through the 1890s Landell de Moura had a series of parish assignments in Rio Grande do Sul and then in São Paulo. He had a difficult temperament and had to be transferred several times to different parishes.

Wireless Inventions

It was during the 1890s, while posted in Campinas, São Paulo, that he formulated theories about controlled, wireless conduction of vibratory movements and light beams, believing that any sound, including the human voice, could be transmitted over land, through the air, and under the water.

During 1893 and 1894 he demonstrated these ideas in the center of the city of São Paulo. He transmitted sound without wires between two of the highest points in the city, over five miles apart, using a type of three-electrode conductor lamp. These demonstrations occurred in the presence of the British Consul and years before similar demonstrations were made by Marconi and de Forest.

Despite presenting his inventions before a representative of one of the most inventive and commercial countries in the world, however, he failed to attract interest or investment. Worse, word about his strange, “diabolical” inventions aroused the suspicions of his parishioners. They invaded his rectory and destroyed his machines.

Undismayed, he rebuilt and refined them, by 1900 obtaining Brazilian patent 3,279 for a machine transmitting sound with or without wires via space, land, or water. Continuing to find no local interest, however, he moved to the United States. Taking up residence in New York City in 1901 and surviving on a subsistence income, he remade his inventions and obtained U.S. patents 771,917 (11 October 1904), 775,337 (22 November 1904), and 775,846 (22 November 1904) for a sound wave transmitter, a wireless phone, and a wireless telegraph, respectively. The wave transmitter produced electrical oscillations of light from sound vibrations generated by the human voice or other source. The sound waves passed through a receptor with induction coils and condensers that changed them into electric or light waves, allowing their wireless transmission to a receptor that could convert them to voice or sound or light signals. His wireless phone transmitted and received voice via light waves. The wireless telegraph transmitted and received signals via various types of sound waves.

EDWARD A. RIEDINGER

See also Early Wireless

Father Landell de Moura. Born in Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil, 21 January 1861. Fourth of twelve children of Inácio José Ferreira de Moura and Sara Mariana Landell de Moura; honors graduate of Jesuit high school in São Leopoldo, Rio Grande do Sul; moved to Rio de Janeiro to study, ca. 1879; accompanied brother to study for priesthood in Rome, 1881, specialized in theology, physics, and chemistry; ordained priest, 1885; returned to Brazil, became seminary instructor in Porto Alegre, 1887–91; parish priest, Urugaiana, Rio Grande do Sul, 1891; parish priest, Santos, Campinas, and Sant’Ana, São Paulo, 1892–99; formulated theories on and built devices for wireless sound communication; public demonstrations of inventions in capital of São Paulo, 1893–94, equipment destroyed by parishioners; received Brazilian patent for machine transmitting sound with or without wires via space, land, or water, 1900; moved to New York City, 1901–04; rebuilt his inventions and received U.S. patents, 1904; returned

to Brazil, 1905; desisted from inventing; returned to parish work in São Paulo and then Rio Grande do Sul, ca. 1906. Died in Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil, 30 June 1928.

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Lazarsfeld, Paul F. 1901–1976

U.S. (Austrian-Born) Sociologist and Radio Research Innovator

“Paul Lazarsfeld,” writes one media historian, “was undoubtedly the most important intellectual influence in shaping modern communication research” (Rogers, 1994). His pioneering radio research in the late 1930s and early 1940s helped to shape our understanding of the medium’s effects and made applied radio industry research more respectable in the eyes of many academics.

Origins

Born at the beginning of the 20th century in Vienna, Austria, Lazarsfeld came of age in the lively intellectual climate of that city in the years between the world wars. Brilliant in mathematics, he earned a Ph.D. at the age of 24. But with academic jobs scarce in the mid-1920s, he taught at a Vienna high school and served as a part-time instructor at the University of Vienna while seeking a more permanent university post. He established a Research Center for Economic Psychology at the University of Vienna (where he served as an adjunct faculty member) in 1925. It became a model that Lazarsfeld would follow with later research groups in the United States. With the help of students, he directed a landmark study of unemployment in the small town of Marienthal, Austria, in 1931–32 that brought him wide attention. But because of the difficult

economic times, his socialist background, and his Jewish heritage, Lazarsfeld was facing limited opportunities in Austria.

Thanks to the Marienthal study, Lazarsfeld’s work reached the notice of the Rockefeller Foundation, which sponsored him for two years of research-related traveling in the United States in 1933–35. He visited many universities and research academics. When a political coup in Austria made his return to academic life there even more unlikely, he accepted a post as acting director at the University of Newark’s research center in 1936. It was a tiny operation—so much so that some of his published papers appeared under a pseudonym (“Elias Smith”) to disguise the fact that he was the only full-time research person working there.

Radio Research

Lazarsfeld’s active importance in radio research spanned nearly two decades. This research began without him—with a proposal to the Rockefeller Foundation of a study of “The Essential Value of Radio to All Type of Listeners,” proposed by Hadley Cantril of Princeton University and Frank Stanton of the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), to undertake experimental work about radio’s audiences. Cantril, busy with his own work (as was Stanton, who by then had more than

100 research people under his direction at CBS), recommended Lazarsfeld to direct the new effort. With that change, Princeton's Office of Radio Research undertook a broader approach, with survey and secondary data analysis.

Becoming very much a creature of its director's wide interests, the office combined quantitative and qualitative research approaches, including content analyses, panel studies, focused interviews, and some secondary data analysis to attack radio research questions from a variety of viewpoints and methodological angles. The office published Hugh Beville's important 1939 study of radio ratings methodologies. Lazarsfeld's first book on radio resulted from the Rockefeller Foundation's demand for product before it would extend the funding of the office beyond the initially agreed-upon two years. Building on a 1939 issue of the *Journal of Applied Psychology* that Lazarsfeld had edited to summarize two years of the office's efforts, the result was *Radio and the Printed Page* (1940), an important early comparison of the varied impacts of the newspaper and radio.

This was followed by what was intended to be a research annual, but which in fact resulted in three volumes, all co-edited by Lazarsfeld and Stanton. *Radio Research 1941* included studies of foreign-language broadcasts over local stations (most such broadcasts would disappear when the United States entered the war), the popular music industry, Theodor Adorno's initial study of classical music on radio, the use of radio and the press by young people, and the role of radio for the farmer. The second volume, *Radio Research 1942-1943*, began with Herta Herzog's important study of radio serials, discussed radio during wartime, and offered a number of studies of radio in operation and the radio audience. *Mass Communication Research 1948-49* demonstrated in its title the broader concerns of the research team; it was the final volume to appear.

One important research device came out of the office projects, based on previous work done by both Lazarsfeld and Stanton. Beginning in 1937, the two men and their assistants developed the "program analyzer" (or "little Annie," as it was soon called), which measured audience likes and dislikes of what they were hearing:

The Program Analyzer was a wooden box, two feet long, one foot wide, and one foot high, that contained a constant-speed electric meter driving a six-inch wide roll of white recording paper, which moved at the rate of one-fifth of an inch per second. . . . Mounted just above the roll of paper were ten ink pens, each connected to an electromagnet attached to a six-foot-long cord with an off-on switch at the other end. The Program Analyzer was placed on a table, with up to ten respondents sitting around the table, each with an off-on switch marked green for "like" and red for "dislike." When the dislike

(on) switch was pressed, it lifted the corresponding pen slightly off the recording paper. It thus fixed a point in time when a respondent changed his or her reaction to the radio message (Rogers, 1994).

The device and variations of it were used for years afterwards. A later "big Annie" could accommodate up to 50 respondents and was, in modified form, used to test new television programs and commercials. CBS eliminated its "Annie"-based research office in 1986.

Later Years

During and after the war, Lazarsfeld undertook research for several government agencies, including the military and the Department of State, becoming interested in the role and impact of propaganda, among other subjects. He worked closely with his Columbia University sociology colleague Robert K. Merton for more than three decades, and the two collaborated on a variety of studies over that time.

Although it had moved beyond its initial radio focus by the late 1940s, Columbia's Bureau of Applied Social Research would thrive in the 1950s and 1960s (it lasted until 1977), undertaking a variety of both academic and corporate-sponsored research. The bureau set a model of combining network and advertiser financial support with academic research.

The vast majority of its funding was external—Columbia University merely provided space (and in later years a small annual stipend). The Bureau produced dozens of books and hundreds of research articles and book chapters. Two, one co-authored by Lazarsfeld and the other by a former student, became landmark media studies: Elihu Katz and Lazarsfeld's *Personal Influence* (1955) and Joseph Klapper's *Effects of Mass Communication* (1960). Their findings of minimal media impact had begun with *The People's Choice* (1944), a Lazarsfeld co-authored study of 1940 Ohio voting behavior suggesting that media played a small role in voting decisions.

But Lazarsfeld, who stepped down as bureau director (becoming associate director) on taking the chairmanship of the sociology department at Columbia in 1949, began to lose interest in mass communications research in the 1950s. He became deeply involved in debates within the field of sociology as to what the field was about and the degree to which it should accept industry support for applied research. He became the president of the American Sociological Association in 1960, but only after two prior attempts at the office. He took an endowed chair at Columbia in 1962, retiring seven years later. The last years of his life saw him commuting from New York to teach at the University of Pittsburgh.

As Rogers (1994) makes clear, Lazarsfeld was "an academic entrepreneur spanning the boundary between the university's scholarly focus on theory and research versus the

applied interests of government and private industry. . . . more than any other individual, Paul F. Lazarsfeld directed communication research toward the study of effects.”

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Audience; Audience Research Methods; Education About Radio; Office of Radio Research; Stanton, Frank

Paul F. Lazarsfeld. Born in Vienna, Austria, 13 February 1901. Attended University of Vienna, Ph.D. in applied mathematics, 1925; taught math and physics in Vienna high school; instructor, University of Vienna; established Research Center for Economic Psychology, 1925; acting director, University of Newark Research Center, 1936; director, Office of Radio Research, Princeton University, 1937–40; office moved to Columbia University, 1939, renamed Bureau of Applied Social Research, 1944; served as director until 1950; associate professor of sociology, 1941; became U.S. citizen during World War II and served as consultant to Office of War Information, War Production Board, and War Department; chair of department of sociology, Columbia University, 1948; president, American Sociological Association, 1960; Quetelet Professor of Social Science, Columbia University, 1962; retired from Columbia University, 1969; distinguished professor, University of Pittsburgh, 1970. Died in New York City, 30 August 1976.

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Lesbian Radio. See Gay and Lesbian Radio

Let's Pretend

Children's Program

The theme song sounded each Saturday morning to the delight of children listening to this Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) program:

Hello, hello,
Come on let's go!
It's time for *Let's Pretend*.
The gang's all here and standing near
Is Uncle Bill, your friend.
The story is so exciting from the start right to the end.
So everyone, come join the fun.
Come on and let's pretend!

Let's Pretend was so popular that it became the prototype of children's programming, and its creator, Nila Mack, became the director of children's programming for the CBS network.

Let's Pretend was a half-hour children's radio program heard on CBS during the late-Saturday-morning time slot. Its forerunner was *The Adventures of Helen and Mary*, which began on 7 September 1929 and ran until 17 March 1934, with writer Yolanda Langworthy and director Nila Mack.

One week after the end of *Helen and Mary*, *Let's Pretend* began. Using her background as a Broadway actress and vaudevillian, Nila Mack wrote and directed this children's program for most of its 20-year run. Drawing on her own childhood memories, Mack based the program on variations of familiar children's tales from the Grimm brothers, *The Arabian Nights*, Andrew Lang, and Hans Christian Andersen. She freely adapted each story to emphasize human virtues. For example, her annual Christmas show, *House of the World*, promoted the themes of brotherhood and tolerance.

Mack felt that children should tell the stories and be the voices of the characters. She established an ensemble of versatile juvenile talent with members who could easily shift from being a young princess one week to an aging witch the next. She chose her cast from auditions open to any child interested in being considered. She tested each one for the ability to be versatile and to ad lib easily—especially to cover up any production mishaps that might occur during the actual broadcast.

Many of these young performers went on to stage and screen careers. For example, Nancy Kelly scored a major hit on Broadway and in film as the mother in *The Bad Seed*, and Dick Van Patten went on to television fame in *I Remember Mama* and *Eight Is Enough*.

Salaries began at \$3.50 per show—less than half the going rate for many long-running shows. However, being on the program was considered an honor and a serious undertaking.

Arthur Anderson, an 18-year veteran of the show, wrote of this theatrical experience in glowing terms. Anderson's book, *Let's Pretend: A History of Radio's Best Loved Children's Show by a Longtime Cast Member* details the cast members' view that this was an opportunity to learn a craft while actually doing a radio program live over the airways. Other actors, such as Arnold Stang and Jimmy Lydon, have recounted the rigors of maintaining Mack's standard of excellence.

Musical conductor Maurice Brown's theme became one of the hallmarks of juvenile radio—especially in 1943, when he used the newly allowed sole program sponsor as the subject for the violin-backed lyrics:

Cream of Wheat is so good to eat.
Yes, we have it every day.
We sing this song; it will make us strong.
And it makes us shout HOORAY.
It's good for growing babies.
And grown-ups too to eat.
For all the family's breakfast,
You can't beat Cream of Wheat!

Having a sponsored children's program was a departure from the norm for CBS. The broadcast company felt that it was not prestigious to permit commercials to air on *Let's Pretend*. However, economic considerations must have won out, because Cream of Wheat became the long-time sponsor in the 1940s.

In addition to the musical commercial program introduction, the show also added an "Uncle Bill" played by Bill Adams, who greeted children with his "Hellooo, Pretenders!" The children in the studio audience would respond, "Hellooo, Uncle Bill." Then Bill would call out, "How do we travel to *Let's Pretend*?" Some child would suggest a mode of transportation—such as a magic carpet.

Imaginative sound effects were the mainstay for building effective theater of the mind for all the children tuned in each Saturday. In her article "Writing for Children," published in *Off Mike*, Mack paid tribute to sound department head Walter Pierson:

Fortunately for me, he is an imaginative person, for when I spoke of needing the effect of "moon beams shimmering," a "flying trunk," a "magic carpet," he didn't blink an eye. . . . I even had a flying trunk (on the secondhand side) that flew and zoomed, when it finally landed and bumped its way to a stop, it made the audience laugh.



Let's Pretend
 Courtesy CBS Photo Archive

After Mack died of a heart attack on 20 January 1953, Jean Hight replaced her as director. Johanna Johnston became the show's writer. The last broadcast of *Let's Pretend* was on 23 October 1954.

Mack was lauded as "the fairy godmother of radio." As a tribute to her genius during the final two years of the show, the Nila Mack Award was bestowed on the actors who gave the best performances.

MARY KAY SWITZER

See also Children's Programs

Cast

Host	"Uncle" Bill Adams
Helen	Estelle Levy (Gwen Davies)
Mary	Patricia Ryan

Announcers	George Bryan, Jackson Wheeler, Warren Sweeney
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Producers/Creators/Directors

Yolanda Langworthy, Nila Mack, Jean Hight

Programming History

CBS March 1934–October 1954

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Lewis, William B. 1904–1975

U.S. Network Executive

There were few more influential radio executives in the late 1930s than William Bennett Lewis. With no producing experience, Lewis seemed innately to recognize and foster talent and encourage new ideas. Though not a particularly creative radio figure himself, Lewis made it possible for the likes of Norman Corwin and Orson Welles to establish landmarks in radio history. Lewis—with William S. Paley's support—put the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) on the map as the locus for original, innovative programming such as *The Mercury Theater* and *Words without Music*.

After passage of the Communications Act of 1934, William Paley promised the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) that CBS would use its sustaining time for more than simply airing cheap lectures or concerts. By accident he found William B. Lewis, who had little direct radio experience, but who impressed Paley at his interview. Lewis knew radio from his experience at the J. Walter Thompson advertising agency and in 1935 signed up with CBS. Within a year Paley elevated Lewis to head all CBS radio programming.

Lewis proved to be the right man for the job. Irving Reis, a CBS studio engineer, suggested an experimental radio series with the title *Columbia Workshop*. Although previous executives had rebuffed Reis, in July 1936 Lewis took up his suggestion. In time many prominent actors, producers, directors, and writers, ranging from Archibald MacLeish to William Saroyan, Orson Welles, and Norman Corwin came to the workshop.

As such, Lewis was the corporate supporter behind such works as MacLeish's *The Fall of the City*, a fascist allegory about inhabitants of a nameless city waiting for the arrival of their conqueror. The program was broadcast 4 March 1937, not from the CBS studio, but from the Seventh Regimental Armory in New York City with a vast crowd made up of students and faculty from the City College of New York. The leads included Burgess Meredith and, as the "Radio Announcer," Orson Welles in one of his first credited roles. Scheduled for Sunday at 7 P.M. against Jack Benny's highly popular program, *The Fall of the City* did not achieve high ratings, but it did demonstrate what radio could do with a network's financial muscle. *The Fall of the City* was later printed in an edition wherein MacLeish called on poets to recognize radio as a legitimate means of expression.

Almost immediately after *The Fall of the City* was broadcast, a stream of verse plays started arriving in Lewis' office as poets of the stature of W. H. Auden, Stephen Vincent Benet, Maxwell Anderson, and Edna St. Vincent Millay gave radio a shot. According to Eric Barnouw, Lewis personally obtained huge satisfaction from this recognition, and Paley, his boss,

glowed in the fame that rival National Broadcasting Company (NBC) was *not* achieving. Emboldened by the prestige of literary programming, in the summer of 1937 Lewis announced an unprecedented Shakespeare series for CBS radio, to be directed by Brewster Morgan, starring the likes of Burgess Meredith as Hamlet, Walter Huston as Henry IV, and Brian Aherne as Henry V.

Early in 1938 Lewis announced the *Mercury Theater of the Air*, under the creative directorship of Orson Welles and John Houseman, to run on Sunday nights on CBS at 8 P.M. opposite another NBC mega-hit, the comedy of Edgar Bergen and Charlie McCarthy. *The Mercury Theater of the Air* started in the summer of 1938, with Welles producing, directing, and starring in many of the productions. On Sunday evening, 30 October 1938, *The Mercury Theater* presented, as a Halloween stunt, Howard Koch's adaptation of H.G. Wells' "The War of the Worlds," and caused a panic. But the series also performed a six-episode dramatization of Victor Hugo's "Les Misérables," and many other prestigious and experimental dramas.

Later in 1938 Lewis authorized Norman Corwin's *Words without Music* for Sunday afternoons—typically a dead network radio airtime. This half hour was for poetry production and experimentation that was unlike anything radio had tried before. Corwin had been trying to enter radio for many years, and it was Lewis who gave him his network break. Corwin is now part of radio's legacy.

World War II ended this period of network-sponsored creativity, but not before Lewis sent a young Edward R. Murrow to London where Murrow established radio's vital importance in war reporting. At about this time, Archibald MacLeish—at the request of President Franklin D. Roosevelt—created a new government agency, the Office of Facts and Figures, to help the public understand the government's war activities. MacLeish named Lewis as head of its radio activities. Lewis in turn recruited Norman Corwin for his first radio project, celebrating the 150th anniversary of the adoption of the Bill of Rights. MacLeish, with FDR's enthusiastic backing, sought to make this anniversary a symbol for the U.S. way of life, and the 15 December 1941 production starred Orson Welles, Lionel Barrymore, Walter Brennen, Walter Huston, Marjorie Main, Edward G. Robinson, Rudy Valle, and Jimmy Stewart.

Lewis would go on to produce *This Is War*, with scripts by Maxwell Anderson, Stephen Vincent Benet, Philip Wylie, and Norman Corwin. All sides praised this morale boosting. In July 1942 the Lewis unit became the radio bureau of the Office of War Information domestic branch and the principal voice of the government on radio during World War II.

After the war, Lewis did not return to CBS, but joined the Kenyon & Eckhardt advertising agency. There he produced more radio, and later TV, programs. His most famous effort—for television—was undoubtedly the “Ford Fiftieth Anniversary Show,” starring Ethel Merman and Mary Martin, in 1953.

DOUGLAS GOMERY

See also Columbia Broadcasting System; Corwin, Norman; Murrow, Edward R.; Paley, William S.

William B. Lewis. Born in Lakewood, Ohio, 12 August 1904. Attended the University of Missouri, 1922–24. Started as an advertising apprentice, J. Walter Thompson Company, 1924; worked for various agencies as an advertising copy writer, 1925–35; hired by CBS as director of programs, 1936–37; vice-president for programming, CBS, 1937–41; moved to Washington, D.C. as coordinator of government radio, Office of Facts and Figures, 1941; chief, Domestic Radio Bureau, Office of War Information, 1942–43; assistant director, Domestic Radio Bureau, Office of War Information, 1943; vice

president, Kenyon & Eckhardt Inc., 1944–51; president, Kenyon & Eckhardt Inc., 1951–60; chairman of the board of directors, American Cancer Society. Died in Sarasota, Florida, 24 February 1975.

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Liberty Broadcasting System

The Liberty Broadcasting System (LBS) was created by broadcaster Gordon McLendon in 1948. Headquartered in Dallas, the network grew quickly from a state, to a regional, and finally to a full-fledged national network within three years. By then, the 458-affiliate LBS was the second-biggest radio network in America.

LBS's popularity among station affiliates and listeners centered on its heavy schedule of sports programming. LBS flagship station KLIF in Dallas had become well known for its broadcasts of major-league baseball games, most of which were expertly re-created in the KLIF studios by Gordon McLendon. Radio station owners in nearby communities reached by KLIF's signal found many of their listeners attracted to McLendon's baseball games. The owners were soon inquiring about carrying the games, and before long enough of them had signed on as KLIF affiliates for McLendon to decide to formally launch LBS.

The McLendon success with baseball game re-creations resulted from a peculiar scarcity of “live” game coverage on the established radio networks. Major-league teams during the 1930s and 1940s held tight reins over broadcast rights to their baseball games. Radio stations that broadcast these games

reached fans within a well-defined and limited coverage area. And because most major-league teams of the period were located in the Northeast and Midwest, baseball fans outside these areas had only the World Series broadcasts to satisfy their interest in major-league games. LBS stepped in to fill the void. An audience ranging in size between 60 and 90 million listeners proved that the network fulfilled a need that major-league club owners had either failed to recognize or ignored.

Although Gordon McLendon's re-created baseball games were popular, he decided in 1949 to challenge the major-league baseball establishment's prohibition of LBS live coverage from the ballparks. A complaint filed with the U.S. Justice Department, suggesting that major-league team owners were violating antitrust laws, finally opened the door for LBS to begin live game coverage. During the 1950 season alone, McLendon signed contracts to carry a minimum of 210 major-league baseball games. The games, numbering about eight per week, were split between American League and National League teams. Besides its baseball games, LBS carried a full slate of weekend college and professional football games during the fall. Noted sportscaster Lindsey Nelson was hired to announce many of these games.

McLendon expanded LBS programming beyond baseball in 1950. Expansion came when McLendon saw his network as now fully in competition with the older, more established National Broadcasting Company (NBC), Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), American Broadcasting Companies (ABC), and Mutual networks. The traditional program fare that had made these networks popular was copied by LBS with varying degrees of success. Thus, the LBS daily broadcast hours were lengthened and filled with variety shows, musical shows, quiz shows, and soap operas. A number of these were produced in LBS studio facilities in Dallas, and a few were produced and aired from remote facilities in New York and Hollywood. An LBS repertory company supplied the talent for the soap operas; an in-house orchestra supplied live music; and a team of reporters located in Washington, D.C., supplied six daily newscasts for the fledgling network.

The early success enjoyed by LBS was described as phenomenal, especially given the network's youth and the inexperience of Gordon McLendon in running a radio network. Equally phenomenal was the network's success in competing with television's popularity at a time when NBC, CBS, and ABC were de-emphasizing their roles in network radio. What set LBS apart for the moment was McLendon's decision to concentrate his network's most popular programming during daytime hours, which had not yet been heavily infiltrated by television.

Any optimism for the network's future, however, disintegrated in 1951 when the major LBS advertiser, Falstaff Brewing Company, moved its advertising from LBS to Mutual. Loss of Falstaff's income revealed how few national advertisers—and the revenue that such advertisers provided—LBS had attracted. Too much effort had been placed in developing and programming the network, and too little effort had gone toward creating an effective and productive commercial sales apparatus.

In need of an immediate source of cash to keep LBS afloat, McLendon turned to Houston oilman and multimillionaire Hugh Roy Cullen. Cullen agreed to invest \$400,000 in LBS and to loan the network an additional \$600,000. In return, Cullen received 50 percent ownership of the network. Critics later charged that strings attached to the deal meant that Cullen would have a radio network platform by which to broadcast his ultraconservative political views. Little evidence exists to suggest that Cullen took such advantage of his LBS co-ownership.

The political issue became moot in 1952, when major-league baseball owners decided that broadcasters henceforth would have to negotiate coverage rights with individual baseball clubs rather than collectively with the National and American Leagues. The costs of coverage rights had escalated significantly over the previous year; now they were likely to rise to even greater heights. Added to Gordon McLendon's financial predicament at this point was the refusal of several major-league teams to negotiate any LBS coverage rights whatsoever. A much-reduced baseball schedule meant that LBS affiliates began departing the network. McLendon reacted by filing a \$12 million antitrust suit against major-league baseball. The suit never went to trial, however. In January 1955 major-league owners offered Gordon McLendon \$200,000 to settle the suit. McLendon had little choice but to accept, since LBS was by then in bankruptcy.

The end for LBS came quickly. Gordon McLendon announced to LBS affiliates on 6 May 1952 that LBS programming would be cut immediately from 16 hours to 8 hours daily. One week later, on 15 May, McLendon announced to affiliates that LBS was suspending operation at 10:45 P.M. on that date. The network filed for bankruptcy two weeks later.

Gordon McLendon continued in radio with great success, but he never again ventured into network broadcasting. McLendon gained much fame in later years as a radio program innovator, but he always regarded his days as an LBS play-by-play baseball announcer as the most memorable of his career.

RONALD GARAY

See also McLendon, Gordon; Recreations; Sports on Radio; Sportscasters

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Licensing

Authorizing U.S. Stations to Broadcast

Because they must use frequencies on the electromagnetic spectrum, and to avoid as much interference as possible, no transmitter (broadcasting or otherwise) may operate without a federal license. In the United States, such licenses have been required since 1912, although many of the details of both procedure and substance have changed since then. Since 1934, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) has been the source of federal licenses for all who would broadcast.

Origins

The Radio Act of 1912 vested the Secretary of Commerce and Labor with the authority to license radio transmitters in the United States. Administration of this provision before World War I presented no serious problems, as there was far more spectrum available than people wanting to use it. After the war, however, the demand for frequencies increased dramatically, especially after the 1920 inception of broadcasting. By 1925 there were many more would-be broadcasters than available frequencies, and Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover attempted to accommodate all applicants by limiting operating power levels and permissible hours of operation. In 1926 the courts ruled that Hoover had no power to place such conditions on operations, and the situation deteriorated into chaos. In response, Congress passed the Radio Act of 1927, giving the newly created Federal Radio Commission the power to license and regulate radio broadcasting. Those powers were transferred in 1934 to the FCC.

The Communications Act of 1934, as amended, requires the FCC to license radio broadcasters in the public interest, convenience, and necessity. Originally, broadcast licenses lasted no longer than three years, but various changes in the act lengthened the license period, until with the 1996 amendments all broadcast licenses were extended to run for eight years. During the license term, the licensee has exclusive use of a particular frequency in a specific location. However, licensees do not “own” the frequencies they use; they are considered trustees of the spectrum, which is owned by the public. As public trustees, licensees must operate their stations to serve the public’s interest.

Qualifications

In order to receive a broadcast license, applicants must be legally, technically, and financially qualified, as specified in the Communications Act and in FCC rules. To be legally qualified, applicants must be citizens of the United States or corporations

with no more than 20 percent foreign ownership. Parent companies of corporate licensees must have no more than 25 percent foreign ownership. Applicants must not be in violation of FCC media ownership rules (that is, they cannot already own the maximum number of radio stations in a market) and must meet certain “character” guidelines. Character qualifications relate to certain kinds of criminal convictions and antitrust violations. Lying to the commission is considered a serious character defect—one that almost certainly would disqualify an applicant.

Applicants demonstrate financial qualifications in many ways. If the applicant is applying for a new station, financial qualification is shown by certifying that the applicant has enough money to build the station and operate it for three months without significant advertising revenues. To be technically qualified, applicants must demonstrate the technical proficiency to build and operate the station and to comply with the commission’s technical regulations. In most situations, applicants hire engineering consultants to meet their technical needs.

Getting on the Air

If an applicant is seeking a license for a new radio station, the applicant must first find an unused frequency that can be used in or near the community to be served. For AM stations, finding a frequency requires a complex engineering study to determine which frequency could be used in the proposed service area without causing harmful interference to other stations. For FM, the process of finding a usable frequency is often easier, because FM channels are allotted (positioned before licensing) across the country based on specified mileage separation requirements rather than signal interference contours.

Once a frequency has been located, the applicant files an application for a construction permit (CP) with the commission. If the applicant meets the basic qualifications for licensing and the application is not otherwise contested, the commission will grant the CP application. Once the CP is granted, a permittee typically has one year to build a station and begin technical and program testing. Assuming the testing is successful and no other problems arise, the permittee applies for the actual broadcast license, which is then routinely granted by the commission.

Complications in licensing typically arise when more than one party applies for the same frequency in the same market. These are known as mutually exclusive applications, because

only one license can be granted for use of the frequency. Prior to 1994, when confronted with mutually exclusive radio applications, the FCC decided which applicant would best serve the public interest (and thereby be awarded the license) through an often lengthy and costly “comparative hearing.” These trial-like hearings, presided over by a special FCC employee known as an administrative law judge (ALJ), involved the presentation of evidence, witnesses, and cross-examination. After the hearing, the ALJ would consider all the evidence and pick a winner based on the commission’s comparative criteria. Several levels of appeal within the commission were then available to the losing applicants.

The commission’s comparative criteria were twofold: diversification of media ownership and best practicable service to the public. The diversification of ownership criterion favored applicants with little or no existing media ownership: the commission at that time favored new owners in an attempt to diversify media ownership. The second criterion, best practicable service to the public, considered issues such as broadcast experience, efficient use of the frequency, and the extent to which the owners would also be integrated into the management of the station. In 1994 the District of Columbia Court of Appeals struck down the FCC’s comparative licensing criteria, finding no nexus between the criteria and applicant qualifications. The FCC now settles mutually exclusive application situations through lotteries and spectrum auctions.

Most radio station owners today do not receive their licenses by applying for a new frequency but instead purchase the licenses from other licensees. License transfers must also be approved by the commission in order for the FCC to determine whether the transferee meets the basic qualifications of a radio licensee.

Renewals

The most common licensing situation in the United States today involves the renewal of an existing license. Upon the expiration of a radio license, the licensee must apply to the commission for a renewal. At that time, FCC personnel review the application to determine whether the licensee has performed in the public interest during the previous license term. If the licensee has a good record and no one objects, the renewal application is routinely granted. The vast majority of licenses are renewed in this way—more than a thousand of them each year.

Non-renewal of a license, though rare, might be based on any number of factors. The commission might not renew a license if it finds that the licensee has engaged in willful or repeated violations of the act or the commission’s rules, has changed its ownership without informing the commission, or has in some way lied to the commission. If the violations are not severe enough to warrant non-renewal, the commission

has the power to issue a short-term renewal or to order special reporting requirements during the license term.

Until 1996, any time a station’s license came up for renewal other applicants could also apply for the frequency. This led to what the commission referred to as a “comparative renewal,” in which the past performance of the incumbent licensee was compared to the paper promises of the challenging applicant. As with other mutually exclusive licensing situations, comparative renewal cases were decided in a trial-like hearing. In 1996 Congress amended the Communications Act to disallow competing applications at renewal time. According to the revised law, existing broadcasters are judged as to their fitness to continue as licensees. If they continue to be qualified, their licenses are renewed. New applications for the frequency are allowed only when the incumbent licensee is judged unfit and the license renewal is denied.

In all licensing situations, interested parties, including members of the public who live in a station’s listening area, have the opportunity to challenge the grant of a license by filing a “petition to deny” the application. If the petition alleges a “substantial and material question of fact,” that is, an allegation so serious that if true it would call into question the basic qualifications of the applicant, the commission must hold a hearing on the application.

Section 312 of the Communications Act lists the actions that would justify revocation of a license during the license term. Such actions include willful and repeated violations of the Act, falsifying information, violation of relevant provisions in the U.S. criminal code (e.g., broadcasting lottery information or obscene material), and failure to provide reasonable access to airtime to candidates for federal political office.

MICHAEL A. MCGREGOR

See also Communications Act of 1934; Federal Communications Commission; Federal Radio Commission; Frequency Allocation; Hoover, Herbert; Localism in Radio; Public Interest, Convenience or Necessity; Telecommunications Act of 1996; Wireless Acts of 1910 and 1912/Radio Acts of 1912 and 1927

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Lights Out

Horror Series

The first radio horror serial to attract a large following was the National Broadcasting Company's (NBC) *Lights Out*, a Chicago-produced serial that began in 1934 and was broadcast nationwide by the spring of 1935. The brainchild of first Wyllis Cooper and then Arch Oboler, *Lights Out* pioneered many of the horror sound effects and stream-of-consciousness storytelling techniques that would be widely imitated by later programs. Its graphic content was new to radio, and the program's success proved to the industry that listeners' imaginations could be effectively tapped through the skillful combination of sound effects and narrative suggestion. As radio program historian John Dunning has commented, "Never before had such sounds been heard on the air. Heads rolled, bones were crushed, people fell from great heights and splattered wetly on the pavement. There were garrottings, chokings, heads split by cleavers, and, to a critic at *Radio Guide*, 'the most monstrous sound of all sounds, human flesh being eaten'" (Dunning, 1998). Audiences were indeed horrified, some even calling the police. But they were also riveted to their radios.

Lights Out aired late at night throughout its 1930s run. The opening of the show dared the audience to tune in: 12 chimes were followed by a voice announcing, "This is the witching hour! . . . it is the hour when dogs howl and evil is let loose on the sleeping world. Want to hear about it? Then turn out your lights!" The show's original creator/producer was Wyllis Cooper, a staffer for Chicago's NBC studios. Although his work on the show has been largely overshadowed by that of his successor Arch Oboler, Cooper established *Lights Out*'s basic tone and structure. He combined fantasy and the supernatural with stream-of-consciousness narration to help involve the audience in the reality of its horrors. In particular, Cooper pushed the envelope on gruesome special effects, creating a sort of "can you top this" tradition that was continued by Arch Oboler when he took over the show in 1936 (Cooper moved to Hollywood for a screenwriting career). Real bones

(spareribs) were broken on the show to simulate limbs snapping, cabbages were cut in half by meat cleavers to convey heads being bashed in, and wet noodles were crushed with a bathroom plunger to create the sound of human flesh being eaten. One of the program's most famous effects was that of a person being turned inside out, which was accomplished by stripping off a wet rubber glove while crushing a berry basket to simulate broken bones.

Oboler became one of the most famous of radio's auteurs, and his years on *Lights Out* helped establish his reputation as one of the most prolific and imaginative radio writers. Between May 1936 and July 1938, he penned more than 100 *Lights Out* scripts. Oboler continued the *Lights Out* tradition of making the supernatural and science fiction believably scary for the listener, and he has often been compared to Rod Serling and Ray Bradbury in this regard. "I didn't write about little green men," he told media critic Leonard Maltin, "monsters with dripping talons from the special effects department . . . I wrote about the terrors and monsters within each of us" (Maltin, 1997). Oboler's first play, "Burial Services," hit too close to home for many listeners. He told the story of a paralyzed girl being buried alive, and NBC received thousands of horrified letters. Although he never again touched so personal a nerve, Oboler's stream-of-consciousness style, sharp dialogue, and apt metaphors helped pull listeners in by giving his stories a psychological reality. In "Cat Wife," one of Oboler's most famous plays for *Lights Out*, Boris Karloff's duplicitous wife is transformed into an actual human-sized feline, reflecting both her monstrousness to him and his inability to cope with her.

Oboler's plays often contained messages or morals that critiqued greed or man's inhumanity to man. "The Ugliest Man in the World," for example, is not ugly to the woman who loves him. "State Executioner" suggests the horrors of capital punishment and the dangers of greed by having a state executioner execute a man he knows is innocent because he wants the pay-

ment; the horror multiplies when he finds out the man was his own son. "The Word" tells of a couple who descend from the Empire State Building to discover that everyone else in the world has disappeared; they conclude that God "got tired of the way [people] were doing things and destroyed them." This couple survived, to make Oboler's point that "plain ordinary people" could make the world a new and better place. Although occasionally heavy-handed, Oboler never hesitated to tackle weighty subjects within the framework of a mass horror genre, winning a new respect for the form.

As the 1930s progressed and the threat of war became clearer, Oboler left *Lights Out* and turned his writing skills to patriotic material. He revived the program for the 1942–43 season, broadcasting from New York over NBC. Oboler hosted the program himself, and its famous beginning became the one that has been most associated with the show since. To the chimes of a gong, Oboler spoke the words "It . . . is . . . later . . . than . . . you . . . think." As John Dunning (1998) has noted, the earlier hour of this series (all the broadcasts were at 8:00 P.M.), made it more accessible to people, and this became the best-remembered year of the series. Scripts were largely recycled from Oboler's previous shows, however, because he was busy doing war work. Its successful 1940s run also owes much to the sudden popularity and growth of the thriller/horror/suspense genre during the war period; *Lights Out* was the granddaddy—and model—of many of the more than 40 such programs that took to the airwaves during that time, most famously *Inner Sanctum* and *Suspense*.

The reputation and influence of the program remained strong long after television supplanted radio. This is due in part to Oboler's status as a celebrated auteur (most of Oboler's shows, unlike Cooper's, are available on tape). But *Lights Out* also stands as pivotal to radio history because it demonstrated the way in which radio programs could push listeners' imaginations to horrifying limits beyond those of reasoned vision. Radio, as horror author (and Oboler admirer) Stephen King has noted, has the ability to "unlock the door of evil without letting the monster out" (quoted in Nachman, 1998). *Lights Out* was the first program to demonstrate and exploit this aspect of radio, to the delight of its terror-stricken fans.

ALLISON MCCRACKEN

See also Horror Programs; Oboler, Arch; Sound Effects

Host

Arch Oboler

Narrator

Boris Aplon (1946)

Actors

Boris Karloff, Harold Peary, Betty Winkler, Mercedes McCambridge, Willard Waterman, Arthur Peterson, Betty Caine, Ed Carey, Sidney Ellstrom, Murray Forbes, Robert Griffin, Robert Guilbert, Rupert LaBelle, Philip Lord, Raymond Edward Johnson, and others

Writers/Producers/Directors

Wyllis Cooper, Arch Oboler, Albert Crews, and Bill Lawrence

Programming History

WENR, Chicago	January 1934–April 1935
NBC	April 1935–August 1946
CBS	October 1942–September 1943
ABC	July 1947–August 1947

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Limbaugh, Rush 1951–

U.S. Talk Show Host

Media critic Howard Kurtz says that it is not much of an exaggeration to say that Rush Limbaugh single-handedly revived AM radio beginning in the mid-1980s and led the stampede of conservative talk show hosts that followed. By the beginning of the 1990s, Limbaugh was heard on more than 650 stations, reaching an estimated 20 million people each week. He continued to achieve similar numbers in the early 21st century. Kurtz claims that Limbaugh is more influential than other talk show hosts and commentators, even TV network giants Dan Rather, Tom Brokaw, and Peter Jennings, because he defined talk radio in a way that no one ever had before.

In addition to developing a new public forum, Limbaugh's influence has been felt in a number of other areas. His radio programs are the foundation of a multimillion-dollar empire that includes everything from conservative books to T-shirts to a monthly newsletter. In a tradition similar to that in the era of *Amos 'n' Andy*, dozens of restaurants around the country reserve "Rush Rooms" for his followers (who call themselves "dittoheads") to eat and listen to his three-hour weekday broadcasts.

In 1994 Limbaugh was credited with being the most important grassroots voice for conservative Republicans, who took control of the House of Representatives after decades of Democratic control. A *National Review* magazine cover story named Limbaugh "the leader of the opposition." His drumbeat criticism of the Clinton White House and of Hillary Rodham Clinton finally prompted the president to attack talk radio in general and Limbaugh in particular (to Limbaugh's delight). The increase in one-sided attacks over the airwaves also triggered a movement to restore the Fairness Doctrine killed by the FCC in 1987. *The Wall Street Journal* described the movement as the "Hush Rush Bill."

Tom Lewis, author of *Empire of the Air: The Men Who Made Radio* (1991), argues that Limbaugh's success speaks more to the power of radio and Limbaugh's ability to use the medium in which he has worked since he was a teen. "Better than most liberals or conservatives," says Lewis, Limbaugh is "a consummate showman who understands radio and sound, especially their ability to create a picture in the minds of listeners and their potential to capture imaginations."

To bring this about, Limbaugh borrows from the word-making skills of gossip columnist and 1930s broadcaster Walter Winchell, who coined words that not only distorted reality but evoked a wild form of humor. Limbaugh's terms, such as "feminazis" (to describe those in the women's movement) and "environmental wackos," are typical of his confron-

tational but engaging manner, which attracts primarily older white males. But Limbaugh also uses satire, thumping, popular recordings, and a variety of sound effects. When he talks about abortion, for example, the sound of a vacuum cleaner is heard in the background. He offers trading cards and rock songs mocking political figures.

Lewis says that Limbaugh draws from the tradition of radio humorists such as Jack Benny, Fred Allen, and even the Great Gildersleeve. "A man, a legend, a way of life," Limbaugh repeats over his Excellence in Broadcasting (EIB) radio network as well as in books, pamphlets, and newsletters. "I am Rush Limbaugh from the Limbaugh Institute for Advanced Conservative Studies. Yes, my friends, the Doctor of Democracy is on the air." According to Limbaugh, the reason for his popularity is that he's "the epitome of morality and virtue . . . with talent on loan from God."

Limbaugh's format includes lengthy monologues that sometimes meander and consist of incomplete sentences and muddled paragraphs. Along with other conservative talk show hosts, he helps to create an almost conspiratorial approach against big government and liberals in politics and the media; at the same time he celebrates the common sense of other Americans—particularly himself. Although he does not usually have guests on his program, Limbaugh is generally polite to his callers. Larry King, a talk show host who depends on guests, says Limbaugh comes to his broadcast with an agenda. "Agenda broadcasters will do anything. They'll lie. They'll fabricate, to keep the agenda going," King says.

A self-described nerd, Limbaugh got his start in broadcasting in 1967 as a disc jockey for the radio station partially owned by his father in Cape Girardeau, Missouri, where he was born and raised. After dropping out of Southeastern Missouri State University, he worked for and was fired from radio stations in McKeesport (Pennsylvania), Pittsburgh, and Kansas City, where he was also a publicist for the Kansas City Royals and announcer for its station. Because of his controversial nature, Limbaugh was also dismissed from the Kansas City station. He went to Sacramento, California, in the fall of 1984, where he replaced Morton Downey, who had been fired for telling an ethnic joke.

In California, Limbaugh found his radio audience by attacking communism, feminism, and environmentalists, developing a style that he admits is more entertainment than news or even debate. He has repeatedly said that his principal job is not so much to champion causes and proselytize but to hold an audience. After nearly tripling his California audience in four years, in July 1988 he moved to New York City's



Rush Limbaugh

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WABC, where his program was syndicated and his loyal following multiplied and mobilized. A nationally syndicated one-half hour television program begun in 1992 was not as successful as his radio program and was dropped.

In his programs and books, Limbaugh describes and mocks various liberal movements and the effects of their agendas on society. "I believe that in order to combat the misinformation that is so prevalent on our political landscape today we have to remain informed and alert to the things that are occurring," he writes in *The Way Things Ought To Be* (1992). "The best way to do that is to read, listen to, or watch me."

An ardent admirer of Ronald Reagan and supporter of George Bush and Robert Dole, Limbaugh provided a great service for the Clinton administration when he endorsed the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and attacked Ross Perot's anti-NAFTA crusade. However, the *New York*

Times credits Limbaugh not only with the NAFTA victory but with helping sweep Republicans to Congressional victory in 1996 and with destroying the crime and lobbying bills of President Clinton. In his own words, he continues to serve as "a man, a legend, a way of life" and the "Doctor of Democracy."

ALF PRATTE

See also Commentators; Controversial Issues; Fairness Doctrine; Talk Radio

Rush Limbaugh. Born Rush Hudson Limbaugh III in Cape Girardeau, Missouri, 12 January 1951. Attended Southeast Missouri University but did not graduate; worked for radio station WIXZ, McKeesport, Pennsylvania, KQV in Pittsburgh, and KUDL, KFIX, and KMBZ, all in Kansas City, where he was also a publicist and announcer for the Kansas City Royals; hired by KFBK, Sacramento, California, 1984; signed a two-year contract with EMF Media Management, New York City, 1988; nationally-syndicated talk radio show broadcast to more than 600 stations, 2003.

Radio Series

1988–present *The Rush Limbaugh Show*

Television Series

The Rush Limbaugh Show, 1992–1996

Selected Publications

The Way Things Ought to Be, 1992

See, I Told You So, 1993

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Little Orphan Annie

Children's Serial Drama

A pioneer of the children's serial genre, *Little Orphan Annie* first bowed—or curtsied—in 1930 on Chicago station WGN. On 6 April 1931 it premiered nationally on the NBC Blue Network, later moving to Mutual Broadcasting System. Shirley Bell and Janice Gilbert portrayed Annie during the series' 11-year run; Bell from the beginning until 1940, Gilbert from 1940 to 1942.

Based on Harold Gray's popular comic strip, *Annie* featured 15 minutes of action and high adventure every weekday afternoon or early evening, initially based primarily in her adopted hometown of Tompkins Corners, and later in more exotic, faraway places. She fought all forces of evil, including gangsters and criminals, reminding her faithful listeners at the end of the show to "be sure to drink your Ovaltine." Indeed, the premium toys offered by *Little Orphan Annie* and its long-time sponsor seemed at times to compete with the stories themselves, taking up four to six minutes of the 15-minute broadcast. Children who tuned in were urged to get their own "swell Ovaltine shake-up drinking mug" by sending ten cents and the proof of purchase from an Ovaltine can.

In addition to Bell and Gilbert, other cast members included Allan Baruck and Mel Torme (Joe Corntassel, Annie's best friend), Henry Saxe, Boris Aplon, and Stanley Andrews (Oliver "Daddy" Warbucks), Henrietta Tedro and Jerry O'Mera (Ma and Pa Silo, the farm couple who cared for Annie when Daddy Warbucks was away on business), and Pierre Andre (Uncle Andy, the announcer). The voice of Sandy, Annie's dog, was provided by Brad Barker. Among Annie's favorite expressions were "Leapin' lizards" and "Jumpin' grasshoppers."

The program's writers employed a simple but very effective technique to keep listeners, especially young children, returning to hear the next installment of Annie's adventures: the cliff-hanger. Episodes seldom ended with finality or resolution. Instead, story lines "flowed" from one episode to the next, occasionally reaching a conclusion but never without the development of a new story line to take its place. Beginning with *Annie*, this open-ended approach—leaving listeners in suspense at the end of each daily broadcast—was particularly evident for decades to come in children's radio and television programming and motion picture serials. In addition, Annie's radio adventures appealed to youngsters because the episodes often articulated childhood dreams of experiencing the glamour of the adult world.

NBC's radio network connections were not completed for regular U.S. coast-to-coast broadcasting until 1933, two years after *Little Orphan Annie*'s network premiere. As a consequence, *Annie* in its infancy was actually two different pro-

grams—one originating in Chicago, the other in San Francisco. Listeners in the eastern and central areas of the U.S. heard Shirley Bell in the lead role, while listeners in the far west heard Floy Hughes. Identical scripts ensured some consistency between the two productions, but west coast listeners were no doubt startled to suddenly hear different actors after the program's operations were consolidated in Chicago in 1933.

For over five years *Little Orphan Annie* aired six times a week, going to five times weekly beginning in 1936. The series moved from NBC to Mutual in 1940, at which time Ovaltine, the show's original sponsor, decided instead to put its advertising dollars in *Captain Midnight*, a new children's suspense show. Taking the chocolate drink mix's place as *Annie*'s sponsor was the breakfast cereal Puffed Wheat Sparkies, but by this time other adventure shows were outgunning Annie at her own game. Faced with declining ratings, *Little Orphan Annie*'s last broadcast was on 26 January 1942.

DAVID MCCARTNEY

Cast

Little Orphan Annie	Shirley Bell, Floy Hughes, Bobbe Deane, Janice Gilbert
Joe Corntassel	Allan Baruck, Mel Torme
Oliver "Daddy" Warbucks	Henry Saxe, Stanley Andrews, Boris Aplon
Mrs. Mary Silo	Henrietta Tedro
Mr. Byron Silo	Jerry O'Mera
Uncle Andy (announcer)	Pierre Andre
Sandy (Annie's dog)	Brad Barker
Aha	Olan Soule
Clay	Hoyt Allen

Producer/Creator

Based on the comic strip by Harold Gray

Programming History

WGN Chicago	1930
NBC Blue	1931–October 1936
NBC	November 1936–January 1940
Mutual	1940–42

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Localism in Radio

U.S. Regulatory Approach

The concept of “localism,” or serving a specific community, has always been central to the practice of radio programming and to government policies concerning broadcasting in the United States. In contrast to most of the rest of the world, American radio stations were allocated to local communities and licensed to serve audiences defined by the boundaries of those communities. The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) has described its radio allocation priorities as (1) providing a usable signal from at least one station to everyone and diversified service to as many persons as possible, and (2) creating sufficient outlets for local expression addressing each community’s needs and interests. That system of license allocation remains the foundation of American broadcasting. As for programming, local service has frequently been a key element in a station’s ability to survive and prosper. Research and experience have consistently demonstrated that local content is one of the things listeners value most highly.

However, economic realities have usually impelled broadcasters toward centralized program distribution. Networks began developing in broadcasting’s earliest days, and although the traditional radio networks have long been reduced to providing news and sports for radio, a new generation of networks offering full-time formats appeared as the increased availability of satellite service in the 1980s made such a service viable. By 2000, the emergence of distribution technologies that no longer rely exclusively on nearby transmitters to reach individual audience members—such as direct-to-home satellites and the internet—and the ability of large radio groups to program clusters of stations from a central location led some to suggest that localism is an idea destined to be little more than a quaint relic of a bygone age. Larry Irving (then head of the National Telecommunications and Information Administration) told the 1999 National Association of Broadcasters convention in Las Vegas that localism has “gone the way of the buffalo.” Yet other industry observers continue to argue forcefully that the most successful radio stations are those that do

the best job of connecting with the localized needs and interests of their audiences. This view holds that localism will be even more important in a future of ever-greater competition from sources such as the satellite-based Digital Audio Radio Services (DARS), offered nationwide since November 2001 by XM Satellite Radio and since 2002 by Sirius.

These contradictory assertions may all, in fact, be accurate, depending on one’s vantage point. Much like the phrase “The public interest,” the meaning of localism has always been in the eye of the beholder—typically either the FCC or a station licensee. The very vagueness of the term has enabled a variety of regulators, industry spokespersons, and public service advocates to laud the importance of localism in different situations.

Localism in U.S. Broadcast Regulation

As a matter of policy, localism is closely tied to a number of regulatory goals. These are generally expressed as the need to limit centralized (program) power or authority in order to create more diverse content—the robust and varied “marketplace of ideas” central to the American understanding of free speech. For several decades, the FCC has pointed to the importance of localism as a means of providing diverse program content for the furtherance of the public interest. Some policy makers also argue for the need to protect local communities and smaller interests from being overwhelmed by programs developed by (and for) larger national interests. The desire to diffuse political power has been a running theme throughout American history (the federal system of government is perhaps the most obvious result). Added to the widely accepted notion that the media are capable of exerting great influence on society, the decision to dilute the power of a single broadcast entity—station or especially network—seems an obvious choice.

The commission has a specific charge in the Communications Act to “encourage the larger and more effective use of radio in the public interest.” The FCC has generally interpreted

this to mean that it should try to allocate the maximum technically feasible number of stations around the country. Thus, structural definitions of localism (in a geographic or spatial sense) have most often guided policy makers. This understanding of localism assumes that stations licensed to transmit to a geographically restricted area will focus their programming on the specific needs and interests of the citizens residing in that area. In this context, localism as policy has been put into regulations affecting the distribution of licenses to various communities. Localism is also seen in the bedrock obligation of all broadcast licensees to serve the needs and interests of their community of license (which at one time involved an elaborate process to ascertain the needs of that community) and in the preference that was granted to active local ownership when, prior to 1996, the comparative hearing process was used to choose a licensee from among mutually exclusive competing applicants.

In one of the earliest examples of localism, the Radio Act of 1927 divided the country into five “zones” and, in the case of competing license applications, directed the Federal Radio Commission (FRC) to distribute stations among the zones according to frequency, power, and time of operation, with concern for fairness, equity, and efficiency. The Davis Amendment, added one year later, required the FRC to provide *equality* of service, in terms of both transmission and reception, in each of the five zones. These sections, with slight modification, passed into the Communications Act of 1934. Although the zone system was repealed in 1936 and the law was modified to require once again that the FCC simply provide a fair, efficient, and equitable distribution of radio service to each state and community, localism was (and is) undeniably a powerful concern in Congress.

Another significant, and more recent, example of the FCC’s structural concern with localism was the decision to drastically restructure the system of FM station allocation in order to increase the number of available stations in the early 1980s. Generally referred to by its FCC docket number (80-90), this order authorized three new classes of stations and modified the interference and operational rules with the goal of allowing first (and sometimes second) FM stations in communities where none had been possible before under the original 1962 Table of Assignments. As a result, the number of FM stations in the United States grew from around 3,000 in 1980 to slightly under 6,000 by the end of 1990 and continued to climb to more than 8,500 by 2003.

Localism and the Business of Radio

However, the growth was not solely good news for the industry or the audience. Many observers lamented the increase in interference in the FM band. The rise in the number of stations

combined with the simultaneous deregulation of radio to rapidly escalate station values. Many owners found themselves too far in debt, particularly during the economic downturn in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Sometimes as a result of the significant economic hardships resulting from the combination of increased competition and debt load, sometimes in response to a perceived change in the desires of the audience, stations cut back or eliminated local air staffs and news operations. If the goal of the FCC’s restructuring was to create more local content for more communities, the result could best be described as mixed. Although many stations continue to thrive by providing their audience a programming diet heavy with local content and involvement, satellite-provided formats, other syndicated product, and the ever-increasing ease of automating a station combine to create a significant economic incentive for many licensees to reduce localism to commercials and weather forecasts.

This illustrates the inherent conflict between policy rhetoric and the changing economic realities facing licensees. Though frequently lauding localism in policy pronouncements, the FCC has seldom promulgated, and even more infrequently enforced, local program guidelines or requirements. Nearly all of those that ever existed, such as the fairness doctrine, the ascertainment primer, commercial guidelines, and news and public-affairs guidelines, disappeared by the mid-1980s. The reasons behind this deregulatory trend (critics would term it failure) have been hotly debated because they are so complex. The regulatory problem is one of accommodating the various interests—licensees, program producers, audiences, networks, regulators, advertisers—in a rule that comports with common understanding of the First Amendment. Although this task was difficult under the public trustee model of regulation that guided broadcasting’s first 50 years, it is practically impossible to set firm local content guidelines under the current regulatory philosophy, which moves much of the control from government policy to marketplace competition.

A further complicating factor is the constant evolution of the media environment. From the system envisioned at the time of the Communications Act in 1934, rigidly structured along relatively narrow geographic lines, radio in the United States moved almost immediately to a distribution system with a wider geographic frame (regional and national sources feeding the majority of programming on “local” stations). From a few hundred local stations linked with relatively new networks at the time the Communications Act of 1934 was written, radio grew decades later to a business of thousands of “local” outlets providing a relatively few national music or talk program formats. Development of internet and satellite distribution has merely enhanced the trend to national program types provided through local outlets. The degree to which any one of those outlets wishes to be truly local (reflect-

ing and projecting its own community) is left to the discretion of the licensee.

The vague nature of localism itself is a final complication. One's understanding of concepts such as "local" or "community" colors any practical application of localism. The term *can* mean full-scale involvement of a station with its community, or (as is more usually the case) it can mean mere mention of local weather (and local commercials) within a syndicated music format heard on hundreds of stations across the country. As traditionally viewed by the FCC, real localism is probably somewhere in the middle, but much closer to the former—and many argue that it's also good business. In his book *Radio Programming: Tactics and Strategy*, programmer and consultant Eric Norberg asserts that localism and human contact are the elements that listeners value most in a station and that therefore the core of what makes a station successful is the relatable local person on the air. This viewpoint takes on the air of common wisdom in the industry trade press, particularly in advice given to programmers and air talent. Researchers repeatedly find that local information (weather forecasts, traffic information, event news) is one of the top reasons people tune in to radio.

Localism as a Social Construct

Critics, and occasionally even the FCC, have suggested that the goals of localism can be addressed in a different fashion, recognizing that communities frequently form around shared tastes, interests, and ideals without specific reference to a geographic boundary. For example, in the rulemaking that eliminated many of the radio programming guidelines, the commission noted that

communities of common interests need not have geographic bounds. . . . The economics of radio . . . allowed that medium to be far more sensitive to the diversity within a community and the attendant specialized community needs. Increased competition in large urban markets has forced stations to choose programming strategies very carefully. (FCC, "Deregulation of Radio," *Notice of Inquiry and Proposed Rulemaking*, 73 F.C.C.2d 457 [1979], at 489)

This alternative view of community can also be seen in the FCC's decision to approve satellite-delivered DARS. Despite the diversity of programming alluded to above, many program interests go unfulfilled by traditional terrestrial radio because the audience for a particular type of music or information is simply too small within the service area of a single station or is otherwise unattractive to advertisers. Beginning in late 2001, however, satellite radio services included program channels

that would not be economically viable on a single station in a given market (e.g., five separate jazz channels). The technology can aggregate widely separated audiences in a fashion that does not serve traditional localism but surely adds to content diversity.

Trials of Modern Localism

Sometimes, competing concerns such as spectrum efficiency have prevailed over localism. Prior to 1978, the FCC issued Class D FM licenses to college and community stations, permitting low-power operation (a maximum of 10 watts, with a tower height less than 100 feet) in the noncommercial part of the FM band. These stations represented a variety of operational styles, from student-run stations at colleges or high schools to stations licensed to civic groups and generally run by a largely volunteer or all-volunteer staff. By their very nature, these operations were strongly committed to their community and would appear to personify the localism ideal, often featuring material not available through full-power stations.

In 1972 the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) petitioned the FCC to explore several issues related to more efficient use of the FM channels set aside for noncommercial educational stations. In comments to the commission, they argued (with the support of others, including the National Federation of Community Broadcasters) that the 10-watt broadcasters were effectively blocking more efficient use of the spectrum. Essentially, CPB and its supporters were arguing for more stations that met their qualifying guidelines for size and professionalism, at the expense of smaller operations. Supporters of Class D stations, primarily the licensees themselves, countered with various arguments for retaining the service as it was, including the point most relevant here—the truly local nature of the service.

The FCC recognized that the Class D stations were indeed meeting discrete local needs. But in this case, the commission put the emphasis on the efficiency argument put forth by CPB, announcing new rules that effectively forced existing Class D stations to upgrade their facilities to Class A minimums or else become a secondary service, facing interference or being bumped from their assignments. In the FCC's view at that time, there was not sufficient spectrum available for both full-power, larger coverage area stations and low-power operations (although the commission has long accepted the need for low-powered translator and booster stations that extend the coverage of existing FM and TV stations but are prohibited from originating any programming themselves).

It is somewhat ironic that the FCC issued rules in 2000 that will create a new class of low-powered FM or microradio stations. The rulemaking comes in response to petitions arguing that, in the wake of industry consolidation following the 1996

Telecommunications Act, radio ownership and content are insufficiently diverse, and that current stations often fail to address local needs. Although congressional intervention curtailed the number of LPFM stations that could be licensed, the FCC had issued more than 400 construction permits by the end of 2002, and 73 LPFM stations were on the air in January 2003

GREGORY D. NEWTON

See also Australian Aboriginal Radio; Canadian Radio and Multiculturalism; College Radio; Community Radio; Deregulation; Licensing; Low-Power Radio/Microradio; Pacifica Foundation; Ten-Watt Stations

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Local Marketing Agreements

Brokered Agreements among Stations

As part of the deregulation of radio ownership initiated by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) during the late 1970s and early 1980s, radio station owners and operators began to sign program service and/or marketing agreements, known in the industry as local marketing agreements. In 1992 the FCC formally approved this form of ownership and operations agreements, and they became commonplace, particularly in the four years leading to the easing of ownership rules in the 1996 Telecommunications Act.

Alliances for local marketing agreements may be located in the same market, in the same region, or in the same service (AM or FM). The allied owners and operators draw up and sign legal agreements defining financial control over their allied

properties, but the owners still maintain their separate licenses and studios. After 1996, it often became simpler to simply purchase a station, but local marketing agreements were still used to make transitions to new owners cheaper, easier, and more cost-effective.

A local marketing agreement thus has become a time-brokering agreement between stations that can address either programming or advertising time. Basically, the originating or principal station in the local marketing agreement pays the "affiliate" a monthly fee either to partially simulcast programming or to air original satellite-delivered programming. This type of agreement differs from a satellite format network affiliation arrangement, wherein the affiliate pays for program-

ming. The originating station in a local marketing agreement can strike an arrangement with the leased station for either handling or sharing advertising sales.

The benefits of local marketing agreements to the originating station include expanded coverage area and thus the potential for increased sales of advertising. For example, during the early 1990s, owners of many struggling AM stations signed local marketing agreements to stabilize their flow of profits rather than take on the risks and costs involved in trying to establish a new format.

By 2000, although the number of stations and formats seems endless in major markets, in fact, local marketing agreements allowed two separate radio stations to operate jointly, and so the number of operators (or voices) was actually far fewer than the number of stations (or outlets). Usually the financially strong station reaches a combined operation and sales agreement with a financially troubled station in the same community to oversee programming and advertising time sales for a percentage of the advertising sales. Although the parties exercising a local marketing agreement are not required to file the agreement with the FCC, the licensee of the weaker partner station is still required to meet the station's maintenance and community standards (although in practice these requirements have become so minimal during the 1990s that this threat of losing a licensee over such a deal offers no risk).

The local marketing agreement policy helped redefine the institutional relationship that had formerly been restricted to affiliation. Indeed, once the FCC in 1992 formally relaxed regulations to allow local radio owners to own and control more than one station in the same service market, a wave of deals took place. One scholar calculated that over 50 percent of the commercial radio stations became involved in some aspect of consolidation between 1992 and 1996, including local marketing agreements. The pace of consolidation has increased tremendously since the Telecommunications Act of 1996 became law, with local marketing agreements used to make the transition to combinations of radio stations.

Local marketing agreements permit the parties to take advantage of cost and organizational structural efficiencies; to

dominate a market with variations of one format; to eliminate redundant jobs; to develop broader marketing plans and solutions for advertisers; and, in the end, to increase profits for stockholders and investors. One can simply buy a station, or, to be more flexible in the short run, one can set up a local marketing agreement to test whether a formal alliance might work better. Some owners delay formal merger decisions until they figure out how to consolidate personnel and facilities.

There have been, therefore, numerous examples of different uses of local marketing agreements, as owners have utilized combinations of acquiring stations to form new and, they hope, more profitable alliances. Consider a top 50 market, Charlotte, North Carolina, where in spring 1992 the market was being served by ten radio owners and operators, who owned 3 AM and 12 FM stations. Two years later, those ten had dwindled to six owners and operators. By fall 1996, Charlotte had consolidated to the point of having only four viable radio owners and operators controlling the same 15 stations. Local marketing agreements created much, though not all, of this consolidation.

DOUGLAS GOMERY

See also Licensing; Ownership, Mergers, and Acquisitions

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Lodge, Oliver J. 1851–1940

British Wireless Pioneer

An important British physicist and mathematician of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Oliver Lodge was one of the first people to experiment with wireless transmission, and he disseminated the pioneering work of Heinrich Hertz and his contemporaries. Because of his scientific reputation, a crucial invention, and his position in British higher education, Lodge helped to promote wireless as a practical proposition.

Early Years

Oliver Lodge was born into a comfortable middle class English family and endured four years of a hard Victorian boarding school education. In 1865, at age 14, he went to work for his father in the family's successful clay and glaze business called "Potteries." But he was attracted to science at an early age and decided to continue his education in the field of chemistry. He returned to school in 1872 seeking a university education.

At the University of London, his interest focused more on mathematics, and he earned his bachelor's degree in 1875. That same year he published his first scientific article, and four years later he wrote his first book (on elementary mechanics). These publications were but the beginning of a prolific writing career. Lodge was able to clearly explain scientific or mathematical principles to those lacking formal scientific training, and thus his published writings demonstrated both academic research and popular journalism.

For the last two decades of the 19th century, University College, Liverpool (later the University of Liverpool) became his academic base for teaching and scientific research, including his important wireless work. At this time, Lodge also demonstrated his growing interest in psychic research, which would fully occupy his final years. His university duties included considerable teaching, research, and writing, as well as extensive academic administration.

Wireless Research

In the early 1870s, while still a student, Lodge had first read James Clerk Maxwell's two-volume theoretical work that contained a complicated early concept of wireless. He worked to perfect the Branly "coherer" device used to detect electromagnetic signals, and gave it its name. Lodge followed research in this and other arms of physics, and on holiday travel in Europe he met and compared research ideas with German physicist Heinrich Hertz, who in 1888 had preceded him to publication with experiments proving the "wireless" theories of Maxwell. When Hertz died prematurely in 1894, Lodge delivered and

published a memorial lecture that would eventually go through four ever-larger editions and help introduce the world to the theory of wireless and its potential application. The lecture included a general description of Lodge's own system for wireless transmission and detection.

Three months later, on 14 August 1894, Lodge demonstrated his transmitting system by sending electromagnetic waves in the form of Morse Code signals 150 yards between buildings at Oxford during a meeting of the British Association. This was the first public demonstration of what would become known as wireless or radio telegraphy, though the eventual importance of the technology was not yet recognized by Lodge or anyone else. Lodge was merely seeking scientific parallels between the transmission of light and electrical signals. Despite his breakthrough (which was presented with little fanfare), Lodge did not immediately focus on furthering his wireless effort.

With Marconi's 1896 arrival in Britain and his soon widely publicized experiments with wireless at ever-greater distances, however, Lodge's ambitions were stoked. He was understandably jealous over the public acclaim accruing to Marconi for work that paralleled efforts Lodge had undertaken several years earlier. In an attempt to pick up his earlier wireless theorizing, Lodge began to work with electrical engineer Dr. Alexander Muirhead (1848–1920), who with his brother manufactured telegraph instruments. Lodge and Muirhead had met at the former's 1894 lecture. To Lodge's theoretical physics, Muirhead added practical technology and a clear vision of what wireless telegraphy could accomplish.

In the course of his long life, Lodge would accumulate 29 patents (some shared with others, including 11 with Muirhead) from 1883 to 1931. By far the most important two were granted in 1897 for what Lodge termed "syntony," or a telegraphy system that allowed a receiving device to select among competing transmitted signals. This innovation was an outgrowth of his recognition of the need for detectors of wireless signals to be able to differentiate among a growing number of available signals. This patent, along with several others (in 1898 Lodge also took out a patent on a rudimentary loudspeaker) was central to what would become the "Lodge-Muirhead" system that would briefly compete with Marconi, who only belatedly perceived the need to tune signal detectors. At the same time, Lodge was one of several authorities who reported to British postal authorities and the Admiralty that there were ways of operating an effective wireless system without relying upon Marconi's patents. Lodge stated several times that he was unhappy primarily with those around Mar-

coni, not the Italian inventor himself. Along with many other critics, Lodge felt that Marconi tried to take on too much and overestimated what the crude technology of the period could provide.

Lodge and Muirhead established a syndicate (a limited company) in 1901 to develop and manufacture equipment based on their jointly developed patents in wireless telegraphy. After considerable testing of improved detectors at growing distances, early in 1903 the Lodge-Muirhead Syndicate announced its system of wireless telegraphy, said to be effective at distances up to 60 to 80 miles. The system was tested (though not adopted) by the British Army and was actually put into practical use in 1904 by the colonial Indian government to communicate several hundred miles to some off-shore islands. Steady improvements were made. But other than a few experimental stations, the Lodge-Muirhead Syndicate never became an active operating entity as did Marconi, its chief competitor. The need after 1904 to obtain a license from the British Post Office (which utilized Marconi equipment) for any transmitting station was one stumbling block to expansion, as was the entrenched market position of the Marconi interests.

Lodge's vital syntony or tuning patent expired in 1911, although under British law and after a patent trial (in which the judge found in favor of Lodge's priority over Marconi in the basic tuning principle) it was extended to 1918. Because they were vital to its own expanding Empire wireless operations, however, rights to the Lodge patent were then purchased by the Marconi company. As a part of the deal, the Lodge-Muirhead Syndicate was closed down. Despite having lost the legal case, Marconi had managed to buy out its chief potential British competition.

The lack of lasting success with wireless was disappointing but not central in Lodge's life. He had been approached at the turn of the century to help found a new university in Birmingham, and after having turned down the offer twice, he finally accepted it. As he later wrote, "I was too busy with teaching work to take up telegraphic or any other development nor had I the insight to perceive what has turned out to be its extraordinary importance to the navy, the merchant service, and indeed, land and war services too." Further, he felt strongly it was not the role of a scientist to pursue commercial ends. That innovative role he left to others, chiefly Marconi, as it turned out.

Later Years

Lodge was deeply involved in helping to develop the new university after 1900. He remained active on many research and writing fronts in addition to his wireless work, demonstrating a growing interest in and concern over such social issues as poverty. After 1910 he focused increasingly on his psychic

research and writing, especially after the 1916 death of his youngest son Raymond in World War I. His efforts to communicate with his dead son were widely reported and were the focus of one of his better-known books. His interests extended to the relationship of science and religion, extensive work with mediums, and spiritualism. In these areas, however, he was more a philosopher than a practical investigator.

Lodge "retired" in 1920, although over the next few years he turned out a dozen books, including a 1931 autobiography, and considerable magazine journalism, some dealing with the expanding radio business. He also presented many broadcasts over the BBC about radio, among other subjects. A related area of concentrated interest and research was his theorizing about the behavior of the "aether" or atmosphere.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Early Wireless; German Wireless Pioneers; Hertz, Heinrich; Marconi, Guglielmo; Maxwell, James Clerk; Popov, Alexander

Oliver Joseph Lodge. Born in Penkhill, England, 12 June 1851, first of eight children of Oliver Lodge (a successful businessman) and Grace Heath. Boarding school, 1859. BS 1875, DcS. 1877, University of London. Lyon James Professor of Experimental Physics and Mathematics, University College, Liverpool, 1881–1900. Principal of Birmingham University, 1900–1919. Elected Fellow of the Royal Society, 1887; Rumford Medal of the Royal Society, 1898; knighted, 1902; Albert Medal of the Royal Society of Arts, 1919; Faraday Medal of the Institution of Electrical Engineers, 1932. Died in Amesbury, England, 22 August 1940.

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London Broadcasting Company

First British Commercial Radio Station

In early 1973 LBC—the London Broadcasting Company, largely owned by Canadian-backed Selkirk Communications—was awarded the United Kingdom's first independent local radio franchise, with a contract from the Independent Broadcasting Authority to provide a news, talk, and information service for the greater London area. It was also to be the home of Independent Radio News—a wholly owned LBC subsidiary—the monopoly provider of international and national news for an expected chain of some 60 local radio stations. This service was financed by a subscription levied on the size of the audience to each station.

LBC—the first authorized commercial radio station in the United Kingdom after more than 50 years of British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) monopoly—went on the air at 6 A.M. on 8 October 1973 from studios in London's Gough Square, just off the famous Fleet Street, then home to most of the United Kingdom's national newspapers. The station was awarded the "speech" franchise in contrast to the "general and entertainment" franchise that was awarded to Capital Radio. Like Capital and the other franchises offered in the 1970s, the station was allocated both AM and FM frequencies. By U.S. standards, the programming was a hybrid format—a mixture of rolling news, current affairs features, celebrity interviews, sports, personality-led talk, and magazine programs, including a weekly round-up of London's arts scene.

Unfortunately, it was launched at about the worst possible time for a new media enterprise relying on advertising income. The Middle East war, which led to a quadrupling of oil prices, had just begun, and Prime Minister Edward Heath launched his controversial Phase Three prices and incomes policy. Shortly afterward, a miners' strike led to widespread power blackouts and to the country's being put on a three-day working week. In addition, the station was credited with disappointing audience figures, and within a month of its launch Labour Member of Parliament Gerald Kaufman called for the

station "to be put out of its misery." In the first three months of 1975, union disputes over staff cutbacks temporarily put the station off the air five times.

The station was relaunched in 1978. It gradually settled down and built a loyal audience base, with much-praised coverage of major news stories, including Irish Republican Army terrorism, the siege at London's Iranian embassy, and political developments such as the sudden resignation of Prime Minister Harold Wilson in March 1976 and the turbulent life of the Greater London Council. However, it was probably the station's coverage of the 1982 Falklands War that, above all, ensured that the station was reawarded the London "speech" franchise in September that year.

In 1988 Crown Communications bought out Selkirk, and the new management made the fateful decision to end simulcasting on its AM and FM frequencies and to drop the now well-established name of LBC. In October 1989 the FM service was named Crown FM; it was to be in direct competition with the BBC's network speech service, Radio 4. The AM service was renamed London Talkback Radio and was aimed at a more downmarket audience with a populist talk-back format. The first audience figures for the new services, published four months later, showed a drastic drop in overall listening. In June that year, a number of Australians from Crown Communications were drafted in; the AM and FM services were simulcast over the weekend, and the FM service's name was changed to LBC News Talk 97.3 FM. The financial hemorrhage continued unabated, however, with losses for 1992 posted at £2.5 million, and in January the following year Crown went into receivership. Chelverton Investments took over, chaired by Dame Shirley Porter—a controversial figure in Conservative local politics and heiress to the Tesco supermarket company.

Just two months later the new regulator, the Radio Authority, announced that LBC had lost its license to London News Radio (LNR), although LNR would not take over until the fol-

lowing year. LNR planned a rolling news service on FM and a phone-in format on AM. Meanwhile, LBC said it would bid for the new national commercial speech service. In March 1994 it failed to win this license, Dame Shirley resigned, and two weeks later LBC went into receivership, although the station stayed on the air. In April 1994 LBC and LNR struck a deal so that the services could continue until the formal handover, and in May Reuters made a bid for LNR's two licenses, before the new services had even gone on the air. The Radio Authority agreed to this change of ownership, provided that the new owners kept to the program promises made by LNR when it was awarded the licenses. In August 1994 the new managing director announced that the channels were to be rebranded yet again, to London News 97.3 FM and London News Talk 1152 AM. Further changes in share ownership and a failed management buyout eventually led, by April 1996, to the Great Western Radio (GWR) group and Independent Television News' gaining control, with the *Daily Mail* and General Trust and Reuters owning 20 percent each. In July that year the much-loved name LBC reemerged as the AM service, and in October 1998 the station celebrated 25 years on the air.

In the Fall of 2002 both stations were bought from GWR by the Chrysalis group, and the new owner soon announced that, after agreeing a "frequency swap" with the Radio Authority, it would reformat both services. It believed that the stations were on the "wrong" frequencies—a rolling news service more "naturally" belonging to AM and the more general talk and lifestyle service on FM, which it intended to pitch against national commercial station TalkSport and the BBC network Radio 5 Live. Consequently, in January 2003, the two stations were relaunched as LBC 97.3 FM and LBC News 1152 AM. The management hoped to return the overall LBC brand to its 1980s heyday when 2.4 million listeners tuned in each week. In 1989 revenues had stood at £11 million; by the end of 2002 they were just £4million. However, although there had undoubtedly been some major mistakes in both financing and programming in those 13 years, with a consequent disillusionment on the part of staff, investors, and audience, the period had also seen greatly increased competition in the London radio market, both in the overall number of services and specifically those offering talk and news. In addition, the arrival of rolling TV news channels, as well as the general

expansion of media and the consequent fragmentation of audiences, must make the return to former audience and revenue levels questionable.

Throughout this turbulent history, the station has been host to some of the best-known names in British broadcasting, including Frank Bough, Douglas Cameron, Anne Diamond, Brian Hayes, Bob Holness, Pete Murray, Michael Parkinson, and Janet Street-Porter. In addition to its basic fare of news and news-talk programming, the station has been one of the last bastions in U.K. commercial radio for drama productions, which have won international awards. However, its major influence has been in the editorial and production practices of radio news—adapted from U.S., Canadian, and Australian commercial services—providing a new model of informality for the commercial sector that the BBC was to learn from and incorporate in its own networks, particularly Radio 5 Live and its news bulletins on the youth network, Radio 1. Specifically, the use of shorter, "crisper" reports, greater use of "actuality" (clips of interviewees, including eyewitnesses) contrasted with the BBC's then more ponderous, formal approach. Indeed, the whole notion of and demand for "rolling news" in the United Kingdom was pioneered by LBC, which was able to broadcast events as they happened and to stay with the story with live reports, interviews, and audience reaction, rather than having to return to regular programs. Many of what are now commonplace conventions on both radio and television in the United Kingdom were pioneered and developed by LBC.

RICHARD RUDIN

See also British Commercial Radio; Radio Authority

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The Lone Ranger

Western Adventure Program

The Lone Ranger originated at WXYZ in Detroit, Michigan, in 1933. The program gained in popularity with both child and adult listeners and reached a national audience when it played an instrumental role in the creation of the Mutual Broadcasting System in 1934. In the early 1940s, *The Lone Ranger* moved to the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) Blue Network, which became the American Broadcasting Companies (ABC) in 1945. The Ranger evolved into a variety of media forms, becoming the subject of comic strips, comic books, books for children, novels for adults, films, and television.

In 1932 George W. Trendle, one of the owners of WXYZ, decided that the station could increase its profitability by breaking ties with the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) network and locally producing its own programs, including dramatic shows. Trendle called station manager Harold True, dramatic director James Jewell, and other station personnel together to outline the concept for programs to be developed. One concept that emerged from this conference was a show to be aimed at children. Trendle specified several characteristics he felt were essential. The program should be a western and should feature a leading character who would exemplify model behavior for young listeners. This hero should be mature and possess some of the qualities of Zorro and Robin Hood. In subsequent meetings, details were further developed. The hero was to be a lone operator, perhaps a former Texas Ranger. Finally a name emerged—the Lone Ranger.

With this basic format in mind, Trendle turned to Fran Striker, a script writer in Buffalo, New York, to bring a fully developed Ranger to the radio audience. Striker's scripts for the *Warner Lester, Manhunter* series had gained national attention. Striker had also created his own radio western for WEBR in Buffalo, and elements of this series, *Covered Wagon Days*, may have influenced the content and tone of *The Lone Ranger*. For many years, however, George Trendle countered implications that anyone besides himself could be considered the creator of *The Lone Ranger*, and he insisted that Striker, as well as other WXYZ personnel, sign over legal ownership of the program.

Trial airings of *The Lone Ranger* on WXYZ received limited publicity, and sources disagree as to the exact date of the first actual broadcast of a complete and polished program, with some specifying 30 or 31 January and others 2 February 1933. As the program evolved, the Ranger was given a white horse named Silver and a "faithful Indian companion," Tonto, who addressed the Ranger as "kemo sabe." This gave the Ranger someone to talk to, lessening the need for an announcer's narration of action for the radio audience. Rossini's "William Tell" Overture became the theme music for

the show, another example of using classical music in the public domain in order to avoid royalty payments. The music was accompanied by the announcer's enthusiastic and authoritative description of "the daring and resourceful masked rider of the plains who led the fight for law and order in the early western United States." Listeners were invited to "return with us now to those thrilling days of yesteryear. . . . From out of the past came the thundering hoofbeats of the great horse Silver! The Lone Ranger rides again!"

The fame of the Ranger spread beyond Detroit as WXYZ fed the show to the Michigan Radio network. The program was the most important attraction to WLW Cincinnati, WGN Chicago, and WOR New York when they joined WXYZ in creating the Mutual Broadcasting System in 1934. When more distant stations signed up with Mutual, the Ranger's popularity reached a national level.

The show had already gained a huge following before the Ranger's background and the reason why he wore the mask were fully developed. These questions were answered in a 1938 Republic film serial portraying an ambush on a group of five Texas Rangers. They were all believed dead, but one survived. When this lone surviving Ranger recovered, he wore a mask to protect his identity and anonymity. This version of the Ranger's origin was also reflected in the radio program by 1941. The Lone Ranger's secret silver mine provided the means for supporting himself and was the source of his silver bullets.

A basic skeleton plot that was reflected in many scripts featured the development of a complication or problem and a failed attempt at its solution by a character in the story before the Ranger came onto the scene. When the Ranger did appear and successfully resolved the difficulty by the end of the program, someone would ask, "Who was that masked man?" Another would explain, "That was the Lone Ranger!" He was also a master of other disguises, further confounding villainous attempts at revealing his true identity.

Fran Striker, the show's chief writer, involved the Lone Ranger in getting telegraph lines strung across the West, in helping build the Union Pacific Railroad, and in carrying out special assignments for President Lincoln. The Ranger also assisted Buffalo Bill and Wild Bill Hickok. Furthermore, he provided advice to Billy the Kid, General Custer, and Sitting Bull.

One memorable plot concerned the Lone Ranger's discovery of his nephew, Dan Reid, who had been saved from an Indian attack on a wagon train. Reid had been brought up by a pioneer woman who, with her dying breaths, described his family, revealing that the boy's father was the Lone Ranger's

brother. Dan Reid's son, Britt, became the Green Hornet, another masked man in a later radio show that was also scripted by Fran Striker.

For much of its radio existence, *The Lone Ranger* was broadcast live on the NBC Blue network (later ABC) on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. Because of time zone differences, this schedule required three separate live feeds, the first beginning at 7:30 Eastern time. The second feed was produced for the Mountain zone, and the third for the West Coast.

B.R. SMITH

See also Children's Programs; Striker, Fran; Westerns; WXYZ

Cast

Lone Ranger	George Stenius (George Seaton) (1933), Jack Deeds, James Jewell, Earle Graser (1933-41), Brace Beemer (1941-54)
Tonto	John Todd
Thunder Martin	Paul Hughes
Dan Reid	Ernie Winstanley, Dick Beals, James Lipton
Butch Cavendish	Jay Michael
Various characters	Paul Hughes, John Hodiak, Rollon Parker, Bob Maxwell, Frank Russell, Ted Johnstone, Jack Petruzzi, Herschel Mayall, Elaine Alpert, Mel Palmer, Fred Rito, Bertha Forman, Ruth Dean Rickaby, Malcolm McCoy, Jack McCarthy, Bill Saunders, Beatrice Leiblee, Harry Goldstein, Lee Allman
Announcer	Harold True, Brace Beemer, Harry Golder, Charles Wood, Bob Hite, Fred Foy

Creator

George W. Trendle

Directors

James Jewell, Charles D. Livingstone

Programming History

Michigan Radio Network	January 1933-34
Mutual	February 1934-May 1942
NBC-Blue	May 1942-44
ABC	1944-54

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Long, Huey 1893-1935

U.S. Senator and Radio Speaker

Huey Pierce Long, one-time Louisiana governor and U.S. senator, was one of America's most colorful and controversial political figures. He was one of the first American politicians to master the young medium of radio and to artfully manipulate and exploit radio's potential as a political tool.

Huey Long ran unsuccessfully for Louisiana governor in 1924 but parlayed his support among rural voters into winning election to that office in 1928. As governor, Long worked rapidly to take control of political patronage and to develop populist programs to shore up his political base. Powerful



Senator Huey Long of Louisiana at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, 28 June 1932
Courtesy AP/Wide World Photos

opponents in the state legislature impeached but failed to convict Governor Long in 1929.

Huey Long launched his second gubernatorial campaign in a 3 August 1927 speech carried over radio station KWKH in Shreveport. The station, owned by Long's friend William K. Henderson, played a major role in many of Huey Long's future radio addresses, all of which—like his 3 August speech—were carried free of charge and for unlimited time.

Huey Long's radio skills were honed to perfection during his years as governor. His unique oratorical style fit perfectly with the expectations of his listeners. Long often spoke effortlessly and without notes for two or three hours at a time. His rapid-fire monologues freely moved from quoting Bible verses, to joking, to harsh name calling of political foes. He even resorted to deliberately mispronouncing words and ignoring accepted rules of grammar in order to identify himself more closely with his audience.

Many of Huey Long's radio addresses were broadcast over KWKH by remote control from the Governor's Mansion in Baton Rouge or from a hotel room. He often began his remarks by telling listeners that Huey Long (or the "Kingfish"—a sobriquet that he began using in the late 1920s that came from a character's name on the popular *Amos 'n' Andy* radio show) was going to be talking and that they should phone a friend who also might tune in. He then would spend several minutes in small talk while calls were made and listeners gathered.

Huey Long was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1930 while serving as Louisiana governor. He retained the governorship for another year and was finally sworn in to the U.S. Senate in January 1932. Soon after his arrival in Washington, Long made waves by proposing what he called his "Share-Our-Wealth" plan as a means of redistributing wealth in America. He told a Depression-weary America of his plan during a 30-minute February 1934 nationwide radio broadcast on the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) network. Time for the broadcast was donated, following the practice of both NBC and the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) to supply such time to members of the U.S. Congress. The enormous number of letters that flowed into Senator Long's office following his radio address required some 48 secretaries and typists to answer, and by 1935 Long had a bigger office and more employees than any other U.S. Senator. Although economists berated his "Share-Our-Wealth" plan as unworkable, the noto-

riety that Long was gaining nevertheless persuaded the radio networks to allow the senator more airtime.

Network radio proved to be more than just an excellent forum to push his economic plan, though, when in August 1935 Senator Long announced his break with President Roosevelt over policy issues and his plans to run for the presidency himself. His chances of defeating Roosevelt seemed good, according to knowledgeable observers who placed Huey Long's political strength as second only to the president's. Long departed from his short-lived campaign in September 1935 to be present during a special session of the Louisiana legislature. While hurrying through a hallway of the state capitol on 8 September, he was gunned down by an assassin, a Baton Rouge physician named Carl Weiss. Other than a presumed dislike for Long's dictatorial politics, no definite reason for the assassination has ever been determined. Huey Long remained conscious for two days after the shooting but died on 10 September at age 42.

RONALD GARAY

See also Controversial Issues; KWKH; U.S. Congress and Radio

Huey Long. Born in Winnfield, Louisiana, 30 August 1893. One of ten children of Huey Pierce and Caledonia (Tison) Long. Studied law at Oklahoma School of Law (1912–13) and Tulane University (1914–15); admitted to bar and began practicing law, Winnfield and Shreveport, Louisiana, 1915; member of Louisiana State Railroad Commission, 1918–28; governor of Louisiana, 1928–32; U.S. Senator, 1932–35; announced candidacy for U.S. President, 1935. Died (assassination) in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 10 September 1935

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Lord Haw-Haw (William Joyce) 1906–1946

World War II Propaganda Broadcaster

During World War II, William Joyce, known to his British listeners as “Lord Haw-Haw,” was one of the most famous expatriate radio propagandists for the Axis powers (others included “Axis Sally,” Ezra Pound, and “Tokyo Rose”). After the war, Joyce was found guilty of treason and executed by the British.

Origins

William Joyce was born in 1906 in New York City to Irish parents who were naturalized American citizens; he was thus a citizen himself, an issue of import at the end of his life. When he was three, his family returned to Ireland, eventually settling in Salthill, Galway.

Joyce was educated at the College of St. Ignatius Loyola in Galway, but his education was interrupted by the bitter struggle for Irish independence. By his own later admission, Joyce worked as a spy for the British “Black and Tans” in 1920–22. This was a despised military force sent to Ireland in the summer of 1920 to reinforce the Royal Irish Constabulary. Joyce’s support of and cooperation with such an intensely despised organization was enough to force the Anglophile family to move to England after the Irish achieved independence in 1922. There Joyce first attended Battersea Polytechnic and later Birkbeck College of University of London, from which he received a first class honors degree in English in 1927.

While in college, Joyce became politically active in conservative and then far-right circles. He eventually dropped out of graduate study and in 1933 joined Sir Oswald Mosley’s British Union of Fascists, rising to be director of propaganda and later deputy leader. He later fell out with Mosley and was dropped from the party. In 1933 he made what became a fatal mistake: declaring he was a British citizen (and one born in Galway when Ireland was part of Britain) to obtain a British passport to ease his ability to travel as political tensions rose. He renewed the passport (and in essence, the citizenship vow) in August 1939. The fraudulently acquired passport was later a central element in the post-war charge of treason.

Broadcasting for Germany

In August 1939, Joyce and his second wife, fearing arrest as avowed fascists while war loomed, fled England and went to Germany. He soon found a position with German radio, broadcasting anti-British propaganda beginning on 18 September 1939. In 1940 he became a naturalized German citizen. Both he and his wife worked for the Nazi regime for the rest of the war.

His voice was beamed to Britain on a program called *Views on the News*. Broadcasts featured war-related news and ad hominem attacks on Allied leaders, Jews, and communists. His signature opening, “Germany calling, Germany calling,” became well known to the British public. The “Lord Haw-Haw” appellation came first from a *Daily Express* correspondent who referred to his “speaking English of the haw-haw, dammit-get-out-of-my-way variety.” British listeners were at first amused at his somewhat affected high-class and sneering tone as he attacked Jews and other enemies of Germany.

Through 1942, as the Third Reich enjoyed a number of military successes, Joyce related events to his overseas listeners with considerable candor. As war-related news was then being censored by the British government and the BBC, many Britons turned to Joyce to ascertain the facts. As the war turned against Germany, however, Joyce’s broadcasts—nearly always made from studios in Berlin—grew more pointed and shrill, and the declining number of British listeners no longer trusted what they heard.

Joyce’s final and arguably most dramatic broadcast was recorded at a transmitter near the Danish border in April 1945 after Hitler’s suicide. Though never broadcast, in it Joyce railed yet again against the dangers of Bolshevism and reflected upon Germany’s role in the war. He was quite clearly agitated and may have been intoxicated. A few weeks after the war ended in May, he was captured by British troops as he tried to flee Germany.

Trial and Execution

Joyce was returned to England and tried for treason in a three-day London jury trial in September 1945. He was quickly found guilty and sentenced to death. The trial and appeals of the judgment were widely followed, and transcripts were published in two contemporaneous books. The tricky citizenship issue was over-ridden by arguments that in fraudulently seeking a British passport before the war, he had placed himself under the protection of—and thus in a position of loyalty to—the British crown. After all appeals were exhausted, in January 1946 Joyce was hanged at London’s Wandsworth prison.

Joyce’s propaganda role is significant. For one thing, his broadcasts served as something of a radio role model for Ezra Pound, who later performed analogous services for Italy. Second, Joyce’s broadcasts (and those of both “Axis Sally” and “Tokyo Rose,” who were Americans and were also tried for treason) raise the question of whether broadcast polemics and editorializing necessarily constitute treason. Joyce’s execution

poses a third question: is it possible for the victors in any given struggle to try the vanquished in such a way as to ensure fair treatment for the defeated?

WILLIAM F. O'CONNOR AND CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Axis Sally; Fritzsche, Hans; Propaganda; Tokyo Rose; World War II and U.S. Radio

William Brooke Joyce. Born in Brooklyn, New York, 24 April 1906, son of Michael Joyce, an Irish-born naturalized American citizen, and Gertrude Emily Brooke. Moved to Galway, Ireland, 1909. Attended College of St. Ignatius Loyola, Galway, Ireland; family moved to England, 1922; attended Battersea Polytechnic, London, England, 1922–23; Birkbeck College of University of London, B.A. 1927; Deputy Leader, British Union of Fascists, 1933–37; broadcast Nazi propaganda, Berlin, 1939–45. Executed at Wandsworth prison, London, England, 3 January 1946.

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Lord, Phillips H. 1902–1975

U.S. Radio Actor, Writer, Producer

SOUND EFFECTS: [Marching feet, machine-gun fire, siren wail.]

VOICE: Calling the police! Calling the G-Men! Calling all Americans to war on the underworld!

ANNOUNCER: *Gangbusters!* With the cooperation of leading law-enforcement officials of the United States, *Gangbusters* presents facts in the relentless war of the police on the underworld.

Loud and urgent openings such as this signaled another episode of the radio program *Gangbusters*, which aired for more than 20 years. This fast-paced drama was renowned for snappy dialogue and realistic sound effects, particularly at the show's beginning. (These features gave rise to the expression "coming on like gangbusters" to describe anything with a rapid start.) The creator of *Gangbusters* was Phillips H. Lord, a radio actor, writer, producer, and developer who was one of the industry's most successful artists during the "Golden Age" of radio in the 1930s and 1940s.

As Lord explained when the show (called *G-Men* for its first year) debuted on 16 September 1935, the series was based on actual FBI cases provided by Director J. Edgar Hoover. Lord and his assistant Helen Sioussat had an office in the

Department of Justice next to Hoover, who allowed them unprecedented access to FBI case files. "I went to Washington, was graciously received by Mr. Hoover, and all of these scripts are written in the department building," Lord told listeners during the inaugural program, which was about the killing of John Dillinger. "Tonight's program was submitted to Mr. Hoover, who checked every statement, and made some very valuable suggestions."

However, Hoover almost backed out of the project after the first broadcast, in the wake of scattered criticism about this new style of radio entertainment. Lord hastily wrote Hoover to mollify him, vowing "There is NOTHING that I won't do to win your respect and confidence." What Hoover required Lord to do was to use only the material provided by the FBI and nothing more. Moreover, all scripts had to be approved by Hoover or one of his aides, and all had to show that every criminal was punished, either with death or a long jail sentence.

Lord endured these stringent guidelines because he recognized the importance of the new show—as a new genre of radio entertainment and a legacy for his career. "This series, Mr. Hoover, means more to me than anything else in the world," Lord explained in private correspondence. "My whole future will be based on the success of this program, and there

isn't a stone I'll leave unturned toward making it the finest thing in radio."

Before he created this crime drama, Lord's future had seemed secure in a different broadcast format. He was one of the brightest stars on radio with a loyal nationwide audience for *Sunday Evening at Seth Parker's*. Lord played the elderly preacher from Jonesport, Maine, who discussed local happenings with his family and neighbors in the parlor. The *Seth Parker* broadcasts conjured up images of white, steepled churches, modest cape-style homes, and vessels plying the harbor, as the friendly folks prayed, sang, and discussed morality. The dialogue and plots hearkened to a simple, old-fashioned way of life during the uncertainty of the Depression. Lord created and wrote the series, and even wrote some of the hymns. It spawned a 1931 movie, *Way Back Home*, which starred a 29-year-old Lord in heavy makeup.

Lord based *Sunday Evening at Seth Parker's* on his own experiences. The son of a Connecticut Congregational minister, Lord developed his narrative skills from his grandfather, Hosea Phillips, a traveling salesman "whom none could beat in story telling, witticisms, and good common sense," Lord later wrote. After education at Bowdoin College and stints as a high school principal and candy maker, Lord got his break when the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) approved his proposal for a radio show about small-town life. "An old-fashioned cottage gathering of friends and neighbors coming together to sing hymns and discuss news of the town," Lord described it. The show became a huge success, as ten million listeners tuned in weekly to the cottage by the sea.

After five years Lord decided to have the Parkers and their Jonesport neighbors take an around-the-world cruise while Lord and his cast did so in real life. They departed on 8 December 1934, in the four-masted schooner *Seth Parker*, with sophisticated shortwave broadcasting equipment aboard that enabled them to continue their weekly broadcasts. This remarkable and highly publicized voyage was cut short two months later when a hurricane disabled the boat in the South Seas, 300 miles from Tahiti. The schooner's passengers were rescued by the Australian heavy cruiser *HMS Australia*, which carried one of King George's sons. Convinced that the ship's SOS calls were a publicity stunt, Australian officials demanded that Lord be brought up on charges. He was exonerated after the cruiser's captain asserted that Lord's maritime distress was real.

Embarrassed by this international incident, Lord abandoned the *Seth Parker* show and changed career paths. He developed the fast and violent action show *G-Men* in 1935 as a sharp contrast to the leisurely and gentle *Seth Parker*. After renaming the show *Gangbusters*, Lord and his production company, Phillips H. Lord Inc., developed other programs. The factual human-interest show *We the People* debuted in 1936 and aired for three seasons. It was soon followed by the

serial drama *By Kathleen Norris*, the aviation adventure *Sky Blazers*, and the crime dramas *Treasury Agent* and *Counterspy*. Lord even revived *Seth Parker*. Before he turned 40, Lord had become one of the most successful writers, actors, and producers in radio.

Amid the flurry of development, Lord produced a new courtroom drama set in New York, entitled *Mr. District Attorney*. Horror-fiction writer Alonzo Deen Cole sued Lord for appropriation of literary property, claiming that he had submitted the idea to Lord but was never compensated or acknowledged. Lord won in trial court, but the verdict was overturned on appeal. The New York Court of Appeals ruled that Lord had indeed stolen the idea from Cole.

Lord tried to make the transition to television as a producer, but after two failed series he retired to coastal Maine, where he found contentment promoting community dances and sing-alongs. ("I'm exceedingly ambitious," he once told a reporter, but then added, "I'd swap all I have for contentment.") After suffering from myasthenia gravis, he died on 19 October 1975 in Ellsworth, Maine, just a short drive from Jonesport.

RALPH FRASCA

See also *Gangbusters*

Phillips H. Lord. Born in Hartford, Connecticut, 13 July 1902. Played title role on *Sunday Evening at Seth Parker's*, 1929–36, 1938–39; embarked on around-the-world cruise, broadcasting from the ship *Seth Parker*, 1934; shipwrecked near Tahiti, 1935; creator, producer, narrator for *Gangbusters*, 1935–57. Died in Ellsworth, Maine, 19 October 1975.

Radio Series

1929–36, 1938–39	<i>Sunday Evening at Seth Parker's</i>
1932–33	<i>The Country Doctor</i>
1934–45, 1951–52	<i>The Story of Mary Marlin</i>
1935–57	<i>Gangbusters</i> (G-Men during first year)
1936–39	<i>We, the People</i>
1941	<i>Great Gunns</i>

Films

Way Back Home, 1931

Selected Publications

Seth Parker and His Jonesport Folks: Way Back Home, 1932

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Low-Power Radio/Microradio

Small Community Radio Stations

Microradio is a political movement with the goal of putting low-power FM transmitters into the hands of community activists, minority groups, and those with no hope of getting a traditional Federal Communications Commission (FCC) license to broadcast. Under the leadership of Free Radio Berkeley (FRB) founder Stephen Dunifer, instructions are readily available to anyone who wants a low-cost transmitter kit, programming help, and legal representation. Microradio broadcasters are often students and street people without property, and when ordered by the FCC to cease operations, they simply move to another location. FCC enforcement is uneven and has been complicated by recent court rulings. In *United States v Dunifer* (July 2000), the court ruled against Dunifer's right to broadcast without a license. That decision led activists to pressure the FCC more strongly for a licensed low-power FM service.

Origins

The history of unlicensed radio goes back to the early radio-telephone experimenters who simply went on the air without asking anybody's permission. By the end of the 1920s, the radio spectrum had been divided between commercial, amateur, and experimental users. All were required to have licenses, first from the Federal Radio Commission and after 1934 from the FCC. But there have always been scofflaws, mostly referred to as "pirate broadcasters." From ships anchored offshore with powerful transmitters to radio hobbyists broadcasting entertainment on amateur radio frequencies, there is a long history of unlicensed broadcasting. The most blatant of those illegal operators were usually caught and fined, and their equipment was confiscated. Unlike the modern microradio movement, most such "pirates" were not political activists.

For a time, however, small radio stations were not only allowed, they were actively encouraged. With the inception of FM radio, the FCC encouraged noncommercial operations.

When frequencies went begging, the FCC in 1948 initiated a low-power category of stations, the so-called Class D outlets, that might use as little as ten watts of power and cover a very small area with a usable signal. But they were broadcast outlets, often held by nonprofit groups unable to afford anything larger. By the 1970s there were several hundred such stations on the air.

Low-power stations were increasingly resented by the FM radio business, which was rapidly expanding in the 1970s and 1980s. Tiny stations took up valuable frequencies that full-power outlets coveted. In 1978 the FCC began to reverse course, requiring these stations to use at least 100 (and more likely 1,000) watts or give way to full-power stations that would provide more services to more listeners. By the mid-1990s, only a handful of the old Class D stations remained, and most of those were preparing to use the required higher amounts of power.

A model for what could develop with radio was borrowed from television. As a result of experiments originating in Canada in the 1970s, the FCC became interested in and eventually approved a class of low-power television stations in the early 1980s. These were to use very low power on VHF channels or up to about 1,000 watts on UHF channels that would be "dropped in" among already allotted full-power channels in such a way as to keep interference at a minimum. After years of legal wrangling over how best to handle the mountain of conflicting applications, the FCC was granted the right to hold lotteries among mutually exclusive applications. By 2000 there were hundreds of low-power television outlets on the air, some providing original programs but many connected by satellite and offering typical entertainment programs otherwise not receivable in isolated rural areas.

Ted Coopman (1999) tells of the beginning of the modern microradio movement:

The modern micro broadcasting movement began on November 25, 1986 in a public housing development in

Springfield, IL. Put on the air for about \$600, the one-watt station broadcast openly on 107.1 FM as Black Liberation Radio (now Human Rights Radio). The operator, Mbanna Kantako, a legally blind African-American in his mid-thirties, started the station because he felt that the African-American community in Springfield was not being served by the local media. Kantako felt that because the African-American community had a high illiteracy rate, radio would be the best way to reach this community.

According to FRB founder Dunifer, the goal of the microradio movement was to have so many transmitters in use across the country that the FCC would be overwhelmed, finding itself in a situation similar to one it faced in the early 1970s, when the FCC was unable to control the widely popular citizens band radio service. Licensing for that service was eventually dropped. Unlike the "pirates" of the past, who hid from the FCC, microradio proponents act in open defiance of the law, challenging the government to arrest them, to shut them down. They believe that they are entitled to the airwaves; that they are shut out of the current allocation of FM licenses; and that, because of scarcity and resulting high cost, licenses are available only to the wealthy.

Dunifer was successful in convincing the National Lawyers Guild that the right to broadcast was a civil rights issue, one of giving access to all people, especially those disenfranchised by licensed media. In 1993 Dunifer's ten-watt radio station started operation at 104.1 FM, offering music and political commentary while actively challenging the FCC. In June 1993, the FCC issued a *Notice of Apparent Liability* to Dunifer for unlicensed broadcasting and fined him \$20,000. Dunifer was represented by the Lawyers Guild, and in 1995 a U.S. district court in Oakland, California, heard arguments on constitutional issues in Dunifer's case, arguments stating that the FCC had not proved that his broadcasts caused harm to licensed broadcasters. The FCC responded, saying that siding with Dunifer would cause thousands more to go on the air, and the resulting interference would be chaotic.

The attorney arguing the case for Dunifer raised other issues in the hearing that would eventually cause the FCC to study the possibility of a licensed low-power FM service. One such issue was that the 1978 elimination of the Class D ten-watt educational license in favor of licenses for stations over 100 watts was overly restrictive and violated Dunifer's First Amendment right to free speech. It was argued that the commission's failure to provide a low-power service did not provide for the public interest, convenience, and necessity required under the Communications Act of 1934. It was further argued that the financial qualifications required for an FM station license violated the equal protection clause of the Constitution. The FCC disagreed on all counts.

In November 1997 Federal District Judge Claudia Wilken ruled in favor of Dunifer, saying the FCC had failed to prove Dunifer had done harm to existing broadcasters. Buoyed by this victory, Dunifer continued to help others get on the air and to promote the creation of a low-power service. But in June 1998 the FCC prevailed in court, and Dunifer was taken off the air, based on the fact that he had applied for neither a license nor a waiver to broadcast and therefore lacked standing to challenge the FCC. In July 1999 Dunifer's attorneys appealed, arguing that the FCC had not acted in good faith when dealing with microradio, citing as evidence a San Francisco applicant's request for such a license, which had been ignored by the FCC.

Development of the microradio movement has been based on a common belief that stations very low in power escape the jurisdiction of the FCC. This misconception is based on Part 15, Subpart D of the FCC rules, which permits unlicensed operation of very low power transmitters. This rule only allows, however, for an effective service range of 35 to 100 feet in the FM band. On AM frequencies, unlicensed transmitters cannot cover a radius larger than about 200 to 250 feet. The FCC argues that if microradio stations are able to reach listeners, they are almost certainly operating illegally.

Low-Power FM

As the number of microradio stations grew and complaints from the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) increased, the FCC closed a number of unlicensed microradio operations. Both the protests and the microbroadcasting movement continued to grow, however. Media reports suggested that between 500 and 1,000 microradio stations were on the air in 1998, although five years earlier only a handful existed.

In spite of NAB protests, FCC Chair William E. Kennard suggested that proposals to establish a legal microbroadcasting service were worthy of consideration. The FCC issued a *Notice of Proposed Rulemaking* on 28 January 1999 to authorize an LPFM broadcast service. The FCC's *Notice* cited concern about the increasing concentration of ownership of media properties, with concomitant loss of diversity, in addition to suggesting that smaller communities outside metropolitan areas were often deprived of local focus in programming.

In response to its *Notice*, the FCC received thousands of comments representing the views of community groups, labor unions, religious organizations, state and local government, and others. The commission announced that response to the petition had indicated a broad interest throughout the country in the LPFM proposal. Further, the commission's webpage on "Low Power Broadcast Radio Stations" was accessed more than 15,000 times in 1998 alone. The FCC received thousands of additional phone and mail inquiries each year regarding the legality of low-power broadcasting.

The commission's decision was released 20 January 2000 with the announcement that such a service would, in fact, be established. In spite of aggressive protest and threatened legal action by the NAB, the FCC voted to create an entirely new type of radio station, with the intention of enhancing service to underrepresented groups and local communities. The FCC's restrictions were as follows:

These (LPFM) stations are authorized for noncommercial educational broadcasting only (no commercial operation) and operate with an effective radiated power (ERP) of 100 watts (0.1 kilowatts) or less, with maximum facilities of 100 watts ERP at 30 meters (100 feet) antenna height above average terrain (HAAT). The approximate service range of a 100 watt LPFM station is 5.6 kilometers (3.5 miles radius). LPFM stations are not protected from interference that may be received from other classes of FM stations (www.fcc.org).

Several years after the initial announcement of the Low Power (LPFM) service, the FCC had received several thousand applications. Most of the applicants have been from religious organizations, the rest from community foundations and educational entities. A current list is on the FCC database (www.fcc.gov/fcc-bin/fmq?state=&serv=FL&vac=&list=2). Approximately 200 Construction Permits (CP) had been issued and 40 applicants had received actual licenses. Most of these were in the L1 category, 100 watts or less. Only a few have been under the L2 designation, 10 watts or less. As of the beginning of 2003, the FCC was not taking any additional applications.

While at least some of the original impetus for the LPFM service was to either legitimize or remove from the air the so-called pirates or micro broadcasters, based on the list of applicants, CPs and licenses issued, many observers suggest that the following will likely happen: former big city pirate/micro

broadcasters will not receive licenses due to interference concerns in crowded FM markets; most licensees will be religious organizations, schools, and community foundations. And if the experience from the educational FM "boom" of the 1970s is repeated, most of these LPFM broadcasters will eventually lose interest and funding and abandon their licenses, many of which will be taken over by larger NPR broadcasters and well-funded networks and religious organizations.

MICHAEL H. ADAMS AND STEVEN PHIPPS

See also British Pirate Radio; College Radio; Community Radio; FM Radio; Licensing; Localism in Radio; Ten-Watt Stations

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Lum 'n' Abner

Comedy Show

A party line rings, two "backwoods" voices respond ("I-grannies, Abner, I believe that's our ring." "I-doggies, Lum, I believe you're right."), and the announcer gently brings us up to date with the latest events here in Pine Ridge, Arkansas, home of the "Jot 'Em Down Store" run by Columbus "Lum"

Edwards and Abner Peabody. On *Lum 'n' Abner*, Chester Lauck (Lum) and Norris "Tuffy" Goff (Abner) performed their homespun country characters for more than 20 years, starting on a local Arkansas station and eventually airing for a time on every major radio network.



Chester Lauck and Norris Goff broadcast another episode of *Lum 'n' Abner* in 1947–48 as organist Ralph Emerson awaits his cue
Courtesy National Lum & Abner Society

Lauck and Goff met as boys in a Mena, Arkansas, grade school, and they were performing impressions and blackface comedy together by the early 1920s. In 1931 an Arkansas radio station invited locals to perform for a flood-relief benefit, and Lauck and Goff planned to do their blackface act. Seeing the station overrun with other blackface teams, they instead performed an “Ozarkian humor” routine to great listener response. They were signed to a weekly 15-minute program on KTHS in Hot Springs, Arkansas, and by late summer of that year they had both a sponsor (Quaker Oats) and a foothold on a regional National Broadcasting Company (NBC) station, Chicago’s WMAQ. From then on, *Lum 'n' Abner* became an increasingly hot property; whenever Lauck and Goff were not pleased with their time slot, pay, or sponsor, another network gladly wooed them away.

The show’s style was wry and folksy, deriving much of its humor from a combination of misfiring schemes and “countri-

fied” misunderstandings of aspects of the everyday lives of their listeners, as when Lum and Abner try to do their taxes or when the town blacksmith, Cedric Weehunt (Lauck), tries to become a ventriloquist without realizing that ventriloquists are supposed to change the dummy’s voice and try not to move their lips. The characters were not stooges, though (despite Abner’s regular catchphrase—“Huh?”—often uttered after Lum’s long and involved explanation of his latest plan): the folks of Pine Ridge always ended up on top. There was a gentle tone to the humor and a relaxed pace to the steadily rolling plot arcs that made the program a long-lived and reliable performer in the ratings.

Some plotlines were self-contained in a single episode, as when Lum and Abner struggle to do their 1942 taxes, first concluding that they owe “the givverment” 8,912 sacks of sugar, then realizing that the government actually owes them (though they decide instead to send along the extra cash in the till to

help the war effort). However, more often the plots wove their way onward for weeks, as when the town's richest man, Diogenes Smith, holds a campaign to discover and reward the kindest person in town, which begins a complex train of events in which Lum eventually becomes an unwitting courier of counterfeit money.

Lauck and Goff performed the voices of most of the program's major characters. In fact, for the first six years they performed all of the characters, and those they did not perform (the female characters in particular) were only talked about in the store and never actually appeared on the show. NBC executives were continually pushing to broaden the program's scope; one 1933 memo read, "I have impressed upon the boys the necessity of more action and other characters. Their scripts from now on will have both. They are afraid of women characters, for they feel they can't write the dialogue. However, we will work hard to accomplish this." In the late 1930s female characters did begin to appear occasionally, most often voiced by Lurene Tuttle.

The program was particularly popular in its home setting, rural Arkansas. In 1936, to celebrate *Lum 'n' Abner's* fifth anniversary on the air, the unincorporated Arkansas town of Waters officially changed its name to Pine Ridge at a ceremony attended most notably by the governor of Arkansas, Lauck, Goff, and town resident Dick Huddleston, a fictionalized version of whom was voiced by Goff on the program. To this day one can visit the "Jot 'Em Down Store" in Pine Ridge, which serves as a *Lum 'n' Abner* museum and which is where the National Lum and Abner Society holds conventions for aficionados. There is also a country store in Kentucky's Fayette County that styles itself the "Jot 'Em Down Store"; it dates back to a 1937 visit by Lauck and Goff on their way through the area to buy some horses.

The show's popularity was parlayed over the years into a series of seven feature films starring Lauck and Goff (with appearances by performers such as Zasu Pitts, Grady Sutton, Franklin Pangborn, and Barbara Hale) and produced by RKO, beginning with *Dreaming Out Loud* in 1940 and ending with *Partners in Time* in 1946. One additional film was released by "Howco Productions" much later, in 1956, an odd installment that found Lum and Abner out of the familiar territory of Pine Ridge, traveling to Paris and Monte Carlo. It was actually an edited-together version of three *Lum 'n' Abner* television pilots that the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) had originally produced in 1949 to no great acclaim.

In late 1948, during its second stint on CBS, *Lum 'n' Abner* changed from its 15-minute serial-comedy format to a half-hour comedy variety program, including for the first time such trappings as an orchestra and a studio audience. This was how the program seemed to end its days, going off the air in the spring of 1950. But three years later it reappeared once more

in its traditional 15-minute format, first for a limited 13-week series and then for a final six-month run.

Lum 'n' Abner is one of the radio programs for which many recordings and scripts still survive. Some tapes are available from commercial sources, but there are also thriving collections circulating in the hands of ordinary fans. *Lum 'n' Abner* may not have the instant modern name recognition of programs such as *Amos 'n' Andy*, but it has made its mark—not only among radio fans, but also on the map of the United States.

DORINDA HARTMANN

Cast

Columbus "Lum" Edwards, Cedric Weehunt, Grandpappy Spears, Snake Hogan	Chester Lauck
Abner Peabody, Squire Skimp, Dick Huddleston, Mousey Gray, Doc Miller	Norris Goff
Ellie Conners, Sgt. V.W. Hartford, Nurse Lunsford	Lurene Tuttle
Diogenes Smith, B.J. Webster, Mr. Sutton	Frank Graham
Detective Wilson, Dr. Roller, Pest Controller, Mr. Talbert, FCC Man	Howard McNear
Duncan Hines, W.J. Chancellor	Francis X. Bushman
Ira Hodgekins, Caleb Weehunt	Horace Murphy
The Baby, J.W. Tiffin	Jerry Hausner
Mr. Talbert's Father	Ken Christy
Dr. Samuel Snide (dentist)	Eddie Holden
Doc Ben Withers (veterinarian)	Clarence Hartzell
Lady Brilton	Edna Best
Rowena	Isabel Randolph
Otis Bagley	Dink Trout

Announcers

Tom Nobles (1931), Charles Lyon (1931), Del Sharbutt (1931-33), Gene Hamilton (1933-34), Carlton Brickert (1934-38), Lou Crosby (1938-44), Gene Baker (1944-45), Forrest Owen (1945-48), Wynden Niles (1948-50), Bill Ewing (1953-54)

Producer

Larry Berns

Directors

Bill Gay, Robert McInnes, Forrest Owen

Writers

Betty Boyle, Norris Goff, Chester Lauck, Roz Rogers, Jay Sommers, Howard Snyder, Hugh Wedlock, Jr.

Programming History

26 April 1931–7 May 1954 (many changes in network and time slots)

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Lux Radio Theater

Anthology Drama

One of the most popular and prestigious radio programs for two decades, *Lux Radio Theater* was a dramatic anthology that mainly presented movie adaptations with big-name Hollywood stars.

Lever Brothers had been using celebrities to endorse its Lux Toilet Soap in magazine ads throughout the 1920s, and in 1934 the J. Walter Thompson Advertising Agency proposed to Lever Brothers an extension of this promotional tactic, the sponsorship of a radio drama presenting stars of the stage and screen. The resulting program, *Lux Radio Theater*, aired on the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) and originated from downtown Manhattan, premiering on 14 October 1934. Given its New York locale, the program presented mostly Broadway talent and properties in this early period. During the first season, the show's host was a fictitious character named Douglass Garrick, played by John Anthony and billed as the show's producer. Peggy Winthrop, another fictional character played by Doris Dagmar, supplied commercials. In addition to commercials, the show's framework included a scripted chat session between Garrick and each particular episode's stars.

By the end of its first season, *Lux Radio Theater* was a critical success, but given their sizable investment in the show, Lever Brothers had hoped for higher listener ratings. When the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) offered them the advantageous 9 P.M. Monday night slot, *Lux* made the switch to that network and time. The second season brought a few other changes: a new actor, Albert Hayes, played Douglass Garrick; Art Millett was added as announcer; and the Peggy Winthrop character was eliminated.

By the end of the 1935–36 season, ratings still were not where Lever Brothers wanted them. Under the assumption that film stars would draw larger national audiences than Broadway stars, in 1936 *Lux* moved to Hollywood, specifically to

the Music Box Theater on Hollywood Boulevard. Producers also hoped to bring in a famous Hollywood name to replace the Douglass Garrick figure as host. They settled on famed movie director Cecil B. DeMille, who, although he was assigned the title of producer, was simply a host figure and often appeared only for dress rehearsals and the actual recordings. It was hoped that DeMille's famed persona as creative tour de force would help lend a prestigious, glamorous image to the show. Additionally, by specifically presenting him as a producer, essentially an authorial voice, *Lux Radio Theater* posed the show as a first-rate cultural experience on par with DeMille's epic film productions. Equally important, framing DeMille as a creative force helped to elide the fact that the show was really created by an ad agency concerned mainly with advertising revenue, rather than solely a culturally beneficial endeavor.

As a result of these changes, the 1936–37 season brought a plethora of stars in movie adaptations, such as Errol Flynn and Olivia de Havilland in “Captain Blood,” Irene Dunne and Robert Taylor in “Magnificent Obsession,” and Fredric March and Jean Arthur in “The Plainsman.” Cooperation between J. Walter Thompson and the Hollywood studios made this possible. The studios would offer the broadcast rights to film properties for a fee (usually no more than \$1,000), though sometimes the rights would be offered for free in exchange for publicity on the air. The show's most substantial expense came from talent costs. DeMille made \$2,000 per show in this period, and each headlining star received \$5,000. (The average yearly salary in the U.S. in 1937 was \$1,327.00) Given that a minimum of two headliners per episode was the general rule, talent costs could reach as high as \$20,000 per episode.

In 1940 *Lux Radio Theater* changed recording facilities to the Vine Street Playhouse. This venue offered a more spacious



*Lux Radio Theater, Spencer Tracy, Fay Wray, and Cecil B. DeMille
Courtesy CBS Photo Archive*

stage, and the actors would thus all stand on the stage throughout the whole program, even if their parts were completed in the first act. DeMille sat off to the side at a card table, and an offstage mike provided sound effects and some commercials. The New York version of the show had not been presented in front of an audience, and a change in this policy upon the move to Hollywood resulted in a furious weekly demand for tickets.

The next period of upheaval for *Lux Radio Theater* came in 1944, when DeMille left the show. His departure stemmed from a dispute with the American Federation of Radio Artists (AFRA). A proposition on that year's state election ballot would have allowed a Californian the right to obtain employment without first gaining union affiliation. AFRA strongly opposed this measure and charged all members one dollar to fund a battle against its passage. The right-wing DeMille resolutely objected both to AFRA's stance and to their demand that members fund it, and he refused to pay his dollar. This resulted in a suspension of his AFRA membership, meaning he was also barred from any radio work. *Lux* first turned to guest hosts in the interim, including Brian Aherne and Lionel Barrymore, but when it became clear that neither AFRA nor DeMille would relent, the producers settled on a permanent host in William Keighley, a lesser-known Hollywood director. Keighley took on DeMille's role as host and faux-producer; however, he could never match the famed director's prestigious presence and vaunted image.

Keighley retired in 1952 and was replaced by Irving Cummings, a fellow Hollywood director. However, *Lux Radio Theater's* ratings began a precipitous slide, particularly into 1954, as Lever Brothers and J. Walter Thompson were giving more attention and money to the television version of the program, *Lux Video Theater* (1950–57). In 1954, NBC reclaimed *Lux Radio Theater* and tried to resurrect the show's stately image with a marketing campaign and presentation of "twenty of the greatest Hollywood pictures" during the 1954–55 season. However, this did little to stem the show's decline, and the show aired its final broadcast on 7 June 1955. The television version carried on until 1957, but it never reached the popularity of the radio version, particularly because it could not offer

the caliber of stars the radio show had. Only the radio version could tout a history of 926 episodes starring the most famous talent of the era.

CHRISTINE BECKER

Cast

Host "Douglass Garrick"	John Anthony (1934–35)
Other Hosts	Cecil B. DeMille (1936–45), William Keighley (1945–52), Irving Cummings (1952–55), Lionel Barrymore (1945), Walter Huston (1945), Mark Hellinger (1945), Brian Aherne (1945), Irving Pichel (1945)
Announcers	Melville Ruick (1936–40), John Milton Kennedy (1940s), Ken Carpenter (later years)

Directors

Antony Stanford (1934–36), Frank Woodruff (1943), Fred MacKaye (1944–51), Earl Ebi (1951–55)

Programming History

NBC Blue	October 1934–June 1935
CBS	July 1935–June 1954
NBC	September 1954–June 1955

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M

Magazines. *See* Fan Magazines; Trade Press

Make Believe Ballroom. *See* Block, Martin

Mankiewicz, Frank 1924-

U.S. Broadcast Executive, President of National Public Radio

Frank Mankiewicz, the third president of National Public Radio (NPR), led the organization from obscurity to national significance. Mankiewicz took over leadership of the seven-year-old NPR in August 1977.

Public radio, as represented by NPR and the Association of Public Radio Stations, had just emerged from two years of internal strife by merging to create a “new,” more powerful National Public Radio to provide political, promotional, technical, and programming leadership. The fresh start required a new president, someone who was “somebody,” preferably a politician, a journalist, a showman, a promoter, and a celebrity whose phone calls would be returned. The new NPR board found that individual in Frank Mankiewicz, scion of the Hollywood family, press secretary to the late Senator Robert Kennedy, director of George McGovern’s 1972 campaign for president, and a syndicated columnist and author. Along the way, Mankiewicz had spent six years as a Hollywood lawyer, had directed Peace Corps operations in Latin America, and had run unsuccessfully for the California state legislature and the U.S. Congress from Maryland. His name was also to be

found on the enemies list of President Richard Nixon, about whom Mankiewicz had written two books.

Mankiewicz did not disappoint. He transformed public radio in four critical areas: publicity, programming, politics, and satellite delivery.

Publicity

The news media finally discovered NPR after having virtually ignored it for its first seven years. Much of the publicity centered on Mankiewicz as a personality. He was good copy, always ready with the quick quip and the memorable sound bite. More fundamentally, his programming and political exploits gave the media something interesting to write about.

Programming

Mankiewicz persuaded President Jimmy Carter to participate in a two-hour national call-in program from the White House on a Saturday afternoon, 13 October 1979. For those two



Frank Mankiewicz
 Courtesy AP/Wide World Photos

hours, all media focused on the previously unknown NPR. In addition to publicity, the president's exclusive appearance gave the obscure network much-needed credibility. Similarly, Mankiewicz persuaded the Senate leadership to allow NPR to broadcast live its debate on the Panama Canal Treaty. Although the Senate had always excluded cameras and microphones from its chambers, Mankiewicz broke that barrier, creating what he described to the press as a historic broadcast of a historic event.

In entertainment, Mankiewicz reached back to his boyhood, when his father, Herman Mankiewicz, teamed with Orson Welles on the *Mercury Radio Theater* and its most famous production, "War of the Worlds." NPR would collab-

orate with George Lucas on a radio adaptation of the *Star Wars* film trilogy. The series brought new attention and new listeners to NPR.

Of most lasting consequence, however, was Mankiewicz's decision to move NPR news into radio's prime time, morning drive. *Morning Edition's* debut in November 1979 more than doubled NPR's news output, its budget, and its staff, and it focused those resources where they could reach the most potential listeners. *Morning Edition* indirectly transformed both NPR and the programming on its member stations. NPR became a competitive 24-hour news organization for the first time, changing its public image and its internal psychology from that of an ancillary alternative service to that of a pri-

mary source of breaking news. To make room for *Morning Edition* in prime morning hours, stations were forced to rethink and refocus their entire approach to programming. For the most part, they eliminated their weakest program elements and concentrated on their strongest. A combination of these changes doubled public radio's cumulative audience from 4 million to 8 million a week between 1979 and 1982.

Politics

After almost a decade of struggle between public radio and public television over the division of federal funds between the two media, Mankiewicz boldly persuaded Congress to earmark 25 percent of its funding for public radio. Public television had argued that radio should receive only 10 percent; prior to Mankiewicz, public radio had felt victorious when it won 17 percent. The extra money made possible *Morning Edition* and other dramatic improvements in the public radio service.

Satellite Delivery

Congress also agreed in 1979 to fund a satellite delivery system for public radio, the first radio network to use that technology for network distribution of programs. The satellite not only improved the technical quality of NPR programming but also provided the flexibility to produce programming from a variety of locations around the country, making possible such important innovations as the live broadcasts of Garrison Keillor's *A Prairie Home Companion* from Minnesota each Saturday night.

Despite all his success, the Mankiewicz presidency did not end happily. The election of Ronald Reagan in 1980 resulted in a 25 percent reduction in federal funding for public broadcasting in 1983. With typical brashness, Mankiewicz proposed to meet that challenge not by reducing service but by expanding it. He planned to raise the necessary money from the private sector, through increased "underwriting" of programming and through business ventures that would utilize NPR's satellite capacity to provide a variety of commercial services to the public. The concepts had merit, but Mankiewicz did not have the time or the money to realize them. None would produce significant revenue for several years, and all required significant investments right away.

By early 1983 NPR found itself running a \$3 million deficit, which increased to \$6 million and threatened to reach \$9 million if drastic action were not taken. NPR was insolvent. Ulti-

mately, member stations and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting bailed NPR out of its difficulties, but a condition of that bailout was the firing of Frank Mankiewicz in April 1983. Although he had hoped to leave NPR to become commissioner of baseball, Frank Mankiewicz instead formed an alliance with Republican political operative Robert Gray to spend the rest of his career in one of Washington's most influential lobbying organizations.

JACK MITCHELL

See also National Public Radio

Frank Mankiewicz. Born in New York City, 16 May 1924. Son of Herman J. and Sara (Aaronson) Mankiewicz; attended University of California, Los Angeles, A.B., 1947, Columbia University, M.S., 1948, and University of California, Berkeley, LL.B., 1955; served in U.S. Army Infantry, 1943–46; journalist, Washington, D.C. and Los Angeles, 1948–1952; admitted to Bar of California, 1955; practiced law in Beverly Hills, 1955–61; director, U.S. Peace Corps, Lima, Peru, 1962–64, and Latin America regional director, 1964–66; press secretary for Senator Robert F. Kennedy, 1966–68; syndicated columnist with Tom Braden, 1968–71; national presidential campaign director for Senator George Mc Govern, 1971–72; author and journalist, 1973–77; president, National Public Radio, 1977–83; public relations executive and consultant, Hill and Knowlton, 1983–present.

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Ma Perkins

Serial Drama/Soap Opera

A widow whose homespun wisdom guided her family, friends, and neighbors in the fictitious rural community of Rushville Center, *Ma Perkins* was also one of radio's most enduring soap operas, captivating American and, at times, overseas audiences for 27 years, from 1933 to 1960. Throughout its entire run of 7,065 episodes, Virginia Payne portrayed the leading character.

A 15-minute daytime serial drama, *Ma Perkins* premiered on NBC radio on 4 December 1933, three months after its local debut on WLW in Cincinnati, Ohio. Cincinnati-based Procter and Gamble Company, makers of Oxydol soap flakes, initially sponsored the broadcast. The drama was so popular it was picked up by competing networks, CBS and Mutual, at various times, while continuing its broadcasts on NBC as well. CBS acquired exclusive rights to the show in 1949, where it remained until its final broadcast in 1960.

Ma had three children, John, Fay and Evey, whose husband Willie Fitz (portrayed by Murray Forbes, also for all 27 years of the broadcast) managed Ma's lumber yard business. Shuffle Shober, Ma's business partner, was portrayed by Charles Egleston for 25 years, until his death in 1958. Edwin Wolfe succeeded him for the remaining run of the show. Writer Orin Tovrov wrote the scripts for more than 20 years.

Ma Perkins' roots can be traced not only to Cincinnati, but also to Chicago, where advertising executives Frank and Anne Hummert created the program. It was in Chicago that the Hummerts also originated other popular daytime drama serials in the early 1930s, including *The Romance of Helen Trent* and *Just Plain Bill*. Though each of the serials offered different characters with different story lines, they were all products of the Hummerts' desire to present familiar themes that had proven popular with Depression-era listeners seeking some measure of assurance and security in an unstable world. According to Marilyn Matelski, the Hummert approach was a simple formula. "[It] combined fantasies of exotic romance, pathos and suspense with a familiar environment of everyday life in a small-town or rural setting. Combined with an identifiable hero or heroine, this formula produced an overwhelming audience response" (see Matelski, 1988).

The story lines for *Ma Perkins* often reflected the turbulence of the times. In one broadcast during World War II, for example, Ma learns that her son John was killed in combat in Europe. The "news" prompted a flood of letters from devoted listeners expressing their sympathy. Throughout its run, *Ma Perkins* conveyed the vulnerability of life in ways not depicted before on radio. It did so while reaffirming the belief that people could solve their problems so long as they believed in one

another. In 1938, Ma offered this observation: "Anyone of this earth who's done wrong, and then goes so far as to right that wrong, I can tell you that they're well on their way to erasing the harm they did in the eyes of anyone decent."

Virginia Payne was only 23 years old when the serial drama premiered, and, remarkably, she never missed a performance in its 27-year run. A Cincinnati native and graduate of the University of Cincinnati, she faithfully dressed the part at countless public appearances and even personally answered many of her listeners' letters. Her down-home language included such expressions as "I ain't sure I understand it" and "Land sakes!"

U.S. audience interest in radio soap operas declined during the 1950s because of the growth of television, and *Ma Perkins* was no exception. By 1960 CBS radio cut three of its ten serials, and NBC dropped its last surviving soap opera; ABC had ended all of its daytime serials the year before. The sponsors that owned the programs abandoned radio in favor of television because of its increasing audience appeal. The transition to television created a vacuum in radio advertising sales, and by 1960 only one quarter of network radio advertising time was being sold. Local radio, meanwhile, was blossoming: disc jockeys replaced radio network programs in large numbers by the end of the 1950s, and radio station managers discovered that the locally hosted music program proved cheaper for advertisers and more popular to listeners as well. By the 1955-56 season, *Ma Perkins'* radio audience share had fallen to one quarter of its all-time high in 1944-45. On 25 November 1960, the show's final broadcast featured the family at its traditional Thanksgiving meal:

"I look around the table at my loved ones and to me the table stretches on and on. Over beyond the other end past Shuffle I see faces somehow familiar and yet unborn, except in the mind of God... Someday, Fay will be sitting here where I'm sitting, or Evey, or Paulette... They'll move up into my place and I'll be gone, but I find right and peace in that knowledge... I give thanks that I've been given this gift of life, this gift of time to play my little part in it," Ma said at the table.

Virginia Payne was only 50 years old when *Ma Perkins* ended. During the 1960s and 1970s she remained active in show business, appearing in radio commercials and touring in such productions as *Life With Father*, *Becket*, and *Oklahoma!* Shortly before her death in Cincinnati on 10 February 1977, she appeared on radio one last time on *The CBS Radio Mystery Theater*.

DAVID MCCARTNEY

See also Hummert, Frank and Anne; Soap Opera

Cast

Ma Perkins	Virginia Payne
Fay Perkins Henderson	Rita Ascot; Marjorie Hannan; Cheer Brentson; Laurette Fillbrandt; Margaret Draper
Evey Perkins Fitz	Dora Johnson; Laurette Fillbrandt; Kay Campbell
John Perkins	Gilbert Faust
Shuffle Shober	Charles Egleston (1933–58); Edwin Wolfe (1958–60)
Willie Fitz	Murray Forbes
Junior Fitz	Cecil Roy; Arthur Young; Bobby Ellis
Paulette Henderson	Nannette Sargent; Judith Lockser
Augustus Pendleton	Maurice Copeland
Mathilda Pendleton	Beverly Younger
Gladys Pendleton	Patricia Dunlap; Helen Lewis
Paul Henderson	Jonathan Holoe
Gregory Ivanoff	McKay Morris
Gary Curtis	Rye Billsbury
Charley Brown	Ray Suber
Tom Wells	John Larkin; Casey Allen

Announcers

Bob Brown, Jack Brinkley, Dick Wells, Marvin Miller, Dan Donaldson

Producers/Creators

Frank and Anne Hummert; Robert Hardy Andrews

Writers

Robert Hardy Andrews, Lee Gebhart, Lester Huntley, Natalie Johnson, and Orin Tovrov

Programming History

WLW, Cincinnati, Ohio	August 1933–December 1933
NBC	1933–49
NBC Blue	February 1937–December 1937; June 1938–November 1938
CBS	January 1938–May 1938; September 1942–November 1960
Mutual	1935–36

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The March of Time

Network Docudrama Series

The *March of Time*, a radio forerunner of today's television "docudramas," was a widely heard and imitated news dramatization program—a "radio newsreel"—that lasted 14 seasons on network radio (1931–45) and led to a famous motion picture documentary series of the same name. *The March of Time* is best remembered by the words of the title spoken by the mellifluous narrator Westbrook Van Voorhis, who also spoke on the newsreel version and ended both by saying "Time marches on."

Origins

The idea for a digest of the news for radio broadcast originated with Fred Smith, the first station director at WLW in Cincinnati. Smith wrote and directed dramas for WLW and introduced many program ideas at the station. In 1925 he hit upon the novel idea of reading various items taken (without permission) from newspapers and magazines. Smith called the

program *Musical News*; after each story, a brief musical piece was played by the staff organist.

About the same time, a similar idea was put into print in a new kind of weekly magazine. Henry R. Luce and Briton Hadden, friends since prep school and Yale, quit their jobs at the *Baltimore News* in 1922 to found a magazine that summarized the week's news—an idea they had discussed since their days in boot camp during World War I. The magazine was *Time*, and its first issue appeared 3 March 1923. (Luce ran *Time* alone after the death of Briton Hadden in 1929.)

In 1928, Fred Smith at WLW got permission from *Time* to use an advance, or "makeready," copy of the magazine sent to him by airmail (then just begun) so that he could rewrite items for a weekly news summary on WLW. Soon Smith was hired by Time Incorporated and traveling the Midwest, signing up stations for a daily news summary the magazine would syndicate to radio stations. Beginning on 3 September 1928, 10-minute scripts were delivered by airmail to be read by local announcers on more than 60 stations. In New York, WOR called the program *NewsCasting* and broadcast it from 5:50 P.M. to 6:00 P.M., Monday through Friday. Smith himself was WOR's reader for the first year.

The radio program's title was apparently the first use of the word *newscast*, and it was listed in the *New York Times* radio logs by that title. While at WLW, Smith had coined *radarios*, after *radio* and *scenario*, for original radio plays he wrote and produced. (*Time* was even better known for its neologisms, coining *cinemaddict*, *newsmagazine*, and *socialite*, among others.) By the spring of 1929, the ten-minute summaries were being carried on as many as 90 stations (up from 60 stations just a half-year earlier)—the first large-scale regular daily news broadcast carried in the United States—but it was never a true network program because each station developed its own script.

Fred Smith next conceived of dramatizing the news. In September 1929 he produced a five-minute "news drama" in cooperation with *Time* and submitted his audition program to a number of stations with the title *NewsActing*. Although *newsacting* did not become a household word, the program idea caught on. By December 1929 Smith and a crew of six to eight actors were producing a weekly five-minute drama for distribution by electrical transcription. These programs were not full-scale dramatic productions, but they included sound effects, occasional music, and the portrayal of the voices of actual people involved in the news stories. Within a few months the *NewsActing* records were being broadcast over more than 100 stations nationwide. At the time, other network programs were dramatizing history, but none had tried a weekly presentation of current news.

Henry Luce wanted to advertise *Time* on the radio networks, and on 6 February 1931, an experimental program was sent via telephone wires to the home of a Time Inc. executive

where a small group was gathered that included CBS president William S. Paley. Exactly a month later, on Friday, 6 March 1931, *The March of Time* was fed from CBS's New York studios and carried on 20 of the network's affiliates (there were then about 80) at 10:30 P.M. EST. (The program's title was taken from a Broadway show tune of the same name.) After a five-second fanfare, the announcer said:

The March of Time. On a thousand fronts the events of the world move swiftly forward. Tonight the editors of *Time*, the weekly newsmagazine, attempt a new kind of reporting of the news, the re-enacting as clearly and dramatically as the medium of radio will permit some themes from the news of the week.

Network Years

This first program dramatized the reelection of William "Big Bill" Thompson as mayor of Chicago, the sudden death of the *New York World* by merging with the *New York Telegram*, and shorter segments on French prisoners sent to Devil's Island, revolution in Spain, prison reform in Romania, a roundup of news of royalty, an auction of Czarist possessions in New York, and the closing of the 71st United States Congress.

During the first season the program ran 13 weeks. It returned on 8 September 1932, but as a sustaining feature because *Time* executives had decided that they could not afford advertising, which they said the magazine no longer needed. In the magazine the editors justified the radio show's cancellation by asking, "should a few (400,000 *Time* subscribers) pay for the entertainment of many (9,000,000 radiowners)?" In the 29 February 1932 issue, *Time* also argued, "For all its blatant claims to being a medium of education, radio contributes little of its own beyond the considerable service of bringing good music to millions." In November 1932 the magazine resumed its sponsorship. *The March of Time* did its part to promote magazine sales: at the end of each program, listeners were reminded that they could find more details in the issue of *Time* magazine soon to be on newsstands.

On 1 February 1935, the *March of Time* newsreel began as a monthly film series in movie theaters. It began as a typical newsreel with several items in each issue, but the January 1938 issue focused on a single topic, "Inside Nazi Germany." After October 1938, single subjects were being treated exclusively as the series became a documentary rather than strictly a news series. The documentary series ran until 1951. Time Inc. also produced historical television documentary series, such as *Crusade in Europe*, based on the book by General Dwight D. Eisenhower (1948). The title *March of Time* was also used for a syndicated series of television documentaries produced by David Wolper.



Broadcast of *The March of Time*
 Courtesy CBS Photo Archive

During the 1933–34 season, *March of Time* was sponsored by Remington-Rand, and Westbrook Van Voorhis became the voice of the program. In 1935 there was a variety of sponsors when a daily 15-minute version was tried for one season. In 1938 the program was sponsored by Time Inc.'s *Life* magazine (purchased by Luce in 1936), and the announcer worked that title in to the opening of the program: "Life! The life of the world, its conflicts and achievements, its news and fun, its leaders and its common people." The program was not aired during the 1939–40 and 1940–41 seasons. After seven years on CBS, it moved to the NBC Blue network. In July 1942 the format was changed to only one or two dramatized segments and many more live, on-the-spot news reports. By the 1944–45 season, *March of Time*'s last, listeners were hearing the actual voices of newsmakers on many network programs.

At the century's end much was being made of the "synergy" of cross-media ties, the idea being that the interaction of a

media corporation's units (say, a magazine division feeding story ideas to a film company) would encourage the making of products and profits greater than the sum of the corporation's parts could make by acting alone. *The March of Time* was one of the first examples of synergy. Fred Smith's idea of reading a few news items accompanied by musical selections that became *Musical News*, *NewsCasting*, *NewsActing*, and *March of Time* led to the many "dramatized news" programs—documentaries and docudramas—on television today.

LAWRENCE W. LIGHTY

See also Documentary Programs; News

Narrators

Ted Husing, Westbrook Van Voorhis, Harry Von Zell

Programming History

CBS 1931-39

NBC Blue 1941-45

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Marconi, Guglielmo 1874-1937

Italian Wireless Inventor

Marconi's daughter Degna Marconi published an account of the prophetic revelation given at the future inventor's birth: as the household servants joined family members in crowding into the birth room, a servant tactlessly commented, "What big ears he has!" Guglielmo's mother, Annie, although spent from a difficult labor, is said to have defended her newborn by saying, "He will be able to hear the still, small voice of the air." Little did she know that 21 years later, he would be sending messages across distances of more than a mile with no wires, but only air between the transmitter and receiver.

Youth

Marconi's early years afforded little formal education. He was born in the Italian countryside to an Italian father and an Irish mother. Although he attended an occasional school, he rarely got along well in such settings. Most of his education was gained either under his mother's tutelage, lessons that included readings from the Bible and English language instruction, or from books in his father's library. In the library, he was introduced not only to Greek mythology and history, but also to heroes of electricity such as Benjamin Franklin and Michael Faraday.

Marconi's father was impatient with his son's excessive interest in electricity and his constant tinkering with mechanical apparatuses. While constructing experiments based on Franklin's writings about electricity, the young Marconi succeeded in getting high-voltage electricity to vibrate a series of dinner plates to the point of destruction. Thereafter, his father began to systematically ruin Guglielmo's experimental equipment whenever he found it. It was his mother who worked to nurture her son's interest in exploring science. She helped him protect and hide the scientific devices he built.

The First Wireless Transmissions

At about the age of 20 Marconi was given the attic in the family's house as a private workspace where he could dabble in his hobby. He spent many secluded hours there working on experiments inspired by an article about the electromagnetic wave experiments of Heinrich Hertz. Marconi realized the possibilities for wireless communication if he could improve on Hertz's work. Although Hertz had showed that an alternating electric current in a closed electrical system could cause sparks to result in a totally separate loop of wire a few feet away, he had not conceived of the communication possibilities. However, others were making a communication connection. Even before Marconi had read about Hertz's experiment, others were building more powerful electromagnetic demonstrations and showing that the waves traveled for many feet without wires. None of the other experimenters, however, actually created anything practical in a communication sense.

Marconi began by duplicating Hertz's experiments in his attic. One night in 1894 he woke his mother and led her to the attic. There he tapped a telegraph key on one side of the attic. From the far end of the attic came the sound of a bell ringing every time the telegraph key was struck. While Marconi was said to lack the theoretical capacity of others experimenting with electromagnetic waves, his persistence and his ability to make his mechanical apparatuses do what he wanted them to do made him successful where others were not.

A neighbor, Professor Augusto Righi of the University of Bologna, provided informal tutelage on electromagnetic waves and gave suggestions for improving Marconi's early experiments. But Righi was also one of those who discouraged Marconi, suggesting that he would not succeed in making wireless communication practical. Such discouragement served to



Guglielmo Marconi

Courtesy Marconi International Fellowship Foundation

solidify Marconi's resolve to find a solution. Marconi's signals soon began to reach from the attic to the lowest corner of the home's interior. By the spring of 1895, Marconi began to experiment with communicating over longer and longer distances outdoors. By summer, he could send signals several hundred yards.

Much of the ability to advance the distance at which signals could be received was based simply on increasing the electrical power used by the transmitter, a very inefficient mode of sending signals over distances. It was at this point that Marconi made one of his most important early breakthroughs. In an attempt to transmit radio waves over greater distances, he used two large sheets of iron, placing one on the ground and holding the other in the air. Suddenly the distances the waves traveled were vastly multiplied. Marconi realized that placing part of the transmitter in the ground reduced the electrical resis-

tance, allowing the signal to travel up to a mile and a half. He had invented the grounded antenna. Soon he was sending signals more than two miles, even over and around hills and other obstacles.

Selling the Wireless Idea

Because Marconi did not have the high-level connections that a formally educated scientist would have developed, he and his mother relied on the advice of the parish priest and the family physician to decide how to pursue promoting his new invention. They chose to send a detailed document describing the invention to the Italian Minister of Post and Telegraph in early 1896. The invention, however, was rejected, and Marconi took this as a rejection by his country. (He may have fared better had he submitted the invention to the Italian Navy, which may

well have recognized the invention's tremendous potential for ship-to-shore communication.) Based on that initial rejection, and probably also at the urging of his Irish mother, they decided that England, the greatest maritime power of that time, was most likely to be interested in the invention.

After applying for a patent in London, Marconi presented his invention to William Preece, an official of the British postal system. Preece arranged for Marconi to present his invention to many prominent scientists, who were impressed with his achievements. As the commercial possibilities began to be realized, Marconi was asked to sell his invention, but instead he formed his own company, the Marconi Wireless Company, and sold only a minority interest to investors. He achieved a wireless link across the 8.5 miles of the Bristol Channel in 1897 and began to install radio towers on the coast to warn ships in dangerous waters.

Marconi was also invited to demonstrate his invention to the Italian Navy, a right that he had reserved for his invention when his patent was filed. In his demonstrations and tests in Italy, he first proved that his signals could pass beyond the horizon through, it would seem, a wall of ocean. This finding would prove crucial in forecasting his eventual transatlantic communication.

Marconi was not only an inventor, but also a shrewd businessman. When asked to set up a transmitting station on a ship off the coast of England to transmit reports on a yacht race, he was quick to take up the challenge. Although this move did little to advance his scientific knowledge, he knew it would provide immense publicity for his invention. Queen Victoria picked up on the idea of ship-to-shore communication and adopted its use for the royal family between Osborne House on the Isle of Wight and the royal yacht.

In 1899 Marconi established a wireless link across the 32 miles of the English Channel. But simply conquering greater and greater distances became somewhat less important for Marconi, who had realized that the nature of wireless communication allowed only one transmitter at a time to operate in an area without interference. If two stations operated simultaneously, they would cancel each other out. Therefore, Marconi began to fix his attention on both focusing the direction of the signal and tuning the signal. Shortly after his Channel link was established, he wrote to Preece that he had made some advances in tuning the radio signal. He received a patent for this tuning invention a few years later.

While Marconi was in the process of experimenting with tuning in 1899, he took his first trip to the United States at the invitation of American businessmen who encouraged him to set up wireless systems for the America's Cup yachting races. In addition to these publicity-oriented transmissions, Marconi also met with the U.S. Navy and Army for demonstrations.

During these tests, Marconi experimented with the tuning components of his system but refused to let navy personnel in

on the full details, because he had not yet applied for a patent. The navy, although only mildly enthusiastic, ordered several ships to be outfitted with wireless devices, but a deal with the Marconi company later fell through because of the high cost—ten cents per word—for using the devices. Shortly after his departure after his two months in America, an associate filed papers to charter the American Marconi Company.

On the return voyage from the United States, Marconi established a couple of other firsts in wireless transmission. The *St. Paul*, on which he sailed, was outfitted with a wireless to contact the English coast upon their approach. From 66 nautical miles away, the wireless connection was made. This allowed enough time for news of the South African War to be telegraphed to the ship, copies of the *Transatlantic Times* printed with the news, and the copies sold to passengers so that they could catch up on the news hours before they reached port.

Crossing the Atlantic

Marconi continued to focus for the next couple of years on developing his tuning device, but he was also aiming toward his next major target, transatlantic communication. Many great minds in the scientific community had determined that transatlantic wireless would be impossible because of the inability of radio signals to follow the curvature of the Earth. Marconi had of course already demonstrated to himself that he was sending signals that would bend around the Earth over bodies of water. To make this transatlantic leap, he first built a transmitting station at Poldhu, on the coast of southwestern England. He then tried to build a receiver on Cape Cod, Massachusetts, in early 1901, but he was beset by storms that destroyed his stations.

He then took a shortcut to prove his theory correct. He sailed to Newfoundland and, using a kite, hoisted a wire 400 feet in the air. At 12:30 P.M. on 12 December 1901, Marconi and one assistant heard the three distinct clicks of the letter S telegraphed according to a preset schedule from Poldhu to St. Johns, Newfoundland, a distance of more than 2,100 miles. The transmission was received repeatedly that afternoon. Two days later, Marconi released his results to the press, results that were heralded by some and belittled by others (critics credited static electricity as the cause of the signals).

Though Marconi initially planned to build a permanent receiving station in St. Johns, threats from transatlantic cable companies to institute legal action persuaded him to move south to Nova Scotia. There, the Canadian government worked to help him build a permanent receiving station. The funding they provided also helped finish the facility being completed on Cape Cod. Still, there were many unknowns in the technical aspects of transatlantic signals. In 1902, on a trip from England back to North America, Marconi discovered

that signals traveled better at night than during a clear day. This was an important, if misunderstood, discovery. Try as he might, Marconi could not overcome the daytime impediment to his long-distance transmissions for several years, because he did not understand the impact of various frequencies on the propagation of electromagnetic waves.

Later Life

The Marconi companies faced considerable financial pressures through these years because the promise of transatlantic wireless seemed uncertain owing to problems with dependability in the system. To make these transmissions commercially viable, they had to be available on demand at any time. It was 1907 before commercial transmissions began in earnest between Glace Bay in Nova Scotia and a new station in Clifden on the west coast of Ireland. The Marconi company continued to concentrate on wireless telegraph service, with all ships required to have telegraph service by 1911.

All his work on creating a practical wireless method of international communication earned Marconi the Nobel Prize for physics in 1909. When the liner *Republic* went down after a midocean collision that same year, all passengers were saved thanks to wireless distress calls. The *Titanic* similarly used its wireless in 1912 to summon help that saved one-third of the passengers. Marconi sought further developments, including a portable wireless that could be used from lifeboats at sea, automatic warning alarms for untended wireless equipment, and triangulation techniques that would pinpoint a ship's position more accurately.

The early 1910s were filled with patent fights and business battles, but they were also largely profitable ones for the Marconi companies. Incorporating the inventions of others, Marconi's companies even began sending some wireless telephony messages of voice and music, a practice becoming known as "radio." After Italy entered World War I in 1915, Marconi was made an officer on the engineering staff responsible for wireless. Because of the need for secrecy in communication, he worked on developing shortwave communication and direction finders for the Italians and secured funding to update and expand the insufficient quantity of wireless equipment.

After the war, in 1920, the British rescinded a Marconi experimental license for broadcasting an opera performance, saying that it interfered with legitimate services. Thus, the U.S. got a two-year head start on Britain in regular radio broadcasting and the mass production of receivers. In 1922 Marconi was again allowed to begin limited broadcast service. By this time he was performing many of his radio experiments on his yacht, *Elettra*, which he had purchased in 1919.

Marconi's personal experiments continued to improve on his wireless inventions. He was eventually able to send directional signals and could make them circle the globe using

shortwave technology. He capitalized on this achievement by establishing permanent communication links between territories of the British Empire. He also helped to establish Vatican Radio on shortwave so that the pope could speak to the whole world at once.

By 1927 Marconi's health began to fail. He continued to work on experiments in radar and with microwaves. He again overcame the doubts of theoreticians about the ability of microwaves to travel long distances, and he set up the first microwave communications link at the Vatican. Marconi died in 1937.

STEPHEN D. PERRY

See also Early Wireless; Fleming, John Ambrose; Hertz, Heinrich; Vatican Radio

Guglielmo Marconi. Born in Bologna, Italy, 25 April 1874. Self-educated and tutored by scientist Augusto Righi; invented methods of propagating electromagnetic waves over short distances, 1895, eventually reaching across Atlantic ocean, 1901, and around the world, 1922; invented method of tuning signals to avoid interference, 1904; worked on developing radar and microwave systems, advancing shortwave systems, and implementing permanent wireless communication between British colonies; set up Vatican radio service enabling Pope to speak to world, 1931. Received Nobel Prize in physics, 1909. Died in Rome, Italy, 20 July 1937.

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Market

Radio markets are defined in geographic, demographic, and psychographic terms. Often, the definition of a radio market involves all three factors.

The primary definition of a market for radio is geographic—the area served by the transmitter's coverage, whether one city, a group of counties, or an entire region. Within that "market," the station establishes its listener base and sells advertising to attract those listeners to area retailers.

The second definition for radio derives from the medium's ability to target individual audience segments. Demographically drawn markets allow stations to focus programming on specific age groups: young adult women, for example, or teenagers. National radio programs define their markets using demographics.

Some markets defy geography and demography and consist of people of similar interests and tastes—psychographics. These similarities are often referred to as "lifestyle characteristics." However, consultant George A. Burns cautions radio marketers to understand the differences: "A group of nude skydivers may have only that in common. Their radio tastes can vary widely. While there may be broad commonalities among listeners to an individual radio station, it seems almost impossible to define them." Burns (1980) suggested that lifestyle characteristics of a particular group "*converge* at an individual radio station, *as far as radio listening is concerned*."

As radio emerged in the 1930s as a viable—and valuable—medium for advertisers, geographic divisions were the most effective and most often used because of network radio's national reach. A 1939 promotional flyer from the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) showed the percentage of radio ownership in each of nine regions of the United States. The same flyer divided radio families by each of the four standard time zones, by size of city, and by whether listeners were in rural or urban locations.

Geography

The specific geographical definition of a market begins with guidelines set by the U.S. government's Office of Management and Budget (OMB). Radio's ratings services base their market areas on OMB's "Metropolitan Statistical Area" (MSA), "Primary Metropolitan Statistical Area" (PMSA), and "Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical Area" (CMSA). The government assigns each county surrounding a major population area to a specific MSA, PMSA, or CMSA.

For purposes of radio and television ratings, the definitions are modified by the Arbitron Company for radio and Nielsen Media Research for television, based on the needs and desires of their subscribers. Stations subscribing to the ratings service vote on which counties are included in a ratings report and which are excluded or assigned to another market area. Modern media markets are typically defined in three ways: for radio, the Metro Survey Area ("Metro") and the Total Survey Area (TSA); for television, the Designated Market Area (DMA).

As an example, the San Francisco, California, Arbitron ratings report contains data from Sonoma County listeners, and Sonoma County is considered part of the San Francisco Metro in Arbitron ratings reports. Sonoma County radio station operators, however, elected to define their county as a radio market, too. The result was a ratings report for San Francisco and an additional report for Santa Rosa (the largest city in Sonoma County). The ratings for Santa Rosa are duplicated in the San Francisco report, creating what is called an "imbedded market."

In contrast, Philadelphia and Wilmington, Delaware, are similar in that they are geographically side by side. Just as Sonoma County listeners hear San Francisco stations as easily as local outlets, Wilmington listeners can hear Philadelphia stations. However, the two are separate and distinct radio markets, as elected by Arbitron's subscribers in each area. The Philadelphia report and the Wilmington report have no duplication.

The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) generally defines a market area based on the signal contours of individual stations and overlapping signals. The FCC definition thus often differs from the Arbitron definition.

Targeting

Targeting was first found in advertising texts of the early 20th century. There was clear awareness of the use of different periodicals to target various populations: children, farmers, college students, and religious people, for instance. There were “trade” or “class” magazines such as those aimed at plumbers or Masons. Small-town newspapers targeted their audiences specifically, giving local influence to the advertisements. In 1915 Ernest Elmo Calkins suggested “canvassing consumers” in different cities around the country in order to gather information for an ad campaign. Calkins was a pioneer of targeting specific types of people as audiences and creating non-geographic markets.

General Motors advertising was an early example of targeting and segmentation. Trying to work out of a sales slump in the 1920s, the company reorganized its strategy based on price segments. Chevrolet, Pontiac, Buick, and Cadillac automobiles were priced differently and advertised to different markets based on socio-economic criteria.

This led manufacturers to support magazines and radio stations that reached the consumer segments they wanted for their products. Radio at the time was more mass than segmented; however, it became an ideal demographic and segmentation medium, creating communities of like-minded listeners. Writing in *American Demographics* magazine, Joseph Turow recognized the benefit of targeting to specific communities: “Target-minded media help advertisers [target a specific audience] by building primary media communities formed when viewers or readers feel that a magazine, radio station, or other medium resonates with their personal beliefs, and helps them chart their position in the larger world.”

Just as media has changed since targeting and segmentation began, so has research. The statistical tools available to the researcher have grown tremendously over the years. The plunging cost of computation makes it both economically and logistically feasible to merge large databases and create new analyses. Researchers are now able to uncover relationships among demographic, attitudinal, behavioral, and geographic elements of the population. Those relationships are called “clusters.”

Clusters

The saying “birds of a feather flock together” represents the idea of clustering. By combining demographic data, a market

can be grouped into clusters, also known as “geodemographic segmentation systems.”

Cluster systems take many demographic variables and create profiles of different individual or household characteristics, purchase behaviors, and media preferences. Most clusters used in media sales and analysis have catchy, descriptive names in an attempt to make them easier to remember. Examples are “Elite Suburbs,” “2nd City Society,” “Heart Landers,” and “Rustic Living”—all from Claritas’ PRIZM cluster system.

Marketing Tools magazine claims that cluster systems

are especially powerful when used in conjunction with business mapping. Sophisticated mapping software programs easily link demographics to any level of geography (a process called “geocoding”). Some software can pinpoint specific households with neighborhoods from . . . customer data and then create schematic maps of neighborhoods by cluster concentrations.

The geographic element distinguishes clusters from psychographic segments. Another difference is that cluster categories are based on socio-economic and consumer data, not attitudinal data.

When mapping and media mix, Zip codes are often used as a targeting tool. Radio stations tend to use Zip codes to target potential Arbitron diary keepers, but this is not an exact science. In *The Clustering of America* (1988), Michael Weiss introduced the use of Zip codes as a clustering device. His work introduced marketers to age, education, and buying segments originally developed by Claritas Corporation for their PRIZM database. As effective as Weiss was in describing clustering, the net result among media sellers was his Zip code analyses.

With more than 36,000 Zip codes in the United States, precise segmentation is difficult. A Zip code does not constitute a segmented market, even though a single Zip code can contain 35,000 addresses or more. In New York City, because of the density of the population, Zip codes are somewhat cohesive in terms of ethnic and socio-economic mix. In the smallest towns, there may be only one Zip code, thus defying segmentation. That is why the cluster systems were developed.

Lifestyles

Cluster analysis is often confused with psychographics, and the words *psychographics* and *lifestyles* tend to be used interchangeably. There is a difference, though: *psychographics* usually refers to a formal classification system that categorizes people into specific types based largely on psychological characteristics; *lifestyle* is more vague and generally refers to organizing people by attitudes or consumer behavior—“politically

conservative,” for example, or “avid golfer.” Cluster systems are based on purchase behavior (i.e., “owns a cell phone”) and demographics (age, sex, income, and education).

According to researcher James Fletcher, qualitative information about lifestyle includes data collected in one or more of the following categories: (1) activities: work, hobbies, social events, vacations, entertainment, club and community activity, shopping, sports; (2) interests: family, home, recreation, fashion, food and wine, media, personal achievement; (3) media behavior: light, medium, or heavy users of electronic media; local newspaper readership; magazine subscriptions; (4) recreation: sports fans, sports participants, travel for recreational purposes, live theater, concerts, movies; (5) social activity: joiners who frequent the social scene or participate in clubs and organizations, house bodies who concentrate on do-it-yourself projects and gardening; (6) purchase patterns: recent purchases, intention to purchase, likely choices when the purchase time arrives; (7) opinion: social issues, politics, business, education, products, culture, the future; (8) demographics: age, sex, education, income, occupation, family size, rent or own housing, geography.

In radio, demographics are often equated with age and sex. In general use, however, the additional elements listed above are all part of demographics. Given radio’s ability to create communities of people with similar tastes and attitudes, it can be said that the medium not only serves markets, but also creates them.

ED SHANE

See also Audience Research Methods; Station Rep Firms

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Marketplace

U.S. Public Radio Program

Marketplace: *The International Magazine of Business and Finance* is a daily program on U.S. public radio billed as the “first truly global program using business and economics as its prism to understand the world.” The program’s trademark is its non-Wall Street approach, designed, in the words of program originator Jim Russell, “for normal human beings, not CEOs.” It is known for its hip and sometimes irreverent reporting; it is short on statistical market data and long on feature reporting and analysis. *Marketplace* went on the air on 2 January 1989 and quickly became the fastest-growing national program on public radio, entering 2003 with nearly 6 million

listeners per week. *Marketplace* airs five days per week, with a 30-minute evening program and five 9-minute reports in the morning. It is carried on more than 355 stations throughout the United States and is also heard in Europe on the public radio satellite channel America One and worldwide on the Armed Forces Radio Network. The program is hosted by David Brancaccio and produced by J.J. Yore. *Marketplace* originates in Los Angeles and is distributed by Public Radio International of Minneapolis. In April 2000, Marketplace Productions was acquired by Minnesota Public Radio, which built a new program production center in downtown Los Angeles.

Origins

Marketplace was born at a time when public radio programmers were looking for a business program suitable specifically for public radio. During the summer of 1988, officials at Public Radio International (then the American Public Radio Network [APR]) approached former *All Things Considered* producer Tim Russell with a request that he provide a critique of its daily business program, *Business Update*, which was being produced for public radio by Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) Radio. Russell's report concluded that, although the program featured solid reporting and was well produced, it had an unquestionably "CBS sound" that did not match the style that listeners had come to expect on public radio. Russell outlined in his report an alternative vision of a public radio business program that was slightly more witty and smart. This type of program, Russell felt, would not necessarily appeal to business professionals, but it could be targeted to a much broader, but still well-educated, audience.

In the fall of 1988, APR officials gathered a group of public radio programmers together at its Minnesota headquarters to discuss Russell's report and his idea for this new kind of business program. The concept won the group's endorsement, though it was agreed that, in order to avoid domination by the media establishment, the program would be produced neither in the Twin Cities nor on the East Coast. Instead, the new show would be produced in California so that it might develop its own voice and foster access to the Pacific Rim business markets. It thus became the first, and only, national daily news program to originate on the West Coast. The name *Marketplace* was selected as the main title specifically because it did not carry the strong Wall Street connotations of the words *business* or *finance*, which were relegated to the subtitle of the program. Russell was hired as the new program's executive producer and general manager, and within three months a staff was hired and the program went on the air, debuting 2 January 1989 from Long Beach, California. The program nearly went off the air after just a few months, but in 1990 USC Radio at the University of Southern California stepped in, offering money, new studios, and help in finding corporate underwriters. The program's original host, Jim Angle, left for a job at ABC in 1993 and was replaced by David Brancaccio, a former KQED public radio reporter (and a San Francisco rock disc jockey before that) who had opened the show's London bureau.

Covering Business

Marketplace draws from international bureaus in Tokyo, London, Beijing, and in South Africa; it has five domestic bureaus. The program features a number of key elements: it defines business as "*anything* having to do with money." It takes an

international perspective on the assumption that business shapes world events. The program producers avoid statistics, operating on the maxim of "no data without context." Instead, the show uses an "op ed" approach for background and analysis by featuring a roster of about 75 commentators from a spectrum of cultures, political backgrounds, and ethnicities. It also maintains unique editorial relationships with such traditional sources as the *Economist Magazine*, London's *Financial Times*, and Reuters.

The fact that it is a "business program for the rest of us" is typified by reporting that shows the human side of economics and that attempts to demystify the world of finance (both general manager Russell and morning host Glaser promote their barely passing grades in college economics classes). Host David Brancaccio brags about not having an MBA, and on-air mentions of his home on USC's Fraternity Row and his daily commute to work on a bicycle add to the hip, quirky approach. The program's trademark irreverence is typified by the background music played when its hosts "Do the Numbers" each day: the song "Stormy Weather" is used when the Dow Jones Industrial Average is down, and "We're in the Money" is played when the Dow is up. It features a variety of non-economic feature stories on the assumption that every topic has some financial or business angle.

Forty-one percent of *Marketplace* listeners are women, and its audience is relatively young: almost 20 percent of its listeners are in the 25–34 age demographic, and nearly 30 percent are 35–44 years old. Its weekly audience, approaching 6 million listeners, is said to be the second-largest audience in the United States for a TV, cable, or radio business program, behind PBS's *Nightly Business Report*. In 1998 *Marketplace* won a Silver Baton award for broadcast journalism from Columbia University. In 2000, general manager Jim Russell received a Missouri Honor Medal from the University of Missouri's School of Journalism. In 2001 the program won the prestigious Peabody Award.

MARK BRAUN

Cast

Hosts David Brancaccio
Morning Hosts Kai Ryssdal, Tess Vigeland

Producer

J.J. Yore

Programming History

Public Radio International January 1989–present

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Markle, Fletcher 1921–1991

Canadian Writer, Producer, and Director

Fletcher Markle was a leading producer/writer/director (and sometime actor) during commercial radio's "second wave" in the 1940s. Inspired by the protean hyphenate Orson Welles, who later became a friend, Markle sustained the tradition of dramatic adventure exemplified by the *Mercury Theater*. When network radio died in the early 1950s, Markle was able to shift his dramatic vision to television and film.

Markle was one of the pioneering Canadian broadcasters who journeyed across the border to make a major impact on American entertainment. Born in Winnipeg and raised in Vancouver, the young Markle had a speech impediment, which was corrected by constant listening to and imitation of the narrator of the *March of Time*, Westbrook Van Voorhis. The adolescent also paid attention to the speech patterns of the entire program's cast and was especially entranced by the resonant tones of Orson Welles. Soon he was speaking and writing in the Wellesian style. He began writing, directing, and acting for a local program on Sunday afternoons, *Imagine, Please*. Impressing the radio community in Vancouver, he again emulated his distant mentor and sold adaptations of *Jane Eyre* and *Treasure Island* to the regional dramatic series *From the Bookshelf*.

One of the leading producers in Canadian radio, Andrew Allen, took notice, and Markle was hired to write radio plays for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) series *Baker's Dozen*. Writing for an ensemble, Markle also based scripts on his own life, including "There Was a Young Man," which was influenced by "lost generation" literary lions F. Scott Fitzgerald and Ernest Hemingway. In 1942 he enlisted in the Canadian Royal Air Force and wrote scripts for the documentary series *Comrade in Arms*. Replacing Edward R. Murrow, he wrote narration for a British Broadcasting

Corporation (BBC) short film about German air attacks, *The V-1: Story of the Robot Bomb*, which was nominated for an Academy Award in 1944.

After the war, Markle continued his work for Allen, writing and directing for an anthology series, *Radio Folio*. His words captured the ear of legendary writer Norman Corwin, and he was invited to write and direct shows for the Columbia Broadcasting System's (CBS) experimental series *Columbia Workshop*. While in New York, he first met his hero, Orson Welles, and played for him transcription discs of a Canadian production, *Life with Adam*, a fictionalized account of Welles' radio and Broadway exploits. Welles hired Markle to produce and direct the satire for his *Mercury Summer Theater of the Air*, with regulars including conductor Bernard Hermann and actress Mercedes McCambridge, whom Markle would later marry. Over the years, he assisted Welles in numerous projects, including writing scenes for *The Lady from Shanghai* and researching two television pilots.

In 1947 CBS programmer Davidson Taylor contracted Markle to produce and direct the most ambitious anthology series in postwar radio, *Studio One*. Again with Wellesian flair, Markle assembled his own repertory company of solid radio professionals, including Everett Sloane, Anne Burr, Hester Sondergaard, and Robert Dryden. Markle was given complete freedom in the selection of scripts, and he opened the series with an adaptation of Malcolm Lowry's autobiographical *Under the Volcano*. He took a chance on novices, hiring Agnes Eckhardt, for example, to adapt novels of Sinclair Lewis. Eckhardt, who would later use her married name Nixon, became one of daytime television's legendary creators. Markle received the George Foster Peabody Award for his production of Robert Ardrey's *Thunder Rock*.

Markle resisted casting stars on the New York-based *Studio One*. When Ford began sponsoring the show in October 1948, the automobile manufacturer demanded big names, and production was shifted to Los Angeles under the new series title *Ford Theater*. The inaugural broadcast, an adaptation of *Madame Bovary*, featured Marlene Dietrich, Van Heflin, and Claude Rains. No longer an ensemble, the main attraction was star power: Burt Lancaster (*Double Indemnity*), Lucille Ball and James Garfield (*The Big Street*), Ingrid Bergman (*Camille*), Gene Kelly (*The Gentle People*), and Montgomery Clift (*Wuthering Heights*). Markle returned to acting, appearing opposite Helen Hayes in *A Farewell to Arms*. He also developed a friendship with Jack Benny because of their successful radio adaptation of Benny's notorious movie, *The Horn Blows at Midnight*. Even with movie luminaries and familiar plots, *Ford Theater* lasted less than a year; radio drama was doomed because of the invasion of television.

Markle switched to directing motion pictures and employed many of the actors he had worked with on the *Ford* series. He directed the caper movie *Jigsaw* (1949) for United Artists and the social drama *Night into Mourning* (1951) for Metro Goldwyn Mayer. In 1952 he returned to CBS and New York, having been hired to produce the fourth season of the television anthology series *Studio One*. Working with directors Franklin Schaffner and Paul Nickell, he produced approximately 40 live telecasts. For the production of the romantic teleplay "Rendezvous," he gave fellow Canadian Lorne Greene his first starring role in the United States.

Markle's success with *Studio One* led to his directing the first live color series from Hollywood, the nostalgic *Life with Father* (1953–55), in which Markle showed his directorial versatility by supervising this comedy starring Leon Ames and Lurene Tuttle. Throughout the 1950s he was hired to direct a wide array of genres: Broadway adaptations for *Front Row Center* (1955), suspenseful episodes of the *George Sanders Mystery Theater* (1957), police action on Lee Marvin's *M-Squad* (1957), and epic adventures on *Tales of the Vikings* (1959). In the early 1960s he produced a pilot for Boris Karloff's *Thriller* and directed the situation comedy *Father of the Bride*, with Robert Maxwell. During this period Markle directed one of Disney's most popular animal films of all time, *The Incredible Journey* (1963).

In the early 1960s, the onset of diabetes prevented Markle from undertaking demanding productions, and he returned to Canada. He created and hosted the long-running interview series *Telescope*. He conducted over 300 filmed interviews, including rare talks with Buster Keaton and Walt Disney. In the early 1970s, he was appointed head of the television drama department of the CBC. In 1976 he produced four specials for the CBC on the history of the Olympics, narrated by Christopher Plummer.

In 1979 Markle and Elliott Lewis tried to revive radio drama by producing and directing *Sears Radio Theater* on CBS. Broadcast every night from Los Angeles and divided into such theme nights as "The Western," "Love-and-Hate," and "Adventure," this hour-long series featured such established names as Howard Duff, Eve Arden, Daws Butler, and Hans Conried. After a year Sears and CBS withdrew support, and the series switched networks, continuing for nearly two years as *Mutual Radio Theater*. Again, Markle and his generation learned the sad fact that there is a small audience for any type of drama on radio.

Fletcher Markle was one of those creative individuals whose sensibility was formed by radio. He was able to revive the tradition of national drama on radio for several years after World War II. When the possibilities for creative expression became limited, Markle showed that directing techniques learned in radio could be transferred to film and television. To the end though, his heart belonged to his first medium; he was very active in the Society to Preserve and Encourage Radio, Drama, Variety, and Comedy (SPERDVAC) before his death in 1991.

RON SIMON

See also Canadian Radio Drama; Mercury Theater of the Air; Playwrights on Radio

Fletcher Markle. Born in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada, 27 March 1921. Actor and writer for local Vancouver programs, 1940–41; hired to write scripts for CBC series, *Baker's Dozen*, 1941; enlisted in Royal Canadian Air Force, 1942; appeared in *Journey Together*, 1942–45; writer and director, *Radio Folio*, 1946; producer and director, CBS, 1947–48; directed films for United Artists and MGM, 1949–51; producer, CBS television version of *Studio One*, 1952–53; directed television comedy, *Life with Father*, 1953–55; freelance television director, 1955–59; producer of *Thriller* with Boris Karloff, 1960; returned to Canada and created *Telescope*, oversaw CBC's television drama department; produced and directed *Sears Radio Theater* and *Mutual Radio Theater*, 1979–82; adapted *The Short Happy Life of Francis Macomber* and Edith Wharton's *Summer*, 1983–84. Received George Foster Peabody Award, 1947; member of Society to Preserve and Encourage Radio Drama, Variety, and Comedy. Died in Pasadena, California, 23 May 1991.

Radio Series

1940	<i>Imagine, Please; Theatre Time; From the Bookshelf</i>
1941	<i>Baker's Dozen</i>
1944	<i>Stage 44</i>
1946	<i>Columbia Workshop</i>
1947	<i>Mercury Summer Theatre of the Air; Studio One</i>
1948	<i>Ford Theater</i>

1979–80 *Sears Radio Theater*
 1980–81 *Mutual Radio Theater*

Television Series

Studio One, 1952–53; *Life with Father*, 1953–55; *Front Row Center*, 1955; *The Ford Theatre*, 1955; *Panic*, 1957; *Without Warning*, 1957; *The George Sanders Mystery Theater*, 1957; *M-Squad*, 1957; *Colgate Theatre: "Tonight in Havana,"* 1958; *Buckskin*, 1958; *Tales of the Vikings*, 1959; *Hong Kong; Thriller*, 1960; *Telescope*, 1960s; *Father of the Bride*, 1961–62; *The Olympics: A Television History of the Golden Games*, 1976

Films

The V-1: Story of the Robot Bomb, 1944; *Journey Together*, 1945; *Jigsaw*, 1949; *Night into Mourning* (a.k.a. *People in Love*), 1951; *The Man with the Cloak*, 1951; *The Incredible Journey*, 1963

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Maxwell, James Clerk 1831–1879

Scottish Physicist and Theorizer of Radio Waves

James Clerk Maxwell was a physicist best known for his contributions to electromagnetic theory, including predictions of electromagnetic radiation that Heinrich Hertz later demonstrated in the laboratory and that Guglielmo Marconi and others applied in developing wireless communication systems. The influence of his experimental and theoretical work reached beyond these applications, paving the way for Einstein's theory of relativity and for theories about the structure of atoms and molecules.

Origins

James Clerk Maxwell was born on 13 June 1831 in Edinburgh, Scotland. His father, John Clerk, assumed the name Maxwell in legal proceedings after inheriting land not far from Edinburgh in southwestern Scotland. A house was built there and the estate named Glenlair. From time to time throughout his life, Maxwell returned to the quiet country life at Glenlair and did much of his writing there.

Maxwell's mother, Frances Cay, who supervised his early education, died when he was eight years old. After spending two years with an unsatisfactory tutor, in 1841 Maxwell was sent to Edinburgh Academy, where he took honors in English, English verse, and mathematics. Maxwell's father, a lawyer and fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, took an active interest in his son's progress, taking him to meetings of the Royal Society. When Maxwell was 14, his father showed the boy's paper describing a new method for drawing ovals to J.D.

Forbes, professor of natural philosophy at Edinburgh University. The paper was read at a meeting of the Royal Society and printed in the April 1846 proceedings.

In 1847 Maxwell entered the University of Edinburgh. In October 1850 he went to Cambridge (Peterhouse College for one term, then Trinity College). During this time, his experiments in geometrical optics led to the discovery of the "fish-eye" lens. In 1854 he graduated second wrangler (awarded for excellence in mathematics) and first Smith's prizeman (for an essay incorporating original research). He then became a fellow at Trinity and a lecturer in hydrostatics and optics. In a paper read to the Cambridge Philosophical Society in 1855, Maxwell provided a method of approaching electrical problems by using mathematical language to discuss the lines of force surrounding the electrical and magnetic fields Michael Faraday had demonstrated. In *On Faraday's Lines of Force* (1855–56), Maxwell used an analogy of space as filled with a medium or with an imaginary, massless fluid. Electric and magnetic fields could then be understood as analogous to motion in this incompressible fluid. He worked out a series of equations to account for the continuum that the lines of force seemed to create within that medium. In an essay that won the fourth Adams prize at Cambridge, Maxwell used mathematical proofs to demonstrate that Saturn's rings could not be solid but must be composed of a multitude of small satellites.

In 1856 Maxwell accepted a professorship of natural philosophy at Marischal College in Aberdeen and in 1858 married the principal's daughter, Katherine Mary Dewar. When a reor-

ganization of the college eliminated his position at Aberdeen in 1860, Maxwell became a professor of natural philosophy at King's College. There, in London, he renewed an earlier interest in color mixing, set up a laboratory in the attic, and with his wife's help began a series of experiments in color vision. Using what he called his "colour-box" he investigated variations in color sensitivity across the retina. In a lecture to the Royal Institution on the theory of three primary colors, he demonstrated the first color photograph. His wife also assisted in his experiments to measure the viscosity of gases.

Electromagnetic Theory

Maxwell continued his work on electromagnetic theory, producing two more significant papers. *On Physical Lines of Force* (1861–62) was the result of his attempts to illustrate Faraday's law of induction. Maxwell constructed a mechanical model and attempted to demonstrate that there is in principle a physical mechanism in space that carries transverse waves and accounts for what was known about electromagnetism. Calculating the speed at which these waves travel, he found that it was very close to the speed of light and concluded that what we perceive as light is actually another phenomenon of electromagnetism. In *A Dynamical Theory of the Electromagnetic Field* (1864), Maxwell departed from the idea of a physical medium and instead advanced the concept of field as an energy-bearing continuum. To describe the electrical field, he developed a group of equations. In their final form, Maxwell's Equations provided a method to predict the behavior of electricity and magnetism under given conditions.

In 1865, following an illness, Maxwell retired to Glenlair. Although he took periodic trips to London to serve as external examiner for mathematical exams at Cambridge, he devoted much of his time to scientific writing, including *Theory of Heat* (1870) and *Treatise on Electricity and Magnetism* (1873). In 1871 he was appointed Chair of Experimental Physics at Cambridge University. There he designed and oversaw the creation of the Cavendish Laboratory, where experimental work done under his direction emphasized precision in measurements.

Maxwell died of abdominal cancer at the age of 48 on 5 November 1879 and was buried in a small churchyard in Par-ton, Scotland.

Although some of his contemporaries received more public recognition during his lifetime, James Clerk Maxwell's influence on 20th-century physics has been more far-reaching. Those who had corresponded with him and would carry on his work and keep his memory and research alive became known as the "Maxwellians." His theories predicting electromagnetic radiation led directly to the experimental and applied work underlying our entire system of radio communication. He speculated about the effect of the motion of the emitter of light

on the velocity of light, and his theories paved the way for Einstein's special theory of relativity. He made significant advances in the kinetic theory of gases, contributed to the development of quantum theory, and conducted innovative studies in several other scientific fields. On the 100th anniversary of Maxwell's birth in 1931, the importance of his work was described in a tribute by Einstein as the most profound and fruitful change in the conception of reality in physics since the time of Newton.

LUCY A. LIGGETT

See also Early Wireless; Hertz, Heinrich

James Clerk Maxwell. Born in Edinburgh, Scotland, 13 June 1831. Only child of John Clerk Maxwell and Frances Cay; attended University of Edinburgh, 1847–50, Cambridge University, 1850–54; graduated second wrangler and first Smith's prizeman, Trinity College, 1854; fellow and lecturer, Trinity College, England, 1854–56; professor, Marischal College, Aberdeen, Scotland, 1856–60; professor, King's College, London, England, 1860–65; elected to Royal Society, 1861; appointed chair of experimental physics, Cambridge University, 1871; appointed to British Association for the Advancement of Science committee to develop international electrical standards, 1862. Died in Cambridge, England, 5 November 1879.

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Mayflower Decision

FCC Radio License Renewal Decision, 1941

The *Mayflower* decision, issued by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) in 1941, is most noted for its conclusion that, as public trustees, broadcasters could not use their stations to advocate their own causes. In other words, broadcasters should not editorialize.

In 1939 the Yankee Network filed an application to renew the license of its Boston radio station, WAAB. At the same time, the Mayflower Broadcasting Corporation filed an application with the FCC to operate a radio station on the same frequency used by WAAB, thus challenging the renewal of WAAB. In its challenge, Mayflower claimed that WAAB was violating federal law by broadcasting editorials that endorsed certain political candidates for public office.

WAAB did not deny broadcasting the editorials in 1937 and 1938, but the station had discontinued the practice after being questioned by the FCC. As a result of this change in station policy and because Mayflower was found not to be financially qualified, WAAB's license was renewed. But the *Mayflower* decision sent a signal to broadcasters that station editorials were not considered to be in the public interest.

In writing the *Mayflower* decision, the FCC pointed out that the broadcaster has the initial responsibility for the conduct of the station. But because radio frequencies are limited, the interests of the public must be paramount over those of the licensee. Therefore, according to the FCC: "[T]he broadcaster cannot be an advocate. A truly free radio cannot be used to advocate the causes of the licensee. It cannot be used to support the candidacies of his friends. It cannot be devoted to the support of principles he happens to regard most favorably."

In the language of the *Mayflower* decision, the FCC was expressing its interpretation of the Communications Act of 1934 and the phrase "public interest, convenience or necessity." Broadcasters are public trustees who have the privilege of using public property—frequency space on the electromagnetic spectrum. Therefore, they are licensed to operate their stations in the "public interest" (as the phrase has been shortened over the years). In *Mayflower*, the FCC stated: "Indeed, as one

licensed to operate in a public domain the licensee has assumed the obligation of presenting all sides of important public questions, fairly, objectively and without bias." This was the basis for the FCC policy prohibiting radio editorials.

But that policy was to be challenged when the FCC encountered more station renewal petitions involving coverage of public issues. In the 1945 *WHKC* case, a station license renewal was challenged on the basis of a policy prohibiting the sale of commercial time for programs that discuss controversial subjects. In resolving the case, the FCC accepted an agreement between the station and the labor-union petitioner. The station agreed to change its policy and consider each request for commercial time on an individual basis. The commission noted that "the operation of any station under the extreme principles that no time shall be sold for the discussion of controversial public issues . . . is inconsistent with the concept of public interest established by the Communications Act."

In the 1946 *Scott* decision, the FCC was petitioned to revoke a station's license based on its refusal to make program time available for the discussion of atheism. The licensee of the station defended the refusal based on its "firm belief that it would not be in the public interest to lend our facilities to Mr. Scott for the dissemination and propagation of atheism." The commission stated that the station could not have a policy that denied views "which may have a high degree of unpopularity." Again, balanced coverage of controversial issues became the central point of the petition.

By the late 1940s, the FCC had decided to hold hearings to clear up confusion about its policies in this area. In 1949 the commission issued what came to be known as the "fairness doctrine." The doctrine established the policy that "broadcast licensees have an affirmative duty generally to encourage and implement the broadcast of all sides of controversial public issues over their facilities, over and beyond their obligation to make available on demand opportunities for the expression of opposing views." Ironically, the fairness doctrine also reversed FCC policy banning station editorials.

As a result of broadcaster complaints, the National Association of Broadcasters asked the commission to reconsider its policy on station editorials. After reviewing its policies on coverage of public issues, the FCC concluded that “overt licensee editorialization, within reasonable limits and subject to the general requirements of fairness detailed above, is not contrary to the public interest. . . . Licensee editorialization is but one aspect of freedom of expression by means of radio.”

FREDERIC A. LEIGH

See also Controversial Issues; Editorializing; Fairness Doctrine

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McBride, Mary Margaret 1899–1976

U.S. Radio Journalist and Program Host

A broadcast journalist and what would today be called a talk show host, Mary Margaret McBride projected a warm, down-home personality on her highly popular, long-running radio programs. For some 20 years she was the best-known woman in radio, although today she is almost forgotten.

Origins

McBride was born at the very end of the 19th century in Missouri. As a child, she moved frequently from farm to farm with her family. She entered William Woods College (then a preparatory school) in 1906. In 1916 she entered the University of Missouri, from which she graduated with a degree in journalism in 1919.

After a year as a reporter for the *Cleveland Press* (Ohio), she worked as a reporter for the *New York Evening Mail* until 1924. She then turned to freelance magazine writing, soon becoming very successful, with her work appearing in *The Saturday Evening Post*, *Cosmopolitan*, and *Good Housekeeping*, among others. McBride also edited the woman's page of the

Newspaper Enterprise Association syndicate from 1934 to 1935. She became one of the best-paid women of her time, but the Depression cut into her income, as it did many others', and opened up another option.

Radio Career

McBride's radio career began in 1934 with a competition among 50 women to host an advice and interview program on New York City radio station WOR. Successful in the competition, she appeared as “Martha Deane” (a name owned by the station), playing the role of a grandmother with several children and grandchildren. After three weeks she gave it all away on the air and admitted that she was no grandmother, merely “a reporter who would like to come here every day and tell you about places I go, people I meet.” This did not seem to hurt her rising popularity one bit.

Paralleling much of her magazine journalism (which continued), the program offered daily advice directed largely at women. Her advice was readily accepted by listeners due to the



Mary Margaret McBride
 Courtesy CBS Photo Archive

combination of her clear knowledge about the matters discussed, her homey Missouri accent, and her ability to project (even as a young woman) a kind of grandmotherly kindness combined with wit. And she could think rapidly, making a new art of the ad-lib interview and program (none were scripted). As radio historian Erik Barnouw put it, her career “was built on a unique ability to draw others out.”

McBride’s program began to appear three times a week on the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) network in 1937 as a 45-minute amalgam of ad-lib commentary and interviews that soon drew an audience in the millions. (She continued daily on WOR until 1940 when other women took over the Martha Deane role.) It also allowed her a greater degree of freedom from network oversight than most program hosts enjoyed. Celebrities from all walks of life appeared (or sought to appear) on McBride’s program, and her own folksy and plain-

talking commentary made her an excellent saleswoman for sponsors’ products. Although advertisers eagerly sought to have their products touted on her program, she would not promote any product that she had not personally tried and liked. And Mary Margaret (as she was known to her listeners) refused to advertise tobacco or alcohol.

McBride’s daily radio program was carried on NBC from 1941 to 1950. In 1948 NBC attempted to transfer her radio popularity to television by placing her talk and interview program right after Milton Berle’s hotly popular *Texaco Star Theatre*. But as a conversationalist, her program was all interviews and discussion—“talking heads” primarily—decades before such talk programs became a staple of television. McBride never left her seat for the entire 50-minute program, after first telling her TV viewers that she looked “better from the table up.” The program was canceled after three months, and

McBride became one of the first of many radio stars who failed to make a successful transition to television. But she had staying power on radio—her tenth anniversary program was held at Madison Square Garden, and her 15th anniversary show in 1949 was broadcast from Yankee stadium, “the only facility large enough to hold the 75,000 people who filled every seat and formed huge crowds outside” (Hilmes).

In 1950 McBride left NBC—taking many of her sponsors with her—and went to the struggling American Broadcasting Company (ABC) network. She finally retired from network radio in 1954 after the death of her longtime business manager and partner, Stella Karn. From 1953 to 1956 McBride wrote a syndicated newspaper column for the Associated Press. After 1960 she was heard on a syndicated program of the *New York Herald Tribune* radio operation. In her last years she conducted a thrice-weekly radio show from her own upstate New York home. She died in early 1976.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Women in Radio

Mary Margaret McBride. Born in Paris, Missouri, 16 November 1899. Studied journalism at University of Missouri, 1916–19; reporter, *Cleveland Press*, 1919–20, *New York Evening Mail*, 1920–24; freelance magazine journalism, 1920s and 1930s; on WOR, New York City, as “Martha Deane,” 1934–40; host of own national interview program, CBS, 1937–41, NBC, 1941–50, and ABC, 1950–54; television program, 1948; authored syndicated column for Associated Press, 1953–56. Awarded medal for “greatest contribution to radio” by Women’s National Exposition of the Arts and Industries, 1936. Died in West Shokan, New York, 7 April 1976.

Radio Series

1934–40 *Martha Deane*

1937–54 *Mary Margaret McBride*

Television Series

Mary Margaret McBride Show, 1948

Selected Publications

Jazz (with Paul Whiteman), 1926

Charm: A Book about It and Those Who Have It, for Those Who Want It (With Alexander Williams), 1927

Paris Is a Woman’s Town (with Helen Josephy), 1929

London Is a Man’s Town, but Women Go There (with Helen Josephy), 1930

Story of Dwight W. Morrow, 1930

New York Is Everybody’s Town (with Helen Josephy), 1931

Beer and Skittles—A Friendly Modern Guide to Germany (with Helen Josephy), 1932

Here’s Martha Deane, 1936

How Dear to My Heart, 1940

America for Me, 1941

Tune In for Elizabeth: Career Story of a Radio Interviewer, 1945

How to Be a Successful Advertising Woman, 1948

Mary Margaret McBride’s Harvest of American Cooking, 1957

Mary Margaret McBride’s Encyclopedia of Cooking, 1958

Growing Up of Mary Elizabeth, 1966

Long Way from Missouri, 1959

Out of the Air: The Most Radio-Active Woman in America—Her Own Story of the Golden Decades of Broadcasting, 1960

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McDonald, Eugene F., Jr. 1886–1958

U.S. Radio Manufacturer and Broadcaster

One of the founding fathers of the broadcasting and consumer electronics industries, “Commander” Eugene F. McDonald, Jr., guided Zenith Radio Corporation for almost 40 years as its founding president. McDonald also played a significant personal role in the adoption of the shortwave spectrum for long-distance communications, the formation of the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB), and the creation of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC).

Born in Syracuse, New York, 11 March 1886, McDonald was fascinated as a child with electrical and mechanical devices and in high school had a business repairing electric doorbells. In 1912 McDonald organized a company to finance car purchases on time payments, a first in the auto industry. He enlisted in the navy during World War I and held the rank of Lieutenant in Naval Intelligence.

In 1921 McDonald joined two young radio amateurs, Karl Hassel and R.H.G. Mathews, who had formed the Chicago Radio Laboratory and were manufacturing and selling radio receivers. In 1923 they formed the Zenith Radio Corporation with McDonald as president. In the same year, McDonald founded pioneer Chicago station WJAZ to broadcast music and to communicate with the 1923–24 Arctic expedition of his close friend, Donald B. MacMillan. WJAZ broadcast messages and entertainment programming to the expedition during the long Arctic night, and these programs also became wildly popular to a national radio audience. The national exposure from the expedition was invaluable in McDonald’s drive to develop Zenith as a national brand. Also in 1923, McDonald formed and became the first president of NAB.

McDonald, then a Lieutenant Commander in the Naval Reserve Force, played a seminal role in the development of shortwave radio for long-distance communications when Zenith developed shortwave receivers and transmitters for the 1925 MacMillan Arctic Expedition. He also persuaded navy communications chief Admiral Ridley McLean to send a radio amateur equipped with similar gear on the fleet’s 1925 Pacific cruise. The communications over the 12,000 miles between the MacMillan expedition in northern Greenland and the fleet in New Zealand waters had much to do with the adoption of the shortwave spectrum for global communications. The 1925 MacMillan Arctic Expedition, with McDonald as both cosponsor and the second in command, also marked the first use of ship-to-ship shortwave telephonic communications, the first use of aircraft in major geographic exploration, and the first successful use of shortwave communications in polar regions; furthermore, the expedition served as a training ground for American polar explorer Richard Evelyn Byrd.

At the same time, McDonald became concerned about the seemingly dictatorial powers of the Secretary of Commerce over the radio industry and was upset that WJAZ was forced to share airtime with a station in Denver. Hoping to force legal action that would lead to a different approach to the government regulation of the emerging radio industry, McDonald intentionally shifted the frequency of WJAZ to a channel reserved for Canadian broadcasters. Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover responded by taking McDonald to court, where McDonald’s view of the limited powers of the federal government, based on the 1912 Radio Act, prevailed. In the congressional hearings that followed, McDonald was one of several people who suggested the formation of a federal commission to regulate the radio industry. In his testimony, McDonald was the first person to use the name “Federal Communications Commission.” Following the hearings, Congress formed the Federal Radio Commission in 1927, which in 1934 became the Federal Communications Commission (FCC).

McDonald’s genius for leadership, coupled with the financial and managerial acumen of Zenith executive Hugh Robertson, enabled Zenith to withstand the crash of 1929 and the early years of the Depression with much more resilience than most of their competitors. Zenith emerged from the Depression as a major force in the consumer electronics industry. The company prospered in the latter part of the Depression, producing the famous Big Black Dial radios.

McDonald’s private life was as flamboyant and public as was his effect on the radio and broadcasting industries. Long one of the wealthiest and most attractive bachelors of his generation, McDonald lived aboard a series of ever-larger yachts, culminating in his 1928 purchase of the 185 foot long *Mizpah*. McDonald’s fascination with the entertainment industry, and not incidentally with showgirls and singers, led to lifelong friendships with many of the nation’s leading entertainers, who were regular guests aboard the *Mizpah*. At the beginning of World War II, McDonald contributed the ship to the U.S. Navy, where she served as an armed convoy escort and command vessel throughout the war. McDonald married rather late in life and had two children.

McDonald’s personal interest in world affairs combined with the gathering clouds of war to lead the Zenith Corporation to develop the Zenith Trans-Oceanic radio line, which was introduced almost simultaneously with Pearl Harbor. In the early months of World War II, the ever-patriotic McDonald led most radio manufacturers to contribute their patent holdings to the government for the duration of the war. Unlike



Eugene F. McDonald, Jr.
Courtesy of Zenith

many of his competitors, McDonald also established a design and planning unit early in the war to design the initial postwar commercial lines. This planning unit also allowed Zenith to maintain employment for a number of engineers who had families in occupied Europe and thus could not qualify for war production work. This kind of generosity coupled with enlightened self-interest was typical of McDonald's approach to life.

Commander McDonald's lifelong passion for television began in 1933. Zenith went on the air with W9XZV in 1939, and in 1941, the first color broadcast was transmitted. Because of McDonald's interest in FM radio and his friendship with Edwin Howard Armstrong, Zenith's FM station went on the air on 2 February 1940, operating under the call letters W9XEN (later W51C and WEFM). McDonald is probably best remembered today as the first and most vocal advocate of what was to become cable and pay-per-view television. Thanks to his personal persistence and political acumen, Zenith received permission to conduct a limited commercial test of "Phonevision" in 1951. Also under his direction and guidance,

Zenith invented the first wireless television remote control in 1956, named Space Commander in McDonald's honor (later Space Command).

From his earliest days in radio, McDonald's close associates remarked on his uncanny ability to predict the future of this very innovative and volatile industry. McDonald was inducted posthumously into the Broadcast Pioneers Hall of Fame on 4 April 1967, nine years after his death. Among the accomplishments listed in the citation were his roles as founder, president, and first chairman of the board of Zenith Radio Corporation; his dynamic merchandising strategies; his inventions (29 patents) and innovations; his role as explorer; and his role as the first president of NAB. He was also cited for having established one of the nation's pioneer radio stations (WJAZ) and for fostering the development of shortwave radio, international communication, ship-to-shore, FM, VHF and UHF television, radar, and subscription television. In 2000 the Commander was an inaugural inductee into the Consumer Electronics Hall of Fame by the Consumer Electronics Association.

HAROLD N. CONES AND JOHN H. BRYANT

See also National Association of Broadcasters; Zenith Radio

Eugene F. McDonald. Born in Syracuse, New York, 11 March 1886. Served as Lieutenant in World War I; formed and became president of Zenith Radio Corporation with Karl Hassel and R.H.G. Mathews, 1923; founded WJAZ radio station, Chicago, 1923; formed and became president of National Association of Broadcasters (NAB), 1923; developed shortwave radio receivers, 1925; pioneered early television with Zenith's W9XZV, 1939; helped create Zenith's FM radio station, WEFM, 1940; posthumously inducted into Broadcast Pioneers Hall of Fame, 1967; posthumously inducted into Consumer Electronics Hall of Fame, 2000. Died in Chicago, Illinois, 15 May 1958.

Selected Publications

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McGannon, Don 1921–1984

U.S. Broadcasting Executive

Don McGannon was the long-time head of Westinghouse Broadcasting (Group W) and a respected member of the industry's leadership in the 1960s and 1970s. He sought quality programs and public service as well as profits. He is best known for Group W's successful introduction of the all-news format to radio and for developing a stronger commitment to public affairs by the Group W stations. He was a strong believer that broadcasters should serve in the public interest.

Origins

Donald McGannon was born in New York City in 1921. One of four children, he attended Fordham University (which would decades later name a communications research center after him), earning a B.A. in 1940. As with many others of his generation, he served in the U.S. Army during the war (becoming a major), returning to Fordham to earn a law degree in 1947. Admitted to the Bar in both New York and Connecticut, McGannon became a practicing attorney for several years. He worked briefly for a Connecticut democratic congressman, but when the politician suffered a fatal heart attack, McGannon was out of work. Here family ties helped out. McGannon's dentist brother had a patient who was a DuMont television executive, seeking some help. On learning of the out-of-work attorney, he agreed to interview McGannon and hired him.

Thus McGannon's broadcasting management career began in 1951 when he became the assistant director and then general manager of the several owned-and-operated television stations for the struggling DuMont Television Network. Just months before that network closed operations in 1955, he moved to Westinghouse Broadcasting Company as vice president and general executive, and he was elected president later that year.

Developing Public Service

One of McGannon's first major actions at Westinghouse—masterminding the retrieval of former Westinghouse property KYW-AM-TV (then in Cleveland, Ohio) from the National Broadcasting Company (NBC)—was indicative of the confrontational stance he would take with the titans of the industry. The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) found that Radio Corporation of America (RCA) Chairman David Sarnoff, who had been quoted in print threatening to withdraw his network's affiliation with Westinghouse, had coerced the company into swapping for NBC facilities in the smaller market of Cleveland; the FCC ordered the trade undone.

In 1956 McGannon took the bold step of severing the network affiliations of all Westinghouse radio stations and beginning to build an independent news-gathering operation. A well-staffed Washington bureau was soon established. Facilities for foreign operations began building in 1961.

Under McGannon, Westinghouse Broadcasting Company (by 1963 known as "Group W") was both admired and disliked in the industry. It was admired because the company was a leader in public service. To many it was the model of what a broadcasting group should be. The company was disliked because this willingness to do more than the law required put the company at odds with most of the industry and with the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB), which fought the FCC on every rule it imposed. McGannon had a keen awareness of Westinghouse's historic role in the birth of commercial radio (KDKA), and he imbued his employees with a sense of mission and social responsibility. As a corporation, Westinghouse believed that the right of the federal government to regulate the airwaves was legitimate. The broadcast spectrum was indeed a public resource to be managed for the good of all, and McGannon cast himself as the "good steward" who obeyed all



Donald H. McGannon
Courtesy AP/Wide World Photos

the rules—who in fact did more than the rules required—and yet managed to give an enviable return to his stockholders. This undercut the argument propagated by the NAB, *Broadcasting* magazine, and others that the fairness doctrine, license renewal requirements, “equal time” regulations, and other government stipulations were onerous and financially burdensome.

McGannon’s position was simple. The station licenses were what made Westinghouse broadcasting possible, so they must be protected. If the FCC wanted half an hour of community-oriented programming per week, then McGannon would give them two as insurance. McGannon often stated that the more public service his company did, the more money it made. It was almost embarrassing, he joked.

In keeping with this approach, McGannon also instituted something called the Public Service Conferences. These were held regularly beginning in 1956 in cities where Westinghouse owned stations. Multi-day events, the conferences brought together radio and television personnel, scholars, and politicians from around the country to discuss the role broadcasting should play in dealing with issues of concern to the nation. The first conference was held in Boston and featured addresses by Senator John F. Kennedy and Vice President Richard Nixon. These conferences were important in their own right and enhanced the reputation of Westinghouse immeasurably.

Instituting All-News Radio

In July 1962 Westinghouse Broadcasting Company purchased WINS-AM for a reported \$10 million. Westinghouse at first experimented with various music formats in an unsuccessful

effort to top market leader WABC-AM. Then, on Monday, 19 April 1965, WINS-AM went to an all-news format, becoming one of the first stations to make what was then considered a radical format transition. Importantly, WINS-AM pioneered the all-news format in the largest media market in the United States.

WINS-AM became the place on the dial where New Yorkers tuned to learn about breaking news. In November 1965, when a major blackout darkened northeastern cities, WINS-AM kept millions informed during the crisis as they listened on battery-powered portable radios. Eventually, three of Group W’s radio stations adopted the format. WINS-AM continued to broadcast “all news, all the time” in 2000.

McClendon’s all-news radio stations broadcast mostly hard news in 15-minute blocks. Each block featured its own reporter, who compiled and edited wire-service copy and read it on the air. McGannon’s version of the all-news format differed in that it made extensive use of Westinghouse’s growing news-gathering capabilities, which included Washington and foreign bureaus as well as news staff in the large cities where Westinghouse owned outlets. An established network of stringers was also available when needed. Because of this, Westinghouse presented a much more varied slate of material, including local, national, and international features; sports; education; religion; finance; and “actualities.” The Westinghouse/Group W approach to the all-news format was an immediate success.

Impact

During his long tenure heading Westinghouse, McGannon developed and refined the broadcasting group as a recognized entity within the industry. Previously, the two main organizing principles of radio and especially of television were the network and the individual station, which was almost always a network affiliate. Westinghouse Broadcasting Company was neither fish nor fowl. Although its television stations were network affiliates, they were first and foremost Westinghouse stations. This group identity was even more pronounced in Westinghouse’s radio properties, which dropped all network ties in 1956. The previously mentioned Public Service Conferences were actually seen as a way of establishing the “Group” concept in the mind of the industry and the public.

McGannon’s Westinghouse was ahead of its time on several issues. In a mostly white male world of button-down shirts and blue suits, McGannon sought diversity. To this end, he founded a job-training program to help minority workers get a start in the industry. Called the Broadcast Skills Bank, its name was later changed to the Employment Clearinghouse. McGannon also ordered all Westinghouse properties to drop cigarette advertising several years before legally required to do so.

McGannon resigned the position of president in 1978 and stepped down as chairman of Group W in December 1981. He consulted for the company for a time before declining health forced a permanent reduction in his activities. Donald McGannon died on 23 May 1984 at the age of 63, of Alzheimer's disease.

CHUCK HOWELL AND DOUGLAS GOMERY

See also All News Format; Group W; KYW; Westinghouse; WINS

Donald Henry McGannon. Born in South Bronx, New York City, 1921. One of four children of Robert E. McGannon; attended Fordham University, B.A. 1940; served in U.S. Army, 1941-46; returned to Fordham and received law degree, 1947; admitted to Bar in New York and Connecticut; practicing attorney, 1947-51; assistant director and general manager of stations in Dumont Television Network, 1951-55; vice

president and general executive, Westinghouse Broadcasting Company, 1955, and elected president later that year. Received *Printer's Ink* Gold Medal; PULSE "Man of the Year" award; NAB Distinguished Service award; New York University Department of Journalism's "Kappa Tau Alpha" award (the first non-working journalist so honored), 1978; honorary degrees from Fordham and nine other institutions. Died in Chester, Connecticut, 23 May 1984.

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McLaughlin, Edward F. 1926-

U.S. Radio Network and Station Executive

Edward F. McLaughlin is a recognized leader and innovator in the radio industry who played a crucial role in redefining network radio from the 1970s to the 1990s. He developed a new program distribution system and began a revival of long-form network programming that changed the face of the industry.

A native of San Francisco, McLaughlin attended San Francisco State University, then went to work at radio station KTIM in San Rafael, California. He later joined national radio sales firm Peters, Griffin and Woodward in San Francisco, and then went to station KGBS in Los Angeles. He returned to San Francisco in 1964 as sales manager of KGO Radio and was promoted to the position of general manager.

McLaughlin was instrumental in establishing the talk format that moved KGO into profitability and ultimately to the number one rank in the market. His background in talk radio would come into play again at the American Broadcasting Companies (ABC) Radio Networks and later at EFM (for "Edward F. McLaughlin") Media. In 1972 he was named president of the ABC Radio Networks and moved to New York City. McLaughlin served as ABC Radio Networks president from 1972 to 1986. He was well known for building relation-

ships with affiliates that became fundamental links in his success at ABC and later in establishing the nationally syndicated *Rush Limbaugh Show*.

McLaughlin's first major innovation during his tenure as a network executive was to change the method of network program distribution from telephone lines to digital satellite. McLaughlin secured readily available space on satellite Satcom 1-R, created a digital distribution system called Advanced Digital Distribution System (ADDS), and set in motion a timetable for all ABC affiliates to install satellite dishes to receive ABC programming. Later all radio networks adopted the ADDS system, abandoning analog technology.

Having created a revolutionary distribution system, McLaughlin sought ways to reestablish long-form network radio programming as a means of expanding sales inventory. He formed the ABC Radio Network's Special Programming Department and named Richard A. Foreman as vice president in charge of producing long-form network specials. These shows included *Elvis Memories*, *The Barbra Streisand Special*, *The Neil Diamond Special*, *Country Greats in Concert*, and *The Silver Eagle*. Simultaneously, McLaughlin negotiated the purchase of Watermark Inc. by ABC and acquired long-form



Edward F. McLaughlin
 Courtesy Radio Hall of Fame

programs *American Top 40* with Casey Kasem and *American Country Countdown* with Bob Kingsley. He also brought Dr. Dean Edell from KGO to network radio and expanded the Paul Harvey news broadcasts to include the program series known as *The Rest of the Story*.

McLaughlin's network programming innovations also included the return of live sports broadcasts. In 1978 the ABC Information Network broadcast the Mohammed Ali–Leon Spinks rematch live from New Orleans, Louisiana. It was the first live sporting event broadcast by ABC in over 18 years. He also negotiated the first exclusive live radio network rights to the 1980 Winter Olympics in Lake Placid, New York, and the 1984 Summer Olympic Games in Los Angeles. In addition McLaughlin acquired for ABC the radio broadcast rights to the Triple Crown of horse racing, the Kentucky Derby, The Preakness, and The Belmont. During this period of expansion other networks quickly followed ABC's lead in satellite digital

programming distribution. McLaughlin was chosen to become the first chairman of the newly created Radio Network Association, an organization designed to advance network radio's marketing image.

McLaughlin left ABC in 1986 when it was purchased by Capital Cities and in 1987, with his wife Patricia, formed EFM Media. Their initial product was the syndication of the *Dr. Dean Edell Show*. McLaughlin contracted with ABC for both studio and satellite distribution facilities and began a search for additional talent for EFM Media.

Rush Limbaugh was brought to McLaughlin's attention in 1987 by Bruce Marr, a radio consultant based in Reno, Nevada. Limbaugh was hosting a highly successful conservative local radio show on KFBK in Sacramento, California. In April of 1988 McLaughlin signed an options contract with Limbaugh stipulating that EFM Media deliver either a New York or Los Angeles outlet for Limbaugh, who was first brought to New York by McLaughlin in July 1988 to host a local two-hour show on WABC radio. A national two-hour show was added a month later. After a year, the national show was expanded to three hours, and WABC agreed to carry the national program, thus ending the local show. A year later the *Rush Limbaugh Show* was being aired in 100 markets, which grew to 500 markets by 1991. When McLaughlin was presented with the National Radio Award by the National Association of Broadcasters in 1996, he was cited for his many innovations, including the tremendous success that the *Rush Limbaugh Show* and EFM Media had made in reversing AM radio's long slide in audience share and reestablishing national personalities in radio broadcasting.

In 1997 the assets of the *Rush Limbaugh Show*, the *Dr. Dean Edell Show*, and the *Limbaugh Letter* were sold by McLaughlin to Jacor Communications.

GORDON H. HASTINGS

See also American Broadcasting Company; American Top 40; Limbaugh, Rush

Edward F. McLaughlin. Born 12 October 1926, in San Francisco. Attended San Francisco State University, B.A. 1958; promoted to general manager, KGO Radio, 1964; president of ABC Radio Networks, 1972–86; introduced return of live radio sports broadcasts with Mohammed Ali versus Leon Spinks fight, 1978; negotiated exclusive live radio network rights to Olympic Games, Lake Placid, New York, 1980, and Los Angeles, California, 1984; formed EFM Media with wife Patricia, 1987; signed contract with Rush Limbaugh, 1988. Received National Radio Award from National Association of Broadcasters, 1996.

McLendon, Gordon 1921–1986

U.S. Radio Programming Innovator

Gordon McLendon is considered one of the greatest radio program innovators. His major contributions to radio, coming at a time when the older medium was struggling to compete with the brash new medium of television, are credited with renewing radio's vitality and with popularizing program formats that remained staples of the radio industry for the latter half of the 20th century.

Early Radio Career

McLendon became interested in radio as a youth in Atlanta, Texas, listening to his idol, sportscaster Ted Husing. McLendon decided that he too wanted to be a sportscaster, and he spent the better part of his youth preparing himself for such a career. His first real chance to work in radio came as a student at Yale University in the late 1930s. There he spent time as a sportscaster and reporter for Yale's radio station WOCD. McLendon's stint in the U.S. Navy during World War II allowed him to polish his radio skills as an announcer in the South Pacific. A one-year postwar stint at Harvard Law School convinced McLendon that radio was his true calling, and so he returned to his native Texas to enter the radio business full-time.

McLendon's first venture into radio station ownership occurred in Palestine, Texas, where he became part owner (by way of a loan from his father) of KNET in 1946. McLendon's father, Barton R. (B.R.) McLendon, continued a partnership with his son for the rest of Gordon's career. B.R.'s name was rarely mentioned when Gordon was lauded for one of his many successes in the radio business, but B.R. McLendon was a silent partner in these successes. It was the father's financial expertise and support that made possible much of what the son accomplished.

Gordon McLendon's stay in Palestine was short-lived. Within one year he sold his part ownership of KNET and moved to Dallas, Texas. Before leaving, however, McLendon had begun developing a skill that in a short time would make him famous—that of re-creating major-league baseball games. Reading a game summary supplied by Western Union teletype and utilizing sound effects that approximated a baseball game, McLendon became adept at re-creating baseball games that sounded nearly identical to live coverage of the real thing.

McLendon arrived in the Oak Cliff section of Dallas in 1948 and immediately acquired a license to construct radio station KLIF. McLendon's baseball game re-creations quickly became the station's most popular programming—so popular, in fact, that radio station owners in nearby towns began

requesting permission to carry them. An informal network soon developed that carried the KLIF baseball games to states bordering Texas, then to the entire Southwest and Southeast, and within a year to most of the United States. McLendon formalized the upstart network by naming it the Liberty Broadcasting System (LBS), a patriotic name suggested by B.R. McLendon.

The LBS appeal centered on McLendon's baseball game re-creations. Because major-league team owners prohibited radio stations beyond a limited distance from their ballparks from carrying live broadcasts of ball games, re-creations were the only means by which most radio listeners could hear major-league games. McLendon was happy to oblige listeners, but his interest in broadcasting live from the major-league ballparks led him to file a complaint with the U.S. Justice Department in 1949, charging major-league owners with violation of federal antitrust laws. The antitrust implications convinced team owners to open their ballparks to LBS for live game coverage. McLendon's optimism about the network's future was dashed in 1951, when LBS suffered the loss of its major advertiser and the major-league baseball establishment agreed to allow each team to independently negotiate broadcast coverage rights to its baseball games instead of allowing the American League or National League to negotiate coverage rights collectively. This meant that LBS could ill afford to pay for programming vital to the network's livelihood. LBS had little choice but to cease operations and file for bankruptcy.

Fate had dealt McLendon a more beneficial blow than he realized. Within a few years television's popularity had forced national radio networks into a much-diminished media role. And besides, McLendon now could turn full attention to running KLIF.

Development of the Top 40 Radio Format

McLendon's idea for KLIF was to determine what listeners wanted to hear and then to program the station accordingly. Rather than relying on programs that by chance might appeal to listeners, McLendon approached the process much as a scientist approaches an experiment. His tinkering with program elements was McLendon's initial foray into what came to be called "formula" or "format" radio. McLendon soon became an expert at crafting radio formats, but the first that he is credited with helping to create—Top 40—remained his most important.

Todd Storz and his assistant Bill Stewart are credited with inventing the concept of Top 40. The idea came to them, so the



Gordon McLendon
Courtesy of Bart McLendon

story goes, as they observed bar patrons repeatedly playing their favorite tunes on a 40-record jukebox. Storz and Stewart transferred the idea to radio, where a program director would prepare a 40-record playlist from which a disc jockey would choose selections to play during a four-hour "board" shift. The Top 40 idea was tried initially on Storz's Omaha, Nebraska, station KOWH at some point in 1952. The station quickly zoomed to first place in the market by 1953.

Gordon McLendon picked up on the Top 40 idea and hired Bill Stewart away from Storz to install the format at KLIF. Working together, McLendon and Stewart meticulously developed Top 40 in such a way that KLIF soon became the home of what many in the radio industry regarded as the format's most popular and successful version. To the playlist idea was added a fast pace, carried along by a cadre of outstanding disc jockeys who provided patter between records, read commercials and public service announcements themselves, and participated in KLIF promotions. McLendon also incorporated specially produced jingles throughout the program day to remind listeners that they were tuned to KLIF.

The McLendon brand of Top 40 was identified most easily by the stunts and station contests that KLIF constantly promoted and by KLIF's unique concept of Top 40 news. KLIF promotions were notorious for stirring up interest and excitement. A money-filled balloon drop from a downtown Dallas hotel that tied up traffic for hours and a treasure hunt contest that had thousands of Dallas residents digging up property in search of buried money are two examples of promotional stunts that kept KLIF in the public eye. KLIF news was no less attractive to listeners. Newscasts were localized, prepared by a well-trained staff of writers, and delivered at the same rapid clip as used by KLIF disc jockeys. McLendon was also the first to build a fleet of mobile units that allowed KLIF reporters to drive to news events around Dallas and to report live from their remote locations.

McLendon periodically wrote and delivered editorials that were inserted into KLIF newscasts. The editorials allowed the well-read and opinionated McLendon an opportunity to address important local and national issues. From the 1950s into the 1960s, he delivered approximately 5,000 editorials. McLendon did not shy from controversial subjects, and he did not hesitate to tell listeners he was wrong whenever subsequent thought and investigation proved to him that an initial opinion could no longer be supported. McLendon's editorials often created a stir among his listeners, which, of course, served his intent to promote KLIF.

KLIF began broadcasting the Top 40 format in late 1954. Within 60 days KLIF was the number-one radio station in Dallas. The station's prominence as one of the highest-rated stations in the United States continued for years and attracted station owners and program directors alike, who traveled to Dallas to learn how they too could implement Top 40 in their

own markets. They were assisted by a growing collection of McLendon policy manuals that contained explicit details on every facet of KLIF's operation.

The McLendon brand of Top 40 radio began appearing throughout America, and many of the most successful Top 40 stations belonged to Gordon and B.R. McLendon. The McLendons bought and sold some 25 radio and television stations during their two decades in broadcasting. Gordon's insistence on creating policies to direct his program decisions applied as well to the manner in which he and his father acquired radio stations. B.R. McLendon handled the financial side of all transactions, and Gordon handled the programming and management side. Gordon's policy was to find a station with mediocre ratings in a market where he wished to expand and then to make an offer to purchase the station. Once the station was purchased and the license transfer approved, Gordon directed his staff to rebuild the station according to the McLendon plan, often changed the station's call letters to a more attention-grabbing combination, fired practically the entire existing staff, and replaced them with veteran McLendon employees. The most important station acquisition step, however, was to install the new Top 40 format and to launch a promotional blitz to introduce market listeners to the McLendon sound. Time after time McLendon used this method to turn moribund radio stations into market leaders.

Other Radio Ventures

Gordon McLendon made radio history of an offbeat nature in 1961 when he decided to provide citizens of Sweden with commercial Top 40 radio. An earlier visit to the country had convinced McLendon that the government-operated radio service there was not providing listeners with the programming they wanted to hear. McLendon subsequently purchased an old herring boat, equipped it with a radio studio, transmitter, and personnel, and positioned it in international waters off the Swedish coast where its signal reached Stockholm. McLendon's objective to make money with this "pirate" operation proved successful. The station, called Radio Nord, was a huge programming as well as commercial success, but the Swedish government was not amused. Failing to find any particular violation of international law, the government finally passed laws that prohibited Swedish merchants from associating with the pirate operation. Thus deprived of any means to resupply Radio Nord, McLendon closed his operation and set sail for friendlier waters in 1962.

McLendon's Radio Nord venture was indicative of his creativity and willingness to push new ideas to their limit. McLendon's innovative nature led to experiments with a number of new radio formats—some of which succeeded and some of which failed miserably. One of the most successful was the beautiful music format introduced on San Francisco's KABL in

1959. The format was a blend of Top 40 and easy listening music especially designed for the sophisticated West Coast audience. The format was tried with equal success at WWWW in Detroit and WNUS in Chicago. However, when the beautiful music format was imported into the Buffalo, New York, market via WYSL, it fell flat. An effort to replace the format with the telephone discussion format proved equally unsuccessful. The idea of the new format was to allow listeners to engage in on-air discussion by phone. The format, which was nearly identical to the later talk radio format, proved Gordon McLendon's prescience for program ideas.

One of the most successful McLendon formats was all-news radio. He did not invent the format, but he perfected it at station XTRA in the Los Angeles area. XTRA was physically located near Rosarita, Mexico, just across the border from San Diego, California. From there its signal reached Los Angeles with enough clarity to make listeners think that XTRA was broadcasting from their midst. And McLendon made certain that XTRA station identifications were muffled in such ways as to disguise the station's Mexican origins. Despite its distant location, XTRA served Los Angeles reasonably well with news provided by several wire services. The XTRA operation allowed experimentation with the all-news format to the extent that the all-news format became a fixture at McLendon's WNUS in Chicago by 1964.

One of Gordon McLendon's biggest failures was the all-want-ad format he introduced in 1966 at KADS in Los Angeles. The format required that listeners call the station to advertise items they wished to sell. In true classified ad fashion, KADS clustered its time segments for specific product or service categories. The format lasted for little more than a year, failing primarily because its success depended on listeners' ability to recall information from memory or from hurriedly scribbled notes in order to respond to the ads. Radio could not supply a handy reference tool comparable to the newspaper's classified ad section. This design flaw doomed the all-want-ads format.

Departure from Radio

A major player in the radio industry by the 1960s, McLendon chose that decade to begin his departure from the medium. He and B.R. McLendon actually started divesting their radio station properties in the early 1960s, and by 1967 the McLendons announced plans to sell their prize possession, KLIF. The station was sold to Fairchild Industries in 1971 for \$10.5 million. Gordon McLendon gave several reasons for his departure from radio. First, he felt he had achieved all that he had wanted in radio and had few challenges remaining in the industry. Second, he was tired of the many struggles he had endured with the Federal Communications Commission (FCC). Being a radio maverick had required that he push FCC rules to their limit and

occasionally beyond, and the results had been several prolonged clashes with the Commission. McLendon felt that he no longer wanted to cope with federal regulators, for whom he had a very low regard. A third reason was McLendon's wish to explore opportunities outside of radio.

Gordon McLendon's extra-radio interests were apparent by the early 1960s. He and B.R. McLendon had developed a small group of East Texas outdoor movie theaters into one of the country's biggest chains of outdoor/indoor theaters. As an outgrowth of that business, Gordon McLendon produced hundreds of movie promotion spots for major motion picture studios. McLendon also tried his hand at movie production in the late 1950s, turning out such forgettable titles as *The Killer Shrews*, *The Giant Gila Monster*, and *My Dog Buddy*. All were set at McLendon's ranch Cielo, and all were packed with characters played by KLIF employees, including Gordon himself. McLendon also tried his hand at politics, running unsuccessfully for the U.S. Senate in 1964 and for Texas governor in 1968. These and other assorted ventures as well as money accumulated during his years in radio combined to put Gordon McLendon on the *Forbes* magazine list of the wealthiest Americans in 1984.

Gordon McLendon was proud of his accomplishments, but he admitted near the end of his life that his achievements in radio meant more to him than anything else. McLendon was diagnosed with esophageal cancer in 1985 and died from the disease at his ranch in September 1986. One year later, the National Association of Broadcasters bestowed its highest honor on Gordon McLendon by naming him to its Hall of Fame. And in 1999, *Broadcasting and Cable* magazine placed McLendon on its list of the "100 individuals who made signal contributions to the Fifth Estate during the 20th Century."

RONALD GARAY

See also All News Format; Contemporary Hit Radio Format/Top 40; Liberty Broadcasting System; Recreations; Sportscasters; Storz, Todd

Gordon McLendon. Born in Paris, Texas, 8 June 1921. One of two children of Barton Robert and Jeannette Eyster McLendon; inducted into U.S. Navy during senior year at Yale University, 1942; served in U.S. Navy Intelligence, 1942-45; attended Harvard Law School, 1945; co-owner of KNET, Palestine, Texas, 1946; co-owner, with father, of KLIF, Dallas, Texas, 1948-71, and McLendon Station Group, 1950s and 1960s; promoter, United Artists, 1963-66; unsuccessful candidate for U.S. Senate, 1964, and for Texas governor, 1968; included on *Forbes* magazine list of wealthiest Americans, 1984. Inducted posthumously into National Association of Broadcasters Hall of Fame, 1987. Died in Denton, Texas, 14 September 1986.

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McNamee, Graham 1888-1942

U.S. Announcer and Sportscaster

Announcer and sportscaster for two decades beginning in the 1920s, Graham McNamee has been called the "father of sportscasting." He was the first network sportscaster and, of necessity, one of the inventors of play-by-play and color sports announcing ("color announcing" being everything aside from the play-by-play, nowadays often provided by a retired player to give the sportscast an "inside" perspective). Trained as a baritone singer, McNamee's voice commanded attention, aroused emotion and excitement, and inspired great affection. Indeed, his announcing of the first broadcast of a World Series, in 1923, generated more than 1,700 enthusiastic letters to WEAf in New York (then owned by American Telephone and Telegraph [AT&T] and later flagship station of the National Broadcasting Company's [NBC] Red network). His announcing of the 1925 World Series brought in an astonishing 50,000 letters (Gorman, Calhoun, and Rozen, 1994). His signature sign-on, "Good evening, ladies and gentlemen of the radio audience," and sign-off, "This is Graham McNamee saying good night, all" became widely recognized.

McNamee was active in sports in school, but at the urging of his mother, he turned to piano and then to singing. He sang in church choirs, in a Broadway show, and for an opera company, and he gave his own concert at New York's Aeolian Hall. At the beginning of the 1920s he undertook a multi-city concert tour.

In May 1923 McNamee visited the WEAf radio studios on a break from jury duty nearby, bearing an introduction from

the music supervisor of the New York public schools. He was given an audition and, after a decade in a professional singing career, he was hired as a utility announcer and singer. Deciding he would try the new medium for a few summer months when music bookings were limited, he soon captured the affection of thousands of sports fans with his mellifluous voice. Within months he became the "color" or background announcer for the first broadcast of a World Series and astounded listeners with his play-by-play of the 1923 middleweight championship match between boxers Harry Greb and Johnny Wilson at the Polo Grounds. His particular talent was his remarkable ability to capture the ups and downs of tension in a game or match, speeding and slowing to match the rise and fall of intensity in action. He became the model for many of the next generation of sportscasters, including such Hall of Fame luminaries as Red Barber, Mel Allen, and Lindsey Nelson. Sports historian Curt Smith rated McNamee as being as influential to his generation as Curt Gowdy was in the 1960s and 1970s (see Smith, 1987, revised 1992).

McNamee was equally versatile in live news reporting. He became NBC's chief announcer when it was formed in 1926 and he covered national political conventions and important live news events of the day. He covered Calvin Coolidge's 1923 address to Congress and both political conventions in 1924, including the 14 days of Democratic balloting. A 1925 WEAf recording by the Victor Talking Machine Company of Chief



Graham McNamee (right) seated with Phillips Carlin
Courtesy Library of American Broadcasting

Justice William Howard Taft's oath of office and inaugural address has McNamee's voice in the background, saying "We are ready." Another classic recording includes McNamee's breathless description of Charles Lindbergh's return to U.S. soil after his historic 1927 solo flight across the Atlantic.

It was as a sportscaster, though, that McNamee was most widely known. He covered World Series games from 1923 to 1935, major college football games (including the first Rose Bowl broadcast in 1927, which was also NBC's first coast-to-coast broadcast), significant tennis matches, and momentous prize fights, including the second "fight of the century" between Gene Tunney and Jack Dempsey in 1927. His colorful broadcast of that match for the 73-station NBC Red network reached an estimated 50 million people, a staggering number given the relatively few radio sets then in use.

As was common for early journalists, McNamee tended to embellish the moment to create emotional impact, but his style fit with the times and made the announcer as much a star as

the athletes he covered. His mere presence conveyed to listeners that an event had importance. In describing the players, he cultivated heroic images that outshone many athletes' actual achievements. The mythic aura around such legendary giants as Babe Ruth and Jack Dempsey was largely the creation of a generation of sportscasters known for their hyperbole. McNamee and his contemporaries spun a web of adulation for sports heroes that endures among fans today.

After covering a dozen World Series between 1923 and 1935, as well as hundreds of boxing and tennis matches and football games, McNamee's sports announcing ended with the rise of a new group of radio announcers. The times demanded terse and factual reporting of sports in the style of such greats as Red Barber and Lindsey Nelson, and NBC pulled him from covering the 1935 World Series and moved him to other tasks. McNamee had become dated and controversial because he talked so much and because many sportswriters and fans found his vivid game dramatizations unwarranted. At the

same time, subsequent sportscasters idolized him for his great voice, his historic sportscasts, and his ongoing achievements in developing play-by-play and color sports announcing. McNamee's role in creating the celebrity sportscaster and building the national fan base for major sports has not been forgotten.

His final years at NBC were largely given over to announcing for Rudy Vallee's variety program and appearing as a straight man for Ed Wynn. He occasionally did spot news reporting, as with the maiden voyage arrival in New York of the *Queen Mary* in 1936 and a pier-side description of the burning of the French liner *Normandie* in February 1942. On 24 April 1942 he announced *Elsa Maxwell's Party Line*—his final broadcast. He died shortly thereafter of an embolism of the brain, just two months before his 53rd birthday. Obituaries and editorials on his death appeared across the country; "Mr. Radio is Dead" is how the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* headlined its story.

McNamee was one of the first celebrities of the new medium, touted as "The World's Most Popular Announcer" on a cup from *Radio Digest* in 1925 after winning a national competition over 132 other announcers (listeners were fickle: two years later he was ranked ninth in another poll; in 1931 he was ranked fourth, but second among sports announcers, after Ted Husing). Long after his death, McNamee was recognized with the first group of notables inducted (in 1977) into the National Association of Broadcasters Hall of Fame. A national award in his honor was established for a sportscaster who achieved success in a second field of endeavor, just as he had gone from singing to announcing. The Graham McNamee award has gone to such noted individuals as President Ronald Reagan, Walter Cronkite, Bryant Gumbel, and Larry King, all of whom were sportscasters at some point in their careers. Heywood Hale Broun wrote that "McNamee justified the whole activity of broadcasting," adding that he "has been

able to take a new medium of expression and through it transmit himself—to give it vividly a sense of movement and of feeling. Of such is the kingdom of art" (cited in Smith, 1987, 1992).

SUSAN TYLER EASTMAN

See also National Broadcasting Company; Sportscasters; WEAFF

Graham McNamee. Born in Washington, D.C., 10 July 1888. Trained as baritone, New York City, 1907–21; made professional debut, 1921; radio announcer, WEAFF, 1923–26; color announcer for first broadcast of World Series, 1923; chief announcer for live news and sports, NBC Radio Red Network, 1926–34. Inducted posthumously into National Association of Broadcasters Hall of Fame, 1977. Died in New York City, 9 May 1942.

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McNeill, Don 1907–1996

U.S. Radio Morning Show Host

For 35 years, many Americans woke up to the easygoing banter of Don McNeill, the genial host of the Chicago-based *Breakfast Club* program. To a considerable degree, he created the morning radio format that became widely popular throughout the industry.

Origins

Born in Illinois in 1907 and raised in Wisconsin, McNeill moved around to a number of radio stations in the Midwest, San Francisco, and New York for several years. He struck it



Don McNeill
Courtesy of family of Don McNeill

big (though that was anything but clear at the time) when NBC-Blue asked him to take over *The Pepper Pot*, a struggling morning show in Chicago that had no advertisers and precious few listeners. Starting at \$50 a week, McNeill began hosting the program on 23 June 1933 and renamed it *The Breakfast Club* a few months later.

Breakfast Club Years

Right from the start, McNeill made changes that greatly helped turn the program into a huge success. For its hour-long slot, he fairly quickly developed what he called the “four calls to breakfast,” which divided the program into quarter-hour segments, each of which emphasized something different. It started with an opening song that usually began:

*Good morning, Breakfast Clubbers, we're glad to see ya!
We wake up bright and early just to howdy-do ya*

The first segment offered interviews with the studio audience (added in 1938); the second featured “memory time” with sentimental poetry and prayer time (added in 1944 and retained after the war, along with hymns provided in a nonsectarian fashion); the third was “march time”; and the fourth and last was dubbed “inspiration time” and also often included more sentimental poetry. Although the audience never knew it, no breakfast was ever consumed on the program.

After the first few years, McNeill sought and was granted permission to move from a scripted program to a variety program that was both unrehearsed and spontaneous. *Breakfast Club* took on greater charm at that point, as McNeill's ability to ad-lib in almost any situation came through. So did his genial nature and easygoing tone, along with that of the rest of the regular cast, which sometimes included his wife and young sons. One singer on the program, Charlotte Reid (known on the air as Annette King), later became a member of the Federal Communications Commission and of the U.S. Congress. Other regulars at one time or another included Fran Allison and singers Patti Page, Johnny Desmond, and Anita Bryant. Some cast or orchestra members stayed around for decades. While the jokes were often bad and the program corny, it was appealing for its ability to seemingly speak to each listener individually. Many of the segments were enlightened by listener mail that amounted to thousands of weekly letters by the 1940s. And on occasion, the program left Chicago to go on tour, broadcasting from other cities.

The show's huge popularity became very evident with a 1944 promotional offer. As John Dunning writes: “When the sponsor offered *Breakfast Club* membership cards, 850,000 people wrote in. No more than 15,000 were expected, and McNeill had to go on the air and beg out of the promotion. It still cost the sponsor \$50,000 to retreat” (see Dunning, 1998).

Luckily by then there *were* sponsors. Through the 1930s the program lacked advertising support. During most of the war years, only about a quarter of the program was sponsored. Indeed, it was not fully supported by advertising until 1946—13 years after McNeill had taken it over and demonstrated he could build big and loyal audiences. Saturday broadcasts were dropped in 1945, by which time McNeill was making \$1,000 a week.

The show was clearly aimed at middle America, just as it was broadcast *from* middle America. The program was first broadcast (until 1948) from the 19th-floor NBC studios in Chicago's huge Merchandise Mart building, then for five years from the Little Theater in the Civic Opera Building. In 1953 it moved to the Terrace Casino of the Morrison Hotel and two years later to the College Inn at the Sherman House, and finally in 1963 to specially rebuilt Clouds Room on the 23rd floor of the Allerton Hotel, all in downtown Chicago. But its heart and content were clearly not in the city, but rather in rural America. And the do-good nature of the program came through in constant appeals to visit those in retirement homes or hospitals, to collect food for the starving refugees in post-war Europe, and to help the poor at holiday time at home. Listeners and often studio audiences came through every time.

Final Years

In 1950, by then making \$100,000 a year, McNeill signed a 20-year contract with the network to continue the program, one that gave him two months of vacation per year. *Don McNeill's TV Club* aired on ABC-TV in 1950–51 and a brief attempt to simulcast the successful radio program on television as *The Breakfast Club* failed after just one season on ABC in 1954–55. In 1957, the program began to be tape recorded a day before broadcast. Toward the end of the program's run, McNeill was receiving upwards of 10,000 letters each month. The program was still being carried on more than 220 stations when it ended its 35 year run on 27 December 1968, the last regularly scheduled network radio broadcast originating in Chicago. The old-fashioned sound of *The Breakfast Club* no longer fit a radio industry largely devoted to popular music formats, or a country facing the height of the Vietnam War and political assassinations.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also American Broadcasting Corporation; Godfrey, Arthur; Morning Shows

Donald Thomas McNeill. Born in Galena, Illinois, 23 December 1907. Graduated from Marquette University, 1930: B.Phil. Entered radio with work at WISN, Milwaukee, 1928; WTMJ, Milwaukee, 1929; WHAS, Louisville, 1930. NBC *Breakfast Club* host, 1933–68. Taught communications at

Marquette and Notre Dame Universities, 1970–72. Spokesperson for Deltona Corporation, 1970–80. Inducted into Broadcaster's Hall of Fame, 1979; Radio Hall of Fame, 1989. Died in Evanston, Illinois, 7 May 1996.

Radio Series

1933–68 *The Breakfast Club*

Television

Don McNeill's TV Club, 1950–51; *The Breakfast Club*, 1954–55 (simulcast)

Selected Publications

20 Years of Memory Time; The Most Popular Selections since 1933, 1953

Mr. Don McNeill, esq. Presents his Breakfast Club Family Album, 1942

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McPherson, Aimee Semple 1890–1944

U.S. (Canadian Born) Radio Evangelist

The Pentecostal evangelist Aimee Semple McPherson, known as "Sister Aimee" to her followers, was an early celebrity of mass media religion. She was the first woman both to preach by radio (1922) and to hold a station license (1924). She founded the third radio station in Los Angeles, the still-extant KFSG, as the mouthpiece for her new denomination, the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel. At the time of her death in 1944 she had made plans for the United States' first televangelist network.

For this extraordinary career as one of the first modern media-savvy evangelists, her early preparation seems rather unremarkable. She was a dutiful missionary wife and later was a little-known itinerant preacher. Born Aimee Elizabeth Kennedy in 1890 in rural Ingersoll, Ontario, she was converted to Pentecostalism by her future husband, Robert Semple, during a 1907 revival. The Semples set off in 1910 to evangelize China, but Robert died shortly after their arrival and just weeks before the birth of their first child, Roberta Star Semple. Aimee Semple then left the ministry for about five years, during which time she went to the United States, married again, and had a second child, Rolf. By 1915, however, she was back on the road working full-time as an itinerant preacher on the Pentecostal tent circuit. Her travels and spreading fame eventually took her to Los Angeles in 1918, which remained her home for the rest of her life.

By 1921, when McPherson broke ground for Angelus Temple on West Sunset Boulevard, she was already famous for her faith-healing meetings ("stretcher days," as she called them), which packed stadium-sized crowds in San Diego, San Jose, and Denver. Her fast-growing organization, now called the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, was the largest private relief charity in Los Angeles during the Depression years (and has since become a thriving worldwide church). At Angelus, to the accompaniment of a huge organ, a 14-piece orchestra, a brass band, and a 100-voice choir, she performed "illustrated sermons" every Sunday night for 20 years. These illustrated sermons were stage spectacles and Biblical dramas with elaborate costumes rented from Hollywood studios and with huge sets and special effects.

McPherson had first preached on Oakland's Rockridge radio station (now KNEW) in April 1922. She preached occasional services over *Los Angeles Times* station KHJ while raising \$75,000 to construct a 500-watt broadcasting facility inside Angelus Temple. Her own radio station, KFSG, began broadcasting on 6 February 1924. A Class A 500-watt transmitting station, with unlimited broadcast time, the station could be heard over much of the western United States and the Pacific, even as far away as Hawaii. Like other early radio pioneers in the 1920s, McPherson occasionally "wandered" the airwaves in search of a clearer broadcast frequency. In reply to Secretary



Aimee Semple McPherson, 21 August 1930
Courtesy AP/Wide World Photos

of Commerce Herbert Hoover's 1927 directive to keep to her assigned frequency, she fired off an infamous telegram that read, "PLEASE ORDER YOUR MINIONS OF SATAN TO LEAVE MY STATION ALONE. YOU CANNOT EXPECT THE ALMIGHTY TO ABIDE BY YOUR WAVELENGTH NONSENSE. WHEN I OFFER MY PRAYERS TO HIM I MUST FIT INTO HIS WAVE RECEPTION. OPEN THIS STATION AT ONCE." Eventually Sister Aimee learned to be more diplomatic in her dealings with the federal regulators; renewal of Sister Aimee's license to operate KFSG was never denied.

KFSG featured nearly round-the-clock programming; there were Sunday devotional and revival services simulcast in their entirety from the main auditorium, programs of sacred music, programs designed for children, a "family altar call," civic talks, and weekly divine healing and baptismal services. Later, McPherson added travel shows, a religious news program, and even live studio serials patterned after popular radio dramas of the time, with titles such as *Jim Trask: Lone Evangelist*. Perhaps more so than any other fundamentalist media preacher, she duplicated the genres of commercial radio. But faith healing, in particular, set McPherson apart as a radio phenomenon. Listeners were invited to kneel by their radios, touching the speakers to receive cures for their ailments. Prayers for healing were a regular part of the programming of KFSG and brought heavy mail response claiming cures for every known disease. Speaking in tongues was also a regular feature of KFSG programming, except during World War II, when McPherson stopped airing speaking in tongues because of wartime prohibitions against coded messages.

Sister Aimee's regional following was numbered at 30,000 by 1930, and her radio audience was certainly much larger. In 1937, on her license renewal application, McPherson claimed that KFSG constituted a "church of the air" with a registered membership exceeding 50,000. Most of her adherents and regular listeners came from the ranks of the lower middle class, including many recent migrants to the West Coast. As Sister Aimee herself put it, perhaps slightly tongue in cheek, "I bring spiritual consolation to the middle class, leaving those above to themselves and those below to the Salvation Army." Fundamentalist churches in the area drew close to 80 percent of their membership from people who had lived in Los Angeles for less than ten years. Eager for the familiar and positive message Sister Aimee radiated, these recent arrivals were nonetheless embedded in the emerging consumer and entertainment culture of the time, and radio was a natural way for her growing denomination to tap a huge potential audience.

The latter half of her ministry was dogged by controversy, although McPherson's media outlets and her rigorous schedule of services and appearances did not falter. During the lean Depression years, when many smaller religious radio stations and programs went off the air for lack of funds, KFSG continued to broadcast (although with a shared-time arrangement

with KRKD Los Angeles), and McPherson opened additional branches of her church in dozens of cities. She died in Oakland, California, just before her 54th birthday. Her son Rolf continued the ministry until 1988. After her death, the Church operated one of Los Angeles' early FM stations, KKLA FM (97.1) until the early 1950s and later assumed control of KRKD's AM and FM outlets.

McPherson's radio career permanently linked religious broadcasting with show business and successfully bridged old-time revivalism and modern mass communication. Her imprint remains not just on Pentecostalism itself, but on the exuberant, colorful, and sometimes all-too-human face of media evangelism throughout the century.

TONA J. HANGEN

See also Evangelists/Evangelical Radio; Religion on Radio

Aimee Semple McPherson. Born in Ingersoll, Ontario, Canada, 9 October 1890. Only daughter of James Kennedy and Mildred Ona Pearce; married Irish Pentecostal itinerant preacher Robert Semple, 1908; widowed in Hong Kong, 1910, their daughter born later that year; married Harold McPherson, 1912; became Pentecostal itinerant, 1915, often traveling with her mother and two children; settled in Los Angeles, 1918; established Angelus Temple in Hollywood, 1923; founded radio station KFSG, 1924; established the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, early 1920s (name incorporated 1927); married David Hutton, 1931; broadcast at least weekly over KFSG for 20 years. Died in Oakland, California, 27 September 1944.

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Media Rating Council

Industry Self-Regulatory Group

Originally known as the Broadcast Rating Council (BRC) and then as the Electronic Media Rating Council (EMRC), the official sanctioning body for ratings services now goes by the name Media Rating Council (MRC). The MRC works to maintain confidence and credibility in ratings through its self-stated goal of setting standards that ensure that surveys of media audiences are conducted in a manner that encourages quality, integrity, and accurate disclosure of the research process. A nonprofit agency sanctioned by the U.S. Justice Department, the MRC consists of 70 members from broadcast and cable trade associations, media owners, advertising agencies, cable networks, print and internet companies, and national networks.

The MRC is a nonprofit industry organization that is run on its membership fees. Each member organization provides one person to serve on the MRC board of directors, which makes the final decision as to whether reports that have been audited will receive accreditation from the council. Among the members of the New York-based MRC are the National Association of Broadcasters, the Television Bureau of Advertising, the Radio Advertising Bureau, and the Cable Advertising Bureau.

The MRC was established in 1964, when it was known as the BRC. A self-regulatory agency, the BRC was formed in response to an investigation by the House Subcommittee on Communications of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, under the chairmanship of Oren Harris. The Harris Committee, as it was known, held hearings in 1963 to investigate ratings and audience research. The hearings arose both from an increased focus on television ratings after the quiz show scandals of 1961 and from complaints by advertisers that they couldn't obtain upfront information about research methodology from the Nielsen Company. Essentially, the Harris Committee was concerned that if ratings were defective or deceptive, they would affect programming selections by stations and work in a manner that was not in the public interest.

The credibility and validity of ratings became a growing industry concern as U.S. representatives questioned executives from broadcast-measurement companies about the quality of their research. Faced with the possibility of government interference in the ratings business, broadcast industry leaders obtained permission from the U.S. Justice Department (to avoid any perception of antitrust violations) to set up the BRC, thereby ensuring a means of self-regulation.

The BRC changed its name to the Electronic Media Rating Council in 1982 to include all electronic media, such as

radio, television, and cable. The "Electronic" in the council's name was dropped in 1997 when the council started performing audits on print services as well as broadcast services. On 4 September 1996 the *Study of Media and Markets* (a national survey of over 20,000 adults performed by Simmons Market Research Bureau) became the first multimedia research study with a primary focus on print media to receive accreditation from the council. Today the MRC audits organizations such as Mediamark Research (which provides research to all forms of advertising media collected from a single sample) and J.D. Power and Associates (which publishes the annual *Car and Truck Media Studies* to assist with marketing and media strategies).

Audience measurement services voluntarily submit their studies to the MRC for review and possible accreditation. The MRC then commissions audits by an independent accounting firm (currently the Ernst and Young Corporation) to review the data. The ratings services pay the cost of the audit to the MRC, which in turn pays the auditors. This system allows for some separation between the parties and establishes that the MRC, not the ratings service, is supervising the audit.

Even though the auditing process is voluntary, many organizations still seek accreditation so that they will be considered legitimate in the industry and will therefore be better able to sell their ratings. Organizations seeking accreditation must agree to conduct their service as represented to users and subscribers, undergo MRC audits, and pay for the costs of the audits. The results of the audits are reviewed by the council's board of directors to determine if the ratings service will receive accreditation. Should a report receive accreditation, the organization submitting the report still must re-apply the following year and have the report reviewed on an annual basis. The MRC accredits syndicated services and individual reports, not entire companies. Accredited services and reports carry the MRC double-check logo.

In 1993 the council made an unprecedented move when it voted to suspend its accreditation of the spring Atlanta Arbitron survey, citing an on-air promotional campaign by Atlanta broadcasters that "hyped" (aimed to increase response rates) the survey by urging listeners to cooperate with Arbitron's diary-based system. The council decided that the effort could have an adverse effect on methodology and thus distort the survey results. The move to suspend accreditation met with sharp criticism from the Radio Advertising Bureau (RAB), which was upset with what it believed was an unfair bias toward television. Despite the controversy, the RAB currently holds membership in the MRC.

The MRC has expanded its role over the years but still functions primarily in an effort to maintain rating confidence and credibility. Melvin A. Goldberg, then EMRC executive director, explained in 1989 that obtaining accreditation required adherence to specific minimum standards that outlined basic objectives of reliable and useful electronic media audience measurement research. Acceptance of those standards was voluntary and was one of the conditions of EMRC membership.

According to Goldberg, the minimum standards fell into two groupings: (1) "Ethical and Operations Standards," and (2) "Disclosure Standards." The Ethical and Operations Standards governed the quality and integrity of the overall process of producing ratings. Meanwhile, the Disclosure Standards specified which information a ratings service had to make available to users, to the EMRC, and to its auditing agent. The overall effect of the standards was to assure anyone using EMRC-accredited ratings that the ratings actually measured what they said they did.

Thus, the minimum standards established professional codes of conduct that ratings services had to agree to in order

to gain accreditation. For example, a ratings service was required to submit complete information on its survey methodology, including sampling techniques, recruiting procedures, weighing, tabulations, coding and computer software, and the eventual ratings. The standards that Goldberg referred to are still in effect today. However, the MRC has also added electronic delivery requirements that govern the proper way for ratings services to deliver data to a third party electronically. The MRC has also incorporated internet ratings reports into its auditing processes.

MATT TAYLOR

See also A.C. Nielsen Company; Arbitron

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Mergers. See Ownership, Mergers, and Acquisitions

Mercury Theater of the Air

Anthology Radio Drama Series

Mercury Theater of the Air was an offshoot of Orson Welles' successful theater company that had catapulted him to Broadway fame. Using many of the same actors, he put on a series of radio plays in 1938 under the title *First Person Singular*, although the *Mercury Theater* name was better known. At first the show had no sponsor and few listeners, but the success of the legendary "War of the Worlds" episode in 1938 persuaded Campbell's Soup to back it. The radio plays gave Welles national fame and allowed him to branch into films with his seminal *Citizen Kane* in 1941. The originality and technical flair that marked that film applied equally to Welles' radio productions.

By 1938 Welles, an accomplished Shakespearean actor, was becoming a noted radio performer, having worked on *March*

of Time; adapted, directed, and starred in the seven-part *Les misérables*; and, most notably, by becoming the voice of *The Shadow*. He was approached by William Lewis, head of programming at Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), to make nine one-hour adaptations of famous books. Welles' budget of \$50,000 for the nine shows was not much, given that he had been earning \$1,000 per week, and the shows were slated for an unpromising timeslot against the popular *Edgar Bergen and Charlie McCarthy*. However, the deal did offer Welles creative carte blanche; he did not need to worry about pleasing a sponsor or appealing to any target audience. (CBS made the offer at a time when Congress was threatening legislation aimed at raising radio standards, so owner William S. Paley wanted programs that could turn CBS into a veritable patron of the arts.)

Broadcasts began on 11 July 1938 on the WABC network with "Dracula." Like subsequent performances, it followed Welles' view that "the less a radio drama resembles a play the better it is likely to be." This represented a major departure from many previous programs that had tried to recreate live theater down to the last detail, even including intermissions and chatting patrons. Instead, Welles introduced an omnipresent narrator, himself, who played several roles. This not only allowed Welles to take center stage but also changed the narrator into a storyteller, all the other characters effectively becoming projections of himself. Welles was equally innovative in his use of music. He asked Bernard Herrmann (head of music for CBS) for an unprecedented amount of musical scoring for each drama: up to 40 minutes in 57-minute-long performances. Similar demands were made with regard to sound effects, which overlapped the dialogue instead of occurring at the end of a speech as had been the practice. Welles demanded that even the faintest rustle of leaves be reproduced, despite the fact that very few listeners would have been able to hear these effects on their crackling AM radios. (They can now be appreciated on compact disc recordings, however.)

Nearly all of the dramas performed by the Mercury Players, which included "Treasure Island," "The Thirty-Nine Steps," and "The Count of Monte Cristo," were classics with family appeal. Their tone was not patronizing, but neither were they too advanced for children to appreciate. Welles decided which story to perform each week, but despite opening credits saying that each play was "produced, directed, and performed by Orson Welles," his participation was strictly limited to reviewing the script, making last minute changes, and performing. His long-time collaborator John Houseman and experienced radio man Paul Stewart oversaw the script writing and rehearsals. For the cast, Welles was able to call upon members of the Mercury stage theater such as George Coulouris, as well as other experienced radio actors including Ray Collins, Agnes Moorehead, and Martin Gabel.

Despite this range of talents, the programs rarely attracted more than four percent of the national radio audience until "War of the Worlds" greatly increased Welles' fame. The resulting sponsorship by Campbell's Soup caused the title of the series to be changed to *The Campbell Playhouse Series* in midseason 1939. This new name also reflected the demise of the Mercury Theater, which had fallen apart following a number of unsuccessful theater productions.

Ostensibly, *The Campbell Playhouse Series* was the same program as the *Mercury Theater of the Air*, and the dramas continued to be hour-long adaptations. However, the new and bigger budget allowed Welles to cast star names, including Katharine Hepburn ("A Farewell to Arms"), Laurence Olivier ("Beau Geste"), Gertrude Lawrence ("Private Lives"), and Walter Huston ("Les misérables"), as his co-stars. Former members of the Mercury stage theater continued to work on

the show, but they were now reduced to supporting roles. The presence of a star also affected the show's format, as the play would now be sandwiched between segments of talk show style patter as Welles chatted with his guest star. This would invariably include some banal reference to the joys of Campbell's soup. Campbell's also inserted commercial breaks for soup ads into the plays themselves. The *Mercury* broadcasts had been uninterrupted, but now cliff-hangers had to be created to insure that listeners did not tune in a different program during the commercials.

The *Campbell's* plays were also based upon noticeably different books. The *Mercury's* eclectic mix of classics was forsaken in favor of more populist and more modern works, primarily best-sellers from the previous decade. There were also reworkings of previous Welles productions, which were an indicator of the extent to which the program lost much of the *Mercury's* originality and innovation. Welles' contribution also dropped off considerably as he began to concentrate more on theater before relocating to Hollywood. During this period, he would fly to New York on the day of the performance, make the broadcast, and then fly back to Hollywood. The production of the plays was thus left to Houseman and Stewart, with almost no input from Welles at all. However, *Campbell Playhouse* was one of the most popular shows on radio until Welles finally pulled the plug in March 1940 to fully concentrate on cinema. He had considered moving the show to Los Angeles so that his actors could be employed while he worked in films, but Campbell's refused to give up the Broadway panache that the show's New York connection provided. The *Mercury* name did make some sporadic returns to radio whenever Welles needed to raise some quick cash, but these later programs were mainly rehashes of previous performances that added little to the originals.

NEIL DENSLow

See also Drama; Playwrights on Radio; War of the Worlds.

Cast

The "Mercury Players" Orson Welles, Ray Collins, Agnes Moorehead, George Coulouris, Frank Readick, Georgia Backus, Bea Benaderet, Everett Sloane, Edgar Barrier

Producers/Creators

Orson Welles and John Houseman

Programming History

WABC (CBS)

First Person Singular/Mercury July 1938–December 1938

Theater of the Air

Campbell's Playhouse Series December 1938–March 1940;
1946

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Metromedia

Group Owner of Radio Stations

Corporate executive John Kluge made his mark as the founder of Metromedia, a media conglomerate that operated through the 1960s and 1970s both with independent television stations in major U.S. cities and with owned and operated major-market radio stations as well. Although not well known to the general public, Kluge emerged in this period as one of the most powerful media moguls. Kluge proved that independent television stations and big-city radio stations could make millions of dollars in profits by counterprogramming. In 1985, when Australian Rupert Murdoch offered Kluge nearly \$2 billion for Metromedia's seven television stations, he sold out and began to reinvent Metromedia. He was out of big-city radio during the late 1980s.

John Werner Kluge surely represents the American success story. Kluge grew up poor in Detroit, but in 1933 he won a scholarship to Columbia University, where he earned a degree in economics. Serving U.S. Army Intelligence during World War II, he returned with little taste for resuming a career in the employ of others. He looked for ways to make money, including buying and selling radio stations.

After World War II, Kluge came to radio (and television) for its advertising power in the growing market of Washington, D.C., where he had served in World War II. Kluge bought and sold radio stations; his first was WGAY-FM in Silver Spring, Maryland, a Washington, D.C., suburb. As radio reinvented itself as a format medium, Kluge bought and sold stations across the United States, with early investments in radio groups including the St. Louis Broadcasting Corporation, Pittsburgh Broadcasting Company, Capitol Broadcasting Company (Nashville), Associated Broadcasters (Fort Worth–Dallas), Western New York Broadcasting Company (Buffalo), and the Mid-Florida Radio Corporation (Orlando).

Kluge became aware of television as an investment possibility when he ran into an acquaintance on a street in Washington, D.C.; the acquaintance casually mentioned that the failed Dumont television network was going up for sale. In January 1959 Kluge acquired Paramount Pictures' share of what remained of DuMont, the television stations of Metropolitan Broadcasting, for \$4 million. He then consolidated his radio and television holdings and later bought and sold interests in restaurants, outdoor and direct-mail advertising, and magazines.

Indeed, Kluge never stopped trading radio—if he figured he could make a profit. So in 1982, for example, he sold WMET-FM (Chicago) and KSAN-FM (San Francisco) and acquired KHOW-AM and WWBA-FM in Tampa, Florida. Yet with Federal Communications Commission rules permitting Metromedia to own only seven AM and seven FM radio stations, Kluge held on to stations in top markets because they made the most money. Metromedia held WNEW-AM and -FM in New York City, KLAC-AM in Los Angeles (acquired in 1963), and WIP-AM in Philadelphia (acquired in 1960) for the longest amount of time. Once a station was acquired, Kluge assigned managers to squeeze maximum profits, not caring what format was used. His stations employed all formats: adult contemporary, beautiful music, all-news—any format that worked in that particular major market.

In his heyday, Kluge grew famous for cutting costs and maximizing revenues; indeed, once he had assembled Metromedia, he moved the operation's headquarters out of expensive Manhattan across the Hudson River to Secaucus, New Jersey, where rents were lower. He secured the cheapest possible programming, and then, even with small audience shares, Metromedia could, with bare-bones costs, make a profit. But not

every well struck oil. One disastrous misstep was Kluge's purchase of the niche magazine *Diplomat*. Another was his vision of forming a fourth television network, a venture in which Kluge only lost millions of dollars.

In April 1984 Kluge took Metromedia private, and so he possessed three-quarters of Metromedia stock when he sold the seven television stations to Rupert Murdoch a year later. The eventual sale of the radio stations in the late 1980s would make Kluge more than \$100 million, a great deal of money, but little compared to the billions made from the sale of the television stations.

But by the 1990s Kluge was again at work building a new corporate empire. He again took a qualified risk by sinking his fortune into paging devices such as beepers and mobile telephones. He bought licenses for operation in major markets, waited as the market evolved, and then sold out at a profit. He also went global, forming Metromedia International Telecommunications to bring wireless cable and communications businesses to the emerging markets of Eastern Europe and the

former Soviet republics. In 1994 Kluge began to break into the radio broadcasting business once again by acquiring Radio Juventus in Hungary. By 1999 Metromedia International was a leading operator of radio stations in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, with 15 stations in ten markets.

DOUGLAS GOMERY

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Metropolitan Opera Broadcasts

Bringing Opera into the Home

Performances of New York's Metropolitan Opera have been broadcast regularly on radio since 1931 and occasionally on television since 1977. Milton Cross was the voice of these broadcasts for more than four decades. The continuous support of Texaco (ChevronTexaco after 2000) from 1940 to 2004 formed what was probably the world's longest-running commercial broadcast sponsorship.

Origins

New York's Metropolitan Opera Association was formed in October 1883, and soon the city was presented with an annual season of fine opera performances by top-drawer orchestras and singers. But for decades the only way to hear and see a "Met" performance was to purchase an expensive ticket and attend a program in New York.

The first hint of an alternative means of delivering opera came on 13 January 1910. With the permission of the Opera's assistant director, wireless inventor (and opera lover) Lee de Forest set up one of his transmitters high in the attic above the stage with a temporary bamboo antenna on the roof. Several microphones were placed on the stage. That first transmission

included scenes from *Cavalleria Rusticana* and Enrico Caruso singing in *Pagliacci* and was heard primarily by other radio operators and some reporters. And what they heard was anything but a clear signal, given the crude equipment of the time. The poor results did not endear the company's management to the rising medium of radio.

Despite radio's later development, opera director Giulio Gatti-Casazza resisted further experimentation with radio microphones for two decades out of a fear of lost ticket sales. He also felt mere *listeners* would lose the visual aspect of opera. Public reasons given for the lack of radio coverage included technical problems with placement of microphones and contracts with lead singers that forbade such transmission. Yet the Met was being bypassed by others.

The Chicago Civic Opera went on the air in 1922 when station KYW debuted with a focus on opera broadcasts. And other performing companies were heard in other cities. So were some performances by the Manhattan Opera Company that then competed with the Metropolitan Opera. The fan magazine *Radio Digest* began an editorial campaign to get the Met to change its mind that same year. Station WEAJ wasn't waiting—they formed their own in-studio opera companies,

one for grand and one for light opera—and broadcast their performances for several years. The original language of the composer was used, but performances were cut to fit one-hour time slots. And they took place in a studio, not on an opera stage, limiting what could be accomplished. Broadcasts of opera from Europe could occasionally be picked up by U.S. listeners tuning shortwave. The broadcast sound quality left much to be desired, but at least the operas were being heard.

What finally turned the tide was the Met's need for new sources of operating funds during the depression. NBC secured the broadcast rights for \$120,000 for the first season, outbidding rival CBS. Broadcasts began with *Hansel and Gretel* on Christmas Day of 1931 with Deems Taylor providing the initial commentary. He received howls of protest when he timed his comments to appear over the music and soon changed his approach. The first broadcasts also featured announcer Milton Cross, who would remain as host until 1975, doing more than 800 broadcasts and missing only two in all those years.

Metropolitan Opera Auditions of the Air was developed as a separate program (1935–58; on NBC until 1937, then Blue/ABC) and also featured commentary by Milton Cross with Edward Johnson, managing director of the Met, as host. Each week aspiring operatic performers would do their best to earn audience support and a contract from the Met.

Despite the interest of a small but vocal audience, sponsorship for the broadcasts was difficult to arrange and harder to perpetuate. Several backers (American Tobacco, RCA, and Lambert drugs) came and went, and by the late 1930s, opera broadcasts from New York were threatened by a lack of continuing advertiser support.

Texaco Sponsorship

Beginning on 7 December 1940, the Texaco oil company took up sponsorship of the weekly broadcasts. Though at first this seemed merely the latest in a changing parade of financial backers, Texaco stuck with the program, pleased with the highbrow audience it attracted. More than six decades later, ChevronTexaco continued to support the Metropolitan Opera broadcasts, forming what was probably the longest continuing relationship of an advertiser and a program in radio history. The broadcasts under Texaco at first continued on NBC, then moved to Blue (which became ABC) until 1958, at which point CBS carried on the series for two years. But Texaco became unhappy with declining network interest and decided to create its own specialized network of stations to carry the Saturday matinees. So in 1960 the Texaco-Metropolitan Opera Radio Network was created, with Texaco arranging for the AT&T connecting lines to link the slowly growing number of stations carrying the broadcasts.

As microphone and other radio technologies improved, so did the sound of the opera on the air. By the late 1940s a more

complex multiple microphone technique was being used. The opera company understandably insisted that no microphone be placed where it could be seen, so broadcasts utilized four microphones placed near the stage footlights. These were aimed at the floor to receive a more equal (reflected) sound of the varied singing voices and spoken lines and were supplemented by two more microphones suspended above the orchestra. Stereo transmissions were added in the 1960s. The entire radio operation was upgraded with the move of the Met into its new opera house in New York's Lincoln Center in 1966. The opera network was connected by satellite in the 1980s.

Over the years the opera broadcasts were supplemented with the "Texaco Opera Quiz" and "Opera News on the Air," features that became very popular. On Milton Cross' death in 1975, Peter Allen took over the host role and continued it into the 21st century. In 1977 several operas were televised on the Public Broadcasting Service, which still does three or four such performances each season (with English subtitles). Texaco also supported formation of a Media Center to archive past broadcasts.

Over the years the audience for the programs grew, first in the United States and then beyond. The 20-week (November–April) season of Saturday matinees has long been transmitted throughout the United States and Canada (more than 325 stations across North America), and beginning in 1990, to 27 European countries. Australia and New Zealand joined the network in 1997, and in 2000 the Texaco network welcomed Brazil and Mexico. By the end of the 2000–2001 season, Texaco had sponsored 1,212 Metropolitan Opera broadcasts of 144 different operas.

In May 2003 ChevronTexaco (as the sponsor had become after a 2000 merger) announced that the 2003–04 season of matinee broadcasts would be the last they would sponsor, ending a nearly 65-year run, the longest continuous sponsorship in radio history. The Metropolitan Opera said it would continue the broadcasts and seek new sponsors. ChevronTexaco said the series had been costing about \$7 million a year, reaching some 10 million listeners in 42 countries. Their announcement to terminate sponsorship came after the oil company saw a drop in both profits and stock price.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Classical Music Format; Cross, Milton; De Forest, Lee; KYW; Music; Taylor, Deems

Programming History

NBC Red or Blue (sometimes both)	1931–40
NBC Red	1940–43
Blue Network/ABC	1943–58
CBS	1958–60

Texaco-Metropolitan Opera Radio Network	1960–2000
ChevronTexaco-Metropolitan Opera Radio Network	2000–2004

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Mexico

Radio reaches more people in Mexico than any other electronic medium of communication. Despite the broad reach of television and the growing role of cable and the internet, radio broadcasting continues to be a central arena of commerce, culture, education, and politics. Beginning in the 1920s and 1930s, radio's dynamic sound format made it an ideal medium for Mexico's orally based popular cultures, including music, verbal humor, and melodrama. Despite the strong influence of the U.S. commercial broadcasting model, radio practices in Mexico reflect the interaction of a variety of social forces: local popular cultures, the national state, transnational commercial interests, and civic groups.

Broadcasting Begins: The 1920s and 1930s

Beginning with Mexico's first radio transmission in 1908, radio was the domain of amateur operators who used the medium primarily for point-to-point communication. With the authorization of the first non-experimental broadcasting stations in 1923, however, state and commercial interests began to develop radio as a broadcast medium. State-sponsored stations were operated by specific branches of government (e.g., the Navy, the Ministry of Education) with limited public funding. Commercial stations were financed by entrepreneurs who drew on both transnational capital and domestic capital accumulated in ancillary fields (e.g., newspaper publishing, electronics, retail sales). The first commercial station, CYL, was launched by Luis and Raul Azcárraga, distributors of U.S. radio parts and receivers, in partnership with the Mexico City newspaper *El Universal*. Another early station, CYB (later XEB), was started by a cigarette company, El Buen Tono, with

French financial backing. Sixteen stations were broadcasting by 1926, and nineteen by 1929, the year Mexican stations received the "XE" and "XH" call letter designations.

Beginning in the early 1920s, the U.S. government and U.S. media interests made a concerted effort to open broadcasting markets in Mexico and Latin America to U.S. commercial interests. At the 1924 Inter-American Conference on Electrical Communications held in Mexico City, however, Latin American delegates resisted this offensive and argued that a strong governmental role in radio was essential to economic self-determination. Although they conceded to the principle of commercial competition where feasible, Latin American delegates resolved that electronic communication media were public services over which national governments held direct control. These resolutions became the basis for Mexico's first radio law of 1926, the Law of Electrical Communications (LCE) and the subsequent Law of General Means of Communication (LVGC).

Despite considerable U.S. pressure, Mexico's radio regulations were strongly influenced by state activism and economic nationalism. The 1926 LCE declared the airwaves to be a national resource, allowed only Mexican citizens to own or operate radio stations, and prohibited any transmissions that attacked state security, public order, or the established government. The LVGC established a system of 50-year concessions for commercial broadcasters. Concessionaires were prohibited from making political or religious broadcasts and were required to carry government transmissions free of charge. Further regulations prohibited radio studios from being located on foreign soil and required broadcasting in Spanish. In practice, this regulatory framework ensured the rapid devel-

opment of commercial broadcasting while giving the state a privileged position of access and control within a highly nationalistic broadcasting system.

Commercial broadcasting grew enormously during the 1930s with an infusion of advertising revenue from transnational companies like Colgate-Palmolive and Proctor and Gamble. Although many prominent regional stations started in the early 1930s, Mexico City became the undisputed power center of commercial broadcasting. The centerpiece of Mexico City broadcasting was XEW, "La Voz de América Latina desde México" ("The Voice of Latin America from Mexico"), founded by Emilio Azcárraga in 1930. XEW soon became the most powerful and most popular radio station in the country. By the late 1930s Azcárraga had organized two national radio networks anchored at stations XEW and XEQ in Mexico City. Along with the rise of the Azcárraga group, the late 1930s witnessed the consolidation of the commercial broadcasting industry and the formation of a powerful industry group that became the Radio Industry Chamber (the CIR, later CIRT) in 1942.

As commercial broadcasting advanced, the central state also expanded its efforts to harness the new medium. The number of government-operated radio stations reached a peak of 14 during these years. Important stations were operated by the National Revolutionary Party (PNR, later the PRI), the Ministry of Public Education, and the Autonomous Department of Press and Publicity. Beginning in 1937 the government produced a "National Hour" program of official information and national culture that all stations were required to broadcast weekly. At the same time, radio regulations promoted national culture by requiring all broadcasters to include 25 percent "typical" Mexican music in their broadcasts. The 1930s also saw the beginning of state-sponsored radio education projects, which included the distribution of radio sets to rural schools and working class neighborhoods.

Whereas comedies and drama serials dominated U.S. broadcasting during the 1930s, music was the mainstay of Mexican radio. This was due, in part, to an explosion in the production and circulation of popular music in Mexico and Latin America beginning in the 1920s. Musical programs included boleros, mambos, and rancheras performed by orchestras, bands, and soloists, often interspersed with comedy interludes in a "musical variety" format. In addition, radio regulations created a climate that promoted national musical forms over the radio medium. Commercial broadcasters found that Mexican singers and musicians performing popular Mexican tunes provided the ideal radio content to satisfy state nationalism and capture the national broadcasting market. Mexican orchestras featuring performers like Agustín Lara and Toña la Negra dominated the XEW network schedule.

Although dramatic series were less prominent than music during the 1930s, broadcasters developed a number of dra-

matic and nonfiction program formats by modifying and adapting U.S. soap operas, game shows, and news and sports programs. Radionovelas, for example, combined the techniques and formats of U.S. soap opera production with the melodrama of Latin American music, film, and theater.

Radio listening grew considerably over this period as the number of stations grew, the quality and consistency of programming improved, and the price of radio sets dropped. Listeners had been scarce in the 1920s, but between 1930 and 1935 the number of radio receivers grew to an estimated 200,000 sets and reached an estimated 600,000 sets by the end of the decade. Surveys from Mexico City indicate that well over half of the urban population had regular access to the medium by the late 1930s, although radios were still rare in rural areas and smaller regional cities.

A Golden Age: The 1940s and 1950s

The 1940s and 1950s were characterized by steady growth and consolidation in the radio industry and the increasing popularity of the radio medium. Between 1941 and 1950 the number of radio sets grew from more than 600,000 to almost 2 million. Assuming approximately six listeners for every radio receiver, a 1943 survey indicates that over 90 percent of the populations of Monterrey and Torreón had regular access to radios, compared to 79 percent in Guadalajara, 68 percent in Mexico City, and only 33 percent in Puebla and Morelia. In 1941 Azcárraga and his partner Clemente Serna Martínez consolidated their radio holdings into a single company, Radio Programs of Mexico (RPM). By the mid-1940s RPM networks encompassed nearly half the stations in Mexico and included more than 30 affiliates in Central America, the Caribbean, and the northern rim of South America. Several other national networks emerged in the 1940s, including networks anchored by stations XEB and XEOY-Radio Mil.

Mexican broadcasters' regional power became evident in 1946 when the chief organ of the radio industry, the CIR, organized the Inter-American Association of Radiobroadcasters (AIR) to promote commercial broadcasting throughout Latin America. In 1948 AIR delegates drew up the *Bases of the AIR*—a set of principles to guide broadcasting legislation in the region. These principles declared broadcasting to be a fundamentally private activity undertaken in the public interest. The document argued that government regulations should be limited to the technical aspects of broadcasting and that the state should be prohibited from competing with private broadcasters for advertising dollars. The unstated goal of the AIR was to ensure that the commercial model of broadcasting would guide television development in the region.

World War II had a significant impact on the consolidation and expansion of the Mexican radio industry. During the war the U.S. government sponsored a massive propaganda

campaign through the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (CIAA). Headed by Nelson Rockefeller, the CIAA aimed to counter Nazi propaganda in Latin America by increasing the dependency of Latin American broadcasters on U.S. corporate advertising, strengthening oligopolies (especially Azcárraga's), and blacklisting uncooperative broadcasters. The CIAA ultimately discovered that the best way to convey its propaganda was to incorporate it into Azcárraga's popular Mexican commercial content. As a result, the Azcárraga group benefited from CIAA funding without losing significant control over radio content.

Indeed, the era of the CIAA has been described as a "golden age" of radio in Mexico and Latin America as a whole. Mexican performers such as Jorge Negrete and Agustín Lara became international stars through the synergy of radio, records, and cinema. Musical variety programs and radionovelas of a distinctly Mexican pitch became the institutional and economic mainstay of commercial radio. Of the most popular radionovelas first produced during this period, *El derecho de nacer* (The Right to be Born) and *Simplemente María* (Simply Maria) later became classics of the telenovela genre.

While television entered the majority of U.S. homes by the late 1950s, it was adopted much more slowly in Mexico. Although a small number of television and FM stations were launched at this time, their audiences remained extremely limited due to the expense of television sets and FM-compatible receivers. Instead, AM radio continued to grow and expand during the 1950s and remained the primary broadcasting medium until well into the 1960s and 1970s. Radio Cadena Nacional was one of several new networks that emerged in the 1950s. Azcárraga's RPM organization, however, remained dominant and increased its national broadcasting coverage by buying two independent networks. Expansion abroad also increased during this period as Azcárraga's Latin American network grew to 80 affiliates and RPM began exporting programs to Spain. At the same time, the AIR expanded its international activities and opposed government broadcasting initiatives in several countries. The postwar period also witnessed the formation of labor and professional organizations in Mexican broadcasting, including the Union of Radio and Television Industry Workers (STIRT) and the National Association of Mexican Announcers (ANLM).

Growth and Competition: The 1960s and 1970s

The 1960s and 1970s were decades of tremendous growth for the radio industry. The radio audience exploded from almost 3 million to more than 14 million between 1960 and 1970 and reached 20 million by the end of the 1970s. The structure of the industry remained highly centralized despite the Azcárraga group's increasing shift to television. Important new radio

chains developed during this period, including Sociedad Mexicana de Radio, S.A., Asociación de Concesionarios Independientes de Radio, Organización Impulsadora de Radio, and Organización Estrellas de Oro. In the early 1970s Clemente Serna Alvear (son of Serna Martínez) purchased Radio Cadena Nacional and formed Radio Red, a network devoted to talk and news programming.

Despite robust growth in radio, however, television began to siphon off both talent and advertising revenue. Although radionovelas continued to draw vast audiences during the early 1960s, by the end of the decade live radio production was increasingly replaced by less expensive recorded programs (mostly music). Polls indicate that the percent of stations airing radionovelas declined to 27 percent in 1977 and less than 7 percent by 1981. Television competition also led radio broadcasters to explore new technologies as a means of increasing their markets. Beginning in 1970 the Mexican Association of FM Broadcasters began to promote commercial FM broadcasting and encourage the manufacture of FM radios. By 1980, the number of FM stations had more than doubled (from 65 to 174) and the commercial model of FM radio was firmly in place.

The 1960s and 1970s also witnessed important developments in broadcast regulation. The 1960 Federal Law of Radio and Television (LFRT) established a regulatory structure that would remain in place through the year 2000. The LFRT followed many of the recommendations made by the AIR and CIRT and declared broadcasting to be an activity undertaken "in the public interest," rather than a "public service." At the same time, the LFRT continued to assert a national interest in broadcasting with regulations that promoted national morality and culture.

Social change and state activism in broadcasting during the late 1960s and early 1970s also led to significant regulatory revisions. Renewed government interest in broadcasting was signaled by the reopening of the Education Ministry's radio education project in 1967 with station XEEP. After much wrangling between the government and the industry, a 1969 agreement gave 12.5 percent of the broadcasting day to the state, but did not allow that time to accrue. Regulatory adjustments continued over the course of the 1970s as both the state and commercial interests jockeyed for privileged access to the broadcast media. By the late 1970s, "right to information" debates succeeded in breaking the state's moratorium against political broadcasting: for the first time all political parties were guaranteed access to the mass media.

Crisis and Consolidation: The 1980s and 1990s

The last two decades of the 20th century were characterized by technological innovation, new program formats, and the

rise of a significant non-commercial radio sector. Many changes during this period were motivated by crisis conditions in the Mexican economy in the 1980s and early 1990s. Economic pressures forced broadcasters to seek new means of competing with television, which gobbled up almost 75 percent of the media advertising pie by the early 1990s. Beginning in 1986, radio chains began to use satellite technology as a means of increasing market share and reducing costs. Satellites not only improved networks' abilities to reach targeted markets nationwide, they also helped Mexican broadcasters reach international markets, including the lucrative U.S. Latino market. Centralization and consolidation continued to characterize the radio industry during the 1980s and 1990s, as fewer than a dozen groups controlled the majority of radio stations.

Political and social upheaval stimulated significant changes in radio program forms and content. As a range of political and civic voices began to call for democratic change in Mexico, radio became a ready outlet for political dissent. For commercial broadcasters, the decision to give voice to political opposition was, in part, a strategic decision. By airing oppositional voices, radio was able to provide a competitive information product that television broadcasters would be unable to offer until the mid-1990s. Radio's currency was also increased by the 1985 Mexico City earthquake. During the disaster, radio became a central means of coordinating relief efforts, disseminating information, and bringing the concerns of community and civic groups to the attention of government officials. All of these events contributed to the rise of news and talk-radio formats in the late 1980s and early 1990s and promoted social, cultural, and political openness on the air. Radio Red's *Monitor*, for example, became a prominent national news program. Overall, commercial radio news and information shows continued to reflect the centralized nature of the radio industry by focusing on Mexico City-based politics and culture.

Mexico experienced considerable growth in noncommercial broadcasting during this period. The number of noncommercial, "permissioned" stations doubled between 1981 and 1991 (from 47 to 100) and doubled again by 1999 (reaching 223). Growth in noncommercial broadcasting included two state-sponsored networks, Grupo IMER and Indigenous Cultural Radio (RCI), independent community radio, and university radio. Grupo IMER constitutes a unique hybrid in Mexican broadcasting, combining both state and nongovernmental funding and receiving special permission to supplement its budget with advertising. Unable to sell advertising, independents and university stations were hard hit by economic crises during this period. Despite calls for a new category of "social enterprise" radio that would allow nonprofit stations to sell advertising, community broadcasters remained "weak voices" on the Mexican airwaves.

The Future of Radio in Mexico

Mexican radio in the 21st century has entered a period of transition. Calls for the revision of the Federal Law of Radio and Television can be heard in a variety of circles, from civic and nongovernmental groups that would like to see new opportunities for community radio and low-power FM, to commercial broadcasters with interest in convergence and cross-media acquisitions. While the oligopolistic structure of commercial radio remains firmly in place, the government's anti-monopoly commission has so far prohibited the massive media mergers that have characterized U.S. radio. In sum, radio remains a lively medium of social communication that promises to play a central role in Mexico's changing economic, political, and cultural landscape.

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See also Border Radio; Hispanic Radio; South America

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Microradio. *See* Low-Power Radio/Microradio

Middle East. *See* Arab World Radio; Israel

Middle East Radio Network. *See* Radio Sawa/Middle East Radio Network

Middle of the Road Format

Middle of the road (MOR) refers to a form of radio music programming that features popular standards and current hits, mainly adult contemporary in nature. MOR relies on broad-based music that appeals to adults 45 and older, and it serves as a "bridge" between the adult contemporary and easy listening formats. Other industry terms that describe the MOR approach include *full-service*, *variety*, *general appeal*, and *diversified* (Keith, 1997).

MOR serves as "one of the oldest and most durable types of programming within format radio" (Howard, Kievman, and Moore, 1994). It finds its origins in the 1940s, when radio offered a variety of program material and before rock and roll as a musical genre spurred the creation of specialized formats. Traditional MOR stations of this radio era appealed to adults by giving them "lots of news, sports, and safe, comfortable music" (Halper, 1991). As more and more stations sought to attract teen audiences, whom they saw as becoming more important as a demographic group, they began to air countdown shows of popular hits during nights and weekends. In this capacity, MOR serves as the predecessor of Top 40 radio.

During the 1950s, television began to displace radio as a source of entertainment programming, as embodied in serialized dramas and the like. Keith (1987) notes that as the networks left radio, stations found themselves having to fill their schedules with recorded music, news, and sports. When rock and roll arrived on the radio scene, marking the start of format specialization, MOR stations modified their playlists to secure the older adult audience. Thus, MOR established itself as a true radio format, characterized by broad-appeal music and a "full-service" function of providing music, news, and sports. By the mid-1950s, "MOR dominated the radio programming scene" (Keith, 1987).

Between the 1950s and 1970s, MOR enjoyed high popularity. But MOR as a programming powerhouse began to lose strength as the radio industry evolved during those decades. As radio became further fragmented, MOR had to contend with competition from new programming styles, such as beautiful music in the late 1950s and soft rock and oldies in the 1960s. Keith (1987) points out that these formats, plus the updating of easy listening station playlists and the rise of adult contem-

porary, took away some of MOR's audience. Because MOR was a mainstay of AM, its numbers fell further as FM grew in popularity in the 1970s, with mellow rock taking away the younger side of its demographic, 25- to 40-year-olds.

By the 1980s, the MOR audience consisted mainly of the 45 and older crowd, with a number-2 Arbitron rating in AM listenership and a number-11 ranking among the 12 formats listed for FM (Keith, 1987). Indeed, some believed that by the mid-1980s, MOR ceased to exist altogether, as other programming formats, especially adult contemporary, took its place. Fewer than 100 stations holding the label MOR remained by the mid-1990s (Keith, 1997).

Music-wise, the traditional MOR format through the years consistently centered on popular standards that emphasized melody more than a beat (Howard, Kievman, and Moore, 1994). Indeed, Hyatt (1999) considers the term *middle of the road* as synonymous to *adult contemporary* and *easy listening*. The term *middle of the road* accurately describes this type of music, which is similar to the more modern adult contemporary genre—neither too soft nor too raucous, music that walks the line musically, “avoiding anything too old, too new, too upbeat, or too solemn,” as Keith (1987) describes it. Asserts Gregory (1998), “MOR was coined by broadcasters to describe a style of popular music that is high on melody, but short on substance.”

Traditional MOR station playlists might include “traditional” pop vocalists such as Frank Sinatra, Tony Bennett, Rosemary Clooney, Ella Fitzgerald, Perry Como, and Peggy Lee; big band acts such as Benny Goodman and Glenn Miller; and relatively “contemporary” acts such as Helen Reddy, Olivia Newton-John, Barbra Streisand, Roger Whittaker, Ray Conniff, and Sergio Mendez (Howard, Kievman, and Moore, 1994; Keith, 1987, 1984). Crossover artists who found success in the MOR format during the 1970s included the Carpenters, Glen Campbell, and Anne Murray (Keith, 1984).

During the 1980s and 1990s, notes Gregory (1998), further updating of the MOR style came with the crossover success of artists with soul and rhythm and blues backgrounds, such as Whitney Houston, Toni Braxton, and Luther Vandross. The demarcation between MOR and adult contemporary formats eroded even further during this time, if one believes Gregory (1998) when he asserts that “the whole concept of what MOR actually represented was embodied by Canadian Celine Dion, Elton John and the modern musicals of Andrew Lloyd Webber and Tim Rice.” In short, when considering the range of artists found on station playlists, MOR and adult contemporary mirror each other in terms of melodic style, but the MOR playlist includes older standards.

In addition to the inclusion of older tunes, MOR differentiates itself from other similar formats in its use of on-air personalities and its added emphasis on news. For example, whereas adult contemporary stresses music, MOR “has always been the home of the radio personality” (Keith, 1984). On-air announcers and disc jockeys enjoy considerably more freedom on MOR than on other music-based formats; they often choose individual selections to play and may have extensive programming experience (Howard, Kievman, and Moore, 1994). Indeed, “MOR personalities often serve as the cornerstone of their station’s air product” (Keith, 1997).

Though fewer traditional MOR stations existed in the late 1990s, the format, encompassing heavy news and informational programming, still found success in the larger metropolitan markets. Just as the radio industry as a whole had experienced “frag-out” during the 1970s, the MOR label became delineated at the end of the 20th century with descriptors such as “nostalgia,” “golden oldies,” and “adult standard.” Stations employing the MOR genre in the late 1990s reflected this emphasis on music favored by its older-adult audience through slogans such as “Unforgettable Favorites,” “The Original Hits Station,” “Station of the Stars,” “The Greatest Music of All Time,” “The Memory Station,” and “Great Songs, Great Memories.”

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See also Adult Contemporary Format; Easy Listening/Beautiful Music Format; Formats; Oldies Format

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Milam, Lorenzo 1933–

U.S. Community Radio Activist

Lorenzo Wilson Milam is a broadcast activist, teacher, and writer who founded or helped to get licensed more than 40 community-based FM radio stations between 1962 and 1976. Originally published in 1975, his book *Sex and Broadcasting: A Handbook on Starting a Radio Station for the Community* showed nonprofit groups how to get on the air, legally licensed by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC). Typically underfunded, most of these stations used donated and home-built equipment, all were programmed by volunteers, and most have not survived in their original forms. What Milam accomplished in the 1970s is similar to what the microradio proponents achieved for community groups in the late 1990s, but with one major difference: Milam's stations had government licenses, and microradio did not.

Many of Lorenzo Milam's social and political goals for radio were repeated 30 years later by Stephen Dunifer of Radio Free Berkeley. Dunifer believed, as Milam did, that radio was in the firm control of corporate entities and that community groups such as antiwar activists, tenants' rights groups, homeless advocates, the disabled, and all others denied a voice by the mainstream media were entitled to broadcast. Unlike Dunifer, Lorenzo Milam's 1970s timing allowed him access to open FM channels now no longer available. During the time that Milam was helping community groups get licensed, the dominant medium was AM radio. Most commercial FM stations were not profitable, and there were few educational licensees on the air, so a lack of interest in FM made it easier for Milam to obtain licenses.

The 1945 allocation of VHF channels set aside a portion of the then underused FM band for a license category called "educational, non-commercial." Channels between 88.1 and 91.9 megahertz were reserved for colleges, high schools, community nonprofit foundations, churches, and other institutions without a commercial purpose. A category known as 10-watt Class D allowed entry-level broadcasters, such as high schools, to purchase inexpensive transmitters. In 1978 Class D was eliminated, but in January 2000 the FCC created a special class of licenses called Low Power FM Radio (LPFM). The LPFM service is designed to create opportunities for new voices to be heard on the radio.

The LPFM service consists of two types of radio station: 100-watt stations that reach an area with a radius of approximately three and one-half miles; and 10-watt stations that generally reach an area with a radius of between one and two miles. By contrast, full-power FM radio stations generally operate at between 6,000 and 100,000 watts.

LPFM stations are available only to noncommercial educational entities and to non-profit public safety or transportation organizations. Licenses are not available to individuals or to commercial operations. In order to assure the greatest diversity of ownership, existing broadcasters and other media entities are prohibited from owning LPFM stations, and an entity may own only one LPFM station in the same area.

There are several informal categories of noncommercial FM stations. Most successful, as defined by funding success and audience numbers, are those affiliated with National Public Radio (NPR). A second category, college radio, is typically programmed by students, often as part of a radio-TV-film degree. Third, the religious category includes Christian music and talk. A fourth category, defined by the 1946 founding of the Pacifica Foundation, is community radio, featuring alternative forms of music and talk and commentary by and for communities of minorities, women, gays and lesbians, poor people, and others. If the microradio movement in the late 1990s can be traced back to Lorenzo Milam's work in the 1970s, Milam's work had as its basis Pacifica and KPFK-FM, Berkeley, California.

In 1958 Milam, then a graduate student at the University of California, Berkeley, began to volunteer at KPFA, where he studied the community programming philosophy of Lewis Hill. This philosophy encouraged Milam to introduce this unique concept to other cities. After his first station, KRAB in Seattle, was licensed in 1962, he traveled the country, writing and lecturing about community radio and helping at least 40 stations get on the air. He revealed his sense of humor in the call letters of some of these: KBOO, KPOO, WAIF, KCHU, KDNA, and KUSP. The stations typically suffered from organizational problems, philosophical conflicts, and lack of funding; because they were run by volunteers, the sound was uneven and the equipment insufficiently maintained. Many of these stations failed, or else the licenses were transferred to other nonprofit groups, which then reorganized, adequately funded, and upgraded them.

Milam's advice about dealing with the FCC can be found in *Sex and Broadcasting*:

Remember this about them: 1. They don't care about you; 2. They have heard your story before; 3. They don't care about you; 4. Influence means little to them; 5. You mean more work for them; 6. They don't care about you, at all. However, if you submit a clean, respectable application, and pray fervently to The Great Aether

God—you may well get a permit to go on the air. They aren't out to help you until you have a construction permit, but they do recognize that they have a job to do. And if you are right, and honorable, and persistent, then they'll get tired of saying can't-have-it can't-have-it can't-have-it like some miserable child and will grant you permission to do the thing that you wanted to do all along; that is, to broadcast, to transmit the sounds of generations across the halls of our ages.

Lorenzo Milam was an idealist at a time when using radio as a force for change seemed possible. He became proficient at FCC license applications, and he had enough technical expertise to find and install broadcast equipment. Originally influenced by Lewis Hill, he wanted his stations to be less encumbered by political infighting and to have less of a left-wing litmus test for programming. But after 15 years of station building, Milam and his allies fell prey to the major reality of broadcasting: one needed a great deal of money to continue operating.

In a 1996 email message in response to an invitation to speak at a radio conference, Milam wrote: "I'm totally out of radio. It's something I did, and I did well, for 20 years, and that was plenty. I did yeoman service to The Cause, and thank God I'm done with it. Which is not unlike entropy: we either grow, or we rot. I have several other reasons for being out of the picture now, more than being 63, and being mostly unwilling to travel in the U.S. The most compelling reason for me to be done with it is the things I have gone on to in the last 15 years." Those activities include editing an on-line publication called RALPH. Milam currently lives in Mexico, about which he says, "It's a wonderful new life, as compelling as radio was."

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See also Community Radio; Educational Radio to 1967; Hill, Lewis; Localism in Radio; Low-Power Radio/Microradio; Public Radio Since 1967

Lorenzo Wilson Milam. Born in Jacksonville, Florida, 2 August 1933. Attended Yale University 1951–52, and Haverford College, B.A. 1957; graduate work at University of California, Berkeley, 1958. Programmer, WIVY Jacksonville, 1952; volunteer at Pacifica's KPFA, 1958; worked for FCC lawyer Michael Bader, Washington, D.C.; founded KRAB Seattle, 1962; editor (as "Lolita Lark") of *RALPH: The Review of Arts, Literature, Philosophy, and the Humanities*, 1995–present.

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Minnesota Public Radio

One of the major trends in public radio during the 1990s has been the growth of "superstations," whose signals, relayed by repeater antennae and satellites, may blanket an entire region or reach halfway across the United States. The first, and leading, public radio superstation is Minnesota Public Radio (MPR), which extended into seven states and Canada by the late 1990s.

MPR originated with KSJR-FM, a classical music station licensed to St. Johns University, which went on the air in Colleville, Minnesota—approximately 75 miles northwest of Minneapolis—on 22 January 1967. William Kling, a St. Johns graduate, served as the station's program director. In the fall of 1969, a student announcer from the University of Minnesota named Garrison Keillor took over hosting duties of KSJR's

Morning Program and began telling stories in addition to spinning records. By 1971 Keillor had changed the program's name to *A Prairie Home Morning Show* and enjoyed a wide following, ultimately leading to the wildly successful *A Prairie Home Companion*. Kling had left the station for a job at the Corporation for Public Broadcasting in 1969, but he returned two years later when St. Johns turned control of KSJR over to a nonprofit concern, Minnesota Educational Radio. Kling obtained federal funding and foundation grants to develop a St. Paul-based regional news service, and the group changed its name to Minnesota Public Radio in 1974. In addition to completing a network of its six licensees in 1975, Minnesota Public Radio also pioneered radio reading services for the blind through the use of FM subcarriers.

Under Kling's leadership, Minnesota Public Radio grew at a phenomenal pace in the 1980s. To capitalize on the success of *A Prairie Home Companion*, MPR founded the Rivertown Trading Company in 1981 to sell merchandise connected to the program. In April 1983 MPR launched American Public Radio (APR) as an independent corporation and rival to National Public Radio (NPR); MPR also initially provided the bulk of APR's programming. The statewide MPR network grew to include 12 stations by 1985. Two years later the Rivertown operation was reorganized as the Greenspring Company, a for-profit subsidiary of MPR. Kling's fund-raising and entrepreneurial skills were reflected in the fact that by 1988 MPR received nearly \$5 million from listeners, more than \$3 million in government funding, and close to \$8 million in revenues from broadcasting and other activities, including *Minnesota Monthly* magazine and catalog sales. By the end of the 1980s, MPR was operating 17 licensees, with another station under construction and applications for four more stations on file with the FCC.

MPR President Kling claimed that MPR moved into an area only after a community requested that it do so, and he insisted that the community finance station construction and the first year of operation. In late 1989 residents of Sun Valley, Idaho, applied to the FCC for a permit to install a translator and a 100-watt station with MPR's assistance; soon, MPR's signal was bouncing off the mountains of Idaho. Not surprisingly, these expansionist policies led to direct conflicts with local stations. MPR established a transmitter near Grand Forks, North Dakota, in 1990, although the area already was served by AM and FM public stations licensed to the nearby University of North Dakota. Much of MPR's programming was the same as that of the local stations, who could not hope to match MPR's marketing and production resources and who watched helplessly as MPR skimmed off the cream of their subscriber base.

MPR's profits from Greenspring (which Kling termed an "experiment in 'social purpose' capitalism") also began to

attract considerable attention from those outside the organization. Although MPR was ostensibly a separate entity, its ties to Greenspring represented a potential conflict of interest and led to an inquiry by the Minnesota attorney general's office. MPR ultimately was cleared of wrongdoing and sold its catalog business to Minneapolis retailer Dayton Hudson for \$120 million in March 1998. Kling personally received \$2.6 million from the deal. Minnesota Public Radio also began operating the Public Radio Music Source (PRMS) in conjunction with 66 other public radio stations in January 1993. Participating stations advertise a toll-free number for listeners to purchase the CDs on their station's playlist. In return, the station earns up to 10 percent of the gross from sales. However, critics argue that PRMS encourages stations to narrow their programming and aggressively promote particular releases, with the result that public radio increasingly resembles its commercial counterparts.

MPR spent much of the 1990s consolidating its sprawling operations, and it expanded into southern California in 1999 when it took over Pasadena's financially beleaguered KPCC. Its defenders (and many listeners) argue that Minnesota Public Radio is a paragon of professionalism and vision that will serve as a model for public radio in the 21st century, but its detractors claim that MPR is driven by little more than cut-throat competitive imperatives. Both would agree that MPR rejects the traditional model of public radio, in which stations serve small geographic areas with programming that is not considered commercially viable. In its embrace of professionalism, expansion, and entrepreneurship, Minnesota Public Radio has in many ways set the agenda for public radio in the United States.

TOM MCCOURT

See also Keillor, Garrison; Kling, William; National Public Radio; *Prairie Home Companion*; Public Radio International; Public Radio Since 1967

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Monitor

News and Features Program

A breakthrough in radio journalism formats, *Monitor* premiered on the NBC network in 1955. It was the first regular radio broadcast to employ the magazine format, offering a mix of late-breaking news, interviews, features, humor, and music. The weekend broadcasts continued for nearly 20 years.

The arrival of television in the United States after World War II prompted a dramatic shift in the habits of radio listeners. By the mid-1950s Americans owned more radios and chose from more radio stations than ever, but instead of being the center of attention in the living room, radios had been moved into the kitchen, the bedroom, and the automobile. Surveys suggested that listeners were tuning in more frequently and for shorter periods of time while performing other tasks around the home, at work, or while driving. This high rate of listener turnover made it difficult for soap operas, variety shows, and concert performances to maintain their audiences, and such shows began disappearing from network schedules. Programming began to emphasize news, music, and local personalities, or disc jockeys, reflecting radio's new role inside—and outside—the typical American home.

Symbolizing this trend was *Monitor*, which premiered on NBC radio on 12 June 1955 as a weekend feature for local affiliates to carry at their discretion, either in its full, 40-hour Friday night-through-Sunday package, or as selected portions to complement local schedules. Since *Monitor* did not employ actors or use complex production techniques, its budget was relatively modest. Its electronic theme, nicknamed the “*Monitor* beacon,” became a familiar sound to millions of listeners over the next 20 years. A multiple series of variably pitched and paced beeps, the theme allowed affiliates to leave or join the network at scheduled times and also identified the program to its audience.

With its novel potpourri of segments entailing sports, news, interviews, comedy, music, and commentary, *Monitor* became a commercial success. In 1956, Patrick D. Hazard described *Monitor*'s unique format:

First of all, in a magazine-type broadcast, it is possible to mix levels of taste in the material presented—something for everyone, in the *Life* [magazine] tradition of photo-journalism. And just as in one issue of that magazine, one may see “horror” photos as well as a brilliant color essay on a phase of American art history . . . so a listener dialed to *Monitor* [may] psychologically tune out, by degrees, program material not compelling to him. . . . There is flexibility of appeal (see Hazard, 1956).

This same flexibility in programming permitted greater numbers of advertisers to sponsor smaller blocks of time, a reflection of the new economic order of radio in the 1950s.

Broadcasting magazine had given a sense of *Monitor*'s flavor at the time the program was debuting:

NBC said a typical hour on the weekend service might include the following: the first segment of a trip through Paris with *Monitor*'s roving European correspondent (succeeding segments would be positioned throughout the rest of the day); a dramatic highlight from a current hit Broadway play or movie; live or taped appearances by people at the top of the news that weekend; comedy of all types, including live and recorded routines by stars from all fields of show business, both jokes and stories; a *Monitor* exclusive—which might be a dive with the atomic-powered submarine, the *Nautilus*, firing a rocket at White Sands or visiting Birdland, New York's mecca of jazz; a behind-the-scenes visit with a top star of Broadway or Hollywood; plus, of course, *Monitor*'s basic news, time, weather, sports and local features (*Broadcasting*, 11 April 1955).

Monitor was the brainchild of Sylvester L. (Pat) Weaver, a former Young and Rubicam advertising executive who had joined NBC in 1949 as its vice president in charge of television. By the end of 1953, in a climate of tension and uncertainty, he was promoted to president of NBC. In its radio and television audience ratings, NBC was trailing rival CBS, and Weaver vowed to radically change his network's fortunes with new directions in programming. The networks, he said, “must gamble on shows, on talent, on projects; and we will lose in doing this all too often. But only a great network can afford the risk, and that is essentially why the great network service is so important to this country.” In addition to *Monitor*, Weaver created *Today* and *The Tonight Show* for NBC television, and he also is credited with the programming strategy of offering occasional specials in lieu of regular shows.

Because of its success, *Monitor* was later imitated on CBS and ABC radio and is arguably a model for the style employed by National Public Radio's *All Things Considered*, beginning in 1971, and *Morning Edition* in 1979. The *Monitor* style also inspired the creation of television magazines, beginning in 1968 with CBS's *Sixty Minutes*, and later with NBC's *Dateline*, ABC's *20/20*, and many others.

Scores of well-known radio personalities hosted *Monitor* segments during its 20-year run, including Ben Grauer, Hugh

Downs, Gene Rayburn, Bert Parks, Hal March, Jim Backus, Ed McMahon, Henry Morgan, Joe Garagiola, Garry Moore, Bill Cullen, Cindy Adams, Wolfman Jack, Don Imus, and Robert W. Morgan. It began as a 40-hour weekend broadcast, airing almost continuously from Friday night to midnight Sunday, but was later shortened to 16 hours, from 1961 until 1974. In its final months of production, *Monitor* was offered for 12 live hours each weekend, with nine repeat hours. Its final broadcast was Sunday, 26 January 1975, hosted by John Bartholomew Tucker.

DAVID MCCARTNEY

See also National Broadcasting Company; Weaver, Sylvester

Creator

Pat Weaver

Producer

James Fleming

Programming History

NBC June 1955–January 1975

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"NBC Radio Tells Plans for 'Monitor,' Its 40-Hour Weekend Program Service," *Broadcasting* (11 April 1955)

Morgan, Henry 1915–1994

U.S. Radio Humorist

Although Henry Morgan is chiefly remembered as radio's "bad boy"—because he openly criticized the products offered by his sponsors—this reputation has tended to divert attention from his considerable skills as a satirist and writer. At times in the post–World War II years, Morgan's barbs were as sharp as those delivered by his idol, Fred Allen, although Allen seemed more in control of both his gifts and his material.

Morgan's first job in radio as a page boy at WMCA in New York in 1931 did not last long because he had the congenital habit of saying what he felt, but his loud and clear delivery soon earned him a position at the station as announcer. In 1933, at Philadelphia's WCAU, Morgan could claim to be the youngest announcer in radio. His tenure there, however, did not last long. One evening, out of boredom or giving in to his love of mischief, he included the name of the man who owned the station in the missing person's report, and soon Morgan himself was missing from WCAU's payroll. After working for a year at WEBC in Duluth, Morgan joined WNAC in Boston as night-shift announcer, a job that lasted until he was dismissed for assigning other announcers to do his shift while he attended classes at Suffolk Law School.

Morgan finally found his niche in 1940, at WOR in New York, when he was given first a Saturday morning show and then a 15-minute evening show six times a week that was intended to get the devilishness out of his system. Instead,

Meet Mr. Morgan and *Here's Morgan* found a willing audience eager to hear Morgan's odd mixture of novelty songs, ad-libs, invitations to tune in to other stations, and peculiar weather reports such as "falling barometer, followed by loud crash." But it was the baiting of sponsors that made *Here's Morgan* so refreshingly appealing to listeners, because here was Morgan saying exactly what they wanted to say, for example, that he wouldn't wear Adler's Elevator Shoes to a dog fight and that Life Savers were a gyp because the centers were missing. The outraged sponsors departed, but the delighted fans stayed.

After serving in the army, Morgan continued the 15-minute format on WJZ until September 1946, when *The Henry Morgan Show* debuted on the American Broadcasting Companies (ABC). The program began unconventionally, with the announcer asking instead of declaring the title of the program, a peculiar version of "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow," and Morgan casually mocking Kate Smith's sunny greeting by muttering, "Hello, anybody. Here's Morgan." What followed might be a parody of a soap opera or quiz show; an interview with Dr. Heinrich Von Morgan; a visit to an old jokes' home; or a strange commingling of odd pairs, such as baseball and opera or *Hamlet* and a detective show. Unlike many other comedians of the time, Morgan did not build his shows around a theme. It was the unpredictable nature of *The Henry*

Morgan Show that kept listeners wondering, "What's going to happen next?"

What they could expect, however, was Morgan's unmerciful ribbing of his sponsors. He introduced a spot for Schick by calling it "the world's worst commercial" and implied that the victor in an on-stage "shaveathon" won not because of a Schick razor but because he was only eight years old. He even carried his weekly lashing of Rayve Cream Shampoo over to Fred Allen's show, where he told Allen that his contract required him to throw dirt in men's hair to boost sales and to offer users "24 tubes of the same stuff to teach you a lesson." Both sponsors were unusually patient, with Eversharp Schick taking it on the chin from 1946 through 1947 and Rayve sticking with Morgan to the end of the 1948 run.

Chief among Morgan's supporting cast was Arnold Stang, who played recurring character Gerard opposite girlfriend Hortense and Morgan's "Hank." Stang, assuming less obnoxious roles than he did on *The Milton Berle Show*, ably assisted Morgan in skits with help from regulars Art Carney, Betty Garde, and Minerva Pious.

Morgan's desire to keep audiences off-balance with audacity made him the darling of the cognoscenti, but his scattershot approach of taking aim at every target in sight did not appeal to the masses, who preferred the gentler humor coming from the residents of Allen's Alley, Wistful Vista, and Pine Ridge. Morgan sometimes let his personal peeves supercede his function as entertainer, as occurred in his rebuttal to a U.S. senator who had criticized the way New Yorkers talk or in his defenses of jokes that laid eggs. On the radio, Morgan was always playing more to his iconoclastic soul than to any audience, and that independent streak contributed to his cancellations as much as his ambushing of sponsors did.

Although Morgan freely bashed people of all political stripes, his anarchic attitude and association with organizations allegedly tied to communism led to his name's appearance in *Red Channels* (1950) and his subsequent blacklisting. After a period of being considered unemployable, he landed a late-evening show on WMGM on which he interviewed diners at a Manhattan restaurant. One of those customers happened to be Mark Goodson, who hired Morgan to be a panelist on television's *I've Got a Secret*. After the popular game show ended its long run, Morgan had flings at delivering brief commentaries on WNEW and longer discourses on a talk show for WOR before entering a phase of what he called "full-time

shabby employment" providing voice-overs for television commercials, which he continued to do until shortly before he died of lung cancer in 1994.

CLAIR SCHULZ

Henry Morgan. Born Henry Lerner von Ost, Jr., in New York City, 31 March 1915. Page boy, WMCA, 1931; changed name to Henry Morgan, 1932; announcer, WABC, WCAU, WNAC, WOR, 1933-40; host, *Here's Morgan*, 1940-43; served in U.S. Army, 1943-45; starred on *The Henry Morgan Show*, 1946-48 (ABC), 1949-50 (NBC); appeared on television game show *I've Got a Secret*, CBS, 1952-67, 1976. Died in New York City, 19 May 1994.

Radio Series

1940	<i>Meet Mr. Morgan</i>
1940-1943, 1945-1946	<i>Here's Morgan</i>
1946-1950	<i>The Henry Morgan Show</i>

Television Series

On the Corner, 1948; *Henry Morgan's Great Talent Hunt/The Henry Morgan Show*, 1951; *Draw to Win*, 1952; *I've Got a Secret*, 1952-1967, 1976; *That Was the Week That Was*, 1964; *My World and Welcome to It*, 1969-1970

Films

So This Is New York, 1948; *Murder, Inc.*, 1960

Selected Publications

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Dogs, 1977
The Uncensored Letters of Loreeta Pernie, 1982
Here's Morgan, 1994

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Morgan, Robert W. 1937–1998

U.S. Disc Jockey

Robert W. Morgan became one of the most influential disc jockeys of the rock era when he took a job in 1965 as one of the “Boss Jocks” at Los Angeles “Boss Radio,” 93-KHJ. The station’s format consisted of playing selected hits and placing strong emphasis on its disc jockeys. The format changed radio programming and made Morgan’s style one of the most copied in U.S. radio.

Origins

Morgan was born in Mansfield, Ohio, in 1937 and was raised in the small town of Galion, Ohio. He attended Wooster College, where in 1955 he got his first job in broadcasting (earning a dollar an hour) working at stations WWST and WWST-FM. There, he became known as the “Rooster of Wooster.”

Morgan left Wooster College to pursue a career in broadcasting, moving to Oxnard, California, where he took a job doing an all-night show called “Kegler’s Spare Time with Bob Morgan,” which he broadcast live from the Wagon Wheel Bowling Alley.

In 1959 Morgan entered the army and was stationed at Fort Ord, in Monterey, California. After completing his tour of duty, he moved down to Carmel, where he got a job working for the small 500-watt station KTEE-AM. There he was teamed with Marine Corps Heavyweight Boxing Champion Bob “K.O. Bailey” Elliott for a classical music program.

Morgan remained at KTEE for only six months, because he grew tired of working within the classical genre. He took a job working as the morning drive disc jockey for the larger KMBY-AM in Monterey. While there he also operated and ran the control board for the *Arthur Godfrey Time* program. In 1961, once again feeling dissatisfied, he moved to a job at KOMY-AM in nearby Watsonville. However, he was there for only one day, because instead of giving out the request number for KOMY, he gave out the number for his former station, KMBY. Soon, KMBY found itself flooded with phone calls from listeners asking for him. He was offered five times his salary to take his former job back, and he immediately went back to work at KMBY.

In 1962 Morgan moved to Fresno, California, where he took a job with KMAK-AM working with Ron Jacobs, a Top 40 format pioneer who was to become one of radio’s most influential program directors. Morgan took over the afternoon drive time, and he and Jacobs began working on a series of jingles and promotions for his show. The professional quality of these promotions became the groundwork for the eventual design of “Boss Radio.” It was also during his stint at KMAK

that he began occasionally using the name “Robert W” for his promotions. However, he still referred to himself as Bob on the air.

Morgan left KMAK after only one year and spent the next couple of years moving around northern California from station to station. In 1963 he took a job at KROY-AM in Sacramento, where he spent eight months. Then, in 1964, he took a job at San Francisco’s KEWB-AM, a Top 40 station where he first met “The Real Don Steele,” a fellow disc jockey who became one of his closest friends.

Boss Radio

In 1965, after a successful Top 40 show at KEWB, Morgan was offered a job on a new radio station in Los Angeles. The station was being developed by RKO consultants Bill Drake and Gene Chenault (a team later known simply as Drake-Chenault). They had the goal of simultaneously programming a chain of stations throughout the United States and were seeking a way to improve upon the Top 40 radio format to keep it fresh and exciting.

After developing stations in Fresno and San Diego, Drake-Chenault went to work on RKO’s Los Angeles flagship station, 93 KHJ-AM. They hired Ron Jacobs, Morgan’s former program director from Fresno, to be the program director for KHJ, and Jacobs immediately hired Morgan to be the morning man, working 6:00 A.M. to 9:00 A.M.

The new station’s slogan was to be “Boss Radio.” The Boss Radio format was simple: the station only broadcast selected hit records to make sure they maintained a loyal following, and they also created vivid imagery with their jingles and on-air promotions. Rather than using traditional jingles, the station shortened them, using brief phrases and slogans that were constantly repeated.

The most important component of the format, however, was the strong emphasis on the on-air personalities, who were called “The Boss Jocks.” Morgan was one of seven original Boss Jocks, which included his coworker from San Francisco, The Real Don Steele.

Morgan went to work on the new Boss Radio in May 1965, and from that time on, he dominated Los Angeles radio. He developed his own signature statement for his daily sign-on—“Good Morgan!”—which he used for the rest of his broadcasting career. He and the other Boss Jocks were responsible for turning the Boss Radio format into a major success. Not only did Boss Radio become the number one radio station in Los Angeles within six months, but the format achieved national

recognition and spread to stations throughout the United States and Canada.

Over the next five years on KHJ, Morgan earned unparalleled shares in the Arbitron radio ratings, with over 20 percent of Los Angeles listeners tuned to him each morning. He became the voice of Boss Radio and introduced a cast of characters, slogans, and routines that made him even more popular. His "Getting Morganized," a machine he created to give his listeners a zap of extra luck or energy, became so popular that he took it with him when he left KHJ.

During these years, Morgan did all of KHJ's promotions and images, and he began to take on work outside of Los Angeles. He became known as the quintessential boss jock, and his style was frequently copied by morning disc jockeys throughout the country. He was one of the best-known broadcasters in the country, and in 1967 he received *Billboard* magazine's "Air Personality of the Year Award."

In 1969 Morgan narrated and coproduced (with Ron Jacobs) the first ever "rockumentary," the 48-hour *KHJ History of Rock and Roll*. It aired worldwide, and when it was broadcast in the Los Angeles market, it received a 60 share in the ratings.

During this time, Morgan also began appearing on television, hosting and narrating for several shows, including *Boss City*, *Morgan's Alley*, the American Broadcasting Companies' (ABC) *In Concert*, the National Broadcasting Company's (NBC) *The Helen Reddy Show*, and the local KHJ-TV channel 9's *Groovy Show*.

Morgan left KHJ in 1970 to move to Chicago to work at WIND, but, not liking the cold climate, he returned to Los Angeles in 1972 to his morning drive slot at KHJ. He remained there until 1974, when he took a job at FM station K-100 (KIQQ) another Drake-Chenault programmed station. The team re-created their AM radio success on the FM dial, and soon it became the number-one morning program in Los Angeles.

In 1975, Morgan took a job at KMPC-AM as a staff announcer, working a split shift on the weekends and filling in for the weekday staff, including legendary Dick Whittinghill. In 1979 Morgan took over for Whittinghill when he retired. At KMPC Morgan formed his "Good Morgan Team," a group of radio professionals that specialized not only in music, but also in news, weather, sports, and traffic. He stayed at KMPC through the early 1980s despite several format changes and finally a transition to talk radio. Even this did not hurt his popularity: he had the best ratings on the station and became highly successful at the talk format as well.

During this time, Morgan also cohosted a local television show on KNBC-TV called *The Everywhere Show* and became the announcer on the nationally syndicated musical series *Solid Gold*. He also hosted several nationally syndicated radio shows, including *Record Report* and the ABC/Watermarks

The Robert W. Morgan Special of the Week, on which Morgan interviewed the most popular music personalities in the world. He even recorded a program for TWA's in-flight radio called *Morgan's Manor*. During this period, he also recorded thousands of radio and TV commercials, movie trailers, and documentaries.

In 1982 Morgan left KMPC to return to a music show and took a job at Emmis Broadcasting's KMGG Magic 106 FM. In 1985 he returned to KMPC when they returned to a music format, and in 1986 he gave the last broadcast of 93 KHJ when it signed off the air (the station was sold and subsequently became a Spanish format).

In August 1992 Morgan took over as the morning disc jockey at KRTH (K-Earth) 101-FM, oldies radio, and was reunited with The Real Don Steele. He remained there until 1998, when lung cancer forced him to retire. When K-Earth 101 held a retirement tribute for him at the Museum of Television and Radio in Beverly Hills, it was hosted by Dick Clark, who spoke at great length of Morgan's influence on Top 40 radio. In 1993 Morgan received a star on the Hollywood Walk of Fame, and he was inducted into the National Broadcasters Hall of Fame in 1994. He was also inducted into the Ohio Broadcaster's Hall of Fame. He died of lung cancer in 1998 and was posthumously inducted into the Radio Hall of Fame at Chicago's Museum of Broadcast Communications. Samples of his work are on permanent display at the Museums of Television and Radio in Beverly Hills and New York and at the International Broadcasting Congress Archives in Brussels.

JUDITH GERBER

See also Disk Jockeys; Drake, Bill; KHJ; Radio Hall of Fame

Robert W. Morgan. Born in Mansfield, Ohio, 23 July 1937. Oldest child of Arthur and Florence Morgan; attended Wooster College and worked at WWST, 1955; worked at several California radio stations, such as KMAK, Fresno, and KEWB, San Francisco; morning disc jockey at KHJ, Los Angeles, 1965-71 and 1972-73; disc jockey, various Los Angeles stations 1973-98; retired, 1998. Inducted into Broadcasters Hall of Fame, 1994, and Radio Hall of Fame, 1999. Died in Los Angeles, California, 22 May 1998.

Radio Series

1969 *KHJ'S History of Rock and Roll*
1976-81 *Robert W. Morgan Special of the Week*
1977 *Record Report*

Television Series

Morgan's Alley, 1968; *Boss City*, 1968; *Groovy Show*, late 1960s; *In Concert*, 1973-75; *Everywhere Show*, 1979

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Mormon Tabernacle Choir

U.S. Choral Group Featured in Radio Broadcasts

The Mormon Tabernacle Choir's broadcast program, *Music and the Spoken Word*, began soon after The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints began broadcasting in 1922 on KZN (today's KSL) radio in Salt Lake City. Only rehearsals were broadcast occasionally at first, in part because the musicians were skeptical of the fidelity of radio. The first formal broadcast came on 26 June 1923, when President Warren G. Harding also spoke. The choir began its regular live performance schedule when KSL became an NBC affiliate, and on 15 July 1929 the first regular network Tabernacle Choir program was aired nationally. Today, it claims the title, "longest running continuous network radio program in America" with more than 3,600 broadcasts to its credit. The performance is delivered live when every Sunday morning more than 2,000 radio, television, and cable operations broadcast the program worldwide.

Choir History

The Mormon Choir first sang in Utah's Salt Lake Valley more than 150 years ago, coming into existence in 1847. There was no "Tabernacle" or organ at that time so the group sang in an improvised bower of trees where adobe blocks and poles supported the roof of leaves and branches. From this beginning it played a central part in the early church's commitment to celebrate culture—both sacred and secular events. The historic auditorium, the Tabernacle, is a dome-shaped building in Salt Lake's Temple Square, first used in 1867. The Tabernacle organ was installed that same year and it has become the most recognized symbol of the choir.

In 1849 John Perry, a Welshman, became the choir's first regular director. Perry was followed by others who brought formality and discipline to the choir organization. Evan Stephens, also from Wales, conducted the choir for 27 years. Under his leadership, the choir grew from 125 singers to over

300. Stephens directed the choir on its first major concert tour in 1893 and is credited with laying the foundation for the choir's growing international acclaim.

The choir program tradition consists of song, organ recitals, and a short non-denominational sermon dubbed the "Spoken Word." For more than 40 years, Richard L. Evans provided the latter—thought-provoking, inspirational messages usually two to three minutes in length, all eventually published in a series of books. Upon his death, Evans was replaced by J. Spencer Kinard, who worked for 19 years. He was replaced by the current voice, Lloyd Newell.

The Choir on the Air

The choir began its national broadcast history with the NBC network in 1929, when KSL became an affiliate. When KSL switched to the CBS network in 1933, the choir followed. The "Spoken Word" unit of the program was added in 1936.

It is no wonder that the fidelity of these first programs was questioned by the musicians. As the story goes, KZN/KSL apparently owned only one microphone in those early days. Thus, according to a prearranged plan, the station briefly went off the air as a courier dashed across the street from the station to the Tabernacle carrying that one microphone. There, a tall stepladder was installed near the organ console, and the announcer climbed to his precarious perch atop that ladder holding the microphone that was to pick up both the music and the announcer's words.

Coverage of the choir has grown with technology. In 1948, television broadcasts began in Salt Lake and the choir was among the station program lineup. In 1961, it became a part of the church's launch into international shortwave radio. In the 1970s, the choir took part in the first satellite broadcasts. Today, choir presentations use radio, television, cable, satellite, motion picture recording technology, and the internet in its

world-wide distribution. The choir has made more than 150 recordings (some of them CDs), five of which have attained gold status with sales of over 500,000, and two have received platinum awards for sales of more than 1 million. Perhaps best known is their classic recording of "Battle Hymn of the Republic," recorded with the Philadelphia Orchestra, for which the choir was awarded a Grammy in 1959.

ELDEAN BENNETT

See also KSL

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Mormon Tabernacle Choir website,

<www.musicandthespokenword.com>

Morning Edition

U.S. Newsmagazine Program

For millions of Americans, weekday consciousness begins with *Morning Edition*: the clock radio turns itself on to the razzle of B.J. Liederman's theme music or the resonant calm of host Bob Edwards.

The program began on 5 November 1979. After National Public Radio (NPR) scored a success with its afternoon newsmagazine, *All Things Considered*, the network's member stations wanted a morning service. They were not necessarily looking for a program. Most member stations at the time ran classical music in the morning, but they wanted news and feature elements they could drop into those programs. Unlike *All Things Considered*, which had evolved on the air, *Morning Edition* was to be a planned creation, conceived by a committee with input from stations and guidance from audience researchers. The format was to be a two-hour series of segments, with a mix of news, sports, arts, and features. None of the segments was to be longer than nine minutes, with fixed times so that stations could take what they wished and cover the rest with local news, weather, and traffic. But production of the pilot was handed over to two morning newsmen from the immensely popular Washington commercial station WMAL. As former producer Jay Kernis recalls, "they knew how to do AM drive-time radio, but they broke the promise of public radio. They ignored the audience we'd been building." The pilot failed. Host Bob Edwards remembers them as sounding "like a bad talk show in a small market."

NPR's news director, Barbara Cohen, fired the producers and the first two hosts. Kernis, the arts producer, was promoted to senior producer and "given ten days to re-invent the show and teach the staff how to produce it." Frank Fitzmaurice came in as executive producer to oversee the program's news content. Bob Edwards, who had spent five years as cohost of *All Things Considered* with Susan Stamberg, was recruited to fill in as host for 30 days, until the network could find someone to take over.

Jay Kernis recalls how he and Edwards thought through the role that began Edwards' more than two decades as the solo host of the program. "A host is not an announcer," Kernis says. "A host is the glue that holds the show together. There should be this vortex of information, and in the calm center, there should be the host, Bob, steady Bob, carrying it all back to you."

Kernis also preached to his staff that the show's strict format should be liberating rather than restricting, a concept he says he got from the late arts producer Fred Calland, who pointed out that *All Things Considered* had to create a new architecture in its relatively free-form 90 minutes every day. The program could succeed or fail, depending on whether that structure was successful. With *Morning Edition*, the architecture was a given. As Calland put it, "you know the perimeters of the canvas, now you can paint."

One example of working within the structure came when Kernis had to write a short piece of advance copy for Bob's

interview with American haiku poet Nick Virgilio, to be read just before newscaster Jean Cochran delivered the top stories. He did it in classic, 17-syllable form:

Some words hit; some hurt.
Jersey poet writes *haiku*.
News from Jean Cochran:

Resources were stretched thin in the early days of the program. *All Things Considered* was not anxious to share its small pool of reporters, and some reporters preferred being heard on the established afternoon flagship. That meant that Edwards had to get at the news through live interviews, often a dozen or more in a day. Kernis credits three of NPR's most successful female reporters, Cokie Roberts, Nina Totenberg, and Linda Wertheimer, with seeing the audience potential in *Morning Edition* and doing extra work to make sure their reports got on its air.

Morning Edition's voracious format made more room for commentators, too, such as retired sportscaster Red Barber, whose weekly chats with Edwards were one of the program's most popular features for a dozen years.

Morning Edition's producers say the feel of the program is governed by two factors: it is the first thing many people hear each day, and the format is designed to be shared with local stations.

Executive producer Ellen McDonnell says that listeners need to be nudged into their day: "I tell our substitute hosts 'you're up; we're not. People don't want to be blown out of bed.'" Though the show has aired vivid personalities, including Susan Stamberg, Alex Chadwick, and Renee Montaigne as substitute hosts, senior producer Greg Allen says that focus groups consistently favor Bob Edwards' reassuring, understated style. "When Bob's on vacation, we get letters from listeners urging us to bring him back."

The fact that *Morning Edition* begins the day means that its news content is more anticipatory than that of *All Things Considered*. Producers look for items about what's coming up in the day, and what those events are likely to mean for the listener.

Producer Jay Kernis says he decided early on that if he could not know which 20 minutes of the show listeners were going to hear, he would try to make sure that any 20 minutes contained some news, some arts, and some feature. Although

the program no longer has specific times dedicated to arts or sports, producers still try to maintain a mix that balances hard news with human emotion. Ellen McDonnell says, "you need a smile, music, a commentary. When the news is grim, we try to be cognizant of the time of day. We don't sugar-coat the news, but we don't have to report every graphic detail." Edwards and McDonnell say that *Morning Edition* aims for a certain civility. McDonnell keeps in mind that "we're a guest who's been invited into your home or your car." Edwards points out that, in the morning at least, "people want that familiar voice, the radio friend."

COREY FLINTOFF

See also *All Things Considered*; Edwards, Bob; National Public Radio; Totenberg, Nina; Wertheimer, Linda

Host	Bob Edwards
Contributors	Baxter Black, Frank Deford, Joe Davidson, John Feinstein, David Frum, Matt Miller, Patt Morrison, Judy Muller, Ruben Navarette, Kevin Phillips, John Ridley, Cokie Roberts, Amity Shlaes, Kenneth Turan

Programming History

National Public Radio 5 November 1979–present

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Morning Programs

Morning programming developed slowly in radio, an ironic fact given that morning or “drive time” would by the 1960s become the most valuable radio broadcast time to advertisers seeking the largest audiences available.

Origins

Radio stations were slow to program morning hours as there was seemingly little audience interest in listening so early. Radio began as an evening service, only gradually moving into daytime hours. Beginning in larger cities, however, by the mid-1920s many stations had expanded their schedules to program the entire day. Their schedules included early morning hours, sometimes beginning at 7 or 8 A.M., and usually offered some type of uplifting talk and/or music. Among the best known of the pioneers was Charles K. Field, who created the “Cheerio” personality for early morning KGO listeners in San Francisco starting in 1927. At the same time Anthony Snow was broadcasting homespun philosophy as “Tony Wons” to Chicago listeners over WLS. Both soon moved to the national scene for lengthy network runs into the 1930s. A few other stations offered a variety of music and talk. Baltimore’s WCAU began its *Morning Musical Clock* in 1927 or perhaps earlier (station records are unclear), built around a theme of the passing early morning time. It was still on the air two decades later. The program title would in future years come to label a format on many radio stations.

With a growing audience of radio set owners by the late 1920s and slowly awakening advertiser interest in reaching those listeners, the new national networks began to expand their program offerings into earlier daytime hours as well. Programs took many forms, from informal talks and music to those aimed at children. Virtually all were upbeat in tone as befitted the start of the day. Among the first was Field’s organ music and talk-filled *Cheerio*, moved from San Francisco and heard for a half hour daily on NBC at 8:30 A.M. beginning in 1927 and continuing for a decade. *Jolly Bill and Jane*, with music and chatter aimed at children, was also heard daily on NBC at various early morning hours and ran for a decade beginning in 1928. *Gene and Glen* provided early morning comedy (and a multitude of voices) for many years on NBC starting in 1930. *Tony Wons’ Scrapbook* moved from Chicago to New York and was heard daily on CBS (and later NBC) during the 1930s. The host would begin each program asking “are yuh listenin’?” and millions of women were. Wons edited nearly a dozen published collections of the poetry and prose he had used on the air.

Golden Years

Network offerings broadened in the 1930s to include drama (*Vic and Sade* began in 1932 on NBC Blue and was first heard at 9:30 A.M.), comedy (*Laugh Club* on NBC-Blue), comedy household hints (*The Wife Saver*, on various morning slots on NBC and NBC-Blue from 1932 until 1943), news commentary (Ann Hard on weekday mornings on NBC), and health (*Health Talk* daily on CBS). In 1940 CBS offered early morning classes from the *American School of the Air*.

As happened with other radio programming, the developing world crisis and eventual outbreak of war in 1941 was reflected in morning programs. Many stations, especially those near military bases, offered morning “Reville” shows, a variation of the “musical clock” format already present in many markets. Early morning network newscasts became a staple on all the networks beginning in 1940. They were heard daily, typically for 15 minutes, and were soon filled with wartime news and information.

As soap operas filled most network daytime hours in the early 1940s, some of the series, such as the CBS drama *Woman of Courage* (1939–42), began as early as 9 A.M. Local stations (and sometimes the networks) took a different tack and offered many homemaking programs at various daytime hours. *Adelaide Hawley Homemaking* was heard most weekday mornings on CBS in 1940.

Networks increasingly focused on talk variety programs for morning hours. Arthur Godfrey’s CBS show (so popular he had to give up his local morning program on Washington, D.C.’s WMAL in 1948) and Don McNeill’s *Breakfast Club* on ABC had strong audience appeal during the 1940s and 1950s. Such network morning shows became a popular way to start the day along with regular newscasts, a pattern that had developed first during the war.

Postwar “Musical Clocks”

Music-based programming by local stations dramatically expanded daytime program offerings. These “musical clock” or “early bird” or “wake-up” programs had developed in some markets in the 1930s, grew during the war, and expanded greatly in the postwar years. Virtually all of them were based on a combination of music, news, weather, and talk items with constant references to the time and, in larger cities, to traffic conditions. As radio prime time remained the most important listening period (and thus expensive for advertisers), advertising in morning programs could be purchased

for one-third to one-half the cost of advertising in the evening hours, and advertisers flocked to the proven ability of early morning radio to sell listeners.

By mid-decade, local station morning broadcast hours were rapidly becoming radio's prime time as network offerings faded away in the face of television competition. Costs to advertisers rose and morning hosts became the new stars of radio. One, Tom Joyner, was in such demand that for many years he hosted a morning show in Dallas and then flew to Chicago for an afternoon drive-time program. He stuck to this grueling schedule for years. The parallel rise of rock and roll music in the 1950s helped fuel a faster-paced morning show still based on a mixture of recorded music and live news, weather, and sports reports. Radio listening became a popular way to make increasingly congested traffic and long commutes more tolerable. In major markets regular traffic reports became an important part of the morning show format.

In the 1970s the morning period spawned the so-called "morning zoo" format, a fast-paced, high-energy approach that is known to disregard traditional programming rules. The concept behind this morning programming approach is to create a zany, often irreverent atmosphere designed to keep listeners fully engaged, awake, and on the edge of their car seats during the commute to work and school. Employing an ensemble cast of characters, its prevailing programming ingredient is comedy and pop-culture chatter usually revolving around hit movies and TV shows, celebrities, and sports. This morning daypart schematic has been refined (toned down in some cases) over the years and has become a mainstay at most larger market contemporary music outlets.

Non-commercial stations also got into the act. Local university and community stations had long provided a mixture of news, features, and, often, classical music. In 1981 National Public Radio developed *Morning Edition* as an expanded long-form news program designed to compete with the more concise commercial radio news programs.

Modern Mornings

Local radio stations seek to provide audiences with personalities who would build a "listener habit" and amass large and loyal followings. In most markets morning radio hosts became celebrities attracting huge rating numbers that advertisers found compelling and appealing. Among the myriad stars of the sunrise hours was WTIC-AM's Bob Steele, who began entertaining Hartford, Connecticut area listeners in the late 1930s and continued doing so into the 1990s. Steele's tenure on the air, while exceptional, was not atypical, as morning radio hosts around the country often enjoyed greater longevity than other on-air personnel. One indication of the enormous status of certain popular morning hosts is that on occasion radio facilities have actually been named or renamed in their

honor. One such example is WPRO's Brine Broadcast Center in Providence, Rhode Island, whose moniker pays tribute to morning radio giant Salty Brine for his nearly half century of service.

Modern morning disk jockeys tend to talk more than they do in other dayparts. They continue to provide a generally upbeat tone just as their forbears did eight decades ago. News and traffic reporters often are part of a "morning team" as a star disk jockey often has a regular sidekick, or co-anchor.

Morning or drive-time radio continues to be a radio staple. Increasingly dominated by the personalities heard daily, such programs have thus far thrived despite increased competition from local and national morning television shows. Fragmentation of audiences because of cable and the internet mean that morning programming is under intense competition. New York's Don Imus had his morning radio show rebroadcast on MSNBC, and Howard Stern's morning program, also from New York, is widely rebroadcast across the country. Syndication of popular national figures has surged as cost-cutting has diminished the quality of morning radio, particularly in small and medium markets.

MICHAEL C. KEITH AND CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Bob and Ray; Farm/Agricultural Radio; Gambling, John; Godfrey, Arthur; Imus, Don; Joyner, Tom; McNeill, Don; Morning Edition; Shock Jocks; Stern, Howard; Talk Radio; Vic and Sade

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Morrow, Bruce “Cousin Brucie” 1937–

U.S. Radio Personality

From early on, radio called to Bruce Meyerowitz. Radio was very real to him, whether it broadcast World War II, the death of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Superman, the Bickersons, or the Shadow. Meyerowitz was so hooked by the time he was 16 that he and a friend created his first radio name of Bruce Morrow even before he landed a job.

After high school, Meyerowitz enrolled at Brooklyn College. Having no interest in a liberal education, he transferred to New York University’s Communication Arts program in 1953. The better fit was immediately apparent to Meyerowitz, who was extremely interested in broadcast technology. Interestingly, television was the major catalyst for initiating Meyerowitz’s broadcasting career. The Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) was demonstrating its color TV system on campus, so he successfully convinced the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) to let him cover it as a stringer. Amazed by color TV, he saw the future and wanted to be a part of it.

Meyerowitz was tired of pretending to do radio in labs, so he single-handedly founded New York University’s station. WCAG, for Communication Arts Group, was a primitive setup that sent its signal via wire from the lab to a lounge area. It became a carrier-current station serving the campus during the 1950s, an exciting time in the history of music. Meyerowitz programmed a classical format with some news, but rock and roll was garnering tremendous attention nationwide.

In 1957 Meyerowitz became a radio professional. A Hamilton, Bermuda, station manager wanted to develop a big-city sound and was seeking the next Alan “Moondog” Freed. Meyerowitz was offered a job, and, as “Bruce Morrow,” he made his professional debut on ZBM. In Bermuda, Morrow encountered anti-Semitism and racism, so he did not stay long.

Morrow idolized Freed on New York’s WINS and realized his dream in 1958 by taking a producer job there. Morrow recalled: “They wanted somebody young and eager (and cheap). I was all that, and I was one thing more. I was a WINS freak.” WINS built its popularity on Top 40 music and on Freed, who left for WABC. Although he would not be on the air, Morrow was overjoyed to work for WINS. He said, “I was going to be a producer for the station that had brought Moon-dog to New York—Ten Ten WINS!”

Morrow got his big break when the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists (AFTRA) staged a strike. Morrow went on the air from 2 P.M. to 8 P.M., stumbling his way through news and record introductions. Although he later joined AFTRA, Morrow was maligned as a scab. He felt uncomfortable about crossing the picket line, but he landed a permanent 7 P.M. to 11 P.M. announcer position.

One evening in 1959, an elderly woman wandered into WINS and asked: “Well, cousin, can you give me fifty cents please? I want to get home to the Bronx.” The encounter inspired the evolution of his name to Cousin Brucie. That year, Murray the K (Murray Kaufman) took the WINS night shift as heir apparent to Freed. Although impressed by Murray on the air, Cousin Brucie did not see eye to eye with him. Murray wanted Cousin Brucie’s evening shift and convinced management to give it to him. Morrow would not switch and was out of a job. Cousin Brucie claimed that Murray bought the shift using payola money.



“Cousin Brucie” Morrow
Courtesy Radio Hall of Fame

In 1960 Miami's WINZ hired Cousin Brucie, who initiated the *Pepsi-Cola Cousin Brucie Saturday Night Party* from Kingston, Jamaica, every other Saturday. He also met and married Susan Stoloff in Miami. Cousin Brucie worked for WINZ less than a year before receiving a Christmastime telegram from WABC in New York inviting him to "come home." In 1961 he took the 10 P.M. to midnight shift at WABC before moving to the 7 P.M. to 11 P.M. evening time period, which he dominated in New York until 1974.

At WABC Cousin Brucie helped define a generation's music. For many summers his live music shows were fixtures at New Jersey's Palisades Amusement Park. In 1965 Cousin Brucie played a role in Beatlemania. Although Murray the K dubbed himself "the Fifth Beatle," Brucie was not impressed, calling the statement "a lapse of taste if not sense shared by many a jock in many a radio market." Brucie helped WABC become "W-A-Beatle-C," and he hosted the Beatles' legendary Shea Stadium performance in August 1965.

In 1973 WNBC hired Wolfman Jack to compete against Cousin Brucie. WNBC had already hired Don Imus to go against Dan Ingram. Both Cousin Brucie and Wolfman Jack claimed victory, but the truth seems to lie somewhere in between. When Wolfman Jack wanted his contract voided, he says he convinced WNBC to hire Cousin Brucie. Whether true or not, Cousin Brucie left WABC on 7 August 1974 to join WNBC-AM, which no longer had to worry about his competing against them.

Brucie resigned from WNBC in 1977 and became a partner in the Sillerman Morrow Broadcast Group. In 1979 the group launched WALL-AM-FM in Middletown, New York, and Cousin Brucie went back on the air. By 1981 he moved to another group station, WRAN-AM in Dover, New Jersey. Cousin Brucie joined WCBS-FM in New York in 1984, where he still hosts *Cousin Brucie's Yearbook* on Wednesdays from 7

P.M. to 10 P.M. and *Cousin Brucie's Saturday Night Oldies Party* from 7 P.M. to midnight.

W.A. KELLY HUFF

See also Freed, Alan; Murray the K; WABC; WINS; Wolfman Jack

"Cousin Brucie" Morrow. Born Bruce Meyerowitz in Brooklyn, New York, 13 October 1937. Founded WCAG at New York University, 1953; graduated New York University, 1957; worked at ZBM, Hamilton, Bermuda, 1957; producer, disc jockey, WINS, New York, 1958-60; disc jockey, WINZ, Miami, 1960; disc jockey, WABC, New York, 1961-74; disc jockey, WNBC, New York, 1974-77; became Sillerman Morrow Broadcast Group partner, 1977; on-air/owner WALL-AM-FM, Middletown, New York, 1979-81, and WRAN-AM, Dover, New Jersey, 1981-84; host, *Cousin Brucie's Yearbook* and *Cousin Brucie's Saturday Night Oldies Party*, WCBS-FM, New York, 1984-present. Inducted into Radio Hall of Fame, 1988, and Broadcasting and Cable's Hall of Fame, 1990.

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Motorola

Radio Manufacturer

Motorola has been a leader in exploring and promoting new uses of radio technology. The Chicago-based company initially focused on radio receivers. Later, Motorola developed applications of the technology for government, military, and private use, helping radio to realize its potential as a two-way communication tool. In so doing, Motorola became a haven for engineering and high-quality technological innovation.

The Motorola story starts in the 1920s, with a business-savvy young man from north central Illinois. Paul Galvin quickly saw the potential of radio as the medium developed. Galvin and partners formed two companies to produce storage batteries and power converters for radios. Both were closed by 1928, but Galvin continued to believe in the potential of the business. After borrowing \$1,000, Paul Galvin and his brother

Joseph formed the Galvin Manufacturing Corporation in September 1928.

Galvin Manufacturing quickly moved into the production of private label radios for wholesalers and retailers and experienced some moderate growth. But smaller firms like Galvin's were hit hard by the economic downturn that followed the stock market crash in late 1929. If Galvin Manufacturing was to remain in business, the company needed to develop a landmark product that would mark it as a vital player in radio. Paul Galvin found the cornerstone for his company with the automobile radio.

Although auto radios had been available in the 1920s, they were expensive, difficult to install, and sounded terrible because of static interference from electric devices within the car. Galvin and his associates developed a prototype that solved these problems and installed it in his car in time for the 1930 Radio Manufacturer's Association convention. Galvin drove to Atlantic City for the show and demonstrated his new product to conventioners who marveled at the innovation.

Galvin Manufacturing's 5T71 was the first commercial radio designed to fit most automobiles and sold for about \$120 including installation. In order to create a name that would associate sound with motion, Galvin coined the name Motorola for his radio by combining the word *motor* with *ola* from *Victrola*. Though Galvin Manufacturing retained its original moniker for years, it was the trademarked Motorola name that became famous. By 1936 Motorola was an industry leader and was among the first brands of car radio to include push buttons, fine tuning, and tone controls.

That same year, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) took action that facilitated Galvin's move into other radio products. After the FCC allocated spectrum space for police communications, Galvin introduced its first AM mobile receiver, called the Police Cruiser, and the following year introduced accompanying transmission equipment. Soon, the need for two-way communications became apparent, so Galvin developed mobile AM transmitters for officers in the field. The cost of a complete system, including one base station and three mobile radios, was about \$4,000.

Motorola introduced the first line of improved two-way FM equipment in 1941. This innovation marked the start of a 30-year period in which Motorola engineer Daniel Noble and the company became internationally known for research and development. Motorola later adapted this same FM technology for use in larger commercial and industrial markets as two-way radio communication became commonplace in the 1950s.

During this same era, Motorola became an important supplier to the American military. When World War II broke out in Europe, Galvin assembled an engineering team to develop a lightweight, portable, two-way radio that could be used on the battlefield. Eventually, the U.S. Army awarded Galvin Manu-

facturing a contract for the Handie-Talkie, a five-pound AM radio with a range of about one mile. Galvin manufactured more than 100,000 of the radios before the end of the war. The company also developed a 35-pound FM two-way radio in a backpack with a range of ten miles. This device, the Galvin SCR-300, became better known as the Walkie-Talkie and was hailed by military leaders as a pivotal communication device. Galvin produced 45,000 of the Walkie-Talkies along with jeep and tank radios to aid the war effort.

Galvin Manufacturing became a publicly traded stock in 1943. In 1947 the company formally changed its name to Motorola and prepared to reap the dividends of a booming postwar economy. It did so by continuing to expand on its radio business but also by continued research and development efforts and what company officials call "continuous self-renewal" into other areas of electronics. In the 1950s, Motorola became an important supplier of automobile radios to Ford, General Motors, and Chrysler. Almost one-third of the car radios on American highways had been made by Motorola as the decade concluded. It was also during this period that Motorola started to manufacture television sets, developed some of the first radio paging systems, and became involved in the semiconductor business. Motorola initially used transistors to miniaturize its own products, leading to a line of pocket-sized radios. Transistors were also crucial in the development of its advanced, two-way Motrac system that ultimately boasted a 50 percent global market share for mobile radios.

Over the years Motorola maintained a partnership with the American government on various projects, including the space program. Motorola systems have played a vital role in tracking and communications between earth and outer space since the company developed a system for an early satellite mission in 1958. Motorola endures as an important, diversified, global corporation in electronic communications. Despite some serious business problems in the 1990s, Motorola remains involved in wireless telephone and messaging, two-way radio communications, semiconductors, networking, and more. The Galvin legacy at Motorola also continues; a third generation of the family is now running the company.

STUART L. ESROCK

See also *Automobile Radios; Receivers*

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Movies. See Film Depictions of Radio; Hollywood and Radio

Murray, Lyn 1909-1989

U.S. (British-Born) Radio Composer and Conductor

Lyn Murray began his career in radio in the early 1930s. His life work included composing and conducting music for radio, television, and film for more than half a century.

Murray was born Lionel Breese in London in 1909. His father emigrated to Philadelphia in 1923 and the family followed in 1925. Murray entered radio by working for the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) at their station WCAU in Philadelphia as a staff conductor and arranger from 1931 to 1934. He then moved to CBS in New York as a staff conductor, composer, and arranger, remaining in New York until 1947.

During Murray's years with CBS radio, he worked on a wide variety of programs. These included *The Adventures of Ellery Queen*, 1939 to 1942; *Radio Reader's Digest*, 1942 to 1944; *Columbia Presents Corwin*, 1944 to 1945; *The Ford Theater*, 1947 to 1949; and *The Hallmark Playhouse*, 1948 to 1953. He also worked for the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), composing and conducting the music for *The Adventures of Philip Marlowe*, 1947. Other programs for which Murray composed or conducted episodes include: *Chrysler Airshow*, 1937; *An American in England*, 1942; *The March of Time*, *Your All-Time Hit Parade*, *Sunday Night Party*, *Rippling Rhythm Revue*, *The Danny Kaye Show*, *Watch the Fords Go By*, *Lucky Strike Hit Parade*, *Heinz Magazine of the Air*, and *Music from the House of Squibb*. Murray also directed *The Lyn Murray Singers*, a choral group that appeared regularly on the *Texaco Star Theater* and *Hit Parade*. Murray's excellence as a conductor, as well as his extensive knowledge of popular and classical music, led many in the industry to consider him one of the best directors.

In the summer of 1946, Murray taught a course in radio choral techniques at the Julliard School. Murray offered students an opportunity to appear on network commercial shows. In his publicity for the course, Murray noted that he was organizing a concert tour that would include qualified students. Pete Seeger, folk singer and banjoist, and Norman Cordon of the Metropolitan Opera were expected to be part of the tour.

In 1947 Murray moved to Hollywood to find work in television and movies. In his diary, Murray makes occasional reference to being listed in *Red Channels*, a factor that he felt limited his employability in his early days in Hollywood. In 1952 Paramount Studios held up a contract with Murray, which he later wrote was probably related to his listing. Then, when negotiating a contract with the American Broadcasting Companies (ABC) in 1954, the issue of *Red Channels* came up but was dismissed.

Murray was instrumental in founding the Composers Guild of America in 1953 and 1954. He co-wrote the organization's constitution and by-laws with Sandy Courage. The name was changed to Composers and Lyricists Guild of America in 1956. (It is currently known as the Society of Composers and Lyricists.) Murray also served as a board member for the National Academy of Music.

Murray won two Emmy Awards for musical scores. The first, in 1986, was for *National Geographic's* television special "Miraculous Machines," and the second was in 1988 for *National Geographic's* special "Treasures of the Past."

Murray's diary of his career from 1947 through 1987, published as *Musician*, chronicles his ups and downs in the radio,

television, and film industries. Murray died at age 79 of cancer in Pacific Palisades, California.

MARGARET FINUCANE

See also Blacklisting; Red Channels

Lyn Murray. Born Lionel Breese in London, England, 6 December 1909. Worked as staff conductor and arranger, WCAU Radio, Philadelphia, 1931-34; staff conductor, composer, and arranger, CBS Radio, New York City, 1934-47; moved to Hollywood, 1947, and worked for Hallmark Playhouse, 1947-51; composer and conductor in television and film industry, 1951-89. Received Emmy awards, 1986, 1988, for scores for National Geographic television specials. Died in Pacific Palisades, California, 20 May 1989.

Radio Series

1939-42 *Adventures of Ellery Queen*
 1942-44 *Radio Reader's Digest*
 1944-45 *Columbia Presents Corwin*
 1947-49 *Ford Theater*
 1948-53 *Hallmark Playhouse*

Publication

Musician, 1987

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Murray the K (Murray Kaufman) 1922-1982

U.S. Radio Personality

Murray the K was a popular New York City radio personality in the 1950s and 1960s who gained national fame through the promotion of popular music and culture. He produced many package shows that featured now legendary American recording artists. Even the Beatles, before they were known in the United States, were encouraged by other international performers to work with Murray the K when they came to the United States.

Origins

Murray the K's real name was Murray Kaufman. He was born in Virginia to a show business mother, Jean Greenblatt, and a leather merchant father named Max. He entered show business as a child by appearing as a dancer and extra in several Hollywood films. He later dropped out of high school in the late 1930s to become a catcher in the New York Yankees' minor league baseball organization. World War II disrupted Kaufman's dream of playing for the major leagues, however, and he changed direction by preparing for a career in show business. While serving in the U.S. Army during the war, he produced entertainment shows for American soldiers. In the late 1940s he found his way into New York's Catskill mountains, where he began producing nightclub shows and working as an emcee. In the off season (November through April), Kaufman returned to New York City and worked in promo-

tion. Most notably he helped push Patti Page's recording of "How Much Is that Doggie in the Window?" to number one on the music charts in the early 1950s.

Radio Career

In 1953 Kaufman got his first radio job producing a remote interview show that was broadcast from a New York nightclub and hosted by various movie stars such as Lorraine Day, Eva Gabor, and Virginia Graham. After two years Kaufman moved behind the microphone at New York's WMCA and co-hosted the talk show with his wife in addition to taking on some general announcing for the station. He began working as a late-night disc jockey at WMGM in 1957, just as radio was beginning to cater to younger audiences and to play more recorded music. Kaufman joined the National Conference of Disk Jockeys, as did Dick Clark and others, to help advance the image of radio broadcasting's new professional generation.

WINS New York hired Kaufman in 1958 to produce a late night show he called *Swingin' Soiree* on their 50,000-watt station. He followed Bruce "Cousin Brucie" Morrow in their lineup; Morrow had moved into the 7:00 P.M. to 11:00 P.M. time period that had been occupied previously by Alan Freed, a casualty of the payola scandal. Murray the K developed a large, loyal audience at WINS, and in 1959 he succeeded Morrow, who moved to another station.



Murray the K in 1965
 Courtesy AP/Wide World Photos

Kaufman parlayed his radio success into other successful business ventures. From his *Swingin' Soiree* popularity and visibility he was able to generate huge audience attendance for four annual live music shows that he produced at the Brooklyn Fox Theater. His pioneering lineups of recording artists were racially integrated and drew multi-racial audiences.

Kaufman worked obsessively and seemed to be omnipresent as he promoted or produced shows at venues throughout the city. He also floated among shows, acting as host or emcee, and took his disc jockey radio program to numerous remote sites at theaters, on the streets, in the subway, or in air force jets. He also produced a series of oldies albums, placed his picture on their covers, and sold Murray the K T-shirts. In 1965, Kaufman's estimated combined income was \$150,000.

Murray the K's radio style has been called "hip." Some historians refer to him as "the king of hysterical disc jockeys." He used his vibrant vocal chords, accented with nasal tone, to voice plays on words, pig Latin expressions, and sound effects. Each of his sound effects was prerecorded and placed on a separately labeled cart. They were aired at strategic spots in his show and ranged from roaring freight trains, cavalry

bugle charges, and nutty macaw laughter to screaming men plunging down an abyss. He took great pride in studying popular culture and recognizing new trends. Some teens from his era, now older adults, can still repeat portions of his zany nonstop patter and retain a deep respect for his cleverly humorous style.

During one rating period, Murray the K was 20 points ahead of his nearest competitor. Subsequently it took two years of competition, from two rival New York radio stations (WABC and WMCA) that converted Kaufman's program style into full-time formats, to dethrone his show. Kaufman maintained that this was only possible because his show on WINS was preceded by a two-hour newscast and followed with talk and interview programming.

The Beatles already knew about Murray the K's reputation when they were welcomed to America in early 1964 by a huge media contingent and 4,000 screaming teens at New York's Kennedy Airport. Kaufman represented WINS radio at the news conference. To conduct a live remote, he drew upon his veteran radio interviewing experience and strategically positioned himself and his microphone in front of the Beatles' makeshift platform. Then, using his hip radio styled language ("Hey, George, baby!" "Ringo, over here, baby!"), Murray the K smoothly dominated the entire affair. The knowledge that he displayed about the Beatles' career, as well as his quick wit, convinced the singers that Kaufman held the key to their conquest of New York. So the Beatles made Murray the K a part of their entourage. He traveled with them in the United States and Europe, and served as master of ceremonies at their second Carnegie Hall performance. He also visited with them on their movie set, appeared in their film *Help!* and roomed with George Harrison. Harrison, in an effort to protect Kaufman from other reporters' jealousy, referred to him as "the fifth Beatle." Murray the K was catapulted to national and international fame.

Early in 1965 Murray the K came to the attention of some U.S. government officials who were endeavoring to locate the most appropriate national spokesperson for a youth program. The Office of Economic Opportunity, headed by Sargent Shriver, hired Kaufman to lead a national communication effort about a summer jobs initiative called "New Chance," which would be aimed primarily at urban youth. Kaufman, with typical high energy and vision, traveled throughout America to shoot a series of musical performances on location by leading black and white recording artists. He interspersed the music videos with informational announcements about New Chance and called the show *It's What's Happening, Baby*. The Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) agreed to donate 90 minutes of national prime time to air the program in late June 1965, and it received high ratings. The recording artists accepted scale pay and CBS paid the bill. Kaufman, far from being commended for his brilliant work, was censured by some

U.S. Congressmen who criticized rock and roll as being repulsive African jungle music. Later in the year, WINS-AM, perhaps unable to compete with Murray the K's institutional imitators WABC and WMCA, was sold to Westinghouse, Inc., and its format was switched to all news. After eight years, Murray the K left WINS radio.

By early 1966 Kaufman had established "Murray the K's World" in Garden City on Long Island, New York—a multi-level and multimedia entertainment complex converted from an abandoned airplane hangar. Although short-lived, the nightspot is said to have influenced music venues such as the Plastic Inevitable, Manhattan's Cheetah, and the Fillmore Auditorium in San Francisco. Unfortunately, Kaufman suffered huge financial losses from his intended month-long run of rock shows, due to a subway workers strike. According to his lawyer, the strike prevented performers and audiences from coming to the theater after the first few performances. He sought \$25 million in damages.

The determined Murray Kaufman then turned his efforts to another television concept for the Office of Economic Opportunity, this time at the local level, producing at least two highly rated television programs for New York's Channel 5. His first was a 90-minute combination of in-concert and on-location clips of popular recording artists, with drop-in talk segments by other noted celebrities. The first show drew an estimated 3 million viewers to two broadcasts. The second show was entitled *Murray the K's Special for the Year 2000*. It aired in May 1966 and sought to explain the vast differences in language, music tastes, and dress that would exist between youth and adults at the turn of the century.

Early in 1966 WOR Radio hired Kaufman as its program director. However, in July 1966 management shifted Kaufman and three other disc jockeys from WOR-AM to WOR-FM and cut their wages by 50 percent. FM radio was still developing its economic base, but the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists represented the four disc jockeys in their efforts to retain their AM salaries. Kaufman and the others went on strike until October 1966 when the matter was resolved, although they remained at lower salaries.

The low frequency of commercials on FM radio allowed Kaufman to initiate an indelible radio programming innovation by pioneering progressive radio. He emphasized the perspective that albums contained many good songs that were appropriate for airplay. He also encouraged exposing the full artistic expressions of recording artists by playing their extended-time productions. Nonetheless, a very proud Murray

the K cut short his tenure at WOR-FM in 1967 when program consultant Bill Drake was brought in by management to institute programming guidelines and policies. Before departing, Kaufman went on the air and blasted WOR's decision, just as he had done previously at WINS.

From 1967 to 1976 Kaufman worked short stints at various radio stations but never achieved the high points of his earlier career. He began with CHUM (Canada) from 1967 to 1968. Later in 1968 he took a weekend slot on his old WMCA station from 2:00 to 7:00 P.M. on Sundays. After several other brief stints, in the late 1970s he moved to California with his sixth wife, soap opera actress Jacklyn Zeeman. He had three sons from previous marriages. His last job in radio was hosting a syndicated radio program for Watermark.

Kaufman, a smoker, had battled cancer since 1973 and was finally forced to relinquish the job with Watermark in 1981 due to his failing health. After retirement he was financially strained but lived in comfortable surroundings. (Tony Orlando provided him with a 24-hour nurse and housekeeper.) Murray Kaufman died of cancer in Los Angeles on 21 February 1982.

LAWRENCE N. REDD

Murray the K. Born Murray Kaufman in New York City, 14 February 1922. Song plugger for Bob Merrill, 1950s; popularized Merrill's "How Much Is That Doggie in the Window," 1950s; president, National Council of Disc Jockeys, 1950s; spearheaded council's relief effort during Hungarian Revolution, 1956; late-night radio disc jockey, WMGM, 1957; hosted *Swingin' Soiree* for WINS, 1958; spokesperson for government youth program "New Chance," 1965; hosted "Murray the K's Special for the Year 2000" for television, 1966; worked short stints at various radio stations, 1967–76. Died in Los Angeles, California, 21 February 1982.

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Murrow, Edward R. 1908–1965

U.S. Radio Journalist

Journalists from broadcast and print media alike consider Edward R. Murrow one of the greats of his time. His legacy was to be among the first to put radio news into a league of respectable journalism. He later helped to launch serious television journalism and started the first TV newsmagazine program. Most important, he established traditions of courage and integrity in the profession of broadcast journalism at a time when radio was still developing the tone of its news function.

Murrow's work spanned from the onset of World War II until the Kennedy administration, from his radio reporter years to president of Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) News, to director of the U.S. Information Agency. His on-air radio reports of events helped shaped the nation's ideas of what was occurring in the world. His dramatic language in radio formed aural word pictures that were rare and striking to his listeners, and he carried his style into the new medium of television. Murrow became a mentor to many in broadcast news, who carry his ethics and style into today's news efforts. His legacy can be found in the most prestigious journalism awards, in schools named after him, and in historical accounts of corporate and government integrity.

Origins

Murrow was born on 25 April 1908 in Polecat Creek, North Carolina, as Egbert Roscoe Murrow, the son of a farmer. He had two older brothers, Lacey and Dewey. When Egbert was six years old, the family migrated by train to the Northwest. They ended up near Blanchard, in the northwest corner of Washington State, where the family struggled to make ends meet.

As a teen, Egbert changed his name to Edward. He became active in sports, debate, and drama, and he even served as a bus driver for the scattered students of his small school. After his graduation from high school, he worked as a logger in the virgin woods of the Olympic Peninsula. It was in this setting that he learned both virtues and vices, appreciation for the rugged beauty of the Olympic Mountains, and the language and smoking habits of the rough brotherhood of lumberjacks, which tempered the Quaker traditions of his family.

After a year and two summers of working in the woods, Murrow enrolled in 1926 at Washington State College (WSC; now Washington State University) in Pullman, on the east side of the state. His intentions were to pursue a curriculum in prelaw and then go to law school. But circumstances led him to a public-speaking course taught by a dedicated and inspiring teacher, Ida Lou Anderson. She was demanding, but she recog-

nized a talent in Murrow and helped him to develop his potential. Eventually she became his mentor and instilled in him a love of the use of language, a somber introspection regarding his own values, a love of philosophy, and a flare for the dramatic. He went on to enroll in the first broadcasting course, "Radio Speaking."

After his first year of working for his room and board, he became involved in the Greek fraternity system at WSC. Through the political influence of his peers, Murrow was elected student body president for his senior year. He graduated in 1930. He then became an officer for the National Student Federation of America in 1932, traveling to New York City with a meager living expense to run the national office. Soon, Murrow became active in encouraging student exchange among various countries, working for the International Institute of Education.

Honing Radio Journalism

In 1935, Murrow was hired as director of talks at CBS. In this position, he traveled to Europe to line up speakers, and he was there in 1938 at the time of Hitler's invasion and annexation of Austria. The event was described by Murrow in a radio report from Vienna (the beginning of his journalistic career), in which he described the mood of the people, the political setting, and the street scenes in vivid details that made his verbal descriptions come to life. This was to be the first of many descriptions he would later give of the effects of World War II.

Murrow's observations from the European front often came from mere notes used when he dictated his descriptions from his mind's eye. His descriptions and dramatic use of language captured the ear of American listeners, who were compelled not only by the events but by Murrow's style as well.

As the war intensified, Murrow began to broadcast about war events from the basement of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC)'s Broadcast House. Murrow turned to short-wave radio for his 1940–41 London "Blitz" broadcasts. The broadcast quality was questionable, with fading and fidelity dependent on the earth's atmosphere. Yet it was those broadcasts, often sent late at night London time for the convenience of listeners on the U.S. East Coast, that led to his first real fame. They were timely, compelling, and immediate for a world breathlessly awaiting word about the quickly growing war. And each one began with his standard and quite dramatic signature opening: "This . . . is London." (In later years he said that Ida Anderson had suggested to him that he insert the pause after the first word.)



Edward R. Murrow
Courtesy CBS Photo Archive

His descriptions of the English people under siege carried the insights of a sociologist:

This is a class conscious country. People live in the same small street or apartment building for years and never talk to each other. The man with a fine car, good clothes and perhaps an unearned income doesn't generally fraternize with the tradesmen, day laborers and truck drivers. His fences are always up. He doesn't meet them as equals. He's surrounded with certain evidences of worldly wealth calculated to keep others at a distance. But if he's caught in Piccadilly Circus when the sirens sound, he may have a waitress stepping on his heels and see before him the broad back of a day laborer as he goes underground. If the alarm sounds about four in the morning, as it did this morning, his dignity, reserve and authority may suffer when he arrives half-dressed and sleepy, minus his usual defenses and possessed of no more courage than those other who have arrived in similar state. . . . Maybe I'm wrong . . . but I can tell you this from personal experience, that sirens would improve your knowledge of even your most intimate friend (Broadcast, 4 September 1939).

Murrow reported not only on the war situation, but on the people. He spoke of girls in light dresses, boys sobbing, old toothless men, and women clutching their belongings as they left their bombed-out homes. His characterizations were vivid and insightful:

I'm standing tonight on a rooftop looking out over London. . . . Out of one window there waves something that looks like a white bed sheet, a window curtain swinging free in this night breeze. It looks as though it were being shaken by a ghost. There are a great many ghosts around these buildings in London. . . . Down below in the streets I can see just that red and green wink of the traffic lights; one lone taxicab moving slowly down the street. Not a sound to be heard. As I look out across the miles and miles of rooftops and chimney pots, some of those dirty-gray fronts of the buildings look almost snow-white in this moonlight here tonight (Broadcast, 22 September 1940).

Sometimes Murrow's courage bordered on foolhardiness. On one notable occasion, and ignoring direct network orders that he not place himself in harms way, he accompanied a B-17 bomber crew on a bombing mission over Berlin. His descriptions became some of his most memorable writing:

The clouds below us were white, and we were black. D-Dog [the plane] seemed like a black bug on a white

sheet. The flack began coming up. . . . The small incendiaries [we dropped were] going down like a fistful of white rice thrown on a piece of black velvet. As Jock hauled the Dog up again, I was thrown to the other side of the cockpit, and there below were more incendiaries, glowing white and then turning red. The cookies—the four-thousand-pound high explosives—were bursting below like great sunflowers gone mad. And then, as we started down again, still held in the lights, I remembered that the Dog still had one of those cookies and a whole basket of incendiaries in his belly, and the lights still held us. And I was very frightened (Broadcast, 3 December 1943).

As the war ended, Murrow accompanied the troops into the concentration camps of Germany. He told his listeners:

If you are at lunch, or if you have no appetite to hear what Germans have done, now is a good time to switch off the radio, for I propose to tell you of Buchenwald. . . . The prisoners crowded up behind the wire. We entered. . . . There surged around me an evil-smelling horde. Men and boys reached out to touch me; they were in rags and the remnants of uniform. Death had already marked many of them, but they were smiling with their eyes. . . . When I entered [one of the barracks] men crowded around, tried to lift me to their shoulders. They were too weak. Many of them could not get out of bed. I was told that this building had once stabled eighty horses. There were twelve hundred men in it, five to a bunk. The stink was beyond all description (Broadcast, 15 April 1945).

Postwar Broadcast Journalism

After the war, Murrow returned to the states and to CBS, which was now a much different organization than the one he had left in 1937. William Paley, head of CBS, persuaded Murrow to take over the network's news organization. His radio war broadcasts had become famous, and his fame would certainly help enhance the network's programs. In his new position, Murrow tried to reflect American life, with both its shortcomings and strengths. He created the radio programs *As Others See Us*, a report on how the foreign press viewed the United States, and *You Are There*, a recreation of historical events. And, since radio had been looked down upon by the print media, Murrow produced the program *CBS Reviews the Press*, in which he ensured that the criticism of radio would become a two-way street, and that "mutual criticism will benefit both."

Eventually Murrow was joined by a young producer, Fred Friendly, and together they produced *I Can Hear It Now*, a 45-minute record that was soon followed by others. The 1950-51

network program *Hear It Now* evolved from that project. It was a sound documentary, a kind of magazine on the air, covering several subjects each week in its hourly network format.

Murrow reluctantly entered into television with Friendly. They produced a 1952 TV counterpart to their radio series entitled *See It Now*. Early programs appear rough and unpolished compared to today's network magazine shows, but the focus was not on appearance but on substance.

Not all of Murrow's work was flattering to the news efforts of his day. In 1958, in an address to his colleagues at the meeting of Radio and Television News Directors Association, he told a startled audience:

So far as radio—that most satisfying and rewarding instrument—is concerned, the diagnosis of its difficulties is rather easy. . . . In order to progress, it need only go backward. To the time when singing commercials were not allowed on news reports, when there was no middle commercial in a 15-minute news report, when radio was rather proud, alert and fast. . . . If radio news is to be regarded as a commodity, only acceptable when saleable, then I don't care what you call it—I say it isn't news.

The same speech was highly critical of television, which helped to further sour Murrow's already poor relations with CBS.

After the election of John F. Kennedy as president in 1960, Murrow was chosen to head the U.S. Information Agency. Once critical of government positions, he now found himself spokesperson for the Kennedy administration and its relay of news throughout the world.

In the fading days of his career, Murrow's contributions were recognized with the Medal of Freedom, the country's highest civilian honor. He was also knighted by Queen Elizabeth for his vital role to England during World War II. Ill health, likely brought on by his chain smoking, forced Murrow into early retirement. He died of cancer in 1965 at the age of 57, leaving his wife, Janet, and one son, Casey.

VAL E. LIMBURG

See also Columbia Broadcasting System; Friendly, Fred; *Hear It Now*; News

Edward R. Murrow. Born Egbert Roscoe Murrow in Polecat Creek, North Carolina, 25 April 1908. Attended Stanford University and the University of Washington; graduated from Washington State College (now Washington State University),

1930. Served as assistant director of the Institute of International Education, 1932–35; began career with CBS as director of talks and education, 1935; became director of CBS' European Bureau in London, 1937; during World War II, hired and trained distinguished corps of war correspondents, including Eric Sevareid, Howard K. Smith, Charles Collingwood, and Richard C. Hottelet; returned to U.S. as CBS vice-president and director of public affairs, 1946; resigned to return to radio broadcasting, 1947; narrated and produced *Hear It Now* radio series, 1950–51; brought series to television as *See It Now*, 1952–58; began *Person to Person* television program in 1953; moderated and produced *Small World*, television series featuring discussions among world figures, 1958–60; appointed by President John F. Kennedy to head U.S. Information Agency (USIA) in 1961, and remained in post until 1964. Recipient: nine Emmy Awards. Died in New York, 27 April 1965.

Radio Series

1950–51 *Hear It Now*

Television Series

See It Now (1952–58); *Person to Person* (1953–59); *Small World* (1958–60)

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Museums and Archives of Radio

Repositories of Radio History

There are many public, private, and academic archives and museums whose sole purpose is to preserve radio broadcast documents and programs. Most of them have audio and visual recordings, books, periodicals, pamphlets, oral histories, interviews, and other documents that trace the history of radio programming and radio broadcasting. In addition, several archives and museums are devoted to the history of radio technology itself and the development and advancement of this technology. Still others trace the important figures and individuals in radio broadcasting, radio technology, and radio history. There are also dozens of old-time-radio collector's clubs with less extensive collections of radio broadcasts.

Origins of Museums and Archives of Radio

The idea of establishing formal radio museums and archives began in the 1940s, and such institutions were actually developed in the 1970s. The Broadcast Pioneers Library was the first organized library of radio history; it was begun in the 1960s and formally opened in 1972. However, some less formal collections began much earlier. For example, in 1949 the Library of Congress began to collect and preserve some radio programming. At the same time, the National Archives started collecting and preserving programming from governmental sources and began receiving donated new programs and material from radio stations and networks throughout the U.S.

During World War II, the Armed Forces Radio Services began to produce discs in order to bring radio programs to U.S. troops during the war. These discs would later become the basis of privately traded material. During the same period, a few network and syndicated programs were distributed on discs as well.

In the 1950s the Broadcast Pioneers organization unsuccessfully attempted to establish a museum of broadcast history. During the same decade, individuals began seriously recording and collecting radio programs with the introduction of home-recording equipment and the demise of network radio. Reliable and affordable reel-to-reel recorders were first introduced into the consumer market during this time.

However, radio program collecting did not become truly popular until the 1960s, when classic radio programming began to change dramatically and, many felt, to disappear. As a result, many individuals began to realize that preserving such programs was essential for documenting the history of radio. Individuals began to organize for the purpose of exchanging radio programs, information, and resources. As expected, as radio formats rapidly changed, radio stations began to discard

their old stored material and programs. These informal groups began collecting such materials, and a collectors movement started to grow. These groups also created newsletters on radio program collecting.

One of the earliest and most influential of the collectors groups was the Radio Historical Society of America, founded by Charles Ingersoll in the 1960s. Ingersoll also started one of the first newsletters for collectors of old-time radio programs, and *Radio Dial* set the standard for those to follow. One of these was *Hello Again*, started in 1970 by Jay Hickerson. It remains the most popular of old-time-radio collector group newsletters. This newsletter was also part of the formation of the Friends of Old Time Radio. *Hello Again* was successful because it brought together more than 100 of the most active program collectors. According to Professor Marvin R. Bensman of the University of Memphis Radio Archives, "Today, approximately 160-plus active collectors comprise the mass of privately collected broadcast material available."

Another factor that helped spawn the radio collector movement was the sale of radio programs to private individuals. J. David Goldin, a former Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), National Broadcasting Company (NBC), and Mutual engineer, first mass-marketed and sold radio programs. In the late 1960s, Goldin formed Radio Yesteryear, a company that sells audio recordings of classic radio programs. He also started an album subsidiary of the company called Radiola.

A big boost came for the establishment of the first broadcast history library when William S. Hedges, a former NBC executive, began collecting items for the Broadcast Pioneers History Project between 1964 and 1971. This collection, which consists of nearly 13,000 items, including correspondence, articles, and speeches in 540 different subject categories, formed the core collection of the Broadcast Pioneers Library, which opened in 1972 and led to the establishment of the Library of American Broadcasting.

Public and Academic Museum and Archive Collections

Library of American Broadcasting (University of Maryland)

The first formally established institutional radio archive was the Broadcast Pioneers Library, begun in the 1960s and formally opened in 1972. It was housed in the headquarters of the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) in Washington, D.C., until 1994. It then became part of the library system at the University of Maryland, College Park, and became known

as the Library of American Broadcasting, one of the most extensive collections of the history of broadcasting. The collection consists of audio and video recordings, books, periodicals, pamphlets, oral histories, photographs, personal collections, and scripts that pertain to the history of broadcasting. The library features more than 8,000 volumes ranging from engineering manuals to programming histories. It is particularly strong in its book collection from the early part of the 1920s and 1930s, tracing the evolution of broadcasting.

The library's audio holdings include 1,000 interviews, speeches, news broadcasts, special events, and oral histories (with many accompanied by transcripts) of such important radio figures as Edgar Bergen, Norman Corwin, Leonard Goldenson, Lowell Thomas, and William Paley. There are also thousands of recordings in many formats, including more than 8,300 recorded disks, 25,000 photographs, and 10,000 CDs of commercials in its Radio Advertising Bureau Collection. Also housed here are many specialized collections from radio performers, executives, broadcast engineers, writers, producers, and magazine publishers. Highlights include political speeches from Franklin D. Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, and Harry S. Truman in the Donald H. Kirkley collection; more than 160 recordings of congressional hearings, political speeches, and other media events of the 1960s and 1970s in the Daniel Brechner Collection; and The Center for Media and Public Affairs Collection, which contains talk radio programs.

Some of its other holdings include some 7,000 pamphlets, ranging from 1920s Bell Laboratories radio engineering bulletins to promotional materials from broadcast networks; the Westinghouse News Collection (1958–82), which consists mainly of raw feeds from the Washington bureau; the Associated Press Radio Competition Collection (1967–68), which contains samples of radio journalism, almost exclusively from California.

There is also a collection of government documents that includes the Navigation Bureau List of Radio Stations (1913–27), Federal Radio Commission (FRC) and Federal Communications Commission (FCC) decisions, and congressional reports and hearings.

The museum acquired the Chester Coleman Collection of the NAB Library and Historical Archive in June 1998. This collection includes more than 4,000 books and periodicals. The NAB collection also includes historical meeting and convention minutes, newsletters, promotional materials, and scrapbooks.

National Public Broadcasting Archives (University of Maryland)

An additional archive housed at the University of Maryland is the National Public Broadcasting Archives (NPBA). The

archives originated as a cooperative effort between both educational institutions and broadcasting organizations, including the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB), Public Broadcasting Service (PBS), National Public Radio (NPR), the Academy for Educational Development, and the University of Maryland. The idea was spearheaded by Donald R. McNeil, a former PBS board member who was concerned that the history of public broadcasting was at risk.

The archives, which opened 1 June 1990, form part of the Archives and Manuscripts Department of the University of Maryland Libraries. They consist of historical materials from the major organizations of U.S. noncommercial broadcasting. These include PBS, Children's Television Workshop, CPB, NPR, Agency for Instructional Technology, America's Public Television Stations, Association for Educational Telecommunications and Technology, Public Service Satellite Consortium, and the Joint Council for Educational Telecommunications.

The NPBA also has personal papers from many influential public broadcasting figures and a reference library containing basic studies of the broadcasting industry, rare pamphlets, and journals on relevant topics. The archives also house a collection of audio and video programs from public broadcasting's national production and support centers and from local stations. There is also a collection of oral history tapes and transcripts from the NPR Oral History Project.

Museum of Broadcast Communications (Chicago)

The Museum of Broadcast Communications is devoted solely to radio and television broadcasting and is housed on two floors of the Chicago Cultural Center. (The Museum was scheduled to relocate to new premises in Chicago's River North area as of Spring 2004.) The museum's purpose is to educate the "public, teachers, and students about the profound influence of radio, television, and advertising in our world." It does this via hands-on exhibits, broadcasting memorabilia, a public archives collection, and educational outreach programs.

The Museum was founded in 1987 by Bruce DuMont, the nephew of television pioneer Allen B. DuMont, using private contributions. It consists of changing exhibits, radio and television archives, a Radio Hall of Fame, an Advertising Hall of Fame, the Lynne Harvey Radio Center, and a gift shop. The museum's public archive, the Arthur C. Nielsen Jr. Research Center, contains over 85,000 hours of television and radio broadcasts, commercials, and newscasts, with 13,000 television programs, 4,000 radio broadcasts, and 11,000 television commercials, all of which can be screened on site in one of 26 study suites. All programs in the archive's collection are cross-referenced and cataloged in a fully computerized retrieval system. The collection focuses on Chicago television news, talk/interview programs, documentaries, political broadcasts, programs

of its Radio Hall of Fame inductees, sports programming, and "Golden Era" television dramas.

Included in its archives is an extensive historic radio program collection, the Chuck Schaden Radio Collection, which contains more than 50,000 programs and is considered to be the largest of its kind in the United States. The Lynne Harvey Radio Center features a live, weekly broadcast of *Those Were the Days*, by radio historian Chuck Schaden, complete with a live studio audience, as well as other live broadcasts. The museum also hosts many special events, including an annual induction ceremony into its Radio Hall of Fame, which pays tribute to the legends of radio. The Hall of Fame was founded by the Emerson Radio Corporation in 1988 and was taken over by the Museum of Broadcast Communication in 1991. There is also a collection of vintage radio and television sets from local donors.

Museum of Television and Radio (New York and Los Angeles)

The bicoastal Museum of Television and Radio (New York and Los Angeles) is devoted to radio and television broadcast history, particularly focusing on the individuals and programs that make up that history. The museum was founded in New York in 1975 by William S. Paley, chairman of CBS, as the Museum of Broadcasting. The museum changed its name and moved to a larger headquarters in September 1991. The New York museum's holdings include some 100,000 radio and television programs, as well as 10,000 commercials. It also includes two screening rooms, two theaters, a group listening room, 96 individual booths equipped with television and radio consoles, a research library, and a gift shop. In addition, there are three public galleries that display broadcast industry artifacts.

In March 1996 the Los Angeles branch of the museum opened in Beverly Hills. It has the same features as its East Coast predecessor. Because Los Angeles is the number-one radio market in the United States, the Los Angeles museum offers more of an emphasis on radio than the New York branch (which focuses more on television). In addition, when radio was in its heyday during the 1930s and 1940s, many shows were made in Los Angeles. According to Norm Pattiz, a trustee of the museum and chairman of Westwood One, "We're now in the No. 1 and No. 2 radio markets, with exactly the same material available at both museums."

Both locations offer seminars by critics, directors, producers, performers, journalists, and writers, including University Satellite Seminars, and both offer a wide variety of programs from the collection in two screening rooms and two main theaters, as well as constantly changing special exhibits. Programming from current series and exhibitions is shown throughout the day.

American Library of Radio and Television (Thousand Oaks, California)

The American Library of Radio and Television is part of the Special Collections Department of the Thousand Oaks Library System. Its holdings focus specifically on the history of radio rather than on the individuals in the profession. The library was founded in 1984 after the Thousand Oaks Library System broke away from the Ventura County System. The newly formed Library Foundation and the Friends of the Library decided that they wanted the library to focus on larger programs and a research collection. Specifically, they were anxious to fill a niche in the Los Angeles area by focusing on a special historical collection. They chose broadcasting because several of the library organizers had extensive contacts in the radio broadcasting industry.

Along with Maryland's Library of Broadcasting, the American Library of Radio and Television offers one of the largest collections of broadcasting documents in the United States, and it has an extensive reference collection of radio materials including 23,000 radio and television scripts, 10,000 photographs, 10,000 books on the history of radio and television broadcasting, pamphlets, sound recordings, periodicals, 200 maps and charts, manuscripts and personal papers, 5,000 audio recordings, and 50 oral history tapes.

In addition, the library contains archives of such notable individuals and stations as Norman Corwin, Bob Crosby, Monty Masters, Carlton E. Morse, Rudy Vallee, and KNX AM. Their Radio Series Scripts Collection contains scripts from 1930 through 1990, and their Radio Sound Recordings Collection contains recordings from 1932 to 1994.

The George Clark Radioana Collection at the Smithsonian Institution

The George H. Clark Radioana Collection is a part of the National Museum of American History of the Smithsonian Institution. The collection was assembled by George Clark of the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) and is one of the most extensive collections of documents and publications on the history of wireless and radio in the United States. It was transferred from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology to the National Museum of American History in 1959. The collection occupies more than 276 linear feet of shelf space, but it has not been fully indexed.

The collection is particularly strong from 1900 through 1935. There is extensive biographical information on the men who developed the technical aspects of radio and the industry; information on the inception, growth, and activities of radio companies, most notably the National Electric Signaling Company and RCA; and photographs of all aspects of radio.

The United States Library of Congress and the National Archives

Both the United States Library of Congress and the National Archives in Washington, D.C., have collections of voice recordings and radio programs. The Library of Congress has received donations of transcriptions of old radio shows. There are over 500,000 programs in their collection, including a large number of British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and Armed Forces Radio and Television Service (AFRTS) recordings. The library also has a large collection of radio-related items, such as early folk and regional programs, as well as a large selection of NBC Radio's broadcast discs from 1935 to 1970, which cover the Depression, World War II, postwar recovery, and radio comedy and drama programs. Other radio collections include the WOR-AM collection, United Nations recordings, Library of Congress concerts and literary recordings, and the Armed Forces Radio Collection. There is also an extensive collection from the U.S. Office of War Information (OWI), which, between 1944 and 1947, transferred thousands of items used to support the war effort to the Library of Congress. These items include OWI sound recordings, photographs, and a small number of research papers. In addition, the Motion Picture, Broadcasting, and Recorded Sound Division holds nearly 50,000 acetate disc recordings of foreign and domestic radio broadcasts.

The National Archives of the United States also features a broad collection of radio-related material. Most of these are housed at the Special Media Archives Services Division's Motion Picture, Sound, and Video unit at Archives II in College Park, Maryland. The holdings include 150,000 reels of film, 160,000 sound recordings, and 20,000 videotapes. These materials were obtained from both public and private sources. The sound recordings catalog includes radio broadcasts, speeches, interviews, documentaries, oral histories, and public information programs. The library indicates that the earliest recording they have dates from 1896, with the bulk of their recordings coming from between 1935 and the present.

Some of the specialized catalogs in the holdings include the NPR catalog, which contains NPR news and public-affairs broadcasts from 1971 to 1978, and the Milo Ryan Photoarchive Collection, which includes 5,000 recordings, primarily of CBS-KIRO radio broadcasts from 1931 to 1977. These materials were originally kept at the University of Washington and contain news and public-affairs programs, speeches, interviews, wartime dramas, and daily World War II news programs. The library also features the American Broadcasting Companies (ABC) radio collection, which consists of 27,000 radio broadcasts of news and public-affairs programs from 1943 to 1971.

Duke University Library Advertising History Archive

Duke University Library has a special Advertising History Archive that is part of the John W. Hartman Center for Sales, Advertising, and Marketing History. The advertising history collection located in the Hartman Center is the J. Walter Thompson Company Archives. The J. Walter Thompson Company is one of the world's oldest, largest, and most innovative advertising firms. The collection documents the history of the company and, as part of this, its role in radio broadcasting. The J. Walter Thompson Company's Radio Department produced some of the most popular radio shows on the air during the 1930s and 1940s. These include *Kraft Music Hall*, *Lux Radio Theater*, and *The Chase and Sanborn Hour*. These and other Thompson programs are housed in the collection.

In 1979 the J. Walter Thompson Company Archives were formally established in the company's New York Office. In 1987 Chief Executive Officer Burt Manning authorized the gift of the entire collection to Duke University. The archives contain over 2,000 linear feet of printed and manuscript materials, nearly 2 million items in all, half of which are advertisements. The archives house the Radio-Television Department files, which include microfilm of scripts of most of the agency-produced radio and television shows from 1930 to 1960, including *Kraft Music Hall*, *Lux Radio Theatre*, and *Lux Video Theatre*. Most of the holdings in the archives are open to researchers except for recent and unprocessed materials.

The Pavek Museum of Broadcasting (St. Louis Park, Minnesota)

The Pavek Museum of Broadcasting, located in St. Louis Park, Minnesota, a suburb of Minneapolis, houses a large collection of antique radios, televisions, and other broadcasting memorabilia and equipment, including an actual old-time radio studio. The mission of the museum is to provide a broader knowledge of how pioneers in electronic communications affected the evolution of society, to stimulate a new recognition of the practical and real contributions that exploring science and the communication arts can bring, and to provide a permanent and living repository for the preservation of these historic items.

The museum opened in 1988, and most of its collection comes from the original Joseph R. Pavek Collection. Pavek, an electronics instructor for Dunwoody Institute, started his collection in 1946. He also had his own electronics business, and he began storing his collection at his business. By the 1970s he began to look for someone to take over the collection, house it, staff it, and make it available to the public. In 1984, unable to find such a person, he was set to sell the collection, but Earl Bakken, the inventor of the pacemaker, stepped in and, with Paul Hedberg of the Minnesota Broadcasters Association,

formed the nonprofit organization that became the umbrella for the museum.

The Pavek collection consists of over 1,000 radio receivers, transmitters, and televisions from the first half of the 20th century. Highlights of the collection include a working 1912 rotary spark-gap transmitter, crystal radios of the early 1920s, a collection of vacuum tubes (including several original de Forest Audions), and a large collection of radio literature. Additional donations from radio and television stations and from other collectors have greatly increased the size of the original collection.

Included at the museum is the Charles Bradley Collection, which has examples from over 60 Minnesota radio and television manufacturers from the 1920s and 1930s. There are also many examples of historic broadcast equipment on display, such as cameras, consoles, and microphones. The museum also houses the Jack Mullin Collection, which documents the history of recorded sound, with over 125 years of audio recording technology, starting with the earliest days of the phonograph. Mullin is credited as being the person who brought back two tape recorders from a German radio station while serving in the Signal Corps at the end of World War II. At the time, tape recording was an unknown technology in the United States, and Mullin was immediately hired by Bing Crosby to tape-record his popular radio program for broadcast, the first use of tape recording in American broadcasting.

Also featured in the archives is the Pioneer Broadcaster Series, which preserves videotaped interviews with radio pioneers. The museum also has an educational program with classes, workshops, and exhibits for both children and adults. There is also a library of technical and service information on electronics and electronic communication. Besides the permanent collection, the Pavek also displays items on loan from other private collections.

University of Memphis Radio Archive

The University of Memphis Radio Archive is a collection of broadcast programs that was started over 30 years ago by Dr. Marvin R. Bensman of the Department of Communication. Bensman began his radio collection from original transcriptions, private collectors, and other institutional collections. The collection is intended to be a representative sampling of most series and shows.

The collection is housed in the Microforms Department of the McWherter Library at the University of Memphis. Individuals may request audiocassettes of these radio programs. Programs have been selected because they give a sense of the history and development of broadcasting. They feature the key events that influenced the regulation of broadcasting and of broadcasting programming. Some highlights of the archive include Westinghouse's 50th Anniversary program; the history of broadcasting from the 1920s to the 1970s; 50th anniversary

shows about the development of the BBC, NBC, and CBS; early pioneer broadcasters and/or inventors; Aimee Semple McPherson's broadcasts; the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers' (ASCAP) Cavalcade of Music concert in 1940 consisting of live performances by musical stars including Berlin, Handy, and others; *Year-end Reviews*; CBS Radio Workshops; World War II broadcasts; numerous movie dramatizations; and classic comedies.

Private/Personal Museum and Archive Collections

American Museum of Radio

The Bellingham Antique Radio Museum is a nonprofit museum located in Bellingham, Washington. It is a private collection gathered over the past 25 years by Jonathan Winter, who started collecting radios when he was a child. The collection spans the history of radio from the time it began through the early 1940s and features over 1,000 antique radios on display. The Bellingham Antique Radio Museum, as it was originally called, opened in 1988 in a small room and moved to larger quarters in downtown Bellingham in 1990. In 2001 the museum moved to a new, larger facility.

In addition to its collection of antique radios, there is other material on display highlighting the history of radio technology, including historical photographs; books and magazines from radio's early days; microphones, coils, tubes, speakers, and other parts; biographies of people involved in radio history; audio clips of some of the more historic broadcasts; and clips of radio entertainment shows from the early days of broadcasting.

U.S. National Marconi Museum (Bedford, New Hampshire)

The U.S. National Marconi Museum was created by the Guglielmo Marconi Foundation in 1995 to help publicize the name of Marconi, the "Father of Wireless." The museum is located in Bedford, New Hampshire, and the collection features equipment, historical literature, and audiovisual presentations on the development of radio communications. It features displays of early Marconi wireless equipment, along with the progression of radios up to a current cellular telephone exhibit. The museum also features a restoration room for repairing vintage radios, a machine shop, and a facility room for educational lectures to school groups and for meetings of electronic-oriented organizations.

The John Frey Technical Library contains thousands of radio communication periodicals, some in a series dating from 1920. All the publications are indexed and cataloged on CD-ROM and can be accessed by internet on the library computer. The library also features hundreds of engineering, text, and reference books.

Museum of Radio and Technology (Huntington, West Virginia)

The Museum of Radio and Technology is a small, private collection consisting of old radio and television sets, and it is staffed exclusively by volunteer museum members. It features several displays, including a radio shop of the 1920s and 1930s that has a variety of radios from that era, including battery radios; horn speakers; a wind-powered generator; a radio-television sale room featuring radios, television sets, and wire recorders; a Gilbert toy display; a vintage hi-fi room with tube-type audio equipment and related components such as amplifiers, tuners, tape recorders, receivers, microphones, and turntables. The highlight of the display is the Western Electric transmitter, a 1930s 5,000-watt AM transmitter complete with power supply components and studio equipment.

The Radio History Society's Radio-Television Museum (Bowie, Maryland)

The Radio History Society is a nonprofit organization dedicated to the preservation of radio and television history. In June 1999 the society opened its new Radio-Television Museum in Bowie, Maryland, housed in a fully restored turn-of-the-century building.

The Radio Historical Society owns a large collection of old literature and radio artifacts relating to the history of radio and television broadcasting. Some of their collection includes radio sets from the 1920s through the 1960s plus local broadcast memorabilia. Their permanent and changing exhibits include home receivers, novelty radios, broadcast microphones, and communication and ham radio equipment. They also maintain a display area at George Washington University's Media and Public Affairs Building in downtown Washington, D.C., with changing displays.

Society to Preserve and Encourage Radio Drama, Variety, and Comedy

The Society to Preserve and Encourage Radio Drama, Variety, and Comedy (SPERDVAC) is an organization of old-time

radio enthusiasts that has assembled one of the most important and well-maintained radio program archives in the world. There are over 20,000 original transcription discs, as well as a large library of printed materials and scripts. In addition, there are over 2,000 reels of old-time radio available only to its members. SPERDVAC also produces a monthly newsletter and a catalog listing the thousands of shows in its collection, and it hosts monthly meetings and annual conventions in the Los Angeles area.

JUDITH GERBER

See also Nostalgia Radio; Peabody Awards; Radio Hall of Fame

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Music on Radio

Music has been a staple of radio programming since the medium's creation in the early 1920s. Indeed, David Sarnoff's historically fabled memo—real or not—foresaw radio's potential future as a “music box.” Before radio, to be able to listen to music one had to play an instrument (most often a piano), purchase a poorly recorded disc, or pay to attend a live performance. Radio broadcasting changed that by offering frequent free musical performances for the simple purchase of a radio receiver.

Radio music history can be divided into two eras, divided by a short but confusing transition period. During the first (to 1950), most music was broadcast live as a part of a variety of radio formats, both network and local. The second era (since 1955) followed a brief and difficult transition but soon saw station programmers regularly playing music using specific short lists of recordings. This focus on specific formats has defined radio music, with only the conversion from various disc formats to audiotape and then back to digital discs and tapes changing the means of recording and playback. Indeed, technical change underlies any historical analysis of music on radio. The phonograph record as a means of listening to music preceded radio, but it was radio broadcasting that vastly expanded the musical recording industry—first on 78-rpm records, then, after the war, on 33 1/3-rpm long-playing records and 45-rpm records into the 1960s. Thereafter came a decade or so of analog audiocassettes, and finally, at the end of the 20th century, compact discs and other digital formats.

Network Tin Pan Alley Era (to 1950)

Music as a popular radio program genre started when many advocated the new medium as a means to bring high-art music such as opera and orchestral recitals to the mass public. But although European classical music never disappeared from radio's schedule as radio entered the network era during the late 1920s, its presence quickly gave way to popular music and in particular to variety shows starring musical talents such as Rudy Vallee and Al Jolson. New York City's Tin Pan Alley created the music that big bands and their singers offered radio listeners.

By the early 1930s, both the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) and the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) had discovered genres of musical programs that the public preferred. The networks tried classical music; varieties of popular music; and what might be called light or background music, which was designed for listeners involved in activities other than dedicated listening. But although broadcasting classical concert music suggested that radio was providing a “good” to the masses, comedy and variety shows created the mass audiences advertisers sought. Broadcasts of the Chicago Civic

Opera on NBC Blue (Saturday), the Cities Service Orchestra on NBC Red (Friday), the Edison Electric Orchestra on NBC Blue (Monday), and the Paramount Symphony Orchestra on CBS (Saturday) maximized prestige but drew small audiences.

Variety shows proved to be the most successful means of creating a profit with music programming. These shows varied depending on how pop music was emphasized—from a comic host with a musical guest to a musical host with a comic as guest. The latter—the musical variety program—became the most popular network radio genre during the 1930s. Top attractions centered more and more on name bands, including Guy Lombardo's Orchestra on CBS or the Paul Whiteman Orchestra on NBC, both broadcast on Monday nights.

Through the 1930s, so-called light music offered the second-largest musical category of radio shows; for example, Jesse Crawford played the pipe organ on CBS on Sunday nights, Lanny Ross (later of *Your Hit Parade* fame) soothed his audiences on NBC on Saturday nights, and—in a rare case of sponsor naming—The Wheaties Quartet performed as intended background music on CBS on Wednesday nights.

By the mid-1930s, NBC and CBS were offering some of the most popular free musical entertainment during those hard times. Indeed, sales of phonograph records plunged during the Great Depression as fans substituted listening to music on the radio for the relatively expensive purchasing of individual phonograph records. Radio became the place where new popular tunes were introduced, and their creators and players became musical stars.

Although during the day local stations still offered non-network live music from the community, prime time had become big time for radio listeners and programmers. Yet stations in large cities did maintain orchestras to play for the local programming. In reality the music that most fans sought came primarily from New York City and then in small doses from Los Angeles-based studios that used musical talent associated with movie making.

By 1940 classical concert music still offered prestige, but on fewer and fewer programs. A star system developed as NBC put together its own classical orchestra, led by Arturo Toscanini. At CBS, William S. Paley signaled that his star was Andre Kostelanetz, who by 1940 was on the air not one night, but two. NBC continued to hire a classical orchestra in order to identify itself as the higher-class network, and by the early 1940s they had scheduled the Boston Symphony, the Firestone Concert, the Minneapolis Symphony, and the Rochester Philharmonic Orchestra.

Judging by the number of shows offered in 1935, radio listeners seemed to prefer a named band with an identifiable sound to a group with the name of its sponsor—even if that

was a full classical orchestra. Yet some names in the light music category could and did become pop music stars, such as Kate Smith, who had high ratings in 1935 despite being on the air for only 15 minutes on CBS on Saturday nights.

By 1935 variety shows—which had always had a popular music component—reigned as the most popular of radio's genres. No list can be complete, but the big bands of the day could be found throughout the schedules of NBC and CBS—including the Bob Crosby orchestra, Fred Waring, Horace Heidt, Paul Whiteman, and the “waltz king” Wayne King. Guy Lombardo's orchestra remained a fixture on CBS on Monday nights, symbolizing more and more that the name was in the band and its singers, not in some amalgamation fashioned directly by the sponsor.

In short, the popular mainstream music of the 1930s and 1940s was found primarily on network radio. Orchestras were hired to perform live to generate a studio-made “high-fidelity” sound before the innovation in the late 1940s of 33 1/3-rpm and 45-rpm records. In-house studio orchestras were formed to provide background music for dramatic shows as well.

Big bands played remotes for dances in such ballrooms as the Aragon in Chicago and the Pacific Square in San Diego, at beach or other waterside attractions (the Steel Pier in Atlantic City and the Glen Island Casino in New Rochelle, New York), at restaurants (the Blackhawk in Chicago, the Copacabana in New York City), and at major hotels in most big cities. Such remotes offered popular venues for radio broadcasting through the 1940s and symbolized the hot new sounds for dancers of the era.

The rise of “name” singers was another emerging trend. Through the 1930s singers, led by Bing Crosby, learned to use the microphone for effect, not simply as a means of broadcasting. Ratings spiked when Crosby and Frank Sinatra—as well as Rosemary Clooney, Ruth Etting, Helen Kane, Peggy Lee, and Doris Day—were scheduled. Soloists hardly represented the lone form of popular radio singing. There were duos, trios, and quartets—from the Ink Spots to the Mills Brothers, from the Andrews Sisters to the Boswell Sisters. Singing intimately and in a number of styles, all based on Tin Pan Alley arrangements, became a true art form through radio broadcasting.

The war years proved to be the final hurrah for the musical variety show. National defense bond rallies often functioned as all-star radio variety shows, meant to outdo all other radio extravaganzas. Programs such as *Music for Millions*, *Treasury Star Parade*, and *Millions for Defense* not only drew needed bond sales but also were beamed overseas or recorded for later playback for the troops fighting in Europe and the Pacific. The top stars of network radio toured for the United Service Organizations (USO) and went abroad to entertain soldiers near the fronts. Indeed, radio star and big band leader Glenn Miller was killed while traveling from one such show to another. The war years also proved the crest for big band singers on net-

work radio. Kate Smith and Dinah Shore, for example, starred in some of the most popular shows on radio.

This system of making live music came apart, however, because of the demands of its most famous star, Bing Crosby. Crosby hated the necessities of live broadcasting, which demanded a rigid schedule that included doing shows twice (once for the Eastern and Central time zones and then a second time for Mountain and Pacific time zones). In 1946 Crosby moved his top-rated show from NBC to ABC to obtain relief. ABC, desperate for ratings, allowed Crosby to prerecord his *Philco Radio Time* using newly developed audiotape technology. He did not have to be in the studio when his show debuted (on 16 October 1946), nor weekly as it ran on ABC until June 1949. At that point William S. Paley, head of CBS, also gave into recorded music programs and as a part of his famous “talent raids,” offered Crosby more money than ABC could afford.

Even though Tin Pan Alley and its allies in Hollywood largely dominated music played on the radio through the 1940s, there were alternatives. In particular, hillbilly music shows were becoming hits on the networks and on many local stations, particularly on small-town outlets in the South and West.

NBC led the way on the network level with *The National Barn Dance* and *The Grand Ole Opry*, both on Saturday nights. Numerous Southern stations offered live music, particularly during early morning hours. The demand for hillbilly music exceeded the supply, and so border stations based in Mexico blasted at 1 million watts music by hillbilly favorites such as the Carter Family, Jimmie Rodgers, Cowboy Slim Rinehart, and Patsy Montana.

The Carter Family—a trio composed of A.P. Carter, Sara Carter, and Maybelle Carter—was the first family of country music, and their famed 1928 Bristol, Tennessee, recording sessions kicked off a new genre of popular music. Jimmie Rodgers was also at those Bristol sessions and should be counted among the creators of hillbilly music. Nolan “Cowboy Slim” Rinehart, “the king of border radio,” was a singing cowboy who, because of border stations' power, was heard across the nation as much as his more popular rival, singing cowboy Gene Autry. Cowgirl Patsy Montana teamed up with Rinehart for a series of transcribed duets during the 1930s and became so popular that her 1935 recording “I Wanna Be a Cowboy's Sweetheart” became the first million-selling record by a female hillbilly artist.

Ethnic artists found it more difficult to gain access to even local radio. In particular, although African-Americans were developing rhythm and blues music, the genre could rarely be heard on the radio during the 1930s and 1940s. Race records and juke joints offered the sole outlets, but the music was there and rich in form and style for the great change that was about to happen to radio music broadcasting.

Transition (1948–55)

Beginning in the late 1940s, NBC and CBS committed themselves to network television. They transferred their big bands and pop singers—plus some symphonic music—to TV and used profits from network radio to fund their new, and in the future far more profitable, medium. This worked well for the networks, and Bing Crosby, Kate Smith, Tommy Dorsey, and particularly Dinah Shore became mainstays of network television programming of the 1950s.

Their departure—and that of most other network programming—left radio stations looking for something new. Stations would find their salvation and reinvention in rock, an amalgamation of country and race forms. As rock was developing through the early and middle 1950s, Todd Stortz and Gordon McLendon pioneered Top 40 radio. They developed a short list of top tunes and played them over and over again. Teenagers of the 1950s—not interested in the big band, Tin Pan Alley music of their parents—embraced Top 40 radio. AM radio stations—looking for something to fill their time as network programs migrated to television—looked to Top 40 as their salvation.

There were sizable vested interests in keeping the live musical variety show going. These included the performing music societies, the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers (ASCAP) and Broadcast Music Incorporated (BMI). Even more concerned was the American Federation of Musicians, the performer's union which tried to slow adoption of the innovative recording techniques—tape and discs—which union leaders and members feared (correctly) would lessen the demand for their live services. These parties, in addition to many parents and religious leaders, found rock music subversive and threatening. Even NBC tried to keep the variety musical show alive on radio with *The Big Show* on Sunday nights in 1951, but with no success.

Format Radio (Since 1955)

The symbol of the Top 40 revolution in radio was singer Elvis Presley. Gone were the big bands, dominated by brass and woodwinds, with dozens of players; these had been replaced by combos of a drummer and a couple of guitars. The electric guitar gave the necessary amplified sound and beat. The singer, who had been just one part of the big band, was now moved to the forefront, and with Chuck Berry, the singer sang his or her own compositions (so the songwriters of Tin Pan Alley were no longer needed). And, most important, the music of the margins—hillbilly and race—moved to the forefront as the amalgam labeled rock and roll. Elvis was the “hillbilly cat.” Chuck Berry grew up in St. Louis listening to both *The National Barn Dance* and *The Grand Ole Opry*. After more of a struggle, blues music, later dubbed rhythm and blues in its urban form,

came to mainstream rock in the form of Detroit's “Motown Sound.”

Rock, country, and rhythm and blues formats spawned a myriad of newer sub-formats for radio stations that wanted to be more than just “the other” Top 40 station in town. Taking but a single example, the history of country symbolizes how one marginal form became mainstream in the last half of the 20th century—indeed the top format in all radio by century's turn.

As rock splintered into many subtypes, each with devoted audiences, country rose to become the music that many white Americans listened to, in part because during an era of civil rights unrest, country recognized and appreciated that its roots were not tinged by music with more direct African-American roots. Country had its origins in the folk and hillbilly music that was so marginal during the network radio era—save for the popular “barn dance” programs. For advertisers, country attracted white, middle-class, suburban America—the audience they most wanted to reach.

Entrepreneurs provided a new name, and “country and western” was used into the 1960s. With the rise of Nashville (Tennessee) as an important recording center, however, the “western” was dropped, and by the time country format radio took off, the name was simply “country.” What would become known as the “Nashville sound” worked as Hank Williams made country songs popular as pop music—an approach also heralded by Jim Reeves and Patsy Cline. By the 1960s, country emerged as an alternative genre, with stars such as Johnny Cash, Jimmy Dean, Loretta Lynn, and Dolly Parton. As rock seemed to lose its roots in the 1970s, country became an even more popular radio format. By the 1980s many surveys found country to be the most popular format on radio. A once marginal music style had become a dominant form of pop music, all made from a central location in Nashville.

With the innovation of portable and automobile radios, radio listening moved out of the home and became ubiquitous, particularly with the advent of the Walkman. The average person listened more than three hours per week. Advertisers targeted ethnic groups (principally African-Americans and Latinos), different age groups, income classes, and genders with different types of music. Adult contemporary music worked best for those 25–34 years old, whereas album-oriented rock was aimed at teenagers; their college-aged cousins seemed to prefer classic rock and contemporary hits radio. Country generally appealed to an older audience.

By the middle 1990s, many argued that radio had become too formulaic. Virtually all radio sought female suburban adults 18–34 who listened to radio on their way to and from work. Artists (in any format) who did not fit that pattern of attraction were simply not played. In the 1990s, for example, Top 40 morphed into “contemporary hits radio” and largely abandoned those who had once helped to create it: teenagers.

Creating a complete listing of these format formulas is almost fruitless—the annual *Broadcasting and Cable Yearbook* by the late 1990s listed more than 75 formats—starting with adult album alternative or AAA, moving on to urban contemporary, variety (four or more formats), Vietnamese, and finally women.

In the 1990s country music was among the most popular formats on U.S. radio. In turn, country spun off the gospel music format, and later the Christian contemporary music format. Its composers and stars were influenced by rock stylings they grew up with; superstar Garth Brooks recalled the group Kiss as his key influence. Indeed, during the 1990s one could more easily find a Willie Nelson or Loretta Lynn “classic” tune covered and then played on an adult contemporary format, a beautiful music format, or an easy listening format station than on a country station.

Other formats enjoyed great popularity during this turn of the century period as well, among them what was termed Contemporary Rock, Rhythmic Oldies, Urban, and Hot AC. Perhaps the most tuned by young listeners was Hip Hop. It inspired the newest incarnation of the Top 40/CHR format because the Hip Hop sound dominated the best selling music charts nationally, if not globally.

DOUGLAS GOMERY

See also, in addition to individual formats discussed above, American Federation of Musicians; American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers; Broadcast Music Incorporated; Canadian Radio and the Music Industry; Classical Music Format; Crosby, Bing; Formats; Grand Ole Opry; McClendon, Gordon; Metropolitan Opera; National Barn Dance; Recordings and the Radio Industry; Singers on Radio; Storz, Todd; Talent Raids; Vallee, Rudy; Walkman

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Music Testing

Determining Radio Audience Preferences

There has never been as great a need for accurate music research data in the radio industry as there is today. Not only are many more entertainment options available to potential listeners, but the expectations for ratings and profit performance continue to increase. As a result, programmers of music-oriented stations have adopted a variety of research methods to better understand their listeners' attitudes toward particular songs.

Requests

Perhaps the most easily overlooked source of music data is a station's request line. Many programmers recognize requests as an inexpensive and simple way to collect music information. Instructing disc jockeys to tally songs that people care enough about to request is an easy and cheap way to obtain a daily glimpse of titles that excite listeners. However, programmers

should be careful not to place too much confidence in request data. Listeners with enough spare time to place requests may not best represent a station's audience. To better ensure that a station's entire audience range is represented, programmers rely on more scientific methods.

Callout

The primary method of music testing is callout research. Callout consists of trained interviewers telephoning randomly selected listeners of a particular station and having them use a pre-established scale to rate 15 or 20 "hooks" from songs the station plays. A hook is a brief lyrical segment, often the title or chorus, that captures the essential quality of the song.

According to Tony Novia of *Radio and Records* magazine, callout began in the 1970s when broadcasters believed they could predict which new songs would become popular by having listeners rate hooks from the very latest releases. Unfortunately, because the songs were so new and had not received any airplay, respondent unfamiliarity resulted in unreliable data. Beginning in the 1980s, programmers realized that callout was an effective tool for obtaining data about familiar music. The hook, in effect, was just long enough to "jog the memory about a song in question" (Novia, 2000). Today, most users of callout recommend that songs not be included in research until they reach a high level of familiarity through airplay. For example, radio consultant Guy Zapoleon reports that a general rule is to have a song play at least 100 times on a station before placing it into callout.

During callout, respondents provide data after each hook is heard over the phone line. First, they are asked if they recognize the song. If they do, a favorability-scale question is generally asked next. For example, listeners may rate the song on a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 means they dislike the song very much and 10 means they like the song very much. Another type of data often obtained during callout is a fatigue or burn-out measurement. Listeners are asked, "Are you tired of hearing this song on the radio?" Especially in contemporary music formats, fatigue data is important for determining when to decrease airplay of a popular song title.

Perhaps the biggest benefit of callout research is the ability to gather music data quickly, easily, and inexpensively. These benefits result in the ability to generate weekly reports on current music. Drawbacks to callout include the reliance on hooks, the brevity of which sometimes fail to capture the essence of a song; the comparative low fidelity of telephone lines, which may negatively bias results; and the high refusal rates of respondents, which can be expected any time researchers make unscheduled telephone calls. Two newer and less prevalent music testing techniques, the personal music test and call-in research, have been developed to address these shortcomings.

Call-in and Personal Music Tests

As is implied by its name, call-in research consists of listeners telephoning a station's research department to complete music tests. This method allows listeners to provide information at their convenience. A similar method involves invitations to visit the station's website, where listeners can participate in a music test in which audio of hooks (or even of entire songs) is streamed. There are several drawbacks to these two methods that must be kept in mind. First, just as with those who request songs, listeners who have the time or interest to phone a station or visit its website to participate in a music survey may not be representative of listeners in general. Second, there is no way to adequately prevent one listener from providing opinions more than once, thereby biasing the results.

A personal music test attempts to combine the scheduling convenience of call-in with the representativeness and quality control of callout. Using this music testing method, telephone interviewers call a random selection of station listeners and schedule an appointment for them to visit a research facility at a convenient time. Upon their arrival, listeners are given a hook tape of current music and a personal cassette player with headphones. Listeners work through the hooks, providing ratings for each hook at their own pace. The personal music test ensures that respondents devote the undistracted time required to provide valid data. Furthermore, because telephone lines are not involved, the fidelity of the music being tested is much closer to what is actually heard over the air. A major drawback to the personal music test, however, is cost, because most stations employing the method have found that a financial incentive is necessary to increase participation.

Auditorium Music Tests

Although the methods mentioned above tend to be used to collect opinions of fewer than 30 current songs, auditorium music tests (AMTs) are generally employed to test between 350 and 700 older songs. Familiarity with the titles is assumed; the goal here is to determine the best-liked "gold" music among the station's target audience. For oldies formats, the method is often used to determine the entire playlist; therefore, oldies programmers conduct AMTs each quarter, whereas more contemporary music stations can afford to do them only once or twice a year. AMTs consist of inviting between 75 and 150 randomly selected listeners to an auditorium and playing a hook tape for them. The shared sense of purpose and controlled environment are key benefits to this method. One drawback is the cost of auditorium rental and respondent incentives. Another is the possibility of respondent fatigue, which can be lessened by scheduling breaks periodically during hook presentation.

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See also Audience Research Methods; Auditorium Testing

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Mutual Broadcasting System

U.S. National Radio Network

The Mutual Broadcasting System was unique among the four national radio networks. Whereas the other networks originated most of their programming from studios in New York City and Hollywood, Mutual was a cooperative program-sharing venture whose member stations around the country provided most of the programming. As the last major network to be established, Mutual's stations tended to be the ones the other networks did not want: low-powered rural stations with limited listening areas. Thus, although Mutual was eventually to proclaim itself the nation's largest radio network based on the number of affiliates it served, it was continually mired in last place in a four-way race.

Mutual and its affiliates created many memorable programs, such as *The Adventures of Bulldog Drummond*, *Buck Rogers*, *Double or Nothing*, *20 Questions*, *The Falcon*, *The Green Hornet*, *The Shadow*, *Sherlock Holmes*, *The Lone Ranger*, *Dick Tracy*, *Queen for a Day*, and *Captain Midnight*, and featured personalities such as the controversial Father Charles E. Coughlin, Dick Clark, Merv Griffin, Mike Wallace, and, in later days, Larry King. But the network's fourth-place status and chronically weak financial position often resulted in its best programs being lured away to the deeper-pocketed competing networks.

Creating a Fourth Network

Because local radio listening areas, or markets, varied widely in both population and number of stations locally available,

the three-network system (National Broadcasting Company [NBC] Red, NBC Blue, and the Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]) worked well in some places and not as well in others. Markets with three local stations willing to affiliate with a network (despite the advantages, not all stations desired affiliation) were ideally suited to the status quo. Markets with fewer than three stations frequently saw a station affiliated with more than one network, with one network considered the station's primary affiliation and another network constituting a "secondary" affiliation. In markets with four or more stations desiring network affiliation, somebody, obviously, was going to be disappointed. In a competitive environment with four or more stations, the affiliation contracts usually went to the more powerful stations.

The early 1930s saw several attempts to start a fourth radio network, from the Amalgamated Broadcasting System (headed by popular radio comedian Ed Wynn, often billed as "the perfect fool": the network folded in five weeks) to an American Broadcasting Company (no relation to today's ABC) that lasted a few months. Among the many reasons for the high failure rate, two deserve special consideration, because they were to resurface continually as formidable challenges to anyone trying to compete with NBC or CBS. The first was the fact that the three major networks already had solid relationships with the best advertisers, and they still had much airtime to sell. In many ways, a sustaining program represented an unsold commercial slot. Ideally (for the network), the entire schedule would be commercial. Thus, the sales representatives

at NBC and CBS aggressively went after advertisers to buy more time, often offering discounted rates to large advertising accounts. Any start-up radio network was going to have a tough time convincing advertisers to stray from the majors. A second problem was the ragtag nature of most of the stations not already signed with NBC or CBS. As much as these stations wanted network affiliation, this accumulation of largely low-powered and/or rural stations would not be very attractive to national advertisers.

Ironically, the company that was finally to establish a fourth network started life with no national network intentions. In 1934 four powerful independent (non-network) stations banded together to form the Quality Group. The purpose of the group, which consisted of WOR (New York), WGN (Chicago), WLW (Cincinnati), and WXYZ (Detroit), was twofold. First, they would share their better sustaining programs among themselves. Second, they would offer an alternative to the producers of commercial programs who wanted access to four major metropolitan markets without going through one of the established networks. As a Quality Group spokesman stated, "We will endeavor to make suitable time arrangements for advertisers seeking to broadcast in important markets through the use of a few stations having high power and a vast listening audience. . . . Each station will remain independent and make its own decision in accepting programs. . . . Several programs are now broadcast over this group of stations by mutual agreement." The "mutual" nature of the cooperative venture apparently struck a chord, because the organization was almost immediately renamed the Mutual Broadcasting System (MBS). By the time it celebrated its first anniversary in 1935, Mutual carried 20 hours of commercial broadcasts and 40 hours of sustaining broadcasts per week. The anniversary was bitter-sweet, however. The one non-stockholding partner in the venture, WXYZ, had just jumped ship to NBC Blue. Mutual was able to replace WXYZ in the Detroit market by signing CKLW, an across-the-border Canadian station that had served as the area's CBS affiliate. CBS had dumped CKLW in favor of yet another Detroit station, WJR, when it increased its power to 50,000 watts.

More significantly, a major schism regarding the future of the company was developing among the three owner stations. Desiring to increase the operation's revenue, WGN and WOR wanted to open Mutual up into a broader network serving more stations. WLW was opposed to this plan. Whereas the metropolitan locations of WGN and WOR (Chicago and New York City) gave them local access to millions of listeners, WLW got most of its audience through the far-flung reach of its nighttime 500,000-watt signal. If Mutual began to sign affiliates in the cities reached by WLW's signal, the station reasoned, WLW would lose much of its audience to these local stations. WLW wanted MBS programming to remain exclu-

sively available to the original four markets to preserve its own unique appeal to its geographically widespread audience.

WLW was outvoted. By early 1936 some individual Mutual programs (but not the complete network schedule) were being carried on a network of nine stations. By the fall of 1936, Mutual announced expansion to the West, signing affiliation agreements with the Don Lee regional network in California and with several Midwest stations along the American Telephone and Telegraph (AT&T) line, which was leased to carry the network's signal to the West Coast. At the same time, WLW announced that it was turning in its MBS stock. It remained an MBS affiliate for many years, even continuing to supply Mutual with some original programming. Its own schedule, however, became increasingly a mix of MBS and NBC. The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) eventually decided that the "superstation" experiment was a failure, placing WLW at too much of a competitive advantage over other stations, and WLW became a regular 50,000-watt clear channel station. The Don Lee network picked up WLW's stock, as well as one-third of the cost of the expanded network operations. Before the network hookup to California was in operation, Mutual signed a Washington, D.C., station and another regional network, Colonial, as a New England affiliate. Thus by the end of 1936, Mutual was a true trans-continental network, albeit one with huge gaps (most significantly, the southern half of the United States). Despite this expansion, MBS executives remained committed to the network's unique vision. Company President W.E. Macfarlane emphasized the independent nature of Mutual's affiliates by noting, "The Mutual Broadcasting System was organized with the purpose of presenting better programs, allowing stations to maintain their independence, and creating a network of stations which would serve the country's listening audience and still allow stations to fulfill obligations to their various local communities."

By 1937 Mutual was serving 51 affiliates. The complete network schedule consisted of 30-3/4 hours of commercial programs and 93-1/4 hours of sustaining programs per week. Within a year, the total number of affiliates was up to 51. Yet increasingly, Mutual was finding itself frustrated by the major networks. Many of its new affiliates were only secondary Mutual stations. These stations owed their primary allegiance (and best broadcasting hours) to one of the major networks. On these stations, Mutual only got the broadcast times the major networks did not want: the hours with the fewest listeners that were the most difficult to sell to national advertisers. Because of its weak position relative to the other networks, Mutual became an early practitioner of "counter-programming." If the most popular program on radio in a given time slot was a drama, Mutual would schedule a musical show opposite it.

The FCC Network Probe

Early in 1938, in part responding to growing complaints from Mutual about its difficulty in competing with the entrenched New York-based networks, the FCC initiated a probe of possible network monopolistic practices. Data soon confirmed some of Mutual's complaints—CBS and NBC, with three networks between them, dominated the strongest stations across the country. Mutual was having trouble getting a competitive foothold in the business.

Mutual's winning of the rights to provide the baseball World Series broadcasts in 1938 and 1939 brought other network practices into sharp contrast. CBS and NBC ordered their affiliates to stick with their own network programs, even when those stations wanted to carry the highly popular games (and Mutual was willing to provide them). The closed-door approach of the New York networks certainly helped to underline Mutual's anti-competitive arguments.

Based in part on information provided by Mutual, the FCC issued its final report on chain broadcasting in May 1941, calling for a host of changes in the relationship between networks and their affiliates. After a fierce legal battle, and several long congressional hearings, the rules were upheld in a landmark Supreme Court decision in 1943. NBC and CBS were forced to modify many of their affiliation contracts, somewhat evening the playing field for Mutual.

The Decline of Mutual and Network Radio

The MBS continued to expand through the 1940s, reaching 400 affiliates in 1947. It became the first network to include FM stations in its lineup, although these affiliations were plagued in the beginning by a dispute with the American Federation of Musicians that prohibited any musical programs from being carried over FM stations without an additional fee. The expanded Mutual network now reached 84 percent of the nation's radio homes, although only 60 percent of the network's programming was actually carried over the entire system.

Although the post-World War II structure of Mutual was basically the same as it had always been—a program-sharing cooperative owned by three major stockholders (WGN, WOR, Don Lee) and a few minor stockholders (including the New England-based Colonial regional network)—major changes in the broadcasting landscape and in Mutual's corporate structure loomed on the horizon.

After decades of development, television was finally ready for its commercial launch immediately following World War II. Although CBS, NBC, ABC, and an electronics firm named DuMont all announced plans for television networks, Mutual's stand on the matter was ambivalent. Although WGN, WOR,

Don Lee, and some Mutual affiliates were getting into television, MBS announced in 1948 that it would "leave actual video operations to its stockholder stations." The decision was made that these stockholder stations might provide programming to MBS affiliates, but that such programming, for the time being, would be outside of Mutual. Although he assumed that MBS would eventually become the fourth television network, MBS president Edgar Kobak stated, "I have a hunch that a few years from now survival may be difficult and one way to survive is to be careful now. That's what we at Mutual are doing." Survival for Mutual would indeed soon become difficult, and the decision not to actively develop a television arm would be one of the major contributing factors.

In 1943 General Tire and Rubber bought the Colonial network, giving it a small stake in MBS. In 1950 it expanded its broadcast holdings with the acquisition of the Don Lee network (giving the company 38 percent ownership of MBS), and its purchase of WOR the following year made it the controlling partner in Mutual, with 58 percent of the stock. Under the new corporate name of General Teleradio, the company acquired the remainder of Mutual's outstanding stock to become the sole owner of MBS. General Teleradio bought RKO-Radio Pictures in the mid-1950s. General's interest in the studio was solely to obtain its backlog of old theatrical movies as programming for General's growing roster of independent television stations. General had no intention of getting into the theatrical film business or of using RKO's studios as a production center for a possible MBS television network. Content to run its television outlets as independent stations, the newly renamed RKO-General immediately liquidated the film studio and, in 1957, sold MBS to oil tycoon Armand Hammer. The company would pass through the hands of five more owners in the next three years.

In the fall of 1958, Mutual was sold again, this time to Hal Roach Studios. A venerable producer of theatrical short comedies in the 1920s and 1930s, Roach had become a major television producer in the 1950s. By the late 1950s, however, the company was in the throes of serious financial reversals, compelling it to accept a buyout offer from a businessman named Alexander Guterma. Guterma immediately announced plans to combine the Roach operation and MBS into a broadcasting powerhouse of both radio and television networks, the latter of which would be supplied with programming from the Roach Studios. Within months, however, the Guterma empire collapsed under allegations of stock fraud.

In February 1959, MBS was sold by the Hal Roach Studios to recording executive Malcolm Smith. Smith sold MBS within months to a new set of owners, the McCarthy-Ferguson Group, who entered the network into bankruptcy reorganization.

During the transition from Smith to McCarthy-Ferguson, a final peculiar twist to the Roach-Guterma era emerged. In an

effort to save his flagging business empire, Alexander Guterma had accepted \$750,000 in January 1959 from the dictator of the Dominican Republic, Generalissimo Rafael Trujillo, in exchange for up to 425 minutes per month of favorable coverage of the Dominican Republic on Mutual radio news broadcasts. Negative reports on the Dominican Republic would not appear on MBS. The arrangement was reported to federal authorities by the new MBS management, who had found themselves accosted by agents of the Dominican Republic demanding performance on the deal or return of the money. In addition to his problems with the Securities and Exchange Commission, Guterma found himself tried and convicted of failing to register himself as an agent of a foreign principal.

In April 1960, McCarthy-Ferguson sold the network to the giant manufacturing company 3M, which was seeking to diversify into new fields. By the 1960s, however, network radio had become little more than a news-delivery service. As a corollary enterprise to the news division of a television network, a radio news service could return a profit. Despite the fact that it could boast the largest number of affiliates of any radio network, over 500 in 1967, with no television operation to share the costs of news gathering Mutual was locked in a terminal slide toward oblivion.

Despite the inevitability of its demise, MBS lasted considerably longer than most industry analysts expected (and longer than the pioneering NBC Radio Network). The end for Mutual came on 18 April 1999. Its final owner was the Westwood One radio group, which had bought Mutual from Amway in 1985. Shortly before Mutual's demise, Westwood One had turned most management decisions over to CBS Radio, which saw Mutual as redundant to other services offered by both Westwood One and CBS. The last Mutual sta-

tions were offered affiliation with Westwood One's CNN Radio operation to replace the departed 65-year-old Mutual network.

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See also American Broadcasting Company; CKLW; Columbia Broadcasting System; National Broadcasting Company; Network Monopoly Probe; Westwood One; WGN; WLW; WOR

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Narrowcasting

Narrowcasting is the process of identifying or selecting a specific portion of the overall radio audience and designing a station's programming to attract and retain that audience. Other related terms include *audience fragmentation*, *target audience*, *listener segmentation*, *niche audience*, and *format-specific, cultural-specific, or audience-specific programming*.

Narrowcasting stands in contrast to the older word *broadcasting*, which was borrowed from the agricultural industry. To a farmer, broadcasting means to sow seeds as widely as possible throughout a field; in radio, stations transmit their signal widely throughout their coverage area. In the early decades of radio, stations designed their programming to meet the needs of the largest, widest possible audience. However, stations could not always meet everyone's needs adequately, and portions of the population were left underserved or neglected by programming intended for an aggregate audience.

During the 1930s and 1940s, some independent, non-network stations in larger U.S. markets sold air time to African-American or non English-language programmers. In addition, some country and folk listeners could find programs to meet their needs in the various barn dance and jamboree shows around the country, although few stations featured around-the-clock music for rural listeners.

After World War II, the number of radio stations on the air increased dramatically, increasing the pressure on each outlet to find programs that would appeal to at least some listeners. Managers of newer stations who were willing to forgo the "golden age" approach to programming focused their programs to attract specific audiences; as a result, African-American and country stations first appeared in the late 1940s and early 1950s. During the same period, Top 40 programmers reached out to teens, and Middle-of-the-Road stations attracted older audiences: thus the first true formats were born.

The practice of narrowcasting is of particular interest to advertisers, because even though audiences are typically divided by listening characteristics, listener segmentation also

results in buyer segmentation. When special audiences are targeted for specific products, the result is a more efficient use of advertising dollars. Teens are more likely to buy acne medicine and soft drinks. Mature audiences are more prone to invest in luxury cars, health care products, or mutual funds. This improved efficiency can be illustrated by the question, "Would you rather stand on the street and try to sell hot dogs to all the people passing by or would you rather talk to ten hungry people?" On the street, a salesperson will meet many people, but not all will be prepared to purchase. On the other hand, ten hungry people may find themselves quite interested in the prospect of a hot dog, if the salesperson can only locate them.

Over time, the practice of narrowcasting has enhanced the partnership between stations and advertisers. *Broadcasting and Cable Yearbook* in 2000 recognized 70 different radio formats in use. These various narrowcast formats divide the total audience into listener groups according to the demographic characteristics of age, gender, culture, or income. The station programmer's job is to design a total package of program elements, including music, news, IDs, liners, and public service announcements, to attract and retain their specific audience. The advertiser's task is to match audiences with products. A successful link of programs, audiences, and advertisers results in a more efficient and, in the long run, more economical effort enabling stations to deliver audiences to advertisers.

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See also *Formats; Programming Strategies and Processes*

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National Association of Broadcasters

U.S. Broadcast Trade Organization

The National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) is the primary trade association of the American broadcasting industry. The NAB represents the industry before the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), Congress, and other government entities and takes a proactive role in acquainting the public with the importance of radio and television communications.

Members of the association set policies and make decisions on industry-wide matters through a board of directors composed of radio and television broadcasters elected by fellow members. This joint board is subdivided into a radio and a television board, each with its own chair. The joint board also has a chairman. NAB is overseen by a full-time president.

NAB has an extensive committee structure that enables it to draw on the specialized knowledge of its members in dealing with industry causes and in making recommendations to the board of directors. These committees are composed of representatives of individual stations, broadcast groups, and the networks. Active member support and participation are the basis for NAB decisions and activities.

According to its charter, NAB operates "to foster and promote the development of the arts of aural and visual broadcasting in all forms; to protect its members in every lawful and proper manner from injustices and unjust exactions; to do all things necessary and proper to encourage and promote customs and practices which will strengthen and maintain the broadcasting industry to the end that it may best serve the people."

Origins

The early history of NAB is closely tied to the issue of using recorded music in early radio broadcasts of the 1920s. At that time, broadcasters freely used phonograph records without compensating the artists involved, in spite of a 1917 court decision that upheld the right of creative artists to license their products under provisions of the 1909 copyright act. By early 1922, the declining sale of phonograph records in the face of

radio broadcasting caused the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers (ASCAP) to look for ways to recover lost royalties directly from broadcasters. ASCAP, founded in 1914, provided the means for artists to license and copyright their creative efforts.

In April 1922 ASCAP determined that the radio reproduction of copyrighted songs fell under the "public performance for profit" portion of the copyright law and that the copyright owners were entitled to compensation from the broadcasters. ASCAP notified all broadcast stations of their intention to collect royalties for their members, but the announcement was largely ignored by the fledgling industry.

After finding little success pursuing its aims within the broadcast industry as a whole, ASCAP decided specifically to move against Westinghouse, General Electric (GE), the Radio Corporation of America (RCA), and a few other giants of the new industry. ASCAP called for a conference to discuss the issue, but it was once again ignored. The broadcasters agreed to a meeting only after ASCAP threatened to sue them for copyright infringements if they did not meet.

At the meeting on 20 September 1922, ASCAP presented as its major concern artists' rights to royalty payments, while broadcasters expressed their desire not to pay royalties. Of major importance to the broadcasters was the payment of performers; at that time, many musicians performed on radio free for the exposure, and broadcasters felt that if they paid some, they would have to pay them all. The broadcasters told ASCAP that they would go on the air with "The Old Gray Mare, She Ain't What She Used to Be" rather than pay ASCAP for the privilege of broadcasting the latest ASCAP licensed hit, "My Bromo-Seltzer Bride." The meeting ended without resolution.

Organization by Zenith's McDonald

The second ASCAP-broadcaster conference occurred one month later, on 25 October 1922. At this meeting, broadcast-

ers expressed sympathy for the artists' position but stated that they could not afford to pay for the music if it would lead to paying all composers, individual performers, and orchestras. ASCAP responded by filing a suit and notifying all broadcasters that it was revoking all temporary licenses for broadcast of ASCAP members' music. Additionally, ASCAP established a rate schedule that fixed fees for the use of music at \$250 to \$5,000 per year per station depending on the size of the station's audience (determined by location, wattage, and profits). The arbitrary nature of the ASCAP action caused a small group of broadcasters, organized by "Commander" Eugene F. McDonald, Jr., founder-president of Zenith Radio Corporation (and station WJAZ), to meet in Chicago in early 1923 to form an organization to oppose ASCAP; this organization would become the National Association of Broadcasters.

The group, all pioneer broadcasters, moved quickly from a discussion of ASCAP to the need for a regulatory body for radio similar to the Interstate Commerce Commission. At this initial meeting of concerned broadcasters, McDonald first used the name "Federal Communications Commission" for such a group. They also considered rules and regulations that they felt should apply to a free enterprise system for radio.

Shortly after this meeting, McDonald, who knew little of the music business, called on his friend and business colleague Thomas Pletcher, president of the QRS Music Company, for advice. He told Pletcher that his group of broadcasters believed that authors and composers should be paid directly for their contributions, rather than through ASCAP, but that they did not know how to proceed with the organization. Pletcher suggested that the group hire Paul B. Klugh (a knowledgeable, recently retired music roll manufacturer) as secretary of the new organization. McDonald successfully recruited Klugh, who assumed the position of executive chairman. McDonald embarked on a campaign to persuade RCA, GE, Westinghouse, and American Telephone and Telegraph (ATT) to join the fledgling group, but he was initially unsuccessful.

The actual organizational meeting for the NAB was held in the studios of WDAP (Chicago) on 25 and 26 April 1923, with 54 representatives of various radio constituencies. Representatives of ASCAP presented their positions and, after discussion, left the meeting. A committee was then formed to propose the structure for an organization that would carry out the aims of the broadcasters. The committee consisted of McDonald (WJAZ), T. Donnelley (WDAP), J.E. Jenkins (WDAP), W.S. Hedges (WMAQ), P.B. Klugh, R.M. Johnson (Alabama Power and Light Company), and George Lewis (Crosley Manufacturing Company). The group, known as "the Committee of Seven," reported on 26 April 1923, and their recommendations were accepted: the association was to be known as The National Association of Broadcasters, NAB's offices would be established in New York City, and they would employ a managing director. Paul Klugh was selected as the managing direc-

tor by a unanimous vote. Two other meetings were held in 1923 with the main subject of discussion being the development of an NAB "music bureau" of copyright-free music.

The first annual meeting of the National Association of Broadcasters was held in conjunction with the annual National Radio Show held in New York on 11 October 1923. This meeting, called to order by Chairman Klugh in the Commodore Hotel in New York City, resulted in the election of the first real officers of the NAB. McDonald was elected president. A number of addresses were presented, and the group received a list of holdings in the NAB Music Bureau. A discussion of legislation plans was also undertaken. The group wanted to accomplish two goals with their legislation: (1) music copyright revision and (2) modernization of the 1912 Radio Act. During the meeting, McDonald conducted a test of the size of the audience at WJAZ by asking listeners to send in paid telegrams acknowledging their reception. The audience was estimated to be 400,000, based on receiving 4,284 telegrams in four hours. The public relations coup resulted in considerable publicity for the young broadcasters group.

In conjunction with the 1923 Chicago Radio Show in November, McDonald and his good friend Thorne Donnelley of WDAP, both officers of the NAB, along with Chicago station KYW, conducted an audience census to determine music preference in the Chicago listening area. For 12 days the stations requested listeners to write in telling what they most desired to hear. The three stations received a total of 263,410 pieces of mail, with WJAZ receiving 170,699; WDAP, 54,811; and KYW, 37,900. It was estimated that not more than 1 in 50 listeners would respond, which suggested that the three stations were being heard by an audience of more than 13 million.

In 1924 ASCAP attempted to flex its muscle and thus created a situation that brought the music copyright problem before Congress. The Edgewater Beach Hotel (home of WJAZ) had always paid a fee to ASCAP for the music used in its dining room. Because at times this music had also been broadcast live over WJAZ, ASCAP refused to renew the performance license for the music unless a broadcast license was also secured, even though the hotel no longer allowed WJAZ to broadcast the music. The broadcasters determined that this situation was a good legal test case. The fact that McDonald's WJAZ was involved and that he was also president of the NAB undoubtedly was an important factor in choosing this incident for the test case.

On 22 February 1924, Senator C.C. Dill, at the urging of the NAB, introduced a bill to the Senate that amended the Copyright Act of 1909 to make radio performances of copyrighted material essentially legal and royalty-free. A nasty battle ensued, with ASCAP waging a publicity campaign encouraging all musicians to join the fight. NAB, small and new, had little money to fight back, and a plea to broadcasters for financial help brought nothing.

The NAB cause was represented by NAB President McDonald, Executive Secretary Klugh, and Counsel Charles Tuttle. In January 1925, the ASCAP-supported Perkins Bill (H.R. 11258) was introduced in the House. This bill called for massive changes in the copyright law in general and particularly in those portions concerned with radio broadcasting.

Years of debate followed. The NAB endorsed its stand at each succeeding annual conference. McDonald's involvement also continued. As NAB president, he was appointed one of ten members of the Copyright Committee of the Fourth National Radio Conference called by then Commerce Secretary Herbert Hoover in Washington on 9 November 1925. The fight to avoid paying royalties, however, was rapidly being lost, and the NAB and ASCAP entered secret negotiations. McDonald stepped down as president of the NAB in 1926 as he began a battle with Secretary Hoover over frequency allocations, but he continued his strong involvement with NAB for many years, holding a variety of offices.

NAB Radio and Television Codes

The NAB has been involved in voluntary compliance broadcast codes since 1929, when it produced its first "Code of Ethics" in an attempt to preempt the Federal Radio Commission from imposing such a code. In 1939, attempting to avoid FCC action regarding children's programs, the NAB issued a "Radio Code" dealing with profanity and limits on commercial time in children's programming. NAB issued a guide for broadcasters in 1942 covering security in wartime broadcasting. Although compliance with these codes was voluntary, many NAB members subscribed to them, and the various NAB radio and television codes existed until they were dropped in 1982 after a court case found a portion of the code unconstitutional. Today the NAB operates under a "Statement of Principles" dealing with program content.

The NAB expanded greatly in 1938 and has grown with the broadcasting industry, incorporating other groups in the industry. The FM Broadcaster Association became a department of NAB in 1945, and in 1951 the Television Broadcasters Association also merged with NAB. Springing from NAB membership in 1959, a new and independent National Association of FM Broadcasters met for the first time; by 1984, the 2000-member group, then named the National Radio Broadcasters Association, merged with NAB. NAB also accepts associate members in fields allied to broadcasting.

The Modern NAB

Although much of the association's focus since the 1950s has been on television, cable, and newer media, radio continues to occupy NAB lobbying and developmental efforts. NAB championed FM in the 1960s and 1970s, publishing a monthly

newsletter tracing industry developments. In the early 1980s, NAB fought strenuously and eventually successfully to beat back an FCC proposal to reduce AM channels from 10 kilohertz to 9 kilohertz, parallel to much of the rest of the world. The association argued that such a move would increase interference and make many push-button radios obsolete. At the same time, NAB supported efforts to create AM stereo and to select a technical standard for the service.

In the late 1990s, NAB radio interests focused on digital radio and on developing a successful technical standard to allow digital audio broadcasting (DAB) service to begin. At the same time, NAB fought hard against allowing satellite digital services to develop, because they would threaten the local stations represented by the association. And NAB fought against the highly popular introduction of low-power FM stations (LPFM) in 2000, arguing that the potential for hundreds of new stations would greatly increase interference problems. NAB maintains an ongoing educational program on its agenda.

The huge annual four-day NAB conventions, which now attract more than 115,000 attendees, are held every spring (in Las Vegas since the early 1970s) and devote considerable conference time and exhibition space to radio and audio topics. A fall conference focused entirely on radio programming and operations is also held, and radio-related publications are issued regularly. With more than 100 full-time employees housed in its own modern building in Washington, D.C., the NAB has gained a reputation as one of the strongest and most effective lobbies in the nation's capital. Part of this strength comes from the clout inherent in member stations, which provide airtime for political candidates and which will readily call congresspersons to press their views.

HAROLD N. CONES AND JOHN H. BRYANT

See also American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers; Broadcast Music Incorporated; FM Trade Associations; McDonald, Eugene F.; Trade Associations

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National Association of Educational Broadcasters

The National Association of Educational Broadcasters (NAEB) was the oldest professional educational broadcasting organization in the United States, founded as the Association of College and University Stations in 1925. Until its demise in 1981, the NAEB served as the nation's most influential force in the establishment and preservation of an alternative system of noncommercial educational (public) radio stations.

Origins

The historical roots of American public radio extend back at least as far as those of commercial radio broadcasters. Early in the 1900s experimental stations began appearing in electrical engineering departments of universities and colleges across the country, the first being station 9XM (now WHA) at the University of Wisconsin in Madison. Unfortunately, the primary motivation for building many of these stations was limited to the study of technical considerations, without much concern about the programming and service potential of this new electronic medium. By 1926, roughly half of these early stations had gone off the air, but among those remaining, there was a growing interest in exploring educational uses for radio.

Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover had already begun a series of annual National Radio Conferences in Washington, D.C., and it was at the fourth of these gatherings, on 12 November 1925, that a group of educational broadcasters created a new organization, the Association of College and University Broadcasting Stations. At first, this fledgling collective of broadcast pioneers was loosely knit and had no specific purpose other than to support and promote radio for educational use. Membership was open to all educational institutions that operated radio stations, but even with annual dues set at only \$3.00, less than half of the qualified institutions joined the association during its first few years of existence. Documentation for this period is extremely limited, but it is clear that the members struggled against enormous odds to hold the organization together, as the Great Depression began to bring financial hardships to institutions of higher learning.

The first formal convention of the 25-member association was held on the Ohio State University campus in Columbus in July of 1930, convened in conjunction with the Institute for Education by Radio. Recent licensing actions by the Federal Radio Commission were seen as clearly favoring the commercial use of radio at the expense of educational development. Hence, there was a growing sense of urgency that something needed to be done to stem the tide of lost licenses for educational institutions. Association president Robert Higgy, Director of Ohio State's WOSU, launched a campaign to seek legislation that would reserve a portion of the radio spectrum exclusively for noncommercial educational use. Association members joined with other educational radio advocates, including the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education and the National Committee on Education by Radio, in that pursuit over the next several years. However, when the Communications Act was signed into law on 19 June 1934, the provision for which they had fought so hard had been deleted. Instead, Congress specified that the newly created Federal Communications Commission would study the matter of nonprofit allocations to educational institutions and report back on their findings.

Reorganization and Name Change

When the association members gathered on 10 September 1934, in Kansas City, Missouri, for their annual meeting, there was a renewed determination to influence the work of the FCC. A new constitution was adopted and the organization's name was changed to the National Association of Educational Broadcasters. This new label better reflected the interests of existing members, particularly those that were producing educational programs that were being broadcast over commercial radio stations. The NAEB members rededicated themselves to three goals: reserving channels for educational use, establishing a national headquarters, and creating a mechanism for program exchange. Toward this third goal, three committees were established, each to study a specific means of program

exchange: shortwave transmission between stations, the establishment of a chain network, and the recording of programs.

The FCC hearings that stemmed from the congressional statute to study the matter failed to result in the desired educational reservations, though the NAEB continued to lobby both the FCC and members of Congress in the years to follow. When the NAEB assembled in Iowa City on 9 September 1935, each of the program exchange committees made their reports. The use of shortwave interconnection was judged impractical, but there was some optimism expressed that federal and state appropriations might enable the creation of a chain network at some future date. However, the only short-term means of program exchange seemed to be to record programs and exchange them among stations through the U.S. mail service. The goal of establishing a national office was still well beyond the members' reach.

The NAEB continued to meet annually through 1938 but suspended its regular meeting schedule during the years 1939–41. Throughout this period the association achieved modest accomplishments, including purchasing of sound transcription equipment, beginning the publication of a regular newsletter, creating of a radio script exchange, and successfully lobbying the FCC to reserve designated "curricular channels" in 1938, though the authorization of FM broadcasting would render this initial lobbying victory moot. The continued efforts by the NAEB culminated in the FCC's acceptance of the reservation principle when the Commission first authorized FM service in 1941, reserving the five lowest channels for noncommercial educational use. Four years later, the FCC shifted the placement of FM broadcasting to its present location, and set aside the lowest 20 channels (88–92 MHz) for educational use.

Although membership in the association during the early 1940s did not increase significantly, the organization gained greater cohesion and confidence as representatives from member stations worked cooperatively on a variety of association initiatives, including FM channel reservations. Efforts were stepped up to get educational institutions to apply for construction permits for FM stations, and discussions about establishing a national headquarters with paid personnel continued to gain momentum. In an attempt to encourage more stations into operation, the NAEB convinced the FCC to liberalize its FM rules by creating a new Class D license in 1948 that allowed stations to broadcast with as little power as 10 watts, thus greatly reducing the costs of transmitter equipment and ongoing operations for the many colleges and universities that wanted to mount student-operated radio stations.

In 1949, the long-envisioned program exchange was formally begun when station WNYC in New York City made five sets of recordings of the *Herald Tribune Forum* series that were mailed among 22 NAEB member stations in a distribution system that came to be known as the bicycle network. Prompted by the success of this bicycle tape network, Univer-

sity of Illinois Dean Wilbur Schramm offered a plan at the 1950 NAEB convention in Lexington, Kentucky, to house the network headquarters on his Urbana, Illinois, campus, with funding generated by a series of grants. The following year the NAEB received a major grant from the W.K. Kellogg Foundation to fund a permanent national headquarters and distribution center at the University of Illinois. A series of other major grants were soon forthcoming, and both the financial posture and the services provided by the NAEB improved significantly. Increases in NAEB membership quickly followed, and by January of 1954 there were 218 members and 78 stations participating in the tape network. The national headquarters staff had expanded to seven full-time employees. After nearly 30 years of struggling for its own survival, the NAEB had become the dominant force in U.S. educational broadcasting.

Organizational Transitions

During the 1950s, the NAEB greatly improved its stature within the educational community, both nationally and internationally. Increased human and financial resources enabled the association to exhibit expanded leadership and professional development for the educational broadcasting establishment. Workshops, seminars, and regional conferences soon complemented the annual convention. In 1956, a sister organization of individual members from a wide range of educational professions—the Association for Education by Radio-Television (AERT)—merged with the NAEB and brought with it a scholarly publication, the *AERT Journal*. The following year, the association began publication of the *NAEB Journal*, in addition to the monthly *NAEB Newsletter* and other occasional reports and monographs. By the 1959 convention in Detroit, Michigan, it was evident that the NAEB's ever-widening vision had outgrown its home in Urbana, Illinois.

From the inception of the national headquarters at the University of Illinois, the NAEB had operated with an elected president from one of the member stations and a full-time executive director located at the national office. It was time to move the national headquarters to Washington, D.C., and to hire a full-time president. On 1 September 1960, the NAEB's new offices opened in the DuPont Circle Office Building at 1346 Connecticut Avenue, NW. The new president who would lead the organization into a new era of educational broadcasting was William G. Harley, a former elected NAEB president and chairman of the board of directors who had gained national prominence as manager for the highly successful WHA-AM-FM-TV stations at the University of Wisconsin.

Harley moved quickly to establish the NAEB as a lobbying force on Capitol Hill while expanding the number of grants that enabled the NAEB to enhance its intellectual position. A new publication, the *Washington Report*, was created to help keep members posted of important developments in the capital

city. The NAEB Radio Network took full advantage of the Washington connection by producing a new public affairs show, *Report from Washington*, that was sent by air mail to the Center in Urbana for distribution to member stations. Harley also secured letters pledging support from both presidential hopefuls, Richard M. Nixon and John F. Kennedy, as a way of building bridges with the new administration. And among the first academic projects to come out of this period was the commissioning of Marshall McLuhan to prepare a report on the new media's role in the future of education. The book resulting from that project, *Understanding Media*, remains one of the most influential mass communication publications of the 20th century.

NAEB leaders had long advocated that the association should be more of a professional organization than a trade association in the traditional sense. The influx of individual members brought about by the merger with AERT in 1956 and the growing ranks of members from closed-circuit instructional television facilities were causing growing dissatisfaction with the existing governance structure, which was controlled by radio and television station representatives. At the 1963 NAEB convention in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, the members voted unanimously to reorganize the association into four divisions: Radio Station Division, Television Station Division, Instruction Division, and Individual Member Division. Each was to elect its own board, with the four boards comprising the NAEB Board of Directors. Offices and support staff for each of the units would be established within the national headquarters.

For radio interests, the reorganization was a major step forward. Television representatives had been exercising more and more control over the NAEB since the mid-1950s. Growing numbers of radio representatives wanted a separate organization of their own but knew full well that they did not have the resources to go it alone. The reorganization gave radio the independence it needed to chart a new course, while allowing it to benefit from the largesse of the higher television station dues. The new configuration also afforded the opportunity for a new name—National Educational Radio (NER)—while remaining under the NAEB umbrella. In the spring of 1964, the radio board appointed WUOM (University of Michigan) production manager Jerrold Sandler to be NER's first executive director. The tape exchange network—now officially named the National Educational Radio Network—remained in Urbana.

Under Sandler's guidance, NER acquired the kind of representational and leadership presence in Washington, D.C., that the radio representatives had envisioned. In addition to continuing the program exchange system, the new division became far more active on Capitol Hill, raised major grants for program and research projects, built relationships in the international community, provided a unified voice in professional circles, offered consulting advice to member stations, and distributed grants-in-aid to support special projects. During

1966–67, Sandler contracted with Herbert W. Land Associates to conduct a national study of the status of educational radio in the United States. The resulting report, *The Hidden Medium: Educational Radio*, offered the documentation needed for Sandler to lobby Congress on behalf of radio during the drafting of what had been the Public Television Act of 1967. As a direct result of Sandler's efforts, radio was written into the language during the eleventh hour, and the final legislation was called the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967.

A Forecast of Demise

While passage of this historic legislation dramatically changed educational radio and television for the better, it signaled the beginning of a transformation that would eventually mean an end to the NAEB. The Act created the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB), which was charged with strengthening the newly relabeled *public* radio and television stations in the United States. This mandate led to the creation of the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) and National Public Radio (NPR). In 1971, NPR began live national network interconnection of member stations, and the National Educational Radio Network soon merged with NPR. For a number of months, NAEB continued to represent radio stations before Congress, but by 1973, the stations had created a new lobbying and public relations organization—the Association of Public Radio Stations (APRS)—and so NAEB ceased its radio representation function. (APRS would later merge with NPR in 1977.)

Just as NPR and APRS took over the functions of NAEB's Radio Division, PBS soon acquired the functions of the Television Division. By the mid-1970s, the NAEB was again forced to undergo a major reorganization and a redirection of its mission solely as a professional organization. When Harley retired in 1975, James A. Fellows became NAEB's last president. Fellows worked tirelessly to revitalize the association and to generate a solid funding base through individual member services. A variety of public telecommunication institutes on such topics as management skills, graphic arts, instructional design, and audience research methods were scheduled throughout the country. The publications program was expanded with the creation of *Public Telecommunications Review*, a research index and reprint series, and later with the *Current* newspaper. Members were served by various professional councils, ranging from broadcast education and research to engineering and management. The annual convention afforded additional professional training opportunities and a career placement center. In short, the NAEB attempted to become the professional standard bearer for the public broadcasting industry.

Despite a herculean effort by Fellows and his ever-shrinking staff, the NAEB could not sustain itself as an organization supported solely by individual members. At its final convention at the Hyatt Regency Hotel in New Orleans on 3 November

1981, NAEB board chairman Robert K. Avery recalled the association's important accomplishments over the preceding 56 years. With the vote taken to declare bankruptcy, he brought down the final gavel and dissolved the organization.

ROBERT K. AVERY

See also Educational Radio to 1967; National Public Radio; Public Broadcasting Act of 1967; Public Radio Since 1967

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National Association of Educational Broadcasters Tape Network

Early Program Exchange for Educational Broadcasters

The National Association of Educational Broadcasters (NAEB) Tape Network was the first formal agreement among educational broadcasters to allow for the exchange of programs for rebroadcast. This system was important because it provided for the sharing of much-needed program materials between financially strapped broadcast stations across the United States.

Origins

In the 1930s a growing concept of educational broadcasting was developing at a few scattered stations, most of which were loosely affiliated with colleges and universities. Representatives held annual conventions, which led to formation of the Association of College and University Broadcasting Stations, predecessor to what became the NAEB. The group's primary purpose was to persuade the government to set aside radio channels for state, college, and university operated stations. Another goal was to develop a mechanism for program exchange.

These broadcasters watched the successful sharing of programming taking place in commercial radio through the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) Red and Blue networks and the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS). A network for educational radio was discussed but was dismissed as too costly; an idea for a script exchange met with little enthusiasm. A few stations did exchange scripts, but few of these exchanges resulted in produced programs.

In 1932 NAEB secured a \$500 grant from the National Advisory Council on Radio Education and purchased a wire recorder. The device was to be circulated among stations for recording programs for air. In 1949 the director of New York's municipal station WNYC, Seymour Siegel, made five sets of recordings of the *Herald Tribune Forum* and distributed them to 22 NAEB member stations throughout the year. This event marks the start of what was labeled a "bicycle" (mailed tape exchange) network.

Postwar Developments

In 1950 NAEB was able to secure more funding, this time from the Kellogg Foundation. The purpose of the grant was to support a systemized national noncommercial education and culture tape network to serve the growing demand for educational radio programming. The exchange system delivered programming from the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), and domestic stations and production centers. In its first year, what became the National Educational Radio (NER) network mailed over 500 hours of programming to 52 NAEB member stations coast to coast.

A network headquarters was established in Urbana, Illinois. Programs were duplicated on high-speed equipment. A fee was established for member stations, and within five years, the organization was modestly financed but self-sustaining. By 1967 it was estimated that the network distributed some

35,400 hours (more than 80 million feet of tape) of educational radio programming in the United States on a budget of less than \$60,000.

Sample bulletins from the early years of the tape exchange demonstrate diverse program offerings. Program topics included physical sciences ("The Impact of Atomic Energy"), social sciences ("Woman's Role in Society"), mental and physical health ("The Effects of Smoking"), and arts and literature ("The Alabama String Quartet"). Children's programming was a category listed in early bulletins, but specific examples are difficult to find. Networks supplied their affiliates with tapes to be used in local schools as well. Subject matter for kindergarten through 12th grade included science, foreign languages, guidance, language arts, music and art, safety and health, and social studies.

Most of the programs distributed by the tape network in return for the regular affiliation fee consisted of offerings from individual affiliates. Production costs for these programs were generally covered by the local stations. Some stations enhanced programs with modest grants from organizations such as the National Home Library Foundation and the Johnson Foundation.

The network also delivered some special programming to affiliates at no additional cost. For instance, a 30-minute *Special of the Week* produced out of the University of Michigan featured addresses by national and world leaders on public affairs. In addition, an 11-program series by WGBH Boston (*A Chance to Grow*) examined how families dealt with critical changes in their lives. The series featured interviews with families and was produced with the aid of grants and contributions. The government also provided some "no-charge" programs, such as a panel discussion from a conference held by the Selective Service System at the University of Chicago. And finally, the Library of Congress had a special arrangement with the tape network to allow the network to distribute certain readings and lectures given by the library.

Programs were also provided to affiliates from a wide variety of international sources. Regular contributors to the network included the BBC (*Transatlantic Forum*, *The World Report*, and *Science Magazine*), Radio Netherlands, Berne, Italian Radio, UNESCO, and the CBC, among others.

While the tape exchange network was still in a growth mode, educational broadcasters were still pushing for a more permanent way to exchange programming—a real network. In September 1965 some 70 NER stations linked together for a historic live interconnection to broadcast three hours of German national election results coverage.

In 1966 at a NER conference (The Wingspread Conference), 70 leaders from the industry, government, the academic community, philanthropy, and the arts came up with a seven-point plan for developing educational radio that included a national production center and the use of communications satellites for transmitting noncommercial programming. A concrete step toward centralized programming was made in March 1967 when NER set up a Public Affairs Bureau in Washington. However, a centralized network was yet to come. During the Carnegie Commission's study of 1965–67, the need for an interconnected educational radio system was again stressed. The Public Broadcasting Act (1967) that followed set the stage for the development of that network. In the years following the passage of the act, educational broadcasters met to plan the network. Finally, on 3 May 1971, the goal of national programming distribution sources for noncommercial radio broadcasters was realized, when National Public Radio premiered its first live show—*All Things Considered*. Other programs and a satellite interconnect to allow members to share programming would follow. Educational broadcasters no longer had to duplicate and mail tapes to deliver shared programs to the public.

PAMELA K. DOYLE

See also Educational Radio to 1967; National Association of Educational Broadcasters; National Public Radio; Public Radio Since 1967

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National Barn Dance

Country Music Variety Program

Although the *Grand Ole Opry* is best remembered because it survived far longer, the WLS *National Barn Dance* before World War II ranked as America's most popular country music program. After being picked up by the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) network in 1933, and sponsored and supported by Miles Laboratories' Alka-Selzer, the WLS *National Barn Dance* became a Saturday night radio network fixture.

The show's long time home was WLS-AM, a pioneering and important station in Chicago, named by owner Sears-Roe-

buck to herald itself as the "World's Largest Store." First under Sears, and then after 1928 with new owner *Prairie Farmer* magazine, the focus of this clear channel station was always the rural American. Clear channel status made WLS-AM a fixture in homes throughout the Midwestern farm belt.

Originally called the *WLS Barn Dance*, by 1930 the program had expanded to fill WLS's Saturday nights. When the NBC Blue network began on 30 September 1933 to run a portion, sponsored by Miles Laboratories' Alka-Seltzer, the pro-



WLS National Barn Dance Cast, 1944
 Courtesy Radio Hall of Fame

gram was renamed the *National Barn Dance*. Though NBC varied the program's length (from 30 to 60 minutes and back, again and again), from 1936 to 1946, the network always penciled the *National Barn Dance* on the schedule starting at 9 P.M. on Saturday nights. Indeed, in 1940 when NBC picked up the *Grand Ole Opry*, the *National Barn Dance* was already a network fixture, signaling to all who paid attention to radio industry trends a growing interest in the "hillbilly" musical form.

The statistics were impressive. For example, on 25 October 1930 nearly 20,000 fans poured into Chicago's massive International Amphitheater for a special performance, and an estimated 10,000 had to be turned away. The popularity peak of the *National Barn Dance* came during World War II, but after the war the *Opry* surpassed its predecessor in ratings, and the shift to Nashville was underway. NBC dropped the *National Barn Dance* in 1946.

But in its heyday, beginning with a move in 1932 to the Loop's Eighth Street Theater, the success of the *National Barn Dance* could literally be seen as crowds lined up for precious Saturday night tickets and regularly filled the theater's 1,200 seats for two shows. Stars included those remembered by country music historians (Bradley Kincaid, Arkie the Arkansas Woodchopper, and Lulu Belle and Scotty) and those who would help define popular culture of the 20th century (Gene Autry).

Bradley Kincaid was one of country music's first popular sellers. He was a student in Chicago in 1926, having moved there from his native Kentucky, when a friend suggested he try out for the hillbilly show on the radio. Kincaid borrowed a guitar, practiced a few ballads he had learned from his family, and soon was a star. His name is usually lost in country music history, but Kincaid helped define the genre as it emerged during the 1920s and 1930s.

Missourian Luther Ossenbrink renamed himself "Arkie, the Arkansas Woodchopper" when he arrived at WLS in the middle of 1929 after some experience on the radio in Kansas City. While playing the fiddle, guitar, or banjo, he sang and told cornball jokes. Sears executives must have loved his favorite song, "A Dollar Down and a Dollar a Week."

Although the husband-and-wife singing duo, Lulu Belle and Scotty (Wiseman), who appeared from 1935 through 1958, may have been the *Barn Dance's* most enduring act, to the world Gene Autry symbolized the star-making power of the *National Barn Dance*. Autry appeared during the early 1930s as the "Oklahoma Yodeling Cowboy," but when his "Silver Haired Daddy of Mine" became a hit, he was off to Hollywood and became part of radio legend.

Following NBC's dropping of the *National Barn Dance*, the program reverted to again being a local show until 1949, when the American Broadcasting Companies (ABC) radio network, sponsored by the Phillips Petroleum Company, picked up the

show. The ratings on ABC were anemic, and so by the mid-1950s the *National Barn Dance* was a faded memory for everyone except the aging Chicagoans who continued to embrace its radio and television versions. The Eighth Street Theater closed on 31 August 1957, and WLS abandoned it.

In 1960, many of the former *National Barn Dance* regulars appeared on Chicago's WGN-AM under the name *WGN Barn Dance*. But after the Tribune Company, the owner of WGN, syndicated the show for television in the 1960s with limited success, Tribune executives closed the show for good in 1971.

DOUGLAS GOMERY

See also Autrey, Gene; Country Music Format; Grand Ole Opry; WGN; WLS

Cast

Hosts	Hal O'Halloran (pre-network), Joe Kelly (1933-50)
Announcer	Jack Holden
Performers (partial listing)	Bradley Kincaid, Gene Autry, George Gobel, Red Foley, Homer and Jethro, Lulu Belle and Scotty, Louise Massey Mabie and the Westerners, Arkie, the Arkansas Woodchopper, Wilson Sisters, Dolph Hewitt, Hoosier Hotshots, Pat Butrum

Producers

Walter Wade, Peter Lund, Jack Frost

Director

Bill Jones

Programming History

WLS	April 1924-September 1933
NBC-Blue	September 1933-June 1940
NBC-Red	June 1940-September 1946
ABC	March 1949-March 1950

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National Broadcasting Company

While now focused on television, the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) was the first purpose-built national radio network, although it continues as such today in name only. Begun with an emphasis on public service program orientation, NBC became a very profitable commercial venture that helped to dominate—and define—radio's golden age.

Origins

The origins of NBC lie in the extensive political and legal maneuvering of its parent company, the Radio Corporation of America (RCA), in the 1920s. One member of the RCA group, AT&T, found its phone lines could be used not only for remote broadcasts but could also connect stations together in a "chain" or network. AT&T announced the formation of 38 "radio telephone" stations linked by telephone lines, the purpose of which was not to provide programming but rather to "provide the channels through which anyone with whom it makes a contract can send out their own programs," an arrangement that soon became known as "toll broadcasting."

But RCA was operating its own New York City station as well. WJZ began operations as a Westinghouse outlet in 1921 but was purchased by RCA two years later. Unlike AT&T, RCA's interest in the medium was based on its desire to sell more receivers, the assumption being that entertaining programs would result in the sale of more sets. Thus, by 1923 there were two factions battling for control of radio: the "Telephone Group" led by AT&T and Western Electric, and the "Radio Group" consisting of RCA, General Electric (GE), and Westinghouse. AT&T sold its interest in RCA when conflict became inevitable and refused to allow any station aligned with the Radio Group to use its telephone lines to establish a network.

With the threat of government intervention looming, it was left to RCA General Manager David Sarnoff to broker a compromise. He proposed that "all stations of all parties [be put] into a broadcasting company which can be made self-supporting and probably revenue-producing, the telephone company to furnish the wires as needed." This marked the creation of NBC, which began operation in November 1926 with Merlin H. Aylesworth, former managing director of the National Electric Light Association, as president. Although ownership of NBC was originally divided among RCA, GE, and Westinghouse, AT&T profited the most, since it controlled the wires that would eventually connect thousands of stations nationwide (a franchise that would be extended even further with the introduction of television). In short, AT&T got to keep the toll without having to worry about the broadcasting.

Consolidation and Growth

NBC immediately adopted the practice of toll broadcasting by selling studio space and a time slot—"four walls and air" in trade lingo—to interested advertising agencies and their sponsor-clients. RCA also decided to operate two NBC networks, with WEAJ as the flagship station of NBC-Red and WJZ anchoring NBC-Blue (the colors apparently derived from either the company's color-coded program charts or the pencil lines AT&T engineers drew to map the wire paths for the two networks).

NBC grew rapidly in size and profitability. In 1927 the network had 48 affiliates, including both the Red and Blue networks, and lost almost \$500,000 in net income; by 1932—when RCA assumed complete ownership of the network—it had 85 affiliates and pretax profits of \$1.2 million.

As both networks grew, so did the interest of advertising agencies and sponsors, who saw network radio as an increasingly effective way to reach a national audience of consumers. Fortunately for advertisers, the ability to reach a mass audience with radio intersected with an expansion of the American economy in the 1920s. In 1929 Merlin Aylesworth proclaimed that radio was "an open gateway to national markets, to millions of consumers, and to thousands upon thousands of retailers."

Soon, major advertising agencies were enthusiastically embracing the new medium, a revolution that was not dampened by the Great Depression. The NBC schedule in the 1930s was dominated by shows named for their sponsors, such as *The Chase and Sanborn Hour*, *Cliquot Club Eskimos*, and *Maxwell House Showboat*. By the early 1930s, the economic structure that would dominate radio for the next 20 years had emerged. The networks learned to be the middleman, selling time to advertising agencies that produced the commercial shows on behalf of paying sponsors, while their affiliates were responsible for developing a rapport with local audiences.

Throughout the decade, NBC continued to flourish. A sharper distinction between the Red and Blue networks came into focus. NBC-Red was home to the most popular programs, including *Fibber McGee and Molly*, *One Man's Family*, and *Amos 'n' Andy*, as well as such stars as Bob Hope, Jack Benny, and Fred Allen. Not surprisingly, it accounted for most of NBC's profits. NBC-Blue, on the other hand, was somewhat schizophrenic in character, as it was the home of cultural programming of the highest quality—the *NBC Symphony* led by Arturo Toscanini chief among them—but also was the dumping ground of sustained (unsponsored) programming that as often as not placed fourth in the ratings behind NBC-Red, CBS, and the less successful (after 1934) Mutual Broadcasting System. Still, Blue served as something of a loss leader for

RCA, as it was frequently touted by the company as a prestigious public service. Blue also allowed NBC to cultivate a reputation superior to that of CBS, which was always a special consideration for David Sarnoff.

NBC's economic strength derived almost wholly from its affiliate relationships. In 1932 the network initiated a plan to pay its affiliates a fee for every network-originated, sponsored program that the affiliate carried on its schedule. In return, the affiliate agreed to purchase NBC's sustained programs at a rate lower than what the station might typically produce in-house. This a la carte system still allowed the affiliates some freedom to pick and choose among the various network offerings, and although many of the larger stations objected to what they considered an inadequate reimbursement for their time costs, the arrangement allowed NBC to provide nationwide coverage to paying advertisers. However, both NBC and CBS continued to extract more concessions from their affiliates throughout the 1930s, knowing there was no shortage of local stations eager to accept whatever demands the networks might place upon them. As a result, government intervention became almost inevitable.

Report on Chain Broadcasting: 1941

Although the economic structure of commercial broadcasting was consolidated in the early 1930s, its regulatory parameters were slightly more fluid. In March 1938 the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) initiated an investigation into all phases of the broadcast industry, primarily at the instigation of the Mutual Broadcasting System. Mutual complained to the FCC that it was unable to expand into a national operation because NBC and CBS had affiliation agreements with more than 80 percent of the largest radio stations in the country.

The result of that inquiry, the 1941 *Report on Chain Broadcasting*, was highly critical of the network-affiliate relationship, and the regulations derived therein signaled the beginning of an on-going battle between broadcasters and the government over monopoly practices. To NBC and CBS, the rules set by the *Report* threatened to undermine the very structure of the broadcasting industry.

Most crucial among these were the establishment of strict limits on the length of affiliation contracts; the loosening of affiliation ties by allowing stations to broadcast programs from other networks or sources; the power of affiliates to reject network programs if the stations felt the offering was not in the public interest; and, most dramatically, the abolition of the practice of "option time."

This provision struck directly at the heart of network operations, and NBC, CBS, and Madison Avenue howled in protest. Option time was a standard feature of every affiliation contract, giving the network the legal right to preempt a station's schedule for network programming. CBS affiliates

agreed to give up their entire broadcast day if the network demanded it; NBC was slightly less stringent, asking for options on eight and a half hours a day, including the profitable 8 to 11 P.M. evening block. The stations were compensated for all hours claimed by the networks at a rate adequate to cover the loss of potential sales to local advertisers (these local rates were set by the network as well, a procedure also abolished by the 1941 regulations). It was a profitable arrangement. The affiliates received popular national programming, relieving them of the chore of local production, and were compensated for their airtime—NBC took in three times more money from time sales than it dispensed in compensation and could guarantee advertisers a national audience.

The networks bitterly denounced the new regulations and brought suit in federal court to stop their implementation, but it was pressure from the business and advertising communities that caused the FCC to revise the chain broadcasting rules in an October 1941 supplemental report. The commission reasoned that while it remained unconvinced by the NBC and CBS contention that option time was indispensable to network operations, "it is clear that some optioning of time by networks in order to clear the same period of time over a number of stations for network programs will operate as a business convenience." As a result, the networks were permitted to maintain control over the 8 to 11 P.M. slot, the most heavily attended and profitable portion of the broadcast day. Thus, the prime-time schedule remained closed to independent and local producers on affiliate schedules.

Of more direct impact to NBC was the regulation that "no license shall be issued to a standard broadcasting station affiliated with a network organization which maintains more than one network." In other words, either Red or Blue had to go. Despite some public grumbling, RCA was not entirely unhappy with this ruling, having long considered the sale of Blue as a possible source of financing for television activities. Still, NBC filed suit in federal court challenging the Chain Broadcasting rules, but in May 1943, the Supreme Court ruled for the FCC in *NBC v the United States*. Five months later, RCA sold the Blue Network to Life Savers magnate Edward J. Noble for \$8 million. The sale provided RCA with a cash infusion with which to prepare NBC-TV for an anticipated boom following World War II and led to the formation of the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) in 1945.

NBC Radio and the Emergence of Television

The immediate postwar era was enormously profitable for radio as pent-up consumer demand, combined with a shift from military to domestic manufacturing, unleashed a spectacular buying binge. However, television loomed on the horizon, and the new medium promised to have a dramatic impact on network radio. In 1945, 95 percent of all radio stations were

network affiliates; in 1948—the year NBC, CBS, and ABC began seven-day-a-week television broadcasting—the figure was 68 percent and dropping fast.

Ironically, the end of network radio as a source of major entertainment was hastened by the CBS “talent raids” of 1948–49. In order to attract NBC’s biggest radio stars, CBS designed a clever finance mechanism that had the practical effect of placing performers under long-term contract to the network. It was an elegant scheme: radio stars (who were otherwise taxed at personal income rates of up to 75 percent) would incorporate themselves and, in turn, license their company to CBS. The amount paid by CBS would be considered a capital gain and taxed at 25 percent. As a result, NBC performers left the network in droves for CBS, starting with Amos ‘n’ Andy creators Freeman Gosden and Charles Correll in September 1948, soon followed by Jack Benny, George Burns and Gracie Allen, Red Skelton, Bing Crosby, and Edgar Bergen.

The talent raids certainly paid off for CBS in terms of income (a profit increase of almost \$7 million), more successful programming (12 of the top 15 radio shows in 1949), and tangential publicity. Most important, radio provided both the financial and programming foundation for the network’s television operation. Every star brought over in the talent raids eventually appeared on CBS-TV, draining resources away from NBC.

As television continued to attract an increasingly larger audience, major advertisers rapidly left radio and moved their dollars into the new medium. By the early 1950s, the trend toward television was readily apparent. Fewer and fewer network-originated radio shows were made available to affiliates, while the number of programs that were simulcast (broadcast simultaneously on both radio and TV) increased. By the end of the decade, stations across the country began severing their network affiliations to produce their own programming, an action unthinkable during radio’s heyday.

In 1960 NBC stopped production on its last remaining daytime radio serial, *True Story*, and thereafter existed almost solely as a news feed to subscribing stations. In 1986 RCA (including NBC) was purchased by GE (in a sense returning to its original owner), and that same year the network formally split its broadcasting divisions. NBC Radio was then sold to radio conglomerate Westwood One, which continues to maintain “NBC Radio Networks” as a separate brand, although in reality the network has no journalistic responsibility for newscasts labeled as “NBC.”

MIKE MASHON

See also American Telephone and Telegraph; Blue Network; Network Monopoly Probe; Radio Corporation of America; Sarnoff, David; Talent Raids

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National Federation of Community Broadcasters

Member Organization of Community Radio Stations and Producers

The National Federation of Community Broadcasters (NFCB) is a membership organization representing more than 200 radio stations in the United States; it provides legal, technical, and logistical support for community-oriented, educational, and noncommercial broadcasters. Under its leadership, the community radio sector of U.S. broadcasting has emerged as a viable service in major urban centers and rural communities across the country.

In 1973 a group of dedicated community broadcasters met in Seattle to consider the possibilities of coordinating their efforts and promoting community radio throughout the United States. Two years later, in the summer of 1975, the National Alternative Radio Conference (NARK) convened in Madison, Wisconsin. The conference participants—an assortment of radio enthusiasts, artists, musicians, and community activists from across the country—resolved to form a national organization that would represent the interests of community broadcasters before the U.S. Congress and federal regulators. Within a matter of months, the newly formed NFCB located its headquarters in the Washington, D.C. apartment of two of the conference organizers, Tom Thomas and Terry Clifford. From these humble beginnings, the NFCB began its lobbying efforts in support of community-oriented radio. From the outset, the NFCB had two goals: to influence national broadcast policy-making and to secure federal grant money to support this new, locally oriented radio service.

Central to the NFCB's mission is enhancing and increasing diversity in radio broadcasting. Throughout its history, the NFCB has placed special emphasis on opening up the airwaves to women, people of color, and other cultural minorities whose voices are largely absent from mainstream media. In this way, the NFCB promotes volunteerism, supports localism, and encourages the development of programs and services specifically designed to address the needs and interests of underserved audiences. For example, community volunteers program music and public-affairs programming on WFHB in Bloomington, Indiana; WVMR is the only broadcast service for people living in the isolated region of Pocahontas County, West Virginia; and member station KBRW provides multilingual programming for native peoples in Alaska's North Slope region.

In addition, the NFCB provides all manner of technical and logistical support for community broadcasters. To that end, the NFCB has developed training materials that outline the procedures for license applications, describe the use of broadcasting equipment, and offer practical suggestions for enlisting local community support. Some of these publications

include *The Public Radio Legal Handbook*, a reference guide to broadcast regulations; *Audiocraft*, a textbook on audio production techniques; and the *Volunteer Management Handbook*, which provides useful strategies for securing and maintaining an enthusiastic volunteer base. Crucially, the NFCB also provides the legal and engineering expertise necessary to successfully secure a broadcasting license from the Federal Communications Commission (FCC). Moreover, through its monthly newsletter, *Community Radio News*, and its annual conventions, the NFCB continues to keep its member stations abreast of ongoing policy debates, new funding initiatives, and the latest technological innovations. Finally, the NFCB established the Program Exchange service in recognition of the need for new and existing stations to round out their broadcast schedules. This scheme encouraged community broadcasters across the country to trade tapes produced by member stations as well as programming developed by independent producers. Not only did this service help offset the costs associated with program production, it had the added benefits of creating an informal network between community stations and helping to define community radio's national identity.

Under the auspices of the NFCB, the community radio movement of the late 1970s challenged the conventions of commercial radio, forever changing the landscape of U.S. broadcasting. The NFCB successfully lobbied the U.S. Congress, regulatory bodies, and government funding agencies to support noncommercial broadcasting in general and community broadcasting in particular. Most important, perhaps, in its commitment to community access, control, and participation, the NFCB popularized listener-supported radio. This model, first championed by Lewis Hill and the Pacifica stations, encourages community residents to become involved in every aspect of the local radio station: management, governance, finance, promotion, and production. Like the Pacifica stations and those associated with Lorenzo Milam's KRAB nebula, NFCB member stations seek to enhance radio's role in the civic, cultural, and social life of the community. Unlike commercial radio, which shies away from innovative and controversial programming, NFCB member stations encourage local cultural expression and support community activism.

Over time, as the organization's influence with industry leaders and policy makers grew, the NFCB became firmly entrenched in the Washington establishment. As a result, the NFCB's fortunes became linked to those of National Public Radio (NPR) and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB). For a time, this relationship proved beneficial to both

parties. For example, in 1982 the NFCB organized the first Minority Producers Conference, which was instrumental in diversifying the staff at public and community radio stations across the country. However, the NFCB's relationship with the CPB has been a source of controversy among some community radio advocates. For instance, the NFCB and NPR supported the FCC's 1978 termination of 10-watt Class D stations, a prohibition that has fundamentally altered the character of community radio in the United States and that has, more recently, prompted the rise of the so-called microradio movement.

Over the past decade, community radio stations have grown increasingly dependent upon CPB funds, such as the Community Service Grant, to support their efforts and improve their services. However, the eligibility requirements for these funds were far beyond the means of small stations with modest resources. As a result, these stations were confronted with the unpleasant choice between shutting down or hiring professional staff to generate income, produce or acquire more "polished" programming, and oversee the station's daily operation. This condition seriously undermines community participation and has led to the "professionalization" of community radio. In recent years, some community stations have become little more than supplemental outlets for the nationally produced programming of NPR, effectively consolidating the public radio sector and eliminating community radio's greatest strength: its localism. Furthermore, the NFCB's Healthy Station Project, with its emphasis on attracting upscale demographics to community stations, has been sharply criticized for its chilling effect on community radio's news and public-affairs programming and the attendant homogenization of music and cultural fare.

Following a period of considerable internal unrest and organizational restructuring, the NFCB moved its headquar-

ters to San Francisco in 1995 and began sharing its operation with Western Public Radio, a not-for-profit radio training and production center. In 2002, NFCB relocated again, this time across the bay to Oakland. With new offices, facilities, and staff, NFCB launched exciting new initiatives, most notably the National Youth in Radio Training Project.

KEVIN HOWLEY

See also Community Radio; Corporation for Public Broadcasting; Low-Power Radio/Microradio; Milam, Lorenzo; National Public Radio; Pacifica Foundation; Public Radio Since 1967; Ten-Watt Stations; Trade Associations

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National Public Radio

U.S. Noncommercial Radio Network

National Public Radio (NPR) is the U.S.'s largest public radio producer and distributor, providing more than 100 hours of news and cultural programming each week to more than 600 member stations. The network is probably best known for its drive-time newsmagazines, *Morning Edition* and *All Things Considered*, but it produces a wide range of radio fare, including music and cultural programs, such as *Performance Today* and *Jazz Profiles*, and the nationwide call-in program *Talk of*

the Nation. In the course of its 30-year history, the network has won virtually every major broadcast award and has figured prominently in the nation's political and artistic life.

Origins

Public radio in the United States had its origins in the 1920s, when low-budget community and college stations sprang up

around the country. Hundreds of such stations took hold in the early, unregulated days of radio, but not many of these “educational stations” survived the Depression, especially as commercial broadcasters saw radio’s potential as a vehicle for mass-market entertainment and lucrative advertising.

The National Association of Educational Broadcasters (NAEB) argued that educational stations could not compete for spectrum space with commercial giants such as the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) and the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS). In 1945 the NAEB convinced the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to allot the low end of the radio dial to educational broadcasters, winning 20 FM channels, from 88 to 92 megahertz. The allotment gave educational radio the stability to build up a small but hardy core of stations.

The Public Broadcasting Act

By the early 1960s, educational broadcasters were exploring the possibility of networking to help fill their program days. Don Quayle, the first president of NPR, recalls “there was a general feeling, both in television and in radio, that no single station had the resources to do the quality of programming we wanted.” Quayle helped link up educational radio and television networks in the northeastern United States that were among the precursors of NPR.

Those networks lacked the resources to do much more than instructional broadcasting until the mid-1960s, when President Lyndon Johnson called on the Carnegie Foundation to look into the possibility of a federally funded broadcasting system. After a two-year study, the Carnegie Commission firmly backed the idea of federal funding, but it envisioned a far wider focus, distinguishing between educational and *public* broadcasting.

The commission offered 12 recommendations for the new service, including public-affairs programming that sought insights into controversial issues, diversified programming in which minorities were represented, and coverage of contemporary arts and culture. The commission’s recommendations dealt only with television, but President Johnson, a successful radio station owner himself, was sympathetic to radio advocates who fought to be included. Critics argued that adding hundreds of weak and needy radio stations to the measure would dilute the federal funding and drag the whole project down. Supporters pointed out that radio could offer more services than television at a far cheaper cost.

Congress passed the Public Broadcasting Act in October 1967 and included radio, but the funding available to the newly formed Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) quickly dwindled from a proposed \$20 million to \$5 million. Without financial support from the Carnegie Commission, CBS, the Communications Workers of America, and the Ford

Foundation, CPB would not have been able to fund much programming.

In 1969 CPB sponsored a conference in San Diego that laid the foundation for National Public Radio, an entity that, unlike its television counterpart, the Public Broadcasting Service, would produce as well as distribute programs. The corporation invited Bill Siemering, then the station manager of WBFO in Buffalo, New York, to help conduct the discussion. Siemering had already articulated a vision for the service in an essay called “Public Radio: Some Essential Ingredients,” in which he argued that public radio should be “on the frontier of the contemporary and help create new tastes,” but that it also had to meet the information needs of the public.

Don Quayle was chosen as the organization’s first president, not long after he had made a presentation to the Ford Foundation showing that he could interconnect all the qualified public radio stations “for less than [New York public station] WNET spent on television.” Quayle hired Bill Siemering as the network’s first program director and set him to work on what was to be its first regular program, *All Things Considered*.

National Public Radio Goes On the Air

National Public Radio was incorporated on 26 February 1970 with 90 charter stations. The network set up offices and studios in Washington, D.C., closer to the heart of the nation’s politics than the big commercial networks, which had long been based in New York. NPR officially went on the air in April 1971, offering live coverage of the Senate hearings on Vietnam. Less than a month later, on 3 May 1971, the network aired its first edition of *All Things Considered*. Siemering, who directed the first program himself, recalls that it got off to a “rocky and exhilarating” start, with host Robert Conley unable to hear the cues in his headphones. But as to content, it fulfilled practically all the elements that Siemering had outlined. The program went on the air as thousands of antiwar demonstrators filled the streets of Washington in what was to be the last major protest of the Vietnam War. Reporter Jeff Kamin brought back tape of the chanting and the sirens as police waded into the crowds of demonstrators and made more than 7,000 arrests. The same program featured a young black woman speaking dreamily about her heroin addiction. As Siemering had promised, the program transmitted “the experience of people and institutions from as widely varying backgrounds and areas as are feasible.” It spoke “with many voices and dialects.” Siemering says that it also illustrated many of the network’s goals: “using sound to tell the story; and presentation of multiple perspectives rather than a single truth.”

Over the next few months, the program took shape. Siemering found a distinctive voice and sensibility for the program and the network in Susan Stamberg, who became the

first woman to host a daily national newsmagazine. Stamberg was paired with Mike Waters and later with Bob Edwards. The network offset its limited resources and relatively inexperienced staff with a creative, conversational approach that began to gather fans. Producers at the network tried to explore the possibilities of the medium, emulating the sound-rich work of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) in Canada and the German producer Peter Leonhard Braun at *Sender Freies Berlin*.

During the first decade, cultural programming was a strong component of the network's output. Bob Malesky, now the executive producer of NPR's weekend programming, puts it this way: "*All Things Considered* was experimental, while concert programs gave stations the solid base to build a day's programming around, for what was still a largely conservative audience. NPR's first arts program was *Voices in the Wind*, and during its five-year life span (1974–1979), it was second only to *All Things Considered* in station usage." NPR also provided stations with *Folk Festival USA* (1974–79) and *Jazz Alive* (1977–83), both the work of producer Steve Rathe. In 1982 the network launched the *Sunday Show*, a five-hour cultural newsmagazine that won a Peabody Award for its first year but, like *Jazz Alive*, fell victim to the NPR financial crisis in 1983.

Expanding Role

For its first five years, NPR functioned primarily as a production and distribution center for its member stations, which had grown over the years to 190. The network took on a bigger role in 1977, after a merger with the stations' lobbying organization, the Association of Public Radio Stations. Don Quayle had left the network in 1973 to become a senior vice president at CPB, and the merger took place under President Lee Frischnecht. NPR offered member services, including training, management assistance, and help with program promotion. The network also began representing the member stations' interests before Congress and the FCC.

The network gained a great deal more national visibility under its third president, Frank Mankiewicz, who was hired in 1977. Mankiewicz came to the job from a background in freelance journalism and politics. He had been Robert Kennedy's press secretary during the presidential campaign that ended with the senator's assassination in Los Angeles, and he had managed the presidential campaign of Senator George McGovern. He had barely heard of NPR. He recalls that he got the job after promising the board that he "would do whatever was necessary so that people like me will know what NPR is."

Mankiewicz's first coup was getting permission for NPR to do live coverage of the Panama Canal debate in the Senate in 1978. It was the first live broadcast ever from the Senate floor.

He chose NPR's Senate reporter, Linda Wertheimer, to anchor the coverage, despite complaints from station managers who worried that a woman would sound "too shrill."

Mankiewicz also fostered the network's longtime goal of offering a morning program service. When *All Things Considered* was first conceived, many public radio stations were not even on the air in the mornings. Bill Siemering says he felt that a new staff creating a new kind of program needed to work together on the day's news, without having to contend with the problems of preparing a program overnight, so the network's flagship program was designed for afternoon drive time. But the network was well aware that radio's biggest audience was in the morning, and NPR was eager to reach it. Mankiewicz also believed that if listeners tuned to an NPR program in the morning, there was a good chance the dial would remain there the rest of the day.

Mankiewicz says he saw his chance to start a morning program when CPB President Henry Loomis offered him a big chunk of money. Loomis pointed out one day that CPB, unlike most federally funded agencies, received its appropriation in a lump sum at the beginning of the fiscal year. That meant that the money accrued a lot of interest in the course of the year, about \$4 million. Loomis, a radio fan, asked Mankiewicz what he would do with that money if he got it. "I'd use it to start a morning radio program." Loomis liked the idea and put up the money to start *Morning Edition*, which went on the air in November 1979. After the member stations roundly rejected a pilot version of the program, Bob Edwards was lured from his position as *All Things Considered* cohost with Susan Stamberg to take over *Morning Edition* on a temporary basis. Edwards stayed on, and the program became a hit.

Morning Edition marked an important departure in program style for the network. Whereas *All Things Considered* flowed relatively freely through its 90 minutes, from beginning to middle to end, *Morning Edition* was conceived as a *program service*, structured into rigid segments that member stations could either use or replace with their own local news, weather, and traffic reporting. The success of the *Morning Edition* format led many station managers to lobby for similar changes in the afternoon program, changes that the producers resisted until the mid-1990s.

The demands of providing material for two major programs each day also forced a significant change in the structure of the organization. In the early years, all reporters and producers worked directly for *All Things Considered*, tailoring their work to the eclectic and free-flowing style of that program. The advent of *Morning Edition* meant that the same reporters had to write and produce for the more rigid time constraints of the program service as well. To avoid having reporters pulled by the conflicting demands of the two shows, the news department adopted a "desk" system like those at major newspapers. Editors with specific expertise and experi-

ence set up a national desk, a foreign desk, a science desk, and so on. Reporters now worked for NPR news, rather than for a particular show.

In 1980 the network made a striking improvement in its sound quality with the launch of the nation's first satellite-delivered radio distribution system. Overnight, the programs went from the tinny, telephone quality of a 5 kilohertz phone line to the clarity and intimacy of the studio. Mankiewicz likes to joke that he told the technicians to add a bit of static to the broadcast for the first few days, "to lend an air of verisimilitude" to the otherwise too-perfect sound. The satellite also expanded the network's delivery capacity from a single channel to four, allowing stations to choose alternative programs without having to wait for the tapes to arrive in the mail.

The satellite meant that listeners could hear complex, skillfully layered sound without the degradation of telephone lines, and it cleared the way for the golden period of NPR documentaries. In 1980 the network broadcast a 13-part series by former *Voices in the Wind* producer Robert Montiegal called *A Question of Place*. The series used sound to bring to life the work of writers and thinkers such as James Joyce, Michel Foucault, Simone de Beauvoir, and Bertrand Russell. The following year, writer James Reston, Jr., producer Deborah Amos, and host Noah Adams used tape from the last days of the Jonestown religious cult to show how a leader's egomania led to the mass suicides of more than 900 people in Guyana. The network even branched into radio theater, with the series *Earplay*, *Masterpiece Radio Theater*, and a radio version of the George Lucas hit film *Star Wars*.

Financial Crisis

NPR was riding high and spending freely in 1983. Under Frank Mankiewicz, the network's membership had grown to more than 250 stations, and as he had promised, it was familiar to people like him, people in politics, the arts, and business. When Mankiewicz took over in 1977, the network was dependent on the federal government for 90 percent of its funding. By 1983 corporate underwriting, foundation grants, and other income had brought that figure down to around 50 percent. But the network was not in good financial shape. The network's chief operating officer, Tom Warnock, came to Mankiewicz with the news that NPR might be as much as \$2 million in debt. As Warnock delved deeper, the estimate of the debt grew, finally reaching \$9 million, a third of the network's budget. Subsequent audits revealed that NPR's accounting was so sloppy that some of the spending could not be tracked. As an example, the network had issued more than 100 American Express cards to its administrators, who ran up hundreds of thousands of dollars in bills for entertainment and travel. Teetering on the edge of bankruptcy, the network slashed department budgets and ultimately had to lay off about 100 people.

The staff of the cultural programs department shrank from 33 to 8. Mankiewicz says he could have saved the situation with an ordinary bank loan, but political differences with the CPB's leadership made that impossible. In the end, Mankiewicz resigned.

Ronald Bornstein, the director of telecommunications at the University of Wisconsin, took over as acting president, leading a rescue team of lawyers and accountants from some of the top firms in Washington. For the first and only time in its history, the network went directly to its listeners to help pay off the debt, by including a fund-raising segment in *All Things Considered*. The member stations were wary of allowing the network to raise money from among their contributors, and only about a third of them chose to carry the segments. Even so, the "Drive to Survive" brought in \$2.25 million in just three days. The balance of NPR's debt was to be paid off over a three-year period, under the terms of a loan agreement that was hammered out in often-rancorous negotiations with the CPB.

Messy and embarrassing as it was, NPR reported the story of its near-disaster as it happened. That, too, was part of Mankiewicz's legacy. "By that time, NPR had cast itself unambiguously as a news organization, so the standards of news applied to it," recalls Doug Bennet, who took over as president in 1983. Bennet says that what Mankiewicz "really did was to establish NPR in the news niche, and that was genius. Before, there was some news, but nowhere near the scale of investment or the staff." Scott Simon, then the network's Chicago bureau chief, was brought in to report on the financial crisis, interviewing beleaguered staffers and disgusted members of Congress. Bennet found himself taking over at an organization that was tense and distrustful.

Return to Stability

Bennet recalls that during his first one and a half years, he had to cut the budget eight more times, as new deficits were discovered, but he says, "I never believed that NPR would disappear." Bennet's first task was to develop a plan that would reassure the stations and Congress that NPR could be turned around.

The feud with the CPB eventually led the CPB to open up its funding process so that NPR would not be the only recipient. CPB created a Radio Fund, permitting any radio organization to apply for the money. The new funding system was approved without NPR's knowledge, to the fury of station managers. NPR had lost its funding monopoly and faced the prospect of presiding over an ever-diminishing cut of the pie. Doug Bennet recalls sitting in a bar with then-Board Chairman Don Mullally, charting out a radical and risky new funding plan on a bar napkin. The business plan, announced in February 1985, proposed giving all the CPB money to the member stations and letting them use it to acquire programming

wherever they wished. "We were saying to the stations, you can take this money and run, if you want to," Bennet says, "and for about five years, it was a much more market-like relationship." NPR's biggest competitor in that market was American Public Radio (APR).

APR was formed by a group of stations led by William Kling, the president of Minnesota Public Radio. The group had long been critical of NPR's cultural offerings and established its own network to acquire and distribute programs. APR's strongest offering was Garrison Keillor's *Prairie Home Companion*, once rejected by NPR's Mankiewicz as elitist and patronizing to middle-American values. *Prairie Home Companion* quickly became the most popular program on public radio.

Bennet says that, despite the funding pinch, he felt NPR had to prove that it could go forward. "We had to show we weren't locked in a zero-sum game, that we could invent and invest." Bennet backed the development of new programs, such as *Weekend Sunday* and *Performance Today*. The new funding scheme meant that new programs "had to be viable from a market standpoint," Bennet says. "The concept behind *Performance Today* was to showcase contemporary American performances—last night's, if possible—and to give stations a show that funders would support." The network also picked up new programs for distribution, including *Car Talk*; *Fresh Air with Terry Gross*; and *Afropop*, a review of African popular music that Bennet says "was always my proof that the NPR audience was willing to consider all kinds of music, and not just Brahms."

The new programs exemplified the deep change in NPR's mission that took place in the aftermath of the funding crisis, a change from offering listeners an alternative to being a force in the marketplace. Bennet says that NPR formally established that building its audience was an important goal, something that had been debatable in the past. Along with the funding control, stations had assumed more power over programming by refusing to buy any program that seemed unlikely to draw a significant audience in their area. The result was a gradual strengthening of the hard-news content of the magazine programs, leaving much of the network's arts and cultural programming struggling.

News took an even stronger hold as NPR's foreign desk reached out to report more and more ambitious stories. In 1986 NPR's coverage of the overthrow of Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos was more comprehensive than any of its previous reports. Cadi Simon, then the foreign editor, described the change in Mary Collins' (1993) book *National Public Radio: The Cast of Characters*, saying NPR "treated the story like an ongoing news event rather than just coming back and gathering tape." The network applied the same technique to later stories, including the Tiananmen Square uprising in China and the fall of the Berlin Wall, preparing the ground for full-scale reporting on the Persian Gulf War. Simon told Col-

lins, "The coverage of the Gulf War did not happen in a void. It came out of a network that was established, a mind-set that we had come into."

The network fielded some of its top reporters during the 1991 war, including Deborah Amos, Deborah Wang, Scott Simon, John Hockenberry, John Ydstie, and Neal Conan. Conan was among a group of correspondents who were captured and held for several days by Iraqi forces. Their reporting on the war and its aftermath—the oil-field environmental disaster in Kuwait and the Kurdish refugee crisis in northern Iraq—showed that NPR could compete with the television networks and with 24-hour cable news. It was a pattern that would be repeated throughout the decade in places such as Ethiopia, Bosnia, and Kosovo. The network's round-the-clock coverage of the war strengthened NPR's weekend programs and led to the creation of a nationwide call-in show, *Talk of the Nation*.

NPR was also establishing itself as a strong source of political news, with coverage of the presidential campaigns and political conventions. The network's top political correspondents included Linda Wertheimer, Cokie Roberts, Mara Liasson, Brian Naylor, Elizabeth Arnold, and Peter Kenyon. NPR's legal affairs correspondent, Nina Totenberg, enhanced the network's reputation with her coverage of the Supreme Court. In 1987 Totenberg broke the story that Supreme Court nominee Douglas Ginsburg had smoked marijuana while he was a professor at Harvard Law School in the 1970s. The story led to Ginsburg's withdrawal. In 1991 Totenberg reported Anita Hill's allegations of sexual harassment against another Supreme Court nominee, Clarence Thomas. Both stories put NPR squarely in the media spotlight.

Expansion

By the time it celebrated its 20th anniversary in 1991, NPR had grown to nearly 400 member stations nationwide. When Doug Bennet stepped down as president in 1993, the network had begun extending its reach around the world, with the establishment of an international service, beamed by satellite to Europe through the World Radio network in London. Over the next five years, that network evolved into NPR Worldwide, reaching more than 50 countries and territories, from Antarctica to Finland.

NPR's new president, Delano Lewis, oversaw the establishment of the NPR Foundation, designed to help insulate the network against financial crises like the one that had nearly destroyed it ten years earlier. Lewis, the first African-American to head the network, was a former telephone company executive with broad connections to the business and political communities in Washington. He expanded the network's fundraising base and strengthened relations with the member stations. In 1994 the network moved into its own building, at 635

Massachusetts Avenue in Washington, D.C. The move allowed NPR to bring all its news, production, and administrative operations under one roof and provided state-of-the-art facilities for production.

The expansion of production facilities came as NPR was returning to the creation of sound-rich, highly textured documentaries. In 1992 the network had begun *Radio Expeditions* as a joint venture with the National Geographic Society. In 1994 it premiered the 26-part series *Wade in the Water: African-American Sacred Music Traditions*.

NPR also began exploring the possibilities of the internet. The network launched its website in 1994, and the following year it teamed with the Progressive network, using RealAudio technology that allows users to hear prerecorded audio files of the programs on-line.

After a long struggle, *All Things Considered* moved to capture a bigger segment of the national drive-time audience by advancing its East Coast start time to 4:00 P.M. and expanding from 90 minutes to two hours. Although not as rigidly segmented as *Morning Edition*, the new *All Things Considered* format provided more fixed points at which member stations could insert local programming. Two years later, in 1997, *Morning Edition* also stretched its airtime, moving to a 5:00 A.M. start.

The network expanded its own programming and its program distribution in the late 1990s. NPR's *Performance Today* grew from five to seven days a week in 1996. The following year, the network introduced *Sounds Like Science* and began distributing more programs produced by member stations, including the talk shows the *Diane Rehm Show* and *Public Interest* and the sports program *Only a Game*. In 1998 NPR premiered its cross-country news quiz *Wait, Wait . . . Don't Tell Me* and a short-lived music and popular culture program, *Anthem*.

The network expanded its presence on the worldwide web in 1998, making an agreement with Yahoo!, the internet media company, to provide selected audio content to *Yahoo! News*. When new president Kevin Klose took over in 1999, the company was entering an agreement with Minnesota Public Radio to create an on-line network supplying interactive news, information, arts, and entertainment.

Klose, a former head of the government's Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe, says he wants to bring NPR to its fulfillment as a major player in the world of news and information. He is pressing to move the network into new technologies, including satellite radio, which would allow NPR to provide some programming directly to its listeners for the first time ever, without going through its member stations. Klose says a major challenge for NPR's future will be how to become a multimedia enterprise without compromising its values.

Former President Doug Bennet sees other challenges, including the danger of commercialization at NPR, in which

underwriting credits come to sound more and more like advertising. "I think it's a terrible mistake," he says, "to give up the niche of a non-advertising entity to compete ineffectively for advertising." Kevin Klose says he wants to make sure that NPR's "content is not penetrated by commerce."

Governance and Funding

Unlike most commercial networks, NPR does not own or operate any of its member stations. The private, nonprofit corporation is a membership organization, a structure that Klose says is "at the heart of its dynamism." It is governed by a 17-member board composed of the NPR president, ten station managers elected by the membership, and six public members chosen by the board and confirmed by the member stations. The member stations are autonomous entities, most often licensed to colleges and universities or community groups. In exchange for their dues and program-licensing fees, NPR stations receive programming, professional training for staff members, help in promoting programs, and representation in Washington on issues affecting public broadcasting.

On average, member stations take about 27 percent of their programming from NPR. Local staff members produce about 48 percent of the station's program content, and another 25 percent comes from other public radio producers and distributors, such as Public Radio International.

More than 92 percent of the U.S. population now lives within reach of an NPR member station. The stations have a combined audience of some 19 million people, of whom more than 13 million listen to programming provided by the network.

The typical member station gets about a quarter of its funding from its listeners, soliciting donations with on-air and direct-mail appeals. Stations that are licensed to educational institutions generally get around 19 percent of their revenues from their colleges or universities. Corporate donors provide around 17 percent of station support, and about 14 percent comes from CPB. The remainder comes from foundations and other sources.

Although it was created with an infusion of federal money, NPR no longer receives any direct federal funding for general support. Slightly more than half of its funding comes from dues and program fees paid by the member stations. Most of the rest of its \$80 million budget is contributed by private foundations and corporations.

COREY FLINTOFF

See also All Things Considered; Car Talk; Edwards, Bob; Fresh Air; Keillor, Garrison; Mankiewicz, Frank; Morning Edition; National Association of Educational Broadcasters; Prairie Home Companion; Public Broadcasting Act; Public Radio

International; Public Radio Since 1967; Siemering, William; Simon, Scott; Stamberg, Susan; Star Wars; Totenberg, Nina; Wertheimer, Linda

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National Radio Systems Committee

Recommending New Technical Standards for Radio

A cooperative entity of the broadcast and consumer electronics industry, the National Radio Systems Committee (NRSC) recommends technical standards relating to radio broadcasting in the United States. It is particularly concerned with development of standards for both digital audio broadcasting and the radio broadcast data system. The NRSC was originally established in 1985 and initially investigated aspects of AM radio transmission. It has since taken on several other projects.

NRSC members are generally engineers, scientists, or technicians with in-depth knowledge of the subject being studied. They may be from companies, nonprofit organizations, or government entities. Anyone who has a business interest in the technology being investigated by the NRSC is welcome to join and participate. Meetings are held on an as-needed basis. Member organizations fund the participation of NRSC committee participants.

The NRSC receives information from a variety of sources—the companies interested in manufacturing new devices, the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) and other bodies that deal with worldwide standards, and the Federal Communications Commission (FCC). In turn, it monitors and assists with technical testing of proposed new systems.

The NRSC accomplishes its work by establishing subcommittees to focus discussion and development efforts. Two were active as the new century began—one concerning digital audio broadcasting (DAB) and the other concerning radio

broadcast data systems (RBDS, or simply RDS). In April 1998 the NRSC suspended activities of a third subcommittee (concerned with high-speed FM subcarriers) because the group had reached an impasse in its deliberations to develop a voluntary standard.

As recommendations emerge from the subcommittees, they are considered and voted upon by the full NRSC membership. These final agreements are in the form of recommendations to both industries (electronic media and consumer electronics) and to the FCC, which must issue any formal standards decisions.

The DAB subcommittee worked for several years to agree upon a final technical standard for in-band, on-channel ("IBOC") digital radio for the United States. The subcommittee also established working groups to compare and contrast two potential DAB systems (one developed by USA Digital Radio and the other by Lucent Digital Radio). By late 2002, there were two operating satellite-delivered digital radio services in the U.S., and the FCC had issued an NRSC-recommended standard for terrestrial digital radio service.

The RBDS subcommittee originally approved RBDS standards in 1993 and last revised and updated them in 1998. Largely based on the European system, the RBDS signal is a low-bit rate data stream transmitted on the 57-kilohertz subcarrier of an FM radio signal. Radio listeners know RBDS mostly through its ability to permit RBDS-equipped radio

receivers to display station call letters and search for stations based on their program format. In addition, special traffic announcements can be transmitted to RBDS radios as well as weather or other emergency alerts.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Digital Audio Broadcasting; Digital Satellite Radio; Radio Data System

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National Association of Broadcasters: The National Radio Systems Committee, <www.nab.org/SciTech/nrsc.asp>

National Religious Broadcasters

Trade Association

The National Religious Broadcasters (NRB) is a trade association of more than 1,200 Christian radio and television stations, most of which broadcast from an evangelical Protestant perspective. Full membership in the NRB is granted to those who meet financial accountability standards and sign a seven-point "Statement of Faith." The organization has grown from a small group of separatist broadcasters in the 1940s to a professionally staffed organization with both political and spiritual influence.

Origins

By the 1940s, radio airtime had become so valuable that commercial non-religious stations began placing preachers in Sunday morning time slots. Networks preferred to offer organized religious groups "sustaining," or free, airtime to meet government requirements for religious or public affairs programming. Time was offered to organizations representing Roman Catholics, Jews, and mainline Protestants through the Federal Council of Churches (later known as the National Council of Churches). However, evangelical churches, such as the Southern Baptists and the Assemblies of God, were not members of the mainline Protestant organization and were not allowed to share in the free air time.

Disgruntled evangelical broadcasters joined churches, parachurch ministries, and educators in the 1942 formation of the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE). Two years later the NAE chartered the formation of the National Religious Broadcasters to address more specifically the concerns of evangelical radio stations and programs. The NRB grew to become independent of the NAE, although the two groups remained affiliated until 2001, when the NRB voted to formally end the relationship after the NAE began accepting members who were part of the National Council of Churches. The National Association

of Evangelicals today represents over 50 denominations and 250 parachurch ministries.

The National Religious Broadcasters set up headquarters near Washington, D.C., since a major function of the organization was lobbying the Federal Communications Commission. The NRB also created a code of ethics for broadcast ministries and has provided legal advice to members. The group, however, was mostly unsuccessful in securing free broadcast time for evangelical ministries, so in the late 1940s members began to buy airtime and start their own Christian radio stations. The success of Billy Graham, Oral Roberts, Rex Humbard, and others led to an explosion of Christian programming in the 1960s and 1970s.

The NRB began holding its annual convention in Washington, D.C., in 1956, attempting to influence politicians and FCC commissioners. For more than 30 years, the annual D.C. meetings attracted thousands of increasingly vocal Christian communicators, who took credit for helping to elect born-again President Jimmy Carter and conservative Ronald Reagan (who addressed the NRB delegates). The NRB was also instrumental in influencing the government to redefine equal employment laws to allow Christian radio stations to use faith-based criteria when hiring new employees.

NRB Executive Director Ben Armstrong led the organization's growth from 1966 to 1989; over that period, the NRB quadrupled in size to include almost 100 syndicated television preachers and three major religious TV networks. The religious broadcasting audience grew from around 5 million in the mid-1960s to more than 25 million two decades later. The most successful radio member has been *Focus on the Family* with Dr. James Dobson, which started in 1977 and currently airs on more than 3,000 radio stations in 95 countries.

By the early 1980s, the NRB had become the spiritual and political voice for the estimated \$2 billion religious radio and

television industry, but the end of that decade saw a dramatic decline in the religious broadcasting industry. In 1987 former NRB member Jim Bakker, who hosted the daily *PTL Club*, resigned his radio and television ministry after it was revealed that his organization had been paying a woman to keep quiet about her sexual encounter with him. The following year brought more scandal and controversy: Oral Roberts was chastised by the media for stating that God would “call him home” if he did not raise \$8 million; Pat Robertson of the Christian Broadcasting Network briefly ran for president of the United States; and evangelist Jimmy Swaggart was accused of soliciting a prostitute. Nationally, Christian broadcasters experienced a dramatic decline in their audiences, and some lost up to three fourths of their contributions.

The NRB, accused of not properly monitoring the ethical standards of its members, responded to the crisis by strengthening financial accountability procedures and tightening membership requirements. By the 1990s, leader E. Brandt Gustavson moved the annual convention to other cities, trading the politically oriented meetings of Washington, D.C., for a more spiritual emphasis outside the beltway. By the end of the decade, religious broadcasters had stopped the decline in audience and contributions and saw a slow growth in the trust of those looking for spiritual programming. In 2002 the group ousted new president Wayne Pederson after only one month in office for his criticisms of members who were better known for their politics than their ministries. New leader Frank Wright attempted to keep NRB's spiritual focus while increasing its political influence, and President George W. Bush addressed the group's 2003 convention.

Today some major evangelical religious broadcasters are not members of the NRB because they wish to avoid the full financial disclosure required by the organization. Ministers who receive more than \$500,000 annually in donations must meet the strict standards of the Evangelical Council for Financial Accountability. Smaller ministries must still meet the NRB in-house standards, but denominational and church-sponsored broadcasters are exempt from the financial accountability requirements. Associate, non-voting memberships that do not require signing the NRB's “Statement of Faith” are available to secular organizations or mainline churches.

Religious Radio Today

“Sustaining” or free radio time is no longer given to the three major religious bodies, and mainline churches are generally unwilling to compete with the big dollars spent by evangelicals. But the current environment can be traced to the unwillingness of mainline churches to share their free time in the 1940s, forcing NRB members to buy airtime in order to get their gospel message over the airwaves. Some non-evangelical denominations are gradually budgeting for media time, and a network of Roman Catholic radio stations was started in the United States in 1999. Most Catholic broadcasters are not members of the NRB but are part of the Catholic Academy for Communication Arts Professionals.

With the fourth-largest format among commercial stations and a directory that lists over 1,600 radio stations playing religious programming at some point during the broadcast week, the National Religious Broadcasters has grown to become a significant political, economic, and spiritual organization for the evangelical Christians who use radio to spread their gospel.

STEPHEN M. WINZENBURG

See also Christian Contemporary Music Format; Evangelists/Evangelical Radio; Gospel Music Format; Jewish Radio Programs in the United States; Religion on Radio

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National Telecommunications and Information Administration

U.S. Telecommunications Policy Agency

The National Telecommunications and Information Administration (NTIA) is a Department of Commerce agency responsible for advising the Executive Branch on matters of domestic and international telecommunications and information policy. This includes managing federal government uses of the radio spectrum, which is used for wireless microwave or satellite-based broadcasting and telecommunications.

Background

The NTIA's role today carries the legacy of the Commerce Department's radio activity, which began in the early 1900s. The cabinet-level Department of Commerce and Labor was established on 14 February 1903. Because the earliest uses of radio were both commerce and navigation based, the Department of Commerce and Labor was involved with establishing radio standards, procedures, and equipment requirements in conjunction with national navigation, ship outfitting, and lighthouse communications. The April 1912 *Titanic* disaster highlighted the need for greater commercial, government, and amateur radio standardization and regulation procedures. These were included in the Radio Act of 1912, which required radio apparatus on all passenger steamers and established a system of allocating and assigning both frequencies and licenses to commercial, government, and amateur radio operators. These administrative duties fell primarily to the Commerce Department's Bureau of Navigation.

On 4 March 1913, ten years after the creation of the Department of Commerce and Labor, President Taft signed legislation dividing the unit into separate Labor and Commerce Departments. Increasingly, the Commerce Department was called upon for research and development of radio's commercial and defense applications, including "the investigation and standardization of methods and instruments employed in radio communication," which fell primarily to the Bureau of Standards. In 1916 it developed a radio laboratory—the predecessor of the current Institute of Telecommunication Services (ITS). The Commerce Department's early radio development efforts also extended to the general public. For example, the Bureau of Standards determined standards for homemade crystal detector sets and distributed instructions for constructing them in 1922.

The second secretary of commerce, Herbert Hoover, served from 1921 to 1929. Intent on harnessing the commercial power of radio advances, Hoover convened four national radio conferences to discuss how new radio technologies and capabilities should be regulated in light of increasingly diverse

and complex demand. In 1927 a new Radio Act created a Radio Division in the Department of Commerce and an independent Federal Radio Commission (FRC). The FRC relieved the Bureau of Navigation's licensing, frequency allocation and assignment, and transmitter power output regulation duties. Enforcement oversight and technical research duties fell to the Department of Commerce's Radio Division. With creation of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) in 1934, the Department of Commerce retained oversight of government radio spectrum allocation and technical research.

NTIA Origins

It was Executive Branch activity in the late 1960s and early 1970s, however—particularly in the Nixon administration—that resulted in the current configuration of the NTIA. An Office of Telecommunications Policy (OTP) was created within the Executive Office of the President in 1970. Under its first director, Dr. Clay Whitehead, OTP worked to coordinate federal agency concerns about telecommunication. (In one administrative response, the Federal Communications Commission formed its own Office of Plans and Policies to deal with longer-range studies, so as not to let OTP completely control that role.) OTP became involved in both electronic media questions as well as telephone industry concerns. After Nixon resigned from office in August 1974, OTP was guided by an acting director. When President Jimmy Carter took office in 1977, officials initiated a planning process to decide how to deal with OTP. Henry Geller, former FCC general counsel, headed up a team to assess what was needed and how best to accomplish that need. The result was to shift OTP out of the Executive Office of the President and to the Department of Commerce.

The NTIA was created in 1978 by merging the Executive Branch's Office of Technology Policy and the Department of Commerce's Office of Telecommunications. This merger was effected through Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1977 and Executive Order 12046 of 27 March 1978.

Responsibilities

The NTIA's radio-related policy, technical, research, and spectrum-management functions are overseen through five offices and three staff groups.

Domestically, the Office of Policy Analysis and Development (OPAD) develops policy recommendations for the Executive Branch regarding common-carrier, broadcast, cable, digital, radio spectrum, wireless, and information technologies. It

focuses on promoting universal, affordable radio, television, and telecommunications in the public and commercial sectors and works alongside the FCC. OPAD was instrumental in developing legislation and a computerized system for auctioning excess government radio spectrum for nongovernmental use. It also gathers data and makes recommendations to encourage minority radio and television station ownership through its Minority Telecommunications Development Program. The Office of Telecommunication and Information Applications undertakes funding for new technology demonstration projects, with a specific focus on underserved public-sector areas.

The Office of Spectrum Management (OSM) oversees planning and policy strategy and implementation of federal government radio spectrum use in conjunction with its advisory Interdepartmental Radio Advisory Committee. This includes spectrum for federal government radio transmitters such as those used by the Department of Defense, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), the National Park Service, airport communication, and public safety and emergency services. The OSM also offers technical and policy courses to interested international parties on spectrum makeup and management. The OSM deals specifically with federal government radio spectrum use, whereas the FCC deals with nongovernmental uses of spectrum; the two coordinate their activities closely.

Government spectrum applications overseen by the NTIA include defense; Voice of America facilities; radar and voice communications necessary for weather radio and flood warning services, commercial and pleasure aeronautical and maritime traffic, and weather satellite systems; and floodwater management systems and time signals. Government spectrum ranges throughout the 0- to 300-gigahertz range; at this writing, the government has more than a quarter million assignments: 43 percent for defense, 19 percent for resource management, 18 percent for public safety, 13 percent for transportation, and 8 percent for other purposes.

The Office of International Affairs provides policy and technical counsel regarding international radio frequency spectrum allocation, the Global Information Infrastructure initiative, and other issues of legal and technical standards to advance U.S. commercial interests. In this capacity, it works closely with the State Department and with such international bodies as the International Telecommunication Union, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development,

the World Trade Organization, the International Telecommunications Satellite Organization, the International Mobile Satellite Organization, the Organization of American States Inter-American Telecommunications Commission, the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation Telecommunications Working Group, and the Southern African Regional Telecommunications Restructuring Program.

ITS undertakes engineering research for the NTIA. From its laboratory in Boulder, Colorado, ITS generates knowledge about domestic and international infrastructure development and enhancement, more effective use of radio spectrum, and resolving various technical concerns of federal, state, and local governments and of commercial and nonprofit industries and organizations. The Federal Technology Transfer Act of 1986 is the legal basis for any of these activities that require sharing government facilities or resources, including radio spectrum.

NTIA is a relatively small agency—about 300 people, compared to the FCC's 2,000 or more. The former concentrates on mid- and long-range policy, while the latter focuses on day-to-day licensing and related decisions. They must and do work closely together on spectrum matters. In its near quarter-century of operation, NTIA has waxed and waned in importance, often depending on the political trends and personalities of the times. Although Critics have claimed NTIA should stand for "not terribly important agency," the NTIA has performed significant duties related to radio and radio spectrum management.

SOUSAN ARAFEH

See also Federal Communications Commission; Frequency Allocation; Hoover, Herbert; World Radiocommunication Conference

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Native American Radio

Native Owned and Operated Stations

Native American radio is perceived as a way to help retain the languages and traditions of the tribes as well as a method for communicating to Native Americans who speak a Native tongue exclusively. Many older Native Americans use English as a second language, if they use it at all, and are unserved by “Anglo” broadcasting stations. Native-operated stations are also seen as potential tools to help combat the negative images and false impressions of Native Americans often prevalent in mainstream society.

Origins

Hundreds of years of exploitation and oppression by non-Native Americans, mainly whites, served as the primary impetus behind the establishment of Native-controlled broadcast media. In the 1960s Native Americans resoundingly rejected the paternal rule of the “Great White Father” in Washington in favor of playing a greater role in their own affairs and destiny. In the eyes of many, an historic Native American action at Alcatraz in 1969 was another catalyst for the creation of Native-controlled radio outlets in the United States. Dozens of statements (by those occupying the island in San Francisco Bay) concerning the plight of Natives were broadcast via Pacifica’s KPFA-FM. The station loaned the Native Americans on the island a Marti transmitter to relay their messages to its studios in Berkeley, which it then broadcast live. Radio Free Alcatraz, as it was called, focused on the impoverished state of Native American affairs, demanding that attention be paid to Native American health, education, and cultural issues. From the perspective of those who occupied the tiny island, radio was the medium whereby the truth could be conveyed. It could leap barriers and roadblocks and reach the ears and hearts of the public.

The Red Power Movement was born against a backdrop of civil unrest stemming from a call by African-Americans and other minorities for equal rights. Out of this crusade came the American Indian Movement (AIM) in the late 1960s. Driving AIM was the restoration of Native pride and identity through the preservation of Native American culture and language. AIM’s primary function was to call attention to the human rights violations against Native Americans and to ensure that the Native American culture would not be exterminated. AIM’s seizure of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, in 1973, and its use of the media to dramatize the situation, raised Native awareness of the potency of electronic media, which were an integral part of the organization’s strategy to expose to the world what it perceived as gross injustices against its people.

This particular incident would be a key factor in the development of Native-controlled and operated broadcast stations.

Ray Cook, executive director of what was formerly the Indigenous Communications Association in the early 1990s, holds that AIM helped plant the seed that led to the creation of Native electronic media. In interviews with the author of this entry, he also cites the 1934 Native American Restoration Act as providing the initial interest among Native Americans in the potential use of radio to achieve a voice of their own. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1965 also helped set the stage for the creation of tribally licensed radio stations, since it permitted Native American organizations and tribes to work independent of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) while developing social, economic, and educational agendas.

The construction of the first Native-owned radio stations began in 1971 at the height of the Native American rights movement and today number over two dozen. With but one exception (CKON on the border of Canada and New York state) all Native American broadcast facilities operate under the auspices of the Federal Communications Commission. Tribal governments or local school boards typically are the principal licensees. KILI-FM in Porcupine, South Dakota, is, however, licensed to a corporation.

Patterns of Operation

Support for Native-operated stations comes from a variety of sources, chief among them the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and the National Telecommunications and Information Administration (NTIA). While the former was instrumental in launching the now defunct Indigenous Communications Association, NTIA breathed life into several Native broadcast projects through its Public Telecommunications Program. Of the 28 (figure varies due to frequent start-ups and occasional shut-downs) Native stations in the United States, only four are commercially licensed. As such they have little to do with the funding sources so vital to the existence of their broadcast brethren. The public broadcasting initiatives of the 1970s and 1980s (which made funds widely available for Native radio projects), coupled with the lack of a sufficient economic base for advertiser-supported stations in most Indigenous communities, has resulted in a predominantly noncommercial medium.

The majority of Native stations broadcast west of the Mississippi, while Alaska and New Mexico boast the largest number of Indigenous outlets. All but three Native stations have ethnically diverse or mixed staffs, while KDLG, KABR, and KCIE limit their hiring to Native Americans exclusively. However, at

this writing, only four have staffs that are less than 50 percent Native American. Most Native stations serve rural audiences with a mixture of diverse and often eclectic programming. Music is the primary programming ingredient with a host of genres, among them country, rock, jazz, and rap. Most Native stations air traditional tribal music and language programs and receive additional programming in English and Native American from American Indian Radio on Satellite (AIROS).

The future of Native American radio appears at once both bright and uncertain at the start of the new millennium. Although the continuation of government funding remains in question, the Indigenous broadcasting community is building (and plans to build) dozens of additional radio stations on reservations throughout the country, especially in the midwest and Alaska.

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See also Australian Aboriginal Radio; Canadian Radio and Multiculturalism; Stereotypes on Radio

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Netherlands

Birthplace of Broadcasting in Europe

Radio in the Netherlands began in November 1919 when an engineer named Idzerda broadcast from the Hague laboratory of his company, the Netherlands Radio Industry. He paid for the broadcast himself and with funds he raised through on-air appeals to listeners throughout Western Europe. For several years thereafter, new broadcast services proliferated, causing the minister of public works to require joint franchise applications from current and would-be broadcasters. Idzerda was almost bankrupt, and the only company to obtain government permission to lease airtime to organizations was the Netherlands Transmitter Industry. The first to do so was the Netherlands Christian Radio Association in 1924. By 1928 there were four others: Workers Radio Amateurs Association (1925), Catholic Radio Broadcasting Foundation (1925), Liberal Protestant Radio Broadcasting Association (1926), and General Radio Broadcasting Association (1928). These five services (networks) had to share time on two transmitters.

The government's position was not to operate broadcast services but to require the diverse organizations that did operate such services to air a broad range of programming for all Dutch citizens. Given the biases of the five organizations, as indicated by their names, it is understandable that a great deal of bickering and politicking went on about how each should meet its government mandate. Each organization was responsible for funding its own operations. Most did this with listener

donations and funding from parent organizations (e.g., the Catholic Radio Broadcasting Foundation received support from the Catholic Church). There were no license fees, a common funding practice in other European countries. Although there was a small amount of advertising early on, all on-air advertising ceased by 1935.

The influence of religion on Dutch society is significant, even though almost half of the Dutch population is not affiliated with any organized religion. The principal religions are Roman Catholicism, Liberal Protestantism, and Calvinism, although there are many others. The central role of these three dominant religions, along with the influence of political parties, is referred to as the "pillar" concept, with each organization serving as a pillar that supports the nation's structure.

Nazi Germany occupied the Netherlands from 1940 to 1945, during which time it controlled all broadcasting facilities and instituted a license fee, which the postwar government retained. In 1947 the five prewar organizations agreed to pool resources and form the Netherlands Radio Union (NRU). Each organization retained its autonomy but worked cooperatively with the others under the jurisdiction of the minister of education, arts, and sciences.

Experiments with television in the Netherlands began prior to World War II, ceased during the Nazi occupation, and began again in 1948. The NRU organizations agreed to finance tele-

vision from their radio revenues and from regular television service in 1951. License fees for television-set ownership were established, and television grew, creating changes in radio similar to those occurring in the United States.

Dutch society became very liberal in the 1960s, and popular music (e.g., the Beatles, the Who) spawned a proliferation of illegal (unlicensed) pirate radio stations that aired primarily rock and roll music. These stations became so rampant that the Dutch military was called in to take them off the air. All this illegal broadcasting resulted in the Dutch Parliament's giving consideration to a new form of broadcasting system that might eliminate the pillar organizations. The Broadcasting Act of 1967 retained the pillars but allowed additional groups to apply for airtime. It also created the Netherlands Broadcasting Foundation, which combined the functions of the old NRU and the Netherlands Television Foundation, the overseer for Dutch television.

Two more broadcasting organizations were created in the early 1970s: the Evangelical Organization (EO) and the Veronica Omroep Organisatie (VOO). The EO was similar to the traditional pillars, whereas VOO grew out of an outlawed pirate radio station.

Another law, the Media Act of 1987, provided for independent local radio stations to transmit at low power via cable systems and set up a regional radio system. The government maintained its involvement in regulating broadcasting. Since then, however, it has been reluctant to get involved in program matters, beyond occasional warnings.

Today, radio at the national level is facing a loss of listeners to the popular formats of local, regional, and some foreign stations delivered via satellite such as U.K.-based Sky Radio. At the national level, there are now 5 public service radio channels (Hilversum 1-5), 10 domestic commercial channels that play mostly music, and 6 commercial imported services. The regional stations include 13 public and 6 commercial radio services. There are also 356 local radio stations.

Programming on the national public service radio channels includes news and music, but each channel has a particular focus. Hilversum 1 is family oriented in addition to carrying a lot of sports. Hilversum 2 provides light entertainment and discussion shows. Hilversum 3 airs primarily popular music and commands the largest audience share (up to 15 percent). Hilversum 4 broadcasts primarily classical music and is similar to the Third Programme services in England and Germany. Hilversum 5 provides programming in several languages for cul-

tural and ethnic minorities (e.g., Turkish, Arabic, Chinese, etc.). All five are disparaged for their formality by younger listeners, most of whom prefer the commercial channels.

Most commercial competition at the national level comes from foreign pop music satellite channels (e.g., Sky Radio, Kink-FM, Radio 10 Gold) and domestic music satellite channels (e.g., Jazzradio, Radio 21, Concertradio). Similar competition occurs between public service and commercial stations at the regional level. Most local stations operate at low power with volunteer staffs and limited revenue. Many provide information and music programming for narrowly targeted local audiences.

New developments in technology and politics, including the European Union, have steered the Dutch toward a dual system combining its well-established public service radio system with a more recent but growing commercial business. The public service has a bright future, because both politicians and pillars are cooperating in cautiously adopting new technology. Thus, radio in the Netherlands, which has provided an unusual diversity of original programming for such a small country, is likely to continue to do so.

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Network Monopoly Probe

Landmark Policy Decision

Under pressure from many political figures and a fledgling network having trouble competing, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) launched an investigation of potential radio network monopoly practices early in 1938. The probe lasted until 1941 and became the subject of a landmark Supreme Court case.

Origins

The radio industry had already been the subject of one investigation into possible monopoly practices. On the order of the House of Representatives, in 1923 the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) had examined the radio manufacturing industry's patent sharing and marketing agreements and determined they amounted to an illegal cartel.

The national radio broadcasting networks began operation as the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) in 1926 and the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) in 1927; the Mutual Broadcasting System (MBS) had initiated its very different approach in 1934. But very quickly it became apparent the newest network was having a hard time breaking into major radio markets already served by affiliates of the existing networks. Making competition harder, NBC in the 1930s operated a "Red" and "Blue" network that gave it two affiliate stations in larger markets. Between the two of them, sometimes in "competitive cooperation" with a CBS affiliate, these powerful network-affiliated stations could lower prices to the point that a potential newcomer could not break even. By the late 1930s the pattern of network dominance was hard to miss.

Of the 49 most powerful stations (the 50,000-watt clear channel outlets) in the United States, 21 were affiliated with NBC Red, 20 were affiliated with CBS, 6 were affiliated with NBC Blue, and only 2 had signed with Mutual. On the other hand, of the least desirable (lowest-powered) stations, Mutual led the pack with 111 affiliates, followed by 44 on NBC Blue, 34 connected to NBC Red, and only 18 affiliated with CBS. Of the nearly 200 Mutual stations in 1942, 26 in important cities had contracts with another network which had first call on their best hours. Examined another way, NBC and CBS controlled more than 85 percent of total broadcasting nighttime wattage.

To network critics the problem went even deeper. Networks totally dominated their affiliates. Contracts favored the networks at every turn because it was obvious that network affiliation was vital to true financial success in the radio business. Networks were tied to their stations for only a year while stations were often contracted for three to five years. Networks

could "option" chunks of affiliate time for network programs. Networks dictated many operational aspects of their supposedly independently owned affiliate stations.

CBS and NBC made a major blunder as the FCC proceedings got under way. The baseball World Series had been carried on all four networks from 1935 to 1938. In 1939 a new sponsor (Gillette) paid the baseball leagues for the rights to broadcast the series exclusively over Mutual. To better distribute the series nationwide, Mutual entered into temporary affiliation agreements with several NBC and CBS affiliates in communities with no regular MBS affiliate in order to permit the stations to broadcast the games. NBC and CBS informed their wayward affiliates that they would not be released from their contractual obligation to run their regular network programming while the games were being played even though in some cases the requested program preemptions amounted to little more than an hour of the daytime schedule. Although a few stations defied their networks and carried the series games anyway, most capitulated. The same drama played out the following year, when Mutual again got exclusive rights to broadcast the series and signed up a large temporary network, only to lose much of it under threats from NBC and CBS.

FCC Decision

After extensive 1938–39 hearings and an initial staff report in 1940, the FCC issued its final chain (network) broadcasting report in May 1941, a 153-page analysis that reviewed past network development and practices. The commission found that NBC and CBS were engaged in a number of anti-competitive practices, and it issued new rules to curtail these practices. The report was one thing; its conclusions and proposed order for rule changes was quite another.

In its most controversial finding, the commission concluded (in the seventh of its eight rule changes) that NBC would have to sell one of its two networks. As the FCC had no direct regulatory role over networks, the wording of the proposed rule was clever: "No license shall be granted to a standard broadcast [AM] station affiliated with a network organization which maintains more than one network." As the FCC licensed all broadcast stations, network structure could be controlled in this indirect fashion. The order made clear the rule would not be applied if the networks were not operated simultaneously or if there was no overlap in the areas served by the network (such as the many operating regional networks).

Using the same approach, the commission further decreed that stations could not be forced to sign exclusive network

contracts that forbade them from preempting network programming. Licensees, the commission continued, had the absolute right to accept or reject network programs on a show-by-show basis. Contracts could only bind networks and stations for the same period of time. The effect of the rule changes was to increase the power of the licensee over what it broadcast. Given that the FCC held licensees responsible for what they put over the air, this made eminent sense to the commissioners.

Aftermath

Infuriated and concerned, however, both NBC and CBS mounted a strong attack on the chain broadcasting order. Amidst considerable publicity and press releases, they sued the FCC while also persuading sympathetic members of Congress to investigate the agency. In the end both the commission and its new network regulations emerged largely intact.

The networks' lawsuit was eventually (January 1942) dismissed by the Federal District Court for the Southern District of New York, the judge arguing that the court had no jurisdiction. At nearly the same time, however, the U.S. Justice Department brought an antitrust suit against the networks, using the FCC report and data as support. In June 1942 the Supreme Court agreed to review the FCC rules. On 10 May 1943, by a vote of 5 to 2, the court held in favor of the commission, concluding that the rules in no way violated the First Amendment rights of the networks. The court noted the World Series fiasco, commenting that "restraints having this effect are to be condemned as contrary to the public interest irrespective of whether it be assumed that Mutual programs are of equal, superior, or inferior quality." Following the decision, NBC sold its Blue network in 1943, which in 1945 was renamed the American Broadcasting Company (ABC).

The FCC did have to suffer through months of intense congressional scrutiny, in part for the network rules, but also for congressional dislike of activist FCC chairman James Lawrence Fly. The U.S. Senate held hearings on the network rules before which both the CBS and NBC leadership testified. A bit later Representative Eugene E. Cox (Democrat-Georgia) undertook an 18-month investigation of all aspects of the FCC that led to a number of published hearings but little real change. The pressure of all these investigations on the commission, however, clearly took its toll on the personnel and on other regulatory activities.

The chain broadcasting proceeding was only the first of three FCC probes of the networks, although the later investigations (1955-57 and 1978-81) focused almost entirely on television. The 1957 report did include one chapter reviewing radio networks, but noted their decline in the face of television expansion, and thus proposed no further action. Some FCC rules limiting television networks continued for decades, but most were abandoned by the 1990s. The commission had qui-

etly dropped virtually all of its radio chain broadcasting rules decades earlier. The decline of radio networks had made them unnecessary.

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See also Columbia Broadcasting System; Federal Communications Commission; Mutual Broadcasting System; National Broadcasting Company; United States Congress and Radio; United States Supreme Court and Radio

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New Zealand

An early adopter of radio technology, New Zealand saw considerable variation in its radio system over the years, thanks to both political changes and social pressure. For decades the system was dominated by a state-controlled network of stations.

Origins

New Zealand stations began transmitting in the early 1920s, and by 1925 there was at least one service in all the major population centers. In 1926 the state began a process that would lead to politics and politicians dominating radio for more than 60 years. That year, the government established the Radio Broadcasting Company (RBC) to provide a national broadcasting service. Its revenue came from a licensing fee paid annually by every owner of a radio receiver. Existing stations not absorbed by the new company were permitted to continue broadcasting, but with heavy restrictions. They became known as "B" stations, in contrast to the RBC's "A" stations.

During these early years, in deference to newspaper proprietors, advertising was prohibited on radio. The state not only controlled the allocation of transmission frequencies but also licensed the right to receive. There was also an informal set of conditions in place based on broadcasters' knowledge that the government frowned upon any form of vulgarity, controversial political or social topics, and direct or indirect criticism of the state. Significant visitors to New Zealand in the early days of broadcasting, including philosopher Krishnamurti and the Canadian politician Major Douglas, were prohibited from broadcasting.

However, the peculiar shape of radio broadcasting in New Zealand was forged in the 1930s. In 1932 the RBC was replaced by a direct government agency, the New Zealand Broadcasting Board. The board's stations were conservative, and many listeners preferred the more lively and still independent B stations, although these stations were subject to strict government inspection and had no rights to generate revenue from commercial activities. Many of them were able to stay on the air only because they were subsidiary activities of radio and record retailers or were sustained by voluntary work and donations.

The first "personalities" in New Zealand radio were on the B stations. One, a Methodist minister, Colin Scrimgeour, used his religious program to attack the Depression policies of the government, which, in turn, tried to prevent his broadcasting by jamming the station's frequency.

State Control

Ironically, the election in 1935 of the socialist Labour Party to government saw the end of the B stations that had helped Labour to victory. The New Zealand Broadcasting Service (NZBS) was established as a department of state, and it immediately absorbed or closed down all remaining independent radio stations, establishing direct state control of all broadcasting.

Negative experiences with the nation's overwhelmingly conservative newspapers encouraged the government to create something unique in the world of broadcasting: a state-owned commercial radio organization. In 1937 the NZBS was split into two divisions, with the A stations remaining noncommercial and somewhat elitist and the B stations forming a popular state-run commercial radio division. The combination of advertising revenue and annual receiver license fees made broadcasting a significant income generator for the government. Broadcasting also became the country's most significant patron of the arts, publishing the country's leading journal of culture, operating the only symphony orchestra, and providing valuable employment for New Zealanders with creative ability.

Postwar Change

A change of government in 1960 saw the first of many attempts to reduce the role of government in broadcasting. Given responsibility for the development of a television service, the NZBS was changed from a state department to a public corporation, although radio remained much as it had been, with bureaucrats remaining in control. The only significant change was the development of a local radio news service, some 40 years after radio began!

However, changes in social taste were not being reflected in radio, and there was strong resistance to the popular music of the 1960s and to other "foreign" influences. This led to the launch in 1967 of a "pirate" radio ship broadcasting from international waters. The success of the pirate Radio Hauraki in capturing the younger radio audience began a process of change that eventually led to the licensing of private radio stations and a reduction of state influence and control.

These changes were not without resistance. During the 1970s there was a rash of legislative changes to broadcasting structures, as first one government and then another tried to maintain control of the airwaves. It was a period of change and tension between broadcasters and politicians. New broadcasting legislation appeared almost annually. Gradually, however, the influence of state broadcasting waned.

Over these years, the number of private radio broadcasters rose steadily, from three in 1972, to nine by 1976, and 22 by 1984.

Modern Radio

Then a new government ushered in a period of radical change. In 1988 New Zealand radio broadcasting was completely deregulated. Frequencies were auctioned, and frequency owners were given trading rights. Deregulation led to a dramatic increase in the number of radio stations, up from 69 in 1988 to 164 in 1993, to nearly 300 in 1999, serving a population of less than 3.5 million.

The government sold its commercial radio stations to a consortium of overseas broadcasters in 1994. In 2000 commercial radio in New Zealand consisted of three major ownership groups and a large number of small private operators. However, by 2002 consolidation had reduced the major groups to just two, both controlled by overseas interests. Other radio included two public radio networks, 25 stations dedicated to the indigenous Maori language, and 11 community-access radio stations wholly or partially funded by the state.

At the beginning of the century New Zealand's unique and intense relationship with radio is reflected in a number of facts, not the least of which are the large number of radio stations servicing a relatively small population (arguably the greatest number of stations per capita in the world), the time spent listening to radio (with youth time-spent-listening bucking the worldwide trend and actually increasing), and the consequent

amount of revenue generated (at times rising close to 14 per cent of the total national advertising expenditure).

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News

News did not become a regular feature of radio programming until the early 1930s, although some stations offered occasional news programs as early as the late 1920s. Radio news remains a fundamental albeit reduced segment in the program schedule of most radio stations today. For many stations, the genre of "news" has been redefined to include entertainment information as well as hard news. The style of writing and announcing radio news in its early years differs significantly from the writing and announcing style that is now known as broadcast journalism.

Origins (1920-35)

Radio news in the early 1920s was essentially an oral version of national newspaper news. Radio broadcasters took to reading newspaper stories on the air because newspapers were the main source of news and because many radio stations were owned by newspaper companies. In addition, some big-city stations initiated the practice of interrupting regular programming to carry election results or other breaking news events. Radio news reports were a relatively small part of the overall program

content for most stations, which followed an “all things to all people” programming strategy by broadcasting a variety of programs, primarily music and variety and various forms of talk, only slowly including regularly-scheduled newscasts.

At first, there were no daily newscasts. Newspaper-owned stations provided sporadic news bulletins as teasers to increase newspaper sales. At other stations, hosts read news as a filler, often without identifying the source of information. A few major-market stations broadcast once-a-week commentaries on current news events, such as those aired in New York by H.V. Kaltenborn, an assistant editor of the *Brooklyn Eagle* newspaper. A few stations carried news of shipwrecks (early operators were required to tune marine emergency bands) or special news events. For example, in 1925 the infamous Scopes “monkey” trial in Tennessee was covered using long-distance telephone lines by WGN radio in Chicago.

With the advent of national network programming, radio newscasts slowly became a feature of the evening schedule. Gathering information primarily from press association newswires, radio networks distributed national news to their affiliate stations through phone lines. However, regular network news did not begin until a 15-minute newscast was inaugurated by NBC’s Lowell Thomas in 1930. Two years later, the Lindbergh baby kidnapping became a major network news event, for which networks often preempted their regular schedules.

By this time, however, a number of newspapers, fearing radio’s growing competition, began to impose limits on radio use of their stories, as well as those supplied by the newspaper-controlled wire services, the Associated Press (AP) United Press (UP), and the International News Service (INS). In response, CBS formed its own newsgathering organization in 1933 by putting together a nationwide corps of correspondents made up primarily of freelance “stringers.” Both NBC and CBS used newly founded independent news services such as Transradio to assist in gathering news during the press embargo.

Eventually realizing that radio stations would continue to find a way to gather and deliver news, newspaper owners proposed a compromise in 1933 called the Biltmore Agreement, after the New York City hotel where it was hammered out. According to the terms of the agreement, CBS was to halt its own newsgathering and both CBS and NBC were to restrict their newscasts to two 5-minute news summaries obtained from a newly created Press-Radio bureau. The news summaries were to be aired only after morning or evening newspapers had been published. And radio reporters were limited to providing background information as opposed to detailed news.

However, the Biltmore Agreement was hardly effective. Only a third of radio stations—the network affiliate stations—were bound by it. In addition, the agreement had loopholes that radio stations took advantage of by offering news “commentaries,” which the agreement allowed.

Realizing the ineffectiveness of the Biltmore Agreement, two newswire services—UP and INS—broke the news embargo in 1935. Finally, in 1940, AP agreed once again to sell its news services to radio, thus effectively ending the black-out. Re-establishment of radio news wire services coupled with network and local stations’ own newsgathering resources provided the necessary preconditions for placing news firmly in the broadcast program schedule.

Golden Age (1935–50)

By the late 1930s, news had become an expected function of radio and it constituted an average of more than ten percent of the radio programming. Individual stations broadcast news that varied in length and depth. Local news gained greater prominence in the average station’s program schedule, though it often amounted to just the headlines. By 1938 many radio stations were subscribing to more than one news wire service, and the services were carrying information written especially for radio delivery as opposed to newspaper publication. Several news wire services allowed their news to be sponsored during radio newscasts. Network news reporting was expanded as political crises in Europe and the Pacific deepened. Yet both NBC and CBS also covered many world-wide sporting events and human interest stories in addition to the often grim news of the day.

In 1937 one of the most dramatic news reports ever broadcast was on WLS in Chicago the morning after the German airship *Hindenburg* burned at Lakehurst, New Jersey. Reporter Herb Morrison had intended to record his report on the flight of this airship for archival purposes, but the networks viewed the disaster and Morrison’s memorable eyewitness account as so significant that they aired portions of it despite policies allowing only live broadcasts.

Events leading to World War II proved a catalyst for radio news because of a growing public desire for the latest information. To meet the increasing demand for news from abroad, NBC developed a European news operation in 1937, which ushered in a new kind of news reporting that included on-the-spot reports and interviews, commentaries, and actual sounds of people and events being covered “in the field.” Both NBC and CBS established foreign news bureaus and developed their first live overseas news reports, which were relayed by short-wave radio to New York City and then by telephone lines to affiliate stations.

CBS expanded news coverage to a half-hour segment for the first time with its *Foreign News Roundup*, which focused on the 1938 German occupation of Austria. *Roundup* originated from key European cities including London, Paris, Rome, Berlin, and Vienna. Reporters in these cities would stand by microphones recounting and assessing events of the day. They could also hear and react to their colleagues’ reports.

Roundup was anchored by Edward R. Murrow in London. Murrow and CBS are largely credited with helping radio to mature into a full-fledged news medium. One notable legacy of Murrow and his team would prove to be the development of “broadcast journalism” as a distinctive syntax of writing and reporting news—conversational and brief writing that incorporates sound from the field, or *actualities*, into the news story. Murrow’s actualities often included exploding bombs and screaming sirens.

Some war correspondents were limited to recording their reports before airtime because of government restrictions. But most reporters managed to broadcast their reports live, proving over time that they could do so without breaching military secrets. CBS introduced the term “news analyst” as a replacement for the term “commentator” specifically to avoid the impression that its radio news improperly shaped public opinion.

While the BBC and other European services widely reported the expanding war after 1939, entry of the United States into the war in late 1941 dramatically increased American radio news reporting. From 1940 to 1944, scheduled network news increased by more than 50 percent. By 1944, NBC-Red was offering 1,726 hours of news annually, while CBS was a close second with 1,497 hours. Despite a postwar decline in overall news hours, news still occupied more than 12 percent of network evening airtime.

Improving technology, such as portable recorders and smaller transmitters, provided the means for such dramatic broadcasts as Edward R. Murrow’s recording of a bomber’s run over Germany, George Hicks’ live coverage of the June 1944 D-Day landings in Normandy, and pick-ups of news from distant Pacific island battlefields. Listeners heard the war begin by radio in 1939 (or in the U.S. on an otherwise quiet Sunday in December 1941)—and heard world leaders announce the end of the war in Europe in May 1945 and in the Pacific just three months later. Millions tuned to the Japanese surrender as it was broadcast from the deck of the battleship *Missouri* in Tokyo Bay in September 1945. And radio carried the resulting celebrations in cities around the world.

Adjustment (1950–70)

Despite the growing diffusion of television into American households in the late 1940s and into the 1950s, radio networks continued providing an extensive schedule of news and commentary for years after World War II. Only after the mid-1950s did network news schedules begin to dip sharply, soon to decline to hourly summaries of top stories. News continued to be an important element of most local station schedules.

Networks attempted to redesign their radio news. Network executives decided that the five-minute news summaries supplied on the hour should now be delivered by experienced

reporters with recognizable names, rather than by staff announcers. In addition, the networks tried rolling out “variety news programs” that offered a greater emphasis on feature stories. In 1955, NBC began airing *Monitor*, a mixture of news, music, interviews, dramatic sketches, and sports. *Monitor* was hosted by Frank Blair and Hugh Downs; Gene Shalit did occasional film reviews. ABC began *New Sounds*, a week-day evening series patterned after *Monitor*. In 1960, CBS began *Dimension*, a series consisting of five-minute informational inserts on the half hour. For all the network’s efforts, however, their audience and network radio news continued to decline in the face of television’s increasing viewership.

As radio stations increasingly programmed according to some music format by the mid-1950s, news was made a part of the schedule. Only major-market stations provided more than a news headline service.

In the 1960s, news finally became its own radio format. KFAX in San Francisco adopted the first “All News” format in 1960 with each hour containing 25 minutes of hard news, updated throughout the day. The remaining minutes were filled with sports, business news, and feature stories. But KFAX failed after four months because of a lack of advertising support. The first commercially successful all-news radio station was founded by Gordon McLendon in 1961. McLendon took a rock-and-roll radio station in Tijuana, Mexico, changed its format to hard news, and targeted it at listeners in Los Angeles. News was recycled every half hour to coincide with the commuting times of drivers going into and out of Los Angeles. No reporters were used—just hard news from the newswires AP, UPI and the Los Angeles City News Service. In 1965, WINS in New York City became an all-news station and began airing the promotional advertisement that has now become standard to Westinghouse (Group W) news stations: “All news, all the time.” WINS used its own reporters and focused heavily on local news, as did KYW in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and other stations in cities large enough to support the expensive format.

Radio News Formats

Most aspects of modern radio news vary widely among stations, including the number, scheduling, and length of newscasts, the content of stories broadcast, and their order of presentation. Each of these, in turn, may depend on market size, station format, and any news policy of the owners, especially of multiple outlets. Overall, less news is offered on radio today than was the case a decade or two ago.

While some stations still retain regular newscasts, many music and all-talk outlets focus on feature material. Contemporary Hit Radio (CHR) and Adult Contemporary (AC) stations often still provide brief newscasts, for example; others, such as Country, Easy Listening, and Album-Oriented Rock (AOR),

more often run features or have eliminated news, reasoning that not every station in a multi-station market has to provide it. If stations affiliate with a network at all, it is most often to carry their brief national newscasts. Some networks are designed to serve up news to fit within specific radio formats.

Through the 1980s the typical pattern for small- and medium-market music stations was to offer five minutes of news on the hour, usually combining world, national, and local stories with a growing emphasis on the latter. World and national news is most often received as an audio feed from a network or syndicated satellite service or as text from the Associated Press, and may be recast to include a local angle.

On stations still offering news, newscasts range from a minute of headlines to three or four minutes long. Most “stories” are now limited to a sentence or two totaling 10 to 20 seconds—a 60 second story would be very unusual. Stories may contain a sound bite or sound actuality, perhaps bits of an interview. Short newscasts are often devoted to but one or two stories, especially with breaking news. While major-market AM radio stations once offered up to a half hour of news in morning or afternoon drive time, that model has all but disappeared as most stations trim or even eliminate news staffs.

The largest markets typically include an all-news AM station. These often utilize a “news wheel” to format their newscasts. This displays the length, order, and content-type of stories to be broadcast over a half hour or hour cycle, after which the wheel repeats itself. Ideally, each time the news wheel begins again, stories have been refreshed with new information or have been replaced with new stories. The news wheel is especially convenient for listeners who like to know that they can hear a specific type of information (e.g. the weather forecast) by tuning in at exactly :20 and :50 minutes past the hour. As radio news is easier to prepare than reports for TV or newspapers, radio is often quicker at getting breaking news on the air, though internet-based services can be the fastest of all.

Information Sources

Radio stations gather news from a number of sources, including the local newspaper, the telephone, and the field interview. The local newspaper is especially important to smaller stations with a limited budget and news staff. Reporters will rarely admit to using the local newspaper as a primary source of news, instead describing the newspaper as source for obtaining leads to develop news stories. However, reporters at smaller radio stations often do not have the time to gather their own news, so they end up rewriting newspaper stories for their own newscasts.

The telephone is used for conducting interviews with officials and experts—such as politicians, police officers, and cor-

oners—to acquire actualities to be edited later into sound bites. The radio reporter often initiates a phone call from the studio and then records the conversation on tape or computer. FCC regulations specify that reporters must identify themselves as such and name the station they work for and that they must indicate that the station plans to broadcast portions of the interview. All of this has to be done before the reporter begins recording the interview. The telephone is also used to receive live or pre-recorded traffic and weather reports from companies that sell these services to radio stations. *Accu-weather* is widely subscribed to for weather information, while *Cellular 1* and *Shadow Traffic* are widely subscribed to for traffic information.

Hand-held cassette and minidisk recorders are used by radio reporters to gather actualities from the field. Hand-held recorders are used to record actualities and then to play them back over a telephone line to the studio.

To gather national news, radio stations use newswires, satellite feeds, and the internet. The main newswire subscribed to by both small-market and major-market radio stations is AP; what is left of the UPI agency is used by a small and dwindling number of stations. Typically only the very largest stations in the U.S. subscribe to the other three big international newswire services—Reuters from England, the French Agency Press (AFP) from France, and ITAR-Tass from Russia. Major-market radio stations normally subscribe to regional and city newswire services as well. Newswire services deliver information mainly through satellite downlinks or conventional phone lines connected to a radio station’s computer.

Radio stations also use satellite dishes to receive audio news from satellite news feeds. These feeds can be re-broadcast as self-contained newscasts, or they can be used as actualities to be edited into sound bites. Satellite feeds come down at specific times determined by the satellite service. Satellite feeds are provided by the networks CBS, NPR, and CNN, as well as the news wire service AP. They are normally provided free of charge to radio stations in exchange for pre-selected advertising spots in the radio station’s program schedule, which will generate revenue for the satellite service. The remaining available spots will be made available for the local stations to fill with news sponsorships. Television is also used to gather information for radio newscasts. The advent of all-news channels and mostly news channels (e.g., CNN, Fox, MSNBC, ESPN, Weather Channel) has allowed radio reporters to monitor nationally developing news stories constantly.

Increasingly, radio stations are relying on the internet to gather national and international news. Many traditional media organizations such as CNN and NBC as well as non-traditional news organizations provide websites with news and information that can be downloaded as text or audio. The internet provides a cheaper alternative to subscribing to a newswire or satellite, but the boundaries for copyright

infringement and source credibility are less clear than for newswire or satellite news information.

Regulation and Deregulation of News

For many years, the FCC's licensing renewal guidelines strongly encouraged stations to provide from 6 to 8 percent of total airtime to news and public affairs. Those rules disappeared in the early 1980s, leaving stations to determine their own journalistic role—if any. As a result, in the past two decades many stations have opted out of any news programming at all. However, most small-market Top 40/Contemporary Hit Radio stations have retained news programming because of a traditional listener base that has expectations for local, community-oriented news with a practical quality, such as local events, traffic reports, and high school and college sports.

Industry consolidation in the 1990s has led to further reductions in radio news programming as part of corporate cost-cutting strategies. Multiple stations with common corporate ownership now routinely obtain news by purchasing national news feeds from independent “outsourcing” companies, such as Metro Network's *MetroSource*.

Significantly, the marketplace guideline of deregulation has led many radio stations to air a new kind of news in their program schedules. Today news has come to be defined not strictly as hard news but also as entertainment-oriented information. Medium-market and major-market radio stations have reinforced this redefinition through the news covered in syndicated talk shows they program. National hosts such as Rush Limbaugh, Don Imus, G. Gordon Liddy, Laura Schlessinger, Howard Stern, as well as many local talk-show hosts now feature political, sexual, or celebrity news in their shows. These and other talk-show hosts routinely deliver news stories and

then offer their own opinionated comments, after which listeners are invited to engage in the discussion by calling, faxing, or emailing the program.

ROBERT MCKENZIE

See also All News Format; British Radio Journalism; Canadian Radio News; Commentators; Documentary Programs; Editorializing; Election Coverage; Fairness Doctrine; Fireside Chats; News Agencies; Politics and Radio; Press-Radio War; Public Affairs Programming; United States Presidency and Radio; World War II and U.S. Radio

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News Agencies

For most of their history, radio stations have relied on national sources for much of their news. Other than the radio network news divisions, the prime source for national and international news has usually been one or more of the news agencies (also called news or wire services or press associations) such as the Associated Press (AP), United Press International (UPI), or Reuters. In recent years, the news agencies have provided considerable regional and local news as well. As more radio stations reduce their news staffs (or eliminate them

entirely), “rip ’n’ read” newscasts based entirely on news agency copy have once again become common.

Cooperative news gathering began in the United States with the formation of the Associated Press by a number of New York daily newspapers in 1848. Although reorganized several times, the AP has always been a cooperative rather than a profit-seeking venture. The United Press (UP) was begun as a profit-seeking affiliate of the Scripps newspaper chain in 1907, and the International News Service (INS) appeared as another

commercial venture in 1909, controlled by the Hearst newspapers. Each of the three was based on service to newspapers, and newspaper-based board members controlled their operation. Radio's arrival and demand for service created big questions for the agencies.

Associated Press

The oldest and largest news agency had the most trouble deciding how to handle the new medium. As early as 1922, when few stations offered news, the AP warned its member newspapers not to allow use of AP news reports on their own radio stations. But in 1924 and 1928, AP did allow election returns to be broadcast. Starting in 1933, AP adopted a policy of allowing radio use of AP news stories only for events of "transcendent importance," and this continued until 1941, long after its competitors were serving broadcasters.

In 1941 AP initiated a radio wire—a news service written for use on the air, as opposed to the traditional service for newspapers designed to be read. Dubbed "Circuit 7760," it operated 24 hours a day under the direction of Oliver Gramling. Within a year AP was serving 200 (of about 750 total) stations in 120 cities, with 110 stations on its broadcast wire payroll. After the war, some 450 stations were elected to associate membership (an important status within the AP cooperative organization, as radio now had more of a voice in management decisions). By the early 1950s, AP was providing some 75,000 words every 24 hours, written for audio reading, and usually condensed and rephrased from the main newspaper service.

AP news for radio was usually provided in the shape of ready-to-use newscasts of different lengths. This led many smaller stations, lacking their own news staffs, to simply have an announcer assemble a news program from the news agency wire stories ("rip 'n' read"). As more stations developed popular music formats, many relied on this practice for their entire news operation. Now dubbed the AP Radio Network, the agency launched an audio service with actualities (sound recordings from the field) for stations to use in their own newscasts in 1974. Just five years later, the AP Broadcast Wire was said to be the longest leased telecommunication circuit in the world.

In 1980 the AP broadcast service became the first radio network in the world to use a communications satellite. Just four years later, AP owned its own satellite transponder, making it the first news organization to do so. In the meantime, AP had shifted its broadcast operations from New York to Washington, D.C. A decade later, AP was serving just over half the commercial radio stations in the nation with four focused services designed to better serve varied radio formats: AP NewsPower, AP DriveTime, AP NewsTalk, and AP Specialty Wires. To these was added AP All-News Radio in 1994, a 24-hour

service of "full packed" radio newscasts that served more than 70 stations by 2000, with another 750 taking news feeds.

United Press and International News Service

The story of UPI and radio is more complex and begins with its two commercial predecessors: the United Press and the International News Service.

The United Press provided a 1924 general election hook-up using WEAJ in New York as the base station. UP's president Karl Bickel argued strongly in favor of serving radio in the 1920s and saw the new medium as an exciting development. But his newspaper-dominated board of directors prevented such a service until 1935 when he resigned owing to ill-health at age 53, leaving his successor Hugh Baillie to bring UP service to radio station subscribers. In the meantime, a number of radio stations owned by UP client newspapers had been using UP reports on the air, despite news agency policy banning such practices. In 1943, UP published a *United Press Radio News Style Book*, an indicator of the growing importance of radio to the commercial news agency. By the early 1950s, UP was providing about 70,000 words per day to its radio subscribers.

The smaller and weaker International News Service began a "radio-script" service providing radio material 40 times a week in addition to its regular print service. In the face of AP expansion and success in luring away newspaper clients, however, the weaker INS and UP agreed to merge to form UPI in 1958.

United Press International

With the merger, UPI, under Scripps control, began to provide its client radio stations with audio reports to use in their own news programs. By 1965 clients were receiving about 65 voice stories a day from the UPI radio center in Chicago. Nine years later they were also receiving 20 full newscasts a day with inputs from London and Hong Kong. In 1977 UPI was serving about 900 client stations (almost twice the number reached by the AP). UPI also moved to distribute its radio news service by satellite in the early 1980s.

But UPI was in deep financial trouble. Although intended from the start as a commercial affiliate of a for-profit newspaper company, the agency had fairly consistently lost money. By the 1970s it was rapidly losing newspaper clients to the larger and better-financed AP and began to focus more on its radio station business.

In 1982, after a two year effort, Scripps sold the company it had founded nearly three-quarters of a century earlier. The sale led to two decades of drastic decline under several successive owners and two separate declarations of bankruptcy. UPI declined from about 1,800 employees at the time of the Scripps sale to less than 200 in mid-2000 when a Unification Church

affiliate took control of the remains of the Washington-based news agency.

The UPI radio network was now the central part of the now much smaller news service. It offered 24 hours of fully produced programs for use at the top of each hour plus an actuality service for stations to use in their own newscasts (called "Selectnews," it began in 1992). While UPI reached some 2,000 stations in 1994 and radio accounted for half of the agency's income three years later, UPI had to end its radio service on 19 August 1999 for lack of funds, competition from newer news sources, and a drastic drop-off in the number of client stations (to just 400). Its final words:

This is the final broadcast from UPI Radio. United Press International is getting out of the broadcast news business and has sold its contracts to Associated Press Radio. For those of us suddenly out of work, it's been fun. We feel UPI Radio has done its job well overall, even as we struggled with fewer and fewer resources. So we sign off now with smiles, memories, a few tears . . . but no regrets.

Other Services

Although most stations relied upon their network affiliation (if any), a specialized news service, or AP for world and national news, competing news sources had existed even in the early years of radio. Several entities, for example, had developed to serve radio in the wake of the brief 1930s "war" that limited availability of AP, UP, and INS news feeds. The agencies created the Press-Radio Bureau to combine service from the three in special radio reports, and it lasted until 1938. The Yankee News Service served the New England regional network's affiliates, the Continental Radio News Service based in Washington, and the Radio News Association from Los Angeles also began operation in 1934. Transradio Press Service began at the same time, largely built with former Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) news people, aimed at serving non-network radio stations. Transradio survived beyond the 1930s (to December 1951, when it closed for lack of sufficient station clients) because stations could again obtain their news from the traditional news agencies.

London-based Reuters made its first radio agreement with the then-commercial BBC in 1922, although with provisions that no news would be broadcast before 7 P.M. in the evening, thus protecting the circulation of evening London dailies. Continuing negotiations in the mid-1920s allowed the BBC to cover current events as they were happening, and by 1929 the now government-chartered BBC received the full Reuters news wire for use in its news programs. Only in 1972 did Reuters begin its first voice news service for local stations in Britain and the United States. By the 1990s the firm had refocused on financial reporting and information and no longer served radio stations.

The expansion (and by the late 1990s, the consolidation) of the radio business contributed to a variety of other radio news services including Unistar (which carried CNN Radio), Capnews, the Business Radio Network, and the USA Radio Network. This expansion of syndicated news sources paralleled the decline of individual local station news efforts; instead of supporting local station news, these services were increasingly replacing local efforts.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also News; Press-Radio War; Yankee Network

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Nielsen. See A.C. Nielsen Company

Nightingale, Earl 1921–1989

U.S. Radio Commentator and Actor

With a sonorous voice characteristic of his English surname, combined with his writing and verbal styling, Earl Nightingale led a distinguished career as a radio inspirational speaker and actor. He was the voice of radio serial hero *Sky King*, and with his five-minute daily program *Our Changing World* lasting for almost 30 years, Nightingale created one of the longest-running syndicated programs in the history of radio. The innovative talk show he wrote and hosted for WGN was one of the most heavily sponsored shows in radio. Venturing beyond traditional broadcasting, Nightingale took his radio writing and speaking skills into new media, producing history's best-selling non-entertainment recording, *The Strangest Secret*. In addition, the Nightingale-Conant audio publishing and syndication corporation he co-founded pioneered motivational recordings.

Origins

Nightingale was born in March 1921 in Los Angeles, California. Encouraged by his mother, he became a good reader by the time he entered kindergarten. His passion for reading became the foundation of his writing and gave him the ideas he was later to broadcast. Seeing his family in the depth of the Depression in 1933, 12-year-old Nightingale became intensely curious about what separated the “haves” from the “have-nots.” He began looking for answers in his local library. Vowing to find a way to become financially independent by the age of 35, his search for answers became the defining quest of his life and career. It also contributed to his personal library of over 6,000 books.

Nightingale joined the U.S. Marines in 1938 and was one of only 12 Marines to survive the Japanese bombing of the battleship U.S.S. *Arizona* at Pearl Harbor in 1941. While he was a Marine instructor at Jacksonville, North Carolina, in 1945, Nightingale worked part-time at a local radio station and quickly discovered his gift for broadcasting. After leaving the service, he became a broadcaster for KTAR in Phoenix, Arizona. Three years later, he was an announcer and news commentator with the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) in Chicago. Having been with CBS for only a year, Nightingale joined the staff of WGN in Chicago as a writer-producer in 1950. From 1950 until 1954, his radio role as the dashing radio adventurer *Sky King* was broadcast nationally.

Inspirational Radio

While portraying *Sky King*, Nightingale created and hosted a 90-minute daily talk show at WGN that soon became, in his words, “one of the most heavily-sponsored programs in the

industry”—due in large measure to Nightingale’s remarkable ability to sell advertisers. His guest-interview “talk” format, according to some, served as a prototype for talk show formats popular today. The success of the radio talk show that Nightingale wrote, hosted, and sold led to a television version on WGN-TV.

In 1956 the *Chicago Daily Tribune* reported that Nightingale’s childhood dream had been realized:

An intense young radio commentator will retire tomorrow at the age of 35, on a life income he estimates will be from \$30,000 to \$50,000 a year. He is Earl Nightingale, who heads three corporations built up out of his radio work, and who will say farewell tomorrow night to his WGN listeners who have heard him ten times a week since 1950 (Hughes, 1956).

While meeting the demands of his daily radio and television programs at WGN, Nightingale’s entrepreneurial drive had enabled him to develop several sales firms, one of which was a nationally ranked life insurance agency. He also had formed his own firm, Earl Nightingale, Incorporated, through which he bought radio time from WGN. He once estimated that he had worked 12 to 14 hours a day from 1944 until 1956 to achieve his determined childhood goal of early retirement.

Nightingale had also been in demand as a public speaker while he was at WGN. One of his platform messages, “The Strangest Secret,” was a compilation of key ideas from his reading about success, wealth, and achievement. On hearing Nightingale’s talk, the president of the Pure Oil Company urged him to record it; during the same month he retired from WGN, Nightingale made the recording.

In 1959, Nightingale returned to work to write and record his own daily syndicated radio program, *Our Changing World*. In five years the program was syndicated to the largest number of stations in the history of broadcasting to that time. As Nightingale described his approach, “[W]e take the refined knowledge that has been promulgated by the great thinkers of our time . . . and winnow from it that which we feel is vital to the average person and then put it into language that he can easily understand.” With 7,000 radio commentaries recorded, *Our Changing World* lasted for almost 30 years, making it one of the longest-running syndicated radio programs in history.

In 1960, Nightingale and Lloyd Conant formed the Nightingale-Conant Corporation around the success of *The Strangest Secret* and the syndicated *Our Changing World*. *Standard and Poor’s Register of Corporations, Directors, and Execu-*



Earl Nightingale
 Courtesy Nightingale-Conant Corporation

tives described the Nightingale-Conant Corporation in January 2000 as having 250 employees, having annual sales of over \$30 million, and producing “motivational, educational and communication programs, cassette tapes, recordings and films, radio and television programs, graphic arts.” Fellow radio commentator Paul Harvey described Nightingale as “the dean of self-development.”

In 1986 Earl Nightingale was inducted into the National Association of Broadcasting Hall of Fame. This radio personality, with an extraordinary genius for touching an audience through a microphone, died in early 1989.

EDGAR B. WYCOFF

See also WGN

Earl Clifford Nightingale. Born in Los Angeles, California, 12 March 1921. Son of Albert Victor and Gladys Fae (Hamer) Nightingale; served in U.S. Marine Corps, 1938–46; broadcaster, KTAR, Phoenix, Arizona, 1946–49; announcer, CBS, Chicago, Illinois 1949–50; formed Earl Nightingale, Inc., 1950; wrote, produced, and hosted *The Earl Nightingale Show* on WGN-Chicago, 1950–56; host, *Our Changing World*, 1959–89; voice of *Sky King* in series from WGN, 1950–54; co-founded radio syndication and motivational firm Nightingale-Conant, 1960. Inducted into National Association of Broadcasters Radio Hall of Fame, 1986; received Napoleon Hill Foundation Gold Medal Award for Literary Excellence, Gold Record from Columbia Records, and Golden Gavel Award from Toastmasters International. Died in Scottsdale, Arizona, 25 March 1989.

Radio Series

- 1950–54 *Sky King*
 1950–56 *The Earl Nightingale Show*
 1959–89 *Our Changing World*

Publications

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Non-English-Language Radio in the United States

In the United States, the radio boom of 1923 coincided roughly with the legislated end of the largest wave of international immigration in modern history. Some 20 million immigrants arrived on the shores of the United States between 1871 and 1920, some settling permanently, some returning home, and others traveling that route a number of times. The result was a proliferation of people and communities who spoke German, Polish, Spanish, Yiddish, Italian, and other languages. At the end of the 19th century, newspapers were the primary vehicle for the dissemination of information, with countless daily papers from every ethnic and political angle being published every day. As cities grew and the networks of newspaper distribution had not yet expanded, radio became a vital alternative to the printed word.

As early as 1926, foreign-language markets were being identified as potential profit centers. Despite indications by the advertising industry, major networks such as the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) and soon the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) were loath to incorporate foreign-language programming into their schedules. (However, for two years beginning in 1928, NBC briefly broadcast *Der Tog*, a Yiddish-language program.) Yet by 1964 more than 340 radio and television stations broadcast non-English-language programs in everything from Italian to Navajo. The majority of these stations were local, low-wattage stations without access to national networks. More recently the number of non-English broadcasts has increased exponentially with the popularization of web-based broadcasting. The development of non-English programming through alternative formats (local versus network and web versus traditional radio) is not coincidental but speaks of a particular power relationship between language and radio.

Throughout radio's history, the number of non-English stations in the United States has been quite significant, which suggests a considerable listening audience despite its traditional exclusion from market studies. As NBC and CBS rapidly grew to dominate the national networked radio dial, numerous local radio stations, generally with a broadcast power between 100 and 500 watts, began to spring up in urban areas. Almost always, these stations rented portions of their broadcast day to different community groups who wished to broadcast. Two of the most prominent examples are New York's WEVD and Chicago's WCFL. Founded in 1927, WEVD was owned by the Debs Radio Trust and broadcast programs in at least four languages, while WCFL hosted broadcasting in no fewer than 11. In 1924 WOAI in San Antonio, Texas, aired its first Spanish language broadcast, and Cleveland's WJAY initiated a weekly Polish-language program beginning in 1926.

Following the Federal Radio Commission's reorganization of the radio dial in November 1928, the majority of the stations that carried non-English-language programming found themselves relegated to the low and high frequency margins of the broadcast spectrum. Additionally, the FRC forced many of these stations to share frequencies and therefore also divide up the broadcast day. Broadcasting from the margin and on power that typically ranged from 250 to 1,000 watts, these stations cobbled together whatever broadcasting they could, usually comprised of a loose coalition of multi-lingual programs, performers, advertising agents, and sponsors. Few if any of these stations could choose to broadcast in only one language. The only significant exception to this rule was organized during the late 1930s, when New York-based station WOV organized 15 east-coast stations into the International Broadcasting Corporation which served as an Italian-only network, serving an audience of nearly 3 million listeners.

With the organization of the Federal Radio Commission in 1927 and amid the growing concern about the "decency" of radio programs, Section 29 of the Radio Act of 1927 sought to regulate U.S. airwaves by providing that "whoever utters any obscene, indecent, or profane language by means of radio communication shall be fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned not more than two years." As it was impossible to listen to every broadcast nationwide, the FRC mandated that broadcasts be recorded if a listener had filed a complaint against that program. In the beginning, these recordings were made on glass plates (78-rpm records could not hold long enough segments, and magnetic recording tape had not yet been invented). This concern about the "decency" of language contributed to a general suspicion about non-English broadcasts and led to additional federal policing and harassment of such programs. Of course, it was also true that non-English broadcasts could elude the surveying ear of the FRC because often FRC monitors could not understand their content.

If non-English-language programs were considered a marginal segment of radio broadcasting in the United States, the incorporation of non-standard English speakers into English-language programs fueled the popular imagination. During the Depression years, the networks established themselves nationally via the appeal of ethno-comedies such as *The Goldbergs* and *Amos 'n' Andy*. These two programs, as some of the first to reach national audiences, drew significantly on cultural, linguistic, and dialectical differences for their humor. In the case of *The Goldbergs*, the common problems of language acquisition (mispronunciation, spoonerisms, malapropisms, etc.) and accent were the source of a great deal of the humor that Molly Berg wrote into the program. *Amos 'n' Andy* drew on a much older tradition of minstrelsy (and played on its racial stereo-

types), but the particular challenge of putting blackface on radio turned the emphasis from appearance to dialect as the primary signifier of difference. Even though the Goldbergs were clearly on the path toward becoming ordinary Americans, whereas Amos and Andy were depicted as unassimilable, in both cases mastery of English was highlighted as the key determinant of mainstream acceptance. These programs clearly appealed to English-speaking audiences as they poked fun at members of non-traditional-English-speaking population groups.

Although culturally and linguistically marginal, non-English-language programs occupied a substantial amount of the radio dial. Statistics for non-English broadcasts during the Depression era are scant, but one source reports that nearly 200 stations out of a total of 850 broadcast non-English-language programs for some part of the day.

In a 1941 anthology entitled *Radio Research* (edited by Paul Lazarsfeld and Frank Stanton), sociologists Arnheim and Bayne published a survey of non-English-language broadcasts. They reported the presence of German, Italian, Yiddish, Polish, Lithuanian, and Spanish broadcasts. However, there were almost certainly Greek, Croatian, Russian, Hungarian, Bulgarian, Romanian, Chinese, Japanese, and Gaelic broadcasts at the time, as well. Although Arnheim and Bayne were primarily interested in the content of a typical broadcast day, their study is the first organized examination of ethnic radio in the United States, representing an early effort to include non-English-speaking audiences in radio market research.

Limitations

As soon as the United States entered World War II, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) and the Foreign Language Division of the Office of Facts and Figures began investigations of all major East Coast stations (as well as others farther west) that broadcast foreign-language programs. Stations in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Chicago were targeted, and Alan Cranston, then chief of the foreign language division, recommended that certain broadcasters be "barred from the air immediately." Following the removal of a handful of German and Italian broadcasters and a general decline of foreign-language broadcasts, in March 1942 Cranston initiated new programs in German and Italian. The programs, entitled *Uncle Sam Speaks*, were designed to encourage ethnic listeners to join the war effort through volunteering or taking jobs in the defense industry.

Despite this overall reduction in U.S. foreign-language broadcasting, the World War II era also marked the emergence of substantial Spanish-language broadcasting, which has grown exponentially since that time, with about 500 stations including Spanish-language programming by 1980. In the

postwar years, broadcasters in Yiddish actively involved themselves in reuniting Jewish refugees with their families by broadcasting names of people who were looking for family members. Despite these brief highlights, the 1940s were devastating to non-English-language broadcasting, with the exception of Spanish broadcasts, which managed steady growth. Not coincidentally, the postwar years also witnessed the near-total domination of radio by the networks.

With the rise of McCarthyism in the 1950s, radio stations that previously housed foreign-language programs began dropping them from their rosters, fearing that broadcasters from Eastern Europe might use their airtime to spread communist propaganda. These station owners were responding to demographic changes, as well; first-generation groups began to give way to their English-speaking children. As language and residence patterns changed, so did cultural tastes, and programming once valued for its cultural specificity began to sound old-fashioned. However, this era should not be seen as the end of foreign-language radio, but rather as a reflection of changing immigration and settlement patterns and changes in the cultural preferences of many European immigrants. Thus, as European-language broadcasts decreased, a sizable immigration from Asia (most significantly from the Philippines, India, and Korea) gave birth to new broadcast options. And Spanish-language broadcasting continued its growth.

Since the late 1960s, non-English-language radio in the United States has seen a massive growth in both the overall number of stations, as well as the size and impact of audiences. Stations broadcasting primarily in Spanish, Korean, and Chinese have multiplied in conjunction with the growth of immigrant populations in primarily urban areas. What distinguishes the growth of non-English-language radio programming in the second half of the century from that of the first half is the development of single-language stations that are able to compete in larger metropolitan markets. Whereas network interests choked off the development of single-language radio stations during radio's golden age, the virtual dominance of radio by local interests has opened the door for radio stations that target a particular ethno-linguistic population in a particular area.

Online Radio

Recently, with the popularity of the internet and the increasing availability of web-based broadcasts, non-English "radio" broadcasts are flourishing. For example, www.live-radio.net contains a listing of online broadcasts from radio stations all over the globe in virtually every language imaginable. The two primary interfaces from accessing online media also include simple ways of locating and accessing online broadcasts of all kinds. No longer restricted by the narrow spectrum of radio

frequencies, broadcasters can reach audiences of size and scope never before imaginable. At the same time, audiences can tune in to a wider variety of programs originating from more locations, and broadcasting in more languages than has ever before been possible.

With the spread of online broadcast technology and an FCC ruling in 2000 to create a class of low-wattage stations, the future of non-English-language broadcasting is bright, if not in traditional broadcasting. Insofar as non-English-language programs have long been on the margin of mainstream broadcasting, they have also often been in the vanguard of broadcast practices, conventions, and styles. Thus the sheer number of non-English web-based broadcasts should come as no surprise. Their proliferation indicates that the future of radio is wide open, a form of expression that cannot be limited by traditional broadcast practices or geographical location. It also heralds a return to the origins of non-English-language broadcasting in the United States, which were rooted in the needs and preferences of immigrants from other countries.

ARI KELMAN

See also Canadian Radio and Multiculturalism; Hispanic Radio; Internet Radio; Jewish Radio; Native American Radio; Stereotypes on Radio; WCFL; WEVD

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North American Regional Broadcasting Agreement

Sharing Frequencies among the U.S., Canada, Mexico, and the Caribbean

First placed into effect early in 1941, the North American Regional Broadcasting Agreement (NARBA) treaty doled out radio channels to Canada, Cuba, Mexico, and the United States. Renewed after extensive negotiations in 1960, it remained for years the basis for cooperative regulation and interference reduction among these countries until it was replaced by bilateral agreements and treaties affecting all of the Western Hemisphere.

As the number of radio stations in North America grew, countries neighboring the United States felt increasingly squeezed out of valuable medium wave frequencies used for AM radio broadcasting. Naturally the potential for trouble was greatest along the northern and southern borders of the United States, where American stations could—and did—cause interference to outlets in other countries, and vice versa. Given the

larger U.S. population and expanding radio industry, American broadcasters sought the lion's share of available frequencies, leaving little to be shared by Canada, Mexico, and Cuba.

In 1937 representatives of the four nations met in Havana and hammered out the gist of a proposed frequency-sharing treaty. The task was not easy: given the great distances covered by AM signals, the work was complex and occasionally contentious. Nevertheless, the treaty was ratified by each nation and entered force on 29 March 1941. At the time, there were about 750 broadcast stations on the air in the United States, most of which had to shift their frequency (some only slightly), primarily to clear some radio channels for expanded use in Mexico. But for the remainder of the decade, the four nations were able to license stations in accordance with NARBA, thus greatly reducing potential interference problems.

The treaty expired in March 1949 after initial attempts to renew it failed. The demise of NARBA occurred despite considerable effort and controversy. The key problem was the dramatic expansion of American broadcasting—to 2,127 stations when NARBA expired—and thus the greater (and steadily expanding) use of spectrum by the U.S. radio industry. At the same time, driven in part by understandable nationalism, governments in the neighboring countries felt they were (again) getting the short end of the frequency stick, because the number of their stations had increased as well.

Cuba was the loudest complainer, even in the late 1940s. It demanded use of more frequencies and threatened to not ratify a NARBA renewal if it did not get them. Likewise, Mexico moved to protect some of the border stations serving American audiences. Complicating matters was the addition of new negotiating players: Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and Britain (on behalf of the Bahamas and Jamaica). Still, after several rounds of engineering work and diplomatic negotiation, a draft of a second NARBA treaty was initialed in 1950. But because of continuing negotiation problems—and rising pressure from big clear channel broadcasters fearful of losing some of their coverage as well as from small daytime-only stations hoping for longer broadcast hours (both groups felt they had given up enough already)—American ratification was delayed.

Between 1953 and 1962, a second NARBA was ratified by Cuba, Canada, the Dominican Republic, and the Bahamas. In 1960 the U.S. Congress ratified it as well, placing the treaty into force despite the lack of agreement from Mexico, Jamaica, and Haiti. Bilateral agreements with Mexico in 1969–70 and again in 1986 (as well as with Canada in 1984), served to keep the lid on potential interference problems and allowed many American daytime-only stations operating on Mexican or Canadian clear channels to begin operations before local sunrise and sometimes to extend operating hours into the evening with greater power. These agreements remain in force as long as the three nations agree.

Politics, always potent in international agreements, became central in dealing with the island nation of Cuba. By the late 1960s, the Castro regime in Cuba was informally ignoring the 1960 NARBA treaty. In 1981 Cuba formally abrogated the agreement and began to build stations that went well beyond the agreement in terms of power and frequencies used. When the United States began propaganda broadcasts into Cuba over Radio Martí, the Castro government retaliated by building high-power transmitters that caused considerable interference, especially with stations in the American South and Midwest. The Federal Communications Commission began to make case-by-case decisions allowing the affected stations to increase their own power—in essence recognizing exactly the kind of “radio war” the original NARBA treaty was designed to prevent.

As for the other nations in the region, the second NARBA treaty was eventually superseded by various Region II (Western Hemisphere) radio broadcasting agreements established under the auspices of the International Telecommunication Union in a series of regional radio conferences.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Border Radio; Canada; Cuba; Frequency Allocation; International Telecommunication Union; Licensing; Mexico; Radio Martí

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Nostalgia Radio

Broadcast audio programming has been collected by both institutions and interested individuals and most recently has become a battleground of interests. Central to the ability to collect such programs, of course, was the development of a means to make permanent recordings. Broadcasters from the beginning of radio needed some way to record. Initially the

only means for recording was cutting a disc. Western Electric had developed the 16-inch, 33 1/3-rpm recording disc for use as the sound tracks for early 1920 “talkies.” Sound-on-Film (SOF) optical tracks did not follow until later. The same medium was used in radio to record programs, usually for archiving, but sometimes for program syndication to multiple

markets. Those Electrical Transcriptions (ETs) that survived were preserved by sponsors, their advertising agencies, the talent on the shows, and some broadcast engineers.

Beginnings of Programming Collecting

The Library of Congress began to collect and preserve some programming in 1949 in its role as the U.S. copyright depository. The National Archives also collected and preserved programming from governmental sources and increasingly received donated event and news materials from stations and networks. Institutional archives are as variable as the institutions preserving the available material. Funding difficulties led the UCLA Film and Television Archive to concentrate on their film collection and discontinue the development of its radio archive, which consisted of 50,000 ETs and 10,000 tapes of radio dating from 1933 to 1983 (which the Archive still retains). The Milo Ryan Phonoarchive at the University of Washington, obtained from radio station KIRO, consisted of CBS programming from 1938 to 1962. These ETs were subsequently transferred to the National Archives. Material became available as people gained access to more ETs as radio stations began disposing of their stored material and donations were made to institutions. A large source of material was recordings that had been made for Armed Forces Radio to bring radio programs to U.S. troops during World War II. Those ETs that survived and a few network and syndicated discs comprised the basis for collectors in the sixties, when radio as it had been was almost gone. From these and other sources ETs were transferred to audiotape.

Serious collecting of radio programs by individuals was the result of the introduction of home reel-to-reel tape recording decks to the consumer market around 1950. Small groups formed to exchange material, information, and sources on both the East and West coasts. A number of clubs began to trade tapes, the earliest being the Radio Collectors of America. Some of these grew into large organizations of members who gathered and traded from their shared collections, such as the North American Radio Archive (NARA) and the Society to Preserve and Encourage Radio Drama, Variety and Comedy (SPERDVAC).

In 1954 Charles Michelson developed a rebroadcast market by obtaining an umbrella agreement to license *The Shadow* to individual radio stations, long-playing record manufacturers, and producers of home-enjoyment tapes. The first aggressively marketed private dealer was J. David Goldin, a former engineer at CBS, NBC, and Mutual, who formed "Radio Yesterday" and an album subsidiary, "Radiola," in the late 1960s. Michelson began to send "cease and desist" letters to collectors selling any of the series he had licensed.

Newsletters about radio program collecting began to circulate in the late 1960s. The most influential, which set the stan-

dard, was "Radio Dial" by the *Radio Historical Society of America* founded by Charles Ingersoll. Carrying on the tradition, the leading newsletter today is "Hello Again" by Jay Hickerson, which began publication in 1970 and tied together more than 100 of the most active collectors at that time. Today, more than 160 active collectors comprise the mass of privately collected broadcast material available, but thousands of other collectors maintain some program recordings. No one knows how many shows survive, but 150,000 or more are documented as existing in Jay Hickerson's *Ultimate History of Network Radio Programming*, which is an attempt to catalog every radio program currently circulating. The publications of *Radio's Golden Age* in 1966 and its updated revision as *The Big Broadcast 1920-1950* in 1973 by Frank Buxton and Gary Owen also increased interest in old radio programs.

Despite the interest of individual private collectors and the growth of institutional archives, the preservation of radio programming faces a crisis stemming from a combination of concerns. The most basic problem is the increasing rate of disposal and destruction of material. The way programs have been recorded—electrical transcription to tape formats—poses problems for preservationists. As transcription turntables disappear and reel-to-reel tape recorders are replaced with cassette recorders (and cassette recorders replaced with CD players), the means for playing the available material is lost or exists only in museums. The need to transfer the older formats into new formats is a time consuming and costly process. Many radio programs have been made available over the worldwide web in the downloadable MP3 format, free to anyone with a computer and an internet connection. Some collectors sell home-recorded CDs on their own websites, with as many as 50 or more shows on a single disk. There are numerous sites on the internet dealing with Old Time Radio (OTR).

Copyrighting and Collecting

Another problem is one of copyright ownership and control. As the nostalgia market for old radio programming has developed, copyright owners became more interested in protecting their copyrights. Ownership of many programs is very complex and depends upon contracts with directors, writers, performers, and rights holders of music and other materials used in the broadcasts. Private collectors who charge for duplication or sell programs are more susceptible to copyright problems than are institutions. Under certain conditions specified in the copyright law, libraries and other archives are authorized to photocopy or make other reproductions for research and teaching. However, Congress, through changes in the current copyright law, has placed most old radio programs under copyright even though they aired 75 years ago. Although sound recordings could not be copyrighted until 1972, the underlying script could be copyrighted as an "unpublished

work." If producers registered copyrights and then failed to renew them, the script and the show are in the public domain.

Marketing Old Radio Programs

There are a number of people who broadcast OTR, such as Chuck Shaden in Chicago and the country's biggest seller of old-time radio programs, Carl Amari, founder of "Radio Spirits." In 1990 Amari began syndicating his own old-time radio compilation program, "When Radio Was," hosted by Stan Freberg and heard nationwide in some 300 markets. Another program is "Radio Hall of Fame," licensed through "Radio Spirits." "Radio Spirits" has been estimated to be a \$14-million-a-year business, selling lavishly packaged tapes and CDs through its own catalog, bookstores, and discount outlets such as Costco. Amari purchased "Radio Yesteryear" and another rival "Adventures in Cassettes." He then sold "Radio Spirits" to Media Bay. "Radio Spirits" has threatened litigation against website operators, tape dealers, and CD distributors. It claims to have exclusive agreements with radio-show creators and their heirs. The threat of litigation has done little to slow the internet activity but website owners face the prospect of having to pay a fee for each download. A major difficulty is that Amari will not reveal the full list of programs he claims to control, calling it proprietary information.

MARVIN BENSMAN

See also Copyright; Museums and Archives of Radio; Recording and Studio Equipment

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Axis Sally
- Barber, Red
Barnouw, Erik
Bell Telephone Laboratories
Benny, Jack
Beulah Show
Beville, Hugh Malcolm
Big D Jamboree
Biondi, Dick
Birch Scarborough Research
Blacklisting
Black-Oriented Radio
Black Radio Networks

- Block, Martin
 Blore, Chuck
 Blue Book
 Blue Network
 Blues Format
 Board for International Broadcasting
Bob and Ray
 Border Radio
 Bose, Amar G.
 Brazil
 Brice, Fanny
 Brinkley, John R.
 British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC)
 British Broadcasting Corporation: BBC
 Broadcasting House
 British Broadcasting Corporation: BBC Local
 Radio
 British Broadcasting Corporation: BBC
 Monitoring
 British Broadcasting Corporation: BBC
 Orchestras
 British Broadcasting Corporation: BBC Radio
 Programming
 British Broadcasting Corporation: BBC World
 Service
 British Commercial Radio
 British Disk Jockeys
 British Forces Broadcasting Service
 British Pirate Radio
 British Radio Journalism
 Broadcast Education Association
 Broadcast Music Incorporated
 Broadcasting Board of Governors
 Brokerage in Radio
 Brown, Himan

 Cable Radio
 Call Letters
Can You Top This?
 Canada
 Canadian Radio Archives
 Canadian Radio Policy
 Canadian Radio Programming
 Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
 Canadian Radio and Multiculturalism
 Canadian Radio and the Music Industry
 Canadian Radio Drama
 Canadian Radio Satire
 Canadian News and Sports Broadcasting
 Canadian Talk Radio
 Cantor, Eddie

 Capehart Corporation
 Capital Radio
Captain Midnight
Car Talk
Cavalcade of America
 Censorship
 CFCF
 CHED
 Chenault, Gene
 Children's Novels and Radio
 Children's Programs
 CHUM
 Churchill, Winston Spencer
 Citizen's Band Radio
 CKAC
 CKLW
 Clandestine Radio
 Clark, Dick
 Classical Music Format
 Classic Rock Format
 Clear Channel Communications Inc.
 Clear Channel Stations
 Cold War Radio
 College Radio
 Collingwood, Charles
 Columbia Broadcasting System
 Columnists
 Combo
 Comedy
 Commentators
 Commercial Load
 Commercial Tests
 Communications Act of 1934
 Community Radio
 CONELRAD
 Conrad, Frank
 Conrad, William
 Consultants
 Contemporary Christian Music Format
 Contemporary Hit Radio/Top 40 Format
 Control Board/Audio Mixer
 Controversial Issues
 Cooke, Alistair
 Cooper, Giles
 Cooper, Jack L.
 Cooperative Analysis of Broadcasting
 Copyright
 Corporation for Public Broadcasting
 Corwin, Norman
 Coughlin, Father Charles
 Country Music Format

- Cowan, Louis
 Critics
 Crosby, Bing
 Crosley, Powel
 Cross, Milton J.
 Crutchfield, Charles H.
 Crystal Receivers
 Cuba
- Daly, John Charles
 Davis, Elmer
 Dees, Rick
 De Forest, Lee
 Delmar, Kenneth
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 Deregulation of Radio
Desert Island Discs
 Developing Nations
 Diary
 Digital Audio Broadcasting
 Digital Recording
 Digital Satellite Radio
 Dill, Clarence Cleveland
 Disk Jockeys
 Documentary Programs on U.S. Radio
 Dolby Noise Reduction
 Donahue, Tom
 Don Lee Broadcasting System
 Dr. Demento
 Drake, Bill
 Drake, Galen
 Drama on U.S. Radio
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 Drew, Paul
Duffy's Tavern
 Duhamel, Helen
 Dunbar, Jim
 Dunlap, Orrin E.
 Durante, Jimmy
 Durham, Richard
 DXers/DXing
- Early Wireless
Earplay
Easy Aces
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Edgar Bergen and Charlie McCarthy
 Editorializing
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 Edwards, Bob
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 Ellis, Elmo
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 Evangelists/Evangelical Radio
 Everett, Kenny
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 Fairness Doctrine
Family Theater
 Fan Magazines
 Far East Broadcasting Company
 Farm/Agricultural Radio
 Faulk, John Henry
 Federal Communications Commission
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 Female Radio Personalities and Disk Jockeys
 Fessenden, Reginald
Fibber McGee and Molly
 Film Depictions of Radio
 Fireside Chats
 First Amendment and Radio
 Fleming, Sir John Ambrose
Flywheel, Shyster, and Flywheel
 FM Radio
 FM Trade Associations
 Foreign Broadcast Information Service
 Formats
 France
 Freberg, Stan
 Frederick, Pauline
 Freed, Alan
 Freed, Paul
 Free Form Format
 Frequency Allocation
Fresh Air
 Friendly, Fred
 Fritzsche, Hans
- Gabel, Martin
 Gambling, John
Gangbusters
 Gay and Lesbian Radio
 General Electric
George Burns and Gracie Allen Show
 German Wireless Pioneers

- Germany
 Gillard, Frank
 Godfrey, Arthur
Goldbergs
 Goldsmith, Alfred Norton
Goon Show
 Gordon, Gale
 Gospel Music Format
Grand Ole Opry
Great Gildersleeve
 Greece
Green Hornet
 Greenwald, James L.
 Ground Wave
 Group W
Gunsmoke
- Ham Radio
 Harvey, Paul
 Hate Radio
Hear It Now
 Heavy Metal/Active Rock Format
 Herrold, Charles D.
 Hertz, Heinrich
 Hicks, Tom
 High Fidelity
 Hill, George Washington
 Hill, Lewis
Hindenburg Disaster
 Hispanic Radio
 Hoaxes
 Hogan, John V.L. "Jack"
 Hollywood and Radio
 Hooperatings
 Hoover, Herbert
 Hope, Bob
 Horror Programs
 Hottelet, Richard C.
 Howe, Quincy
 Hulbert, Maurice "Hot Rod" Jr.
 Hummert, Frank and Anne
- I Love a Mystery*
 Imus, Don
 Infinity Broadcasting
Inner Sanctum Mysteries
 Intercollegiate Broadcasting System
 International Radio Broadcasting
 International Telecommunication Union
 Internet Radio
 Ireland
- Isay, David
 Israel
 Italy
- Jack Armstrong, the All-American Boy*
 Jamming
 Japan
 Jazz Format
 Jehovah's Witnesses and Radio
 Jepko, Herb
 Jewish Radio Programs in the United States
 Jingles
 Joyner, Tom
 Judis, Bernice
- Kaltenborn, H.V.
 Karmazin, Mel
 Kasem, Casey
 KCBS/KQW
 KCMO
 KDKA
 Keillor, Garrison
 Kent, A. Atwater
 Kesten, Paul
 KFFA
 KFI
 KGO
 KHJ
King Biscuit Flower Hour
 King, Larry
 King, Nelson
 Kirby, Edward M.
 Klauber, Edward A.
 Kling, William
 KMOX
 KNX
 KOA
 KOB
 KPFA
 KRLA
 KSL
 KTRH
 Kuralt, Charles
 KWKH
 Kyser, Kay
 KYW
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 Lazarsfeld, Paul F.
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 Limbaugh, Rush
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 Localism in Radio
 Local Marketing Agreements
 Lodge, Oliver J.
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Lone Ranger
 Long, Huey
 Lord Haw-Haw
 Lord, Phillips H.
 Low-Power Radio/Microradio
Lum 'n' Abner
Lux Radio Theater
- Mankiewicz, Frank
Ma Perkins
March of Time
 Marconi, Guglielmo
 Market
Marketplace
 Markle, Fletcher
 Maxwell, James Clerk
Mayflower Decision
 McBride, Mary Margaret
 McDonald, Eugene F., Jr.
 McGannon, Don
 McLaughlin, Edward F.
 McLendon, Gordon
 McNamee, Graham
 McNeill, Don
 McPherson, Aimee Semple
 Media Rating Council
Mercury Theater of the Air
 Metromedia
 Metropolitan Opera Broadcasts
 Mexico
 Middle of the Road Format
 Milam, Lorenzo
 Minnesota Public Radio
Monitor
 Morgan, Henry
 Morgan, Robert W.
 Mormon Tabernacle Choir
Morning Edition
 Morning Programs
 Morrow, Bruce "Cousin Brucie"
 Motorola
 Murray, Lyn
- Murray the K
 Murrow, Edward R.
 Museums and Archives of Radio
 Music on Radio
 Music Testing
 Mutual Broadcasting System
- Narrowcasting
 National Association of Broadcasters
 National Association of Educational
 Broadcasters
 National Association of Educational
 Broadcasters Tape Network
National Barn Dance
 National Broadcasting Company
 National Federation of Community Broadcasters
 National Public Radio
 National Radio Systems Committee
 National Religious Broadcasters
 National Telecommunications and Information
 Administration
 Native American Radio
 Netherlands
 Network Monopoly Probe
 New Zealand
 News
 News Agencies
 Nightingale, Earl
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 States
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 Oldies Format
One Man's Family
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 Pulse Inc.
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 Radio Academy
 Radio Advertising Bureau
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 Radio Authority
 Radio City
 Radio Corporation of America
 Radio Data System
 Radio Disney
 Radio Free Asia
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 Radio Hall of Fame
 Radio Luxembourg
 Radio Martí
 Radio Monte Carlo
 Radio Moscow
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 Reith, John C.W.
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 Rome, Jim
 Roosevelt, Eleanor
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 Scandinavia
 Schechter, A.A.
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 Shaw, Allen
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 Shortwave Radio
 Siemering, William
 Siepmann, Charles A.
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 Simon, Scott
 Simulcasting
 Singers on Radio
 Situation Comedy
 Skelton, Red
 Sklar, Rick
 Smith, Kate
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 Social Class and Radio
 Social and Political Movements
 Soft Rock Format
 Sound Effects
Soundprint
 South America
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 Sportscasters
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 Stanton, Frank N.
Star Wars
 Station Rep Firms
 Stereo
 Stereotypes on Radio
 Stern, Howard
 Storer, George
 Storz, Todd
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Suspense
 Sustaining Programs
 Swing, Raymond Gram
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 Talk Radio
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 Taylor, Marlin R.
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 Ten-Watt Stations
 Terkel, Louis "Studs"
 Tesla, Nikola
Theater Guild on the Air
This American Life
 Thomas, Lowell
 Thomas, Rufus
 Tokyo Rose
 Topless Radio
 Totenberg, Nina
 Tracht, Doug "Greaseyman"
 Trade Associations
 Trade Press
 Transistor Radios
 Tremayne, Les
 Trout, Robert
- Underground Radio
 United Fruit Company
 United Nations Radio
 United States
 United States Congress and Radio
 United States Influences on British Radio
 United States Navy and Radio
 United States Presidency and Radio
- United States Supreme Court and Radio
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- Vallee, Rudy
 Variety Shows
 Vatican Radio
 Vaudeville
Vic and Sade
 Violence and Radio
 Virtual Radio
 Voice of America
 Voice of the Listener and Viewer
Vox Pop
- WABC
 Walkman
War of the Worlds
 WBAI
 WBAP
 WBBM
 WBT
 WBZ
 WCBS
 WCCO
 WCFL
 WDIA
 WEAJ
 Weaver, Sylvester (Pat)
 Wertheimer, Linda
 Westerns
 Westinghouse
 Westwood One
 WEVD
 WGI
 WGN
 WHA and Wisconsin Public Radio
 WHER
 White, Paul
 White, Wallace H.
 Williams, Bruce
 Williams, Jerry
 Williams, Nat D.
 Wilson, Don
 Winchell, Walter
 WINS
 Wireless Acts of 1910 and 1912; Radio Acts of
 1912 and 1927
 Wire Recording
 WJR
 WLAC
 WLS

WLW
WMAQ
WNBC
WNEW
WNYC
Wolfman Jack
Women in Radio
WOR
World Radiocommunication Conference
World War II and U.S. Radio
WQXR
Wright, Early
WRR
WSB

WSM
WTOP
WWJ
WWL
WWVA
WXYZ
Wynn, Ed

Yankee Network
You Bet Your Life
Your Hit Parade
Yours Truly, Johnny Dollar

Zenith Radio Corporation

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Oboler, Arch 1909–1987

U.S. Writer, Producer, Director

Arch Oboler was one of the great auteurs in radio history, using the medium as his personal means of expression. During his career as one of radio's premier and prodigious dramatists, Oboler estimated that he wrote more than 850 plays, many of which represent the highest achievement of aural composition.

Early Years

Born in one of the nation's most creative broadcasting centers, Chicago, on 7 December 1909, Oboler became obsessed with the medium after building his first crystal set. After graduating from the University of Chicago, he wrote more than 50 plays before any station showed an interest in his fledgling ability. During the early 1930s radio was, according to Oboler, "an imitation of motion pictures and an echo of the stage." Oboler was searching for a new way to realize the potential of the medium. In 1933 he sold his first script, *Futuristics*, to the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) for national broadcast to inaugurate the new Radio City facility in New York.

In 1934 Oboler established a name for himself as a contributor of original playlets for Don Ameche in the anthology series *Grand Hotel*. A year later, Rudy Vallee was so impressed with Oboler's work for his radio series that he repeated several scripts. Oboler continued his association with Ameche on the *Chase and Sanborn Hour*, which also starred Edgar Bergen and Charlie McCarthy. His satirical takeoff on the Adam and Eve myth, written for Ameche and guest star Mae West, created a national uproar because of the Hollywood siren's salacious reading of Oboler's suggestive lines. Oboler's career continued to soar.

Network Success

In May 1936 NBC gave creative control of the popular series *Lights Out* to Oboler. The original creator and producer of

this "ultimate in horror," Wyllis Cooper, had left to become a Los Angeles screenwriter, and Oboler seized the opportunity to formulate *Lights Out* as a "theater of the mind." He experimented with narrative techniques, developing his patented stream-of-consciousness mode to delve into the minds of his characters. Oboler also used sound effects to construct bizarre worlds that were often analyses of contemporary social situations.

Oboler's own macabre voice was heard opening each episode of *Lights Out* with the signature warning, "It . . . is . . . later . . . than . . . you . . . think." What usually followed was an examination of the dark side of Oboler's own imagination. In "Chicken Heart," a scientific experiment goes awry, until the expanding organ overwhelms the world with an incessant thumping. (The program inspired one of Bill Cosby's classic routines about his childhood, heard on his *Wonderfulness* album.) In another critique on science, "Revolt of the Worms," the modest earthworm grows to absurd proportions and suffocates the lead characters. The tense situations were abetted by inventive sound effects—bacon frying signified the body being electrocuted; the chewing of Lifesavers candy simulated the crushing of bones; and the manipulation of warm spaghetti meant that something ungodly was happening to human flesh. Hollywood stars, such as Boris Karloff, were intrigued by Oboler's fantasies and journeyed to Chicago to contribute their services. By 1938 Oboler felt confined by the horror genre and wanted instead to take on the evils of the times, Hitler and the rise of Nazism.

A progressive NBC executive, Lewis Titterton, suggested the title for Oboler's new series upon hearing a recording of the pilot, "The Ugliest Man in the World." Titterton thought the future of radio depended on the vision of the writer, and the new series was crowned *Arch Oboler's Plays*, debuting in March 1939. Oboler was now among radio's elite, the first writer accorded name-in-the-title status. The new program was

sustained by NBC, presented without advertising, and Oboler's imagination was now unfettered.

Oboler, writing about "the terrors and monsters within each of us," used his stream-of-consciousness technique to shattering effect and made radio a viable new art form. He revealed the inner psyche of a soldier who returned home a vegetable, played by the tenacious James Cagney, in his controversial adaptation of Dalton Trumbo's antiwar novel, *Johnny Got His Gun*. Joan Crawford joined forces with Oboler and played an anxious mother awaiting birth in *Baby*. The acclaimed Russian actress Alla Nazimova offered her services, and Oboler wrote the antifascist drama *Ivory Tower* for her. He also pushed radio drama into new directions: he was the first to integrate a full orchestra into a radio play, his dramatization of the life of Russian composer Piotr Ilich Tchaikovsky.

After his series left the air in March 1940, Oboler lent his talents to the propaganda effort to rally American morale during World War II. Oboler's plays explicitly warned about the atrocities of "the Jap-Nazi world." In "Chicago, Germany," which was presented on the *Treasury Star Parade*, he imagined what would happen if Hitler conquered the United States. Urging that radio needed "an injection of hatred and passionate feeling," Oboler created several patriotic series for NBC: *Everyman's Theatre*, which he directed and wrote, using previous scripts from *Lights Out* and *Arch Oboler's Plays*; *Plays for Americans*, which featured such Hollywood stars as Bette Davis, James Stewart, and Dick Powell; and *Everything for the Boys*, a unique collaboration with actor Ronald Colman to provide entertainment for servicemen.

By the end of the war, Oboler was exhausted by the nerve-racking demands of his chosen medium. In the mid-1940s he brought back *Lights Out* for the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) and *Arch Oboler's Plays* for Mutual. He lamented that "radio, for the dramatist, is a huge, insatiable sausage grinder into which he feeds his creative life to be converted into neatly packaged detergents."

Other Media

He took his dark vision almost exclusively to the motion pictures, wanting to control as much of the production as possible. His first directorial effort, *Bewitched*, was based on an award-winning radio script he had written for Bette Davis. Other films he wrote and produced had overtly political themes: *Strange Holiday*, about a fascist invasion of America; and *Five*, the story of survivors of a nuclear holocaust. Always fascinated by technology, he wrote, directed, and produced the first commercially successful film in 3-D, *Bwana Devil*. He spent millions of his own money to gain further credibility for 3-D movies, but to little avail. His only foray into television was, of all things, a comedy anthology series,



Arch Oboler
Courtesy Library of American Broadcasting

which critics acclaimed for its imagination and craftsmanship. Oboler's experimental *Comedy Theatre* was discontinued by the American Broadcasting Companies (ABC) after only six episodes.

When Oboler died in 1987, a syndication firm was releasing much of his radio work that had not been heard for more than 40 years. Throughout his career, Oboler gave the horror genre legitimacy and seriousness, leading author Stephen King to call Oboler "the genre's prime auteur." Inheritor of Edgar Allan Poe's dark, fantastical vision, Oboler paved the way for such future masters of the grotesque as Rod Serling and Ray Bradbury.

RON SIMON

See also *Lights Out*; *Playwrights on Radio*

Arch Oboler. Born in Chicago, Illinois, 7 December 1909. Attended University of Chicago; sold first radio play, *Futuristics*, to NBC, 1934; wrote short plays for *Grand Hotel*,

1934–35; also wrote for *Rudy Vallee Show* and *Chase and Sanborn Hour*, mid-1930s; oversaw own series, *Arch Oboler's Plays*, 1939–40; wrote and directed various films, 1940–72; wrote and directed Hans Conreid satire on television, *The Twonky*, 1953; wrote theatrical play *Night of the Auk*, 1958; created new 3-D process, Space Vision, for film *The Bubble*, 1966; negotiated deal with Metacom to syndicate and release on audiocassette *Lights Out* and compilation of other plays, *Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow*, 1986. Died in Westlake Village, California, 19 March 1987.

Radio Series

1936–38, 1942–43	<i>Lights Out</i>
1939–40, 1945	<i>Arch Oboler's Plays</i>
1940–41	<i>Everyman's Theater</i>
1942	<i>Plays for Americans</i> ; writer, <i>Treasury Star Parade</i>
1944	<i>Everything for the Boys</i>

Television Series

Comedy Theatre, 1949

Films

Escape, 1940; *Gangway for Tomorrow*, 1943; *Bewitched*, 1945; *Strange Holiday*, 1945; *The Arnelo Affair*, 1947; *Five*, 1951; *Bwana Devil*, 1952; *The Twonky*, 1953; *One Plus One: Exploring the Kinsey Reports*, 1961; *The Bubble*, 1966 (later reissued as *Fantastic Invasion of Planet Earth*); *Domo Arigato* (unreleased), 1972

Selected Publications

Fourteen Radio Plays, 1940
New Radio Plays, 1940
This Freedom: Thirteen Radio Plays, 1942
Oboler Omnibus: Radio Plays and Personalities, 1945
Night of the Auk: A Free Prose Play, 1958
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Obscenity and Indecency on Radio

Radio has long been considered a guest in the home or car, and so the medium has been constrained in the kinds of language broadcast. The original language of the Radio Act of 1927 (Sec. 29) indicated that “No person within the jurisdiction of the United States shall utter any obscene, indecent, or profane language by means of radio transmission.” However, it was not until 1948 that Congress put teeth into this provision by incorporating this prohibition into the criminal code (18 U.S.C.A. 1464). But does such a constraint violate First Amendment rights of free expression? And has the cultural climate of language usage changed since 1948? Do we know what constitutes *obscene* or *indecent* for everyone, or do these meanings differ from one person to another? Is there any good way for the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) or the courts to enforce this measure without violating a provision in the Communication Act (Section 326), let alone the First Amendment, that prohibits the censorship of broadcast communication? These questions complicate any clear answer to or brief discussion of this issue. However, some court decisions and activities of the FCC give us a history upon which we can base an informed discussion.

Developing Concern

Early in the history of broadcasting, those who announced or otherwise spoke on radio did so with a great deal of decorum and civility. Often they would wear formal attire, even though no one could see them. The language was precise, enunciation was as perfect as possible, and certainly there was neither slang nor profanity. “Radio speakers” were guests in listeners’ homes, and they spoke with careful politeness.

The FCC recognized in 1975 that

broadcasting requires special treatment because of four important considerations: (1) children have access to radios and in many cases are unsupervised by parents; (2) radio receivers are in the home, a place where people’s privacy interest is entitled to extra deference; (3) non-consenting adults may tune in a station without any warning that offensive language is being or will be broadcast; and (4) there is a scarcity of spectrum space, the use of which the government must therefore license in the public interest. (56 FCC 2nd 97)

However, radio evolved to the point that speakers became less formal and more conversational in their radio dialogues with the listener. American culture was changing. Nudity in over-the-counter magazines such as *Playboy* appeared. Frank discussions about sex were no longer as taboo as they had been previously. It was during this time, in the late 1950s and 1960s, that the U.S. Supreme Court tried yet again to define obscenity issues in the media.

In *Roth v United States* (1957), the U.S. Supreme Court tried for the first time to establish some definite measure to define obscenity, after noting that it was not protected by the First Amendment. It was a matter of “whether to the average person, applying contemporary community standards, the dominant theme of the material, taken as a whole, appeals to prurient interest.” There was still no certainty as to what *prurient* meant. A definition was left unarticulated in the case of *Jacobellis v Ohio* (1964): Justice Stewart stated that although he had a hard time defining pornography, “I know it when I see it.”

In *Memoirs v Massachusetts* (1966), the new element added to the definition was that material is patently offensive when it affronts contemporary community standards relating to the description or representation of sexual matters. “Pandering material,” that which openly advertises and appeals to erotic interests, was yet another element added to the definition in 1966 (*Ginzburg v United States*).

But by 1967, the courts had become flooded with obscenity cases, resulting in confusion. In *Redrup v New York*, the court articulated a kind of reverse definition: nothing was obscene except when it fell under the specific circumstances of (1) “pandering,” (2) failure to uphold specific statutes designed to protect juveniles, or (3) an assault upon individual privacy by publication in a manner so obtrusive as to make it impossible for the unwilling individual to avoid exposure to it. It is perhaps this third provision that prevented obscene language in broadcasting in an era in which such language was becoming common in other media.

By 1973, in one of the last attempts by the U.S. Supreme Court to define obscenity, in *Miller v California*, the Court fell back to the elements of the “Roth rule” from the 1957 case. It also added the notion of the “SLAPS rule,” which takes into consideration whether the work in question lacks “Serious Literary, Artistic, Political or Scientific value”; the Court thereby rejected the previous obscenity standard of being “utterly without redeeming social value.”

It was during this era that American mass culture continually presented the courts (and, where broadcasting was concerned, the FCC) with dilemmas of staying with the traditional or liberalizing policies to accommodate new language and attitudes about sex.

As American culture changed, how was radio to reflect this shift? Slang expressions, double entendres, dirty jokes, and

derogatory terms became popular. Indeed, during that era, some talk radio programs, known as “topless radio,” discussed matters of sex in a frank manner. Here, talk show hosts, disc jockeys, and phone-in callers engaged in sexually explicit dialogue, apparently for the express purpose of titillating listeners. Some stations were found to be broadcasting indecent material, however, and fined by the FCC in 1973.

But the pivotal case as it relates to obscenity or indecency on radio came in the case of comedian George Carlin. In his comedy routine “Seven Dirty Words You Can’t Say on Radio or Television,” Carlin expressed thoughts about the nature of some taboo words and how nonsensical their expressions were in many colloquialisms. His descriptions poked fun at society’s view of such words. His humorous satire examined the “language of ordinary people . . . and our silly attitudes toward those words.” Carlin’s routine on the subject was recorded and released with the provision “not for broadcast.” However, a New York City radio station owned by the Pacifica Foundation aired the dialogue one afternoon. A man heard the broadcast of the dialogue while driving with his young son and wrote a letter of complaint to the FCC. He stated that he could not understand why the recording had been broadcast over the air that the FCC was supposed to control (*FCC v Pacifica*, 1978).

The challenge worked its way through the courts for nearly five years, from 1973, when it was first aired, until 1978, when the U.S. Supreme Court decided on it. Because of the dilemma between the FCC’s need to prohibit indecent broadcasts and the constitutional rights guaranteed by the First Amendment, the U.S. Supreme Court agreed to hear the case. The Court in considering this dilemma had to take into consideration both the changing social climate of increasing latitude and also the fact that the sketch had been broadcast in mid-afternoon, at a time when any child might have been listening. The Court looked at the FCC’s enforcement role and its mandate for enforcement from the U.S. Code on indecency and reflected on the cases over the previous decade, which had maintained no First Amendment protection for obscene material. The Court also looked at the careful definitions of *obscenity* and *indecency*.

However, the need for more stringent definitions seemed necessary for broadcasting. One distinction was that *indecency*, unlike *obscenity*, may have First Amendment protection. The concept of *obscenity* uses a more serious standard than does *indecency*, which was defined by the court in the *Pacifica* (1978) case as “intimately connected with the exposure of children to language that describes, in terms patently offensive as measured by contemporary community standards for the broadcast medium, sexual or excretory activities and organs, at times of the day when there is a reasonable risk that children may be in the audience.”

The Court went on to suggest that the material might not have been indecent under some circumstances, such as when

children would not be present. This notion led to the concept of *safe harbor*, a time, for example late at night, when the number of children listening is minimal and when it might be safe to consider a different standard.

For many succeeding years, the FCC applied this ruling to indecent programming airing before 10:00 P.M. By 1987 the FCC changed its definition of *safe harbor* and came to consider a more general definition of indecency. Time of day became less of a factor, because children or youth could often be found listening at all hours. Context became the important factor in determining indecency. Later, the Commission returned to the safe harbor idea, changing the start of the harbor to midnight, provided that the questionable materials began with appropriate warnings. It was assumed by the Commission that parents would maintain some control over their children's listening after midnight. Thus, the focus shifted from the FCC's policing to setting up zones in which parents were responsible.

Broadcasters, together with other interested parties, challenged this new post-midnight safe harbor, because there didn't seem to be any data on such a safe zone. However, Congress intervened, and in the 1989 appropriations bill signed by President Reagan, the FCC was required to enforce a ban on indecent and obscene speech 24 hours a day. This was Congressional grandstanding—they knew such a full-time ban would never survive Court review, but they could look virtuous. Courts eventually did overturn the ban.

Further litigation continued well into the next decade with continually varying definitions of *safe harbor*. The FCC decided in 1993 to look at indecency from the other side; rather than addressing the issue of a safe harbor for questionable language, the FCC declared that it would enforce a safe harbor from 6:00 A.M. to 8:00 P.M., during which time indecency would not be aired. This left the later evening hours up for grabs, but the Commission still maintained a watch on complaints about indecency.

Elements of indecency evolved from topless radio to "shock jocks," disc jockeys and hosts who used shocking and titillating language to enhance their popularity, language and descriptions to which listeners had become more accustomed. Don Imus and Howard Stern were examples of this type of rawness, and unpredictability became popular. Stern, who proclaimed himself "King of all Media," often asked his guests about their sexual habits. References to women were generally about their sexual attributes. His female co-host was the object of frank discussions about sexual habits, and sometimes he would spank bikini-clad females. Radio leaves everything to the imagination, so it was difficult to determine whether it was the act on radio or the imagination of the listener that made things unacceptable.

Stern, who wrote books about his misadventures, and about whom a movie was made, remained unabashed about his boldness. It was this brash style that took him from one

market to the many markets that carried him. As long as there was an audience to listen to his material, it appeared to be socially acceptable, even though most of his audience members were adolescent white males who chuckled at the suggestive material. He spoke of masturbation, incest, and the breast size of famous women, and he included segments on "bestiality dial-a-date." His antics caused him to be fined by the FCC on the basis of violating the federal statute prohibiting the use of obscene, indecent, or profane language on the air. His parent company, Infinity Broadcasting, fought the fines, and they remained in litigation for several years until Infinity moved for a deal to acquire other broadcast stations, a proposal that had to have FCC approval. An agreement was struck, and Infinity paid some of the fines incurred by Stern.

But the shock jock's language and antics continued to trouble some segments of listeners. One church group called for a widespread boycott of products advertised on Stern's shows. The advertisers found that their sales dropped; in turn, they dropped their advertising support of the radio personality. Occasionally, this infuriated Stern, who lashed out against such groups. His infamy was noted in the national press in the spring of 1999, when, while speaking of the shooting tragedy at Columbine High School, he indicated that the shooters were kind of stupid—they should have had sex with those girls before they took them out. This statement put Stern in a questionable light in the minds of many, but his program continued.

Specific challenges regarding the definition of indecency remained problematic. In the early 1990s, an album by the rap group 2 Live Crew, *As Nasty as They Wanna Be*, proved to be troublesome for many. It contained hundreds of sexual references and obscenities. Live performances of material from the album caused arrests of the group members. There was word that some stations tried to air the work, but no complaints ever reached the FCC, and no action was taken against 2 Live Crew by the FCC.

In Santa Barbara, a station licensed to the Regents of the University of California played sexually explicit lyrics in the recorded music "Making Bacon" by the Pork Dudes. A Pacifica station in Los Angeles played excerpts of the play *The Jerker*, about a homosexual dying of AIDS. Although the story and theme were not found to be objectionable by the FCC, the extensive use of patently offensive language referring to sexual and excretory organs and functions caused the FCC to rule that the broadcast was indecent.

There is an ever-growing list of broadcasts that either have been or could be cited for the use of indecent language. The examples given previously illustrate the problems with definition and enforcement by the FCC.

Profanity can be equally offensive for some listeners, but judgments regarding profanity are highly subjective, and profanity is considered to have different levels of offensiveness as part of the artistic expression. Such complications make it

difficult for the FCC to enforce the prohibition of “profane language.” *Profanity* is “the use of irreverent or irreligious words, including cursing by invoking deity.” In earlier generations, profanity was common but was usually confined to specific groups that would be tolerant of such words—not in “polite, mixed company” and certainly not in broadcasting.

Recently, profanity has become more common, perhaps because of its widespread use in movies. The FCC has viewed profanity as being judged from the perspective of the listener or viewer. Generally, the Commission will not bring action unless a speaker uses profanity so repeatedly in invoking a curse as to cause a public nuisance. So radio announcers and talk show hosts who occasionally invoke deity in a profane manner would not likely incur any action from the FCC. More recently, the use of profanity in everything from the language of some musical artists to prime-time television shows would make any enforcement of the profanity prohibition difficult. Indeed, one letter from a conservative watchdog group in the fall of 1999 about indecent language on network television received the reply from the FCC that as long as language was used “in context,” there were no words that could be forbidden. It was a trend that concerned the more conservative observers.

A newer problem is the wide diversity of the media and the invisible nature of those media that are not really “broadcast” and are therefore not punishable under the indecency rule that applies only to “broadcast” language. For example, when one watches premium cable channels and sees R-rated movies with a plethora of obscene, indecent, and profane language, it is easy to get the idea that such language has become acceptable in broadcasting on radio and television. However, cable dissemination is another medium, not a broadcast entity. Although the distinction remains clear in the minds of regulators and enforcers, it may be less clear in the minds of consumers—listeners and viewers. Such popularizing of language once found taboo makes for mixed signals about the implementation of unlawful language in broadcasting.

Was there a legislative cure? In 1996 Congress passed the Communications Decency Act, seeking to protect minors from harmful material, specifically on the internet, but the Act included the term *transmission*, which could be construed to include broadcasting. The American Civil Liberties Union challenged the law on the basis that it violated First Amendment rights. The U.S. Supreme Court in 1997 ruled that the Act’s provisions of “indecent transmission” and “patently offensive display” abridged the freedom of speech protected by the First Amendment; the ruling thus struck down the Communications Decency Act.

The convergence of broadcast, cable, and the internet has further confused the picture of exactly what constitutes “indecent, profane or obscene” language and when and under what circumstances such language may be broadcast or prohibited.

As social mores change, so too will the laws and policies affecting materials seen in the media or heard on radio.

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See also Censorship; First Amendment and Radio; Pacifica Foundation; Seven Dirty Words Case; Shock Jocks; Stern, Howard; Topless Radio; United States Supreme Court and Radio

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Office of Radio Research

Applied Studies of Audiences

The Office of Radio Research was established in 1937 after the Rockefeller Foundation extended a two-year grant to Hadley Cantril, a psychologist at Princeton University (best remembered for his studies about the effects of Orson Welles' radio broadcast *Invasion from Mars*), and Frank Stanton, a recent psychology Ph.D. from Ohio State University who headed up research for the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) and ultimately directed the network as president from 1948 to 1971. The two researchers had proposed a series of studies to broaden the methods for assessing the impact of radio on the public, including the motivations for listening, radio's psychological value to the audience, and the role it played in their lives. Although they had envisioned extensive use of experimental methods, they chose as their research director an Austrian-trained psychologist, Paul Lazarsfeld, who proved to have a deep interest in applied research and methodological innovation. Lazarsfeld had come to the United States on a Rockefeller fellowship in 1933 and remained there after a protofascist government took power in Austria in 1934.

As associate directors, Cantril and Stanton oversaw the work of the office, but Lazarsfeld was in charge of its day-to-day operations, which were initially handled at an office in Newark where Lazarsfeld had already set up an applied social research center in conjunction with the University of Newark. As an intellectual alliance became firmly established between Stanton and Lazarsfeld, Cantril began to withdraw from the project, and the offices, still officially known as the Princeton Office of Radio Research, migrated in 1938 to New York City's Union Square. In 1939, Princeton severed its ties and the project was moved to Columbia University. Given the relatively limited amount of funding available, Lazarsfeld was forced to pursue a wide variety of audience studies, depending often on archival data previously gathered for Gallup polls and radio program audits as well as soliciting applied research projects from commercial organizations. Lazarsfeld was espe-

cially adept at secondary analysis of program ratings, with a particular focus on the social differences between the audiences of various programs, an approach that was nurtured by his European concern for social stratification.

In a successful attempt to win additional Rockefeller Foundation support, Lazarsfeld initiated plans to publish the research studies generated by his small staff. Twice, in 1939 and in 1940, he arranged for an entire issue of the *Journal of Applied Psychology* to be wholly devoted to radio research completed by the office; he was also responsible for a thematic compilation of studies in book form, titled *Radio and the Printed Page*, published in 1940. This tradition continued with three volumes of essays titled *Radio Research* that Lazarsfeld and Stanton jointly published in 1941, 1944, and 1949. The major proposal that Lazarsfeld put forth to ensure a three-year renewal of Rockefeller funding to begin in March 1940 was the idea of creating a study involving two large panels of radio listeners to be interviewed at intervals to assess their response to a sequence of radio broadcasts.

Initially, the research was to be centered on a radio program sponsored by the Department of Agriculture, but ultimately the panel design was implemented for a study of the impact of mass media on voting during the 1940 presidential campaign between Democrat Franklin Roosevelt, running for an unprecedented third term, and Wendell Willkie, a Republican utility executive. The unexpected results—only 54 out of 600 panel members shifted from their initial voting preferences between May and November—led Lazarsfeld and his colleagues, Bernard Berelson and Hazel Gaudet, to devise their theory of the two-step flow of communication effects, in which opinion leaders provide a critical interpersonal link between mass media messages and their intended audiences (*The People's Choice*, 1944, 1948).

In the decade of the 1940s, the office supported a number of studies that marked their authors as prominent innovators

in communication research, including sociologist Robert Merton's study of Kate Smith's radio war bond campaign; Bernard Berelson's study of the effects of the 1945 New York City newspaper strike; and Herta Herzog's study of the motivations of women soap opera listeners using in-depth interviews, a precursor of focus group methodology. Joseph Klapper, who later headed audience research at CBS, completed his dissertation under Lazarsfeld's direction in 1949. A revised version published in 1960, *The Effects of Mass Communication*, forcefully argued against the notion of powerful mass media. Lazarsfeld also invited fellow European émigrés to the office. Film theorist Rudolf Arnheim analyzed the dramatic content of soap operas, and critical theorist Theodor Adorno studied the role of popular and classical music, although Adorno was uncomfortable with Lazarsfeld's quantitative techniques.

Key to the success of the office may have been the relationship between Lazarsfeld and Stanton. Lazarsfeld was ever mindful that he needed the confidence of the broadcast industry to acquire access to the data it gathered as well as political support, but he also realized that he had to persuade executives that studies with negative or unorthodox findings might nevertheless help them better understand and run their industry. Stanton not only had financial resources at CBS to fill in funding gaps at the office, but he was an ally who shared Lazarsfeld's commitment to innovative research techniques. Their joint development of what was called the Lazarsfeld-Stanton Program Analyzer reflected their shared zeal. This device, used both at the office and at CBS studios, allowed the simultaneous recording of the individual opinions of a test audience. Ten listeners at a time could indicate when they liked or disliked the program they were hearing. Such an instant audience analysis machine would be replicated 40 years later using networked personal computers.

Curiously, the Office of Radio Research benefited as well from the social and technological disruptions occasioned by the outbreak of World War II in Europe and by the United States' eventual entry into the conflict. The Rockefeller Foundation's support of radio research was motivated in no small part by a concern about the uses of radio programming for propaganda in wartime. And when America found itself at war, social psychologist Samuel Stouffer, who headed research for the U.S. Army, pursued some of his projects using Lazarsfeld's personnel and even the office's program analyzer. Finally, the exigencies of the wartime economy interrupted the development of commercial television in the United States, artificially extending radio's dominant role in American life.

The vitality of broadcast radio and the importance of this wartime research no doubt aided Lazarsfeld in his quest to fully integrate the office into the structure of Columbia University as a research unit in the graduate school. This he

achieved in 1945, shortly after renaming his hybrid organization for academic, governmental, and commercial research the Bureau of Applied Social Research. It is unclear whether the name change was an attempt to achieve academic legitimacy, to broaden its research mission, or both, but by the time the bureau celebrated its 20th anniversary in 1957, it had effectively abandoned commercial broadcasting as a focus of study.

SETH FINN

See also Audience Research Methods; Education about Radio; Lazarsfeld, Paul F.; Stanton, Frank

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Office of War Information

World War II U.S. Government Agency

The Office of War Information (OWI) was intended to be the primary voice of the United States government during World War II. It cleared government radio programs and provided background information on the war for use by broadcasters and periodical publishers.

Origins

The Office of War Information began its life as a response by President Franklin D. Roosevelt to the petty sniping and conflicting reports released by rival government information agencies. Established on 13 June 1942, the mission of the Office of War Information was described in Executive Order 9182 as “the facilitation of the development of an informed and intelligent understanding, at home and abroad, of the status and progress of the war effort, and of the war policies, activities, and aims of the Government.” The OWI’s domestic branch was formed by combining all or parts of three existing entities: the Office of Facts and Figures, the Office of Government Reports, and the Information Division of the Office of Economic Stabilization, while its foreign or overseas branch was created from the existing Foreign Information Service of the Office of the Coordinator of Information. The OWI soon expanded its scope beyond the duties of the agencies it replaced, moving into production and policy along with information dissemination.

Although similar to its predecessors in function, the OWI was envisioned initially as having greater authority than the agencies it replaced. But Roosevelt refrained from giving the OWI the necessary teeth to accomplish the task at hand. Many federal departments still had their own information units, and the OWI’s authority allowed it only to coordinate their various activities. It could suggest whether a given piece of information should be released or withheld, but it had no recourse if other agencies ignored their advice. Thus in practice the OWI had no more real authority than the agencies it replaced had exercised.

Structure of the OWI

Appointed to head the OWI was journalist and former CBS radio commentator Elmer Davis, who as director was to be involved in larger policy issues both at home and abroad. The choice was hailed almost universally in all quarters, for his radio work had given Davis a reputation for honesty and common sense. His associate director was Milton Eisenhower, a former official of the Department of Agriculture. Eisenhower

was appointed specifically to handle administrative matters, as Davis had no experience in that area.

Former Office of Facts and Figures head Archibald MacLeish assumed the post of Assistant Director for Policy Development and reported directly to Davis’ office. MacLeish’s office served as a think tank of sorts for policy questions, which were then referred (with recommendations) to Davis for final action.

The two branch heads for domestic and foreign operations were next in the hierarchy. Robert Sherwood, noted playwright (*Abe Lincoln in Illinois*) and one-time Republican who became speechwriter and advisor for Franklin Roosevelt, was chosen as Administrative Director for Overseas Operations. Moderate Midwestern publisher and radio station owner Gardner “Mike” Cowles, Jr., was appointed Assistant Director for Domestic Operations.

Foreign Branch Activities: The Voice of America

The difference in the titles of Sherwood and Cowles was no accident. Sherwood, the former head of the Foreign Information Service of the Office of the Coordinator of Information, had centered his burgeoning operation in New York, not Washington, and much of its later work was actually based in England. Davis and Eisenhower had no experience in international affairs, and much of their time would later be spent trying to smooth the ruffled feathers of “a new and often cantankerous staff on the one hand, and dissatisfied executive departments on the other.” From the outset Sherwood and the overseas branch maintained a level of autonomy and distance from its superiors (and from congressional criticism) that the domestic branch could not duplicate.

The Voice of America (VOA), the radio service of the overseas branch, was created in the belief that the U.S. was lagging behind both the Germans and the British in the use of radio as a tool of war. Originally part of the Foreign Information Service, its formation predates that of the OWI by several months. John Houseman, a theatrical and radio producer best known for his collaboration with Orson Welles, was appointed by Sherwood to head the Voice of America. Under his leadership, the Voice, as it was known, was a bastion of liberalism. Its sound was unique, making use of agit-prop and experimental radio and theater techniques to communicate its views. Organized on the principal of language desks (much like the short-wave operations of the BBC), the VOA became a haven for expatriates from every nation under Nazi occupation. As a part of the foreign branch, the VOA exercised direct control

not only over its programming but eventually over its broadcast facilities, acquiring the use of all 14 of the existing short-wave outlets in the U.S. by early 1943.

Under Houseman, the VOA played an important role in defending America against criticism for the lack of a second front during the dark days before the tide of war had turned. By the summer of 1943, however, as victory began to appear likely for the Allies, the liberal propaganda style of Houseman and his staff gave way to a less dramatic, more journalistic approach, one meant not to rouse people to action but to inform. This trend accelerated after Houseman and many of his adherents left the VOA. Military news took precedence over the political, and anything smacking overtly of propaganda was dropped (on the principle that those living under Nazi occupation had heard enough of it already). This approach continues to be effective for the VOA to this day.

Domestic Branch Activities

At its peak, the OWI's domestic branch had its finger in nearly every aspect of the war effort, to the dismay of its critics, and scores of federal agencies cleared information through it daily. This broad reach was not to last, however.

In a democracy, a domestic government propaganda operation cannot help but be slightly suspect, even in wartime, so it is surprising that OWI homefront activities went unchallenged as long as they did. Elmer Davis had been on the job a little more than a year before the dam broke. During the spring and summer of 1943 a congressional coalition of Republicans and conservative Democrats attacked the agency, accusing it and its director of using its resources to work for the re-election of Roosevelt in 1944. The fact that its director had been a frequent critic of congressional Republicans before leaving CBS for the OWI made the situation even worse. Davis fought a losing battle with Congress over the organization's domestic activities and budget, even threatening to resign. By the time the situation had eased somewhat in late June, domestic operating expenditures had been trimmed to \$2.75 million, a meager amount compared to the \$24-million budget approved for the overseas branch. The appropriation was just enough, Davis mused, to avoid "the odium of having put us out of business, and carefully not enough to let us accomplish much." As it was, the cuts forced closings of regional offices around the country. The motion picture production and publishing arms ceased to exist, and much of the responsibility formerly held by the OWI was lost to other government agencies or returned to private-sector entities such as the Advertising Council. As a result, the OWI's domestic operations became precisely those of the "coordinating super-agency" that had been decried.

One of the few domestic activities not drastically reduced in scope was OWI placement of government messages on radio programs and stations, both national and local. As all time

was "donated" (participation was mandatory), expenses were minimal. The system put in place to organize this effort was devised and managed by the staff of the OWI Radio Bureau.

The Radio Bureau

According to a preliminary inventory of the files of the OWI, published by the U.S. Government Printing Office in 1952, the Radio Bureau "reviewed, cleared and approved all proposed radio programs sponsored by Government agencies and served as a central point of contact and clearance for other agencies in other relationships with the radio broadcasting and advertising industries." It also "obtained the use of radio programs with a known audience," and "kept the radio industry informed of the relative importance of the many requests for contribution of free time for Government programs.

Within the bureau were various divisions, each with its own specific area of concentration. These included the Government Liaison Division, the Program Services Division, and the Industry Relations Division. The most important, however, was the Allocation Division. Its primary function was the management of the seven "facilities plans," four providing for the orderly inclusion of "action"-oriented messages (those requiring activity on the part of the listening audience, such as "Don't Buy Black Market Meat") and three plans devoted to communicating war-related "background" information (messages which were meant to educate the American people about why they were fighting and what they were fighting for). The seven facilities plans administered by the Allocation Division were developed to "better insure effective, well planned dissemination of all war information (exclusive of war news) via radio."

First and most extensive among the more specific "action" plans was the Network Allocation Plan. The primary goals of this plan included a "determination as to what needs were paramount and deserved priority," an "orderly allocation and distribution of needs over the radio network structure," and a "wise distribution of war messages which would not surfeit audience and harm established listening habits." To accomplish these tasks, an elaborate bureaucracy was developed linking the four national networks, the various national sponsors, and the program-producing advertising agencies to the OWI Radio Bureau's Allocation Division in Washington, D.C. Under this plan every network program classified as entertainment would carry such information as the Allocation Division provided. Shows broadcasting weekly were required to include a message once every month, while those airing more frequently, such as the many soap operas of the day, were expected to air two such messages in the same period. Schedules were designed to prevent audience overexposure to any one campaign, and many radio campaigns could be run simultaneously owing to the large number of programs available for use.

Copies of all OWI allocation directives concerning a specific program were sent to each of the parties involved. The networks appointed OWI liaisons for both sponsored and sustaining programming, while sponsors usually delegated the job to someone in their advertising department (often the manager himself). These communications to sponsor and the network sponsored program liaison were just courtesies, however, as the bulk of radio's creative work at this time was carried on in the radio departments of advertising agencies around the country (though mostly in New York, Chicago, and Hollywood). These agencies were hired by the sponsor to handle every facet of a show, from conception to production. It was through the like of Kenyon & Eckhardt, Lord & Thomas, BBD&O, and J. Walter Thompson that the government's information truly flowed to the ears of the American people.

OWI information was distributed in the form of a fact sheet that contained the information to be stressed in a program's scheduled allocation. This, along with a cover letter listing the name of the program it was for and the projected date of broadcast, was sent to the ad agency's OWI liaison, usually a staffer in the agency's radio division. Once the information reached the hands of the program's writers, its treatment was completely up to them. Participation was viewed as mandatory, and Radio Bureau staffers monitored broadcasts to verify that assigned allocations had been carried, judging them according to perceived effectiveness at the same time.

The Station Announcement Plan and National Spot Plan were similar in form and function to the Network Allocation Plan but targeted independent stations, syndicated and local sports programming, and other non-network fare.

The final plan in the action group was the Station Live Program Plan, which was under the control of the various OWI Regional Radio Directors who, working with local stations, would try to produce one-shot war programs with more of a hometown flavor. The OWI promoted the importance of a local character coming through over the air so that people would feel more connected to the war effort.

The first of the background information plans was the Feature Series plan. This plan, proposed jointly by the four national networks, called for a "series of network programs embracing background issues of the war which cannot be fully delineated by radio in any other way." The focus was "not on the progress of the war, and not on the things the citizen must do to help win the war, but on the things the citizen must know and understand about the war effort in order wholeheartedly to play his part during the war and in the establishment of a just and lasting peace."

The next background plan made use of existing network programming in much the same way as the Network Allocation Plan did, but shows on the Special Assignment Plan were those that volunteered their time and talent "over and above" the requirements already set by the Network Allocation Plan. These

programs developed a stronger relationship with OWI and were given more personal treatment by the Radio Bureau, along with tremendous access to government facilities and resources.

The final background plan was the Station Transcription Plan, which consisted of "transcribed war programs produced for station use by government agencies." Stations could receive programs upon request. The two main programs offered were *The Treasury Star Parade* (in cooperation with the Treasury Department), which was a three-a-week series, and the OWI's own show, *Uncle Sam*, a five-a-week "strip."

It is not possible to truly gauge the overall importance of radio as a tool of government information dissemination during World War II, even from the vantage point of more than a half-century later. Still, despite the difficulties inherent in its task, the OWI was correct to let radio do the job at home with a minimum of government interference, and in many ways it was a success story of amazing proportions. Some expressed alarm at the use of advertising techniques in the service of the war effort, but a great deal of important government information was communicated effectively to the nation's civilian population using the familiar forms of radio advertising. Though it is hard to isolate radio's impact from other media, its role as a common focal point of American life undeniably helped foster a unity of purpose among those on the home front that may not otherwise have existed. That the work of the former radio arm of the overseas branch, the Voice of America, goes on to this day is an indication of its perceived effectiveness. Though World War II and the Cold War have ended, the VOA continues to serve the foreign policy goals of the United States, broadcasting 900 hours of programming each week in 53 languages.

CHUCK HOWELL

See also BBC World Service; Cold War Radio; Davis, Elmer; Politics and Radio; Propaganda by Radio; Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty; Shortwave Radio; Voice of America; World War II and U.S. Radio

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Oldies Format

The Oldies radio format features the greatest pop music hits of the 1950s and 1960s. The format was created in the early 1970s and initially targeted the musical tastes of the 18- to 34-year-old "baby boomers." The format still targets baby boomers today, although they are now predominantly 35 to 54. This audience was the first generation to grow up with rock and roll. The format's core artists include such 1950s standouts as Elvis Presley, Chuck Berry, Buddy Holly, and the Everly Brothers and 1960s superstars such as the Beatles, Supremes, Beach Boys, and Four Seasons.

The Oldies format was based on a segmentation strategy that targeted older Top 40 listeners. Top 40 was the first radio format to target a young audience, and from its inception in the late 1950s through the late 1960s, it was virtually the only younger-appeal format. When musical styles changed in the late 1960s and early 1970s, a certain portion of the Top 40 audience ceased to relate to the current style of popular music. This disenfranchisement created a format void that was ultimately filled by the creation of the Oldies format.

Top 40 stations play mostly current hits, with a few oldies thrown in each hour. For Oldies stations, the entire focus is on 1950s and 1960s oldies, although some first-generation Oldies stations occasionally played current hits, calling them "Future Gold." This practice was dropped when Oldies stations discovered that their audience didn't want to hear current music, not even one song an hour. Research showed the audience wanted Oldies music exclusively, and this exclusivity became the format's most powerful listener benefit. The success of this appeal was the genesis for the format's most popular positioning statement, "All Oldies. All The Time."

The Oldies format was a natural, evolutionary outgrowth of Top 40 radio. Consequently, it was shaped by the same cultural factors that affected our society at that time. In the 1950s and 1960s America was a "mass market" society. There were few media choices. Most markets had one or two daily newspapers; three network TV stations (American Broadcasting Company [ABC], Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS], and

National Broadcasting Company [NBC]); and a handful of AM radio stations. (FM stations didn't gain significant listening levels until the mid-1970s.)

Because of the limited media choices, media (and virtually all other consumer offerings) were targeted to the mass audience. Most radio stations were programmed to appeal to a broad, adult audience. When the Top 40 format was created, it too was programmed to a wide demographic target audience that ranged in age from subteens to people in their 30s and 40s. Therefore, Top 40 music of the day was an amalgam of many tastes and styles and represented a variety of music, including such divergent artists as Fats Domino; Percy Faith; Peter, Paul, and Mary; The Singing Nun; Roger Miller; Herman's Hermits; Dean Martin; James Brown; Cream; and others. This diversity of musical styles is reflected in the playlists of today's Oldies stations.

The first stations involved in the development of the Oldies format included Westinghouse's WIND-AM in Chicago; CBS FM's WCAU-FM in Philadelphia; and the station that became the format's standard bearer, CBS FM's flagship station, WCBS-FM in New York City. Other early Oldies stations included KRTH-FM in Los Angeles, WFYR-FM in Chicago, and KOOL-FM in Phoenix.

The early success of WCBS-FM was notable for two reasons. First, the station operated in the spotlight of the nation's largest market, and anything of consequence that happened in the number-one market made news. Second, it was an FM station that was beginning to get noticeable ratings at a time when the overwhelming majority of all listening still occurred on the AM band.

WCBS-FM's success had a major impact on the format. Radio operators surmised, "If WCBS-FM can pull a three-share in New York City, with all of the stations in that market, imagine what we can pull in ours." What they discovered, in most cases, was that their Oldies station also was able to pull a three-share, which was indicative of the format's appeal at that time.

Oldies was viewed as a niche format. It had a small, loyal audience but was not considered a format that would make a station a market leader. Most Oldies stations were operated on that premise. Generally, they tended to be on the AM dial with inferior signals (at a time when radio listening was increasingly focused on the FM dial). Most ran network or syndicated programming that was not local, they weren't promoted or marketed, and they were low-cost operations with modest profit goals. There were some notable exceptions, but for the most part the radio industry perceived Oldies to be a second-tier format. Like many beliefs, this had the possibility of becoming a self-fulfilling prophecy. Since the radio industry did not believe Oldies could deliver big ratings, it did not invest resources in the format, and thus the format did not grow.

This perception lasted until the mid-1980s, when two major broadcasting companies began achieving big ratings with their Oldies properties. Shamrock Broadcasting's WWSW-AM-FM in Pittsburgh, KXKL-FM in Denver, and WFOX-FM in Atlanta and Sconnix Broadcasting's WQSR-FM in Baltimore and WMXJ-FM in Miami served as pivotal success stories that forced the industry to reevaluate Oldies as a

format. These two companies asked the question, "What would happen if you treated an Oldies station like you would any other station? What would happen if you offered local programming, hired programming consultants, did local research, invested heavily in programming and marketing, and—most important—offered the format on FM?" From the late 1980s to the mid-1990s, market after market saw the emergence of a new FM Oldies competitor. Today, Oldies is considered a major radio format, and in virtually every large and medium market, and in most smaller markets, listeners can find at least one station that specializes in it.

E. ALVIN DAVIS

See also Classic Rock Format; Rock and Roll Format

Further Reading

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Old-Time Radio. *See* Nostalgia Radio

One Man's Family

Serial Drama

Created by one of broadcasting's neglected auteurs, Carlton E. Morse, *One Man's Family* was radio's most acclaimed and popular primetime serial drama. Relating the multi-generational saga of the Barbours, an upper middle class family in San Francisco, *One Man's Family* aired 3,256 episodes from 1932 to 1959, making it the longest uninterrupted narrative in the history of American radio. With an opening dedication to "the mothers and fathers of the younger generation and to their bewildering offspring," *One Man's Family* reflected the aspirations and tensions of the American family over three decades.

Morse imbued *One Man's Family* with a novelistic aura. He modeled his series on *The Forsyte Saga*, John Galsworthy's sprawling study of an aristocratic family in late Victorian and Edwardian England. To underscore the literary parallel, Morse

divided his series into "books" and "chapters," which were announced at the beginning of each show. The final program closed the run at Chapter 30 of Book 134. The artistic trappings help give *One's Man's Family* a critical legitimacy, making it seem more than soap opera, closer to literature. Much of the critical discourse about the program echoed Gerald Nachman's assessment that the serial "was emblematic of America's ongoing faith in the home as the savoir of the nation and the wellspring of its spiritual strength."

A Morse Creation

Louisiana-born Carlton Morse studied drama at the University of California at San Francisco, where he first became intrigued

with the city that would take hold of his imagination. After struggling as a journalist, he joined the staff of KGO, the San Francisco radio affiliate of NBC two weeks before the stock market crash of 1929. He began writing scripts for the series *House of Myths* and later wrote for such mystery programs as *Chinatown Tales* and *Split-Second Tales*. He gained a reputation for his "blood and thunder" scripts, including "Dead Man Prowl" and "City of Dead," first heard on NBC *Mystery Serial* and later revived for the syndication series *Adventures* by Morse in the 1940s. Morse also crafted plays based on the files of the San Francisco Police Department for *Barbary Coasts Nights*.

Concerned about increasing juvenile delinquency after World War I, Morse turned his back on the action genre and developed a series that would affirm family bonds. Serving as both producer and director, he chose many young actors with whom he worked at the university and at *Mystery Serial* for a new program that would emphasize relationships over plot. *One Man's Family* debuted on 29 April 1932 as a 13-week trial on NBC's San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Seattle stations. Broadcast weekly from the NBC radio studios at 111 Sutter Street in San Francisco, the program was aired in May to the full West Coast lineup of stations and one year later was carried nationwide, becoming the first program based in the West to be heard regularly in the East.

One Man's Family quickly attained commercial viability. In 1934 Penn Tobacco became a regular sponsor for a year, soon replaced by Standard Brands for the next 14 years. With a half-hour Wednesday evening slot and an increasingly devoted audience, the production moved to Hollywood in 1937. *One Man's Family* achieved its highest rating during the 1939–40 season when it was on Sunday evenings following the Jack Benny and Edgar Bergen/Charlie McCarthy comedy programs, and ranked among the top five programs in the nation. In September 1949 there was such a public outcry when Standard Brands dropped the series that NBC sustained it until another advertiser could be found. Miles Laboratories became the sponsor in June 1950 and reorganized *One Man's Family* as a daily quarter-hour program. When the series ended on 8 May 1959, Morse mourned its passing with a note to the *Los Angeles Times*: "The signposts for sound family life are now few, and I feel the loss of *One Man's Family* is just another abandoned lighthouse."

The Ensemble

One Man's Family was immediately recognized for its unprecedented realism. Morse's relationship with his cast was partly responsible for the program's authenticity. Morse wrote the scripts with the personal quirks of each actor in mind, and the ensemble responded by sticking with the program for years. When it ended in 1959, many actors were still playing roles

that they had originated decades before. J. Anthony Smythe starred as the patriarch Henry Barbour, the crusty, conservative stockbroker, for the entire run of the series. Minetta Lane continued as Fanny Barbour, the patient mother of five children, until 1955 as did Michael Raffetto who held forth as the eldest son Paul, a battle scarred veteran who became the trusted moral center of the family. Page Gilman, the son of NBC vice president Don Gilman, joined the cast as a 15-year old playing the youngest son Jack and stayed to the cancellation. When Barton Yarborough, who played the mercurial son Clifford, died suddenly in 1951, his character was written out of the script.

The inaugural episode began with a household of seven; by the end of the run the extended family totaled more than 90. The story lines unfolded slowly and realistically, dealing with such traditional serial subjects as romance, marriage, children, and divorce. Morse tried to capture the rhythms of daily life by listening to his actors and the audience. When the actress Bernice Berwin, who played the eldest daughter Hazel, was pregnant, so was her character. Although much of the domestic action centered on the large family home in the wealthy community of Sea Cliff near the Golden State Bridge and their weekend retreat at Sky Ranch, the well-off Barbours were also affected by national events, especially World War II, which threatened the lives of several leading characters. The tragic heroine of the program, Claudia, was lost at sea when Germans torpedoed her ship, a situation constructed by Morse to allow actress Kathleen Wilson to leave the series and raise her own family. Listeners became so upset that their impetuous and star-crossed Claudia was presumably dead, that Morse revived the role with another actress, Barbara Fuller, who stayed until the end of the series.

Impact

One Man's Family became a national ritual as millions of Americans embraced the Barbour family as their own. Many collectibles were marketed to the ardent fans, including cookbooks, diaries, and family albums. Radio satirists Bob and Ray parodied this sentimental side of the series with their look at the "Butcher family" in *One Feller's Family*. Standard Brands and its advertising company J. Walter Thompson were so pleased with the success of *One Man's Family* that they asked Morse to create another radio series. Morse returned to his action roots and conceived *I Love a Mystery*, which employed many of *One Man's Family* regulars. Morse adapted his family serial to television several times. *One Man's Family* was presented first in 1949 as a weekly prime-time series on NBC. Lasting three years, the live, half-hour television version started the Barbour story practically from the beginning, almost where it began decades before on radio. Consequently, none of the radio stars were asked to participate. This first

video adaptation is notable because it featured a young Eva Marie Saint as the adventurous Claudia with Tony Randall and Mercedes McCambridge in lesser roles. Again starting at the beginning, *One's Man Family* was brought to television as an afternoon quarter-hour soap opera in 1954 but lasted only a year. This time Anne Whitfield played Claudia, while she was also playing Claudia's daughter Penelope on radio. Finally in 1958 Morse tried again with a pilot produced for *The Loretta Young Show*, focusing on the relationship between Claudia (Jean Allison) and Johnny Roberts (Keefe Brasselle), an early radio story line.

Carlton Morse estimated that he wrote more than 10 million words to bring to life his vision of an American dynasty. Like the rest of America, his radio family, although prosperous WASPs, persevered through the Great Depression, World War II, and the beginnings of the atomic age. Morse truly believed that if the integrity and moral strength of the family could stay intact, then no great harm could come to the nation. *One Man's Family* was the embodiment of his patriotic and patriarchal philosophy. If *One Man's Family* is still warmly remembered by radio partisans, Morse's immense talents as a producer/writer/director have largely been forgotten, and references to his creative contribution are missing from several radio histories. *Variety* even misspelled his first name when he died on 24 May 1993 in Sacramento, California. But Morse was diligent to save and copyright his scripts, donating them to Stanford University for serious scholarship.

For those critics who fell under the sway of *One Man's Family*, the collection at Stanford will prove that Morse was not only a pioneer of the serial narrative, but also one of broadcasting's most gifted and compelling storytellers. The program series is one of those honored by the Radio Hall of Fame.

RON SIMON

See also I Love a Mystery; Radio Hall of Fame

Cast

Henry Barbour	J. Anthony Smythe
Fanny Barbour	Minetta Ellen (1932-55) Mary Adams (1955-59)
Paul Barbour	Michael Raffetto (1933-55) Russell Thorson (1955-59)

Hazel Barbour	Bernice Berwin (1932-58)
Claudia Barbour	Kathleen Wilson (1932-43) Barbara Fuller (1945-59)
Clifford Barbour	Barton Yarborough (1932-51)
Jake Barbour	Page Gilman (1932-59)

Creator

Carlton E. Morse

Writers

Carlton E. Morse, Harlen Ware, Michael Raffetto, Clinton Buddy Twiss, Charles Buck

Directors

Carlton E. Morse, George Fogle, Michael Raffetto

Announcers

William Andrews, Ken Carpenter, Frank Barton

Organists

Paul Carson (1932-51), Sybil Chism (1951-54), Martha Green (1954)

Programming History

NBC (NBC Red until 1943) 29 April 1932-8 May 1959

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Osgood, Charles 1933–

U.S. News Reporter

Radio news personality Charles Osgood has received many accolades for his unique style. One of his colleagues, Charles Kuralt, referred to him as “one of the last great broadcast writers.”

His ability to take a simple off-beat news story or little-known fact and develop a commentary attracts many radio listeners to his daily morning Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) Radio News program, *The Osgood Files*, which runs in four installments. CBS News reports that his program is noted for its large audience.

Osgood worked as general manager of WHCT (the first pay television station in the United States) in Hartford, Connecticut, and as program director and manager for WGMS in Washington, D.C. Before going to WCBS, Osgood spent almost four years on general assignment for American Broadcasting Companies (ABC) Radio News, where he did a show called *The Flair Reports*, a radio program similar to *The Osgood Files*.

Prior to joining CBS News, Osgood was a morning anchor and reporter for WCBS Newsradio 88, the CBS flagship AM station in New York City, from 1967–91. On 28 August 1997, WCBS Newsradio 88 celebrated 30 years of all-news format by highlighting Charles Osgood as one of the legends of radio in a program called “Let’s Find Out.”

In addition to his work on CBS Radio Network, Osgood is also a correspondent for CBS Television Network. On 1 April 1994, he was named anchor of CBS News *Sunday Morning*. Before being named to this post, he had provided commentary for *CBS This Morning* and had been a regular contributor to *Up to the Minute* and *Sunday Morning*. Until June of 1992, he was co-anchor of the *CBS Morning News* and a contributor to the *CBS Evening News with Dan Rather*. From 1981–87, Osgood anchored the *CBS Sunday Night News*.

His features for *The Osgood Files*, which he writes and delivers, often display a wit that is blended with a childlike sense of wonder, as exemplified in his frequent sign-off, “I’ll see you on the radio.” To Osgood, radio permits the listener to build his or her own pictures, which are not confined by the “limits of a television screen” but are constructed by limitless imagination.

Early-morning commuters appreciate Osgood’s keen perspective on life, which sheds new light on a fast-paced society. In fact, the Society of Silurians, a distinguished group of New York journalists, have honored him for his “fresh approach to news and its background.”

Often called CBS News’ “poet in residence,” Osgood uses the Dr. Seuss approach to poetry to deliver some of his com-

mentaries in verse. As he says, “The news of the day is so goofy at times/It just seems to fit into couplets and rhymes.” Consequently, it seemed only fitting for President Richard Knedler of Franklin and Marshall College to present Osgood with an honorary Doctor of Human Letters Citation (1998) that was written in verse. Osgood acknowledged the honor by quoting from Theodore Geisel (a.k.a. Dr. Seuss).

Osgood’s commentaries have earned him some of the most prestigious awards ever given to a broadcast journalist. For five consecutive years, he received the *Washington Journalism Review*’s “Best in the Business” Award as “Best Radio Reporter” (1988–92). He also won two George Foster Peabody awards (1985–86) for *Newsmark*, a weekly CBS Radio public-affairs broadcast.

In 1990 Osgood was inducted into the National Association of Broadcasters Hall of Fame. In 1993 he was presented with the Marconi Radio Award for Syndicated Network Personality of the Year. In 1995 he received the Lowell Thomas



Charles Osgood
Courtesy of CBS News

Electronic Journalism Award from the International Platform Association and the John Connor Humanitarian Service Award from Operation Smile.

Osgood, a native New Yorker, received a B.S. in economics from Fordham University. He also holds an honorary doctorate from Fordham, an honorary law degree from St. John's University School of Law, and honorary degrees from St. Bonaventure University, Stonehill College, College of St. Rose, LeMoyne College, St. Peter's College, and the College of Mount St. Vincent.

MARY KAY SWITZER

Charles Osgood. Born in New York City, 8 January 1933. Attended Fordham University, B.S. in Economics, 1954; reporter, ABC, 1963–67, WCBS, 1967–91, CBS News, 1991–present; news anchor, *CBS Sunday Night News*, 1981–87; wrote and delivered features on *The Osgood Files*. Inducted into National Association of Broadcasters' Hall of Fame, 1990; received honorary degrees from various U.S. universities; received George Foster Peabody Award, 1985, 1986, *Washington Journalism Review's* "Best in the Business"

Award as "Best Radio Reporter", 1988–92, Marconi Radio Award, 1993, Radio Mercury Award, 1999.

Radio Series

The Osgood Files

Selected Publications

Nothing Could Be Finer Than a Crisis That Is Minor in the Morning, 1979

There Is Nothing I Wouldn't Do If You Would Be My

POSSLQ, 1979

Osgood on Speaking: How to Think on Your Feet without Falling on Your Face, 1988

The Osgood Files, 1991

See You on the Radio, 1999

Further Reading

The Osgood File website, <http://www.cbsradio.com/news_osgood.asp>

Risley, Ford, "Charles Osgood," in *Encyclopedia of Television News*, edited by Michael D. Murray, Phoenix, Arizona: Oryx Press, 1999

Our Miss Brooks

Situation Comedy

One of the most beloved female characters in radio comedy was Eve Arden's Connie Brooks, an English teacher at a Midwestern high school. Miss Brooks was good-humored, witty, and sardonic, a change from the scatterbrained or merely sarcastic female characters who had been plentiful in supporting or co-starring roles in radio comedy up to that time. Miss Brooks was radio's first single woman as lead character in prime time, and Eve Arden brought to the role the character and intelligence that she had become famous for in films such as *Mildred Pierce*. In films, however, Arden had usually played supporting roles, such as the heroine's best friend. *Our Miss Brooks* allowed Arden to shine on her own, and her series became one of the most popular of the postwar period.

Arden was not the first choice for the role of Connie Brooks. Producer Harry Ackerman had originally wanted Lucille Ball, who turned it down, and he had then asked Shirley Booth. Booth refused the series because, Ackerman recalled, "all she could see was the downside of being an underpaid teacher. She couldn't make any fun of it" (quoted in

Nachman, 1998). Meanwhile, Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) President William Paley had become acquainted with Arden and proposed that she do the series. She passed on the original script, but a rewrite by Joe Quillan and Al Lewis proved more to her taste (Lewis would serve throughout the show's run as writer-director). There was still the matter of the broadcast schedule to negotiate, however. The program was scheduled to premiere at the beginning of the summer, which Arden had planned to spend with her children in Connecticut. She asked if the programs could be transcribed, allowing her to do all 15 in a short time and then depart. The network agreed, and *Our Miss Brooks* became one of the first radio programs to be broadcast by transcription. It quickly became the number-one program of the 1948 summer season.

Arden's warm and witty delivery anchored the program, but she was surrounded by an equally talented supporting cast, many of whom went on to fame in film and television. Gale Gordon, famous for his portrayal of Mayor La Trivia on *Fibber McGee and Molly* (and later as Lucille Ball's television



Eve Arden, *Our Miss Brooks*
Courtesy Radio Hall of Fame

nemesis), played Madison High's blustering Principal Conklin. Future film stars Jeff Chandler and Richard Crenna both had prominent roles—Chandler as Miss Brooks' love interest, biology teacher Mr. Boynton, and Crenna as her adoring, mischief-making student Walter Denton. The other women in the cast were Jane Morgan as Brooks' addled landlady Mrs. Davis; Gloria McMillan as the principal's daughter Harriet; and Mary Jane Croft as Miss Enright, a possible competitor for Mr. Boynton's affections.

Stories often revolve around some scheme of Denton's going comically awry (such as his plan to make Miss Brooks teacher of the year); he inevitably involves Miss Brooks in some way, which ends up getting her into hot water with Mr. Conklin. Conklin constantly suspects Brooks of being at the root of whatever problem is at hand (with some justification), but she is also adept at mollifying him and helps to protect him from the dreaded school board. As Gerald Nachman (1998) has noted, part of the uniqueness of Brooks' character is that "she treated men with refreshing suspicion—but as undeserving equals." Miss Brooks is always the smartest, most rational, most sophisticated person in any room. In her romance with Mr. Boynton, she is clearly the aggressor in the relationship, trying to figure out ways to manipulate Boynton into asking her out on dates. As she explains to Mrs. Conklin in one episode, "In a moment of weakness, I promised Mr. Boynton the entire weekend." Mrs. Conklin asks, "When did you do that, Miss Brooks?" and she replies, "At lunch in about an hour from now. That is, I'm sure he'll accept—er—invite me." Although Mr. Boynton remains friendly and admiring throughout the series, he is perpetually dim with regard to romance and often seems more enamored of his frog, McDougall, than of Miss Brooks.

Connie Brooks' spirit, however, remains undaunted by the lack of progress in her romance or the shortcomings of her profession. Although the program addressed some of the problems of being a schoolteacher—especially low wages and lack of appreciation—Brooks' obvious sense of her own worth helped her rise above her circumstances and served as an inspiration to teachers around the country. Eve Arden received thousands of approving letters from teachers, was often asked to address Parent-Teacher Association (PTA) meetings, and was even offered jobs teaching English at various high schools. Most important, perhaps, Brooks suggested that marriage and children were not the only road to fulfillment for young women in the 1950s. The popularity of the program attests to

the audience's desire for more alternatives than those that the narrowly defined culture of the postwar period offered them, and Miss Brooks made such an alternative seem not only possible, but thoroughly enjoyable as well.

In 1952 *Our Miss Brooks* moved to television, where it ran successfully until 1956, earning Eve Arden an Emmy as Best Actress. Although she continued to appear on stage and in films, Arden's low, throaty voice was instantly recognizable to fans of the show, and she always remained best known as Miss Brooks. Fortunately, most of the program's eight-year radio run is available in recordings, providing a remarkable testament to one of radio's comedy heroines.

ALLISON MCCrackEN

See also Comedy; Gordon, Gale

Cast

Miss Connie Brooks	Eve Arden
Principal Osgood Conklin	Gale Gordon
Philip Boynton	Jeff Chandler (1948–53), Robert Rockwell (1953–57)
Walter Denton	Richard Crenna
Mrs. Margaret Davis	Jane Morgan
Harriet Conklin	Gloria McMillan
Stretch Snodgrass	Leonard Smith
Miss Enright	Mary Jane Croft
The French Teacher	Maurice Marsac
Jacque Monet	Gerald Mohr
Announcer	Verne Smith, Bob Lamond

Producer/Creator

Larry Berns

Director/Writer

Al Lewis

Programming History

CBS 1948–57

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Owens, Gary 1936–

U.S. Radio Personality

In his more than 40-year career, Gary Owens has hosted more than 12,000 radio shows. Owens began working in radio in the 1950s, paying his way through college by working at KORN, in Mitchell, South Dakota. As a boy, Owens listened to such radio programs and personalities as *Superman*, *The Shadow*, Jack Benny, and Fred Allen. From KORN, Owens went on to KMA in Shenandoah, Iowa; to KOIL in Omaha, Nebraska; and to KIMN in Denver, Colorado. Gordon McLendon hired him to increase ratings at KILT in Houston, KTSA in San Antonio, WNOE in New Orleans, and WIL in St. Louis. Owens said in a *Billboard* interview: “I was a troubleshooter for McLendon, doing unusual things to gain ratings. I worked in three markets in one year” (Rusk, 1996). In 1959

McLendon moved Owens to the morning drive slot at KEWB in San Francisco, which was within arm’s length of Owens’ ultimate goal of Hollywood.

Owens moved to Hollywood’s KFVB in 1961. In 1962 he began a 20-year stint at KMPC in Hollywood. TV producers and directors hired him for countless parts and voiceovers in movies, TV shows, cartoons, and commercials. Owens, broadcasting direct “from beautiful downtown Burbank,” became one of the more recognizable voices in entertainment. Owens is most famous for his trademark hand-over-the-ear delivery on NBC-TV’s *Rowan and Martin’s Laugh-In* from 1968 to 1973. He was one of many regulars on the one-hour television show. Endless gags were crammed into the hour-long program,



Gary Owens
 Courtesy Radio Hall of Fame

because the producers believed the fast pace would not require all attempts at humor to work so long as the audience was not given time to be bored. From 29 September to 26 December 1969, Owens hosted the daytime game show *Letters to Laugh-In*, a spin-off of the regular show in which four guest celebrity panelists read jokes sent in by *Laugh-In*'s viewers. The studio audience chose jokes to be used on the prime-time program.

In 1982 Owens left KMPC for several other Los Angeles stations. He first went to KPRZ, then to KKGQ-FM in 1985, KFI in 1987, KLAC in 1992, and KJQI in 1993. Since 15 June 1996, Owens has hosted *Music of Your Life*, a radio program syndicated by Jones Satellite Networks. While being seen or heard on TV, Owens has also worked regularly in radio. He told *Billboard* magazine: "I occasionally will get off the air and strictly do television, cartoons, and commercials, but I eat, drink, and sleep radio. I love radio. I always have" (Rusk, 1996). Owens has won 50 Clio Awards and earned a star in the Hollywood Walk of Fame. He has been hailed as a "Legend" by *Billboard* magazine and (along with Gordon McLendon) was named to the Museum of Broadcast Communications Radio Hall of Fame in 1994.

W.A. KELLY HUFF

See also McLendon, Gordon

Gary Owens. Born Gary Altman in Mitchell, South Dakota, 10 May 1936. Began radio career at KORN, Mitchell, South Dakota, 1950s; hosted morning drive slot on KEWB, San Francisco, California, 1959; host at KMPC, Hollywood, California, 1962–82; regular on *Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In*, 1968–73; Worked at various Los Angeles radio stations 1982–96; host of syndicated radio show *Music of Your Life*, 1996–present; recipient: star on Hollywood Walk of

Fame, 1994; more than 50 Clio Awards; inducted into Museum of Broadcast Communications Hall of Fame, 1994.

Radio Series

Watermark's Soundtrack of the 60s, 1981–84

Gary Owens' Soundtracks, 1984–88

Music of Your Life, 1996–

Television

Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In, 1968–73; *The Gong Show*, 1976–77

Films

Narrator, *The Naked Witch*, 1960 (a.k.a. *The Naked Temptress*); *The Love Bug*, 1969; narrator, *Dr. Phibes Rises Again*, 1972; narrator, *Loose Shoes*, 1980 (a.k.a. *Coming Attractions* and *Quackers*); *Hysterical*, 1983; narrator, *Aliens, Dragons, Monsters and Me*, 1986; *I'm Gonna Git You Sucka*, 1988; *Destroyer*, 1988 (a.k.a. *The Edison Effect* and *Shadow of Death*); *How I Got Into College*, 1989; *Kill Crazy*, 1990; *Ed Wood: Look Back In Angora*, 1994; *Diggin' Up Business*, 1990; *Spy Hard*, 1996; *Border to Border*, 1998

Further Reading

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Rusk, Bob, "The Airwaves of Gary Owens' Life: Radio Is Still Tops for 'Laugh-In' Regular," *Billboard* (20 July 1996)

Ownership, Mergers, and Acquisitions

During radio's first seven decades, through the mid-1990s, ownership of radio stations was limited by Federal Communications Commission (FCC) rules. Since the passage of the 1996 Telecommunications Act, owners have been allowed to own not just a few stations, but hundreds. Through multiple mergers and acquisitions, a handful of new radio owners—led by Clear Channel and Infinity/Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS)—have consolidated hundreds of stations under a single corporate umbrella.

The First 70 Years

During radio's development stage in the 1920s, stations were most often owned and operated as secondary sidelines to other businesses, such as hotels, retail stores, or radio-related businesses such as receiver manufacturing or sales. Newspapers acquired stations out of fear of a new competitor for local advertising dollars. Department stores and hotels bought stations to promote their sales. But with the development of the

national networks, the National Broadcasting Company (NBC, owned by radio manufacturer Radio Corporation of America) and then CBS, ownership began to consolidate.

By 1936 about half of all stations were affiliated with a network, but the FCC frowned on networks' directly owning too many outlets. NBC and CBS acquired stations in major cities, reaching most of the population, and these owned and operated units accounted for a quarter of the networks' income. In 1943 the FCC issued a rule limiting owners to no more than one AM and one FM station per market. Thus groups of stations were developed across multiple markets by both networks and by other firms. Later in the 1940s, the Commission set as seven the number of AM stations that could be owned in common. In 1953 the FCC raised the FM limit to seven and formalized the limit of seven AM and seven FM stations that would define radio ownership for three decades.

The New World of Radio Ownership

The dramatic growth in the number of radio stations led the FCC (under pressure from the broadcast industry) to allow several increases in ownership limits after 1980—to 20 AM and 20 FM stations, for a potential national total of 40 outlets—by the early 1990s. Also gone, as of 1992, was the “duopoly rule” that had limited a single group or individual to no more than a single AM and FM outlet in a single market. On 8 February 1996, President Clinton signed into law the Telecommunications Act of 1996, which, among its many provisions, directed the FCC to eliminate the national multiple radio ownership rule and to relax the local ownership rule. In an Order adopted 7 March 1996, the FCC implemented these provisions, and soon the former ownership limits of seven AM and seven FM stations seemed quaint.

The Telecommunications Act of 1996 loosened but did not eliminate ownership restrictions. For example, in markets with 45 or more commercial stations, a single company may own up to 8 stations with no more than 5 as either AM or FM. If the market has 30–44 commercial radio stations, the total number one owner can acquire drops to 7, with a maximum of 4 in the same class (AM or FM). For smaller markets, those with 15–29 radio stations, the total “cap” (permitted absolute amount) drops to 6, with 4 of any one modulation. Finally, in markets with fewer than 14 commercial radio stations, the total that any one company can own is 5, with no more than 3 as AM or FM (in each case, up to half the stations in the market).

Passage of the 1996 Act set off the greatest merger wave in radio history. CBS merged with Infinity Broadcasting, and in a telling metaphor Infinity's founder, Mel Karmazin, noted, “it's like combining two ocean front properties.” He meant that the new empire would not be some “mom and pop” collection of stations, as had often been the case in the past, but would own

seven outlets in New York City, six in Los Angeles, ten in Chicago, eight in San Francisco, and four in Washington, D.C. By 2000, the new CBS/Infinity combination commanded nearly a third of all radio advertising revenues in the top ten markets.

During just the first year after passage of the 1996 law, the FCC calculated that some 2,066 radio stations (about 20 percent of the total) changed owners. As a result of this trading activity, the Commission observed that there were a score of new owners and a significant increase in the number of large group owners—and therefore of concentration of station ownership overall. There were also considerable changes in the composition of the top 50 radio group owners, reflecting mergers between companies on that list as radio groups began to develop into vast empires. And the top media companies continued consolidating: the top ten of 1996 shrank to six by the end of 1997, to a top three by the fall of 1998, and to a Big Two by 2000—Clear Channel and CBS/Infinity after its merger with Viacom. Disney's American Broadcasting Companies (ABC) and Cox's radio division followed as part of major media conglomerates and were the only powers that could offer Clear Channel or Viacom's CBS/Infinity a true challenge.

Clear Channel

Clear Channel Communications, based in San Antonio, Texas, owned more than 900 radio stations by early 2000, the largest radio group in history. It remained the largest in mid-2003, with more than 1,200 stations nationwide. Clear Channel owned stations in the top markets of the United States, yet it was still best thought of as a force in small and medium markets in communities such as Grand Rapids, Michigan (media market 66), and El Paso, Texas (media market 69). Clear Channel had also expanded abroad, acquiring radio stations in Australia, New Zealand, and the Czech Republic.

But Clear Channel's October 1999 purchase of Hicks Muse's collection of radio stations pushed it into an ownership category never fathomed by the creators of the Communications Act of 1934. Hicks Muse, an investment company unknown to the radio business before 1995, owned in excess of 400 stations when it sold to Clear Channel. The deals had come rapidly. In February 1997, in two deals worth more than \$1.6 billion, the largest radio group was formed. The combined company, to be called Chancellor Media Corporation, was put together by Hicks Muse; later that month, Hicks Muse took over Evergreen, and the rush was on. Next came the takeover of ten radio properties owned by Viacom for \$1.075 billion, bringing Hicks Muse to widespread notice with a then combined enterprise of 103 radio stations in 21 markets, aggregate net revenues of more than \$700 million, and an enterprise value of about \$5 billion. With its late 1999 takeover of Hicks Muse, Clear Channel had acquired stations in nearly every radio market in the United States—certainly in

every major one. Clear Channel had become the greatest owner of radio in the medium's 80-year history.

CBS/Infinity

CBS/Infinity owned far fewer radio stations than Clear Channel, but its 161 stations by early 2000 placed it in a strong second place. Despite growing to 185 stations by mid-2003, CBS/Infinity had slipped to fourth place in number of stations but remained second in terms of revenue and audience size because the outlets were all located in major markets. With stations in the top ten markets, CBS/Infinity was a media conglomerate, with a very profitable radio division functioning at the heart of the corporation's strategy for the future. Karmazin argued that radio offered an advertising vehicle that even television could not match, because radio could target listeners far more efficiently.

Under Mel Karmazin, founder and head of Infinity Broadcasting (which Westinghouse CBS acquired in July 1996 for \$4.9 billion in the costliest merger to that date in radio history), CBS/Infinity radio ownership in the top ten markets had become impressive by 2000. In the next ten markets, CBS/Infinity owned strong radio positions in Atlanta, Minneapolis, St. Louis, Baltimore, and Pittsburgh. All this added up to equal status with Clear Channel, but one that was accomplished in a far different manner.

Disney/ABC

Disney—although far more famous for its other media operations—took sizable revenues from its radio division, although its radio holdings paled in comparison to CBS, let alone Clear Channel. Yet Disney offered a significant presence because overall it ranked as the largest media conglomerate in the world before the America Online/Time Warner merger early in 2000. Chief Executive Officer Michael Eisner and his management team kept a significant position in radio; Disney did not sell off these assets as it did with the newspapers it acquired from ABC/Capital Cities, but it also chose not to try to match the merger frenzy of its larger radio rivals. Disney surely had the resources to grow into a larger radio power, but as the 1990s ended the company had chosen not to expand. It rested on its ownership of stations in the top media markets and so should best be thought of as a smaller version of CBS/Infinity. Yet radio did not rank high on Michael Eisner's radar, because Disney management looked to expand the television side of ABC with the potential of more sizable synergies. Disney expanded only the AM penetration of ABC radio to provide outlets for its Radio Disney children's network. By mid-2003, Disney/ABC had slipped to ninth place, with 74 stations, though still ranking third in total audience, and fifth in revenue.

Radio Station Ownership in Top 10 Markets, by Major Groups: 2000

Market	Number of Stations Owned by:		
	Clear Channel	Infinity/ CBS	ABC/ Disney
1. New York	5	6	3
2. Los Angeles	15*	8	3
3. Chicago	6	8	5
4. San Francisco	9	7	3
5. Philadelphia	6	5	1
6. Detroit	7	6	4
7. Dallas/Ft. Worth	8	8	4
8. Boston	0	5	0
9. Washington	8	5	3
10. Houston	16*	4	10
Top-10 Market Stations Owned	80	62	36
Total Stations Owned	959	161	43
Stations Rank	1	4	11
Revenue Rank	1	2	3
Audience Reach Rank	1	2	3

*Some of these will be spun off to meet FCC ownership limits—this process in a number of markets will bring Clear Channel to just under 900 stations.

Source: *Who Owns What* (10 January 2000)

Cox and Cumulus

Like Disney/ABC, Cox by 2000 represented a diverse media corporation far more famous for other operations. Its radio division was sizable, but the public focused on its newspaper operations, and the company was best known for its newspaper, the *Atlanta Constitution*, and for its move into new media. Although this Sunbelt company had substantial interests in broadcast and cable television, Cox also had a large number of radio stations, with four in Los Angeles, and clusters in Houston, Atlanta, Tampa, and Orlando. Cox merged with New City Communications to add markets such as Tulsa, Oklahoma, and New Haven, Bridgeport, and Norwalk-Stamford, Connecticut. Then the company traded its Los Angeles cluster of outlets to Clear Channel to acquire Houston properties as well as to add stations to their existing clusters. By mid-2003, Cox had more than 75 stations—third in revenue, fourth in audience, but seventh in number of outlets.

Cumulus Media aggregated more than 260 stations by 2003 (second only to Infinity in number of outlets, though ninth or tenth in terms of audience or revenues), buying and

consolidating in markets smaller than the top 100. The company's strategy paralleled in the smallest audience-rated markets what Clear Channel had accomplished in markets of all sizes, and what CBS/Infinity achieved in the largest cities.

Minor Mergers and Public Policy

There were holdouts to the radio merger frenzy of the late 1990s. Stubborn single station owners did hang on. WRNR-FM in the metro Washington, D.C., market illustrates the frustrations of operating as a single independent company in a world of radio consolidation. Jack Einstein is a throwback to the days when the FCC restricted ownership of radio. His Annapolis, Maryland-based WRNR-FM sought simply to survive as the bigger consolidated companies took over the Washington, D.C., market. He had no advantages of scale economies to reduce costs, nor could he sell a whole set of stations and formats to big advertisers. The temptation was to cash out, but Einstein—as of early 2000—could not resist the lure of running a radio station programming vintage and progressive rock, and so with a “group” of three stations all in the Washington, D.C., market, the eighth largest U.S. radio market, he sought narrow formats and held on with his son as featured disc jockey.

The U.S. Department of Justice remains an important player as well. Since the FCC has lifted its ownership limits, it has been up to the antitrust division to determine if a merger violates antitrust laws. During the late 1990s, the Department of Justice negotiated a number of consent decrees, such as one in Cincinnati in which Jacor agreed to reduce its share of the advertising dollars from 53 percent to 46 percent, and another whereby CBS (as a result of its Infinity takeover) had to divest itself of stations in nine separate markets.

Faced with growing complaints about radio's continuing consolidation, however, in mid-2003 the FCC adjusted its radio market rules. The commission replaced its “signal contour” method of defining local radio markets with a geographic market approach used by the Arbitron rating service. The commission concluded that its signal contour method created anomalies in radio ownership that congress could not have intended in the 1996 act. The FCC's 2003 decision closed a seeming loophole by applying Arbitron's definitions of geographic radio markets to better reflect radio industry practice.

Radio Ownership Outlook

The aforementioned top radio groups are among the biggest companies in an ever-consolidating radio industry. There are many others, but they are all far smaller than the dominant companies. Clear Channel, Infinity, Cox, and Cumulus point to a continuing trend toward greater consolidation during the

first years of the 21st century as the radio industry continues to adapt to the far looser FCC caps on ownership set in 1996 and modified in 2003.

Although no one knows how far this consolidation will go—it was considerably slowed by the poor economic conditions of the early 2000s—media conglomerates such as McGraw Hill Companies, the New York Times Company, and the Tribune Company continued to own and operate radio station groups awaiting the radio industry's shakeout from mergers and acquisitions. All had acquired radio years earlier, and by the early 2000s they chose simply to sit on their relatively small holdings as management determined how far a Clear Channel or Cumulus would grow and what effects of that consolidation would spill over to the relatively small holders of radio stations. Most observers agreed, however, that the first decade of the new century would likely see radio consolidate even further.

DOUGLAS GOMERY

See also Clear Channel Communications; Deregulation; Federal Communications Commission; Infinity Broadcasting; Karmazin, Mel; Licensing; Localism in Radio; Radio Disney; Regulation; Telecommunications Act of 1996

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P

Pacifica Foundation

U.S. Noncommercial Radio Network

The Pacifica Foundation inaugurated the first listener-supported, noncommercial radio network in the United States in the two decades after World War II. By the 1990s it owned five noncommercial FM stations throughout the country: KPFA-FM in Berkeley, California (acquired in 1949); KPFK-FM in Los Angeles (1959); WBAI-FM in New York City (1960); KPFT-FM in Houston (1970); and WPFW-FM in Washington, D.C. (1977). Characterized by unconventional and dissent-oriented programming, Pacifica also provides news and public-affairs material for about 60 affiliated community radio stations.

Pacifist Origins

The Pacifica Foundation was created in 1946 by a small group of World War II-era conscientious objectors (COs) who had participated in the pacifist student club movement of the 1930s. Most of them belonged to the War Resister's League or the American Friends Service Committee. Lewis Hill is generally credited as the guiding force behind the creation of Pacifica. A CO himself, Hill sought the development of institutions that would foster what he called a "pacific world in our time" through the encouragement of public dialogue. In pursuit of nonprofit status, Hill filed Articles of Incorporation with the state of California in the summer of 1946.

The Pacifica Foundation's first project—listener-supported KPFA-FM in Berkeley—received a license in 1948 and went on the air on 15 April 1949. KPFA is recognized as the world's oldest listener-supported noncommercial FM station, but it barely made it through its first five years. Equipped with a 250-watt transmitter during a period when hardly anyone owned FM receivers, KPFA was saved by the Ford Foundation from an early death with a \$150,000 grant in 1951. This windfall allowed Hill to test his "2 percent theory," first artic-

ulated in that year. His theory stated that any listener-sponsored radio station could function effectively with the regular monetary support of 2 percent of a given metropolitan area's radio listeners.

Having obtained a larger transmitter by the mid-1950s, KPFA's early programs reached an audience of approximately 4,000 subscribers, about one-quarter of whom held advanced degrees. The audience regularly tuned in for the commentaries of movie critic Pauline Kael, poet Kenneth Rexroth, and Zen scholar Alan Watts. The station became a mecca for the leading lights of what scholars generally call the San Francisco Literary Renaissance, especially Jack Spicer, Robert Duncan, and Lawrence Ferlinghetti. In 1957 KPFA broadcast the first radio airing of Allen Ginsberg's poem *Howl*, copies of which were subsequently seized at Ferlinghetti's City Lights Books by the San Francisco police department on charges of obscenity.

Transition to Dissent Radio

By 1959 the Pacifica Foundation had inaugurated its second radio station, KPFK-FM in Los Angeles; this acquisition was followed in 1960 by WBAI-FM in New York City, a gift to Pacifica by a philanthropist.

Although Pacifica came into existence during the early years of the Cold War, it had its ideological roots in 1930s pacifism. In its public-affairs programs Pacifica encouraged town-hall style discussions revolving around pacifist/anarchist questions. A KPFA panel entitled "Does atomic power threaten our civil liberties?" included participants on the political left, center, and right. On its three stations, the organization endeavored to include the commentaries of conservatives such as William Rusher, Russell Kirk, and Caspar Weinberger.

But the government took far more interest in the handful of communists and communist sympathizers who regularly

appeared on Pacifica's three frequencies, such as historian Herbert Aptheker and Sovietologist William Mandel. In 1960 KPFA broadcast Mandel excoriating the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) during his subpoenaed appearance in San Francisco. When, in October 1962, WBAI in New York broadcast the comments of a disgruntled former Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) agent, it triggered a complete bureau investigation of the entire Pacifica network, personally ordered by an irritated J. Edgar Hoover. In early 1963 the principals of Pacifica's national board were subpoenaed to appear before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, dominated by Senator James Eastland, a personal friend of Hoover.

Seeking public sympathy for the network, Pacifica's leaders gradually revised their ideology, adapting the Federal Communications Commission's (FCC) fairness doctrine to the organization's mission. Rather than attempting to encourage left/right dialogue, the network would serve the dissenter and his or her audience. "Just as I feel little obligation to spend time on my broadcasts saying what is wrong with communist governments," declared Pacifica president Hallock Hoffman in 1963, "since everyone hears what is wrong with communist governments from every side, I think Pacifica serves the ideal of balance if it spends little time reinforcing popular beliefs." KPFA public-affairs director Elsa Knight Thompson made a similar appeal in 1970: "Pacifica Foundation was created to implement the 'Fairness' doctrine on the air rather than on paper, but implementing this policy of balanced programming is not achieved by having someone say yes for five minutes and then finding someone to say no for five minutes." "Pacifica is high-risk radio," concluded a 1975 brochure. "When the theater is burning, our microphones are available to shout fire."

Pacifica's tactical response to McCarthyism gave birth to what a later generation would describe as "alternative media." By the early 1960s the growing availability of FM receivers enabled Pacifica to broaden its audience. More than 27,000 people subscribed to a Pacifica station by 1964. By the late 1960s WBAI staff estimated that approximately 600,000 people tuned in to the station for its *mélange* of music, commentary, and live coverage of the Vietnam antiwar movement, an audience level probably never matched by any Pacifica station since. The network became "free speech, First Amendment" radio, famous for its broadcasts of the remarks of Ernesto "Che" Guevara and for its news dispatches directly from Hanoi.

By 1970 the network's reputation had spread to the point that it caused a backlash. Pacifica station KPFT-FM in Houston went on the air that year, only to have its transmitter bombed twice by the Ku Klux Klan. Ultimately a Klansman was apprehended while en route to California to continue his sabotage at the Los Angeles and Berkeley stations. In 1971 a WBAI manager spent time in prison for refusing to turn over to the police taped statements of men incarcerated in New

York's notorious "Tombs" city jail. Three years later KPFA's manager was incarcerated for refusing to surrender to the FBI taped statements of the Symbionese Liberation Army. So far did Pacifica push the envelope of free speech that the Supreme Court in 1978 ultimately ruled as indecent a 1973 WBAI broadcast of comedian George Carlin's "Seven Words You Can't Say on Television" routine.

Community Radio

As the Pacifica network grew, its public statements became increasingly populist. After the Berkeley Free Speech movement of 1964 and the Columbia student uprising of 1968, the organization's principals spoke in the language of grassroots democracy. "We have been too academic in the past," declared a KPFA news director in 1975, "and now we want to go to the people and get their feelings." Such rhetoric drew to the organization an unprecedented wave of feminists and minority activists who sought the chance to express their feelings without the assistance of white middle-class mediators. These programmers, often adherents of "Third World" ideologies such as Maoism, coexisted uneasily with an earlier generation of Pacifica activists. Ultimately this generational tension resulted in difficult and lengthy staff strikes at KPFA in 1974 and at WBAI in 1977.

Out of these conflicts came the basic precepts of "community radio": first, that decisions at a Pacifica station ought to be made collectively, and second, that the network should dedicate its efforts to giving the "voiceless" a forum. The principles of Pacifica's fifth acquisition, WPFW-FM in Washington, D.C., most clearly articulated this philosophy. When WPFW was inaugurated in 1977 after seven years of bureaucratic wrangling with the FCC, the station's news director issued a directive to WPFW's news staff that exemplified the idea of community broadcasting: "We are here to tell people what PARTICIPANTS (the perpetrators and those affected) are saying, doing, planning and thinking—NOT what WE THINK they stand for or really mean. Their actions speak louder than your adjectives." Many noncommercial radio stations across the United States adopted this stance and created the National Federation of Community Broadcasters in 1975.

The community radio philosophy allowed the Pacifica network to accommodate an unprecedented new wave of staff who provided distinct programming. At KPFT came a bevy of programs that served the Gulf Coast in no less than 11 different languages. From WPFW in Washington, D.C., a disk jockey broke the news of the 1983 U.S. invasion of Grenada through live telephone interviews with musicians in Jamaica. At all the Pacifica stations, women's and Third World departments sprang up, with refurbished broom closets often functioning as their offices. The organization's self-conscious

decision to operate on the ground floor of American life allowed it to billboard the talents of artists such as Whoopi Goldberg, Alice Walker, and Bobby McFerrin long before they became enshrined in American culture. It also enabled Pacifica stations to provide unique coverage of ongoing stories, such as the 1970s campaign to stop the closing of the International Hotel in San Francisco, a refuge for Filipino workers, and the efforts of solidarity groups to challenge U.S. policies in Central America.

Toward a Centralized Network

Although the Pacifica Foundation has crossed swords with the FBI, local police departments, and Senate investigation committees, its most turbulent battles have usually been with itself. After 1980, the most difficult question the organization faced was the extent to which it should centralize its operations and programming schedule. Pacifica began its first experiments with national programming in the late 1970s with the creation of a national news program. These efforts were followed by live “gavel-to-gavel” coverage of the 1986 Senate Iran-Contra hearings and subsequent confirmation hearings on the candidacy of Robert Bork for the Supreme Court. Emboldened by these successful ventures, the network inaugurated “Democracy Now” in 1996, a one-hour public-affairs program taken by all the Pacifica stations and 65 affiliated community radio stations. By 1997 Pacifica estimated that 700,000 people a week listened to its programming either direct via a Pacifica station or through an affiliate.

But in the 1990s these gains were accompanied by painful purges of volunteers, especially at KPFA and KPFT. Managers who had lost patience with the democratic process initiated these staff reorganizations. They perceived station program schedules as fragmented, broken down into too many individually controlled shows of poor quality. The problem of managing Pacifica frequencies was exacerbated by government policies that, beginning in the late 1970s, limited the amount of local-access, noncommercial airtime available in most metropolitan regions by eliminating most of the educational low-power FM outlets still on the air. Faced with scores of programmers who had hardly anywhere else to go, Pacifica stations found that personnel and programming decisions had become perilous—guaranteed to provoke trouble. In addition, the emergence of the internet in the early 1990s enabled dismissed programmers throughout the network to create effective dissident organizations, complete with discussion lists and websites.

In February 1999, under pressure from the Corporation for Public Broadcasting to increase audience share, the national board of the Pacifica Foundation voted to centralize its operations, removing all station Local Advisory Board (LAB) mem-

bers from its body. LAB members had sat on the national board since the late 1970s. This reform was followed by the dismissal of KPFA’s general manager two weeks before that radio station’s 50th anniversary celebration and by the cancellation of programs whose hosts discussed the controversy surrounding that dismissal over the airwaves. These actions exacerbated long-standing frustrations at KPFA and throughout the Pacifica network. On 13 July 1999, after media activists discovered a memorandum from a member of the national board proposing the sale of KPFA or WBAI, the Pacifica Foundation hired a security firm to expel KPFA’s staff from the building. More than 50 programmers were arrested. In response, some 10,000 Bay Area residents staged a demonstration demanding the restoration of the station and the resignation of the national board. The crisis became an international cause, receiving press coverage throughout the United States and Europe. KPFA drew expressions of support from as far away as the staff of Serbia’s banned Radio B92. KPFA’s staff returned to work on 5 August and the board, at a meeting in Houston in late October, pledged not to sell or transfer the license of any Pacifica station.

Unfortunately, the network’s leadership continued to try to solve its problems via personnel purges. Later in 1999 Pacifica’s executive director removed the news bureau’s program director from his position shortly after the Pacifica Network News broadcast a brief story about community radio affiliate dissatisfaction with the service. Then in November of 2000 the general manager of WBAI was removed. Pacifica once again fired staff who protested the dismissal over the station’s airwaves. These actions sparked a nationwide listener-subscriber boycott of the network, which, in tandem with three lawsuits filed against the board and a public pressure campaign, forced Pacifica’s leadership to sue for peace in the winter of 2001. A settlement resulted in an interim governing board, which set itself the task of creating a more democratic structure for the organization.

MATTHEW LASAR

See also Community Radio; Controversial Issues; Educational Radio to 1967; Fairness Doctrine; Free Form Format; Hill, Lewis; KPFA; Public Affairs Programming; Public Radio Since 1967; Seven Dirty Words Case; United States Supreme Court and Radio; WBAI

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Paley, William S. 1901–1990

U.S. Broadcast Executive

William S. Paley developed and long exercised control over the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), one of the most successful networks in broadcasting. His contributions and influence make him one of the giants of radio and television history.

The son of Jewish Russian immigrants who prospered with a cigar manufacturing business, first in Chicago, and later in Philadelphia, Paley became involved with radio when his sister married into the Levy family, part owners of the fledgling Columbia radio network. His father, Sam Paley, agreed to invest in the network, partly to help rescue Columbia from financial instability and also because of the success he had advertising his La Palina cigars on WCAU, the Philadelphia affiliate. After his first exposure to radio, supervising *The La Palina Smoker*, a program sponsored by the family cigar company, young William Paley became enthralled with the medium.

In 1928 Paley and members of his family purchased controlling interest in the struggling radio network that Paley would continue to nurture and oversee for more than 60 years. Although his number of shares and percentage of ownership dwindled over time, Paley ruled the network as if it were his alone. Serving as chairman of CBS, Paley developed the network by buying additional stations, adding to the number of affiliated stations carrying CBS programming, and conducting a number of savvy business negotiations to enhance the network's competitive position. Under Paley's aggressive leadership, CBS rapidly advanced to challenge its older and larger rival, the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), in audience size and profitability.

One of the strategies Paley used to entice new stations to carry CBS programming was to increase the number of hours of sustaining programming (programming without advertising) provided at no cost to the affiliates, but with the proviso that

CBS would have exclusive rights to furnish programs to the stations. Along with his business acumen, Paley was especially adept at gauging public taste and programmed his network to appeal to large audiences while at the same time providing news, cultural, and public-affairs programming widely acknowledged to represent outstanding quality. CBS was a leader, especially in the area of news programming, where the broadcasts of Edward R. Murrow and the staff of correspondents assembled during World War II became legendary. By providing quality programming and also carrying popular and entertaining shows for the mass audience, Paley was able to maximize both prestige and profits for CBS.

Paley's extravagant personal lifestyle and involvement in high New York social circles were also demanding of his time. A man of considerable personal charm, he thoroughly enjoyed the company of well-known and important people, including royalty, entertainers, and other socialites. He was married twice, and both women, Dorothy and Barbara (Babe), were symbols of beauty, style, and elegance. Frequently an absentee administrator, Paley leaned heavily on such notable CBS executives as Edward Klauber, Paul Kesten, and Frank Stanton. During World War II, Paley served as a consultant to the Psychological Warfare Branch of the Office of War Information, spending time in Africa and Europe attending to organizational matters and supervising broadcasts. CBS was run in his absence by Paul Kesten, who resigned in 1946. Following the war, Frank Stanton became president of CBS, supervising its daily operation. Stanton became a leading spokesman for the entire broadcasting industry and an articulate defender of the First Amendment. Stanton served as president of CBS for many years under Paley's chairmanship and played an especially crucial role in guiding the network, but it was Paley who held and exercised final authority.



George Burns, William Paley, Gracie Allen, Mary Livingstone, and Jack Benny
 Courtesy CBS Photo Archive

Unlike NBC's David Sarnoff, Paley frequently involved himself directly in programming matters, personally courting and encouraging well-known personalities to work for CBS. In the late 1940s, in what became known as "talent raids," Paley successfully lured several popular NBC stars to work for CBS, including Jack Benny, Bing Crosby, George Burns and Gracie Allen, Edgar Bergen, Red Skelton and the program *Amos 'n' Andy*. These big names drew large audiences and boosted the ratings for CBS, allowing the network to charge higher rates for advertising time and resulting in greater profits, some of which were invested in television, making CBS more competitive with RCA and NBC.

By the 1950s, networks were concentrating far more on television than on radio. Many of the stars and some entire programs were moved from one medium to the other. Edward R. Murrow's *Hear It Now* became *See It Now* on television. Programming on network radio became little more than news summaries, sports, and coverage of special events.

Along with Frank Stanton, Paley continued to guide CBS through the development of its television network and the

building of new headquarters, known as "Black Rock," completed in 1964. In 1976, Paley was instrumental in creating the Museum of Broadcasting in New York City. After Stanton retired, a number of executives were brought in, each dismissed in turn until 1983, when Paley was succeeded as CBS chairman by Thomas Wyman. After an unsuccessful hostile attempt by Ted Turner to buy CBS, Lawrence Tisch gained control in 1987 and reinstated Paley, although by that time his influence had been greatly reduced. Paley continued as a figure-head chairman until his death in 1990 at age 89.

B.R. SMITH

See also Columbia Broadcasting System; Keston, Paul; Klauber, Edward; Stanton, Frank N.; Talent Raids

William S. Paley. Born in Chicago, Illinois, 28 September 1901. Bachelor's degree from the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School of Finance, 1922. Served as a civilian overseas, Office of War Information; commissioned as a U.S.

Army colonel; served as deputy chief of the Psychological Warfare Division, 1943–45. Named in charge of production, Congress Cigar Company, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1922–28; promoted to vice president, 1923–28; also named secretary, 1925–28; family purchased United Independent Broadcasters and its Columbia Network, 1928; company was renamed the Columbia Broadcasting System (now CBS, Inc.), New York City, 1928; president, 1928–46, chief executive officer, 1928–77, chairman of board of directors, 1946–83, executive committee chairman, 1983–90, CBS, Inc., New York City. Museum of Modern Art trustee, 1937–90, president, 1968–72, chairman, 1972–90, New York City. Recipient: Medallion of Honor, City of New York, 1965; Gold Achievement medal, Poor Richard Club; Keynote Award, National Association of Broadcasters; special award, Broadcast Pioneers; Concert Artist Guild Award. Died in New York City, 26 October 1990.

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Payola

Illegal Payments to Disc Jockeys

Payola is an undisclosed payment by a music promoter to a broadcaster for the purpose of influencing the airplay of a particular song. This business practice of paying to play has been known to be associated with radio broadcasting since a national scandal rocked the radio industry in the late 1950s, but sheet music publishers were paying popular artists to perform specific songs even before the start of radio broadcasting.

The term *payola* was coined by *Variety* in 1938 in the wake of numerous stories covering music “pluggers” who promoted their songs to big-name orchestra leaders with network radio shows. It was common for as many as a dozen pluggers to attend a remote broadcast begging a popular bandleader to perform their music. In 1935, the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) barred pluggers from entering the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) building in an attempt to insulate directors from the relentless promotion men.

As postwar television viewing grew, many network radio programs disappeared. Local radio stations, forced to develop low-cost local programming, embraced recorded music formats. Local disc jockeys were soon selecting the music of a new generation—rock and roll.

From 1945 until 1959, the number of recording companies grew from about a half dozen to nearly 2,000. By the end of the 1950s, large-market radio stations were receiving as many

as 250 new record releases each week. With many more records being produced than could be broadcast, record companies followed the industry formula of compensating the most popular platter spinners. Disc jockeys justified payola as “consulting fees” to “audition” new releases. In most cases, payment was legal as long as it was reported on income tax forms.

In addition to cash, disc jockeys were offered gifts, such as liquor, TV sets, clothes, and sometimes prostitutes. In a 1959 *Life* magazine expose, former WXYZ Detroit disc jockey Ed McKenzie remembered that a “record plugger once offered to install a bar in my basement” (“A Deejay’s Expose—and Views,” 23 November 1959). That same year, covering the Second International Radio Programming Seminar and Pop Music Disk Jockey Convention in Miami Beach, *Time* magazine described the 2,500 attendees as members of “one of the most pampered trades in the U.S.” (“Disk Jockeys: The Big Payola,” 8 June 1959). Record companies flocked to Florida to backslap the jocks. *Variety* described the convention as a drunken orgy. A headline in the *Miami Herald* exclaimed, “Booze, Broads, and Bribes.”

Elected officials noticed the attention payola was receiving in the popular press. It was also a wake-up call for naive station owners and managers who were unaware of payola or

who did not mind their popular personalities earning a little extra on the side. When several government investigations were announced, many paranoid station executives conducted their own internal investigations. Fearing eventual action by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), owners suspended or in some cases fired disc jockeys suspected of accepting payola. Many disc jockeys resigned before they were asked questions. Detroit WJBK-TV news director Jack LeGoff was let go after he defended payola on the air as “a part of American business.” His fellow employee, disc jockey Tom Clay, was fired for taking payola, and two other WJBK-AM staffers resigned. The Federal Trade Commission (FTC) began issuing complaints against record labels, and record giant RCA Victor later agreed to a consent judgment to end payola practices. The New York district attorney’s office began a payola inquiry and subpoenaed the financial records of a dozen record companies.

The House Legislative Oversight Subcommittee conducted the most highly publicized investigation. In late 1959 it sent investigators to Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, Milwaukee, New York, and Detroit to examine the payola racket. An aide said the subcommittee “had been receiving complaints from all parts of the country about disk jockeys and music programs.” The subcommittee claimed it had received many letters “from irate parents complaining about particular types of music—specifically certain types of rock and roll and the music aimed at the teenage market” (“Hogan Starting ‘Payola’ Inquiry in Radio and TV,” *New York Times*, 20 November 1959). Claiming the moral high ground, the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers (ASCAP) and other publishing interests lobbied Capitol Hill, asserting that payola was the reason rock and roll music existed. The subcommittee began hearings on “Payola and Other Deceptive Practices in the Broadcasting Field” in February 1960. However, the focus was clearly on rock and roll. Critics argued that the hearings were merely a witch hunt. Broadcasting trade papers believed it was election-year grandstanding by the same politicians who had produced the recent quiz shows scandal. Nevertheless, more than 50 witnesses testified before the committee, including disc jockeys, program managers, radio station owners, record distributors, music surveyors, and FCC officials.

The consequences of the payola hearings and scandal varied. Several popular East Coast disc jockeys who lost their jobs found employment in West Coast markets, including former New York rock and roll pioneer Alan Freed. Freed was later indicted by a Manhattan grand jury on charges of commercial bribery and was penalized by the Internal Revenue Service. In 1960 the Communications Act of 1934 was amended to discourage payola. Stations were required to announce on the air any “promotional considerations” they accepted to broadcast specific programming. This made the licensee responsible for disclosing gifts accepted by its employees. Violators faced fines

of up to \$10,000 and jail terms of up to one year. As a result of new anti-payola regulations and the growing popularity of the Top 40 format, most disc jockeys no longer wielded the power to pick the hits. Managers (program directors) made the final decisions.

Payola did not end with new regulations. After 1960 it simply became more sophisticated. A 1977 FCC investigator explained, “It’s not simply a matter of someone handing a disk jockey a \$100 bill and a record he is expected to play” (“Say It Again Sam, But You’ll Have to Tell the FCC Why,” 14 February 1977). Trade lists compiled from the reports of a few select radio stations determined hit songs. Manipulating radio playlists was more important than frequent airplay. Labels hired independent promoters to do the dirty work of bribery, making it more difficult to trace payola back to record companies. This introduced underground connections to organized crime. Marijuana and cocaine became payoffs in some markets (“drugola”). Rumors and occasional investigations continued to surface as the 20th century ended. However, the actual extent of present-day payola is difficult to determine.

Another industry-coined term for a different behind-the-scenes scheme in broadcasting is *plugola*. Plugola involves a payoff in exchange for hiding a “plug”—in essence, an advertisement within a radio program. These disguised commercials have their roots in the film industry, in which advertisers paid to have brand names strategically placed in film scenes. The practice eventually infested the golden era of radio as promoters provided under-the-table incentives to program producers and writers willing to plant plugs in radio scripts. For the right price, big-name talent would even adlib a subtle plug during a coast-to-coast show. By the 1950s a “complimentary” plug for a product or service planted on a top television or radio show cost \$250 with neither the network nor program sponsor receiving compensation. Plugola was not examined as closely as payola during the 1959–60 Congressional probe. By that time plug planting was disappearing as network radio eroded and television networks began clamping down on the practice.

STEVEN R. SCHERER

See also Clark, Dick; Contemporary Hit Radio Format/Top 40; Disk Jockeys; Freed, Alan; Recordings and the Radio Industry; Rock and Roll Format; United States Congress and Radio

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Pay Radio

Although at first an odd proposition to American radio listeners, the notion of pay radio—paying to listen to one or more radio program services—is neither new nor rare. And with developing digital services, pay radio is rapidly becoming an accepted part of radio's landscape.

Early Notions

As radio struggled to find a means of financial support in the early 1920s, several suggested options included some means of direct payment by listeners. Station WHB in Kansas City, Missouri, for example, sold tickets in 1924 to an "invisible theater of the air." For a set price, listeners would obtain a literal ticket—but then, of course, those who did not pay could also "attend" the broadcasts, so the idea rapidly died. This was an early example of listener "donations" to help cover the cost of radio broadcasting—an idea still common in public radio and television today.

Outside the U.S., many other nations adopted a system of radio licensing wherein for each radio or household, an annual fee (effectively a service tax) was set by the government to be paid (usually to the postal authorities), with the proceeds being turned over to the national broadcasting service to meet its operational expenses. The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) was perhaps the prime example of this type of funding, which continued into the 21st century despite advertising's inroads in commercial systems in most other countries.

Although advertising was widely adopted in the United States by the late 1920s as radio's chief means of support, the beginning of the Depression placed heavy financial pressure on emerging stations and networks. Therefore, additional

means of seeking radio revenue were occasionally offered. For example, in 1930, at the tenth anniversary dinner celebration of KDKA's (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania) first broadcast, one politician suggested developing a radio with a key device, with said key to be sold for a set price (he suggested a dollar) each year.

With the competition of television looming after World War II, the pay radio idea was again briefly touted. Before becoming a U.S. senator, William Benton backed the idea of subscription or pay radio. Listeners would pay \$18 for a year (essentially a nickel a day) to receive radio programs without advertising. At about the same time, in 1947–48, several stations expressed interest in a home music service based on patents of the Muzak corporation.

Neither idea came to fruition—in part because of controversy over even introducing the notion of paying for something that was then free to the audience. And with that, any discussion about pay radio disappeared for several decades. Indeed, the heated debate over possible introduction of a pay television service, which raged from 1948 to 1968, made any consideration of pay systems for radio even more remote.

Modern Pay Radio

By the 1990s, however, some radio listeners were paying to receive programs. Many of the nation's cable television systems offered audio channels, usually for an additional monthly subscription fee.

The 1990s also saw development of two new radio technologies, both of which revived notions of pay radio. The first was satellite delivery of many radio channels, some without advertising, in return for an annual subscription fee by listeners—

essentially the same idea that Benton had proposed a half-century earlier, updated with a new means of transmission.

Satellite pay radio got a boost when, in early March 1997, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) approved frequencies for digital satellite radio transmissions to be made available for payment of a monthly subscription fee. Four companies sought to provide the new service—American Mobile Satellite Corporation (Reston, Virginia), CD Radio of Washington, D.C., Digital Satellite Broadcasting (Seattle, Washington), and Primosphere (New York), though in the end only two (operating as XM Radio and Sirius) actually took to the air. The broadcast industry fought satellite radio in a doomed effort to forestall the competition.

Subscription fees for the compact disc (CD) quality digital satellite service ranged from \$10 to \$13 per month when they were introduced in 2001–02. Available channels—some carrying advertising—included weather, sports, opera, talk, and a variety of musical formats. Service providers focused market-

ing of the service especially to those spending large amounts of time in their cars, such as urban commuters.

The second technological innovation, finally approved by the FCC in late 2002, was terrestrial CD-quality digital transmission, or digital audio radio (DAR) or broadcasting (DAB). This technology was already available in Japan and parts of Europe, and some American industry figures suggested that listeners might pay a subscription fee for the service, which would mark a vast improvement over AM and FM analog transmissions.

In neither the satellite nor the terrestrial radio systems, however, is the term *pay radio* very widely used, for it carries negative connotations in an advertiser-supported business.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Cable Radio; Digital Audio Broadcasting; Digital Satellite Radio

Peabody Awards and Archive

Now one of the more prestigious prizes granted in broadcasting, the Peabody Awards have since 1941 recognized the best people and programs in both radio and (since 1948) television. From 1,200 entries annually, only about 25 to 35 programs are selected, making these among the most competitive of broadcast awards.

Origins

In 1938 the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) formed a committee to establish a prize to recognize distinguished achievement and meritorious service in radio programming. One of the committee members was Lambdin Kay, longtime manager of WSB Radio in Atlanta. Kay became a champion of the awards program and made it his special project. One day, WSB's continuity editor, Mrs. Lessie Smithgall, overheard Kay talking about setting up a fair and impartial system for administering the awards. She suggested that he contact her former professor, John E. Drewry, then dean of the Henry Grady School of Journalism at the University of Georgia, about university sponsorship of the award.

Basing his concept on the Pulitzer program administered at Columbia University, Kay approached Dean Drewry and received his enthusiastic support. Drewry contacted the univer-

sity's president, Eugene Sanford—who had initiated the first journalism classes at the university in 1913—for his endorsement. Sanford approved the plan to house the broadcasting award at the University of Georgia, and during 1939, the board of regents of the University of Georgia authorized the award to be named in honor of George Foster Peabody, a native Georgian and major benefactor of the university. At the 1939 meeting of the NAB in San Francisco, Kay and Drewry presented the plan to the association and received unanimous support for establishing the Peabody Award.

Peabody, born in 1852 in Columbus, Georgia, moved to New York with his family after the Civil War. Largely self-educated, Peabody became a successful industrialist and financier. He supported humanitarian causes, especially education, and helped finance a library, a forestry school, and a classroom building at the University of Georgia. He was also the university's first nonresident trustee. In appreciation, the university awarded him an honorary degree. After his death in 1938, the university named the broadcasting award for him. Today, the name George Foster Peabody has become synonymous with excellence in electronic media.

The first awards were presented at a banquet at the Commodore Hotel in New York on 31 March 1941 for programs broadcast in 1940 and were jointly sponsored by NAB and the

University of Georgia's School of Journalism. The Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) carried the ceremony live, and the broadcast carried addresses by CBS Chairman William S. Paley and noted reporter Elmer Davis, the recipient of the first personal Peabody Award. After the program, the NAB bowed out of future sponsorship of the awards to avoid any conflict of interest. In 1990, at the 50th anniversary ceremony, the NAB once again sponsored the event.

The Peabody Awards recognized television programs for the first time in 1948. Among early television winners were *Disneyland*, Ed Sullivan, and Edward R. Murrow for his *See It Now* series. Cable television was first recognized in 1981 when Home Box Office (HBO) and *Ms. Magazine* won for "She's Nobody's Baby: A History of American Women in the 20th Century." Over the years, Peabody Award winners for meritorious programming read like a "Who's Who" in broadcasting and cable. A complete list of winners is available on the Peabody website (address listed below).

The Peabody Awards are the most competitive of the many broadcasting honors. The awards are given without regard for program genre, and recipients represent programs in news, documentaries, education, entertainment, public service, and children's shows. Personal and organizational awards are also presented for outstanding achievement in broadcasting and cable. A national advisory board selects the Peabody Award recipients, and its members are practitioners, educators, critics, and other leaders in the broadcast and cable industries.

One by-product of the awards is the formation of one of the country's richest broadcast archives. Housed at the University of Georgia Library, the Peabody Collection dates to 1940 and preserves the best of 20th-century radio and television for today's students and scholars and for future generations. The collection has grown to over 40,000 radio and television programs and related print materials. In breadth and program diversity, the collection contains significant news, documentary, educational, and entertainment programming from radio, broadcast television, and cable.

The collection also reflects the full range of independent, local, and network programming and contains many of the finest, most significant moments in broadcast and cable history.

Virtually all major news events, from World War II to today, may be found. In addition to spot news, documentary, and public-affairs programs, the Peabody Award also recognizes excellence in entertainment, educational, children's, and sports programming. One definite advantage of the collection is its accumulation of local programming.

The collection's entry books list submissions and provide information on programs submitted in a given year, with radio and television entries inventoried separately. Entries are listed alphabetically by state and are grouped according to submission categories: news, entertainment, documentary, education, youth/children, public service, and individual/institutional. Each volume has a table of contents, and entries are described in brief paragraphs provided by the submitters.

Because copyright is retained by copyright holders, not the Peabody Collection, no programs are loaned, but researchers may use the collection on site. Generally, shows from 1976 onward may be found in the card catalog of the Media Center of the University of Georgia's Main Library. These programs are listed alphabetically by title within categories. In most cases, screening copies exist for on-site viewing. Many older programs are not readily accessible because screening copies have not been dubbed owing to lack of funding.

LOUISE BENJAMIN

See also Museums and Archives of Radio

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Perryman, Tom 1927–

U.S. Country Music Promoter and Disc Jockey

As a disc jockey, promoter, and radio station owner, Tom Perryman played an important role in the dissemination of country music from the 1940s into the 1970s. From radio stations in Gladewater, Texas, and later Nashville, Tennessee, Perryman enthusiastically introduced new country music artists and their records to a wide audience. In addition, acting as a sort of southern Alan Freed, he booked and promoted concerts for aspiring artists, most notably Elvis Presley, whose career was in its infancy when Perryman worked with him. He belongs to a fraternity of influential country music disc jockeys who exemplified the widening role of DJs in the commercialization of country music during the post–World War II era. Perryman’s handprints on the commercialization of country music are as plain as those of DJs Nelson King (WCKY, Cincinnati, Ohio), Hugh Cherry (WKDA, Nashville, Tennessee), Squeakin’ Deacon Moore (KXLA, Pasadena, California), and Biff Collie (KLEE, Houston, Texas).

Before Perryman joined radio station WSM in Nashville, Tennessee (where he rose to the apex of his power as a disc jockey), he was active in booking and promoting country artists in the music-mad northeast Texas area. He performed these tasks in addition to his disc jockeying at radio station KSIJ in Gladewater, Texas. It was common for disc jockeys to book artists during Perryman’s record-spinning stint in Texas during the late 1940s and early 1950s, but Perryman is distinguished for giving soon-to-be popular musical acts some of their earliest breaks. When a 19-year-old Elvis Presley was stuck in Shreveport, Louisiana, without money or bookings, after playing KWKH’s *Louisiana Hayride* in the fall of 1954, Perryman put Presley and his band to work in a Gladewater club. It was one of Presley’s first non-radio gigs outside his home turf of Memphis, Tennessee; Perryman would continue to book Presley in Texas over the next year, until the rocker rose to national prominence in 1956.

Perryman’s efforts as a disc jockey and concert promoter also helped to generate a Texas following for developing country music acts such as Johnny Cash, Johnny Horton, and Jim Reeves, artists who appeared weekly on KWKH’s *Louisiana Hayride*. These artists relied on regional bookers and promoters to get work for them between their weekly *Hayride* appearances, and Tom Perryman worked tirelessly for them in the nearby northeast Texas region. Perryman formed a particularly close bond with Jim Reeves, allying with him in numerous ventures including the purchase of KGRI radio in Henderson, Texas.

As Perryman consolidated his influence in Texas, his profile on the national country music scene grew with his frequent let-

ters to the music trade magazine *Billboard*, which recorded his impressions of country music artists and songs. His published plugs often helped to sustain an artist’s or song’s momentum. “Tom Perryman, KSIJ, Gladewater, Texas,” one *Billboard* item read in 1952, “reports that Slim Whitman, who has ‘Indian Love Call’ coming up on Imperial, is running neck and neck with Hank Williams for top station popularity.” Record company representatives realized that Perryman was an important figure on the Texas music scene partly because they saw his name in *Billboard* virtually every week during the early 1950s; as a result, recording executives often consulted him as they searched for new artists.

In 1953 Perryman’s work on behalf of the country music industry broadened when he joined the first board of the Country Music Disc Jockey Association (CMDJA), which would evolve into the Country Music Association (CMA), country music’s most influential trade group. Perryman’s impact on the distribution of country music increased dramatically with his move in 1956 to radio station WSM in Nashville. He became the first host of the station’s influential all-night country music disc jockey show *Opry Star Spotlight*. (Others such as Eddie Hill and T. Tommy Cutrer had hosted WSM’s overnight country programming before him, but Perryman was the first to handle the show after it was named *Opry Star Spotlight*.) Over the 50,000-watt clear channel station, Perryman brought country music to the station’s vast overnight audience that was spread over most of the contiguous United States. During his two years at WSM (1956–1958), he also served as the talent coordinator of the station’s powerful talent agency and the assistant manager of WSM’s hallmark country music show, the *Grand Ole Opry*.

Perryman continued to help open markets for country music after leaving WSM. In 1959, after a brief return to KSIJ in Texas, he became general manager and co-owner (with country music star Jim Reeves) of radio station KGRI in Henderson, Texas. Under Perryman and Reeves, KGRI became one of the nation’s first all-country-music stations. In 1967, three years after the death of Jim Reeves in an airplane crash, Perryman and Reeves’ widow, Mary, became co-owners of WMTS-AM and FM in Murfreesboro, Tennessee, another all-country station. He served as general manager of KGRI and WMTS concurrently. In 1969, the Country Music Association named WMTS “Station of the Year.”

Perryman retired from regular radio work in 1978 upon the sale of WMTS. At the beginning of the 21st century he served as president of the Reunion of Professional Entertainers of Country Music, a group that acts as an advocate for veteran

country music performers. He was inducted into the Country Music Disc Jockey Hall of Fame in 1988 and the Texas Country Music Hall of Fame in 1999.

MICHAEL STREISSGUTH

See also Country Music Format; Disk Jockeys; Grand Ole Opry; King, Nelson; KWKH; WSM

Thomas Eugene (“Tom”) Perryman. Born in Dallas, Texas, 16 July 1927. One of three children born to W.C. Perryman and Margaret Morris Perryman; attended Tyler Commercial College, Tyler, Texas, 1945–47; received first class radio telephone license; disc jockey, KEBE, Jacksonville, Texas, 1947–49; KSIJ, Gladewater, Texas, 1949–56; host, *Opry Star Spotlight*, and talent coordinator, *Grand Ole Opry*, WSM, Nashville, Tennessee, 1956–58; returned to KSIJ, 1958–59; co-owner and general manager, KGRI, Henderson, Texas, 1959–74; co-owner and general manager, WMTS, Murfreesboro, Tennessee, 1967–78; joined Country Music Disc Jockey

Association, 1953; president of the Reunion of Professional Entertainers of Country Music, 2000; inducted into Country Music Disc Jockey Hall of Fame, 1988, and Texas Country Music Hall of Fame, 1999.

Radio Series

1956–58 *Grand Ole Opry*; *Opry Star Spotlight*

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Philco Radio

Radio Receiver Manufacturer

Philco radios were first introduced by a small Philadelphia electrical manufacturer in 1928. Within two years, they became the top-selling radios in the United States, and they continued to lead the market for more than a decade.

Early Years

In the initial years of radio development, radios operated from electricity provided by batteries. The Philadelphia Battery Storage Company (the Philco trademark was registered in 1919) began producing batteries for radios in the early 1920s, an offshoot of its earlier production of automobile and truck batteries. In 1925 Philco produced an innovation that eliminated the need for batteries and allowed radio owners to operate the set with electricity from a light socket—the “Socket-Power” unit. The company grew quickly with its two radio-related products and soon began sponsoring a national radio broadcast known as the *Philco Hour*, which appeared on National Broadcasting Company (NBC) Blue from 1927 to 1929 and on the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) from 1929 to 1931.

The Radio Corporation of America (RCA) introduced a set powered by alternating current (AC) in 1927. Not long after, RCA announced that it would license other manufacturers to use the new AC technology, effectively wiping out the market for radio batteries.

Philco management recognized the challenge to its survival and completely changed the focus of its business. The company chose to design and build its own radios and set mid-1928 as a target date to introduce the new product. Most manufacturers were producing radios that all looked very much alike. Philco chose to change that look. Instead of the sturdy, sensible wooden box that most table-model radios resembled, the company produced a metal case radio in five bright colors. To attract female consumers, Philco offered four of the models decorated with hand-painted floral designs. Each had color-coordinated matching speakers (early radios did not contain internal speakers).

Recognizing the importance of a strong advertising campaign, Philco introduced its radios in expensive double-page color ads exclaiming, “COLOR! VIVID COLOR!” The copy described them as “enhanced with color effects by Mlle. Mes-

saros, one of the foremost colorists in the decorative arts. The colors are applied *by hand* under her personal direction.”

In addition to the unusual color sets, Philco also offered three console models, radios that were cabinet-style pieces of furniture based on the Louis XVI period; these were created by an internationally known furniture designer. The striking line of radios would be the first in a long line of innovations from the company. Philco introduced its first eight models at an industry trade show in June 1928.

It was a stunning accomplishment. Many had thought that RCA's new AC-powered radios spelled the end for Philadelphia Battery Storage. Philco's response was an indication of an innovative ability that would stand it in good stead for the next 30 years and help maintain its reputation for superior-quality products.

At the end of 1928, Philco was in 26th place among radio manufacturers. The company's management believed the best way to compete in 1929 was to improve quality and lower prices. At a time when most manufacturers used the labor-intensive method of assembling each radio individually by hand, Philco borrowed \$7 million to convert and expand its facilities for mass production.

Philco advanced to third place in the industry by selling 408,000 radios in 1929. Despite the October 1929 stock market crash, Philco continued to thrive. The \$7 million debt was paid off early in 1930. Later that year, Philco increased its employee base from 1,500 in May to 4,000 by September. Orders for radios continued to increase, and the company announced it was hiring 75 men a day. Soon Philco announced the formation of a subsidiary to manufacture Philco-Transitone automobile radios.

The radio manufacturer continued to recognize the value of advertising, and, in an early version of a common promotional technique today, a Philco radio was prominently featured in the hotel room of movie star Bing Crosby in Paramount's 1932 film *The Big Broadcast*. At the same time that the company was proving such a success in radio manufacturing, it was also looking toward the future and diversifying. Noted inventor Philo T. Farnsworth came to Philco in 1931 to join a research team devoted to television development. In 1932 the Federal Radio Commission licensed Philco's experimental television station W3XE. The company also began to produce home appliances. During the 1930s Philco offered a variety of products, including automobile radios, phonographs, radio-phonograph combinations, air conditioners, and refrigerators.

Near the end of the decade, Philco began a shift from the large tabletop “tombstone” and “cathedral” radios (so called because of their shape) and produced smaller and less experience radios. Industry leaders Atwater Kent, Crosley, Majestic, and Zenith initially ignored the shift to undersized table models. Consumers, however, responded quickly to the new, space-

saving radios. In 1938 Philco's 10 millionth radio came off the assembly line.

World War II and After

With the United States' entry into World War II, Philco shifted to production of military items, including radios for tanks and planes. The company also trained military personnel in the installation, operation, and maintenance of electronic aircraft equipment. Only after the war's end in 1945 were new radios, phonographs, refrigerators, and air conditioners produced again by Philco.

Philco sponsored two national network programs: *Philco Radio Time*, starring Bing Crosby, and a radio anthology of plays adapted for radio, the *Philco Radio Playhouse*, hosted by actor Joseph Cotten. *Philco Radio Time* was the first prerecorded program. Prior to its introduction in 1946, all radio programs were broadcast live.

Philco was active in transistor research in the 1950s, producing a number of transistor radio models. The 1960s began a troublesome time for Philco. The company was losing money—more than \$4 million in 1961. Ford Motor Company purchased Philco late in 1961. The Philco-Ford division, producing television sets, computers, and satellite communication equipment, once again became profitable.

During the 1970s Americans became more interested in antiques and collectibles, and among the items drawing their interest were cathedral radios from 40 years earlier. Philco-Ford introduced a miniature, transistorized AM-FM replica of its model 90 Baby Grand (originally produced in 1931).

General Telephone and Electronics purchased the Philco division from Ford in 1974 and then sold Philco to North American Philips Corporation, where the division now produces televisions.

SANDRA L. ELLIS

See also Automobile Radios; Receivers; Transistor Radios

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Phillips, Irna 1901–1973

U.S. Creator of Radio Serial Dramas

Every woman's life is a soap opera.

—Irna Phillips

Irna Phillips, one of the most prolific and successful creators of daytime serials, has long been regarded by contemporaries and historians as the "Queen of Soap Opera." Indeed, Dan Wakefield (1976), in his study of soap operas, concluded that Irna Phillips "is to soap opera what Edison is to the light bulb and Fulton to the steamboat." Although competitors such as Frank and Anne Hummert oversaw the development of dozens of serials, Phillips was the individual creator, writer, and producer of the largest number of serials on daytime radio (9) and television (8). Not only was Phillips responsible for inventing the first daytime serial in 1930, she influenced the rise of daytime dramas in radio and developed the programming form over more than 40 years. In her radio career, Irna Phillips helped to establish many of the distinguishing characteristics of the soap opera genre: a continuous and never-ending narrative, multiple plot lines, dialogue-based drama, complex characterization, slow-paced story lines, a focus on female characters and emotional intimacy, suspenseful cliff-hangers, and the use of dramatic organ music to bridge scenes. However, her most notable programming achievement may be the creation of the *Guiding Light*. Broadcast—first on radio and then on television—for more than six decades, Irna Phillips' *Guiding Light* is the longest continuous story ever told in American broadcasting.

Irna Phillips was born 1 July 1901 in Chicago, Illinois, the youngest of ten children of a German-Jewish family. After her father died when Irna was only eight, she maintained a close relationship with her mother. After attending Northwestern University for one year (1918–19), Phillips transferred to the University of Illinois, became a drama student, and graduated with a degree in education in 1922. After a brief stint teaching at a junior college in Fulton, Missouri, Phillips earned a master's degree at the University of Wisconsin in 1924. After her graduate work, Phillips spent four years teaching speech and drama at Dayton's Teacher College in Dayton, Ohio. On a visit

to her hometown at the age of 28, Irna Phillips toured the radio station WGN. According to legend, while she toured the facility, Irna was mistaken for an actress looking for an audition. After reading Eugene Field's poem, "The Bowleg Boy," Phillips was offered a job as an intern. Phillips initially turned down the offer, but the visit rekindled her interest in drama. By May 1930 Phillips was a paid employee of WGN, acting in small roles and reading inspirational verse on a program entitled *Thought for a Day*.

Accounts differ as to how Phillips began writing for radio. Her work starring in and writing for a 15-minute drama, *Sue and Irene*, and designing a Memorial Day program, among other projects, apparently caught the attention of WGN station manager Henry Selinger. Selinger, aware of the untapped selling potential of daytime radio, had approached the Lord and Thomas advertising agency to develop programming for female audiences. Selinger offered Phillips \$50 per week to write a daily drama about the "Sudds" family, which could be sponsored by a soap company. Although various sponsors remained unconvinced of the potential of a daytime serial, the program, renamed *Painted Dreams*, aired on WGN as a sustaining local program on 20 October 1930. *Painted Dreams*, broadcast six days a week, was radio's first soap opera, the first daytime serial narrative aimed at a female audience. The drama about an Irish-American household centered upon three characters: Mother Moynihan (voiced by Phillips); her daughter Irene; and a boarder, Sue Morton; the show dealt with the conflict between the traditional Mother Moynihan and her modern, career-minded daughter.

After two years and 520 scripts, Phillips wanted to sell her successful serial to a network. WGN, claiming ownership of the program, refused to allow Phillips to take *Painted Dreams* national. In protest, Irna Phillips quit her job and filed suit against the company. After an eight-year court battle over the program's copyright, Phillips lost the case. After leaving WGN, Phillips was determined to establish the rights to her own material. For the rest of her career, Phillips acted as an independent producer, creating programs and subsidizing all their



Irna Phillips
Courtesy CBS Photo Archive

production costs before selling the package to a network. In 1932 Phillips moved to WGN's rival in Chicago, WMAQ. Collaborating with Walter Wicker, she developed another serial, a virtual replica of *Painted Dreams*. *Today's Children* (1932–37; 1943–50) featured a widowed Irish-American mother, Mother Moran; her daughters, Eileen and Frances; and a boarder, Kay Norton, living on Chicago's Hester Street.

Phillips developed seven other original serial dramas for daytime radio. After the birth of *Today's Children*, Phillips developed a short-lived drama about a painter involved with many glamorous women, entitled *Masquerade* (1934–35; 1946–47). This serial, designed to sell cosmetics, lasted only a few months, although it would be revived and redesigned nearly a decade later. Phillips' next and more successful creation was *Road of Life* (1937–59). This serial was the first major soap opera about doctors and nurses. Jim Brent, a young intern at City Hospital, was the serial's hero, equally adept at mending the "broken legs and broken hearts" of his patients (cited in "Queen of Soaps," 1964). That same year, Phillips' seminal daytime drama, *Guiding Light* (1937–56 on radio; 1952–present on television) was first broadcast. Dr. Preston Bradley, a Chicago clergyman admired by Phillips, was the inspiration for the serial's central character, Dr. John Ruthledge. The assimilationist drama centered upon Dr. Ruthledge and his attempts to minister to the Italian, Irish, and Polish families in the slums of Five Points. After the death of Phillips' mother (who was the model for the mothers in *Painted Dreams* and *Today's Children*) in 1937, Phillips replaced her popular and highly-rated serial *Today's Children* with the drama *The Woman in White*. In tribute to the nurses who cared for her ailing mother, Phillips developed a daytime drama about a young nurse named Karen Adams and her struggle to save the souls of her patients.

Phillips' next two contributions were more focused on the personal lives of their heroines. *The Right to Happiness* (1939–60), initially a spin-off of *Guiding Light*, became the story of an oft-married heroine, Carolyn Allen, and her fight for personal happiness. Influenced by Irna Phillips' experience as a single career woman in 1940s New York City, *Lonely Women* (1942–46) detailed the life of a group of women, separated from husbands and boyfriends during World War II, living at the Towers, an all-female hotel. In 1944 Phillips played with the traditional 15-minute format of the genre. She combined three of her serials in an hour-long block entitled the *General Mills Hour* and experimented with different program lengths, integrated story lines, and characters that traveled from serial to serial. Her final contribution to daytime radio was *Brighter Day* (1948–56), a drama about a widowed clergyman and his children in the town of Three Rivers.

Not only was Phillips prolific, her dramas were incredibly popular. Phillips and her sponsors regularly received over a quarter of a million requests for each promotion advertised on

her serials. By 1940 Phillips' most enduring product, *Guiding Light*, was broadcast to 12 million listeners over 300 stations, and Phillips' salary was estimated at over \$200,000 a year.

Irna Phillips believed there were three main objectives of a successful daytime radio drama: to entertain, to teach, and to sell. Although Phillips, a never-married career woman, had little in common with the 37 million homemakers targeted by daytime radio serials, she knew this audience would connect with complex female characters and domestic story lines. In her serials, Phillips threatened the security of her main female characters with illnesses, problem children, other women, and any other obstacles that might destroy their domestic bliss. Her tension-filled formula—"small-town-woman-with-an-emotional-problem-in-physical-danger"—shaped the development of many of her dramas. Irna Phillips was also a staunch advocate of the educational potential of her daytime dramas. Serials, she believed, taught women valuable lessons about how to address "real-life" problems. Phillips was quite progressive in integrating social issues into her plot lines, a practice that would become a hallmark of the genre.

To make her serials as realistic as possible, Phillips consulted physicians, lawyers, and government experts on how to incorporate social issues in her serials and how to advise her audience to respond to these matters. For example, in 1945 Phillips worked with the Office of War Information to produce a story line to instruct women on how to rehabilitate disabled war veterans. Phillips—often the target of critics such as James Thurber and Dr. Louis Berg, who feared the dangerous influence of these programs on American women—was so convinced of the public service her serials offered that she spent \$45,000 of her own money to combat these critical perceptions in the press. But despite her lofty ideals, Irna Phillips also understood the commercial realities of daytime programming. From her earliest days in radio, Phillips realized that the daytime serial was a "selling drama," a program intended to attract a lucrative female audience and to sell goods to that audience. Phillips was quite careful throughout her career to cultivate a reputation as a producer dedicated to her sponsors and responsible for making her serials effective advertising vehicles. For example, to charm a potential sponsor, Montgomery Ward, Phillips planned an engagement story line for one of her main characters to sell the home goods carried by that department store. Her success entertaining, teaching, and selling goods to female audiences made Phillips (with her longtime sponsor and business partner, Procter and Gamble) one of the most powerful women in soap opera production.

Phillips' unusual writing technique was strained as her serials became more successful. Phillips dictated up to six scripts per day to her longtime secretary, acting out each line of dialogue and changing her voice to indicate different characters. By the early 1940s, Phillips had five daytime serials on network radio and over 60 characters to write for. In her most

prolific period, Phillips wrote between 2 and 3 million words a year for radio, the equivalent of 27 novels each year. To manage the workload, she eventually developed a system similar to that of the Hummerts, plotting story lines and delegating the work of writing dialogue to a stable of writers.

Irna Phillips' success in developing and producing daytime serials continued even after network radio began to decline. Two of her serials, *Guiding Light* and *Road of Life*, were among the few programs to survive the transition to television. She also produced the first television soap opera in 1949, the short-lived *These Are My Children*. Just as she was influential in developing the soap opera genre on radio, Phillips pioneered the adaptation of radio serials to television, inventing an intimate visual style for the genre. She also created enduring television soap operas such as *Another World* (1964–99), *As the World Turns* (1956–present), and *Days of Our Lives* (1965–present). Not only did Phillips develop a record number of radio and television soap operas, she also trained the next generation of soap opera creators on television. Agnes Nixon (creator of *All My Children*, *Loving*, *The City*, and *One Life to Live*); William J. Bell (creator of *The Young and the Restless* and *The Bold and the Beautiful*); and Ted Corday (co-creator of *Days of Our Lives*) were all protégés of Irna Phillips in radio and early television. In all, seven of the ten soap operas on daytime television in 2003 can be traced to Irna Phillips. Although traditional broadcast histories have failed to acknowledge the extent of her contribution to the development of radio and television, recent historians, her sponsor, Procter and Gamble, and the daytime community have publicly recognized Phillips as perhaps the most important force in the creation and development of the soap opera.

JENNIFER HYLAND WANG

See also Soap Opera; Women in Radio

Irna Phillips. Born Erna Phillips in Chicago, Illinois, 1 July 1901. Youngest of ten children to German-Jewish parents, William and Betty Phillips; adopted two children, Thomas Dirk, 1941 and Katherine Louise, 1943; attended Northwestern University, 1918–19; studied drama at University of Illinois, B.A. in education, 1922; attended University of Wisconsin, M.A., 1924; taught dramatics and storytelling at junior college in Missouri, 1923; taught dramatics and speech at Teacher College, Dayton, Ohio, 1925–29; employee of WGN, 1930–32; creator, writer, and actress of radio series, 1930–60; consultant on daytime programs for J. Walter Thompson Advertising Agency, 1940s; taught classes on writing radio serials at Northwestern University, 1945–46; script consultant, Radio Scripts Incorporated, 1946–47; developed first daytime network soap opera on television, *These Are My Children*, 1949; adapted

several of her own radio serials for television in the 1950s; consultant for ABC's prime-time soap *Peyton Place*, 1964; co-creator of *Days of Our Lives* with Ted Corday, Betty Corday, and Allan Chase, 1965. Died in Chicago, Illinois, 23 December 1973.

Radio Series

1930	<i>Thought for a Day</i>
1930–34	<i>Painted Dreams</i>
1932–37, 1943–50	<i>Today's Children</i>
1934–35, 1946–47	<i>Masquerade</i>
1937–56	<i>Guiding Light</i>
1937–59	<i>Road of Life</i>
1938–48	<i>Woman in White</i>
1939–60	<i>Right To Happiness</i>
1942–46	<i>Lonely Women</i>
1944	<i>General Mills Hour</i>
1948–56	<i>Brighter Day</i>

Television Series

These Are My Children, 1949; *Guiding Light*, 1952–present; *Road of Life*, 1954–55; *Brighter Day*, 1954–62; *As the World Turns*, 1956–present; *Another World*, 1964–99; *Days of Our Lives*, 1965–present; *Our Private World*, 1965; *Love Is a Many Splendored Thing*, 1967–73

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Playwrights on Radio

Writing drama for radio was a challenging task, for, unlike on the stage or screen, a radio playwright had to depend solely on sound, dialogue, and description to tell a story. The inability to use any visual devices derailed more than a few early would-be radio authors. Those who succeeded, however, created a wonderful art form that flourished for nearly two decades of radio's golden age. A half century later it is understandable that few people under the age of 60 remember the names of Norman Corwin or any of the other major radio dramatists. Corwin was the dean of America's radio playwrights during the golden age that began in 1935 and lasted until the late 1940s. Poets, novelists, and mystery writers joined Corwin and others who wrote mainly for radio in having their works aired to a vast listening public. A number of writers for the stage also sought out the broadcasting studios. A 1945 anthology of radio plays featured works by a priest, two army sergeants, a Noble prize-winning novelist, a musicologist, and even a blind man. Novelist John Steinbeck, TV personality Steve Allen, and TV newscaster Chet Huntley took brief stabs at radio play writing.

Golden Age Radio Drama

The first golden age radio playwrights were heard on two dramatic anthologies, the *Cavalcade of America* and the *Columbia Workshop*. The former was a showcase for largely patriotic shows; the latter, an experimental dramatic anthology, offered more artistic productions. Soon after the *Columbia Workshop* was launched in 1936, the show received a manuscript for *The Fall of the City*, a play in verse, from Pulitzer prize winner Archibald MacLeish. It dealt allegorically with the growth of fascist dictatorships in Europe. Its broadcast struck a chord and inspired a number of other talented and experienced writers. Because poetry lends itself particularly to aural expression, Stephen Vincent Benét, Edna St. Vincent Millay, and other poets joined MacLeish's ranks on radio. So did William Saroyan, Pare Lorentz, Dorothy Parker, and a number of other prose writers.

Howard Koch and John Houseman

On the eve of Halloween 1938, CBS broadcast what is probably the medium's best-remembered show, an adaptation of H.G. Wells' novel *The War Of the Worlds*. Orson Welles produced and acted in the program. However, despite the popular notion that Orson Welles also wrote the radio script, the primary authors were his two collaborators, John Houseman and Howard Koch.

John Houseman, a Romanian born Jew, was originally a grain dealer until the Depression put him out of business. By 1938, he was a stage producer, director, and writer, working in two undertakings with Welles, the Mercury Theatre (a stage troupe) and the *Mercury Theatre of the Air*. For the latter, a show on CBS, Houseman initially did the writing until he and Welles took on Howard Koch, a tall, shy Columbia Law School graduate, to relieve Houseman. It was Koch who wrote the original script for *War of the Worlds*. Houseman collaborated on two rewrites and Welles applied the finishing touches.

Even after the show created panic nationwide, Koch, its principal author, still remained unknown to the public, for Welles never attempted to set the record straight. After a shift in the Welles-Houseman relationship, Houseman left. Subsequently, Campbell's Soup offered Welles sponsorship of another radio series, and Koch continued as writer. Not long afterwards, Koch became a film writer, most notably co-author of the famed *Casablanca*.

Among the many talented writers who took to radio was Brooklyn born Lucille Fletcher. After receiving her degree from Vassar College in 1933, Fletcher took a job as a typist in CBS's publicity department. After Norman Corwin produced a play based on a story that she wrote, Fletcher decided to try radio writing herself. One of her first plays was performed on *Mercury Theatre of the Air*. Her most successful one, *Sorry, Wrong Number*, first broadcast in 1943, was translated into 15 languages, made into two films, and served as the basis for two operas. Other radio plays by Fletcher were produced on the *Columbia Workshop* and the *Suspense* series.

In the four or five years before Pearl Harbor, in response to the threat of fascism that had materialized in Europe, a group of writers began to produce a "social consciousness" body of radio drama that displayed a strong concern for human freedom. Thus Arch Oboler inserted political themes into about a third of the shows he wrote for the horror series *Lights Out*. Like virtually all of these writers in the pre-Pearl Harbor days, however, he did so in an allegorical manner. Also, a year before the Japanese attack, a government official had taken an initiative that led to the creation of *The Free Company*, an allegorical, antifascist series that featured plays by Stephen Vincent Benét, MacLeish, Maxwell Anderson, Robert Sherwood, Marc Connelly, and Sherwood Anderson.

World War II

After Pearl Harbor, both the networks and the government promoted programs intended to boost morale and otherwise assist in the pursuit of victory. Norman Corwin directed two four-network efforts at the request of the government. The first, only a week after Pearl Harbor, celebrated the Bill of Rights. The second, which began two months later, was a 13-part series about the war, for which he wrote about half of the shows. Its broadcast roughly coincided with production of Arch Oboler's first post-Pearl Harbor series, *Plays for Americans* on NBC. Oboler produced at least 70 "beat the Axis" radio plays in 1942. He played a particularly prominent role in the propaganda campaign against Germany, arguing forcefully that Americans needed to hate the enemy in order to conduct a successful war effort.

Twenty-seven year old Randal MacDougall was one of the writers for the Corwin series. Like many others of his generation, as a boy he had been fascinated by the technology of radio and had wound copper wire around an oatmeal box to make his first set. MacDougall began to write seriously at the age of 12. In his late teens he was working as an usher at New York City's Radio City Music Hall when a conversation with an NBC executive landed him an office job with the network. Eventually MacDougall worked his way onto the script staff. In 1942 he began working for a new war series, *The Man Behind the Gun*, one of the best dramas depicting the war era. Other notable and prolific writers of wartime radio drama included Allan Sloane, Peter Lyon, and poets Stephen Vincent Benét, Langston Hughes, and Norman Rosten. New Jersey-born Millard Lampell and playwright Arthur Miller, both close friends of Rosten, wrote for radio as well.

Allan Sloane, originally a newspaper journalist, broke into radio in 1943 when, temporarily jobless, he walked unannounced into the office of the producer of *The Man Behind the Gun* and handed in a script he had written at home. He was hired within a few days. Peter Lyon, another journalist, got started writing for *The March of Time*, a dramatized news

documentary. Later, he also wrote for the *Cavalcade of America*. Like many of his radio colleagues, Lyon was a progressive. Among other interests, he was a strong trade unionist. He and Millard Lampell both wrote for a wartime series entitled *Labor for Victory*. Lyon also served in 1944 as president of the Radio Writers Guild.

In his earlier years Pulitzer prize winner Stephen Vincent Benét was rather indifferent to politics. But during the 1930s, he grew increasingly interested in national and international events and developed wide friendships among European refugees. By the time of Pearl Harbor, he was driven to assist the war effort, attending meetings and giving radio readings of his poetry. His best-known contribution to the war effort was a radio drama in verse, "They Burned the Books."

Langston Hughes had many fewer opportunities with radio than did his white peers. He first wrote for radio in 1940 when CBS asked him to prepare some scripts for a Norman Corwin series. Soon, Hughes was lending his talent to the war effort even though he found that he was radio's "token" black writer, defending a democracy whose fruits he could not fully share.

Norman Rosten, a protégé of Stephen Vincent Benét, was one of the most prolific writers of radio plays of the 1930s and 1940s. Rosten received part of his preparation for writing radio drama on a playwriting fellowship at the University of Michigan. The broadcast of MacLeish's *The Fall of the City* made him realize radio's potential as a vehicle for poetry. After completing his studies, Rosten returned to New York where, with an introduction from Benét, he began to write patriotic radio plays for the *Cavalcade of America*.

Millard Lampell grew up in the same New Jersey hometown as Allan Sloane. Son of an immigrant garment worker, Lampell, a short, athletic, ebullient, man, worked in his youth as a fruit picker and coal miner. He sold his first piece of writing, an article about fascist groups on campus, while he was in college in West Virginia. After college, Lampell moved to New York City and sang for a while with folk singers Woody Guthrie and Pete Seeger. One Sunday, after they finished a gig, a radio producer who had been in the audience approached Lampell and asked him if he would be interested in writing for radio. Lampell's writing career was off and running.

In 1942 and 1943 Lampell wrote scripts for *It's the Navy* and several other war-related radio programs. In 1943, he was drafted. After training, he was assigned to the Air Force radio section in New Haven, Connecticut. There he wrote, produced, and directed programs. In 1944, Lampell was released from the service to visit veterans hospitals around the U.S. and gather material for radio scripts about returning soldiers. Afterwards, he produced *First in the Air*, a series for the Army Air Forces program. Subsequently he lectured on radio writing at several New York area colleges. In 1946, Lampell went to Hollywood as a contract writer at Warner Brothers.

The fact that Arthur Miller wrote most of his early plays for radio has not been well known. But he wrote perhaps 25 radio plays between 1939 and 1946, most of them war related. New York-born Miller attended the University of Michigan, where he befriended Norman Rosten and began writing plays. After graduation, Miller also moved back East. Within a few months, a film studio offered him \$250 a week to work in Hollywood. Miller rejected the offer, opting instead for a job at \$22.77 per week with the Federal Theatre, a government work program for writers. At around the same time, the *Columbia Workshop* accepted his first play for radio. Miller also wrote for a series entitled *The Doctor Fights* and, after Rosten recommended him, for the *Cavalcade of America*.

During the war, Miller was rejected twice for military service because of a knee injury. As a substitute, he took a job in the Brooklyn Navy Yard where he helped recondition ships for service. He also threw himself into writing patriotic shows for radio. He worked quickly, completing a half-hour play in less than a day and spending only three months per year writing for radio. During the other nine he wrote for the stage.

Arthur Laurents graduated from Cornell University in 1940. At the urging of a friend, he enrolled in a radio writing course at New York University. His teacher, a CBS director, was so impressed with a play that Laurents wrote for the course that he sold it to the *Columbia Workshop*. After that Laurents wrote for numerous commercial shows before moving away from radio in favor of musicals and films.

Morton Wishengrad was born in New York's Lower East Side in 1913 to Russian-Jewish immigrant parents. A tall, thin, and reserved man, he shared many of the concerns of the progressive-minded writers of his generation. Wishengrad's first job was as the educational director, editor, and researcher for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. During the war he worked for the American Federation of Labor as director of a joint Labor Short Wave Bureau that broadcast to organized labor in Europe. He also wrote scripts for NBC's *Labor for Victory*, the *Cavalcade of America*, and several other shows.

Writing for Minorities

Wishengrad stands out among a number of Jewish radio writers as perhaps the only one to clearly bring his Jewish consciousness to radio. Although he wrote for mainstream shows, Wishengrad is best remembered for his writing for programs that primarily addressed a Jewish audience. In 1943, he produced a script about the battle of the Warsaw Ghetto for the American Jewish Committee. It was one of a very few wartime shows that touched on the Nazis' genocide policy. The following year, Wishengrad began to write for *The Eternal Light*, a new Jewish religious drama series, sponsored by the Jewish Theological Seminary.

Mitchell Grayson and Richard Durham, two African American radio dramatists, also appealed to special audiences. Grayson, a New York writer, wrote and directed *New World A'Coming*. Durham wrote *Destination Freedom* in Chicago. Both were provocative collections of half-hour black history dramas about prominent African Americans that helped pave the way for the civil rights movement.

Postwar Era

Despite radio drama's great success from the mid 1930s, by the 1950s the genre was in decline, a consequence of the ascent of television and the postwar increase in commercialization in broadcasting. The latter helped make radio vulnerable to a destructive broadcasting industry blacklist carried out by anti-communist vigilantes. Corwin, Grayson, Hughes, Lampell, Rosten, and virtually all of the other writers discussed here were its targets. By 1957, most radio dramatists also had to write for television and film to make a living.

With the departure of many of the war-era radio dramatists, the American radio audience lost a steady source of progressive ideas. The public also lost some fine entertainment. For a short time, during television's Golden Age, the new medium filled the gap. But then it too faded from its glory days.

HOWARD BLUE

See also Blacklisting; *Cavalcade of America*; Corwin, Norman; Drama, U.S.; Drama, Worldwide; Durham, Richard; *Lights Out*; *March of Time*; *Mercury Theater of the Air*; Oboler, Arch; *War of the Worlds*

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Poetry on Radio

Poetry has played many roles on radio, from filling dead air-time to giving voice to the grief of mourning, as well as many of the places in between.

Introduction and Themes

Poetry on radio was initially occasional and spontaneous, with an announcer reading a poem before or after a music segment or the farm reports. Ted Malone, who was later to be one of the best-known hosts of poetry on radio, began his career this way. In the late 1920s, quickly substituting for an act that failed to show, the program director thrust an anthology of poetry and a mike at Malone and left him to his fate. His reading was a success, and Malone went on to a radio career of more than 25 years with *Between the Bookends*. Because of the ease of production and minimal expense involved, this tradition expanded in the 1930s and 1940s and continues to this day.

The poetry heard on radio has tended to fall into several categories. Early on and into the golden days of radio it has mostly been of the sentimental or "light" variety, especially on shows that were commercially sponsored. Poetry was often taken from popular magazines, such as *Good Housekeeping* or *Redbook*. Many times it was read over music, sometimes accompanied by philosophizing or "gentle wisdom." When more serious or "highbrow" poetry found its way onto the airwaves, it was usually in a sustaining program, and later in non-commercial radio. Some shows included music underneath, or before or after the poetry, while others were straight readings of poems.

By the late 1930s poetry found a new form with the appearance of radio verse plays. The originators of radio verse plays in the U.S. were Archibald MacLeish and Norman Corwin. It was here that poetry reached its greatest number of listeners, as illustrated by the estimated audience of 60 million for Corwin's "We Hold These Truths" in 1941. The paragraphs that follow, by no means inclusive, highlight selected examples and events throughout the nearly 100 years of radio.

Origins

In the early part of the 20th century, radio was primarily a medium of individuals and amateurs some of whom would occasionally read poems, sometimes just to fill dead air, or sometimes in loosely organized "shows." Unfortunately, because the technology was not easily available to record these "programs," and scripts were rarely kept, few names or titles have survived.

In the early 1920s poetry was often read within other programs, such as variety shows hosted by people such as Major Bowes, Rudy Vallee, and Fred Allen. The earliest poetry appeared on local radio shows, such as a program in Yankton, South Dakota, broadcast in 1921 on WNAX and supported by the Guerne Seed and Nursery Company. One listener won a "poetry" contest with, "the Guerne's are the farmer's friend / They always will be to the end."

Later, when radio became more structured, stations broadcast identifiable announcers, and programs with titles appeared, such as *Cheerio*, *Tony's Scrapbook*, *Between the Bookends*, and *Poet's Gold*. One of the earliest shows featured Edward Godfrey reading poetry on a children's program titled *Stories and Poems Read by Uncle Ed over KDKA* (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania). Beginning 26 October 1923, it was a variety program, usually lasting 15 minutes, that ranged from imitations of birds and animals to music on the mouth organ and guitar to the reading of poems, some original.

One of the first shows to feature poetry was *Poems*, with Beatrice Meisler reciting poetry each week on WGBS in New York City in 1925. Another was *Poet's Corner*, sponsored by Hewitt's Bookstore, with an unidentified performer reading poetry on KFON in Long Beach, California, in 1926. A third was *Poetry Club*, in which Mrs. David Hugh read and discussed poetry on KHJ, Los Angeles, California, in 1929.

While most of this early poetry on the radio was of the sentimental type, more serious poetry did appear. As radio became more regulated in the 1920s, one of its roles was to provide a

public service, as defined in the Radio Act of 1927. With this in mind, "highbrow" material, including some poetry, also appeared in sustaining programs (programs funded by the station or network without commercial advertising). David Sarnoff, vice president and general manager of RCA, suggested that the masses needed to be uplifted by culture, including poetry. While these early poetry broadcasts sometimes were on commercial radio, they were not necessarily commercially sponsored and often served as filler between commercially sponsored programs.

Network Radio

Poetry began on the networks in 1929 when CBS asked David Ross, with his fine voice, to read poetry in a half-hour Sunday afternoon sustaining show titled *Poet's Gold*. However, like many radio shows and personalities, Ross began locally, first airing in 1926 on WMAQ, Chicago. *Poet's Gold* continued on CBS into the late 1930s, mostly on Sunday afternoons. Ross read classic and contemporary verse by poets such as Ben Jonson, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Percy Shelley, Robert Frost, Edna St. Vincent Millay, and Stephen Vincent Benet, usually over music. *Variety* commented that it was one of the best of the many programs of the 1930s featuring poetry and quiet music. Ross participated in another trend of poetry on radio programs by publishing a related book named after the show, *Poet's Gold*.

Ted Malone (Frank Alden Russell) and Tony Wons (Anthony Snow) were the two major personalities of poetry shows on network radio. On *Tony's Scrapbook* Wons gave down-home wisdom and commentary mixed with sentimental verse from sources such as *Good Housekeeping* and *Redbook*, as well as drawing occasionally from literary giants. Wons' gentle, intimate sounding delivery made him a favorite with female listeners. Popular or "light" poetry was more likely to be commercially sponsored, and Wons was able to find companies to foot the bill, including International Silver and Johnson Wax in the 1930s and Hallmark Cards in the early 1940s. Before that he had supported his program by selling yearly collections of poems read on the air, thus the show's name. CBS participated in the publishing of the scrapbooks and later had a deal whereby the network got a cut of sales from the books in exchange for air time.

Wons also appeared on other shows. In 1931 he contributed to the *Camel Quarter Hour*, a variety program directed by Erik Barnouw and sponsored by R.J. Reynolds, where he read a poem on each show. In the commercial spirit, he also read two poetically phrased messages about Camel cigarettes, as part of an attempt to market cigarettes to women. From September 1934 to August 1935, Wons appeared on *The House by the Side of the Road*, a half-hour Sunday afternoon

dramatic program, sponsored by Johnson's Wax and Allied Products and broadcast on NBC.

Ted Malone hosted *Between the Bookends*, a book review program that also featured conversation and poetry, for more than 25 years. It included Malone's poetry as well as that of others and was usually amusing and almost always uplifting. Malone sat in a studio with the lights dimmed and read poetry to organ accompaniment played by Rosa Rio. To Malone, radio was an intimate medium that fit the simple and sentimental poetry he read. Malone was poetry editor at *Good Housekeeping*, and the poems he read were mostly taken from it and similar magazines. He published several *Between the Bookends* anthologies, which were widely available.

Malone also hosted a 30-minute *Pilgrimage of Poetry* program for one season on NBC Blue that featured 32 of the most famous poets in America. Malone traveled to the homes of writers such as Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Stephen Crane, Edgar Allan Poe, and Walt Whitman, among others, as a way of sharing their lives with his radio audience. He followed this with a season of *American Pilgrimage*, broadcast from 1940 to 1941, where he visited the homes of such literary stalwarts as Mark Twain and Herman Melville.

Sentimental/Cheerful Poetry

Readings of sentimental/cheerful poetry over a background of organ music or in between announcers' talking and philosophizing had the widest audience for poetry on the radio. *Cheerio*, a program of good cheer that included poetry, was also the broadcast name used by the popular broadcaster and host of the show, Charles K. Field. He read poetry and gave inspirational talks starting in 1925 on local radio in the San Francisco Bay area. He moved to the networks in March of 1927 until he was off the air in April of 1940. Field claimed never to have received a penny from his broadcasting, but he wrote many best-selling books. They contained the poetry and wisdom used on his shows and provided his income. In a program called *Cheerio Exchange*, Field's staff maintained a fund to purchase radios at a discount to be lent to shut-ins.

Moon River was broadcast on WLW (Cincinnati, Ohio) in the 1930s and 1940s. It was one of the best-known and best-loved local shows of the network radio era. It began when WLW's owner, Powel Crosley, Jr., told Ed Bryan to create a poetry show to make use of the organ he had just purchased. Narrated by Bob Brown among others, *Moon River* occasionally found its way to the networks. One reference mentions it being broadcast on NBC Red at 12:30 A.M. on 15 March 1942.

George Work hosted *Melody and Rhyme* from 1927 until his death in 1947. It was broadcast on WNYC on Sunday mornings from 8:00 to 8:45 A.M. During those 45 minutes, he

read four to six sentimental poems over music, or between musical selections.

Edgar Guest's poems were a regular feature of many music-poetry programs. He also had his own radio career as a poet/host. It began in Boston in the 1920s, although Guest was most well known in the Midwest. He hosted his own show in the 1930s on WASH (Grand Rapids, Michigan) and later on a show in which he read poems between selections by the Detroit Symphony on CBS. Guest's career with poetry on radio continued into the 1940s as he provided poetry for an NBC radio show in 1941 along with Eddie Howard.

Highbrow/Serious Poetry

Although most of the poetry on the radio was of the sentimental variety, there has long been a presence of "highbrow" or serious poetry allied with the more elite poets, poetry establishments, and the academy. One show that included more serious poetry was the previously mentioned *Poet's Gold*. Another was *Poetry Hour* hosted by A.M. (Aloysius Michael) Sullivan, an officer of the Poetry Society of America. Sullivan began broadcasting *Poetry Hour* on WOR/Mutual Network in 1930 and was still on the air into the 1940s. *Poetry Hour* presented the poets reading their own work and discussing techniques and trends in poetry. He presented more than 300 poets on the air including Stephen Vincent Benet, Edgar Lee Masters, Padraic Colum, Sara Teasdale, Mark Van Doren, and Kimball Flaccus. In 1937 this program helped provide an entrée onto the radio airwaves for Norman Corwin, who filled in for Sullivan on several occasions. In 1948 Sullivan created *The Poet Speaks*, which combined the reading of poetry with discussion about it.

Among the highest of the highbrows, Harriet Monroe, the founding editor of *Poetry: A Magazine of Verse*, appeared on *Here, There and Everywhere*, a 15-minute Chicago area program between 1930 and 1936. She also was on CBS's *American School of the Air* in a 10-minute segment on modern poetry.

Radio Verse Plays

The late 1930s brought a new development to the history of poetry on radio with the beginning of radio verse plays. The legendary first broadcast was Archibald MacLeish's verse play for radio *The Fall of the City*, which was broadcast 11 April 1937 from 7:00 to 7:30 P.M. on CBS. *The Fall of the City*, said critics, represented the American broadcasting industry's discovery of great radio in poetry and at the same time an American poet's discovery of great poetry in radio. In MacLeish's own words, "I realized at the time how much 'The Fall of the City' owed to not being seen, how much it owed to the fact that the imagination conceives it."

The Fall of the City raised the bar for the level of poetry on radio. First, its author was a writer of high repute—MacLeish won the Pulitzer Prize for Poetry in 1933 and later became the Librarian of Congress. Second, the play recognized radio as a literary medium, well suited to verse and poetry. This furthered the view that radio was highbrow and artistic. *Fall of the City* was referred to frequently by critics in later years as an eminent first in literary broadcasting.

It was, however, Norman Corwin who was to become known as "radio's poet laureate." The *New York Times* said that "Corwin writes with a poet's vision, a good reporter's clarity and a technician's precise knowledge of his craft—three attributes that have made him preeminent in radio literature." While Norman Corwin's name eventually overshadowed all others in the world of radio verse plays, he went on to become much more as he made his reputation as a writer, producer, and director.

Corwin began his radio career at WBZA (Springfield, Massachusetts) reading the news and then later hosting a show called *Rhymes and Cadences* in which he read poems aloud. He moved to New York in 1936, where he hosted *Poetic License* beginning in late 1937. It was broadcast from 9:45 to 10:00 P.M. on WQXR, a New York station then known for its high-quality ("for the discriminating listener") innovative programming. *Poetic License* featured some of the leading poets of the day in conversational poetry, or what was to become known as "talking verse." On one show Corwin presented an adaptation of *Spoon River Anthology* that caught the attention of W.B. Lewis, a CBS vice-president, and led to his becoming a major fixture there.

Soon after moving to CBS, Corwin started *Words without Music*, a sustaining show broadcast on Sundays from late 1938 to June 1939. Here Corwin appealed to a variety of listeners by reading poetry from Mother Goose to Walt Whitman, Carl Sandburg, Robert Frost, and occasionally African-American poets such as James Weldon Johnson and Sterling Brown. *Words without Music* used a form called "vitalized" or "orchestrated" poetry that consisted of dramatizing a poem, giving its lines to several voices, and sometimes adding lines and repetition for dramatic effect. By dramatizing poems and/or adding a sense of humor, Corwin opened up the audience for "good" poetry beyond the highbrow, to include those who enjoyed drama and/or comedy.

Words without Music inspired an NBC poetry program *Fables without Music*, featuring Alfred Kreymborg. It was, however, much more serious in tone and subject. Broadcast in the spring of 1939, it consisted of 10 radio verse plays of 15 minutes each.

Among the hundreds of verse plays written for radio in the 1940s are Stephen Vincent Benet's *A Child is Born*, W.H. Auden's *The Dark Valley*, Pearl S. Buck's *Will This Earth*

Hold?, Norman Rosten's *Concerning the Red Army*, and Edna St. Vincent Millay's *The Murder of Lidice*.

Postwar Years

After World War II, poetry played a lesser role on network radio. Some earlier shows, such as *Between the Bookends*, survived into the 1950s. Others suffered as the networks became more commercialized and reduced the number of sustaining programs. Norman Corwin left CBS in 1948 because of a contract dispute and moved to Hollywood. In addition, the networks were less interested in promoting these shows. One example was their reduction in support for the publication of books to support and advertise their on-air poetry shows.

Shows containing poetry or of interest to poetry fans did, however, appear, some locally and some on the networks. One was hosted by Mary Margaret McBride, who broadcast from 1935 to 1955, first as Martha Deane, then under her own name. Her guests included Langston Hughes, Mark and Carl Van Doren, Carl Sandburg, and William Carlos Williams.

Like so many artists, poets of the 1950s suffered under the pressures of McCarthyism. Unofficial lists of "communists" included many prominent poets such as W.H. Auden, Archibald MacLeish, Carl and Mark Van Doren, and Stephen Vincent Benet.

New poetry shows that began in the 1950s included *Poetry of Our Time*, featuring author and poet Katherine Anne Porter reading her poetry. Another was *Anthology*, which mixed music, poetry, and other literature in a series presented in cooperation with the Poetry Center of the Young Men's-Young Women's Hebrew Association. It was produced by Steve White, directed by Draper Lewis, and hosted by Harry Fleetwood. Guests included W.H. Auden, Edna St. Vincent Millay, William Carlos Williams, and Wallace Stevens.

David Ross' long career of reading poetry on the air continued in the 1950s with *Words in the Night*. Here Ross read poetry with music provided by guitarist Tony Mattola and vocalist Sally Sweetland. *The Poet Speaks* was heard on WGBH (Boston) featuring Wallace Stevens, e.e. cummings, and Adrienne Rich, among many others.

Non-Commercial and Other Venues

With the decline in network support for poetry, non-commercial and educational radio filled some of the gap. University and other stations serving cultured and academic populations have supported numerous poetry programs that have lasted as long as their mostly unpaid hosts could manage. Broadcasting since the late 1920s, WOSO at Ohio State University did some of the most progressive work in poetry including *Lyric Ohio*, which presented the work of Ohio poets. On the air since

1930, *Invitation to Reading* on WHA at the University of Wisconsin included poetry programs for high school students.

In the late 1950s, music and literature shows made up 70 percent of the schedule for KPFA (Berkeley, California), flagship station of the Pacifica Foundation. In 1959 KPFA broadcast *The Poetry of Lawrence Ferlinghetti* as well as numerous other shows of beat poets from the thriving poetry scene in the San Francisco Bay Area at the time. Chicago's fine arts station, WFMT, has throughout its history featured live and recorded poetry readings. One notable example is Ken Nordine's *Word Jazz*, which was broadcast in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

The Library of Congress' presence on the radio began in the early 1940s with the Radio Research Project headed by Archibald MacLeish. Although poetry was not its main emphasis, the Research Project featured some of it in a series titled *Books and the News*. In 1950, consultant in poetry Conrad Aiken inaugurated the broadcasting of readings over a local radio station, WCFM, under the Library of Congress' sponsorship. These broadcasts continued in the 1950s and included Katherine Garrison Chapin reading the poems of Emily Dickinson as well as the works of other women poets. The programs were broadcast from the Coolidge Auditorium at the Library of Congress and were often aired only locally in Washington, D.C., although some reached a national audience as well.

Since the early 1950s the Library of Congress has continued to have an irregular but important presence on the airwaves. It has often featured the current consultant in poetry (now called Poet Laureate Consultant in Poetry) as well as a long list of distinguished poets of note. The Library of Congress continues to host poetry broadcasts to this day. Recently these have primarily been on WETA-FM in Washington with national distribution via satellite. One example is *The Poet and the Poem from the Library of Congress*, hosted by Grace Cavalieri, which began broadcasting in 1989 and has been annual since 1997. Robert Pinsky provided the first live poetry webcast on the internet from the Library of Congress on 8 October 1998.

The Library of Congress' Archive of Recorded Poetry and Literature contains many broadcasts by known and not-so-known poets. Many recordings were made at local stations and given to the Library for inclusion in the archive. The Archive of Hispanic Literature, also at the Library of Congress, contains the recordings of hundreds of poets, including six or more Nobel Prize winners from Latin America and Spain. It is difficult to know how many of these were broadcast.

The decade of the 1960s opened with a major American poet, Robert Frost, reading a poem he had written at the inauguration of John F. Kennedy. It was broadcast live on radio and began

*A Golden Age of poetry and power,
Of which the noonday's the beginning hour*

At that point he was blinded by the sun and snow and could hardly read his words. Quickly he moved into a poem he knew well, "The Gift Outright," holding his head high as the words reached out. Frost also read on WAMF (Amherst, Massachusetts) many times between 1948 and 1962. Most of those recordings are in the Archive of Recorded Poetry and Literature at the Library of Congress.

In the 1970s, poetry's access to the airwaves increased with the advent of National Public Radio (NPR). Since its beginning in 1971, NPR has broadcast a number of shows that have featured poets and poetry. *Voices in the Wind* broadcast beginning in 1974 with Oscar Brand as host and included Nikki Giovanni, Lucille Clifton, and Allen Ginsberg. *Poet Speaks*, a 30-minute show that originated at WGBH, broadcast with Herbert Kenny as host from April to June 1972. Guests included Richard Eberhart, John Updike, May Sarton, and Allen Tate. Some shows had very limited runs, perhaps one or only a few broadcasts. *Spoon River Anthology* was broadcast in March 1973 in four weekly installments, originating at WGBH. *The Archibald MacLeish Tribute* was broadcast 15 April 1981 with MacLeish and John Ciardi. MacLeish was also interviewed in *Book Beat* on 31 October 1971. *Voice of the Poet* was broadcast 15 January 1975 with Jerome Rothenberg and Marge Piercy among the guests. Some of the other shows that have featured or included poetry are *Talk of the Nation*, *Fresh Air*, and *Children's Radio Theatre*.

Poetry on Radio Today

At the beginning of the 21st century, Garrison Keillor hosted a daily five-minute radio program called *The Writer's Almanac*, in which he notes milestones of the day and closes with a poem or two. It is heard each day on public radio stations throughout the country. Occasionally Keillor also includes poetry in his weekly program *A Prairie Home Companion*. Other short shows similar to *The Writer's Almanac* include *The Osgood File* with Charles Osgood, heard daily on the CBS radio network, and *Bookbeat*, a daily report on new books and authors with Don Swain as host on WCBS in New York.

New Letters on the Air, the radio companion to the printed publication *New Letters*, was first broadcast locally in Kansas City, Missouri, beginning in 1977. *New Letters on the Air* is a half-hour weekly show designed primarily to introduce the author with a short interview and then a number of poems. Typically, the program has about 10 minutes of poetry, 15 minutes of interview, and 3 minutes of introductions, credits, and musical bridges. *New Letters on the Air* has featured four Nobel Prize Winners, as well as 50 winners of various other literary awards, including the Pulitzer Prize. Approximately one-third of the featured writers are members of ethnic minorities. It has been syndicated over the NPR satellite and broadcast in

more than 60 cities. From 1984 to 1995 it was hosted and produced by Rebekah (Presson) Mosby.

The Poet and the Poem is a one-hour show broadcast locally on WPFW in Washington, D.C., nationally by Pacifica Radio, and internationally by the Voice of America. From 1977 to 1997 it was broadcast weekly, first on Thursday, then on Sunday evenings. It has featured more than 2,000 poets ranging from United States Poet Laureates and Pulitzer Prize winners to unpublished and/or fledgling poets of consequence. In *The Poet and the Poem*, host Grace Cavalieri first provides biographical information about the poet who then reads several poems. A poet herself, Cavalieri asks probing and insightful questions that draw the poets out in revealing and informative ways. From 1978 to 1993, the program also hosted an all-day poetry broadcast once a year featuring 35 performers present. Titled *Ribbon of Song*, it featured Sterling Brown among others and the archival works of Paul Laurence Dunbar and Langston Hughes among others. In May (National Poetry Month) of 2000, in celebration of the bicentennial of the Library of Congress, *The Poet and the Poem from the Library of Congress* was a one-hour weekly show with W.S. Merwin, Louise Gluck, Robert Pinsky, and Rita Dove.

Other contemporary shows of note include *Poems to a Listener* with host Henry Lyman on WFCR-FM, Amherst, Massachusetts; *A Moveable Feast* with Tom Vitale and guests such as Allan Ginsberg, Charles Bukowski, and Joyce Carole Oates; *Soundings* with Wayne Pond; *Bookworm* with Michael Silverblatt from KCRW, Santa Monica, California; *Enjoyment of Poetry* with Florence Becker Lennon on WEVD, New York; *Booktalk* with Rus Morgan on WYPL, and *The Book Show* with Douglas Glover.

Poetry continues to be heard on radio in much the way it was in the early parts of the 20th century. It is heard on stations big and small, to inform and entertain, as filler, inspiration, and as something to soothe. As the internet becomes more of a force in radio, more programs will be available live over the web. Recorded poetry as well is becoming available on line, being broadcast, or "webcast."

Perhaps the close and continuing association of poetry and radio should come as no surprise. The development of the radio restored the power of the spoken word. Both are reflections of the original oral traditions that gave birth to our literary heritage. In the words of Archibald MacLeish, "The ear is the poet's perfect audience, his only true audience. And it is radio and only radio which can give him public access to this perfect friend."

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See also Canadian Radio Drama; Corwin, Norman; Drama, U.S.; Drama, Worldwide; Playwrights on Radio

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Politics and Radio

The late 1920s witnessed the dramatic expansion of radio as it became a powerful new form of mass communication. The 1930 census reported that nearly 70 percent of all homes in the United States had at least one radio. As the 1930s came to a close, more families owned radios than owned telephones and automobiles or subscribed to newspapers. Nowhere was the impact of radio more widespread than in the political arena. Radio had several effects on political discourse and campaigns. It made campaigning more expensive, as the cost of radio air time added millions to campaign budgets, and it brought the advertising agency into politics. Perhaps even more important, radio was the first technological medium that allowed presidents to "go public"—that is, to go over the heads of Congress and directly to the people, thereby changing the method of governance. This essay, detailing radio's impact on the political process, chronicles the major eras of political radio in the U.S., which include 1) politics and radio in the early years—from Harding to Hoover; 2) Roosevelt and radio; 3) the postwar years and the rise of television; and 4) the rebirth of political radio.

Politics and Radio in the Early Years— From Harding to Hoover

The first president to speak on radio was President Woodrow Wilson in 1919. However, only a few people heard Wilson's address, and those listening could distinguish no more than a few clear words. Historians theorize that if radio had evolved ten years earlier and provided him the opportunity to speak directly to the people, Woodrow Wilson might have been more successful in his appeal for League of Nations membership.

It was not until after the landslide Harding election of 1920 that both the public and politicians realized that radio could be a pragmatic and efficient communication medium. After the election, Harding periodically spoke on the radio concerning national matters. His 1923 State of the Union speech was carried widely, and later that same year, while on a Western tour, Harding energized the populace's acceptance of political radio with a series of commentaries entitled "Stewardship of the Administration." The effects of these radio announcements were swiftly imprinted upon the American political landscape.

For example, development of radio during the Harding administration was evident in the broadcasting arrangements made for his Western tour. The railroad car in which he traveled was equipped with a radio transmitter in order to broadcast speeches to a large portion of the nation.

There is little doubt that the novelty of these presidential addresses made at least some impression on the populace. Nonetheless, Harding, it seems, was not altogether comfortable with the new medium. A *New York Times* observer reported, "He is dominated by the restraining influence of the radio-telephone amplifiers, into which he has talked while making these addresses. The mechanical contrivance worries him . . . and he is tempted at times to revert to the old style oratory" ("Cordial to Harding, Cold to Speeches," *New York Times*, 25 June 1923).

As troubling as the mechanics of the radio may have been to Harding, his successor, Calvin Coolidge, found the medium to be suitable to him rhetorically, even as he recognized radio's political possibilities. "Silent Cal" was anything but silent when it came to radio broadcasts. In 1924 it is estimated that Coolidge spoke more than 9,000 words per month over radio and that more than 50,000 people heard his voice during the first eight months of 1927, more than had heard any previous president. That radio broadcasts benefited Coolidge is rarely disputed. Both writers and politicians who assessed Coolidge's radio abilities gave him enthusiastic endorsements. Coolidge himself once made the observation, "I am very fortunate that I came with the radio. I can't make an engaging, rousing, or oratorical speech, but I have a good radio voice, and now I can get my message across to them without acquainting them with my lack of oratorical ability" (Chester, 1969). Coolidge tended, however, to refrain from utilizing radio as a tool for practical political or party gain. Even though radio played a large role in establishing Coolidge as president and in getting him re-elected, he did not feel the need to speak habitually to the nation.

Certainly presidential addresses made up the largest number of political programs on radio in these early years, but the public also seemed to pay attention to other political events carried on the airwaves. Starting in 1924, political party conventions were covered by radio and heard by a large audience, and that same election witnessed the beginning of paid broadcast advertising for political parties and candidates. The early years of radio also saw the beginning of radio's use as a medium for advocating political viewpoints. The most famous of these advocates was the "Radio Priest," Father Charles Coughlin, who used radio to promote his views on social and political issues of the day during the 1920s and 1930s.

If Coolidge was the harbinger of radio as beneficial to the democratic ideal, Hoover was the forerunner of radio as an integral part of a campaign. Hoover pushed the Republican

party toward spending the major portion of its publicity budget on radio. Indeed, in May 1928 Hoover indicated that he would engineer his campaign largely through radio and films. The use of radio in the 1928 campaign by both Hoover and his Democratic challenger, Alfred Smith, was remarkable on a number of levels. First, despite his interest in drama as a younger man, Smith did not use the radio airwaves well. Problematic was his East Side accent, which may have endeared him to the immigrant population in New York City but which hurt him in the South, where he desperately needed votes. Second, the spending for airtime in this campaign, by both parties, reached nearly \$2 million. This represented only about 15 percent of the total publicity budgets of both parties for a medium that was able to reach nearly 40 million voters.

Radio as a political medium was growing rapidly. For example, the League of Women Voters developed a bipartisan series of programs designed to inform voters, claiming to provide background information, differing points of view on issues, and information on the political and voting process. Campaigning notwithstanding, political scientists argue that radio may have had an even more powerful influence upon American presidential politics than simply the obvious effect of helping candidates attract votes. The power of the president rose with the ability to go "over the head of Congress" directly to the American public. The potential power of the presidency was strengthened during the Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover administrations, and radio played an important role in this development.

Roosevelt and Radio

The harshness of the Great Depression, which had shrouded the country since 1929, almost ensured a victory for the Democratic party in the 1932 election. One of the more notable aspects of his nomination was Franklin Delano Roosevelt's outstanding radio speaking ability. He began his campaign with a radio address at Albany, New York, and he accepted the nomination of his party at the convention over radio, breaking the precedent of waiting for a time lapse of one month. Long before his nomination, Roosevelt suspected that the power of radio would be important to his political livelihood. For instance, in an address to the Tammany Speaker's Bureau in 1929, Roosevelt argued that American politics "had passed from an era in which silver tongues had swayed many votes through a period of newspaper domination to the present age in which radio was king" (Chester, 1969).

The election of 1932 witnessed a remarkable juxtaposition of quality versus quantity. Herbert Hoover had, for example, launched his campaign for re-election over the largest political radio hookup in history, nearly 160 stations. The Republican party used 73 hours of network time to boost its candidate,

compared to 51 hours for the Democrats, and ultimately Republicans outspent Democrats on the radio. This did little to enhance the possibility of Hoover's being re-elected, however, as he was not a particularly effective performer on the radio.

The 1936 election was one of the more remarkable campaigns in the history of presidential politics. The Republicans chose a notoriously poor public speaker in Kansas governor Alfred Landon. Furthermore, 1936 witnessed the arrival of a third-party candidate, William Lemke of the Union party, whose candidacy was driven by Father Coughlin. Faced with a strong Democratic candidate as well as Father Coughlin's demagoguery, Republican strategists developed and employed several innovative radio strategies to assist their candidate. The innovations included spot radio advertisements for their candidate as well as the radio drama *Liberty at the Crossroads*, which played on WGN in Chicago. One of the more creative techniques was a one-sided "debate" in which Republican linchpin Arthur Vandenburg "debated" a phonographically recorded Franklin Roosevelt. The debate was designed to illustrate Roosevelt's failed campaign promises from 1932. The "debate" caused consternation among the 66 stations scheduled to carry it: 23 broadcast it, 21 cut it off, and the remainder vacillated back and forth. Also during 1936, both parties placed a great deal of emphasis on foreign language broadcasts, creating about 2,000 political broadcasts altogether. The Democrats had foreign-language transmissions in over a dozen cities, and the Republicans employed 29 languages in everything from 100-word spot advertisements to 30-minute talks.

Roosevelt's overwhelming victories in 1932 and 1936 were due, in part, to his use of radio. However, these victories were not so much caused by the use of radio in the campaign itself; instead, it was the cultivating of the electorate during his first term in office that ensured Roosevelt's success. Republican innovation aside, the introduction of Roosevelt's "fireside chats" was one of the most effective uses of mediated political communication in the 20th century.

The Postwar Years and the Rise of Television

With the advent of television, Harry Truman as well as other politicians had to adapt to a new broadcast medium. The future of politics in radio also evolved. Significant during the 1948 campaign was a debate that served as the antecedent to the famous televised Kennedy and Nixon debates 12 years later. The leading contender for the Republican nomination in 1948 was Thomas Dewey, but Minnesota Governor Harold Stassen was a strong challenger. The two men faced off at a Portland radio station in May 1948, and Dewey profited from the confrontation. A poll taken by the *Oregonian* showed that Stassen's popularity dropped following the debate, although by the eve of the election his numbers reflected his pre debate strength.

Harry Truman's most significant innovations in the political use of radio in 1948 were to record press conferences to assist the White House in checking sources and notes. The Truman White House then began to allow radio broadcasters to transmit portions of the recordings to the general public. Truman's administration will probably be best remembered in broadcast history for the ascent of television. Though radio continued to be used, television quickly became the medium that affected the electorate. Truman became the first president to participate in a television broadcast from the White House when on 5 October 1947 he asked people to cooperate in the President's Food Conservation Program.

Although radio would not again dominate the American political scene, radio remained an important medium for political progress in many less developed countries. The Voice of America continues to broadcast political and informational programming around the world, and many nations, divided by political subcultures and a myriad of differing languages, still find radio superior to television as a way of communicating political messages.

Rebirth of Political Radio

Television made a rather subdued entry into politics at the 1948 Democratic convention. Only a handful of cameras provided live coverage for people who owned sets between Boston and Washington. Even so, television was about to create dramatic changes in American politics. Radio had already laid the foundation for these changes. One of the changes that had developed with radio was that it was a more politically neutral medium than the print medium of the press. Barnard (1924) pointed out, "The listener can form his own opinion for the candidate's utterance before the press or the parties can instruct him." Television continued, to a degree, that aura of neutrality.

Although the days of radio *dominance* of presidential politics were over, radio continues to this day to play an important role in political campaigns for state and local elections. Thousands of elections take place in the United States below the presidential level, and in each election cycle radio serves not only to cover candidates and issues in these races, but also to provide the only affordable and viable broadcast medium for campaign advertising. Even in presidential campaigns and many statewide races, radio remains a viable advertising medium because it provides an avenue for targeting much more specific subgroups of the population than television's more generic audience.

The dichotomy between television and radio grew, and by 1956 television had become a more important source of information than radio. However, radio retained an important role in politics. For example, scholars still argue about the controversial finding from the 1960 Kennedy/Nixon debate that

Kennedy was judged the winner by those who watched the debate on television, whereas Nixon was thought to be the superior debater by those who heard the debate on the radio. This finding fueled a continuing debate of its own—why some candidates apparently are more successful on television while others excel on radio.

Radio also played a major role in several aspects of the 1968 presidential campaign. The candidacy of Senator Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota was strengthened when he devoted a large portion of his budget for the New Hampshire primary to radio (McCarthy's campaign team created some 7,200 spots for 23 New Hampshire radio stations to run within a three-week period). The impact of McCarthy on the 1968 primaries was due in large part to his use of radio in New Hampshire. Richard Nixon also relied on radio in his 1968 campaign: believing the studies that touted his superiority on radio in the 1960 debates, Nixon delivered radio addresses on 14 straight nights leading up to the general election. Not only did Nixon use radio extensively again in his 1972 re-election campaign, but he regularly devoted time to major radio addresses during his presidency.

Not until Ronald Reagan would a president give such attention to radio as a method of communicating with the American public. Unhappy with press representation of his policies, Ronald Reagan initiated regular Saturday afternoon radio broadcasts in order to talk directly with the people. George Bush occasionally delivered radio addresses as well, though less frequently than Reagan. President Bill Clinton returned to Reagan's routine of Saturday radio conferences. The general consensus has been that the effects of these messages are limited and may be of more importance in creating news for other media to disseminate. For instance, even though barely half of all radio stations broadcast Reagan's radio addresses, coverage of the talks by the television networks was extensive, and thus Reagan may have succeeded in putting many of his ideas on the table by using the media to emphasize his own agenda.

Another political radio phenomenon developed in the 1980s and 1990s. Political talk radio erupted in the 1980s with impressive audience demographics. For example, in 1995 Rush Limbaugh attracted nearly 20 million listeners, 92 percent of whom were registered voters, 39 percent of whom had college degrees, and 30 percent of whom had a family income of over \$60,000. Industry officials argue that talk radio affects politics and elections by reaching a small target group of active citizens. The decline in the popularity of political talk radio in the late 1990s, however, suggests that the dramatic impact attributed to political talk radio in the 1992 and 1996 elections may not be repeated in the next millennium.

The next development in radio's marriage with politics will undoubtedly evolve from its melding with yet another new medium, the internet. Increasingly, radio stations are finding

outlets for their programming through internet broadcast, and political talk radio as well as campaign advertising and airing of political issue positions are all sure to provide increased venues for political impact.

Finally, radio set the stage for a new type of political communication. Radio and television are more intimate in nature, bringing political leaders and candidates into the home, where families watch and listen to the candidate in informal settings. Roosevelt's fireside chats introduced a new model of communication, that is, one leader or candidate sitting in his or her living room speaking with millions of people also sitting in the privacy of their living rooms (Jamieson, 1988). These intimate settings allow a politician to educate, to remind, and in large part to garner support for his or her programs. Radio was the building block upon which politically intimate communication developed and the springboard for the success of television in the political arena.

Although radio may not have revolutionized politics, it did help to change the atmosphere in which the political system operated. Radio may have limited the old-style political oratory and led to the new genres of intimate political address represented well by Ronald Reagan and Bill Clinton. Radio also increased the president's ability to "go public" with issues, forever altering the political dynamics of interaction between the executive and legislative branches.

It is significant that only a few years after the advent of radio in the political arena, one of the greatest radio politicians, Roosevelt, came to the forefront. Very early in the Roosevelt years it was clear that he demonstrated in his low-key fireside chats a mastery of intimate personal delivery. But by 1932, this was altogether natural. Radio was, by then, clearly the way a president spoke to the nation's people.

LYNDA LEE KAID AND TERRY A. ROBERTSON

See also British Radio Journalism; Canadian Radio News; Churchill, Winston S.; Commentators; Controversial Issues; Coughlin, Father Charles; Editorializing; Election Coverage; Equal Time Rule; Fairness Doctrine; Fireside Chats; First Amendment and Radio; Hoover, Herbert; Limbaugh, Rush; News; Roosevelt, Eleanor; Social and Political Movements; Talk Radio; United States Congress and Radio; United States Presidents and Radio

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Polk, George 1913-1948

U.S. Radio Correspondent

Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) radio reporter George Polk was murdered in Greece in May 1948 at the age of 34, and the identity of his murderer was never discovered. It is a great irony that a prestigious award named for him is given annually to journalists whose tenacious investigative reporting demonstrates the importance of a free press, for Polk was discouraged—not only by the government, but by well-respected members of journalism's elite—from the type of in-depth digging that would later garner other reporters the coveted Polk Award. The evidence indicates that, in order to further U.S. Cold War policies, CBS and a committee of Washington journalists were willing to accept the unlikely conclusion that Communists were behind Polk's murder.

Shortly after Polk arrived in Europe in 1945 as a freelancer for the *Los Angeles Daily News* and United Daily Features Syndicate, he met CBS reporter Edward R. Murrow. Impressed by the former Navy pilot, who soon became a respected member of the Middle East press corps, Murrow urged Polk to consider reporting for CBS. Polk was writing for *Newsweek* when CBS hired him in 1946 to be their Cairo correspondent. Within months, the network promoted him to chief Middle East correspondent.

He was tireless in his efforts to report on the Greek civil war that was punishing a population that had already suffered under Nazi occupation during World War II. The United States government was backing the Royalist regime in power. In 1947 President Harry Truman convinced Congress to provide a controversial \$300 million aid package to Greece that included funding, military personnel, supplies, equipment, and civilian advisors. In its battle against Communism, America's Cold War policy of supporting the Greek government had come under fire from Polk, who wrote critical stories of "corruption and venality," charging that money was being siphoned from the millions of dollars in American funding. In the days prior to his death, Polk had received information confirming his suspicions of malfeasance and planned to report it on his return to the United States.

Polk's last broadcast report aired from Greece on 6 May 1948. He told a CBS colleague that he was taking a few days of vacation before heading home to the United States and a Nieman fellowship. Eight days later, his body washed ashore in Salonika Bay. He had been shot, execution style, in the back and his hands and feet were bound. Members of the American press were quick to respond, and when the *New York News*pa-



George Polk
 Courtesy CBS Photo Archive

per Guild set out to conduct an independent investigation of the correspondent's death, a group of nationally known media representatives stepped in.

Political columnist Walter Lippman headed the self-appointed committee looking into the murder. Included in the group were CBS head William Paley, James Reston of the *New York Times*, Ernest Lindley of *Newsweek*, and *Washington Post* publisher Eugene Meyer, among others. Lindley, an editor at *Newsweek*, in later years described the committee's purpose: to do "everything within their power to see that the murderers of George Polk were arrested, brought to trial, and convicted." Lippman chose attorney and former Office of Strategic Services

(OSS) head General William "Wild Bill" Donovan to represent the committee. But Donovan's investigator, Lieutenant Colonel James Killis, was recalled by the State Department after he discovered evidence pointing toward the Greek government and away from the Communists.

Who killed George Polk? A number of theories have been advanced in the intervening years. The one accepted without skepticism by the U. S. government and rubber-stamped by the Lippman Committee, despite weaknesses and inconsistencies in the evidence, blames Communist guerrillas who were supposedly hoping the right-wing Greek government would be blamed for Polk's death. Thus, the theory postulates,

the American support for the Greek government would diminish.

There is compelling evidence that upper-level Greek officials were trying to prevent Polk from reporting on government corruption. Shortly before his death, Polk met with Greek Foreign Minister Constantine Tsaldaris. Polk told the powerful politician that he knew about U.S. assistance money that had found its way into Tsaldaris' personal bank account. He threatened to "blow this story sky high." Polk had also been reporting on the brutality of the repressive Royalist regime. In his broadcast on the day he disappeared, Polk described the effects of martial law in Greece and reported the more than 200 executions recently conducted by military firing squads.

Another theory suggests that agents from Great Britain, the leading power in the Middle East before being replaced by the United States, murdered Polk to sabotage U.S.-Greek relations. In the mid-1990s, an alternative theory was suggested. In this scenario, Polk was tracking down information about drug smuggling and black marketeering. The criminals supposedly got rid of Polk before he could reveal what he knew about their activities.

During the summer of 1948, as the Greek authorities showed few results from their investigation, Donovan began to pressure for an arrest. In August police brought in journalist Gregory Staktopoulos and tortured him during the next six weeks. Eventually Staktopoulos "confessed" to assisting the Communists, who he said were directed by the Kremlin. He was convicted in a show trial the following April. There were two supposed conspirators who were tried in absentia. Later it was determined that one was dead at the time Polk was killed. Staktopoulos was sentenced to life in prison but the sentence was later reduced and he was released in 1961. He maintained his innocence until his death in 1998. Polk's Greek widow described pressure from officials to sign a document implying that her husband had been killed by a jealous lover. She left the country with a vow never to return.

Donovan's report, described by some as a whitewash, was three years in coming. It appears that his goal throughout the investigation was to deflect attention and embarrassment from the Greek government. Criticism of Lippman and the committee members focuses on their willingness to support the U.S. government's version of events rather than the truth. Iconoclast I.F. Stone appears to be the only media representative at the time to report on the conflict of interest evidenced by the

relationship between the committee and the U.S. government. Stone, who called Polk "the first casualty of the Cold War," published a 1952 series of articles challenging the Lippman Committee's report.

The George Polk Awards are presented annually by Long Island University for special journalistic achievement. They go to famous as well as small town reporters.

SANDRA L. ELLIS

See also Murrow, Edward R.

George Polk. Born in Fort Worth, Texas, 17 October 1913. One of five children of George Washington Polk, Sr., and Adelaide Roe; attended Virginia Military Institute three years; graduated University of Alaska, 1938; hired by Shanghai *Evening Post*, 1938; hired by Paris bureau of *Herald Tribune*, 1949; transferred to *Herald Tribune* New York City office, 1940; took leave of absence for graduate study at New York University, 1941; joined U.S. Navy, 1941; assigned as fighter pilot to Marine unit at Henderson Field, Guadalcanal; awarded Purple Heart and presidential citation after being wounded; discharged 1944; assigned to Washington, D.C. bureau of *Herald Tribune*; hired as foreign correspondent for Los Angeles *Daily News*, 1945; feature writer, United Features Syndicate, 1946; named CBS News correspondent, 1946. Died (murder) in Salonika, Greece, 9 May 1948.

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Popov, Alexander 1859–1906

Russian Wireless Pioneer

Although claimed by the Soviet Union for many decades as the inventor of radio, Alexander Popov was in reality one of several important early experimenters with wireless apparatus. Popov was an academic interested in research results more than commercial applications. A serious problem for modern researchers is that Popov left few laboratory notes; most of what is known of his work comes from his few published papers and the recollections of contemporaries.

Origins

Popov, born in a small town in a Ural Mountains mining region, grew up surrounded by various applications of technology. These fascinated him from a young age. After two years of elementary schooling, in 1873 he entered the seminary (secondary school) in the city of Perm and studied mathematics, natural science, and theology, and he began to develop his great interest in physics.

In 1877 he went on to university studies of mathematics and physics at St. Petersburg University, where he excelled at both experimental work and building the equipment necessary for such physics research. At the same time he worked with the local power company, which was developing an arc light system for the city. After his graduation in 1882, Popov stayed on as a laboratory assistant, but needing more support for his growing family, Popov accepted a teaching position at the Russian Torpedo School located at the naval base at Kronstadt, on the Gulf of Finland, beginning in 1883. The home of the country's Baltic Fleet, the base offered fine laboratory and library facilities, indeed some of the best in the country. Popov's teaching duties and original research work there focused on applications of electricity on board ships. Because of the pressure of work, however, he published few scientific papers.

In 1893 Popov represented the Torpedo School on a visit to the Chicago World's Fair and the Third International Electrical Congress, where he got a chance to interact with other electrical researchers on visits to companies and laboratories. Such exposure helped him refine his own work at home and sharpened his interest in the application of what were then called Hertzian waves.

Wireless Telegraphy

By 1894 Popov was increasingly focused on wireless transmission and reception. He read of Lodge's improvements in the

"coherer" device then used to detect wireless signals and worked to improve on them. His initial application of this technology concerned atmospheric electricity. This was a kind of crude electrical weather forecasting, specifically in the detection of nearby lightning flashes that could be picked up because of their electrical discharge. In a sense Popov found a use for signals that would later be scorned as static noise to be overcome.

On 7 May (April 25 on the old-style calendar then still in use in Russia) 1895, Popov's paper "On the Relation of Metal Powders to Electric Oscillations" provided a demonstration of his lightning detecting (and warning) wireless apparatus to members of the physics department of the Russian Physical and Chemical Society, noting he had achieved success at distances up to 600 yards. A continuing operation of lightning detection was established later that summer with the Institute of Forestry and was soon detecting lightning discharges up to 20 miles distant. A local newspaper report on Popov's demonstration and the potential it represented appeared a few days later. A published description of his apparatus first appeared in the initial 1896 issue of a respected Russian scientific quarterly. Beginning in the 1920s, May 7 was celebrated in the Soviet Union as "radio day."

In a December 1895 note Popov added that he entertained the hope "that when my apparatus is perfected it will be applicable to the transmission of signals to a distance by means of rapid electric vibrations—as soon as a sufficiently powerful generator of these vibrations is discovered." He was among the first to foresee the practical potential of experimental wireless work.

On 24 March 1896 Popov may have conducted a wireless demonstration before the same society, on the campus of St. Petersburg University, where he transmitted the name "Heinrich Hertz." Unfortunately no one present recorded their recollections until some three decades later, by which time the Soviet Union was already touting the inventor as *the* inventor of radio. This demonstration is potentially important, as Marconi only conducted his first public demonstration in Britain in July 1896, four months later. Both Marconi and Popov were among the first experimenters to achieve wireless transmission and detection over a distance of several miles.

Popov recognized the many limitations in his system and sought to improve it (amidst his many other duties and interests). He focused on increasing transmission power but paid little attention to improving his aerials (antennas) or the quality of the signal detectors (receivers) used and thus achieved only limited gains in coverage. Still, by 1897 he was installing

wireless apparatus on Russian naval vessels for short-range tests, and within two years he was conducting demonstrations 20 miles at sea. In 1899 Popov traveled to Germany and France to meet with other wireless pioneers, including Adolph Slaby, and compared notes on what each was accomplishing and how. At about the same time, Popov wireless devices were used in the complex rescue of a stranded Russian battleship and to save nearly 50 fishermen who had floated out to sea on an iceberg.

Final Years

While there will always be controversy over who accomplished what and when in early wireless, Popov remains an important pioneer. He helped to establish the first Russian manufacture of wireless equipment (at the Torpedo School), helped to train others, and worked closely with, among others, French engineer Eugene Ducretet, who manufactured equipment to Popov's specifications. Popov earned the Grand Gold Medal for his research at the Paris International Exposition (World's Fair) of 1900. In 1901 he was named professor and in 1905 director of the prestigious Electrotechnical Institute in St. Petersburg.

Popov's early death (he was 46) was due to his generally poor health brought on by a lifetime of overwork, but it was hastened by Czarist government pressures placed on him to discipline institute students with whose political protests he largely agreed. He thus died too soon to witness the growing exploitation of improved wireless systems in a host of different

ways. He never claimed to be the inventor of wireless—that came from others long after his death.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Early Wireless; German Wireless Pioneers; Hertz, Heinrich; Lodge, Oliver J.; Marconi, Guglielmo

Alexander Stepanovitch Popov. Born in Turyinskiye Rudniki, Russia, 16 March 1859, the fourth of seven children of a priest. Graduated with a degree in physics from St. Petersburg University, 1882. Appointed an instructor at the Navy Torpedo School, Kronstadt, 1883. Professor (1901) and director (1905) of Electrotechnical Institute, St. Petersburg. Died in St. Petersburg, Russia, 13 January 1906.

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Portable Radio Stations

In the early 1920s, hundreds of entrepreneurs were bitten by the radio bug and decided to set up their own stations. In cities all over the United States, local businessmen (and several women) put radio studios in their stores, their houses, their garages, or their factories. But some station owners had a different plan: to put a radio station in a truck and drive it to cities that had no station of their own. Such mobile stations were called "portables," and from about 1923 to 1928, they were often invited to county fairs, expositions, and amusement parks. The owner would remove the equipment from the truck and set up an actual broadcasting station on the grounds. Most of the portables were not very powerful—between 10 and 50 watts—but their purpose was to introduce the new

technology to people who lived far from the big cities. Portables also served as a good gimmick to get more people to attend a local sales event: attendees could not only shop but also watch a live radio broadcast. One portable, WTAT (later renamed WATT), was owned by the Edison Electric Illuminating Company, which first put it on the air (and on the road) in the summer of 1923. WTAT was usually driven to the hall in which a home show or electronics exhibition was taking place; Edison personnel would first entertain and then demonstrate the wonders of the company's various products.

Another successful portable operated in Rhode Island and throughout New England. Owner Charles Messter was written up in the *Providence Journal* on 7 January 1925: the reporter

discussed some of the cities where the station had been and then explained how the portable worked.

[Mr. Messter's station, WCBR] consists of a 50-watt standard Western Electric transmitter using 600 volts on the plate. He carries storage batteries and a charger so that he will not be caught without power. His three-wire outside antenna is 200 feet long and is usually erected on top of the building in which the outfit is being used . . . The entire outfit can be easily set up and taken down, and this makes practicable its shipment from place to place on short notice.

Perhaps the best-known owner of a portable station operated in the Midwest throughout the mid-1920s. Charles L. Carrell, formerly a theater impresario, operated five portables based in Chicago, and he took them wherever he was hired to broadcast. One of Carrell's portables, WHBM, appeared in East St. Louis in December 1927, having been invited there by the Chamber of Commerce. The station remained for three months of broadcasts, giving many local performers an opportunity to be heard.

Of course, the novelty of portables wore off, but they might have continued their work were it not for the increasing number of stations on the AM band. In November 1925, at the Fourth National Radio Conference, Herbert Hoover, then Secretary of Commerce, stated that the airwaves had become too crowded. He warned that soon, not everyone who wanted to put a new station on the air would be able to do so. This and other problems (such as wave jumping—in which a station operated from a different frequency than the one it had been assigned) would lead to the creation of the Federal Radio Commission (FRC), an agency that had the authority to license and supervise radio broadcasting, in an attempt to bring order to a chaotic situation. The FRC regarded the portable transmitters as part of the chaos. Portables interfered with an already crowded radio spectrum, and the agency decided that eliminating them would be a positive step. It might not solve the problem of crowding—by 1927, there were not that many portables left—but it would at least keep the airwaves free of sudden interference that might be caused when a portable came to town.

The FRC General Order 6 of 26 April 1927 warned that portable broadcasting stations would only be relicensed for a limited period of time—120 days. (Originally, portables tended to operate mainly in the summer, when fairs and outdoor shows were taking place, but some portables had become nearly year-round operations.) It wasn't long before the FRC began to strongly suggest that any portable that wanted to select a specific city of license could become a permanent part of that city, but that licenses to operate portables as portables

would not be permitted for much longer. The end came in mid-1928, when the FRC issued General Order 30, officially terminating the portables. Some of the owners, anticipating this, had found homes for themselves and their stations—Charles Messter, for example, joined his friend Harold Dewing in Illinois, where they anchored a portable to the city of Springfield. By 1928 Edison Electric had long since put a full-time station on the air (WEEI) and no longer needed the promotional value of a station in a truck, so WATT was shut down, as were several portables in other cities.

But the person who owned the most portables was the one who didn't want to see them taken off the air. Charles Carrell demanded a hearing from the FRC, and several months later, he went to Washington to plead his case. Unfortunately for him, the FRC seemed to have its mind made up. After reading Carrell's materials and considering his argument, the Commission decided there was just no room for portables any longer. In fact, the commissioners did not mince words: they called the portables "a menace" and went on to say that permitting the portables would not be in the public interest, because the frequencies they chose were usually already occupied by permanent stations, and the closer together on the dial two stations were, the worse their signals would be received. Thus, the renewal of the portable station licenses could not be allowed.

Carrell took his case to the U.S. District Court on appeal, but the court would not overturn the FRC's ruling. Having lost most of his stations, he moved one of the Chicago portables (WBBZ) to Ponca City, Oklahoma, and made it a permanent station; he moved his family there, too. Only four years after losing his legal battle, he died in 1933 at the age of 58. The station in Ponca City still exists, but its early days as a portable are seldom if ever mentioned. In fact, few people realize how innovative portables were and how, for a brief period of time, they delighted radio fans who had never seen a live radio broadcast before.

DONNA L. HALPER

See also Federal Radio Commission; Frequency Allocation; Licensing

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A Prairie Home Companion

Public Radio Comedy Variety Program

A *Prairie Home Companion* (PHC) is one of the most successful programs produced on public radio in the United States. The show received the prestigious George Foster Peabody award in 1980 and its creator and host, Garrison Keillor, is considered an American cultural treasure. He was awarded a National Arts and Humanities medal by the Clinton White House in 1999. Nearly 4 million listeners tune in weekly to more than 500 public radio stations across the United States for the live two-hour broadcast. The show also airs abroad on America One and the Armed Forces Networks in Europe and the Far East.

Often compared to humorist Mark Twain, Keillor writes the script for each week's show. It includes comedy sketches with recurring characters ("The Lives of the Cowboys," "Guy Noir Private Eye"), mock commercials ("Ketchup Advisory Board," "Bebopareebop Rhubarb Pie," and "Café Boeuf" and the occasional competition ("Talent from Towns under 2,000" contest). Musicians from around the globe provide a diverse mix of live folk, jazz, rock and roll, classical, gospel, and ethnic tunes.

A program host on Minnesota Educational Radio in the early 1970s (it became Minnesota Public Radio in September 1974), Keillor was inspired to try an old-fashioned radio variety show back home in Minnesota after a leave of absence to research the *Grand Ole Opry* for a *New Yorker* magazine article. The show first played in a nearly empty auditorium at Macalester College in St. Paul on 6 July 1974. Twelve people (who paid one dollar for adult admission—50 cents for children) made up the audience. The show's popularity slowly grew, and national broadcasts began in 1980.

By 1987, 13 years after the initial performance, 4 million listeners were tuning in to hear Keillor open the show with its signature tune, Hank Snow's "Hello Love." In the same year, however, Keillor announced that PHC was coming to an end; he was heading off to Denmark to devote himself to writing. There was a farewell broadcast in June 1987 in St. Paul. One year later, there was a second farewell show from Radio City Music Hall in New York. Keillor told the crowd, "It was so much fun leaving that we're coming back to say goodbye again," to enthusiastic applause. The following year, the cast crisscrossed the United States, performing in 13 cities, for the "Third Annual Farewell Tour."

In 1989 Keillor started a new variety show, *The American Radio Company*, broadcast from the Brooklyn Academy of Music. Eventually more than 200 public radio stations carried the program. In 1993 the show moved to Minnesota and its name was changed back to *A Prairie Home Companion*.

The show was still being broadcast at the dawn of the 21st century.

About half the programs are produced in the Fitzgerald Theater in downtown St. Paul. The remainder are broadcast from a tour of cities scattered across the U.S., as well as Europe. In large civic centers and college auditoriums, fans of all ages gather to see the stage set with its worn Oriental rugs, musical instruments, and microphones. Behind it all there's a clapboard house-front with a light in the upstairs window and several lucky audience members sitting on the front porch.

Dressed in his signature black suit, white shirt, and red tie, Keillor sings tunes he has written during the previous week, accompanied by the house musicians, the Guys' All-Star Shoe Band led by pianist Rich Dworsky. Keillor plugs the fictitious sponsor of the show, Powdermilk Biscuits, "with that whole-wheat goodness that gives shy persons the strength to get up and do what needs to be done."

The audience waits in anticipation as the ensemble cast, actors Tim Russell and Sue Scott, and sound effects wizards Tom Keith and Fred Newman, step up to their microphones. Russell, a master of impersonation, brings roars of laughter as he converses with Keillor in the voices of Presidents Bill Clinton or George W. Bush, Julia Child, Bob Dylan, Ted Koppel, and many other celebrated personalities. Keith is famous for his ability to produce sound effects with his voice (the sounds of animals, automobiles, motorcycles, missiles, helicopters, and explosions) and a variety of props (including a box of gravel, cellophane, and a miniature door).

The musical segments are eclectic and could include a gospel group, a rhythm and blues singer, or a classical pianist. Rockabilly band Jack Knife and the Sharps, guitarist Leo Kottke, mandolin player Peter Ostroushko and singers Suzy Boguss and Iris DeMent have performed for PHC audiences. Special guests may include writers, actors, comedians, or poets (humorists Al Franken and Roy Blount, Jr., authors Studs Terkel and Frank McCourt, U.S. Poet Laureate Billy Collins, comedienne Paula Poundstone, and actress Sarah Jessica Parker have made appearances).

Halfway through the show Keillor reads messages scribbled by members of the audience on small pieces of paper. Birthday wishes, parental advice, and words of affection go out to friends and family across the country. Throughout the show the audience responds with delighted applause to the mix of songs, comedy routines, brief interviews with guests, and commercials for old familiar products and services.

Near the end of PHC, 15 to 25 minutes are reserved for Keillor's weekly monologue. His opening words, "It's been a

quiet week in Lake Wobegon,” are greeted with a surge of applause. In Keillor’s melodious baritone, the latest tales about the imaginary town’s residents (including the Tolleruds, Krebsbachs, and Pastor Ingqvist) lull the audience into a sense of community in the darkened theater. The words flow steadily until finally it all comes to a tidy close, “And that’s the news from Lake Wobegon, where all the women are strong, all the men are good-looking, and all the children are above average.”

A Prairie Home Companion stands at the end of a tradition that stretches back to the earliest days of radio. Its predecessors include such variety programs as *The Eveready Hour*, *The Rudy Vallee Show* (also called *The Fleischmann Hour*), *The Maxwell House Show Boat* and *The Collier Hour*. With the arrival of television in the 1940s, variety shows disappeared or shifted to the new medium. The old-fashioned variety owes its survival almost completely to the appearance in the 1970s of *A Prairie Home Companion*.

SANDRA L. ELLIS

See also Comedy; Keillor, Garrison; Kling, William; Minnesota Public Radio; Public Radio International

Cast

Host	Garrison Keillor
Actors	Tim Russell, Sue Scott
Sound Effects	Tom Keith, Fred Newman

Producer/Creator

Garrison Keillor

Programming History

Minnesota Public Radio	1974–80
American Public Radio/ Public Radio International	1980–present

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Premiums

Toys and Gifts Offered over the Air

The radio premium became a significant device for measuring listeners’ product and program loyalties, and it confirmed sponsors’ identifications with admired personalities and attractive fictional characters. Rushing strongly through the 1940s, the avalanche of radio premiums—recipe or inspirational booklets, club badges and membership manuals, costume jewelry, character rings and pins, whistles, and other paraphernalia—finally abated with the advent of television.

In radio’s early years, premiums were introduced obliquely in unsponsored “talks.” Initially forbidden to describe specific products on the air, many companies offered staff representatives to discuss consumer-interest subjects, and afterward the program host might suggest that the speaker’s employer had *permitted* him to offer a token of appreciation for the listener’s interest—a 1923 recipe booklet from a Chicago meat-

packer, for instance. Thus, through the Trojan horse of ostensibly objective information giving, companies could gain listeners’ gratitude by dropping logo-marked “gifts” into their mailboxes.

In the 1930s, the postman’s premium-bearing burden increased. Premiums were compellingly described in often-lengthy commercials, and they were sometimes integrated into program content. “Missing a commercial proved almost as much a disappointment as missing a moment of the action itself,” recalls a veteran children’s serial listener; “I enjoyed sending for the advertised products, especially those, like the decoder ring, which became part of the story.” To get the required labels or panels, children spooned through boxes of breakfast food, and their mothers baked and fried their way through packages of flour and shortening. Each week thousands

of labels, dimes, and postcards reached premium fulfillment addresses in Chicago and St. Louis, and the listener's eager wait began for the mail carrier to bring the Jack Armstrong Hike-o-Meter or the brooch "just like the one our heroine wears in today's episode."

The premium's role in building audience loyalty may be seen in a handwritten note reproduced inside the front cover of Standard Brands' 1938 souvenir script *One Man's Family Looks at Life*, where Paul Barbour, the radio clan's philosopher-son, says, "As you know, this book comes to you not only from *One Man's Family*, but also from the makers of Tender Leaf Tea. When you think of one, think of the other. For Tender Leaf Tea makes it possible for *One Man's Family* to meet your family over the radio." Five years earlier, the pioneering serial *Clara, Lu, and Em* had courted such consumer loyalty by offering a 1933 Chicago World's Fair spoon for a Super Suds box top. For a time *David Harum*, the story of a small-town banker and horse trader, gave away a horse each week; later, when the protagonist took up photography, the program promised a working camera for a quarter and a Bab-O cleanser label. Pepsodent toothpaste's sponsorship of *Amos 'n' Andy* produced such premiums as sheet music, scripts of key episodes, and maps of the characters' adopted hometown.

General interest programs of the 1930s also devised apt premiums. *Captain Tim Healy's Stamp Club of the Air* explored the historical or geographical backgrounds of postal designs and would send a starter stamp collection for an Ivory soap wrapper. In an age fascinated by aviation, a shoe store chain's program *Friendly Five Footnotes* encouraged listeners to pick up copies of the booklet *It's Easy to Learn to Fly* at the local outlet. *The Court of Missing Heirs*, dramatizing stories of unclaimed fortunes, published a bulletin listing such cases, and *The University of Chicago Round Table* furnished transcripts of its radio discussions.

Many children's adventure serial premiums were tied to annual memberships in clubs and secret societies, and announcers energetically persuaded the listener to be "the first on your block" to obtain "your very own" message decoder badge, club manual, glow-in-the-dark ring, or other "swell" object for play and display. Don Gordon tutored children to claim their free *Captain Midnight* Flight Patrol membership cards "on the spot" when their parents next filled the gas tank at the Skelly service station, and Ovaltine spokesman Pierre Andre elicited many a "thin dime" for send-away *Orphan Annie* and later *Captain Midnight* premiums. *Jack Armstrong*, Wheaties' serial of a high school athlete turned adventurer, fea-

tured devices useful in hiking and camping. In *Tom Mix*, the cowboy hero was able to escape being tied up by nudging a magnifying glass into position so that the sun would burn into the rope, and soon requests for the magnifying glass premium filled Ralston-Purina's redemption offices. Quaker Oats offered each *Sergeant Preston of the Yukon* listener a certificate representing "actual" ownership of a square inch of Klondike land; the property was later forfeited for nonpayment of taxes, but the deed certificate continues to rise in value as an artifact of 1940s childhood.

In the 1950s, radio premiums faded with the single-sponsor programs that had offered them. Some radio shows attempted TV adaptations or simulcasts and continued to feature premiums for a time, but the success of the radio premium, like that of the host program, had depended on the enlarging power of the imagination. The camera would show too clearly that the giveaway periscope was a flimsy thing of plastic or heavy paper and that the soap opera premium jewelry gave off a glassy glare in the black-and-white TV picture. Television would develop its own lures, and the radio premium was put away in closets and memories.

RAY BARFIELD

See also Nostalgia Radio; Promotion on Radio

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Press-Radio War

Newspapers' Attempt to Stifle Radio News

The Press-Radio War proved to be an early example of the new medium of radio broadcasting competing against established newspapers to define roles and control the flow of information to the public. The radio industry emerged from this so-called war as a formidable medium that could not be restrained by newspaper publishers.

Origins of the "War"

Radio stations broadcast virtually no news in the early days of the medium. Most of what could be considered news broadcasts were actually commentaries delivered perhaps no more than once a week by broadcast pioneers such as H.V. Kaltenborn and Frederic Wile. The Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) radio network broadcast its first regular daily news summary beginning in early 1929. By that time, the nation's radio listeners had grown to appreciate this broadcast medium's ability to inform them in a timely manner. News broadcasts of election results and the sensational kidnapping of the Lindbergh baby in 1932 had whetted the public appetite for information delivered via radio. An estimated 63 million listeners tuned in to radio broadcasts the day Herbert Hoover was inaugurated in 1929.

The newspaper industry became alarmed at what was clearly becoming a threat to print. Radio threatened to take away the "breaking news" role of newspapers. The newspaper "extra" was becoming a thing of the past by the early 1930s. Perhaps more important, newspaper executives feared that the growth of radio news would continue an erosion of advertising revenue from print to broadcast. The newspaper industry was ready to wage "war" against radio.

A committee of the American Newspaper Publishers Association (ANPA) brought two key recommendations to the 1933 ANPA convention. One was for the wire services to stop supplying news material to radio. The other was for newspapers to publish radio program listings only if the radio stations paid for the space as advertising. The wire services (Associated Press [AP], United Press [UP], and International News Service [INS]) were largely controlled by newspaper publishers. Pressure from the publishers led the wire services to stop providing news to radio broadcasters. The newspaper industry mistakenly believed that the removal of wire service access from the radio industry would force broadcasters out of the news business.

The radio industry fought back, largely through the efforts of CBS. CBS president William Paley directed Paul White to establish the Columbia News Service, a news organization that could supply the news needs of CBS network without the help

of the wire services. White, a former UP executive, quickly established news bureaus for CBS in major U.S. cities and arranged for part-time stringers (temporary, on-call reporters) in other news centers. The Columbia News Service bought international news reports from foreign news agencies around the world. CBS network continued its broadcasting of news, further angering the newspaper industry. The National Broadcasting Company (NBC) also continued broadcasting the news, largely through the reporting efforts of Abe Schechter, but on a more limited scale than CBS. The newspaper industry retaliated by dropping CBS program listings from many newspapers around the nation.

It was clear that neither broadcasters nor newspaper publishers were happy with how this war was developing. Representatives of Publishers' National Radio Committee, the wire services, and CBS and NBC met in December 1933 in New York City to discuss ways in which they might work out their differences. The two-day meeting, held at the Hotel Biltmore, resulted in a list of understandings that became known as the Biltmore Agreement.

The agreement called for the establishment of a Press-Radio Bureau that would provide news from the wire services twice a day for unsponsored five-minute newscasts on the radio networks. The morning newscasts, however, could only be broadcast after 9:30 A.M. so as to protect sales of morning newspapers, and evening newscasts were to be broadcast after 9:00 P.M. to protect evening newspaper sales. CBS agreed to break up its own news service, and NBC agreed not to begin one. News bulletins of "transcendental" significance would be provided by the Press-Radio Bureau in a timely fashion between newscasts when circumstances dictated.

The terms of the agreement clearly favored the newspaper industry. The radio industry suffered little, however, because the agreement quickly began to unravel. Several factors led to the quick failure of the Biltmore Agreement. First, independent radio stations and even network affiliates not owned by the networks were not included and thus did not feel compelled to adhere to the terms of the agreement. They scheduled newscasts whenever they chose, with whatever information they could put together. Next, news material was provided to radio stations from several new news-gathering services, including the Transradio Press, which had jumped in to provide information to broadcasters at the time when wire services refused to provide news to radio. These new services were referred to in the newspaper industry as "outlaw" press associations, but there was clearly nothing in the Biltmore Agreement that could restrict them. The Press-Radio Bureau then began sending the

networks more and more news updates during the day under the agreement's provision that allowed for timely release of "bulletin" information. Finally, in early 1935, UP and INS announced that they would renew selling news service to radio broadcasters as a way to maintain a competitive position against Transradio and the other "outlaws." AP soon followed. In a little over one year's time, the agreement had fallen apart. The Press-Radio Bureau executive committee would not meet again after May 1935.

The Biltmore Agreement failed owing to both practical and philosophical weaknesses. Practically, the power of radio broadcasting was beyond the point at which arbitrary restrictions imposed by the newspaper industry could be effective. From a philosophic standpoint, the agreement was clearly a narrow-sighted effort to stifle information flow in a democracy. The effort to suppress news in a legitimate, although relatively new, channel of expression was a violation of the principles of press freedom in the United States. Had the effort to restrict news from the radio airwaves been more successful, the clear losers in the matter would have been America's consumers of radio broadcasting.

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See also News; News Agencies; Schechter, A.A.; White, Paul W.

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Prizes. See Awards and Prizes

Production for Radio

Creating Radio Programs

Production is an important, if not the most important, function at a radio station. Without production there is no sound from the radio speaker. As used in radio, the term *production* refers to the assembly of various sources of sound to achieve a purpose related to radio programming. Production is the intermediate step that translates ideas into audible content. The preceding steps are planning and writing, and transmission is the last step to deliver the program to the listener.

The production process in radio has changed significantly since radio first became a broadcast medium. All program production was live in the early days: actors, musicians, and announcers gathered around the microphone at the scheduled

air time and created the radio show, commercials and all. However, turntables, records, and recorders soon gave producers the ability to reproduce and enhance production efforts. Today, computers and other digital equipment play major roles in the creation of production for radio.

Early Radio Production

Production for radio during the time of the experimental broadcasts before 1920 was rudimentary: the radio equipment operator spoke into the microphone himself. As the technology of radio improved during the 1920s, interest in radio grew. By

the late 1920s, as radio programming had become more complex, the production of those programs required more people and equipment.

At the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) Red network, the person responsible for the complete supervision of a program, including conducting rehearsals, was called the "production director." At NBC Blue, the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), and Mutual, he was called the "producer" or "production man." In a 1944 radio production text, Albert R. Crews defined the production director as "a painter who uses a loudspeaker for his canvas; actors, speakers, music, sound effects for his colors; and a mixing panel for his palette. He must consider himself a conductor as well as a partner-creator of a symphony in sound." From the time the completed script was delivered until the program aired, the production director was the final authority on all matters relating to the broadcast. The production director was responsible for devising the best arrangement of musicians, vocalists, speakers, actors, and sound effects technicians in order to create the program.

Radio programming of that era could be grouped into two major categories: spots and programs. Spots varied from ten seconds to five minutes and included commercial announcements, news broadcasts, and weather reports. Programs featuring speech (serials and dramas, speeches, instruction, news commentary, audience participation, sports, and religion), music/song, and novelty/variety ran up to one hour.

Most of these programs were created live in the studio. The typical studio was a large room, usually acoustically isolated in some way from the rest of the building, hung with heavy drapes or acoustical wall treatments. Here the actors, musicians, announcers, and sound effects people were arranged around one or more microphones.

Many programs were broadcast live from remote locations. Stations used what were called "pick-up locations" connected with telephone lines. Theaters, churches, baseball fields, hotels, and dance halls were some of the locations from which radio stations originated live productions of special events or regular programs.

Many of the programs heard on radio throughout these early decades of radio were uncomplicated from a production viewpoint, especially those created at smaller independent stations. One or two people were heard talking or reading, occasionally with musical accompaniment. More elaborate programs were produced by larger stations and the networks. Sponsor messages became elaborate mini-productions within a program. Humor, melodrama, and jingle singers helped create memorable messages. Musicians, singers, actors, and complex live sound effects all contributed to the production of these live commercials.

Drama programs made regular and frequent use of one of the most fascinating aspects of live radio production, the assembly of sound effects to create the illusions that were so

important in making radio theater of the mind. Often, a sound effect suggested time and location or created exposition in these dramas. Coconut shells "stomped" in a tray of sand and a few stones created the sound of horses. Crash boxes filled with broken glass were ready to create the sound of glass breaking. The manipulation of uncut broom corn created the sound illusion of walking through brush. Windows and doors mounted in portable frames, a splash tank, and a walking platform were just some of the various mechanical devices used to create realistic, and sometimes unrealistic, sound effects.

From Live to Recorded Production

As productions became more sophisticated, producers also began to use sound effects recorded on discs. These were ten-inch, double-sided discs revolving at 78 rpm and were used to produce effects that could not be created realistically in a studio, such as train and airplane sounds, machinery of various sorts, and sounds of warfare. Often, effects were used in combination, played at variable speeds on multiple turntables that were specifically designed for sound effect reproduction. Changing the speed on an effect often created a realistic sound of something other than the original. For many programs, the sound effects staff and their equipment were the most important part of the production team assembled for a broadcast.

Even before the introduction of the tape recorder, transcription discs were used to record programs for rebroadcast, archiving, or distribution to other stations, but they were also used to create libraries of music, sound effects, and commercials. Thanks to transcription discs, many popular radio programs and commercials from the 1920s through the 1940s have been preserved. A 16-inch transcription disc, revolving at 33 1/3 rpm, could hold 15 minutes of program material. By the late 1940s, CBS had introduced the vinyl long-playing record, the 33 1/3 LP. Although radio also adopted this format as a means of recording and distribution, nothing would match the tape recorder for production purposes.

The Germans developed the magnetic tape recorder during World War II. The "Magnetophon" design was brought back to the United States at the end of the war. In 1946 singer Bing Crosby's program *Philco Radio Time* was the first program to make use of the tape recorder to record and edit the program in advance of airing. The Ampex Corporation produced its first recorder in 1948, and broadcasters quickly began to use the stationary tape recorder in production. Now producers were released from the bonds of time and place. Networks used recorders to delay programs for the different time zones. Advertising agencies were able to put produced commercials on disc and tape, allowing for continuous re-airing by stations and networks. Audiotape also introduced the ability to edit program content, correcting mistakes or making changes by cutting out or inserting additional tape. In 1959 the endless-

loop tape cartridge recorder was introduced to radio. This led to a major improvement in the way commercials were aired on radio. A continuous loop of audio tape housed in a cartridge allowed an individual commercial to be selected by the engineer, inserted into the player, and played back immediately without cueing. Broadcast “carts,” reel-to-reel recorders, turntables, and microphones were the basic pieces of equipment used in almost every radio station through the early 1990s.

How Production Works: A Hypothetical Case Study

To illustrate the various components of modern radio production and how they interrelate, the first part of a typical broadcast morning at a hypothetical radio station using a digital recording and playback system is described. All of the activities in the following descriptions represent production tasks, either live or recorded.

The morning announcer turns on a computer monitor and loads a playlist containing most of the day’s commercials and messages into the computer-based digital audio delivery system, which was installed a year ago to replace the station’s aging cart machines and reel-to-reel recorders. The computer used by the announcer in the radio control room, along with those in the production studio, the newsroom, the music director’s office, and the traffic director’s office, are all connected to a fileserver, so that as soon as a recording is created at one location, it is available for playback anywhere on the network.

The announcer begins the broadcast day by playing a sign-on announcement (although increasingly, especially in larger markets, stations remain on the air at all times). This daily message was recorded in the station’s production studio a month ago by the production director after the new ownership of the station was approved. After sign-on, the announcer turns on the network feed potentiometer or “pot” in order to air a network newscast, which is coming to the station via satellite. After the newscast, a 60-second commercial for a local furniture store is aired from the digital audio system; this commercial was produced by the afternoon announcer last week. The commercial uses a track from the station’s music production library and the announcer’s voice, which has been run through a microphone patched through a microphone processor in order to make the voice sound more powerful.

Following this commercial, the announcer turns on the newsroom microphone, and the news director begins the first of several live morning newscasts. The first two stories each require the announcer to insert an actuality or sound bite at the appropriate place in the story, using the minidisc player mounted just above the compact disc (CD) players. These actualities were extracted from an interview the news director recorded over the telephone yesterday afternoon, edited on the newsroom computer, and transferred to minidisc. The newscast concludes with the weather, which the announcer plays

from a broadcast cart recorded over the telephone earlier this morning. After the weather, the announcer plays a station jingle, a short recorded musical promotion for the station. This jingle was recorded as part of an image campaign package recorded by a Dallas production company specifically for this station about three months ago. The announcer quickly looks at the computer monitor to make sure that the music playlist for the day is loaded on the other side of the screen and starts the first song of the morning. This selection, along with six other songs, was recorded into the digital audio delivery system yesterday by the music director.

After a second piece of music, the announcer finally opens her own microphone to say good morning. While talking, she adds the sound of a bugle to punctuate her remarks. The bugle, like many other standard sound effects, comes from a library of digitally recorded sounds licensed for broadcast use and is recorded, along with about 20 other sound effects, directly on a stand-alone hard disk recorder. Each sound effect has its own selector button. The first traffic report of the day is scheduled next. The announcer checks the console to make sure that the remote feed is in cue. Right on schedule, the line comes alive. Today the traffic reporter is downtown at the scene of an accident and is using a mobile transmitter. After a short traffic report, the announcer performs the well-practiced routine of reading advertising copy for the sponsor of the traffic report over the traffic music theme played back from the computer. At the end of the theme music, two more recorded commercials are triggered by the computer to start automatically. These came preproduced from the clients’ advertising agencies. The first spot was produced at a Los Angeles production house and features four different actor voices and customized music. The second spot was produced for the client through a Chicago advertising agency. The recording itself was made in Chicago, while the voice talent was in New York, connected to the Chicago recording studio by a digital telephone line. The first spot was mailed to the station, and the second was sent as a sound file over the internet. An intern dubbed the first spot using a reel-to-reel recorder in the production studio and placed the second spot in the playlist by using the cut/paste function of the computer.

After several more music cuts, the announcer plays the new morning show contest open. Over the past several days, she has worked in the production studio recording this rather complex opening for the contest using a multitrack digital editor. She used six different segments from previous contest winners, a music bed, sound effects, and several electronic production elements to create the background. Then she voiced her copy through the digital effects processor to completely change the sound of her voice. After the open plays, she reads the trivia question and asks for the sixth caller. As music plays, she answers the phone until she gets to the sixth caller. After receiving permission to record the call, she feeds the phone

input of the console into audition (so that it doesn't go out over the air) and records the contest winner onto the hard disk recorder. With just enough time to electronically edit out the beginning of the phone call, she adjusts the edit markers on the waveform editing screen, presses the cut button, and saves her work. The song ends, and she plays back the contest winner recording on the air, adjusting the output level on the audio console. On to the next commercial break.

This hypothetical excerpt of daily activity in a radio control room effectively illustrates the fact that production is a multi-level activity necessary to create a radio program. Segments of the assembled program might have been produced at different places, different times, and using different equipment. Or the production of a segment might be happening live, concurrent with the program's airing. In some respects, digital recording simplifies the production process. Digital recording into a networked system allows instantaneous delivery of the completed spot, program, or sound element throughout the system. However, there is always the potential for computer or other equipment failure. Radio stations that depend on computer-based audio systems usually implement a redundant backup approach as part of the system or retain some analog equipment for emergency use.

Production Personnel

Most stations have at least one person whose primary function is to record and manage the station's production of commercials, promotional announcements, public service messages, identifiers, and the many other sound elements used hourly and daily on the air. The person primarily responsible for this work is the production director. There are more people involved in a station's production than just the production director, however. As the previous illustration suggests, a large number of people, both outside and inside the station, have responsibilities that are related to production: a reporter editing an interview to create an excerpt to be used in an upcoming newscast; an on-air announcer reading the weather while mixing in a music bed underneath; an account executive dubbing some new spots supplied by a client's advertising agency; a station's disc jockeys on the air live; jingle singers in Dallas recording a new set of jingles for a station in Detroit; an engineer recording or feeding a live airing of an orchestra concert syndicated via satellite; and a sports producer mixing multiple announcer and field microphones with recorded features to create a live baseball broadcast—all are involved in production.

The Recording Process

Since the 1940s recording has become one of the most important parts of the production process. Radio today depends on quality recordings to create the bulk of the program schedule.

The recording and production process actually starts outside the radio station for much of the program content. The station modifies most of this material very little. Most music aired by stations today comes to the station already recorded in some format: CD, hard disk, or digitally via the internet. Some commercials come to the station prerecorded; these elements are simply dubbed or rerecorded to an appropriate format for use in the on-air playback equipment.

Much of the material heard on a radio station is, however, recorded in its own production studio. The recording process can be illustrated by following the recording of a typical commercial: (1) a copy writer at an agency or the station writes commercial copy; (2) the producer working for the agency or at the local station reviews the copy and selects appropriate music and sound effects for the spot if not already specified; (3a) the spot can be recorded in real time by mixing all three elements (voice, music bed, sound effects) at the console and routing it to a recorder (reel, cart, or computer); (3b) alternatively, the spot can be mixed as a multitrack production in three successive recordings, recording the music at full volume on track one, voice on track two, and sound effects on track three. The levels can be adjusted during final mixdown and recording to the format to be used for on-air playback. If the copy changes, the producer can go back to the master multitrack recording and either rerecord the entire voice track or edit, cutting and pasting the changes from another audio file.

As automation becomes more prevalent and refined in radio, the recording process becomes even more central to the production function. Precision recordings, timed perfectly and recorded digitally, allow customized voice tracking by announcers from remote locations. An announcer working virtually anywhere in the country can function as a shift announcer for multiple stations anywhere, providing individualized current information for each separate station, all during the same shift. Digital distribution, digital recording, and digital automation create the illusion that the announcer is physically present at the station. Radio has truly become a virtual medium.

The Editing Process

A big part of production for radio is the editing of radio program material. Editing of recorded audio material for radio is undertaken for one or more of the following three reasons: (1) to correct mistakes; (2) to shorten or lengthen the running time of an element; or (3) to creatively enhance or change the content. In the days of analog recording, the quickest way to add, delete, or reorder material in a recording was to splice the tape, physically cutting the tape with a razor blade or scissors; then removing, adding, or replacing tape; and finally rejoining the segments with splicing tape. Done well, a splice edit is imperceptible. The editor finds the beginning point of

the edit, marking the tape over the playback head on the recorder. The tape is then advanced until the end point is found and marked over the playback head. Using a splicing block, an angled cut is made over each mark, followed by the insertion of a similarly marked and cut audiotape segment or the joining of the two ends of tape. Assured that there is no gap or overlap between the two segments of tape, the editor places a piece of specially formulated splicing tape over the splice and then closely trims the excess splicing tape.

The splice block has been all but replaced by the digital editor. There are many brands, types, and approaches to digital editing. Some units are stand-alone units, a combination of hardware and software. Others are software packages for a computer with sound card. Some are basic two-channel editors; others are multitrack recorder/editors that allow almost unlimited additions of sound layers with no degradation of audio quality. What they all have in common is the ability to allow the editor to visually and audibly determine precise edit points, cut and paste audio from one file to another or to the same file, and perform non-destructive modification of the original audio. Much of the recording and editing work that takes place in radio production studios is focused on commercials.

Producing Creative Commercials

Producing the radio station's commercials is a creative challenge. The production for each spot has to accurately interpret the details of the written copy, capture the mood of the spot as intended by the writer, attract attention, sound different from all the other spots running on the station, and yet be consistent with the overall format and sound of the radio station.

There are many ways to meet the challenges of producing compelling commercials. Turning the process over to an advertising agency is one way. As reviewed earlier, ad agencies were once in almost total control of the radio networks' program and commercial production. Although agencies no longer exercise such a stranglehold on the programming decisions of local stations and networks, much of the advertising content heard on radio today is produced through the efforts of ad agencies representing clients, especially at the network and syndicated program level. These larger clients can afford to pay for the creative writing, production, and celebrity talent used to create memorable advertising. Stations merely schedule and dub or pass through these commercials from the network or syndicator.

Networks are not the only place to find creative spots. There are many techniques and resources available to producers at local stations as well. Radio stations still use music and sound effects production libraries to enhance production. First available on 78-rpm records, then on vinyl LPs, these libraries are now digitally recorded on CD. The production music libraries offer precisely timed versions of instrumental music

beds that can be licensed and used as the backgrounds for commercials and other announcements. These music tracks are usually recorded in 10-, 15-, 30-, and 60-second lengths of the same theme. These creatively titled compositions are available in a variety of music styles, tempos, and instrumentation. Most of the music production libraries are buyout libraries: the station pays a flat fee for the right to use the entire library indefinitely. Some libraries use "needle drop" fees (the term goes back to the days of turntables and discs): the station pays a fee for use of a specific music track for a specified length of time for a specific commercial. Some companies specialize in the composition and recording of customized, personalized jingles or music beds for station clients.

Sound effects are usually sold as buyout libraries containing a comprehensive array of digitally recorded sounds of every possible situation, activity, or device. Babies crying, rocket launches, train whistles, wind, rain, and a computer modem are examples of sounds that have been digitally recorded for inclusion in a sound effects library. Continuing a tradition from the early days of radio, the use of sound effects adds realism and interest to radio content.

The Role of Production in Creating a Station's "Sound"

Since the advent of television, radio has gone from being a general interest entertainment medium to programming using a specialized, formatted approach. Radio stations rely on a "format," or the creation of a consistent mix of programming elements, to attract and maintain a target audience. The station can then maximize its listenership within specific demographic characteristics, carving out a specific niche among all the stations in a competitive market. All the format elements are carefully selected and positioned in order to maximize and maintain listeners. Most formats are music based, but some formats are based on music alternatives, such as talk, sports, and all-news radio.

The basic components of format are often the same from station to station. Two competing stations could be programming exactly the same music lists. The differences listeners would hear in the stations would stem from the different approaches taken with production and related elements like promotion. Beyond format, production is the key element influencing the sound of a radio station. The music beds used in the commercials, the promotional announcements for the station itself, the station identifiers, the jingles, the voices on the air, and how they deliver content are just some of the many production elements that contribute to the overall sound of the station. Production is what ties the different programming elements together and makes the whole package seamless. Listeners are not necessarily aware of good production, but they certainly notice the lack of it.

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See also Audio Processing; Audiotape; Automation in Radio; Control Board/Audio Mixer; Recording and Studio Equipment; Sound Effects

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Programming Research

Most programming research conducted today is done to measure motives and habits of a radio station's target audience. The programmer's goal is to deliver audience to advertisers to generate revenue from the sale of advertising time. By 1985 most programming decisions were based on attracting audiences rather than on providing "necessary" information to them. Advertisers tend to trust research conducted by parties outside the station, for example, by ratings companies such as Arbitron. Research data gathered by commercial research organizations and paid for by the radio station owner is considered less reliable, and research conducted in house is the least reliable, according to advertisers. Station programmers use all three types of research to learn listener motivations that will inspire loyalists to listen longer and that will attract new listeners to sample the station.

In-house research is usually more valid to the specific station; it is also much less expensive than vendor research. In-house research begins before the station goes on the air for the first time, with tests of signal strength within the broadcast reach. Dial testing of all signals within the Area of Dominant Influence (ADI) that will be competing for the same audience indicates missing formats that audiences might tune in to if they were available. Once a format is selected and the station is

on the air, station telephone call-outs to audience loyalists and potential listeners can help determine which tunes need to be dropped from the playlist because they are too familiar (boring), and which need to be added to make the sound more current. The station programmer uses ethnographic techniques to study lifestyles of the target audience—observing them in everyday settings, reading the magazines and newspapers they read, and noting when they are tuned in to radio.

Psychographic research also provides lifestyle and buying information about the station's audience. The research is survey based, and the populations are sampled by zip code. The assumption is that people who share a zip code also share values, lifestyles, and consumer motivation. Advertising time is sold based on a match in psychographics between the advertiser's target and the station's audience.

Outside research vendors are contracted to provide a more objective view of audience perceptions of the station's format, programming elements, promotions, and even the call letter colors. Auditorium testing is a quantitative method used to measure music perceptions. As many as 500 subjects, screened for age and other demographics and loyalty to the station or its closest competitor, are gathered in an auditorium (a hotel convention room, for example) to listen to "hooks" of 10 to 20

seconds of a tune, enough for audiences familiar with the tune to identify it. Between 200 and 500 tunes might be tested for responses of “like” to “dislike,” “tired of it,” or “unfamiliar.” If a tune is familiar and liked, but the audience is tired of it, it is played less frequently on the station despite its national popularity. In addition to music testing, auditorium testing is used to measure response to advertising and marketing campaigns, disc jockeys, talk show hosts, and other talent, including news, contests, and marketing. Focus groups are the most common qualitative method used to understand *why* audience members (about 12 are chosen to participate) respond as they do. The moderator assesses motivation by using psychological projective techniques, brainstorming, laddering, role playing, role reversal, and others. Information from focus groups is usually not generalizable unless a great number of groups are conducted with subjects chosen randomly from a population.

The task for the radio station program director in assessing the value of research data and findings is to ask a number of questions. First, is this a quantitative study? If so, how was the sample drawn? Were there enough subjects to analyze the data statistically? What is the margin of error? Can the findings be generalized to the station’s listening population? Second, were the questions asked unbiased? Were they valid? (i.e., did they test what the station programmer wanted to know?). Finally, are the findings reliable? If we did a similar study, with subjects drawn from the same population, would we get similar results?

Responsible researchers address these issues and explain their conclusions in language that is clear to the programmer. The goal is to provide information to enable the programmer to select programming that will “deliver” audiences profitably to advertisers but that will also respond to listeners’ “convenience, interest, or necessity.” Audience members are to be considered fellow community constituents, not just ears delivered to advertisers.

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See also Audience; Audience Research Methods; Auditorium Testing; Consultants; Demographics; Psychographics

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Programming Strategies and Processes

Programming was born of the combination of scheduling segments and tabulating appearances, yet it has an elusive definition. As Les Brown wrote in the foreword to *Broadcast Programming: Strategies for Winning Television and Radio Audiences* (Eastman), there is “a vast lore of programming wisdom, much of it self-contradictory because what works at one time or place may not work at all at another time or place.” In the same textbook, Sydney W. Head worked at a definition:

Programming is strategy. It deals with the advance planning of the program schedule as a whole. It involves searching out and acquiring program materials and planning a coherent sequence, a program service. Production is tactics. It deals with arranging and maneuvering the people and things needed to put programming

plans into action. It selects and deploys the means for achieving program plans on the air.

A program service is much more than the sum of its parts. Decisions about how to combine programs, or program elements, into an effective whole are just as important as decisions about which program items to accept or reject.

Head cautioned that a “seemingly obvious” distinction between programming and production is often overlooked.

This oversight arises for understandable reasons: in the first place, production is much easier to define, teach, and practice than is programming. The production end product is visible, audible, observable, assessable. Programming, however, is far more elusive. It cannot be

practiced unless one has on-air access to an actual station and perhaps a year to await results. Production, on the other hand, can be practiced with modest facilities, and the results can be recorded for instant analysis and evaluation.

Finally, the programming function varies so much in the scope and nature of its operations from one programming situation to another that it is difficult to discern what, if anything, all these situations have in common.

Radio's Golden Age

Radio's best-known programming strategies were introduced during the 1930s and early 1940s when network programs emerged featuring former vaudeville stars who, through radio, became a part of everyday life in America. That was a unique period. Radio was the only free entertainment medium (once you owned a receiver) for a nation emerging from a disastrous depression. Radio changed listeners' attitudes about themselves, about their world, and especially about their leisure time. The radio occupied the same central place in U.S. life that television would achieve in the latter half of the century.

The key strategy was to entertain with words and sounds that stimulated listener imagination. The Golden Age of radio has also been called the "theater of the mind" days when listeners turned words and sounds into mental pictures. A man named Raymond opened a squeaking door on *Inner Sanctum* and the stories told behind that door made spines tingle for half an hour. That age also brought *The Shadow*, a Gothic thriller whose main character was a mental projection against a foggy night full of smoke from coal-burning furnaces.

On the lighter side of that period was Fibber McGee's closet, a packed-to-the-gills jumble that fell with a crash to the floor once per episode in an avalanche that usually included samples of the sponsor's product. After the cacophony there was a pause. Finally, a dinner bell crash-tinkled to the floor as punctuation. Each member of the radio audience "saw" each scene exactly as he or she wanted to see it. Each listener "saw" a different show, yet each show was perfect because it was all a product of the mind, stimulated by the spoken word in conjunction with musical interludes and sound effects. (When attempting a television revival of radio's *Fibber McGee and Molly*, the National Broadcasting Company [NBC] left the famous closet out of sight—in the hands of sound-effects experts and the imagination of the viewer.)

Programming strategy quickly evolved. The orchestras, sopranos, and baritones who were radio's first performers were on the air to give receiver manufacturers live demonstrations of the new audio medium. Once radio took hold, the strategy was to amass large audiences for advertisers who longed to have their products associated with those performers who

became household names, such as Jack Benny, George Burns and Gracie Allen, Fred Allen, and W.C. Fields.

Surviving the Challenge of Television

The arrival of television abruptly changed radio strategy. As the 1950s began, the radio networks were collapsing under the impact of the new visual medium. Jack Benny's deadpan face could now be seen, not just imagined. Radio performers moved into brightly lit video studios and added scenery, building sets of the houses and neighborhoods that previously had been part of listener imagination.

To owners, radio stations became liabilities, not the assets they had been just a few years before. Many broadcasting companies sold their radio stations to invest in television. Radio entrepreneurs sifted through the wreckage of big-time radio and improvised new ideas to attract audiences. What saved radio during the encroachment of television was what appeared to be a new innovation in programming—the disc jockey.

Programmer Rick Sklar offered this scenario in *Rockin' America: How the All-Hit Radio Stations Took Over* (1984), his story of New York's legendary Top 40 station, WABC:

Imagine the dilemma of the first person who proposed playing records instead of broadcasting live bands over the radio. Records? Who will listen to records played over the radio? People play records on phonographs. They'll think we're putting one over on them if we play records on the radio. But as early as 1948 the first bands were being laid off.

Playing records wasn't actually new in the mid 1950s. In New York, WNEW's Martin Block had created his *Make Believe Ballroom* program 20 years earlier. Beginning in 1935, Block made music using turntables and "platters," as the 78-rpm records were called, not with a baton or a piano as his contemporaries did.

When radio was disrupted by the introduction of television, broadcasters stretched individual record programs into 24-hour formats. Thus were born Top 40, Middle of the Road, Beautiful Music, and other full-time formats. Each station became something distinct. The days of radio stations' attempts to be "all things to all people" virtually disappeared. Fortunately, however, disc jockeys such as Todd Storz and Gordon McLendon did not view the future of radio in terms of its past. The change to format radio stimulated another golden age as teenagers discovered Top 40.

The Top 40 format was an all-new strategy of playing the best-selling 45-rpm records over and over, so the listener was never more than a few minutes away from hearing a favorite song. On Top 40 radio, Elvis Presley was king and so was the

disc jockey, who spun the sound track to the lives of 1950s teenagers. The Top 40 format began the resurgence of public interest in radio. It also spawned other music-based program services based on the strategy of repetition of songs: the Adult Contemporary, Country, and Urban formats. The all-music strategy was to dominate radio for half a century.

Programming as Science

Michael C. Keith calls programming a radio station during this period “an increasingly complex task.” In his book *The Radio Station*, Keith writes “The basic idea, of course, is to air the type of format that will attract a sizeable enough piece of the audience demographic to satisfy the advertiser.” The ability to attract and hold an audience requires science as well as art in programming strategy. The science involves studying what motivates the audience to stay with long-form 24-hour music programs.

Examination of the audience was distilled into nine essential questions by Sydney Head in *Broadcast Programming: Strategies for Winning Television and Radio Audiences* (Eastman, Head, and Klein, 1981):

1. How much time does the average person listen to my station?
2. Am I doing a good job of reaching my target audience?
3. How many different groups of people contribute to my station’s average audience?
4. What percentage of the listeners in one of my time periods also listen to my station in another time period?
5. During which hours of the day does my station do the best job of reaching listeners?
6. How much of my audience listens only to me and to no other stations?
7. Is my station ahead of or behind the market average of away-from-home listening?
8. Which are the most available audiences during certain times of day?
9. How often do my listeners hear the same record?

The questions are best answered in ratings reports from Arbitron and similar companies. Ratings questions about size and quality of the audience often distract programmers from the issue of usefulness or innovation of the programming itself. Amassing an audience requires constant feedback on how well the audience is satisfied. Yet none of these questions concerns the quality or the content of programming.

Radio is measured not only in terms of cumulative audience (the number of people who tune into a given station in a week) but also by time spent listening (the number of quarter hour segments heard, or “average quarter hours”). The rat-

ings process influences programming strategy, and programmers find themselves aiming their efforts at the ratings methodology rather than the audience by attempting to extend time spent listening in order to increase average quarter hour shares.

A sure way to effect longer listening is to combine programming elements—hit records, for example—with positions on the clock. If a familiar and popular classic song is played at the top of the hour, then followed in the next music position with a current hit, then by an up-and-coming record, and so on around the hour, the station’s programmer sets up a sound that includes a constant change of era or year of origin for each song. The result is a “Hot Clock” or “Music Wheel” that when drawn resembles the face of a clock with lines extending from the center like bicycle spokes separating songs, commercials, and other programming elements. (Hot clocks are not exclusive to music stations. News and news-talk stations use them as well—often calling the visual version a “News Wheel”—to designate places on the hourly clock for certain types of news stories or talk show segments.)

The music programmer further attempts to mix upbeat songs with slow songs, male vocals with female vocals, large production sounds with solo instruments, etc., so that a sense of musical variety is achieved within the hour. This definition of category is from a client memo from the consulting firm Shane Media Services:

What is a category? It’s a group of songs organized by a primary characteristic. On the current/recurrent side of the library, categorization is determined by age and amount of play. For example, new songs are put in an “add” or “light” category; these titles receive the least amount of play and are protected by categories made of more familiar songs. This category’s function is to introduce new songs in a palatable manner. It’s placed on the clock so announcers can sell the songs it includes.

As songs build up play, they begin to be tested in audience research. Songs listeners show interest in are worthy of more play. They move up to medium current—enough rotation for average listeners to develop affection for the songs.

Medium songs that excel in research move to hot current. Hot current is a category determined by value—current songs listeners care about most. Recurrent categories are made of proven hits and age again becomes the primary organizational criterion: Hot recurrents are the strongest hits with high play. Medium and bulk recurrents are seven to fourteen months old and represent the best of the recent hits.

Gold categories are organized by value: the Power category is made up of the best testing titles, songs listeners want to hear every day. These songs have high “love”

scores, high “play more” scores and little “tired of” scores.

The medium or secondary gold category is made of songs listeners like but aren't involved with enough to want to hear daily. Sometimes records are put into secondary gold because high “love” scores are combined with high “tired of” scores. Resting songs by playing them every two to three days instead of daily usually results in higher scores the next time songs are tested.

If a station uses a third level of gold, it's usually made of songs that have sufficient “like” scores but no “love.” These are “okay” songs that won't make listeners tune out but also don't cause them to turn up the station or tell their friends to stop working and listen.

Music rotation software such as Selector, PowerGold, and MusicMaster helps stations achieve balance through elaborate sound codes and type codes. Use of the popular software also allows efficient management and diagnosis of play histories in a music library once criteria are established.

Formats

A brief overview of the major formats will shed some light on programming strategy.

Adult Contemporary (AC) The most familiar musical selections found on radio are from Adult Contemporary stations. In terms of the number of listeners, AC was the most popular format of the 1980s and 1990s. It has many permutations owing to the broad age range of listeners (25–54) and their diversity of tastes. AC's territory covers the softest jazz instrumental and light rock to modern hits. Collectively, the varieties of AC are radio's most listened-to formats.

Top 40 or Contemporary Hit Radio (CHR) “Contemporary Hit Radio” was the euphemism used by radio people who thought “Top 40” was a term used by kids. Listening to their public, they discovered that “Top 40” was what people called radio that played the hits. The strategy remains the same as it was during the earliest years of the format: play the best-selling songs and repeat them often.

Rock Rock music (formerly called “rock and roll”) takes many different forms, most of which have resulted in radio formats. For example, Classic Rock is an offshoot of Mainstream Rock. Offering the comfort of familiarity, the Classic Rock format presents a mix of well-known bands, primarily from the 1970s. Then there's the easy-to-identify rift between Mainstream and Modern (or Alternative) rock. Alternative rock music begins as a splinter of some other style. If it grows, it is embraced by the mainstream and is no longer “alternative,” thus losing its cachet.

Country Since the 1970s, Country has been adopted by more stations than any other format. In its earliest days, the

Country format was considered to be aimed at a blue-collar audience. As the audience grew and young artists revitalized the music in the early 1990s, the blue-collar image became mainstream. The format scores very well among adults aged 25 to 54 and is the least prone to audience fragmentation. Its strategy is rooted in the Top 40 tradition: play the most popular songs often. Country stations tend to offer a mix of songs from a broad spectrum of years.

News-Talk News-Talk radio could be called “personality radio,” even though the caller interaction and tendency toward political topics often obscures the impact of on-air personalities. Rush Limbaugh and Dr. Laura Schlessinger were the reigning superstars at the beginning of the 21st century, with hundreds of newcomers trying to establish themselves in second and third place. Programming News-Talk requires a talent-driven strategy. Talented program hosts who give the listeners access by telephone to highly interactive, relevant discussions are the big winners.

Marketing as Radio's Product

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, radio station operators changed their focus from product and programming to positioning and perception. The shift was in large part a result of the efforts of consultant George A. Burns, whose books postulated that the way a radio station sounded was secondary to what listeners imagined or perceived about the station. Burns urged his readers to leave “the product dimension” and to enter “the marketing dimension.”

Programming had long been radio's primary product concern. However, in the competitive environment after the rise of FM music formats, product alone was not enough to achieve differentiation and success. As Burns wrote in *Radio Imagery: Strategies in Station Positioning* (1980):

Standard wisdom originally held that fragmentation would provide a wider spectrum of listening opportunities for the public. Indeed, this seemed to be the case at first. Formats such as “classical” and “progressive rock” supplied fuel for the work of spreading FM. AM operators first became aware of FM in a serious way when they noticed “beautiful music” or “progressive rock” beginning to hurt them. Fragmentation began as alternative programming.

As audiences fragmented, more stations became viable listening options even though each station's audience was smaller. For instance, more than 70 stations could be heard in most parts of the Los Angeles metro area in 1999, according to the *M Street Radio Directory*. In smaller cities, too, the number of stations proliferated. Tulsa, Oklahoma, had more than 25 stations serving some segment of its population during that same

period. Large numbers of stations usually meant several stations in the same format with little differentiation. To program effectively against direct competition, stations enlisted research companies to test music libraries and to probe audience perceptions. The research allowed stations to play proven, safe songs that received the highest scores and to reduce the risk of unfamiliar or overplayed songs.

Research became part of the marketing loop. With so many stations vying for a diminishing segment of the audience, the paramount concern became keeping a station's name in the forefront of listeners' minds. Naming stations was as much an art as programming them. Mnemonics like Z-93, Star 104, K-FROG, and FROGGY 98 caught attention because they were memorable. Advertising campaigns urged listeners to remember one station for country music, another for news, and so on.

Station management concerned with marketing did not ignore programming, but they did take programming for granted. Effective programming was accepted as a given, and emphasis shifted to marketing, promotion, and advertising to influence audience recall.

Programming after Consolidation

The Telecommunications Act of 1996 eliminated many radio ownership limits and simultaneously shifted programming strategy. Consolidated ownership now makes it possible for one company to own a cluster of stations in the same market. An operator company that can do so chooses its cluster by format in order to control all or most stations in a format or to minimize competition. Thus a company may acquire several varieties of rock stations, or both of a city's country stations, or a combination that includes an all-news station, an all-talk station, and an all-sports station, just to cite three possibilities.

Consolidation offers opportunities for cost savings in programming by combining air talents to perform on several stations in a cluster and operating one news department to serve many stations. For instance, Capster Broadcasting Partners assembled a staff of air talents in Austin, Texas, to feed voice tracks to more than 100 stations in the Capstar and AM/FM groups via a wide area network of linked computers. Another approach to cost savings in programming is the "hub and

spoke" system employed by Clear Channel Communications, in which a centrally located station in a large or medium market feeds programming to be simulcast in nearby smaller cities.

Consolidation also has given rise to syndicated programs, both national and regional. Many morning shows are syndicated: for example, radio personalities Bob and Tom from Indianapolis, John Boy and Billy from Charlotte, Mark and Brian from Los Angeles, and Rick Dees also from Los Angeles. Such shows seem to be a return to the network style of early radio, but without the national attention that network programs received in the pre-television era. Syndicated programming allows local stations to air shows they could not (or would not) produce themselves.

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See also individual radio formats (Adult Contemporary, etc.) as discussed above; Arbitron; Audience; Audience Research Methods; Auditorium Testing; Demographics; Disk Jockeys; Music Testing; Office of Radio Research; Programming Research; Promotion on Radio

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Progressive Rock Format

Progressive rock is a radio format designed to appeal to rock music fans who were initially represented by the counterculture of the late 1960s. At times referred to as *progressive radio*, *underground*, *free-form*, *album-oriented rock* (AOR), *alternative*, and *classic rock*, the progressive rock format has its roots in the underground rock movement in the years leading up to the Woodstock Music Festival in 1969.

As an alternative to the repetitive hit music of Top 40, which was pervasive on AM radio at the time, progressive radio began on undeveloped FM stations as so-called free-form programming, an ephemeral concept that encouraged each disc jockey to program his or her own show with a newer and broader brand of rock and roll than merely its pop progeny, interspersing music with commentary that referenced an emerging cultural change in the United States. Progressive radio drew an audience previously unserved by radio, and it is credited with establishing FM as a dominant force in music radio.

By the mid-1970s, FM progressive rock in a variety of permutations spearheaded audience migration to the new frequency band. Although the radio industry paid little attention to FM, FM was handily supported by the recording industry and the electronics industry, both of which had high stakes in high-fidelity products. By the end of the decade “progressive” stations had seized a majority of the mainstream radio audience owing to the widespread popularity of progressive rock music and the ability of FM to broadcast high fidelity in stereo. As progressive music hit the top of the charts, Top 40 stations reacted by retooling their playlists and moving their operations to the FM band, forcing AM to all but abandon music as a viable format in most competitive markets. To distinguish themselves from Top 40’s encroachment, many progressive rock stations began adopting the AOR format designation. Although the progressive rock format has not disappeared, defining it has become contentious and subjective. Some prefer to tie the format to the music of its breakthrough, programmed as classic rock, whereas others consider it a timeless concept based on a musical alternative to mainstream pop, peppered with a left-of-center banter. In either case, progressive rock radio is connected to at least three distinct breeds of broadcaster: rock and roll radio pioneers such as Alan “Moondog” Freed, community or pirate radio operators, and shock jocks.

The rock and roll of Elvis Presley, Jackie Wilson, Buddy Holly, The Shirelles, Chuck Berry, and countless others successfully altered radio’s musical landscape in the 1950s as disc jockeys developed a relationship with their youthful audiences and an ear for an alternative sound. Similarly, early progressive rock disc jockeys such as Tom “Big Daddy” Donahue brought a new sensibility and attitude to the medium, playing a variety

of alternative music styles, including folk music; a more sophisticated brand of rock and roll; and cross-genre hybrids that combined blues, country, soul, funk, or jazz with increasingly amplified guitar rock, creating new subgenres such as folk-rock, progressive country, country rock, jazz fusion, latin rock, acid rock, hard rock, and heavy metal. Progressive stations did not play hit singles. They played albums, sometimes an entire LP at a time. The format was built around artists who broke new ground musically and lyrically. Artists such as The Doors, Jimi Hendrix, Joni Mitchell, Vanilla Fudge, Creedence Clearwater Revival, Crosby Stills and Nash, Led Zeppelin, Jefferson Airplane, Janis Joplin, Allman Brothers, Santana, Beatles, Rolling Stones, and others certainly had pop hits, but it was their other album tracks that made progressive playlists, songs often distinguished by lyrics that questioned authority, embraced social protest, and celebrated the sexual revolution.

This music did not fit neatly into the under-three-minute song length common for airplay on Top 40. There were also rare recordings, live performances, and rock star interviews, which added spontaneity and primed the syndication efforts of new radio networks such as Westwood One. And rather than announce the time and temperature, progressive disc jockeys slipped in pithy social commentary and politically charged comedy bits—often in the same breath. The unique combination of music, structure, and editorial point of view conspired to spawn an identity all its own. Not since the seminal rock and roll disc jockeys of the 1950s had radio responded so directly to popular culture. In both eras, too, popularity brought increased scrutiny, claims of amorality, and scandal. And both saw the execution of their respective preformats move from the individual programmer to station owners and consultants who went on to develop successfully marketable formats.

As playlists shrank and advertising increased, purist progressive announcers became disenchanted with an apparent squandering of the airwaves by strictly commercial interests. Some became radio pirates in the spirit of the underground movement, broadcasting without a license from hideout locations. Others joined or started licensed, noncommercial, low-power community radio. Still others abandoned the need to control the music by developing talk show personalities that led to the advent of FM talk and the so-called shock jock.

Early progressive stations were instrumental in introducing and “breaking” new artists and music. They also provided a voice for “lifestyle” news services such as Earth News, the National Broadcasting Company’s (NBC) The Source, and the American Broadcasting Companies’ ABC FM network, as well as forging opportunities for targeted advertising. Progressive

announcers would categorically reject ad copy with hype or that promoted products antithetical to the desires of their perceived audience. Traditionally, progressive stations did not yell at their audiences, sensationalize in the purely promotional sense, or hard sell, except in parody or satire. They adopted a reduced commercial load of 9 to 15 minutes of advertising per hour as opposed to the 18 to 30 minutes of Top 40, partly because of the fact that advertisers were not yet sold on the value of the progressive rock audience.

The format's original structural characteristics included commercials scheduled in "spot sets" and music programmed in "song sets," which established the music mix "segue" as an art form, setting a mood that organically led to increased time spent listening. Many progressive rock formatics were so successful in holding audience that they have long been incorporated into other music formats.

Early adapters of commercially successful progressive rock formats include San Francisco's KMPX and KSAN; Boston's WBCN; Los Angeles' KMET and KLOS; Chicago's WXRT; and New York's WOR-FM, WNEW-FM, and WABC-FM/

WPLJ. Perhaps the most consistent preservation of the original progressive rock spirit has been on student-run college radio, as well as on some of the Pacifica stations.

JOSEPH R. PIASEK

See also Album-Oriented Rock Format; Alternative Format; Classic Rock Format; Community Radio; Free Form Format; Freed, Alan; Pacifica Foundation; Underground Radio; WABC; WNEW; WOR

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Promax

Industry Trade Association

The primary trade organization in electronic media focusing on promotion and marketing, Promax is a nonprofit, mutual-benefit association for promotion and marketing executives in the electronic media. It conducts annual trade conventions, distributes videotapes of award-winning on-air promotions and print materials, and serves as a clearinghouse for ideas and projects related to electronic media promotion via its resource center and weekly fax memos.

Although broadcast and cable television has been its most salient focus, Promax also serves the commercial and noncommercial radio industry. About 10 percent of its 2,000 member companies are in the radio business, mostly from major-market stations and large groups and from production companies offering creative concepts and marketing services to radio. Among the best known in the radio area have been such companies as Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) Radio, American Broadcasting Companies (ABC) Radio Networks, and the Westwood One networks. Nearly all large and midsized market stations hold membership and send representatives to the annual Promax conventions.

The association's avowed goals are to share promotion and marketing strategies, to share research techniques and information, and to spread the word on new creative concepts and technologies. Like other trade associations, Promax provides the opportunity for the marketing executives of networks and program syndicators to meet with their counterparts at affiliated stations and for production companies and consultants to show off their wares and attract the attention of potential clients.

On a daily basis, a president/chief executive officer (CEO) and a staff of 20 full-time personnel run the association. The president is selected by an executive committee of the 27-person board of directors overseeing Promax. A portion of the board turns over annually, and new directors are elected by the entire association membership. Board members are nominated to represent a mix of networks, studios, stations, cable systems, production companies, distributors, agencies, and consulting companies.

Founded in 1956 as the Broadcasters Promotion Association (BPA) and operating in tandem with the Broadcast

Designers Association (BDA) since the late 1970s, the association grew from a few hundred company members to well over 1,000 by the mid-1980s and to nearly 2,000 companies by the year 2000. Administered in the 1970s and 1980s out of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, by Executive Director Lance Webster, the organization's growth in the late 1980s resulted in a move to Los Angeles. Webster is credited with increasing the association's national visibility, stabilizing its procedures and structures, and creating active ties with other trade and educational organizations.

In 1984 the association's name was changed to Broadcast Promotion and Marketing Executives to acknowledge participation by highest station and network management and to recognize two factors: the rising importance of promotional activities in an increasingly competitive situation and the industry's increased focus on marketing strategies—which involve a broader conception than sales promotion and audience program promotion. But by the early 1990s, the incongruity of a large cable membership had led to still another evolution in the association's name, this time to Promax in 1993. (Although the name is frequently spelled in all capitals, the word is not an acronym; it draws on the association's traditional connection with the field of promotion, adds an *x* for executives, and hints at “maximum something” to users, an acceptable bit of hyperbole suiting this profession.)

Another major change was the expansion of worldwide promotion conventions, such as the association's first international conference in Leeds, England, in 1990. This became the annual Promax–United Kingdom meeting, and it has been followed by Promax Asia, Promax Europe, Promax Latin America, and, in 1999, the first Promax Australia/New Zealand convention. As of 2000, the association had member companies in 35 different countries and was dealing with rapid membership growth outside the United States.

Two individuals clearly stand out as the biggest contributors to the evolution of the association: Lance Webster, publications coordinator in 1979 and executive director for much of the 1980s, and Jim Chabin, president and CEO during most of the 1990s (now president of the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences in Hollywood), who implemented the association's international vision. In 1999 Glynn Brailsford stepped into the joint position of president and CEO of both Promax and BDA and has continued building and consolidating the international partner associations and melding the administration of Promax and BDA.

Association board president in 1980, Tom Dawson, a CBS Radio vice president, was a key individual in building the radio membership in the organization from 1976 through 1988. Elected to the association's Hall of Fame in 1992, Dawson is building an archive and writing a history of the association. Erica Farber, executive vice president at Interep and president of the Board in 1991–92, took on the role of fostering the

growth of radio membership. Farber is now publisher and CEO of *Radio and Records*.

The annual North American convention, usually held in the United States, is the centerpiece of Promax's offerings. Called the Promax Conference and Exposition, by 1999 the association reported that nearly 7,000 industry executives attended. The convention offers about 65 sessions and workshops with some 200 expert speakers and presenters; about one-half of those panels directly or indirectly address radio interests. Topics have included branding and copyright and music, sports, and performance rights, in addition to radio-only panels about contesting and games, image marketing, segmentation research, audience measurement, and audio technologies. By the late 1990s, the internet had become the conference subject of the most riveting interest to radio executives.

At the annual convention, Promax makes the International Gold Medallion Awards for excellence in marketing and promotion, recognizing achievement in 280 categories for local television, networks, cable, radio, and program syndication with gold Muse statuettes or silver certificates. The categories recognize image and program promotion in on-air and print media as well as multimedia campaigns and contests. Special achievement awards have gone to such celebrities as Casey Kasem, Dick Clark, Stan Freberg, and Chuck Blore.

The BDA was formed in 1978 with the support of what was then BPA, and it has since met annually conjointly with Promax in North America, Europe, and Australia. It spotlights the needs and interests of the creative staffs of stations and advertising agencies and gives its own awards for outstanding artwork at a separate meeting held at the same time and in the same conference site as Promax. It also conducts panel sessions and workshops focusing on cutting-edge design concepts for program guides, magazines and newspapers, outdoor billboards, posters, and transit signs, as well as on-air spots for both television and radio. In recent years, considerable attention has gone to the implementation of creative ideas via digital technology.

In the 1980s, Promax began issuing weekly faxed communications (*PromofaX*), replete with practical ideas for station promotion, many of which are innovative ideas for radio contests or image promotion. Promax also publishes an annual *Image* magazine at the time of the North American convention, which incorporates examples of promotion and marketing in both television and radio from around the world. In addition, Promax conducts periodic surveys that track changes in salaries, status, and backgrounds of commercial promotion managers and changes in the technologies and methods used in daily promotion and image promotional campaigns. It summarizes these results in *PromofaX* and *Image*. Central to member relations, the Promax Resource Center is a repository for materials about promotion and marketing. It sells audio- and

videotapes of panels, workshops, and keynote speakers as well as copies of award-winning print materials.

SUSAN TYLER EASTMAN

See also Promotion on Radio

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PROMAX Image (1993–)

Promenade Concerts

BBC Classical Music Series

They are a classic example of the old meeting the new, the young meeting the aged, and the traditional meeting the contemporary. They are at once casual and formal, simultaneously hip and sophisticated, sometimes playful and at other times serious. They are the Henry Wood Promenade Concerts, the summer music series of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), known simply as “the Proms.”

Origins

Begun in 1895, the Proms were created in order to expose the widest possible audience to the classical music. To serve this purpose, the Proms were presented as less formal than traditional classical concerts, and with at least some very inexpensive ticket prices. Those strategies remain in place to this day. Young and old alike attend, some seated in luxury boxes and others lounging on the promenade floor. Some wear formal attire while others sport cutoffs and sandals. The result is that a very diverse audience continues to attend the annual series.

Although the name Henry Wood has long been associated with the Proms, the series was actually the brainchild of Robert Newman. In fact, the original name for the concert series was “Mr. Robert Newman’s Promenade Concerts.” Newman was perhaps more businessperson than musician, but during his tenure as the manager of the Queen’s Hall in London (the original home of the Proms), he made known his desire to reach a wider audience with finer music. He envisioned a type of educational environment in which audiences might be attracted by more popular music, and then—once attracted—exposed to the more serious higher forms of music. He envisioned a less formal environment in which audience members

could enjoy performances as they stood or sat in a more relaxed promenade arrangement. He also desired a more affordable environment that would allow everyone, even those of limited means, to enjoy fine music. Robert Newman had the vision; Henry Wood was the man he selected to give life to that vision as the first conductor of the Queen’s Hall Orchestra and the Promenade Concerts.

Henry Wood’s contributions to the Proms were legendary. He introduced audiences to new music, new performers, and new composers. Each season featured a certain amount of standard repertoire, but Wood insisted upon including new works—works that came to be known as the “novelties.” The Proms orchestra consisted of the finest established musicians available, but Wood was also known for being a champion of aspiring young players. Wood also introduced his audiences to many of the leading composers of the day, including Richard Strauss and Sergei Rachmaninoff.

The Proms on the Air

The BBC became involved with the Proms in 1927. Because of financial trouble, Newman had earlier relinquished the management of Queen’s Hall and its orchestra, as well as the concert series, to Chappell and Company, a publishing house. But the Proms continued to operate at a deficit, and in 1927 Chappell and Company’s management decided that the company could no longer sustain the concerts financially. As a result, the BBC took charge and a new era began. Not only did the BBC bring financial support, but now the Proms could reach an even wider audience than ever, as people throughout England could listen to every performance on their radios.

World War II brought about several changes in the Proms. Temporary withdrawal of the BBC's financial support (necessitated by the war) forced Wood to seek and secure private sponsorship for a few years. The BBC Orchestra, which had been formed in 1930 (three years after the BBC took over the Proms) was temporarily replaced by the London Symphony. Perhaps most significant, however, was a war-induced change in venue for the concert festival. In 1941, Queen's Hall was severely damaged by German bombing, forcing the Proms to be moved to the Royal Albert Hall. This historical and elegant auditorium, which has a capacity of 6,000, remains the home of the Proms to this day.

Henry Wood conducted 50 years of Promenade Concerts. He died in August 1944, only three weeks after his last Proms concert. In the years that followed his death, several conductors and music directors helped to define the future direction of the Proms. Two primary trends of the post-Wood era were an increase in the number of participating orchestras and an increase in the variety of musical styles represented. During the 1950s, orchestras from places other than London were included in the Proms lineup for the first time. As other orchestras participated, the Proms took on a more international flavor. Through the 1960s this international flavor began to be noticed more in the musical repertoire as well.

A very popular feature of the Proms is its "Last Night" celebration that closes the season each year. It combines a festive party atmosphere with the Proms tradition of great classical music and a sense of camaraderie on the part of "Prommers" who participate in a robust audience sing-along of traditional Proms favorites. The Last Night is so popular, and tickets are

so hard to come by, that London's Hyde Park now hosts the BBC Proms in the Park, an event that allows an additional 40,000 people to view the Last Night of the Proms telecast live on a giant video screen.

More than 100 years after their beginning, the BBC Henry Wood Promenade Concerts remain true to their original purpose: to be enjoyable and accessible to a wide audience. Their popularity continues to increase, and BBC Radio 3 still airs the entire 72-concert series each summer. Additionally, some performances are broadcast by BBC Television and the BBC World Service, further extending the Proms experience to audiences around the world. The concert series attracts some of the world's finest musicians, who perform some of the world's best music.

RICHARD TINER

See also BBC Orchestras; Classical Music Format

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Promotion on Radio

During the early years of commercial radio in the United States, most stations had little reason to promote themselves to listeners because of the relative lack of competition in the local marketplace. Moreover, since the homogeneous programming provided by national networks resulted in every station's sounding basically alike, there was little to promote about a station's "distinctive" qualities. By the middle 1950s, however, local radio programmers began experimenting with new entertainment and musical formats in an attempt to regain audiences lost to the upstart medium of television.

Once stations began to differentiate their programming and audiences found a choice of offerings, the need to attract listeners to specific stations intensified. Since then, the variety of

station formats and programming has increased, and along with it the value of promotion in the eyes of radio professionals. One reason promotion is vital in today's radio marketplace is the current Arbitron ratings system, which depends on listeners' ability to recall a station's call letters or name when filling out the ratings diary. Arguably, this methodology means that the station with the highest top-of-mind awareness, not the greatest number of actual listeners, may win the ratings battle.

In an effort to increase this station awareness in the local community, stations depend on promotion to help accomplish four major goals: (1) to increase the number of people who sample the station; (2) to give the current audience a reason to

listen for a longer time; (3) to provide listeners who must tune out incentives to tune in later; and (4) to create and reinforce the station's image.

Audience acquisition promotions are designed to encourage station sampling by people who don't regularly listen. By necessity, this is accomplished through promotional campaigns designed for and delivered through other media. Television commercials on local stations and cable systems, direct mail pieces, roadside billboards, bumper stickers, T-shirts, key chains, refrigerator magnets, and a variety of other types of promotional merchandise are used to introduce the public to the station's call letters, frequency, format, personalities, and contests. The strategy behind audience acquisition promotions is to inform or remind potential audience members about the programming a station delivers, hoping to match the station's product with listener wants and needs.

Promotions designed to increase the amount of time current listeners spend tuned to the station are called audience maintenance promotions. Often, audience maintenance goals are accomplished through the design and implementation of on-air contests. For example, a music-oriented station might implement a contest in which listeners must hear a specific song, or any song by a specific artist, before phoning the station to try and win a prize. By strategically working with the programming or music departments to determine when the designated song or artist will play, stations can increase the time listeners spend tuned to the station waiting for a chance to win. Other popular variations on this audience maintenance contest include the scavenger hunt (in which listeners wait to hear different items they must collect in order to have a chance to win a prize) and the treasure hunt (in which clues are periodically given for the hidden location of a valuable gift certificate).

Contests may also be designed to provide audience members who must stop listening with incentives to tune back sometime later. These contests are referred to as recyclers, and they take one of two forms. Horizontal recyclers are designed to entice listeners to tune in again at the same time the following day. For example, a common horizontal promotion on music stations is to encourage listeners to fax the midday host a list of their favorite songs. The listener whose list is chosen wins prizes plus gets to hear his or her favorites played during the lunch hour. When stations promote this as a programming element done every weekday at the same time, it recycles listeners to the lunch hour of the following day to see if they have won. Vertical recyclers, on the other hand, are designed to entice listeners to tune in later during the same day. For example, having a morning announcer promote that the next chance to win concert tickets is during the afternoon show recycles those who may have to tune out during the workday to the station for their drive home.

Regardless of the strategic goals of a station contest, promotion directors must keep in mind applicable federal regula-

tions. For example, the FCC prohibits the broadcast of information about most lotteries other than those sponsored by nonprofit organizations and state governments. In order for a radio promotional contest to constitute a lottery, it must contain three components: a prize, chance, and consideration. Consideration is something of value paid by the contest participant, such as an entry fee. For example, if a station decided to give away a new car (a prize) to someone chosen at random (chance) from those who bought a ticket to the station's annual concert/birthday party (consideration), that station would violate lottery laws when promoting the contest on air. Stations often alleviate this problem by instructing listeners how to enter without consideration in the official contest rules—which the FCC requires be fully and accurately disclosed. Other laws that may impact radio promotions prohibit the broadcast of obscene content and limit the broadcast of indecent material to certain hours.

Another goal of radio promotion is to establish and reinforce the station's image in the minds of the audience. It is important that every contest, billboard, bumper sticker, and website associated with the station is consistent with the desired image. Often, program directors and promotion departments work together to establish the target image for their station. This way the program director's vision of the station image is known by the promotion department, and they can be sure that all aspects of the promotion mix are developed with the image in mind.

In order to identify a station's target image, a list is sometimes created of words or phrases that would be desirable for listeners to associate with the station. For example, a news station would want to have the image of being dependable, honest, timely, and involved with the community. A rock station, on the other hand, would be more interested in being known as the rock concert station, as being knowledgeable about entertainment news, and as the station that gives away music-related prizes. Creating lists such as these can help ensure that the content of radio promotion is consistent with the desired image.

When trying to reinforce station image, however, content may not be the only variable that promotion directors can use. Radio consultant Lee Abrams argues that the sound of on-air promotions can go a long way to improving a station's image. Abrams advises that when creating on-air promotion, stations should "hit the production room and come out with great stuff" (Lynch and Gillispie, 1998). Recent research suggests that Abrams may be correct. Potter and Callison (2000) have experimented with different types of production techniques in on-air promotions and found that promotions containing sound effects, music, and multiple announcers create more positive images in listeners than comparatively simple promotions do.

Promotional activities—from contests and giveaways to billboards and bumper stickers—cost money. Many stations

regularly budget for ongoing promotional campaigns, funding them through management's commitment to marketing the station. Sometimes operating capital for promotions at a current-based music station is enhanced by money from an independent music promoter who pays the station for the right to discuss music decisions with the program director on a weekly basis.

In all formats, however, there is increasing pressure to develop more sales promotions than ever before. Sales promotions are campaigns that accomplish marketing and image goals for the station while simultaneously providing the sales department with tie-ins that can be sold to advertisers. Sales promotions take many forms; for example, co-sponsorship of a contest or event by both the station and the client, remote broadcasts from a client's location where listeners enter to win prizes, coupons for the client's business as the "removable" backs of station bumper stickers, and advertiser logos screen printed on station t-shirts. Anything that the station's promotion can do to help generate advertising revenue can be viewed as a way to offset the cost of the promotion itself.

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See also Arbitron; Consultants; Programming Strategies and Processes; Promax

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Propaganda by Radio

Propaganda has had many definitions. A basic definition is that it is selective and biased information aimed at indoctrinating, converting, and influencing people. From its source in Roman Catholicism, when in 1622 Pope Gregory XV created the *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* (an agency charged with spreading the Christian faith in foreign missions), to efforts to use radio for propaganda, particularly by Nazi Germany in the 1930s and 1940s, *propaganda* has taken on increasingly negative connotations and is currently associated with lies, deception, and disinformation designed to control populations or dishearten adversaries.

Origins

It is difficult to say with any accuracy when radio was first used as a medium of propaganda. Several countries had radio services on the air prior to World War II, including Belgium (1934), France (1931), Japan (1935), the Netherlands (1929), the Soviet Union (1927), and the United Kingdom (1932). Arguably some of these broadcasts aimed to present these nations in the most positive light (especially those of Radio

Moscow in 1925 and 1927, celebrating the October Revolution and the Bolshevik victory). Some historians consider the Soviet broadcast in 1917 (featuring Vladimir Lenin and the announcement of the beginning of a "new age" on 30 October) to be the first recorded propaganda broadcast using radio. It was aimed at potential revolutionaries in Europe. However, Nazi Germany is often credited with initiating the earliest sustained effort to broadcast propaganda via radio, using radio as an instrument of conquest. There is some dispute on this score, as there was intermittent use of radio even during World War I, although this was more accurately wireless telephony and consisted mostly of news reports. One famous "broadcast" of this type carried Woodrow Wilson's "Fourteen Points" plan to end the war and to assure that it was the "war to end wars." During the Versailles peace conference in 1919, Germany was prohibited by the Allied powers from using its transmitting stations in Nauen, Hanover, or Berlin, and from constructing any new transmitting facilities for a period of three months after the signing of the peace treaty.

One reason for the rapid development of radio as an instrument of propaganda after World War I was that age-old

tensions continued to exist in Europe as radio developed there under state ownership or control. With nation-states having broadcast monopolies, it was a short step to considering the medium as a vehicle for pursuing national interests, for putting a national spin on events—in short, for propaganda. In 1925 the Soviet Union put the world's first shortwave station on the air, greatly extending the reach of the Bolshevik political agenda. The Soviet Union then used radio as a weapon in a dispute with Romania (provoking a Romanian radio response) over Bessarabia in 1926. Japan also used radio as a weapon in its invasion of Manchuria shortly after putting its first station on the air in 1931.

By the early 1930s international radio services distinguished programming in their native language from that in other languages, with the latter considered propaganda. By this definition the Third Reich's inaugural English-language broadcast to North America, on 1 April 1933, was propaganda regardless of its actual content. This also applied to its creation of radio services in several other foreign languages the following year. The earliest broadcasts were really aimed at Germans who had emigrated, providing them with a continuing link to the "Fatherland," but gradually the broadcasts became more overtly propagandistic, with the *Reichsender* encouraging listener parties to hear the latest speeches by Adolf Hitler and other Nazi Party leaders. Germany also used radio as a weapon to influence politics, to gain sympathy for the Austrian Nazi Party in 1933 and 1934, and prior to its intervention in Austrian politics in 1938. In the latter campaign, the Nazis distributed 100,000 radio sets in Austria to assure an audience for its broadcasts. (This tactic was also used by the Italians for broadcasts from Radio *Bari* to the Middle East and North Africa beginning in 1935. By 1937 the Italians were broadcasting in 16 languages to countries in the Mediterranean basin.) The Nazi goal was to create what was called a "fifth column," a group of convinced believers in the Nazi cause who would assist it by working within their own countries to promote it.

Some efforts were made to stem the use of radio for propaganda purposes. The League of Nations, which had been advocated by U.S. President Wilson as part of his "Fourteen Points," adopted a convention (agreement) in 1936 to outlaw aggressive radio propaganda and incitements to war or insurrection. This agreement also called upon its signatories to use radio to promote peace, better knowledge of other civilizations and conditions of life, and the true nature of international relations between neighbors. Although this convention was signed by 28 countries, it was eventually ratified by only 19 and had little effect on actual uses of radio in Europe. It did not come into effect until 1938 and by then it was too late to stem the tide of radio use to promote national aims. (Neither Germany nor Italy signed the convention.)

Fascist propaganda (especially from Italy to the Middle East, where the British had extensive colonial and commercial

interests) led the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) to initiate its first foreign-language broadcasts. Its request to Parliament to do so was premised on the need to respond to such propaganda, provoking a debate about whether the United Kingdom should engage in propaganda, defined as foreign-language broadcasting. Approval was secured, however, and on 3 January 1938 the BBC began broadcasting in Arabic to the Middle East and North Africa. Its first broadcast caused an immediate stir because it reported the execution of an Arab accused of carrying a concealed weapon. The British Foreign Office feared that the report would result in widespread unrest. This broadcast solidified the BBC's independence from government interference and became the foundation of its reputation for truthful reporting, however, as it demonstrated that the service would broadcast the truth even when the British government disapproved.

It was not merely the use of foreign languages that was considered propaganda, however. Prior to World War II, both Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy used propaganda as a vital part of their peacetime diplomacy. Some nations also used radio for domestic propaganda, seeking to enlist their citizens' support for proposed national efforts or to convince them of the correctness of government policies, even when individual citizens' fortunes didn't seem to be improving. Germany, Italy, and Japan all became masters of such strategies, employing not just radio but a variety of other media, including print and film, to engage their own citizens in preparation for conflict with other countries. In Japan, the emperor's enthronement was broadcast throughout the country in 1928, and in 1936 the Japanese government created an Information Committee under cabinet control to coordinate propaganda activities. All Japanese broadcasts (domestic and international) became subject to censorship. Transmissions that were prohibited included those that "impaired the dignity" of the imperial house (the emperor), those that impaired the honor of the government or of the military services, and those that were determined to be political speeches or discussions. Similar measures were taken in Germany through the *Propagandaministerium* under Joseph Goebbels, whose opinion was that all read broadcasting is true propaganda.

World War II

With the outbreak of World War II in 1939, radio became a full-fledged tool of war. Germany's government declared it illegal to listen to foreign broadcasts, even including broadcasts from Nazi-occupied areas in the ban. Radio sets were confiscated to prevent unauthorized listening and it became a capital offense to listen to certain broadcasts, particularly those from the BBC. It engaged non-German citizens to broadcast in foreign languages to its adversaries, with the most famous broadcaster being the Irishman William Joyce, the second

broadcaster dubbed “Lord Haw Haw” in Britain. He was executed by the British at the conclusion of the war for treason. The Italians likewise employed foreigners for its broadcasts, including the American poet Ezra Pound, who was also tried for treason after the war. (Pound was determined to be insane and committed to a mental institution.) Other infamous broadcasters who broadcast specifically to troops included those dubbed “Axis Sally” and “Tokyo Rose” by the Allied forces. Their broadcasts were designed to demoralize Allied troops by exaggerating both Allied losses and naval or battlefield successes of the Axis powers (Germany, Italy, and Japan). They also attempted to make the soldiers homesick by suggesting that their wives and girlfriends were lonely or being unfaithful to them or suggesting that Allied battlefield commanders had little or no concern for the welfare of their troops. Stations carrying such broadcasts also played music popular with the troops in an effort to attract them to listen, and they often were heard by the troops because of that music.

The British became adept at “black propaganda” or clandestine broadcasting, putting signals on the air that purported to be aired from German-occupied territory. The first such British broadcast occurred on 26 May 1940, when *Deutscher Freiheitssender* (German Freedom Station) went on the air, featuring Carl Speiker. The French, too, sponsored such broadcasts until the Nazi *Blitzkrieg* overran their forces, leading to German occupation of Northern France and the French collaborationist *Vichy* government in the south. The Soviet Union and the United States engaged in similar activities. For instance, Radio 1212 purported to be a German radio station broadcasting after D-day but was in fact operated by the U.S. military’s psychological warfare unit using the facilities of Radio Luxembourg, which were captured and put back on the air on 22 September 1944. Radio 1212 operated as a clandestine radio station between 2:00 and 6:00 A.M., calling attention to mistakes made by the German high command and other authorities. During the daytime and evening hours the station operated as Radio Free Luxembourg, broadcasting portions of letters captured by the Allies in a program called “Letters That Didn’t Reach Them” and greetings to those back home from a parade of carefully selected German prisoners of war, along with other programs. The U.S. serviceman’s magazine *Yank* eventually claimed that this station broadcast the first on-air execution, when two German soldiers were shot after being captured while engaged in espionage.

Another strategy employed during World War II was called “ghost-voicing.” This involved surreptitiously sliding a signal onto a broadcast from another station at a higher power so that the broadcast sounded as seamless as possible. The ghost signal would then be heard by the listener as if from the original station. Both the British and the Soviets became adept at interrupting Hitler’s radio speeches with broadcasts designed to make him appear mentally unbal-

anced or foolish, or to foment unrest by putting different words in his mouth that were designed to upset his listeners. A similar technique involved recording propaganda broadcasts and then waiting for the right time to replay them to discredit the original source. For instance, when the German army was pushing into the Soviet Union, Nazi broadcasts carried pronouncements from Adolf Hitler concerning the timing of the Soviet state’s total collapse. When the Soviet Red Army held Moscow and Stalingrad and began to push the German army back, the BBC rebroadcast Hitler’s original claims to demonstrate his fallibility.

The United States entered the “radio war” in February 1942, when the Voice of America (VOA) was first broadcast to Europe. In June the Office of War Information was created for the purpose of disseminating both information and propaganda. It contracted with privately owned U.S. shortwave stations to carry VOA programs. By November the federal government began supervising all privately owned international broadcasting stations. The VOA, like the BBC, saw its role as being that of telling the truth or spreading the gospel of democracy.

Cold War Radio

Propaganda by radio continued after the conclusion of World War II as a result of increasing tensions between the Soviet Union and its former Western wartime allies. The tensions created by this use of international radio made it difficult to resolve differences in various international assemblies, including the International Telecommunication Union and the United Nations, over regulation of the airwaves, issues of national sovereignty, freedom of information, and the right to communicate. Countries using radio for propaganda tended to demonize each other, with radio a major weapon in the Cold War that emerged in the aftermath of World War II. The two “superpowers”—the United States and the Soviet Union (so called due to their size, population, and early development of nuclear arsenals)—engaged in a titanic struggle to win the hearts and minds of the world’s peoples. As the old colonial empires began to be replaced by newly independent states, particularly after 1960, both of these countries pressed their propaganda war into new arenas in Africa and Asia. Of particular significance in this postwar propaganda world were the issues of arms control and disarmament, aggressive or military intent—especially in Europe where two military alliances, NATO and the Warsaw Pact, faced off across the Iron Curtain—and the extension or containment of world revolution in response to the ideological rhetorics of democracy versus dictatorship (the Western version) and equality versus hegemony (the Soviet version).

Even though the Voice of America had been dismantled by President Harry Truman in 1945, a new National Security Act

passed in 1947 re-established U.S. intelligence operations and created the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). The CIA secretly funded the creation and maintenance of both Radio Liberty (RL) broadcasting into the Soviet Union itself and Radio Free Europe broadcasting to the Central and Eastern European countries that had fallen under Soviet hegemony at the end of the war. These stations, called "surrogate radio services," were designed to provide domestic news for each of the target countries in order to inform the occupied populations of the truth about what was happening in their own countries. Both Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty depended on émigré staff from the countries to which they broadcast to lend an aura of authenticity to their broadcasts. All of the countries to which the two services broadcast were considered to be behind the Iron Curtain.

In 1948, after most U.S. information services abroad had been shut down, the U.S. Congress changed its opinion on the value of information and of international broadcasting and passed the Smith-Mundt Act, creating a permanent international information agency and providing operating funds for a revitalized Voice of America. In 1950, with the outbreak of the Korean conflict, President Truman declared a "campaign of truth" against Communist distortions of American actions, to be carried out by U.S. government-funded organizations, including the VOA.

On the Soviet side, Radio Moscow continued operations at the conclusion of World War II. The Soviet Union also saw to it that countries in the Warsaw Pact (a military alliance to offset the NATO alliance of the Western European powers) established radio services to supplement its own activities, which led to the creation of Radio Prague (Czechoslovakia), Radio Berlin (East Germany), Radio Budapest (Hungary), Radio Bucharest (Romania), and Radio Sofia (Bulgaria), among others. Although these stations put their own spin on broadcasts, they were also subject to strict control through national communist parties subject to Moscow. So there was little difference in their opinions on issues that were considered important by the Soviet Union's Communist Party.

The Soviet Union also funded the creation of radio stations by revolutionary movements that it supported throughout the world and engaged in clandestine radio broadcasts such as the Voice of the Turkish Communist Party and Our Radio into Turkey from Romania and East Germany, the National Voice of Iran from the Soviet Union itself, and the Voice of the Iranian Toilers from Afghanistan during the Soviet occupation and war in Afghanistan. In similar fashion, the CIA funded clandestine radio stations such as Radio Swan, directed to Cuba; Voice of Liberation, directed to Guatemala; and Radio *Quince de Septiembre*, directed to Nicaragua, as well as stations in southeast Asia (Voice of the National United Front of Kampuchea) and Iran (Free Voice of Iran). And in the Allied-occupied portion of Berlin, the military established Radio In

the American Sector (RIAS), ostensibly to broadcast to Allied troops stationed in the city but with the knowledge that most of the citizens of East Germany could easily tune it in as well.

The nature of the propaganda used by the Cold War powers shifted over the period from 1946 to 1985, too. In the early days, beginning with Truman's campaign of truth, the role of American propaganda radio was to respond to what were seen as Soviet lies and provocations by using radio to correct the record. It was radio of reaction. Gradually, however, the Voice of America began to concentrate instead on presenting the face of the United States to the world by providing more ongoing features about life there, including its culture and its economic and political systems. It became more pro-active, leaving some of the more onerous "corrective" work to be accomplished by Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, and later by Radio Martí (directed to Cuba) and Radio Free Asia.

To a degree the VOA followed the BBC's lead. The BBC had been freed from its reactive role to Nazi and Fascist radio by the victory of the Allied powers in World War II. On the Soviet side, too, the nature of the propaganda changed under Premiers Kosygin and Brezhnev, becoming less strident in its complaints about Western portrayals of its intentions and concentrating more on the achievements of Soviet science and technology. By 1981 a publication of Progress Publishers (the English-language press of the Soviet Union), written by Vladimir Artemov, recognized the shift, claiming that radio propaganda, although still providing what he called "ideological interference," had become more versatile and sophisticated.

These changes reduced the amount of explicit propaganda; that is, propaganda using restrictive themes and often demonizing other countries, their leaders, or activities, or relying on catch words, sloganeering, or stock ideological interpretations to focus listeners' attention on the particular aspect of a dispute or event that would provide the most positive spin for the broadcaster's government. The emotional temper of the competitive broadcasts also decreased, even though control of the information flow continued in an attempt to have a particular point of view accepted as the most accurate or legitimate one.

With the inauguration of *perestroika* (restructuring) and *glasnost* (openness) in the Soviet Union by Mikhail Gorbachev in the mid-1980s, the role of propaganda between the USSR and the U.S. (and their respective allies) began to shift again. Gorbachev began to adopt the public relations techniques of the West in an effort to achieve new respectability for the Soviet posture in international relations, again moving away from the most obvious forms of propaganda to those that were more subtle and harder to characterize. The United States, for its part, began to focus its attention even more on "civilized persuasion" conducted through the public vehicles of information distribution via radio and satellite television. It contrasted

this approach with what it considered the continuing propaganda of the Soviet state, regardless of the new media strategies that Gorbachev adopted.

With the "velvet revolution" (non-violent political change) that occurred in Central and Eastern Europe beginning in 1989, not only did the role of the former Eastern bloc radio services change but so did the role of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. The most controversial broadcasts by either of these services occurred between 1953 and 1956, when Radio Free Europe was accused of encouraging the Polish and Hungarian uprisings that were put down by Soviet tanks. Apparently many central Europeans had interpreted Radio Free Europe broadcasts as promising U.S. intervention if they rose up against Soviet power. Ironically, the early broadcasts of 1953, based on the defection of a colonel in the Polish secret police, were considered the most effective U.S. political broadcasts since 1945. But when the uprisings occurred in 1956, based on extensive use of the Polish colonel's revelations about secret police files as well as reports on Khrushchev's attack on Stalin for excesses in February 1956 and adoption of an agreement between Khrushchev and Tito on different paths to socialism, they also became the most controversial. After the velvet revolution there was some talk in Washington circles of shutting these services down altogether. But when leaders such as Vaclav Havel of the Czech Republic indicated the need for the stations to continue broadcasting and to assist these countries in the transition to democracy, their broadcasts continued. They began to set up in-country bureaus to facilitate news flow and began to function as truly domestic radio stations, often finding local facilities from which to broadcast their programs. Radio Free Europe even moved most of its operational functions from Munich to Prague and took up residence in the former parliamentary building.

After the Cold War

When Soviet generals attempted a coup against Mikhail Gorbachev in 1991, locking him in his country house until they were stopped in Moscow by its mayor (Boris Yeltsin) and thousands of protesters, Gorbachev later credited international shortwave radio, and particularly the broadcasts of the BBC World Service, with keeping him apprised of unfolding events. Although the Soviet Union collapsed as a unitary state shortly thereafter, Gorbachev's dependence on Western broadcasts underscored the earlier comments of many Soviet dissidents, including Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, regarding their value.

More old-style propaganda continued to thrive during this period of redefinition, however. A new surrogate station, Radio Free Afghanistan, operated during the Soviet occupation of that country, Radio Martí's operations were supplemented by a new Television Martí and a new Radio Free Asia, all with the operational principles that had guided Radio Free Europe

and Radio Liberty during the Cold War largely intact. During the Gulf War of 1991, American fighter-bombers attacked the transmitting complex and studios of Radio Baghdad on several occasions, and the Voice of America found itself subject to review over its suspected role as a propaganda agency.

In continuing regional conflicts, radio also continued to be used for propaganda purposes. In Rwanda, for instance, the Hutu government used radio to adroitly fan the flames of tribal rivalries, inspiring many Hutus to go on killing rampages, although they formerly lived at peace with their Tutsi neighbors. In the Balkans, too, the warring factions used radio to whip up ethnic hatred and to justify policies of genocide. During the Balkan air campaign, U.S. bombers targeted Yugoslavian radio and television operations with the justification that the Milosovic regime in Belgrade was using the media to spread disinformation and hatred toward Bosnians and Kosova Muslims among ethnic Serbs.

In 2000 several clandestine radio operations continued to function throughout the world, with stations operating in Afghanistan, Burma (Myanmar), Colombia, Congo, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Georgia, Iran, Iraq, Kurdistan, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Tibet, Vietnam, and West Sahara. Virtually all of these countries either had active liberation movements operating (such as the Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka and the Kurds in Iraq), had continuing tribal or ethnic rivalries (such as in Congo), or were engaged in cross-border warfare (such as Eritrea and Ethiopia). In other words, all types of military conflicts have included the use of radio as a vehicle of propaganda or psychological warfare.

The arrival of new technologies for international information distribution have meant some reduction in the significance of radio as a medium of propaganda. The Ayatollah Khomeini, for instance, smuggled audiotapes into Iran prior to the Iranian revolution that overthrew the Shah, and Chinese dissidents attempting to get their message to the West have used both facsimile machines and the internet. Even in the depths of the Cold War, Soviet dissidents distributed information clandestinely through printed publications and videotapes of surreptitiously performed dissident plays, distributed by hand from one person to another. But radio, as an inexpensive and widely available medium of communication, will probably remain the medium of choice for protest, propaganda, insurrection, and revolution for many years to come.

ROBERT S. FORTNER

See also Axis Sally; BBC World Service; Board for International Broadcasting; Clandestine Radio; Cold War Radio; International Radio; Lord Haw-Haw; Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty; Radio Martí; Radio Moscow; Radio Sawa/Middle East Radio Network; Shortwave Radio; Tokyo Rose; Voice of America; World War II and U.S. Radio

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Psychographics

Grouping Radio Listeners by Psychological Characteristics

Ppsychographics is the term for a method of market segmentation that groups consumers on the basis of their psychological characteristics. Unlike demographics, which describes consumer or audience attributes such as sex, age, income, or occupation, psychographics is concerned with unobservable personality traits, such as confidence, aggressiveness, extroversion, curiosity, conscientiousness, agreeableness, and so forth. Psychographics draws inspiration from an array of conceptual perspectives, including theories such as trait-factor, motivation, self-concept, psychoanalytic, and social psychology. Lifestyle characteristics—activities, interests, and opinions—are generally considered a conceptual framework distinct from psychographics. In practice, however, blending personalities and lifestyles is key to producing useful marketing information, and lifestyle characteristics are routinely considered part of a psychographic profile.

Development of Psychographics

Although media and market research about consumer psychology was common as early as the 1920s, the term *psychographics* did not appear until the late 1960s and early 1970s, when target marketing emerged as a predominant business and com-

munication strategy. As more and more companies focused product development and communication efforts on narrowly defined consumer groups, advertisers and marketers called for more sophisticated market segmentation techniques. It had become clear that demographic classifications were insufficient because they lacked the detail necessary for crafting the style of persuasive messages advertisers now preferred. Also inadequate were the prevailing methods for collecting psychological data. Researchers often chose in-depth interviews to uncover psychological and lifestyle dimensions about their subjects. Although rich in detail, the qualitative data were unwieldy for marketers. Interviews were time consuming, which realistically limited the total number of conversations, and therefore, the sample sizes of studies. Interviewing also generated a vast amount of material that was slow to code and cumbersome to analyze.

The emergence of psychographic research paralleled the rapid increase of computer accessibility. Psychographics emphasized easily administered survey instruments with objective questions and precoded responses. Computer data analysis helped psychographic studies include large numbers of subjects, which in turn gave them more general results that could be processed in less time.

Psychographics and Radio

Advertisers' increased emphasis on psychographics also coincided with, and contributed to, the resurgence of radio as a marketing medium in the 1960s and 1970s. Radio was moving from a mass-appeal medium, the something-for-everyone sound and style, to a format-driven medium focused on listener niches and format specialization. At the same time, the proliferation of FM was increasing the number of radio stations and, consequently, competition for advertising dollars. Advertisers were looking beyond standard demographic groupings of target audience; they wanted more tightly focused audience profiles. Differentiating station formats and delivering the audiences for which advertisers were asking became an economic necessity. And it also became necessary to back up claims about number and types of listeners with acceptable cumulative (also known as "cume") audience figures and other ratings details. Not only did the fusion of these various factors stimulate format specialization in radio, it also spurred the creation of hyperspecializations—finely tuned variations on the already flourishing number of general format-types.

The division of the daily radio schedule into dayparts also enhanced radio's attractiveness to advertisers intent on applying psychographic research to their media buys. The accent on lifestyle characteristics in psychographics found a perfect complement in the radio programming day. Advertisers could not only narrow the type of listener to whom they were speaking but could also isolate message sending to the time of day most likely to match target consumers' listening habits.

Although some radio stations used psychographic research to profile their own audiences, most commercial stations continued to market their audiences using demographic descriptions. This practice continues today for several reasons, not the least of which is the prohibitive cost of psychographic research. The fact that radio stations do not typically provide psychographic data about their audiences is not, however, a significant barrier to advertiser purchases of radio spots. Advertisers buy airtime based on both demographic and psychographic data and generally have explicit knowledge of what type of listeners they want.

Public radio is an exception. Public stations regularly use audience personality and lifestyle profiles to entice program sponsors and fortify fund-raising efforts. Understanding listeners' motivations for donating to public broadcasting helps stations to construct persuasive messages and, as a result, to boost financial support from listeners.

Psychographic Measures

Many researchers customize their own segmentation studies as they attempt to predict consumer behavior based on psychographic profiles. Instruments designed to measure various constructs, such as learning style, locus of control, sensation seeking, or general personality traits, illustrate potential tools for gathering psychographic data.

A variety of research firms offer proprietary psychographic research models and syndicated research services. Among the best known are the *Yankelovich Monitor* and the Values and Lifestyles Systems (VALS) from SRI International (formerly the Stanford Research Institute). Since 1970 the *Yankelovich Monitor* has published an annual report on the changing attitudes of adults aged 16 and older based on 2,500 two-hour in-home interviews, combined with written questionnaires. The *Monitor* study is designed to identify broad consumer trends and to build in-depth profiles of target segments.

SRI International created the original VALS in 1978. It offered a psychographic typology that categorized American adults into nine mutually exclusive groups based on consumer responses to questions about lifestyles and social values. The VALS segments were revised and renamed in 1989 in an effort to make VALS more useful to SRI's business customers. Rather than classifying consumers by responses to topical, attitude-oriented issues, the new VALS₂ system uses eight profile groups that cluster consumers based on fixed psychological qualities.

CLAUDIA CLARK

See also Audience; Audience Research Methods; Demographics

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Public Affairs Programming

From the earliest days of broadcasting, public affairs has been a vital part of the program service of most radio stations and networks. Although it has come in various forms through the years, and despite its decline in recent years in commercial radio, this type of programming has been a resilient, integral player in the public's efforts to understand the vital issues of the day.

"Public affairs" is a broadly construed program type in which current issues of public concern are discussed, analyzed, and debated. The issues may be of broad public interest (such as a presidential election) or designed to appeal to a more narrowly based set of interests (such as the building of an overpass by a public school). The "public" may be defined as the general population of listeners or a more narrowly defined segment (gay men, farmers, housewives, etc.). Yet despite the wide variety of approaches to this program type, there have been two basic approaches to its conceptualization: in the more common one, the public affairs program is designed to have an expert or group of experts discuss the matter at hand; in the other, a more widely drawn segment of opinion and analysis is tapped.

Origins

From the inception of regular broadcasting, radio stations (and later the networks) had an interest in maintaining a public affairs presence. Such programs were inexpensive and helped to build radio's public reputation. Among the earliest were speeches given by prominent people—local and national. In 1923 President Warren G. Harding spoke about the World Court in St. Louis. His speech was carried by local station KSD and by AT&T stations in New York and Washington, D.C., producing the largest audience ever to hear a presidential address at one time. Listeners took these programs quite seriously. Later that year, former President Woodrow Wilson's speech on Armistice Day was broadcast by radio stations in New York City and Schenectady, New York; Washington, D.C.; and Providence, Rhode Island, despite his having been in ill health and out of the public eye for some time. (More than 20,000 people showed up at his house the next day to wish him well.) The following summer, 18 stations linked to WEA, New York, carried coverage and commentary of the 1924 Democratic National Convention. Listeners heard arguments and violent debates between members of the Ku Klux Klan, and also between New York Governor Alfred E. Smith, former Treasury Secretary William Gibbs MacAdoo, and William Jennings Bryan. Heated arguments went on for hours, complete with cheering and booing from the assembled galleries. Fist-fights broke out on the air; they were so tumultuous that the

Democratic Party stationed an official censor to stand on the platform in order to shut off the microphone when speeches became too heated.

Despite the popularity of the format, broadcasters found early on that any serious discussion of public affairs was bound to be contentious. Because the espousal of any particular position on a disputed issue was bound to receive favorable comments from those who agreed with it and criticism from those who did not, broadcasters feared alienating any part of their audience, or the current political powers, or (worst of all, from their perspective) existing or potential advertisers. From this concern would come a firm broadcast business stand against allowing purchase of advertising time for expression of views on controversial issues—a ban that lasted well into the 1980s. On 4 April 1922, Hans von (later H.V.) Kaltenborn, then associate editor of the *Brooklyn Eagle*, began a series of half-hour reviews of current world affairs on station WEA, New York, the radio station of AT&T. These talks were something new for broadcasting, especially his editorial commentary on the affairs of the day. As Kaltenborn notes in his autobiography, *Fifty Fabulous Years* (1950), radio management was reluctant to air such discussions because they feared "the expression of opinion on the air might have dangerous repercussions and might even jeopardize the future of broadcasting." From its beginnings, public affairs programming demonstrated the conflicting pressures on broadcasters of informing the public and protecting the bottom line. Program producers often were caught in a struggle between the public and the commercial interests of station management.

One way to mitigate this "problem" was to air public affairs program series that offered a variety of viewpoints. Among the first public affairs program series were regular broadcasts of *Meetings of the Foreign Policy Association*, which ran on National Broadcasting Company (NBC) Blue from November 1926 to 1940, *Meetings of the Government Club* (NBC, 1926 to 1930), and *Our Government*, a series hosted by journalist David Lawrence discussing the relationships between the federal government, business, and various professions (NBC, 1927 to 1933). In 1929, 227 officials of the U.S. Department of Agriculture gave more than 500 addresses on various issues concerning agricultural issues and policies on NBC stations.

Major Network Series

In the tightening grip of the Depression and the coming of the Roosevelt years, NBC broadcast two public affairs series focusing on economics: *The Economic World Today* (November 1932 to June 1933) and *Economics in a Changing World*

(October 1934 to March 1935). During the mid- to late 1930s, NBC broadcast a number of public affairs series explaining the roles of various New Deal programs such as the National Recovery Administration (1933), Federal Housing Administration (three series from 1934 to 1939), and the Social Security Act (1936 to 1940).

By the mid 1930s public affairs programs had become a regular part of network program schedules. Their primary format was either to present debates or discussions between experts on particular issues or to broadcast interviews of prominent individuals by journalists. While none expected nor achieved large audiences, the relatively small number of listeners were generally those with strong social and political ties, and thus of importance greater than their number. Among the most well known were the *University of Chicago Round Table*, broadcast on WMAQ, Chicago (1931 to 1933), and then on the NBC Red Network (1933 to 1955); *American Forum of the Air*, hosted by Theodore Granik on the Mutual and later NBC networks (1937 to 1956); and *America's Town Meeting of the Air*, hosted by George V. Denny on the NBC Blue/American Broadcasting Companies (ABC) network (1935 to 1956). All shared the format of a panel presenting various viewpoints on issues of the day to the audience. Based on the notion that somehow "scholarly objectivity" would remove any fear that the program could be controversial, *The University of Chicago Round Table* was aimed at an elite, educated audience (panelists were intellectuals, primarily college professors).

The real breakthrough program was *American Forum of the Air*. Sponsored by Gimbel's Department Store in New York, *American Forum* was initially hosted by store employee and law student Theodore Granik. His idea was to provide legal advice and a weekly discussion of legal issues over the air in a panel discussion format. When the program moved to WOR (Newark, New Jersey), Granik started to move the panel toward more controversial questions in a more adversarial format. Guests included members of Congress, Cabinet secretaries, journalists, and other prominent citizens. The topics discussed included the New Deal, labor unrest, civil rights isolationism, fascism and Communism. (It should be noted that no communists were ever allowed to speak on the program even when the subject was the nature of Communism itself.) The program was considered important enough to be printed verbatim in the Congressional Record, resulting in many floor debates initiated by the program. Fireworks erupted when a heated debate (virtually unknown in radio up to that point) broke out on the subject of prohibition, between New York Congressman Emmanuel Celler and Emma Boole of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. Boole charged members of Congress with being illegal drunkards, arguing that there were "underground passages" running directly from Washington speakeasies to congressional offices. The charges

caused a national uproar drawing widespread attention, and a large audience, to the program.

The best-remembered series of public affairs speeches were the Fireside Chats of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. The first of these, on the banking crisis, was broadcast 12 March 1933, just a few days after his inauguration. Speaking to an audience estimated at more than 60 million radio listeners, President Roosevelt explained banking practices, his reasons for instituting a "bank holiday," and a call for people to have confidence in the government's ability to carry out his plans. In 104 radio addresses between 1933 and 1936, Roosevelt drew large audiences and an array of support for his New Deal policies. The series lasted until 1944.

But it was in reaction to a neighbor who refused to listen to anything Roosevelt had to say that George V. Denny, Jr. created the best-known public affairs debate program: *America's Town Meeting of the Air*. For more than two decades, *Town Meeting* was the public affairs program of choice for millions of listeners. The program received more than 4,000 pieces of fan mail per week. More than 1,000 *Town Meeting* debate and discussion clubs were formed in libraries, churches, schools, community organizations, and local homes for people to gather, listen, and then continue the debate long into the night after a program was over. The National Women's Radio Committee named *Town Meeting* the best educational program in the country in 1936. High school students in New York City listened to the programs and then participated in similar classroom discussion the next day. In 1938 and 1939, listeners purchased more than 250,000 copies of program transcripts so that they could have a permanent record of what had been said.

Town Meeting's popularity stemmed largely from the range of program debate and the volatility of its format. From the beginning it hosted debates that easily led to heated argument. The initial broadcast on 30 May 1935 was "Which Way America—Communism, Fascism, Socialism or Democracy?" In other broadcasts, Eleanor Roosevelt debated Mrs. Eugene Meyer on the benefits of the New Deal, and Langston Hughes discussed "Let's Face the Race Question" (at a time when the voices of African-Americans were seldom heard). Other speakers included justices of the Supreme Court, Norman Thomas, William Randolph Hearst, Jr., Cabinet secretaries, members of Congress, leading educators, and noted authors. Whereas other programs eschewed contentious feedback from the audience, *Town Meeting* promoted it; audience condemnation and heckling of speakers was expected. In some programs, speakers came close to physical violence on the air.

An October 1931 talk by British playwright George Bernard Shaw on the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) created a major stir. The network had wanted Shaw to come to its London studios to give a talk on the current situation in Europe. Network management's elation at his appearance was

deflated when he focused the majority of his remarks on praising the Communist system in the Soviet Union: "Hello, all my friends in America! How are all you dear old boobs who have been telling one another for a month that I have gone dotty about Russia? . . . Russia has a laugh on us. She has us fooled, beaten, shamed, shown up, outpointed, and all but knocked out." A resulting widespread public outcry led CBS executives quickly to broadcast a rebuttal from a clergyman in order to counteract what they feared was Shaw's inference that the communist system was divinely favored.

Among the more notable public affairs programs of the 1940s were *Life Begins at 80* (on Mutual and ABC from 1948 to 1953), a discussion of world affairs by a group of senior citizens that was reportedly so frank in its discussions that programs had to be taped and edited before broadcast; *Juvenile Jury* (carried by Mutual and NBC from 1946 to 1953), a program featuring young people giving their perspectives on current issues of the day; and *Leave It to the Girls* (on Mutual, 1945 to 1949), which started as a discussion program featuring career women talking about problems submitted by their listeners, before becoming more comedic.

By the 1950s much of radio's major programming was migrating to television; public affairs programs either followed this trend or met their demise with the growing popularity of the new medium. In December 1950, CBS began a weekly series, *Hear It Now*, hosted by highly regarded correspondent Edward R. Murrow. The program was short-lived, moving to television in September 1951 as *See It Now*. Another radio program, *Meet the Press*, began in the late 1940s on NBC Radio and also moved to television in the 1950s. (It remains a Sunday morning fixture to this day.) The long-running *America's Town Meeting of the Air* left the air in 1956.

Many local stations continued to produce public affairs programs targeted at specific immigrant groups such as Poles, Basques, Japanese, Haitians, and Mexicans. Typical was the *Hellenic Radio Hour* hosted by Penelope Apostolides at stations around Washington, D.C., between 1950 and 1995. The program was a one-hour broadcast featuring news and discussion by and for the Greek community, as well as aspects of Greek culture.

Non-Commercial Programs

While public affairs radio was declining on commercial radio in the 1950s, a newer, more robust format was taking its place: listener-sponsored radio typified by the broadcasts from stations of the Pacifica Foundation, originally of Berkeley, California. Public affairs was one of the four primary areas of station programming. As Eleanor McKinney notes in *The Exacting Ear* (1966), Pacifica Radio's intention was to provide a program service different from that provided by commercial broadcasters, because "(w)e were all convinced that

the commercial notion of 'all us bright people in here broadcasting to all you sheep-like masses out there' was completely false."

McKinney cites Lewis Hill, Pacifica's founder, who held that the problem was how to provide listeners with truly provocative programming that addressed significant alternative viewpoints, analyses, and proposals for fixing the major problems of the day. "Radio which aims to do that," Hill argues, "must express what its practitioners believe to be real, good, beautiful and so forth, and what they believe is truly at stake in the assertion of such values." Hill went on to claim that "either some particular person makes up his mind about these things and learns to express them for himself, or we have no values or no significant expression of them."

A cross-section of Pacifica's programs published in 1966 shows that the public affairs commitment of the three stations in Berkeley, Los Angeles, and New York spanned a wide range: a 1953 broadcast of a talk on the "First Amendment: Core of Constitution" delivered before a congressional committee by legal scholar Alexander Meiklejohn; a 1958 hour-long interview with Ammon Hennacy, editor of the *Catholic Worker*, in which he discussed conscientious objection to war and the benefits of a decentralized state; the 1960 broadcast and subsequent documentary productions reporting on House Un-American Activities Committee hearings in San Francisco; a much requested interview by Irish poet and author Ella Young, discussing environmental issues; Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas discussing racial discrimination, on Independence Day 1962; a documentary, "Freedom Now!" produced from field recordings of blacks and whites during the racial struggles of Birmingham, Alabama, in 1963; and regularly scheduled series of commentaries by William Rusher, editor of the *National Review*, and noted author Ayn Rand. These outlets for a wide range of public affairs remain on the air to this day.

In the 1970s, several former staff and volunteers at the five Pacifica stations (Pacifica had added stations in Houston and Washington, D.C.) were among the first reporters and producers at National Public Radio (NPR). This non-commercial network has been producing two daily news programs (*Morning Edition* and *All Things Considered*) that regularly feature documentaries on a wide range of subjects, such as health care, poverty, environmental concerns, electoral campaign financing, war and peace, famine, and many other subjects.

While commercial radio largely abandoned its public affairs commitment in the wake of Reagan era deregulation, it remains a vital component of non-commercial and community stations around the country. Public affairs programming is one of the hallmarks of NPR. It provides three daily public affairs talk programs: *Talk of the Nation*, a national call-in program that runs for two hours Monday through Thursday afternoons; *Fresh Air*, a daily hour-long interview program that

focuses on the arts and culture, and the ways they are imbedded within current events; and *The Dianne Rehm Show*, a daily two-hour call-in program with many distinguished guests, offering listeners opportunities to hear and participate in lively, thoughtful dialogues on a variety of topics.

NPR also provides stations with three weekly public affairs programs. *Latino USA* and host Maria Hinojosa provide public radio audiences with information about the issues and events affecting the lives of the nation's growing and increasingly diverse Latino communities. News round-ups and acclaimed cultural segments promote cross-cultural understanding and develop a forum for Latino cultural and artistic expression. *Living on Earth*, which has won a number of awards, is hosted by Steve Curwood. The program explores the environment—what people are doing to it and what it's doing to us. In-depth coverage, features, interviews, and commentary examine how the environment affects medicine, politics, technology, economics, transportation, agriculture, and more. The third series, *The Merrow Report*, focuses on education, youth, and learning, hosted by John Merrow.

In 1983 a second public radio programming source, American Public Radio (since renamed Public Radio International or PRI), began operations from the Twin Cities of Minnesota. Its stated mission was "to develop distinctive radio programs and to diversify the public radio offerings available to American listeners. Among APR's first program offerings was a two-hour weekly talk, essay, interview, and listener call-in program, *Modern Times with Larry Josephson*. The program (first aired by local station KCRW in Santa Monica, California) was about the basic moral and philosophical questions posed by current issues such as abortion; Supreme Court decisions; the Joel Steinberg/Hedda Nussbaum tragedy (hosted by Susan Brownmiller); the atomic age (hosted by McGeorge Bundy); and the end of the Cold War (hosted by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.).

During the Persian Gulf War in 1990, APR carried a half-hour nightly program, *Gulf War: Special Edition*, consisting of reports from more than 20 BBC reporters in the Middle East, combined with CBC coverage. The series, modeled after the *Nightly Vietnam Report* of Pacifica's WBAI (New York), provided international perspectives on the war that were unavailable from any single producer or network.

In 1994 APR changed its name to Public Radio International to focus more of its efforts, in part, on globally relevant programming. *The World*, public radio's first global news program, was begun in 1996.

More recently PRI has provided public radio stations with daily public affairs programming from the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). Among the BBC offerings are *Newshour*, a 60-minute thrice daily program of news reporting, commentary, and analysis; *The World Today*, a 15-minute program that

looks into one international issue each day; and *Outlook*, a 25-minute magazine-style program on international issues. The weekly program *Dialogue* is produced by the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in association with Radio Smithsonian. This program focuses on topics of national, international, historical and cultural affairs.

Alternative Public Affairs Formats

There have also been efforts to broaden the ways in which stations reach out to their audiences to engage them in discussions and actions concerning issues of current interest. A brief experiment in an alternative form of public affairs radio was *America's Hour*, which ran on CBS from July to September 1935. Its aim was to "boost America" while decrying public dissatisfaction at the height of the Depression. The format was an hour-long melodrama on such issues as railroads, hospitals, mining, and aviation; the intent was to praise mutual management/worker relationships, denouncing "radicals who breed discontent." This program was also noteworthy as being the early breeding ground for radio dramatic actors of later prominence: Orson Welles, Joseph Cotten, Ray Collins, Betty Garde, and Agnes Moorehead.

Some of the more interesting public affairs programs were experiments in using the station to initiate dialogue within the community, with the station seen as a forum for the active engagement of various segments of the local community. Two of the earliest such efforts were produced at commercial FM stations. One of these was the work of Danny Schechter at WBCN-FM, Boston, between 1970 and 1977. WBCN was a major pioneer underground or progressive commercial music station in the country. Calling himself "The News Dissector," Schechter created a public affairs format to match the diverse interests of the station's listeners who, he believed, were interested in public affairs not slanted in the traditional way. Writing in *The More You Watch the Less You Know* (1997), Schechter says his approach was to dissect the news; that is, to

break it down into elements that explained what was going on, rather than just report the familiar surfaces. . . . [He] wanted to present news that looked at the world from the point of views of people who were trying to change it, rather than those who would keep it the way it was.

Schechter provided in-depth analyses and discussions of such issues as the anti-Vietnam movements, racism and apartheid in South Africa, and the needs and interests of workers in Boston-area manufacturing industries. He sought to bring a more inclusive format to public affairs programs by inviting community activists to participate in discussions of major issues of the day.

Wes "Scoop" Nisker produced public affairs programs in the same vein at KSAN, San Francisco, in the mid 1960s to mid 1970s. Nisker created person-on-the-street packages in which he incorporated a variety of voices, music, and sounds to create programs on subjects such as the annual Gay Pride Day parade, political campaigns, and sex and violence on television. Nisker concluded each broadcast by urging his listeners to become involved directly in the issues of the day, saying, "If you don't like the news you hear on the radio, go out and create some of your own."

Another experiment in engaging the community actively in public affairs was *The Drum* on WBUR, Boston. Begun in 1968 by a consortium composed of staff from WBUR, the Boston mayor's office, Action for Boston Community Development, and local commercial radio and television stations, *The Drum* was an effort to provide both a radio forum for public affairs discussions and a job training site for young adult members of Boston's minority communities. At the time, the only station that had programming targeted at minority communities in Boston signed off at sundown each day. To reach out to these segments of the population, *The Drum* provided a nightly program of news, music, and public affairs features (on issues such as health care, housing, employment, violence, drug abuse, and education) aimed at those communities. Program staff was composed primarily of young men and women recruited from the communities covered. The recruits were contracted to work for the program for a year, during which they were given rigorous training in news and public affairs reporting, writing and program production, announcing, publicity, and community outreach. At the completion of the training year, commercial radio and television stations provided them with jobs as a means of increasing minority staff presence and, for the stations, as a way to gain larger audiences in inner city communities.

Thus *The Drum* provided a model, demonstrating ways that local broadcasters could more closely cater to the needs and interests of under-represented communities in their areas while also expanding their audience base. *The Drum* project was terminated in August 1971. However, many former *Drum* trainees are still working in the broadcasting industries as on-air talent and station management.

The 1970s also saw the founding of radio stations produced by and for Native American communities. More than two dozen Native American stations now have their own national satellite network and have garnered a large audience in indigenous communities. On the reservations the stations produce public affairs news and cultural features of interest to the communities. The sole source of Indian news, these stations act as preservers of Native American languages and culture. They have become the new *eyapaha* (a Lakota word for "town crier"). Typical is station KBRW in Barrow, Alaska. The station's management considers its most important product to be

programs about Native American issues and interests, local and state news and discussions, broadcasts of local governmental meetings, personal messages, and public service announcements.

Among the longest running of public affairs commentary programs was *Uncommon Sense: The Radio News Essays of Charles Morgan*, which ran on KPFK, Los Angeles, from 1974 to 1991. This was a series of twice-weekly 15-minute essays on current events covering such topics as the power of the multinational oil companies (which Morgan decried as "The Dictatorship of the Petroletariat"), the Rockefeller-sponsored Trilateral Commission, political extremism, and the increasing disconnection between official news and politics and the growing underclass of people of color in south central and east Los Angeles. From the mid 1980s, Morgan added a listener call-in program, *Talk to Me*, that allowed listeners to respond to what he was saying on the air. *Talk to Me's* significance was that Morgan encouraged listeners to debate him and each other in a lively exchange of ideas. This was very different from the "question-the-expert/hang-up-for-the-answer" format that dominated talk radio.

Alternative Radio is a public affairs program service in Boulder, Colorado, that attempts to breach the near-monopoly of corporate control over commercial radio outlets. Founded in 1986 by producer David Barsamian, *Alternative Radio* provides lectures by and interviews with outstanding analysts (and individuals usually shunned by mainstream media sources) on a variety of topics. Barsamian offers the hour-long program free to stations and then sells copies of the programs to listeners. Among recent national program bestsellers are historian Howard Zinn on "The Use and Abuse of History," Vermont independent congressman Bernie Sanders on "Single Payer Health Care," and journalists Molly Ivins on "American Political Culture and Other Jokes" and Barbara Ehrenreich on "Trash Media: The Tabloidization of the News." Other regular speakers are Michael Parenti, Noam Chomsky, Ralph Nader, and Dr. Helen Caldicott.

The Women's International News Gathering Service (WINGS) is an all-woman independent radio production company that produces and distributes news and current affairs programs by and about women around the world. WINGS programs are used by non-commercial radio stations, women's studies, and individuals. Programs can be heard on local radio stations, on shortwave, on the internet, and on cassettes. The WINGS mailing list provides updates on stories and new information about women's media. Headquartered in Austin, Texas, WINGS collects programs and news stories to distribute to public radio stations around the country.

A more recent radio public affairs program with an alternative format is the daily *Democracy Now!* This is a national, listener-sponsored public radio and TV show, pioneering the largest community media collaboration in the country. The

program started in 1997 as the only daily election show in public broadcasting, and has since broadened its focus to national and international public issues. In 1998, *Democracy Now!* went to Nigeria, Africa's most populous country, to document the activities of U.S. oil companies in the Niger Delta. The program won the 1998 George Polk Award for the radio documentary "Drilling and Killing: Chevron and Nigeria's Military Dictatorship." In November 1999 *Democracy Now!* produced an eight-day series of special reports on the demonstrations against the World Trade Organization meetings in Seattle, Washington. Following these programs, in 2000 *Democracy Now!* pioneered a unique multi-media collaboration involving non-profit community radio, the internet, and satellite and cable television through the Free Speech TV satellite channel. This is the first radio public affairs program to utilize, and to engage, voices from around the world via converging communications technologies.

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See also All Things Considered; America's Town Meeting of the Air; Commentators; Controversial Issues; Documentary Programs; Editorializing; Educational Radio to 1967; Fairness

Doctrine; Fireside Chats; Fresh Air; Hear It Now; Hill, Lewis; Kaltenborn, H.V.; Morning Edition; Murrow, Edward R.; National Public Radio; Native American Radio; News; Pacifica Foundation; Politics and Radio; Public Radio International; Public Radio Since 1967; Public Service Radio; Talk of the Nation; Talk Radio

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Public Broadcasting Act of 1967

U.S. Legislation Creating a Support Mechanism for Public Broadcasting

The Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 was the first federal legislation that enabled Congressional support for a national public radio and television system for the American people. As a direct result of the Act signed into Law on 7 November, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting was created, and subsequently National Public Radio (NPR) and the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) were established as radio and television distribution networks, respectively.

Origins

Historians are fond of recalling that federal support of public radio in the United States was largely an afterthought. The impetus that led to the creation of the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 is rooted in efforts to gain public awareness and funding for what was then known as educational television. That

the Act was rewritten to explicitly include the medium of radio is a testament to the enormous commitment of a handful of radio enthusiasts.

Noncommercial educational radio frequencies were first set aside by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) in 1938 (for special high-frequency AM stations to broadcast to school classes) and in 1941 for the new FM service. When FM's frequency band shifted in 1945, the educational reservation was shifted as well. In each case, however, the building of stations to use the allocated frequencies was slow in coming. Educational institutions found it difficult to gather funds to put stations on the air and then sustain their on-going operation. Many of the educational radio stations that were built during the 1950s and 1960s failed to achieve the professional standards of their commercial counterparts, and hence the audiences for such outlets were relatively small. So little attention was being given to this "hidden medium" that radio

representatives had little influence in the power circles of Washington, D.C.

By contrast, the FCC had created noncommercial educational television channels in April of 1952. The medium of television had caught the public's imagination as an educational resource, although except for Ford Foundation grants its early funding picture was comparable to that of educational radio. Concerns about American education during the late 1950s led to the availability of limited monies to support educational television via the National Defense Education Act of 1958, but educational television advocates saw this modest infusion merely as an important first step. A major political offensive was launched by groups such as the National Association of Educational Broadcasters (NAEB) to take advantage of the pro-educational television campaign rhetoric of President John F. Kennedy. This effort reached fruition on 1 May 1962 when President Kennedy signed into law the Educational Television Facilities Act of 1962. The legislation authorized \$32 million over a five-year period to construct new stations or improve the coverage of existing stations. During this period the number of educational television stations nearly doubled.

A New Legislative Initiative

The passage of the Educational Television Act of 1962 not only generated new funding for the construction of educational television stations but also created a new awareness and support base in both houses of Congress. Representatives and senators alike who had been actively involved in the passage of the facilities legislation remained openly impressed with the promise of this new educational medium. One of the senators who had helped mount the charge for educational television funding in the 1950s was Lyndon B. Johnson. When Johnson became president of the United States after the Kennedy assassination, educational television appeared to fit well with his Great Society programs.

The Educational Television Stations (ETS) division of the NAEB held a conference on the long-range financing of educational television in December of 1964. That gathering, and the national survey of station needs associated with it, served as the launching pad for creating a blue ribbon commission to study the future of this important educational resource and to make recommendations to the president. Days after the conference concluded, C. Scott Fletcher of ETS had secured funding from the Carnegie Foundation to form the Carnegie Commission on Educational Television, to be chaired by Ralph Lowell. After a year of study, the Commission issued its report—*Public Television: A Program for Action*. President Johnson received and endorsed the recommendations and then called for legislation that would give life to the vision outlined. Educational broadcasters also applauded the report at a second funding conference held in March 1967 that was designed to encourage prompt

congressional action. That action came quickly, as Senate hearings on S. 1160 began 11 April 1967. But for advocates of educational radio, or public radio as it was now being called, the legislation had a definite weakness: there was no explicit provision for the radio medium. The proposed law circulating in both houses of Congress (S. 1160) was for a Public Television Act.

If there is a single individual who deserves credit for changing the course of this legislation it is Jerrold Sandler, executive director of NAEB's National Educational Radio (NER) division. Sandler was well aware of the ETS division's intention to play down the role of educational radio because of its uneven track record. Without fanfare, Sandler began a campaign to have public radio included in the language of the Act. Among his initiatives were a conference at the Johnson Foundation's Wingspread Center in Racine, Wisconsin, and the commissioning of a national fact-finding study to demonstrate that public radio was indeed alive and well. The resulting report, *The Hidden Medium: A Status Report on Educational Radio in the United States*, was distributed to Washington policy makers after the Senate and House bills had already been scheduled for hearings. But even at this late date, the report had a significant impact. Jerrold Sandler's impassioned testimony during the Senate hearings prompted Senator Griffin of Michigan to propose that the bill be broadened to include radio and the name of the forthcoming legislation be retitled the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967. In addition, the name of the oversight agency to be created by the Act was changed from the Corporation of Public Television to the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. Public radio had scored a major policy victory.

This landmark legislation became Section 396 of the Communications Act of 1934. Congress mandated the FCC to uphold the law that was designed to "encourage the growth and development of public radio and television broadcasting" in the United States. Yet with all its public-interest language and the creation of a new nonprofit organization to ensure that public radio and television would develop and prosper, the Act failed to provide the insulated long-range funding mechanism recommended in the Carnegie Commission report. That failure would consume the energies of the public broadcasting community for decades to come.

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See also Communications Act of 1934; Corporation for Public Broadcasting; Educational Radio to 1967; National Association of Educational Broadcasters; National Public Radio; Public Radio International; Public Radio Since 1967; Public Service Radio

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“Public Interest, Convenience or Necessity”

“Public interest, convenience or necessity” is perhaps the most significant phrase in the Communications Act of 1934. Through this durable but flexible set of words, first employed in the Radio Act of 1927, Congress guides (but also allows vital discretion to) the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), radio’s most important federal regulator. The agency must act in the public interest. In turn, the rules and policies it creates exist, in part, to prod radio licensees to serve the public interest.

Statutory Origins

The earliest federal radio statutes (the Wireless Ship Acts of 1910 and 1912) were short-lived, although the subsequent Radio Act of 1912 lasted for 15 years. Initially written primarily for maritime wireless telephony, these laws proved inadequate when radio expanded to include broadcasting. Courts ruled that the secretary of commerce (the major regulator under the early acts) lacked the discretion or flexibility to adopt new rules or regulations as radio changed. The secretary’s actions, courts said, were limited to the specifics of the Act. Broadcasting required new legislation.

After ignoring this problem for several years, Congress finally adopted the Radio Act of 1927. The new statute created a Federal Radio Commission (FRC) and charged it with keeping up with the rapidly changing field of radio. Unlike the secretary of commerce, the FRC could adopt rules and regulations with the force of law. Such discretion, however, required the statutory limitation that Congress provided by mandating that the FRC regulate radio in the “public interest, convenience or necessity.” When the Radio Act of 1927 was replaced by the Communications Act of 1934, Congress re-enacted the public interest standard.

The phrase was derived in part from earlier statutes regulating usage of scarce public resources such as public lands and establishing federal agencies to manage natural monopolies such as railways. By creating the FRC and the FCC and giving

them this general statutory charge, Congress could step back from the day-to-day details of regulating rapidly changing radio, but it could also always rein in those agencies by saying, formally and informally, that they had not acted in the public interest. In theory, courts could do the same, if it can be argued that an FCC action is not in the public interest. In practice, however, the Communications Act has granted the FCC wide and rarely challenged discretion. For seven decades, the FCC has justified various rules, regulations, and policies under the standard. As radio (and its social and business contexts) has changed, the FCC has repeatedly altered its understanding of what the public interest requires.

Who Determines the Public Interest?

It is not flippant to say that the public interest in radio is whatever a majority of FCC commissioners believe it to be at any given time. There are two limits to this statement, however. First, the FCC runs the risk of being overturned in court if it cannot justify a rule, regulation, or action as being in the public interest. Courts have historically been reluctant to make this finding, however. More often, they either rule that the FCC has not compiled an adequate record to support its decision—and give the FCC a second chance on remand—or conclude that the commission simply lacked statutory authority to act in the area. FCC actions, of course, must also comply with the Constitution, especially the First Amendment. On rare occasions, courts have ruled that an FCC policy thought to promote the public interest cannot stand because it violates the First Amendment.

Second, the FCC’s opinions on the public interest can be undone by Congress, the commission’s ultimate source of both budget and policy authority. If FCC rules, policies, or actions substantially distress Congress, legislators can seek to substitute their view of the public interest for the commission’s by simply overriding an FCC decision or amending the Communications Act. Such steps are rarely taken, however. It is more

common for Congress, through budgetary and oversight hearings, to telegraph warnings to the FCC about its expectations. The FCC usually heeds these warnings and rarely offends Congress even if commissioners believe an offending action to be in the public interest. A mid-2003 package of FCC decisions concerning media ownership sparked considerable congressional concern and disagreement, and an attempt in the Senate to roll back the rules to those existing before the FCC change. But House (and White House) support for the FCC action doomed the Senate initiative.

The FCC is typically a light-handed regulator of broadcasters. In many areas, the FCC leaves them great discretion as to how to fulfill general FCC mandates. Radio broadcasters, for example, must make “reasonable efforts” to provide “reasonable access” to their stations to candidates for federal elective office. In determining what is reasonable, the FCC expects radio broadcasters to consider what would best serve the public interest.

Public Interest Standard and Radio

In the early 1920s, attempts to regulate radio by the secretary of commerce collapsed as courts ruled that the secretary had limited authority to deal with broadcasting. When the Federal Radio Commission was formed in 1927, it had to deal with the consequences of this breakdown. There were more radio stations on the air than the technology of the day could handle, with resulting interference reducing service quality for all. The FRC had to clear the air and reduce the number of licensees.

Some urged that this be done on technical grounds alone, removing from the air stations that caused interference or could not maintain a reliable transmission schedule. Advocates of this approach often pointed to Section 29 of the Radio Act of 1927 prohibiting the FRC from censoring the uses of radio. This limitation, they argued, meant the FRC could not consider the content of the service a broadcaster was providing.

Others concluded, however, that the public interest standard compelled the FRC to consider content, despite the no-censorship clause. The FRC adopted this position and denied licenses and license renewal to radio broadcasters whose content was not at least generally in the public interest. The FRC ruled that the interests of the public, in good service as the commission defined it, were superior to the interests of broadcasters or advertisers. The public interest mandate led the FCC to regard broadcasters as “proxies” or “trustees” for the public. Reasoning that broadcasting was a scarce public resource and that there were more who wanted to broadcast than frequencies to accommodate them, the FCC developed the trusteeship model and assumed the ability to oversee and define the duties of the trustees—radio broadcasters.

The criteria for being a good trustee were not especially burdensome. Licensees were not to run stations solely to serve

their own interests or the interests of advertisers. They were not to air programs or hoaxes (such as Orson Welles’ 1938 *War of the Worlds* broadcast) that would scare or disrupt the community. They were not to carry programming, such as on-air diagnoses of disease and prescription of remedies, that might cause harm to others. In the very earliest days of the FRC, being a good trustee meant not playing recorded music, on the assumption that people who wanted to hear records could buy them—a public interest perspective the FRC quickly abandoned.

These programming policies eventually evolved into a general FCC expectation that every radio broadcaster would offer a “balanced” or “well-rounded” program service—a something-for-everyone-at-some-time approach that required every radio broadcaster to offer both paid and sustaining (unpaid) programs during the broadcast day that would be of some interest to everyone. These general expectations persisted until the 1960s when radio, as a result of the ascendance of TV, began to develop specialized formats serving narrowly targeted audiences. The FCC acquiesced in this specialization.

Overall FCC regulation of radio content switched from expecting balanced or well-rounded programming to anticipating that broadcasters would offer minimum amounts of non-commercial, non-entertainment programming and refrain from over-commercialization. Although there were never any specific FCC rules setting quantitative news and public affairs expectations, until the early 1980s radio broadcasters ran the risk of having license renewals designated for review by the full FCC if they failed to offer minimum amounts of news or public affairs shows (8 percent for AM, 6 percent for FM), or if they ran too many commercials. Under the public interest standard, the FCC also expected that radio broadcasters would regularly and formally, through surveys of community leaders and the general public, ascertain the problems, needs, and interests of their communities and use their findings to formulate non-commercial, non-entertainment programming.

For many years radio broadcasters were also required to comply with the Fairness Doctrine, another policy the FCC promulgated under the public interest standard. This doctrine imposed two obligations on broadcasters: to devote “reasonable” attention to the coverage of controversial issues of public importance in their community, and to provide a “reasonable opportunity” for opposing views on those issues to be heard. The doctrine was never codified in the Communications Act of 1934; rather, it was another example of a policy created by the FCC under the public interest standard.

Public Interest and the Marketplace

During the 1970s, winds of deregulation swept through the regulatory world, including the FCC. Under both Democratic (Carter) and Republican (Reagan) administrations, and in

many areas beyond communications (banking, transportation, etc.), the theory was advanced that marketplace forces, rather than regulation, should be relied upon whenever possible. Regulation, including regulation of radio, should be a last resort, used only when the marketplace produced clearly dysfunctional results. Public interest regulation traced its origins to New Deal responses to the Depression, the greatest marketplace collapse in U.S. history. Fifty years later, with a more robust, capitalistic economy in place, economists, industry leaders, and regulators argued that FCC behavioral regulations, such as the Fairness Doctrine and news programming guidelines, were no longer appropriate. The commission, it was argued, should only rarely substitute its assessment of the public interest for what consumers and the radio industry, responding to marketplace forces, wanted and chose to do.

By the 1980s the number of radio stations was also much greater than in the 1930s and 1940s when many FCC public interest regulations began. The few hundred AM stations of 1934 had grown into thousands of AM and FM stations. With so many more stations on the air, it was argued, members of the public could choose those fitting their own standards or preferences. Radio deregulation orders in 1981 and 1984 eliminated the FCC's expectations about minimal amounts of news and public affairs programs. The commission reasoned that stations should not be compelled to provide specific amounts of such content in the public interest if they did not want to do so and if consumers were uninterested in such content. Other radio stations or perhaps other media would step in and fulfill any need for news if stations decided to cut back. Similarly, the FCC dropped its limits on the amount of time stations could devote to airing commercials. A station running too many commercials would presumably suffer in the marketplace. That marketplace, rather than the FCC, would henceforth protect the public interest from over-commercialization. Finally, the FCC decided that the public interest no longer required broadcasters to formally ascertain the problems, needs, and interests of their communities on a regular basis. Broadcasters out of touch with their communities, it reasoned, would be held in check by marketplace forces, so the rules mandating ascertainment were dropped.

Three years later, again responding to marketplace-based theories of deregulation, the FCC dropped the Fairness Doctrine. It concluded that the doctrine might be counter-productive, as it could push broadcasters to play it safe in order to avoid Fairness Doctrine complaints. But more significantly, the commission believed that a multiplicity of voices in the electronic media marketplace of the late 1980s would, if deregulated, better serve the public's interest in receiving diverse and antagonistic information than regulation by the FCC. Some scholars and many radio industry leaders trace the

growth of highly opinionated talk radio in the 1990s to the elimination of the Fairness Doctrine, as the FCC no longer believed that it was contrary to the public interest for a broadcaster to be unfair or unbalanced in the treatment of public issues.

Regulation under the Public Interest Standard Today

At the start of the 21st century, little remains of the public interest regulation of radio as practiced during most of the 20th century. All radio broadcasters are expected by the FCC to offer some “issue responsive” programming, but the commission has almost never questioned broadcasters' interpretations of this vague standard. If licensees prepare and properly place in local public files quarterly “issues/programs” lists identifying at least five issues that have received treatment on the station during the previous quarter, the FCC assumes that the issue-responsive programming obligation has been met. It is considered contrary to the public interest to broadcast false information concerning a crime or catastrophe if it is foreseeable that the broadcast will cause “substantial public harm”—a prohibition aimed mostly at shock-jock hoaxes. The terms and conditions of station contests and promotions must be fully disclosed and, except in extraordinary circumstances, adhered to. Misleading the public about such contests is considered contrary to the public interest.

As the FCC reduced or eliminated its content- and/or conduct-related public interest rules, it sharpened some structural regulations rooted in the public interest standard. The goal has been to promote diversity of station ownership and employment, as a complement to marketplace based deregulation. If the commission is to rely on the marketplace, then that marketplace must be diverse and competitive. Although Congress, through the Telecommunications Act of 1996, eliminated a decades-old FCC public-interest-based cap on the number of radio stations a single owner could own and set off massive consolidation of radio ownership, the FCC adopted limits on the number of stations that could be owned by a single owner within markets. The commission rooted its limits in the theory that dominance of a market by a single voice was contrary to the public interest.

And, since the late 1960s, the FCC has attempted to promote diversity in the broadcast employment marketplace by adopting policies attempting to enhance the employment of minorities and women by broadcasters and the ownership of stations by members of ethnic groups. In the late 1990s, with national standards on equal employment opportunity, affirmative action, and “minority set-asides” shifting, courts questioned and in some instances overturned these FCC policies. Believing that ethnic and gender diversity in employment and station ownership was in the public interest, however, the

FCC adopted revised policies that it hoped would survive judicial scrutiny.

At the start of the 21st century, radio and TV broadcasting are in the process of converting from analog to digital transmission. Digital transmission may dramatically alter the services broadcasters can deliver. Digital radio broadcasting will surely continue to provide listeners with entertainment, information, and advertising. It may also permit additional services to piggyback onto the aural services broadcasters have provided since the 1920s. Digital radio, for example, may have a greater capacity to transmit emergency information than analog broadcasting. Public policy debates are likely to emerge about whether digital radio should have new and different public interest obligations beyond the minimal obligations currently imposed on analog radio. Public interest advocates are likely to argue for such regulations, whereas the radio industry will surely argue that continued reliance on competition and the marketplace is the course of action most in the public interest.

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See also Blue Book; Communications Act of 1934; Controversial Issues; Deregulation; Editorializing; Fairness Doctrine; Federal Communications Commission; Federal Radio Commission; Hoaxes on Radio; Telecommunications Act of 1996; United States Congress and Radio; United States Supreme Court and Radio; Wireless Acts of 1910 and 1912/ Radio Acts of 1912 and 1927

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Public Radio International

Although many people view National Public Radio (NPR) as synonymous with public radio broadcasting in the United States, its rival network, Public Radio International (PRI), actually distributes more programs to public radio stations.

PRI originated as American Public Radio Associates (APR), which grew out of concerns by large-market stations that NPR's control over programming distribution led it to favor its own programs over those produced by member stations. Several of these stations, including Minnesota Public Radio, New York's WNYC, Cincinnati's WGUC, San Francisco's KQED, and KUSC in Los Angeles, founded APR in January 1982. Minnesota Public Radio president William Kling chaired the new organization. From the outset, APR followed an explicitly entrepreneurial model of organization that was frequently at odds with NPR's slow-moving membership model. Whereas

NPR was governed by an elected board of station managers, APR operated under an independent board of directors. Whereas NPR developed and produced the majority of its programs, using staff and facilities subsidized by member stations, APR distributed already completed shows from stations and independent producers. Finally, NPR offered an entire program service for a single price to member stations, whereas APR provided individual programs to stations on an exclusive basis.

APR's initial program offering was *A Prairie Home Companion*, which Minnesota Public Radio had syndicated since 1980, after NPR president Frank Mankiewicz had rejected the program as "too parochial." *A Prairie Home Companion* skyrocketed in popularity, ranking second to NPR's *All Things Considered* as an audience (and station fundraising) draw. In

1983 APR incorporated itself as a fully independent organization. The following year, APR began to distribute *Monitorradio*, a news and public-affairs program produced by the *Christian Science Monitor*. In 1985 APR surpassed NPR as the largest supplier of cultural programs in public radio.

APR also benefited from changes in public radio funding in the mid-1980s. Beginning with fiscal year 1987, nearly all federal dollars went directly to stations. Public radio stations could then purchase programs from NPR or from other organizations and stations. By directing federal funds to stations instead of sending money to stations through NPR, local stations gained more control over programming and NPR was buffered from unstable federal funding.

Emboldened by the increase in direct funding, and claiming that NPR's distribution policies (which required member stations to purchase a full schedule rather than individual programs) posed a significant barrier to entry, APR threatened to bring an antitrust suit against NPR. In late 1987 NPR responded by "unbundling" its program service by offering groups of programs, rather than an entire schedule, to stations. However, APR offered producers higher fees, and popular programs such as *Fresh Air*, *Mountain Stage*, and *Whad'ya Know* began to jump from NPR to APR. NPR responded by further paring back its cultural programming in favor of news and public affairs.

Reflecting its global designs on public broadcasting, American Public Radio changed its name to Public Radio International (PRI) in July 1994. Two years later, PRI made its first venture into program production with *The World*, an ambitious news and public-affairs program designed to compete directly with *All Things Considered*. PRI also distributes the highly popular *Marketplace* financial program, a show that appeals to corporations as well as listeners: by the mid-1990s, *Marketplace* drew 4 percent of all corporate sponsorship money for public radio and brought in the highest sponsor income of any public radio program.

In 1997 PRI counted 591 affiliates; NPR had 635 member stations. The two networks had long been considered bitter rivals; therefore, many observers were stunned in late 1997 when NPR President Delano Lewis approached PRI president Steven Salyer to discuss the possibilities of merging the organizations, believing that a merger would attract more corporate sponsors to public radio, help position public radio against commercial competitors, and also allow public radio to act quickly on entrepreneurial ventures. The plan died quickly, however. Whereas NPR was controlled by stations, PRI was not interested in station representation. An NPR/PRI merger

also would have limited the number of opportunities for program distribution and would have reduced diversity. Yet given potential economies of scale and declining federal funding for public radio, such a union may someday prove irresistible. In the meantime, many public radio listeners remain understandably confused about the two services, and their relationship. At the time of writing, the two are totally separate program services for noncommercial radio stations, competing for corporate underwriting dollars.

PRI's leaders have stated that their service offers a competitive alternative to NPR, creating more diversity for the public radio system. Indeed, PRI has distributed many of public radio's outstanding programs throughout its history. Yet much of PRI's success stems from the fact that (unlike NPR) it primarily distributes completed programs, therefore avoiding the costs incurred through production. PRI's attempts at producing programs, such as *The World*, have proved to be highly problematic. Competition may lead to more pluralistic programming, yet competition has its pitfalls when applied to public goods and services. Critics have charged that PRI has focused on reaching upscale audiences from the outset, emphasizing classical music and business-oriented news and public affairs programming while relegating the less popular "conscience" items to NPR. More than any other organization, PRI has played an instrumental role in introducing marketplace economics into the public radio system. Although PRI's financial success is incontestable, its overall contribution to public radio remains subject to debate.

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See also *Fresh Air*; Keillor, Garrison; Kling, William; *Marketplace*; Minnesota Public Radio; National Public Radio; Public Affairs Programming; Public Radio Since 1967

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Public Radio Since 1967

Although educational radio had existed for 50 years—longer than commercial radio—a study published in 1967 aptly described it as “the hidden medium.” Commercial radio overwhelmed its noncommercial alternative on the AM band through the 1940s. Then, just when the reservation of 20 channels for noncommercial use on the new FM band gave educational radio a new start after World War II, the attention of educational broadcasters switched to television. Radio continued to languish.

The Beginning

A handful of professionally staffed educational stations served mostly rural areas of the country from state universities in 1967. New York City’s WNYC and Boston’s WGBH were urban exceptions and accounted for much of educational radio’s very limited total national listenership. The Pacifica Foundation radio stations in Berkeley, Los Angeles, and New York attracted more notoriety and more listeners than did most educational stations. Voices of political and social dissent, these stations stood somewhat apart from mainstream educational radio stations. They would continue that independent course as leaders of the “community” radio movement separate from, and sometimes in conflict with, the “public” radio discussed in this article.

When educational broadcasters organized to seek federal funding in the mid-1960s, they sought support only for television. Radio, they believed, had no future. Funding educational radio would divert precious resources from television. The clandestine efforts of a small band of maverick educational radio managers, however, quietly slipped the words “and radio” into President Johnson’s Public Television Act of 1967. Deputy Undersecretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Dean Costen added those crucial words as he drafted the legislation for the administration. Costen was an old friend and former employee of Ed Burrows, manager of the University of Michigan radio station, WUOM, and a friend of another former WUOM employee, Jerrold Sandler, the Washington lobbyist for educational radio. At the behest of Burrows, Michigan’s Senator Robert Griffin sealed radio’s victory by amending the name of the 1967 Public Television Act to “Public Broadcasting” and creating a Corporation for Public Broadcasting rather than a Corporation for Public Television. Thus began the modern history of educational—now called public—radio.

Required by law to create a national public radio system out of virtually nothing, the new Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) appointed as director of radio activities Al Hulsen, the manager of the university station at Amherst, Mas-

sachusetts, whose soft-spoken style belied a ferocious determination. Hulsen pursued a two-pronged strategy. He offered financial aid to noncommercial stations that reached minimal professional standards: maintaining a staff of at least three full-time members, broadcasting six days per week for 48 weeks a year, and providing a program service of cultural and informational programming aimed at the general public rather than student training, instructional, or religious programming. The minimum requirements were to increase gradually to five full-time staff and 18 hours a day operations for 365 days a year. Though hardly rigorous, these standards excluded all but 72 of the 400 noncommercial radio stations operating in 1969.

The second part of Hulsen’s strategy would create a national entity to produce, acquire, and distribute quality programming to those stations. For this part of the strategy, the weakness of the public radio stations proved advantageous. Whereas public television boasted a handful of relatively strong local stations with national programming ambitions that might be thwarted by a single strong national production center, no public radio station felt capable of producing a significant amount of national-quality programming. Moreover, its weakness and obscurity allowed public radio to avoid the scrutiny of the Nixon administration when it put an end to any dreams of a strong “fourth network” for public television. No one objected if the anemic public radio system created a single independent production and distribution entity that could give strong direction and a clear identity.

The argument for a national radio production center went beyond politics, however. Radio programming differed from television programming. Whether commercial or public, television built schedules of unrelated programs from a variety of producers. Contemporary radio stations, commercial or public, built their services around integrated *formats* rather than a series of programs, and such coherence would best be provided by a single production center. An initial planning board incorporated that production center in Washington, D.C. on 3 March 1970 as National Public Radio (NPR).

National Public Radio defined the national identity for public radio. Its initial board of directors, elected by and largely composed of station managers, in turn articulated that identity. Board member William Siemering of WBFO in Buffalo, New York, captured the spirit of the board deliberations and the anti-authoritarian political climate on college campuses in the late 1960s. His “National Public Radio Purposes” set out a series of expectations that significantly modified the formal, elitist quality of traditional educational radio and its model, Britain’s British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). To Siemering and his fellow board members, public radio should be an instrument of direct democracy. It would listen to the nation as

much as it would talk to it. Yes, public radio would pursue the highest standards of journalism. Yes, public radio would tap the academic resources of the nation as never before. Yes, public radio would preserve and foster the cultural life of the nation. All of this might have been expected of traditional educational broadcasting. *Public* radio, however, would also reflect the diversity of the nation, giving voice to the unheard, establishing dialogue among those who seldom speak with one another, and seeking wisdom in ordinary people as well as those with credentials. In Siemering's memorable phrase, public radio would "celebrate the human experience."

The chief celebrant would be Siemering himself. NPR's first president, Donald Quayle, hired Siemering as his program director and told him to bring into reality the ideals he had so eloquently enunciated. The implementation proved to be more difficult than the promises, all of which were expected to be realized in NPR's first program offering, *All Things Considered*, a 90-minute daily magazine that debuted at 5:00 P.M., Monday, 3 May 1971. As its title suggested, *All Things Considered* was intended to be something more than a "news" program. It would "contain some news," Siemering said, but *All Things Considered* would also reflect public radio's egalitarian values and a commitment to "quality" in a whole range of topics. Any subject might be considered, as long as it was approached in a considered manner. Quayle and the board intended *All Things Considered* to be public radio's *Sesame Street*, a defining program that would break into the public's consciousness and call attention to this newly defined medium of public radio. The program did indeed come to define public radio, but only slowly and incrementally over the course of the next decade. *All Things Considered* won its first Peabody Award in 1973 and its first Dupont Award in 1976.

All Things Considered contributed to the gradual growth in listenership for and awareness of public radio. The other strand of Hulsen's strategy, building and strengthening local stations, proved to be even more important. The incentive of federal money and the opportunity to bolster their image in their local communities by carrying *All Things Considered* caused universities and other local licensees throughout the country to upgrade their small stations to meet Hulsen's standards or, in many cases, to start new stations from scratch. Hulsen put particular emphasis and resources into upgrading several small college stations with virtually no listenership in the Los Angeles basin into significant enterprises. He focused on turning the Chicago Board of Education's instructional station into a large, powerful public station covering all of "Chicagoland" from the top of the John Hancock Building. He invested significant federal funds in several production centers, most notably Minnesota Public Radio (MPR), which burgeoned from a student radio station at St. John's College to two statewide networks and the largest locally based operation in public radio.

Listenership doubled in the five years after public radio audiences were first measured in 1973, from roughly 2 million listeners a week to a little more than 4 million in 1978. The largest part of that growth came from new and upgraded stations added to the system, and a smaller part came from increased listening to the initial core stations. Federal, state, and local taxes, primarily through state universities, provided more than 80 percent of the funding for these stations. Listeners provided only about 10 percent.

Public radio grew from almost nothing to something real in the 1970s. Nonetheless, it remained in the shadow of public television and found itself responding to the often troubling developments in the visual medium. Although hostile to all media, the administration of Richard Nixon was particularly unhappy about a television system created by Lyndon Johnson's Great Society, supported by tax money, and presumed to be liberal and hostile to Nixon and his policies. The administration was able to express its displeasure through its control of federal appropriations for public media, which the president vetoed in 1972. To strengthen itself politically, public television folded its lobbying activities into its programming organization, the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS), and recruited a politically influential board and board chairman to provide effective leadership.

Public radio might have responded with a parallel structure at NPR. Quayle objected, however, that political activities should be kept separate from an organization like NPR that produced programming, particularly news programming. As a result, public radio established a separate organization in 1973 to handle its lobbying activities, the Association of Public Radio Stations (APRS), with its own board of directors that consisted, as did the NPR board, primarily of elected station managers. The heads of the two largest local public radio organizations, Minnesota Public Radio and Wisconsin Public Radio, assumed the leadership of APRS, and NPR found itself facing a strong rival. William Kling of Minnesota and Ronald Bornstein of Wisconsin criticized the leadership of NPR. More fundamentally, they rejected the concept of a single national production center. They preferred the television model of program production by the larger stations in the system, the largest of which they happened to manage.

The rivalries within public radio weakened further its already weak position relative to public television, particularly when the two media fought one another over the division of CPB funds between radio and television. Television's victory in formulating CPB's 1975 budget forced the radio system to conclude that the division between NPR and APRS needed to end, and the two organizations merged. In reality, the merger in 1977 constituted a takeover of NPR by the APRS leadership, which vowed to give public radio the dynamism they felt it had heretofore lacked.

The Second Beginning

To provide that dynamism, the board of the “new” National Public Radio chose as president Frank Mankiewicz, son and nephew of Hollywood producers and writers Herman and Joseph. Mankiewicz was a lawyer and a reporter, and he had been press secretary to the late Senator Robert Kennedy and manager of George McGovern’s 1972 campaign for president. A showman, a journalist, a politician, and a natural promoter, Mankiewicz had all the qualities that might put public radio on the map. He would provide public radio with a second beginning.

Public radio made important strides in four areas during the Mankiewicz years, 1977–83.

Politics. Mankiewicz resolved the continuing conflict with public television over the division of CPB money by convincing Congress to earmark 25 percent of CPB funding for radio, leaving 75 percent for television, a more favorable division for radio than it had ever had—or even hoped for—in the past.

Visibility. Mankiewicz was everywhere. Suddenly national media paid attention to the hidden medium, in part because of Mankiewicz’s perseverance and in part because he gave them programs they could write about. NPR gained particular notoriety with its live broadcast of the Senate debate over the Panama Canal treaty and an exclusive call-in program from the White House with President Jimmy Carter. Public radio gained similar publicity for a radio adaptation of the movie hit *Star Wars*.

Programs. Less important in attracting attention, but ultimately far more important in attracting listeners, NPR in 1981 added a two-hour *Morning Edition* complement to its showcase afternoon program, *All Things Considered*. Morning, of course, is radio prime time, and Mankiewicz made public radio competitive where it mattered most, lifting listenership not only in the morning but throughout the day. The birth of *Morning Edition* brought with it a more basic change. With newsmagazines in the morning and the late afternoon, NPR became an around-the-clock news organization and moved firmly into coverage of breaking news. What had been perceived as an “alternative” medium focusing on the offbeat, the whimsical, the arts, ideas, and the lives and opinions of ordinary people in addition to carrying “some news,” *All Things Considered* joined *Morning Edition* in focusing more heavily on the news of the day as reported by a greatly expanded system of reporters, most notably the female trio of Nina Totenberg, Linda Wertheimer, and Cokie Roberts. Mankiewicz redefined “alternative” as doing what they other guy does but doing it better. “In depth” replaced “alternative” as public radio’s *raison d’être*.

Satellite Distribution. Congress agreed to fund satellite distribution systems for public radio and television in 1979. The radio satellite dramatically improved the technical quality

of public radio’s national programming. More important, it allowed multiple programs to be distributed at the same time and allowed live program origination from various places in the country other than Washington, D.C. Multiple origination points gave individual public radio stations the ability to send programming to the system without going through NPR in Washington. It made feasible a television model of multiple program producers, long advocated by Minnesota’s Kling, the principle architect of the new satellite system.

Though Bornstein and Kling had been largely responsible for his elevation to the NPR presidency, Frank Mankiewicz could not bring himself to accept a diluted role for NPR as leader and sole programmer for public radio nationally. He would not agree to Kling’s proposal that NPR fund, distribute, and promote a live weekly variety show that Minnesota Public Radio produced in St. Paul. Perhaps Kling never really expected—or even wanted—Mankiewicz to accept his proposal, for he used the rejection as a rationale to establish a second network in competition with NPR. American Public Radio (APR) would resemble PBS more than NPR. Like PBS, American Public Radio would not produce its own programs. Rather, it would schedule and promote national programs produced by individual stations, particularly those of Minnesota and four other founding stations that Kling brought into his enterprise: WNYC, New York; WGBH, Boston; KUSC, Los Angeles; and WGUC, Cincinnati. Bill Kling served as president of both American Public Radio and Minnesota Public Radio. Headquarters of the new network started in the MPR building before moving to an office building a few blocks away in downtown St. Paul. Ultimately, American Public Radio signaled its independence from its parent by moving out of St. Paul—all the way to Minneapolis. In 1995 APR changed its name to Public Radio International.

APR burst on the public radio scene in 1980 with the St. Paul-based variety show *A Prairie Home Companion*. Veteran MPR announcer and freelance writer Garrison Keillor hosted the show in an intimate style that conveyed listeners to the mythical town of Lake Wobegon, Minnesota, “where all the women are strong, all the men are good looking, and all the children above average.” In addition to the News from Lake Wobegon, *A Prairie Home Companion* included a wide range of musical styles, skits, and commercial parodies. When it declined to fund and distribute the program, NPR had claimed that *A Prairie Home Companion* was too regional, but listeners across the country proved otherwise as they turned on their radios Saturday evenings to enjoy the latest from Lake Wobegon.

Beginning national distribution less than a year after the launch of *Morning Edition* by NPR, *A Prairie Home Companion* joined it and *All Things Considered* as the three programs that defined public radio and drew listeners to it. Garrison Keillor became public radio’s most recognized personality, his

face reaching the cover of *Time* magazine in 1985. *Morning Edition* and *A Prairie Home Companion*, plus continued growth in the number of public radio stations, caused public radio's audience to double again, to over 8 million by 1983.

The best of times turned into the worst of times in 1983. The 25 percent budget cuts imposed on public broadcasting by Ronald Reagan launched the crisis, but Frank Mankiewicz's reaction to the cuts almost turned it fatal. In every crisis lies an opportunity, and Bill Kling saw the impending budget cuts at public radio stations as a chance for APR to sell those stations large quantities of low-cost, high-quality programming that would allow stations to reduce staffs and costs. Not willing to let Kling steal this market, Mankiewicz responded with an even better package at an even lower cost—so low, in fact, that it could not support itself. Kling wisely ended his project. Mankiewicz went full speed ahead with his, as part of a burgeoning concept of entrepreneurial activities that would allow NPR to “get off the federal fix by '86.” Whatever federal money Reagan continued to provide should go to support the stations, Mankiewicz said. NPR would support itself by selling programs to stations and selling a wide variety of services to business partners.

Whatever the merits of these projects in the long run, they required substantial cash investments in the short run, and the need for those investments came in the same year that NPR's federal support, which made up most of its budget, dropped by 25 percent. In March 1982 NPR staff realized they would run a \$3 million deficit in that fiscal year. Despite drastic cuts imposed by the NPR board, the deficit projection doubled to \$6 million a month later, and to \$9 million by June: NPR was insolvent. Mankiewicz, other senior officials, and about a quarter of NPR's 500 employees lost their jobs, and the same Ron Bornstein from Wisconsin who had been instrumental in placing Mankiewicz in the NPR presidency took over as interim president. Bornstein arranged a series of loans from the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. NPR's member stations guaranteed repayment of the loans, and NPR continued to operate.

The Third Beginning

The public radio system that emerged from the NPR crisis looked quite different from the system that went into it. Though NPR was still the most important single organization, individual stations asserted their independence and leadership. The stations, after all, had deposed Mankiewicz and guaranteed the loans that saved NPR. Their responsibility for NPR became permanent in 1985, when they and CPB agreed that federal money that had formerly gone directly to NPR would now go to the stations, who would purchase programs from NPR, APR, or other sources. The larger stations in the system banded together as the Station Resources Group (SRG),

expressly designed to exert leadership within the system in place of NPR. The SRG contended that the public radio system brought into existence by federal money through the Corporation for Public Broadcasting should no longer look to government as its primary source of funding. Public radio's future rested not with government support, but with the ability of public radio to raise private funds from corporations, foundations, and, above all, directly from listeners. Reagan's 25 percent cut in federal support, and the anti-government, free-market philosophy it represented, suggested to these stations that government funding was less certain than private money. Moreover, some of them, most particularly Bill Kling of Minnesota, concluded that private funding was preferable to government funding and set out aggressively to seek “underwriting,” the euphemism for soft advertising, listener memberships, and major gifts. Again led by Kling, the station managers of the SRG decided that the academic institutions and state and local governments that held the licenses to most public radio stations hampered the new entrepreneurial spirit. Some actually separated from their institutional licensees to become freestanding, not-for-profit corporations; others found ways to operate more independently within their institutional structures.

The results of these efforts were dramatic. By 1998, public radio was a half billion dollar-a-year industry, with the private sector providing more than half of its income. Listeners provided 30 percent of public radio's revenue; business 17 percent; and foundations 10 percent. Only 13 percent came from the federal government, and state and local governments generated 30 percent, primarily through the budgets of state universities. By 1998, public radio was reaching more than 20 million listeners each week, ten times its 1973 listenership.

The ability of public radio to raise money through memberships and underwriting depended directly on its ability to attract, hold, and satisfy listeners. Even those most committed to the more traditional mission of public radio recognized that they fulfilled their mission best when their programs reached the most people. Hence, public radio's priorities after 1983 emphasized audience growth through research. The strategy developed by a national Audience Building Task Force in 1986 set the tone for much of the subsequent development of public radio. Recognizing that most public radio listeners listened to commercial radio more than they listened to public radio, the task force determined that the most direct way to increase public radio listening was to get current listeners to spend more time with public radio and to attract more people like the current listeners. Rather than increasing the diversity of programs in order to appeal to more people, the most successful public radio stations focused on programs that appealed most to existing listeners.

Stations set out to eliminate those program elements that they believed caused listeners to tune away to other stations.

Out went some of the more esoteric and self-indulgent offerings. A similar fate awaited programs too blatantly academic in tone. The hour or two a week of programs aimed at targeted groups turned off those who were not members of those groups; these programs disappeared from most stations. Music in general assumed a reduced role, replaced by news and information, the primary appeal of public radio. The music that remained tended to be confined to classical and jazz, and particularly to the more mainstream selections within those genres. Any hopes for a revival of radio drama evaporated in the quest for consistent appeal.

To replace programming that no longer fit, NPR added programs with qualities that echoed the appeal of *Morning Edition* and *All Things Considered*—programs such as *Weekend Edition*, *Fresh Air*, and *Talk of the Nation*. Public Radio International offered *Marketplace*, a daily news program focused on economics that was created by two former producers of *All Things Considered* and that appealed to NPR news listeners. Nonetheless, the biggest public radio “hit” of the 1990s turned out to be a quirky program that followed no known formula. *Car Talk*, a less-than-serious advice program, became the most listened to hour on public radio. It was like no other public radio program, yet it appealed to most of the same people who liked *Morning Edition*, *All Things Considered*, and *A Prairie Home Companion*. It gave them yet another reason to spend more time with public radio.

Research in the late 1980s demonstrated the wisdom of such a strategy as public radio sought to raise money from listeners. The research found that the propensity to make donations related directly to the loyalty of listeners to the station. Those who spent the most time with public radio were the most likely to give. Those who tuned in only occasionally were less likely to give. Survival and growth, then, depended on each public radio station’s becoming extremely important in the lives of some people rather than marginally important to many people. Whereas Siemering’s philosophy urged public radio to bring together people of all backgrounds, races, regions, ages, and educational levels, the new imperative suggested focusing on a particular subset of the potential audience.

A subsequent study called *Audience 88* identified the people most attracted to public radio programming. It identified educational attainment as the primary predictor of an interest in public radio programming—not surprising, perhaps, for a medium that began in universities as “educational” radio. The more years of education an individual had, the more likely he or she would be to listen to public radio. A substantial part of the audience had earned advanced graduate and professional degrees. Since education correlates directly with income, well-educated public radio listeners tended to be very comfortable financially, but education level, not wealth or social class, predicted loyalty to public radio. Indeed, the most likely of all to love public radio was the individual with

a lot of education and a more modest income, the teacher rather than the doctor, the social worker rather than the investment banker. The ultimate public radio listener turned out to be the Ph.D. who drives a cab. In the values and lifestyle terminology of the time, public radio listeners came largely from the psychographic group called “Inner Directed and Societally Conscious.”

Public radio had by the end of the 1980s identified its audience and committed itself to serving that audience well, much as commercial media identify target audiences and attempt to give them what they want. Unlike commercial radio, however, public radio formulated its mission and values initially without consideration of an intended audience. It produced programs that reflected the democratic purposes enunciated by Bill Siemering in 1970. It produced programs that sought to be thoughtful, fair, open-minded, and in-depth; programs of substance, not hype; programs that represented the best traditions of the universities that gave birth to public radio, but in an accessible, non-academic style. It produced programs driven not by commercial values but by the desire to “celebrate the human experience.”

Listeners who heard this programming, and liked it, self-selected. They chose to listen to programs that resonated with them. This self-selection happened before public radio professionals learned—or cared—who these people were. When public radio decided its life depended on keeping, pleasing, and deepening the loyalty of those listeners, the most effective strategy was clear: public radio needed to commit itself ever more firmly to the original values that attracted those listeners in the first place. Public radio gives its target listeners what they want when it presents programs that reflect the initial academic values of universities, a commitment to depth and quality, and Bill Siemering’s faith in the intelligence and openness of ordinary people.

JACK MITCHELL

See also All Things Considered; Car Talk; Community Radio; Corporation for Public Broadcasting; Earplay; Educational Radio to 1967; Edwards, Bob; Fresh Air; Keillor, Garrison; Kling, William; Mankiewicz, Frank; Minnesota Public Radio; Morning Edition; National Public Radio; Pacifica Foundation; Prairie Home Companion; Public Affairs Programming; Public Broadcasting Act; Public Radio International; Public Service Radio; Siemering, William; Simon, Scott; Soundprint; Stamberg, Susan; Star Wars; This American Life; Totenberg, Nina; Wertheimer, Linda; WHA and Wisconsin Public Radio

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Public Service Radio

Public service radio has its roots in Great Britain and is based upon civic principles that envision radio broadcasting as contributing to the betterment of society and the promotion of democratic ideals. The concept of public service radio values public welfare and social good over competitive market forces.

Origins

Public service radio is based on the principles of universality of service, diversity of programming, provision for minority audiences and the disadvantaged, support of an informed electorate, and cultural and educational enrichment. The concept was conceived and fostered within an overarching ideal of cultural and intellectual enlightenment of society. The roots of public service radio are generally traced to documents prepared in support of the establishment of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) by Royal Charter on 1 January 1927. As public trustee, the BBC was to emphasize serious, educational, and cultural programming that would elevate the level of intellectual and aesthetic tastes of its audience. In turn the BBC would be insulated from both political and commercial influence. Therefore, the corporation was a creation of the crown rather than parliament, and funding to support the venture was determined to be derived from license fees on radio (and later television) receivers rather than advertising. Under the skillful leadership of the BBC's first director general, John Reith, this

institution of public service radio embarked on an ethical mission of high moral responsibility to utilize the electromagnetic spectrum—a scarce public resource—to enhance the quality of life of all British citizens. Critical inspection of the performance record of public service radio in England since the 1930s would suggest that although there has been a consistent effort to adhere to this lofty idealism, actual practice has never been totally exempt from the political and economic imperatives of modern society. However, in contrast to the performance of the profit-driven commercial radio stations of the United States and elsewhere, the BBC has been repeatedly singled out as a standard bearer of some of the highest quality radio programming available anywhere in the world.

Development of Principles

The notions underlying public service radio undoubtedly grew out of the belief that since the airwaves are an invaluable public resource, the use of this resource must always be driven by a sense of ethical purpose. The medium of radio was seen as being especially well suited to the exploration of society's educational and cultural potential. Fundamental to John Reith's philosophy was a commitment to universality—the idea that services of radio should be made available to the greatest number of citizens possible, thereby elevating the quality of life of an entire society. In defiance of basic capitalistic principles,

Reith saw the radio audience as a set of people needing to be served and uplifted rather than exploited for financial gain. Instead of seeking the largest audiences possible in order to maximize profits, public service radio was supposed to awaken tastes in serious literature, challenge an awareness of the human condition, and stretch the minds of listeners to explore new cultural horizons.

Critics of the principle of universality as applied to public service radio argue that broadcasting the highest quality programming available is of little value if no one is listening. Advocates of public service radio maintain that quality programming is not necessarily dull or boring. Indeed, one of the principles of public service radio is that it offers a wide range of program fare, including entertainment. A commitment to being comprehensive in its approach to diverse service suggests that, within the range of programming offered listeners during a typical broadcast day, some segments do entertain as well as educate and inform. The original conception of multiple services (e.g., Radio 1, Radio 2, and Radio 3), was to offer a range of choices simultaneously that were, by design, distinctively different, as opposed to the virtually identical commercial programs that were all vying for the same mass audience.

Of concern to the original founders of public service radio was that news and public affairs programs would be free from any partisan influence, whether from government or the commercial marketplace. The insulation of revenue from the direct control of any agency that could bias the programming content was seen as a fundamental principle for assuring that the radio service would truly be in service to the entire citizenry. However, as suggested above, this ideal has always existed more in theory than practice.

Global Growth

Within the governance of national authorities, public service radio was recreated across Western European democracies and beyond in various forms. At the core of each was a commitment to operating radio services in the public good. The principal paradigm adopted to accomplish this mission was the establishment of a state-owned broadcasting system that either functioned as a monopoly or at least as the dominant broadcasting institution. Funding came in the form of license fees, taxes, or similar noncommercial options. Examples of these organizations include the Netherlands Broadcasting Foundation, Danish Broadcasting Corporation, Radiodiffusion Télévision Française, Swedish Television Company, Radiotelevisione Italiana, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, and Australian Broadcasting Corporation. While the ideals on which these and other systems were based suggested services that were characterized by universality and diversity, there were notable violations to these ideals, especially in Germany, France, and Italy. In some cases the state-owned broadcasting

system became the political mouthpiece for whomever was in power. Such abuse of the broadcasting institutions' mandate made public service broadcasting the subject of frequent political debates.

Contemporary accounts of public service radio worldwide often include the United States' National Public Radio (NPR) and Public Radio International (PRI) as American examples. However, unlike the British model which was adopted across Europe, the U.S. system came into being as an alternative to the commercially financed and market driven system that has dominated U.S. broadcasting from its inception. Whereas 1927 marked the beginning of public service radio in Britain, the United States Radio Act of 1927 created the communication policy framework that enabled advertiser-supported radio to flourish. Language contained within this act explicitly mandated radio stations to operate "in the public interest, convenience, or necessity," but the public service ideals of raising the educational and cultural standards of the citizenry were marginalized in favor of capitalistic incentives. When the Radio Act was replaced by the Communications Act of 1934, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) recommended to Congress that "no fixed percentages of radio broadcast facilities be allocated by statute to particular types or kinds of non-profit radio programs or to persons identified with particular types or kinds of non-profit activities." It was not until 1938 that the FCC created an experimental license for "noncommercial educational" radio stations. In 1941 the commission reserved some of the new FM channels for non-commercial licenses. But even though these stations were envisioned to be the United States' answer to the ideals of public service radio, the government's failure to provide any funding mechanism for noncommercial educational stations for decades resulted in a weak and undernourished broadcasting service. Educational radio in the United States was referred to as the "hidden medium." Until passage of the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967, there was no formal government-supported mechanism for ensuring that public (service) radio could develop into a viable national communications medium.

Growing Criticism

During the 1970s and 1980s, public service broadcasting worldwide came under attack, as the underlying principles on which it was based were called into question. Much of the dissatisfaction came as a response to public service radio's television counterpart. The arrival of new modes of television delivery (cable television, satellites, video cassettes) had created new means of access to broadcast services and thus changed the public's perception about the importance and even legitimacy of a broadcasting service founded on the principle of spectrum scarcity. From an ideological perspective, conservative critics were raising questions about the very notion of a

public culture and about public service broadcasting as a closed, elitist, inbred, white male institution. Movement toward a global economy was having an ever increasing impact on the way policy-makers saw the products of radio and television. The free market viability of some educational and cultural programming as successful commercial commodities seemed to support the arguments of critics that public service broadcasting on reserved channels was no longer justified.

Deregulation of communication industries was a necessary prerequisite to the breakdown of international trade barriers, and the shift toward increased privatization brought new players into what had been a closed system. The growing appeal of economic directives derived from consumer preferences favored the substitution of the U.S. market forces model for the long-standing public trustee model that had been the backbone of public service radio. Adding to this appeal was the growing realization that program production and distribution costs would continue to mount within an economic climate of flat or decreasing public funding.

By the early 1990s, the groundswell of political and public dissatisfaction with the privileged position of public service broadcasting entities worldwide had reached major proportions. Studies were revealing bureaucratic bungling, cost overruns, and the misuse of funds. One commission after another was recommending at least the partial dismantling or reorganization of existing institutions. New measures of accountability demanded more than idealistic rhetoric, and telecommunication policymakers were turning a deaf ear to public service broadcasting advocates.

Prospects for the Future

Communication scholars in the U.S. who had been reticent on these issues began to mount an intellectual counterattack based largely on the experiences of public broadcasting in the United States. Critiques of U.S. communications policy underscored concerns about the evils of commercialization and the open marketplace. Studies pointed to the loss of minority voices, a steady decline in programs for segmented populations, and a demystification of the illusion of unlimited program choices introduced by the new communications delivery systems. Content analyses revealed program duplication, not diversity, and the question of just how far commercial broadcasters would venture away from the well-proven formulas and formats was getting public attention.

A concerned electorate was beginning to ask whether the wide-scale transformation of telecommunications was not without considerable risk, and whether turning over the electronic sources of culture, education, and political discourse to the ever-shifting forces of the commercial marketplace might have profound negative consequences. Many of the studies that expressed concern about the ever-accelerating growth of

market forces pragmatism at the expense of public trust idealism were drawing their interpretive power from theoretical writings about the vital importance of the public sphere to the future of democracy worldwide. The central argument advanced was that within contemporary society individuals pursue their own private self-interests, whereas it is within the public sphere that individuals function in their role as citizens. Public service radio and television were characterized as being essential to the preservation of the public sphere.

By the end of the 20th century, the environment of electronic communications was in a state of flux as newer technologies vied for a piece of a quickly expanding and constantly evolving marketplace. Both commercial and public service radio stations were adding audio streaming on the worldwide web to their traditional modes of distribution. Public service radio institutions were reassessing their missions and were building new alliances with book publishers, computer software manufacturers, and commercial production houses. In the United States, public radio stations were experimenting with enhanced underwriting messages that were sounding more and more like conventional advertising. The relative success of these and other new ventures worldwide was still unknown. Whether public service radio would survive the enormous media transformation that was taking place around the globe had become a frequent topic of both academic and political debate.

ROBERT K. AVERY

See also Africa; Arab World Radio; Australia; British Broadcasting Corporation; Canadian Broadcasting Corporation; European Broadcasting Union; France; Germany; India; Ireland; Israel; Italy; Japan; National Public Radio; Netherlands; Public Affairs Programming; Public Radio International; Public Radio Since 1967; Reith, John C.W.; Scandinavia

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Pulse, Inc., The Audience Research Firm

The Pulse, Inc., provided audience research reports for up to 250 markets from 1941 to 1976. Throughout its history, the company was associated with its founder, Dr. Sydney Roslow.

Origins

In 1940 and 1941 Roslow worked as a psychologist for the Psychological Corporation, a company composed of academic psychologists. In 1939 the corporation had experimented with a roster personal interview technique in an audience study commissioned by station WBEM (Buffalo, New York).

Encouraged by noted social scientist Paul Lazarsfeld, Roslow published the first official *New York Pulse* for October/November 1941. Stations WABC, WEAJ, WNEW, and WOR, as well as advertising agency N.W. Ayer, were subscribers to the report, which summarized interviews with 300 respondents per day (2,100 per week). Equal numbers of respondents were assigned to each of the three dayparts included in the report.

World War II slowed the young company. As Roslow went into government service during the war (in the Department of Agriculture in Washington, D.C.), his wife carried on the business. Two large studies were conducted for WCAU (Philadelphia) in 1944 and 1945. Shortly after the war, Pulse added surveys in Boston, Chicago, Cincinnati, Ohio, and Richmond, Virginia. Eventually Pulse became the dominant local radio audience research supplier. By early 1963 Roslow reported that Pulse was publishing reports on 250 markets. Its clients included 150 advertising agencies and 650 radio stations.

At the peak of its popularity, Pulse referred to its research method as "personal house-to-house interviews":

The emphasis in this survey is that the interview is made at the home. . . . The roster as used in PULSE surveys is a schedule of radio stations and programs by day-part

periods. . . . After the introduction the interviewer is instructed to elicit from the respondents an estimate of when they listened to the radio as the first step. To obtain this information, the interviewer tries to proceed hour by hour through the day, beginning with the time the respondent gets up. Then, the respondents are invited to look at the roster and report their listening.

Pulse respondents reported listening at home and away from home, a unique feature of its audience reports during the company's heyday. Listening preferences, demographics, and other measures were also collected.

The sampling procedure for the Pulse surveys was a sample of "sampling points" (geographical locations distributed at random through the survey areas of the market being studied). This process may be clearer by reviewing the particulars from the October–December 1973 Pulse survey of Atlanta, Georgia. According to the report, Metromail (a market research firm under contract to Pulse) selected at random the addresses of telephone households from the counties surveyed. Each of these addresses became the center of an interviewing "cluster" of approximately 15 interviews. In all, the data for Atlanta came from 146 sampling points, with 2,791 persons interviewed (19 persons per sampling point). As the survey period was 7 October through 28 December 1973 (82 days), it can be seen that the survey could have involved as few as two interviewers, each interviewing persons at one sampling point per day.

The counties surveyed were divided into two parts: the central zone, representing the counties where market radio stations delivered stronger signals; and a larger area, the radio station area, where Atlanta stations were not as dominant and listeners lived farther from the business areas of Atlanta.

In most other respects, the Pulse reports present data similar to that in contemporary radio market reports: listening esti-

mates, cumulative estimates, daypart estimates, in-home and out-of-home estimates, etc. Special sampling provisions were instituted for Hispanic and African-American listeners.

Decline

During the 1970s Pulse was gradually supplanted by Arbitron (formerly the American Research Bureau [ARB]) as the dominant radio audience research company. According to Beville (1988), Roslow attributed this trend to several factors. One was the acceptance by advertising agencies of the diary technique for the measurement of television audiences. It was only a small step further to consider personal diary technique (the Arbitron method) acceptable for measuring radio audiences.

A second factor in Roslow's view was that radio advertising was not profitable enough for agencies to buy more than one audience measurement service; that is, they could not afford to buy reports from both Arbitron and Pulse. A third factor was the technology of the Arbitron parent company at the time, Control Data Corporation (CDC). CDC's large computers could produce more elaborate reports in shorter periods of time and sooner after completion of data collection than the computers available to Pulse.

Another factor in Pulse's loss of business may have been the broadcast industry's All-Radio Methodology Study (ARMS) of 1965. This survey compared the various techniques for collecting radio listening data. ARMS gave the Pulse technique good marks but also provided validation of the personal diary method used by ARB (later Arbitron). In addition, the ARB methods included larger survey areas, making it possible for stations to justify advertising sales on the strength of larger areas included within the surveys of their markets.

During this downward trend in Pulse's business, a number of management changes were also taking place. In 1975, Roslow (who had remained the company's sole owner) retired and moved to Florida after appointing his son Richard president. The following year, two other long-time key officers of the company departed: Laurence Roslow, Sydney's nephew, who had directed all research operations; and sales manager

George Sternberg (Sydney's brother-in-law). Left to manage the company, Richard Roslow and his younger brother Peter failed to reverse its fortunes, and in April 1978, Pulse, Inc., closed its doors.

There will always be a lingering nostalgia for Pulse reports among radio managers who remember them, as no other radio audience research methods interviewed listeners face to face. Radio and sales managers had come to feel that this feature alone justified their confidence in the service, as they valued face to face contacts very highly. In addition, the disappearance of Pulse meant that future ratings services for radio had much higher overhead expenses, involving not only huge computers but centralized calling centers and large numbers of workers to collect the necessary data. Prices for rating services inevitably edged upward as well.

JAMES E. FLETCHER

See also Arbitron; Audience Research Methods; Lazarsfeld, Paul F.

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Pyne, Joe 1925–1970

U.S. Talk Show Host

In the 1960s, Joe Pyne pioneered the “controversial” talk show format, first on radio and then on television, in which political and economic discussion became a vehicle for entertainment. He was combative with guests, using sharp barbs to insult them and at the same time to please his audience.

Pyne was born in Chester, Pennsylvania, in 1925. A Marine during World War II, he won three battle stars while fighting in the Pacific, and he lost his left leg. After the war, Pyne’s broadcasting career began in Chester, at WVCH, in 1948. A year later he hosted a call-in radio talk show, “It’s Your Nickel,” at WILM in Wilmington, Delaware. He later worked at seven different radio stations in the United States and Canada, including WDEL-TV in Wilmington, before eventually moving to Los Angeles in 1957 to work in radio and television, including KLAC-TV.

As the public became increasingly concerned about the direction the country was headed, listeners wanted not only to hear those and other issues discussed, but also to express their own thoughts on them. Controversy surrounding the conclusions reached in the Warren Commission’s 1964 report on the assassination of President Kennedy, as well as the growth of three political movements—the Berkeley Free Speech Movement, opposition to the Vietnam War, and the American civil rights struggle—all provided issues of concern to radio listeners in the mid-1960s. With the telephone, two-way radio was possible, and listeners developed loyalties to radio talk show hosts who reflected their own opinions and viewpoints.

As political and economic issues increasingly seemed to divide Americans, Pyne’s style of confrontation with guests, in which he baited and insulted them rather than engaging in intellectual discussion, grew to be extremely popular with audiences. He routinely invited, and then lambasted, guests who held extreme positions, such as black Muslims, American Nazis, and Ku Klux Klansmen. Sometimes the guests self-destructed under intense questioning and ridicule by Pyne, as was the case on one program with a self-described religious bishop who admitted to having had sexual affairs, or on another show when the advocate of the free distribution of the drug LSD revealed he had once spent time confined in a mental institution.

Pyne seemed to relish shocking his guests with his rude behavior, and the more he displayed bad manners, the more his audience seemed to enjoy his performance. Pyne occasionally used airtime to advocate extreme political policies, including bombing Communist China and sentencing those who smoked marijuana to life in prison. Vietnam War protesters were called “peace creeps,” and liberals and homosexuals were told they

were “stupid” or “jerks.” Those Pyne did not agree with were told to go home and “gargle with razor blades.” Members of the studio audience were invited into the “Beef Box,” where they were permitted to sound off about issues until Pyne grew weary and dismissed them, often after first deriding them.

Metromedia placed Pyne’s program in syndication, and in 1966 it was heard over 250 radio stations. In 1966 Pyne expanded his radio show to television, airing first on Los Angeles station KTTV. Metromedia syndicated the program, and *The Joe Pyne Show* eventually was carried in over 80 cities throughout the United States and Canada. Pyne was also tapped to become the host of *Showdown*, a daytime TV quiz show on the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) network.

At its peak, Pyne’s morning radio show was ranked number one in its time slot in the Los Angeles market and was syndicated in more than 400 cities and towns throughout the country. His shows were on the air for a total of 27 hours every week.

Pyne’s critics called him “Killer Joe,” believing he displayed a lack of fair play with his guests. They chided him for behaving cruelly by inviting people onto the show in order to make fools of them, purely for the entertainment of his audience. Some critics regarded Pyne as the host of nothing more than a tasteless “electronic peepshow.” *New York Times* critic Jack Gould referred to Pyne as “the ranking nuisance of broadcasting,” but he added that if Pyne were to exercise self-restraint, he had the potential to air a show of “vigor and value.”

However, Pyne responded to his critics that he did not want to be known as a nice person, and that he required his programs to be “visceral” and not to involve intellectual discussions. He believed his role was to expose extremists, hucksters, and kooks. Pyne also believed his guests were masochistic, looking for him to punish them for their polemics or con games.

Pyne’s show was not the first of its kind. In 1958 David Suskind aired a late-night talk show, *Open End*, in which guests argued over political and economic issues, often raising their voices and interrupting each other. However, *The Joe Pyne Show* was one of the first to mold the program around the host’s ability to exploit the guests’ views for entertainment value. In 1966 Pyne’s show spawned similar syndicated programs, such as *The Alan Burke Show*, hosted by another abrasive radio talk announcer, and *Firing Line*, moderated by conservative political columnist and editor William F. Buckley.

Pyne, who chain-smoked on the air, contracted lung cancer and died on 23 March 1970. He was 44.

ROBERT C. FORDAN

See also Controversial Issues; Metromedia; Talk Radio

Joe Pyne. Born in Chester, Pennsylvania, 1925. Served in U.S. Marine Corps during World War II; began broadcasting career in Chester at WVCH, in 1948; worked at several radio stations in United States and Canada; radio show host, KLAC-AM, Los Angeles; host, *Joe Pyne Show*, 1964–70, eventually syndicated by Metromedia; known for confrontational interview style. Died in Hollywood, California, 23 March 1970.

Radio Series

1964–70 *Joe Pyne Show*

Television Series

Joe Pyne Show, 1966–69; *Showdown*, 1966

Films

Unkissed Bride, 1966; *Love-Ins*, 1967

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Q

Quaal, Ward L. 1919–

U.S. Broadcasting Executive and Consultant

Although most radio listeners would not recognize his name, Ward L. Quaall is probably one of the most influential figures in U.S. broadcasting. In a career spanning nearly six decades, Quaall has worked in numerous on-air, management, lobbying, and consulting positions.

Quaall began his career in broadcasting while a student at the University of Michigan, working as an announcer, writer, and producer at WBEO in Marquette, Michigan, and later at WJR in Detroit. In 1941, after earning a degree in speech and radio, he began working as an announcer and producer at WGN in Chicago, where he broke into a Chicago Bears football broadcast to announce the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941.

Quaall entered the service in 1942 and worked as a communications officer in the navy until 1945. After the war, he returned to WGN as special assistant to general manager Frank P. Schreiber. In this capacity, he oversaw the station's farm and public service programming; represented the station in Washington, D.C.; and helped plan the development of WGN-TV, which became Chicago's first full-time television station in April 1948. The contacts Quaall made in Washington, coupled with his effectiveness in communicating his station's interests in a variety of political arenas, would make him a valuable industry spokesperson in the ensuing decades.

In 1949 Quaall took a leave of absence from WGN to become executive director of the Clear Channel Broadcasting Service (CCBS), at the time perhaps the most influential trade group in broadcasting. The CCBS represented independent (non-network-owned) clear channel radio stations seeking to maintain and enhance their status as the only stations broadcasting on their respective frequencies at night. Clear channel stations, through the CCBS, also sought power increases of up to 750,000 watts. One of the clear channel stations' chief political opponents, Senator Edwin Johnson of Colorado, called the CCBS "a well-entrenched, well financed, well staffed

group who are determined to have radio control in the United States."

To bolster the argument for higher power, Quaall touted the clear channel stations' efforts to provide farm and rural service programming. He backed up the argument by encouraging member stations to improve such programming, simultaneously building close relationships with leading farm groups. Quaall, in fact, helped orchestrate support for clear channels from influential national farm lobbies such as the National Grange and American Farm Bureau Federation, both of which went on the record in support of clear channel broadcasting.

As the clear channel debate dragged on into the 1950s, Quaall left the CCBS to join Cincinnati's Crosley Broadcasting Corporation in 1952. He continued to be intimately involved with the clear channel debate, however, making frequent trips to Washington to lobby on behalf of the CCBS. After four years at Crosley, Quaall returned once again to WGN and WGN-TV as vice president and general manager in 1956. Following the death of founder Robert R. McCormick, the management at the Chicago *Tribune*, which owned WGN, neglected the radio property in favor of television. "Radio has had it," Quaall was told by one *Tribune* official before he took the job. Quaall proceeded to revamp the station's programming, pulling numerous paid religious programs off the air and concentrating on increased local programming; in fact, he was able to rebuild WGN radio to national prominence. During this time, Quaall also oversaw the expansion of the *Tribune's* radio and television holdings and developed WGN-TV as the model for the modern independent television station. He became president of WGN Continental Broadcasting Company (now Tribune Broadcasting Company) in 1963. In 1975 he retired from WGN and began his own consulting firm, The Ward L. Quaall Company, the following year.

His political clout reached its zenith during the 1980s, because Quaall had been close friends with Ronald Reagan

since the 1940s, when the two met at a Chicago radio concert Quaal was announcing. Reagan sought Quaal's input on Federal Communications Commission (FCC) appointments, and in many ways Quaal became *the* voice of the broadcasting industry, as far as the president was concerned. Quaal took the industry's case for blocking reinstatement of the fairness doctrine directly to Reagan, who in 1987 vetoed a government funding bill because it also included the fairness doctrine. Similarly, Quaal supported other measures designed to deregulate the broadcasting industry during the Reagan years. "I take special pride in my efforts to bring full First Amendment rights to broadcasting," Quaal said.

Ironically, by the 1990s Quaal's dissenting voice was drowned out by the industry's quest for raising limits on ownership of radio and television stations. Quaal opposed the provisions in the Telecommunications Act of 1996 that would soon allow companies to own hundreds of radio stations. Quaal maintained that such acquisitions have ruined radio's local service. "They've wrecked radio," Quaal said. "How can you own more than one hundred stations and keep track of their local programming?"

Quaal continues to run his company from offices in Chicago and Los Angeles. He works with clients on management and personnel issues, acquisitions, and lobbying activities. Quaal says that the main things he brings to his clients are experience and "a lot of contacts." Many in the industry agree. "In the trenches of Washington's regulatory battlefields," *Electronic Media* wrote in 1988, "few industry lobbyists can boast the accomplishments of broadcasting's Ward Quaal."

JAMES C. FOUST

See also Clear Channel Stations; Consultants; WGN

Ward L. Quaal. Born in Ishpeming, Michigan, 7 April 1919. Attended University of Michigan, A.B. in Speech and Radio,

1941; announcer/writer, WBEO, Marquette, Michigan, 1936-37; announcer, writer, producer, WJR, Detroit, Michigan, 1937-41; special events announcer, producer, WGN, Chicago, Illinois, 1941-42; served in U.S. Navy, lieutenant, 1942-45; special assistant to general manager, WGN, 1945-49; executive director, Clear Channel Broadcasting Service, 1949-52; assistant general manager, Crosley Broadcasting Corporation, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1952, vice president/general manager, Crosley Broadcasting Corporation, 1953-56; vice president/general manager/member of the board, WGN Continental Broadcasting, 1956; executive vice president, then president, WGN Continental Broadcasting (now Tribune Broadcasting Company), 1960-75; president Ward L. Quaal Company, 1975-; director and member of executive committee, U.S. Satellite Broadcasting Company, 1982-2000; served on numerous boards of organizations. Received Distinguished Service Award, National Association of Broadcasters, 1973; "Blue Ribbon" advisory panel on Advanced Television, FCC, 1987; Hall of Fame, *Broadcasting* magazine, 1991; Silver Circle Award, Chicago Chapter of National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences, 1993.

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Quiz and Audience Participation Programs

Few genres used radio's strengths of live broadcasting, spontaneity, and listener involvement more effectively than audience participation programs and their most successful incarnation, the quiz show. Few genres created as much of a sensation as quiz shows at the height of their popularity, or as much of a backlash when condemned by the institutions of broadcasting. And few genres demonstrated the radical transformation of radio in the television era by so quickly abandon-

ing the very medium that gave birth to the quiz show itself. Although quiz shows are best remembered at the center of the infamous TV quiz show scandals of the late 1950s, the genre had a rich history in the early days of radio.

The quiz show is one of the only genres that could truly be called "native" to broadcasting, not stemming from the common sources of vaudeville, theater, film, or literature. Certainly the program format drew upon a number of important ante-

cedents, including newspaper puzzles, parlor games, spelling bees, gambling, carnival contests, and movie-house games such as “Screeno.” Despite these varied sources, the specific incarnation of the quiz show on radio was unique, combining the informational content of an educational program, the competitive thrill of sports spectatorship, the humorous patter of comedy and variety shows, and the musical performance featured on much radio programming. The quiz show was the most successful type of audience participation program, which was a general term for any program that incorporated the audience—whether in the studio or at home—into the program’s proceedings. Other forms of audience participation programs included “stunt” programs, amateur hours, and “sob shows.”

Origins

The radio quiz show had its roots in the earliest days of the medium’s commercialization in the mid-1920s, albeit in a form quite different from the way the genre would thrive in the 1940s. Question-and-answer quizzes were a common feature of local radio broadcasts on shows such as WJZ-New York’s *The Pop Question Game*. On this program and on other segments on local stations, announcers would ask questions and provide the correct answers after a pause; there were no contestants or prizes, and the audience was expected to try to guess the correct answer at home. These early question-and-answer shows were not terribly popular and were mostly used to fill time and provide an educational diversion within a fairly barren radio schedule. As radio programming became more sophisticated, these early local quizzes were relegated to the sidelines of the radio schedule.

The first major breakthrough of the audience participation genre occurred in the mid-1930s. As national networks came to dominate the airwaves with their high-priced stars, local unaffiliated stations such as New York’s WHN needed to devise innovative formats to compete. In 1934 WHN hired theatrical manager Major Edward Bowes to create an inexpensive program to boost their ratings; Bowes drew upon a vaudeville tradition in airing an amateur talent contest. The program was a huge hit—within a year, the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) had purchased the show, and Major Bowes’ *The Original Amateur Hour* was voted the most popular show of 1935. The formula was simple—parade a succession of unpolished performers in front of the microphone and reward talented individuals with prizes. An additional gimmick caught on, allowing audiences at home to vote for their favorite amateur via telephone, making the show a truly participatory endeavor. As with most successful radio innovations, a number of imitations followed, leading to an all-out amateur craze in the mid-1930s. Although the amateur hour itself faded in popularity by the end of the decade, its effects lasted far longer through its popularization of the audience participation format.

Although amateur hours showcased ordinary people as the “talent” featured on the radio, they presented traditional forms of entertainment, such as music, comedy, and dancing. It took another program to shift the focus of audience participation to everyday people doing everyday activities. *Vox Pop* emerged on NBC in 1935 with an unusual format—the hosts asked ordinary people questions, broadcasting the resulting dialogue as representative of everyday life. Additionally, the program pioneered the practice of giving prizes to its participants, offering both cash and merchandise from sponsors to interesting guests. Other programs followed in *Vox Pop*’s footsteps, most notably *We, the People* (1936), as the audience participation format developed into a successful alternative to comedies, musical programs, and dramas.

The quiz show itself developed out of these precedents, taking the contest form from amateur hours and the everyday guests from *Vox Pop*. In 1936 the show hailed as the first radio quiz debuted on Washington, D.C., station WJSV; *Professor Quiz* offered ten silver dollars to the contestant who answered the most questions during each program and invited listeners to send in questions for additional cash prizes if their questions were used on the air. The program was picked up by the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) in 1937 to great success, leading to numerous clones, including *Uncle Jim’s Question Bee*, *Dr. I.Q.*, *True or False*, and *Ask-It-Basket*. By the late 1930s, quiz shows were established as a popular genre for prime-time radio, with many programs among the top network offerings. The genre established its formula quickly—prizes were modest, questions were intellectual but not too difficult for average listeners, and audience members were invited to participate by sending in their own questions for additional prizes.

Golden Age

Though certainly a fad, quiz shows were able to survive far longer than other radio fads, such as the amateur hour. One reason for the genre’s continued success was the creativity of quiz producers in devising variations on the basic formula. One of the first and most successful innovations was NBC’s *Information Please*. Producer Dan Golenpaul thought that most quiz show listeners might want to turn the tables on the “know-it-alls” who ran quiz shows and try to “stump the experts.” His program, debuting in 1938, offered the chance to do just that—*Information Please* featured a panel of experts on a number of topics, including columnist Franklin Pierce Adams, sportswriter John Kiernan, pianist Oscar Levant, and one rotating guest panelist, all presided over by erudite host Clifton Fadiman. Listeners were invited to submit questions designed to stump the panel, and listeners were rewarded with \$10 and an encyclopedia set if they offered a question that could not be answered correctly. The program incorporated a

great deal of wit and sophisticated patter among the panel, gave audience members a chance to show up the alleged experts, and created the celebrity panel format that has since become a staple of game shows. The program was hailed not only as fine entertainment but as legitimate education as well, receiving awards from literary magazines and becoming a favorite on college campuses. *Information Please* demonstrated that the quiz show was not dependent on featuring everyday people but could also captivate audiences with celebrities participating in the quizzes.

Whereas *Information Please* succeeded on its intellect and wits, another innovation pushed the genre in the opposite direction. Since the emergence of broadcasting, music has been at the center of radio programming. Quiz shows were quick to incorporate this radio staple to appeal to listeners less interested in intellectual and informational questions. Struggling bandleader Kay Kyser teamed with up-and-coming quiz producer Louis Cowan to devise the *College of Musical Knowledge*, a quiz focused on musical questions interspersed with numbers played by Kyser's band. The program was a hit for Chicago's WGN in 1936 and transferred to NBC in 1938, where it would run for ten years. Similar programs followed *College's* mixing of quizzes and music in the late 1930s and early 1940s, including *Melody Puzzles*, *Beat the Band*, and *So You Think You Know Music*. But a more controversial example of the musical audience participation program debuted in 1939—NBC's *Pot o' Gold*.

It was not until *Pot o' Gold* that a radio program took full advantage of the widespread availability of the telephone to allow listeners to participate more fully in broadcasting. The program was not a quiz show by most definitions—most of each show consisted of typical band numbers from Horace Heidt and His Musical Knights. But *Pot o' Gold* had a gimmick that made it a national sensation for two years—during each episode, the hosts would spin a large wheel to randomly select a phone number from a collection of telephone books spanning the country. Heidt would then call the number and award \$1,000—then a vast sum for most families still suffering the effects of the Great Depression—to whomever answered the phone. The gimmick was a huge success, creating a new type of audience participation program termed the *giveaway*. For two years, the show was enormously popular, leading to reported drops in movie attendance and phone calling during its Tuesday night time slot, as all of America awaited Heidt's lucrative call. The show even spawned a 1941 movie musical (also entitled *Pot o' Gold*), starring Heidt and Jimmy Stewart, that fictionalized the show's origins. Despite the program's success, it was off the air after two years, because it generated as much controversy as popularity.

Some of the controversy surrounding *Pot o' Gold* stemmed from accusations that the mechanism for choosing telephone numbers was biased, not representing some locations and dis-

criminating against people who had moved since phone books had been issued. Other people objected to the telephone system's inability to guarantee that calls would be put through effectively, worrying that they would miss out on the jackpot. And in the 1940s, not everyone owned a telephone. But the biggest controversy involved the Federal Communications Commission's (FCC) accusation that the program was a lottery and thus violated a provision of the Communication Act of 1934. Although the FCC could not censor programming, it was empowered to prevent stations from broadcasting illegal material, including programs that were deemed to violate federal lottery laws. In 1940 the FCC decided that *Pot o' Gold*, along with a number of local programs, violated the lottery section of the Communication Act and recommended that the responsible broadcasters be prosecuted by the Department of Justice. NBC and other broadcasters denied that giveaway programs were lotteries, because no listener needed to provide any money or other "consideration" (except owning a telephone) to be eligible to win. The Department of Justice refused to prosecute, and the FCC dropped its case, yet broadcasters took the action as a warning; rather than risk being denied license renewal by the FCC, broadcasters canceled or retooled most giveaway programs to make sure they did not violate lottery laws. The link between quiz shows, the FCC, and lottery laws did not disappear, however, and the issue would become even more controversial in the late 1940s.

Although *Pot o' Gold* and other giveaways created a brief sensation, other innovations in the quiz show format proved to have more long-lasting success. Just as *College of Musical Knowledge* thrived by mixing quiz shows with music programs, another genre mixture provided a number of hits: blending children's programming with quiz shows. Cowan, again the crucial innovator, decided to combine the format of *Information Please's* panel of experts with the widespread appeal of precocious children. The resulting hybrid was *Quiz Kids*, which debuted on NBC in 1940 and lasted for 13 seasons. The program featured a panel of erudite children who amazed audiences both with the extent of their knowledge and their more typically childlike personalities. The program was a hit among both adult and child audiences, and many teachers praised the show's ability to make learning and education seem fun and entertaining. Again the quiz show was held up as both entertaining and educational, although that balance would start to shift throughout the 1940s.

Funny Stunts

As the quiz show entered the 1940s, most of the programs were viewed as respectable, entertaining, and even educational. But one innovation would drastically change the tone of the audience participation format, pushing the genre away from the intellectual pursuits of *Information Please* and toward

more outlandish and comic pleasures. Ralph Edwards, a radio announcer, decided to capitalize on the audience participation boom. He felt that many potential audience members would enjoy the participatory aspect of quiz shows but were put off by the intellectual nature of shows such as *Information Please* and *Professor Quiz*; thus he set out to devise a quiz show that focused more on humor and participation than on knowledge and education. His inspiration came from a parlor game he remembered playing as a youth—one person would ask another a question, and if the answer were wrong, the person who answered incorrectly would have to pay for his or her mistake by being forced to do some humiliating “consequence.” Edwards named his show after the game, and in 1940 *Truth or Consequences* debuted on CBS. The prizes were small—\$15 for a correct answer, \$5 for performing a consequence—but audiences were enthralled by the show for other reasons. The consequences became the centerpiece of the program, leading contestants purposely to answer questions wrong to perform comic stunts.

Initially the consequences were quick and modest—one contestant had to spell words while sucking on a lollipop, another had to be a one-man band with pots and pans, and a construction worker had to imitate a bawling baby. As the show grew in popularity, sponsor Ivory Soap upped the production budget to devise more elaborate stunts. The show added remote broadcasts, putting contestants out on the streets to interview strangers or to lie in bed with a seal on a New York street corner. The program also upped the ante for cash prizes, often offering large rewards for completing a stunt—one contestant was promised \$1,000 if he could fall asleep during the course of the program. In one of the more notorious stunts, Edwards told a contestant that a cash prize was buried on a street corner in Holyoke, Massachusetts; the man immediately boarded a train to dig up his loot, but he was beaten to the punch by hundreds of local residents who intercepted his \$1,000 bounty. Another famed stunt resulted after Edwards told audience members to send a contestant pennies to buy war bonds in 1943; the woman received over 300,000 coins as a result, requiring Edwards to provide helpers to open her mail. As a result of such excessive and outrageous participatory stunts, *Truth or Consequences* became a radio sensation in the 1940s, leading the way for other “stunt” shows to reach the air (and for a town in New Mexico to rename itself after the show).

The most notable clone was NBC's *People Are Funny*, starring Art Linkletter. The show took the basic format of *Truth or Consequences*, adding different stunts and Linkletter's comic personality to generate a large fan base beginning in 1942. One of Linkletter's stunts pitted two contestants against each other to see who could hitchhike across the country faster; the winner was given a new car. Another stunt gave a family their own airplane just for answering the question, “What is your

name?” The success of these shows proved the importance of humor to the audience participation format—producers saw that quiz shows did not need to rely on the question-and-answer format to entertain an audience and draw high ratings. *Can You Top This?* was one successful comic quiz (1940–54)—listeners sent in jokes, which were read on the air; then, a panel of comedians tried to “top” each joke with another on the same topic, and the studio audience judged the results. Another program was *It Pays to Be Ignorant* (1942–51), an outright satire of *Information Please* in which panelists humorously failed to answer questions such as “What animal do you get goat's milk from?” The program was fully scripted with no audience participation, but the parody mined the same terrain as quiz shows. By far the most successful comedy quiz was 1947's *You Bet Your Life*, starring the well-known comedian Groucho Marx; the format was that of a typical quiz show, made distinctive only by Marx's comic ad libs and friendly harassment of contestants. Soon the show became more focused on Groucho's quips, with the quiz providing only a basic structure for the comedy.

Besides leading to comedy quizzes, the stunt programs popularized another variation on the audience participation format—the ongoing telephone contest. Although *Pot o' Gold* had made the random telephone giveaway an important feature of audience participation programs, it took the well-established success of *Truth or Consequences* to bring the giveaway back after the FCC's concerns in the early 1940s. Edwards started a contest called “Mr. Hush” in 1946—each week a mystery voice read a riddle and a series of clues. Edwards would then call a random phone number, asking whomever answered to identify the mysterious Mr. Hush; after weeks of failed attempts by other listeners, eventually the listener who gave the correct answer of Jack Dempsey won an enormous jackpot of sponsor-provided merchandise. Subsequent contests, such as “Walking Man” and “Mrs. Hush,” were expanded to allow listeners to submit their phone numbers along with contributions for health-related charities; Edwards's contests raised millions of dollars for organizations such as the March of Dimes and the American Heart Association. These telephone contests became a national sensation, with winners making headlines and boosting ratings to record levels and inspiring another Jimmy Stewart film, *The Jackpot* (1950). Edwards's contests reinvigorated the giveaway format, which would reappear to greater controversy in the late 1940s.

Quiz shows saw little innovation beyond the stunt programs during the war years. Shows like *Information Please*, *Quiz Kids*, and *Dr. IQ* all continued their success, with few new programs competing against their formula. The new shows that did emerge followed the basic formulas set up by the genre's forerunners, with a few added twists. Two long-lasting programs added a gambling element to the quiz format—

both *Take It or Leave It* (1940–52) and *Double or Nothing* (1940–54) allowed contestants either to take their winnings or to risk them on another question for double the amount. The prizes were modest—*Take It or Leave It*'s grand prize was \$64, leading to a new catchphrase, “the \$64 question.” This basic format would be revisited on television in the late 1950s by the higher-priced quiz show *The \$64,000 Question* and in 1999 by *Who Wants to Be a Millionaire?* Although quizzes went mostly unchanged during World War II, there were concerns about the open microphone featured in all audience participation shows—the U.S. government worried about foreign agents using these programs to communicate coded messages. The U.S. Office of Censorship issued guidelines for programs to avoid “man-on-the-street” interviews like those on *Vox Pop* and to be careful in selecting audience members to participate. Quiz shows joined the war effort, donating prizes to war relief and encouraging listeners to participate in war bond drives.

Sob Shows

Another variant in the audience participation show emerged in the mid-1940s. Many daytime programs had established solid audiences, especially among women, by focusing on human-interest stories. The audience participation format was compatible with this type of program, and thus producers created what were often deemed “sob shows.” The most famous and long running of these programs was *Queen for a Day*, debuting in 1945. The program featured a panel of women who testified to the hardships of their lives and told listeners their greatest wish. The studio audience would then judge which woman was most “worthy” of rewards, naming her “Queen for a Day.” The Queen would be awarded her wish as well as a package of sponsor-provided merchandise. Although the program capitalized on women’s poverty and desperation to garner ratings, it also provided both material and emotional uplift for thousands of women over its 20-year run. Other programs succeeded in the daytime schedule, including both more traditional quizzes like *Double or Nothing* and *Give and Take* and other human-interest contests like *Bride and Groom* and *Second Honeymoon*. Audience participation shows had taken root in daytime schedules, a position they continue to inhabit on television to this day.

If *Queen for a Day* established the emotional potential of audience participation programs, it took *Strike It Rich* to fulfill that potential. CBS brought the show to the air in 1947, almost immediately creating controversy. The program featured down-and-out contestants who competed in a short quiz to win up to \$800; the real drama followed, as audience members called in on a “heartline” to offer help, in the form of money, jobs, goods, or services, to the needy contestants. People highlighted their hardships to capture the pity of the

enthralled home audience, who listened in high numbers, but controversy followed. Critics decried the program as exploiting human misery for profit. One contestant was successful in garnering pity from the audience and was given a good deal of charity, but it was soon discovered that he was an escaped convict from Texas. The New York Department of Welfare complained that people traveled to the city to appear on the program, only to be refused and end up on the welfare rolls; the Department of Welfare demanded that the program be required to get official licensure for providing public welfare aid to contestants. All of this negative publicity merely boosted the show’s ratings, and it transferred to television and ran for over a decade. But the quiz show was still in for its most dire round of negative publicity.

Before discussing the last wave of radio quizzes in the late 1940s, it is important to consider not only the programs that composed the genre on radio, but also the cultural values associated with the genre. Although certain formats were celebrated as “quality” radio (such as prime-time drama) and others were derided as inappropriate (such as soap operas), quiz shows and audience participation programs were seen as mostly harmless entertainment with little controversial content. Nevertheless, many critics felt that the genre promoted the “un-American” value of receiving “something for nothing,” because people could receive lavish prizes for answering simple questions (or sometimes just for answering the telephone). Fans of the genre, however, felt that the quiz show offered hope during tough times, giving people the promise that their dire straits might be turned around with a simple phone call. Most people thought the genre was “simple entertainment,” although some held up the educational possibilities of quizzes to provide knowledge to the masses and to popularize education among listeners. Some audience members became die-hard fans, looking to participate in the programs enough to call themselves “professional contestants” because they frequented the studio broadcasts in New York. Though audience participation shows ran the gamut of cultural legitimacy—from *Information Please*'s highbrow appeals to *Queen for a Day*'s often shameless exploitation of human misery—the quiz show was generally accepted as a valuable part of the radio schedule.

The radio industry saw the genre in more stark economic terms—quiz shows were an inexpensive programming form, simple to produce, with proven popularity. Sponsors liked the programs because they were a highly profitable format—they required little money for “talent” (only hosts and announcers), needed small writing staffs, and could be produced quickly without many rehearsals. Although prizes were often lavish, especially in the late 1940s, producers usually persuaded companies to contribute products to the prize packages in exchange for on-air mentions; this practice was eventually discontinued by the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB)

in 1948, because they felt that sponsors were “freeloading” on their programs. Network censors were a bit less enthusiastic about the genre because the ad-libbed format often led to comments that were viewed as inappropriate and hard to control. Despite general industrial support for the audience participation format, the late 1940s would see quiz shows gain a powerful enemy: the FCC.

Stop the Quiz Show!

Following the success of the phone contests on *Truth or Consequences*, a number of programs emerged to capitalize on the giveaway format in the late 1940s. Shows such as *Get Rich Quick* and *Everybody Wins* used the telephone call as a mechanism to draw in listeners by giving away large jackpots, but the most successful and notorious giveaway was ABC’s *Stop the Music!* Premiering in early 1948, the show had a simple premise—a band played songs until the announcer yelled, “Stop the Music!” Then host Bert Parks called a random phone number and asked the listener to identify the song. If the listener got the correct title, he or she would win a prize and a chance at the huge jackpot—usually over \$20,000 in merchandise—for identifying the “Mystery Melody.” The Cowan-produced show became a huge sensation, with high ratings and widespread press coverage. The program’s success sparked other giveaways, such as *Sing It Again*, creating the biggest boom in prime-time quiz shows in radio history. Yet the rise of the giveaways prompted numerous protests by various players within the broadcasting industry.

Fred Allen, whose program had been the perennial ratings champion on Sunday nights, found his show sliding when *Stop the Music!* aired in his time slot. He launched a high-profile anti-giveaway campaign in the press, even offering \$5,000 to any listener who, if called by *Stop the Music!*, would claim to be listening to Allen instead, an offer Allen never had the opportunity to fulfill. The NAB also felt that the giveaway trend was potentially a detriment to radio; in 1948 the NAB issued a policy statement positioning itself firmly against “buying an audience” instead of offering solid entertainment programs. But the biggest, and most powerful, enemy to the giveaways was the FCC. In the name of the public interest, the commission issued a policy in August 1948 claiming that giveaways violated lottery laws and threatening to revoke licenses of stations that continued to broadcast the programs. Although the order was immediately enjoined by the courts when ABC filed a lawsuit against the FCC’s orders, the policy became a lightning rod for the variety of opinions swirling around the genre in the late 1940s and helped put an end to the radio quiz show.

The FCC’s ban received overwhelming press coverage, with critics and commentators taking sides on the matter. Thousands of audience letters poured in to the FCC, expressing

divergent opinions on the value of both the programs and the FCC’s actions. Critics of the genre condemned it as gambling, pandering to base instincts, and not offering wholesome entertainment. Defenders of quiz shows claimed that they were real-life dramas, that they were more entertaining than scripted programs, and that people did not listen simply for a chance to win. The issue dragged on in the courts for years; it was finally resolved in 1954, when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled (*FCC v ABC*, 347 US 284 [1954]) that the FCC had misinterpreted the lottery laws—giveaways were legitimate because contestants were not required to provide “consideration” to be eligible to win. Although successful programs like *Stop the Music!* continued while the courts deliberated, new programs were careful to avoid the giveaway format so they would not suffer from negative publicity. By the time the format was cleared, the giveaway had mostly disappeared as a brief fad. Yet shows like *Stop the Music!* had upped the ante for quiz shows, leading to the huge jackpots that would become staples of the prime-time television quizzes of the late 1950s—and of early 2000.

Although the radio quiz show had moments of intense popularity and publicized controversy, its decline was quiet and swift. As television began to spread into more homes in the postwar era, quiz shows were quick to make the transition to the visual format. Unlike dramatic programs, quizzes did not have to create elaborate sets or visuals to appear on television—cameras could easily capture the inexpensive live proceedings that studio audiences had been witnessing for years. Thus programs like *Stop the Music!*, *You Bet Your Life*, *Quiz Kids*, and *Truth or Consequences* all made the transition to television in the early 1950s. Although the networks initially aired these shows on both television and radio, they soon realized that the audiences for radio were dwindling; by removing the shows from the radio, they encouraged fans to purchase televisions when the newer medium became the primary entertainment form of the 1950s. When the TV quiz shows of the late 1950s were exposed as being scripted and “fixed,” radio quizzes had long been off the air and thus remained immune from the scandals.

The quiz show was an important part of radio’s “golden age,” captivating audiences with high-minded questions and emotional appeals, precocious youth and outrageous stunts. Although the format did not last beyond this era of radio broadcasting, its impact is still seen today on television game shows—the inflating jackpots, engaging contestant personalities, amusing celebrity panels, and quick-witted hosts all were conventions established by radio quiz shows. Occasionally radio refers back to these traditions—public radio’s *Whad’ya Know* and local stations’ call-in giveaways are both updates of classic radio audience participation techniques. Yet these programs were once a broadcasting staple, equal in popularity to better-known genres such as suspense dramas, musical

performances, news reports, and celebrity comedy shows. The quiz show was an important, though often ignored, component of radio history, one that warrants a greater examination and appreciation by media historians.

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See also Kyser, Kay; Vox Pop; You Bet Your Life

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RADAR

National Radio Ratings Service

Because radio is woven into the patterns of consumers' day-to-day lives, reaching them at home, in the office, and on the road, research is needed to understand how radio's role in today's media mix may be changing. As with the more commonly known television ratings conducted by Nielsen Media Research, Statistical Research Inc. (SRI) uses a sample of radio listeners to determine listener patterns and characteristics. Radio's All Dimension Audience Research (RADAR) was first produced in 1967 and has been produced by SRI since 1972. Using nearly 30 measured networks, RADAR can provide data on national and network radio audiences in a variety of formats to SRI clients.

For its RADAR product, SRI uses an 8-day telephone interview methodology, which it claims establishes a rapport with respondents that allows them to create an accurate and complete picture of radio exposure over the course of one week. SRI also has the ability to merge its respondent data with some 3 million "clearances" (records of carriage), thus allowing RADAR to provide ratings for specific programs and commercials. Since 1972, SRI has increased the RADAR sample size (from 4,000 to 12,000 respondents annually), the number of measurement weeks (from two to 48 annually), and the frequency of reporting (from annually to quarterly).

One component of the RADAR product allows users to process data and conduct analyses, including profiles of national radio audiences, profiles of network radio audiences, custom electronic ratings books, estimates of the reach and frequency for rotation plans, estimates of the reach and frequency for broadcast schedules, and optimal network radio advertising plans. Another component allows users to combine RADAR data with information from other sources and generate overall reach-and-frequency estimates.

Data from RADAR reach and frequency applications can be used as a base for combinations with other information—about radio, the internet, print, or any medium—that the user

has obtained and entered. Up to 12 different other-media properties or sources can be included and collectively weighed at the user's discretion.

There are also two RADAR software applications that enable users to estimate audiences for local markets and programs not measured directly by RADAR. With these tools, users can approximate how much a plan's reach may be increased by scheduling units on non-RADAR programming. In addition, users with access to local data can distribute RADAR's national audience data for a particular schedule to individual markets.

The founders and principals of SRI are Gale Metzger, president (formerly with A.C. Nielson, and the first research supplier to be elected chair of the Advertising Research Foundation's Board of Directors), and Gerald J. Glasser, a former professor of business statistics at New York University. In 1990 Metzger and Glasser were joint recipients of the Hugh Malcolm Beville, Jr., Award of the National Association of Broadcasters and the Broadcast Education Association. The SRI founders were cited for "integrating audience research into the broadcast managerial process" and for "superior leadership in the development of the audience measurement field," among other contributions. The SRI staff includes more than 70 full-time employees. The company is based in Westfield, New Jersey.

RADAR studies are based on probability sampling, high response rates, in-depth interviewing by trained personnel, and multiple checks to ensure accuracy. The key component is the sampling process.

Representative Samples

If every member of the population has an equally good chance of being in the sample, it is a representative sample. Through statistical theory, we know that fairly drawn (or random)

samples usually vary in small ways from the population. Over time, these small differences tend to average out. A representative sample does not have to be very large to represent the population from which it is drawn, but it does need to be selected in a way that gives all members of the population the same chance of being chosen. Although it is impossible to determine the exact number of listeners spread over a particular area, well-conducted samples generally provide a good estimate.

In sampling, it is common to select a small portion of the entire population to test. If a more accurate estimate is desired, a larger sample is taken. For example, suppose we select 10,000 people to question regarding their radio listening habits. It would be very unlikely that we would get exactly 5,000 that listened to a particular radio station. Likewise, it would be very unlikely to get 0 or 10,000. However, the percent of the listeners we did find in our sample group would be close to the percent that existed in the entire population. In fact, according to sampling theory, the larger the sample we used, the more confidence we would have in our estimated answer. With a sample of 10,000 we might reasonably conclude that the actual percentage would be between 48 and 52 percent of the listeners. This would suggest that possibly one out of every twenty times we would estimate an answer outside this range. With a larger sample, this range might decrease to 49 to 51 percent, and thus decrease this error probability to more than one out of thirty times.

The RADAR product uses a structured respondent recruiting process. This process includes incentives, advance contacts with potential respondents, and flexibility in the week for which the radio listening data are compiled. This process results in a tabulated sample of about 50 percent.

In addition to the RADAR product, SRI has conducted numerous proprietary studies on radio for the major broadcast networks and programming suppliers. Studies resulting from this work include: the ability of radio commercials to evoke images from familiar TV ads; the way people relate to radio, including the role it plays in their daily lives; awareness of and attention to public radio, as well as reactions of public radio

audiences to programming and on-air fund raising; perceptions of local radio stations—reasons for listening and non-listening, station image, and evaluations of station personalities; and the accuracy ascribed to radio news broadcasts by listeners.

Tracking Trends

Because the methodology of RADAR research has remained consistent, there exists a capability to track trends across more than 25 years of data. For example, trend comparisons have shown that as women have moved increasingly into the labor market, their radio usage has become more similar to men's. In addition, listening itself has also moved outside the home. In 1998, 38 percent of radio usage occurred in homes, as opposed to 61 percent in 1980, and car radio listening has nearly doubled over the same time, from 17 percent to 33 percent. Finally, the FM and AM bands have essentially switched places in terms of listenership during the past 25 years; AM's audience share has dropped from 75 percent to 18 percent, and FM's share has risen from 25 percent to 82 percent.

A significant share of SRI's work has been in media audience measurement. SRI's clients have included all major television and radio networks, professional sports leagues, Fortune 500 manufacturers, and foundations.

DENNIS RANDOLPH

See also Audience Research Methods

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Radio Academy

Promoting and Celebrating British Radio

The Radio Academy in the United Kingdom was established in 1983 "to encourage the pursuit of excellence in all aspects of the radio broadcasting industry, and to foster a greater

understanding of the medium" (from the mission statement). It includes members from the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and British commercial radio spheres.

Origins

In 1980, the idea of a professional body offering neutral ground for all of those interested in the development of radio broadcasting in the U.K. was proposed at the Radio Festival in Edinburgh by Dick (later Lord Richard) Francis, the BBC's managing director of radio. His companion on the platform at the time was the chairman of public affairs for the commercial radio companies, John Bradford, who endorsed the idea on behalf of the commercial sector.

Francis acknowledged in his initial remarks that many people believed that a radio academy had existed for over 50 years and that it was known as the BBC. He now acknowledged, some six years after the launch of independent (i.e., commercial) radio in Britain, that there was indeed an alternative source of radio production with demonstrated merit.

A working committee was formed under the chairmanship of Caroline Millington from the BBC. It included representatives of the BBC, commercial radio, and those with unaligned interests. Their first task was to assume responsibility for the organization and administration of an annual celebration of radio, a Radio Festival.

Operations

From extremely small beginnings with a handful of members and an occasional public event such as the yearly festival, the Radio Academy has grown to become the most important voice for individual practitioners of the craft and business of radio in the U.K. Since 1980, the Academy has been a registered nonprofit organization operating under the direction of a council elected by its membership. Although it offers members a wide range of services, its central purpose remains as clear in the 21st century as it was in the original concept Francis proposed: the provision of neutral ground on which all of those who care about radio can debate and celebrate the power of the medium.

The key event in the Academy's calendar continues to be the Radio Festival. This has now been supplemented with an event for the music industry, Music Radio, as well as events for radio technicians, promotions departments, news staffs, and the web community. The Council of the Radio Academy also confers an annual Fellowship of the Radio Academy, the highest honor given in recognition of service to the U.K. radio industry, to an individual who has made an outstanding and sustained contribution to the industry. In addition, since 1998 the Academy has hosted the annual Sony Radio Awards ceremony. Its mem-

bers nominate candidates to be considered for the Sony Gold Award.

The Radio Academy fosters close working relationships with student broadcasters under the aegis of the Student Radio Association and also with the academic community and its association, the Radio Studies Network. The Academy also provides administrative support to both of these organizations.

The Sony Radio Awards

The Sony Radio Awards are the Oscars of British radio, an annual award program that recognizes excellence in all aspects of radio. Established under the auspices of the Japanese electronics company Sony in the early 1980s, the Sony Awards evolved from a similar program supported by the U.K.-based Pye electronics company. The Radio Academy now administers the program and hosts the awards ceremony, although Sony continues to support the awards program financially.

The governance of the awards scheme is entrusted to an invited committee who report through their chairman to the Council of the Radio Academy. It is the responsibility of this group to determine individual categories and criteria to be applied by the judges, a small team of professionals in or closely allied to the radio industry.

For the Silver and Bronze awards, nominations are open to programs and broadcasters from any station that has operated continuously through the preceding 12 months. Submissions usually consist of unedited recordings of the programs and individuals being nominated. Only members of the Radio Academy may submit nominations for the Gold Award, which recognizes either an individual or program judged to have made the greatest contribution to the industry during the previous year. Nominees submitted by the members are considered by the awards committee, which makes the final decision on a yearly recipient. A short list of five nominations for each award is published about six weeks before the awards ceremony, and the final results remain confidential until their announcement at the ceremony. In exceptional circumstances, the committee may also give a special award for outstanding service over an extended period of time.

JOHN BRADFORD

See also British Commercial Radio

Further Reading

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Radio Acts. *See* Wireless Acts of 1910 and 1912; Radio Acts of 1912 and 1927

Radio Advertising Bureau

U.S. Radio Trade Association

The Radio Advertising Bureau (RAB) is the sales and marketing arm of the U.S. radio industry. The RAB promotes the effectiveness of radio advertising to potential national advertisers, helps its members effectively market radio advertising to station clients, provides sales training for station employees, and serves as an information resource for station members.

Origins

A Broadcast Advertising Bureau (BAB) was established by the National Association of Broadcasters in 1950, but it quickly failed for lack of support. A second attempt a year later was more successful, and by 1954 the bureau had all four U.S. networks, more than 835 stations, and 11 station representatives as dues-paying members. At the beginning of 1955, BAB became the Radio Advertising Bureau with a continued aim to provide sales information, especially radio advertising success stories, to prospective advertisers and their agencies. RAB had more than 1,000 station members and a million dollar annual budget by 1959.

The RAB had arrived at a crucial time in radio history. Audiences and advertisers were concentrating on television, and radio was in the midst of its transition from traditional or middle-of-the-road programming aimed at a broad audience to increasing specialization based on various popular music formats, especially variations on Top 40. RAB opened branch offices in Chicago, Los Angeles, and Detroit in the early 1960s. In 1964, RAB initiated the All-Radio Methodology Study (ARMS) audience research program to determine the best ways to measure and describe radio's listeners. On a lighter note, RAB retained comic Stan Freberg to develop a series of commercials touting radio's benefits over television. One of them applied sound effects to create the image of turning Lake Michigan into a huge cherry sundae. It was effectively used for many years.

RAB expanded its efforts and output in the 1970s and 1980s, catering to both large and small radio outlets. Monthly publications, sales meetings, and demonstrations spread the word on how best to utilize radio for advertising. RAB also

targeted such large advertisers as Sears and Procter and Gamble—neither of which then advertised on radio—and turned both companies into major users of the medium. A 1989 campaign used brief moments of silence to explore what the world would be like without radio. RAB began to service FM outlets and soon moved to a “radio is radio” campaign, arguing that both AM and FM provided valuable services to advertisers. In 1994 much of the RAB moved to Dallas in a cost-cutting move, though headquarters remained in New York.

RAB Objective

The RAB promotes the effectiveness of radio advertising, helps its members effectively market radio advertising to station clients, provides sales training for station employees, and serves as an information resource for station members. The annual *Radio Marketing Guide and Factbook for Advertisers*, published by RAB, compiles the most recent data on radio audiences, provides information on the top radio advertisers, and includes comparative media information and radio listener facts.

As the primary sales association for the industry, the RAB also tracks the performance and financial health of the radio industry. As many large radio group owners have begun to sell stock through initial public offerings, the RAB has become an important spokesperson for the health and prosperity of the radio industry. More than 5,000 stations, networks, and sales organizations in the United States and abroad are members of RAB.

Member Services

The RAB's Member Services Helpline provides members with access to the radio industry's largest database of marketing, media, and consumer behavior information. The database includes more than a half-million individual reports on some 3,000 different marketing, media, and consumer topics. RAB uses the internet to supply station members with information (its website is www.rab.com). Available on the site is informa-

tion to help radio account executives prospect for clients, prepare client proposals, make client presentations, and become a marketing resource for advertising clients.

RAB members can find RAB Instant Backgrounds on 160 distinct business categories, products, or services. A radio account executive needing information to prepare presentations for clients as diverse as accountants, a women's clothing retailer, an air conditioning repair service, or warehouse shopping service could obtain specific information about the customers who typically use these services, including competitive characteristics of each business category and the times customers prefer to shop. RAB Research also provides seasonal promotional and sales ideas, consumer information, and media information—including not only facts on radio usage but information to help account executives sell against other media such as newspapers, television, yellow pages, and the internet. An audio library of 1,000 MP3 format commercials, a database of commercial scripts, and a co-op advertising directory are also available online. RAB PROposal Wizard can be downloaded to assist account executives in creating attractive, organized, and problem-solving sales proposals.

Sales Training

A continuing theme for the RAB has been to promote the effectiveness of the radio industry as an advertising medium against other competing media. Although radio broadcasts have entertained and informed listeners since the 1920s, the radio industry receives less than ten cents of every dollar spent on advertising. Newspapers and television receive the greatest percentages of revenue. RAB's efforts are intended to assist local stations in getting a larger share of the local advertising revenue and to see that advertisers nationwide are aware of radio's effectiveness. RAB's awareness campaign, entitled "Radio Gets Results," focuses on how local stations have provided marketing solutions for their clients. Gary Fries, president and chief executive officer of the RAB, described the "Radio Gets Results" campaign as a way to provide the radio industry with documented proof of radio's unique ability to deliver outstanding results for its advertisers.

Professional development of station account executives is another role of the RAB. Radio consolidation, one result of the passage of the Telecommunications Act of 1996, has decreased the number of radio station owners. Large radio groups of several hundred radio stations are now possible. The larger radio ownership groups have done two things to the industry. First, they have put increased pressure on station

managers and sales managers to increase revenue. Second, stations are increasingly aware of the need to invest in sales training for their employees.

RAB station members receive daily sales and marketing emails to help sales managers conduct successful sales meetings and to highlight new sales opportunities for account executives. The RAB offers sales training and accreditation through the Academy Certified Radio Marketing Professional. RAB began offering sales training courses in 1973; they estimate that only 5 percent of all radio salespeople have ever qualified for accreditation. Once the Radio Marketing Professional status is reached, persons wishing to receive advanced designations must combine knowledge gained from studying RAB materials with what they know from their day-to-day experience as radio account executives.

Because the Radio Advertising Bureau is a member-supported trade group, much of RAB's information is available only to members. The RAB's website includes free information, including the "Radio Gets Results" station testimonials, media statistics, links to other sites, and the latest press releases from RAB, which often highlight industry trends. Instant Backgrounds, audio files, the co-op database, and other features are available to members only.

GREGORY G. PITTS

See also Advertising; Advertising Agencies; Consultants; FM Trade Associations; Promax; Promotion on Radio; Station Rep Firms; Trade Associations

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Radio in the American Sector (Berlin)

U.S. International Radio Station

Radio in the American Sector (RIAS) of Berlin was one of the longer-lasting international broadcasting services in the U.S. “arsenal” of Cold War propaganda weaponry. Aside from its longevity, it is also significant as the earliest example of a “surrogate” (what audiences presumably want but do not get from their own domestic stations) international radio service for an entire nation. The founders of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty modeled their services on RIAS.

Origins

The U.S. military occupation force founded RIAS in 1946 to reach Germans living in the American-occupied sector of Berlin with a few hours per day of German-language material. The schedule included news programs and some entertainment, but there were also programs about the evils of the former Nazi regime and the steps being taken to make Berlin and Germany into democratic entities. At first it operated as a wired radio service through what remained of the city’s telephone system. Soon, however, tensions between the Western Allies (comprised of the United States, Great Britain, and France) and the Soviet Union increased, and the station acquired a low-power AM transmitter. It also began to employ more and more refugees from the Soviet-occupied zone of Berlin and East Germany.

The new transmitter enabled RIAS to reach the entire Berlin area, which was a decided advantage when in 1948 the Soviet Union imposed a blockade of all roads, rails, and canals leading into the Allied-occupied western half of the city. The Berlin Airlift mounted by the Allies brought coal, medicine, potatoes, and other vital supplies; RIAS brought messages of support for the West Berliners and continuing news of the successful defiance of the blockade for the Soviets and East Berliners. The station also seemed by its very presence to symbolize Western determination to remain in West Berlin.

By the time the blockade ended in 1949, it was clear that the division between East and West Germany was hardening into something more permanent and that RIAS should be employed to reach *all* of Soviet-occupied East Germany. At that time, it was placed under the control of the U.S. High Commission for Germany. The station already had developed a well-rounded program service, with a wide range of information and entertainment that included full coverage of activities in East and West Berlin as well as radio dramas, quiz shows, jazz, pop, classical music (RIAS had its own band, orchestra, and chorus), cabaret, and satire. Much of what it

broadcast was most unwelcome to Soviet and East German authorities, who did not want East German listeners to hear of the growing economic strength of West Germany or to be exposed to such “decadent” Western material as jazz, church services, or music by avant-garde composers such as Stravinsky and Schoenberg.

Cold War Operations

Most of all, those authorities deeply resented and feared RIAS’s daily coverage of events that showed Soviet and East German administrators in a bad light. They jammed (electronically blocked) the incoming broadcasts, but RIAS employed an increasing number of frequencies and more powerful transmitters in the AM, FM, longwave and shortwave bands and added a second 24-hour-a-day program service. Although some of the jamming was successful, much was not—and even the successes may simply have aroused the curiosity of listeners to learn what it was that the government wanted to keep them from hearing.

Intensification of the Cold War during the 1950s drove RIAS to try even harder to gather every bit of information possible on life in what now bore the title of German Democratic Republic (GDR). National and (brief) local newscasts were intensely monitored and transcribed; national and local newspapers were examined minutely; and intelligence reports were studied from every angle. All of that information was filed on cards, which were cross-cataloged under numerous headings. This system enabled RIAS to link many developments, no matter how small, with past developments. In many instances, East Germans would learn that life actually was getting worse for them—or it would be if they didn’t use every legal resource at their disposal to block or modify deleterious changes to labor contracts, educational content, and the like. Yet the station was most careful to refrain from anything that might encourage its East German listeners to openly rebel against their communist rulers—a step that would almost certainly bring the large and well-armed Soviet military forces stationed throughout the country into what would be a very uneven battle.

When East German factory workers, distressed over contractual changes that forced them to work even harder for no increase in already low wages, took to the streets of Berlin and several other cities in March 1953, RIAS knew that it had to cover the demonstrations. As it did so, the station also reminded the workers and their supporters time and again to refrain from destroying property or openly calling for removal

of the communist government. When the demonstrations dispersed, there was no retaliation by the government, which quietly improved the contract. It also was in 1953 that RIAS was brought under the newly created United States Information Agency (USIA).

The Hungarian Uprising of 1956 had a very different outcome, with workers and supporters—including the U.S. government-supported Radio Free Europe—at first seeming to win a change in government, but soon facing Soviet tanks and brutal repression from a new communist administration. This event may have underscored the wisdom of RIAS's decision to caution East Germans against rash actions, but it also underscored the limits to which the Western Allies would go in supporting such insurrections. RIAS now had to reappraise its overall policy of encouraging its East German audience to think of the communist government as temporary. That policy was replaced by the concept of gradual evolution, through which the communist government would be encouraged to move away from doctrinaire Marxism and toward a more citizen-friendly form of socialism, or at least "communism with a human face."

Gradual evolution was based on an interesting assumption: if the people *and* their rulers were aware of the ever-growing prosperity, political stability, and military strength of Western Europe and North America, there would be great pressure on communist governments to change or be left hopelessly behind. It was particularly easy for RIAS to contrast the West with the East because the Federal Republic of Germany (more widely known as West Germany) clearly represented the former, and the German Democratic Republic the latter. The two nations shared a common history and language but were worlds apart in their present economic strength and degree of personal freedom (to travel, to change jobs, or to vote in open elections). Since RIAS had access to a large amount of information about East Germany that its rulers would not share with their people, it could present detailed and generally accurate comparisons on a daily basis.

Much of that advantage disappeared overnight on 13 August 1961, when the East German government erected a wall that literally divided Berlin in two. It became much more difficult to obtain daily newspapers from around the GDR; the heavy flow through West Berlin of East German refugees, who often had provided valuable and detailed information on life in their former homeland, ground to a virtual halt. Nevertheless, RIAS persevered, now emphasizing Western progress and changes taking place in other communist nations in Eastern Europe. The hope in the latter case was that East Germans might be able to persuade their government to at least follow the example of other "fraternal" communist partners. The station also developed special programs such as a 5-minute daily broadcast for East German military personnel stationed along

the Berlin Wall and along the heavily guarded border with West Germany, in which those on duty were reminded that would-be escapees were Germans, too, and certainly not criminals in any of the usual senses; therefore, the program urged guards to consider shooting to miss, and not to kill.

It was more difficult than ever to measure the effectiveness of any RIAS broadcasts to East Germany, since refugees had been far and away the most important source of survey-gathered data in pre-Wall days, and now very few escaped. In 1972 the two Germanys signed an interstate treaty permitting a limited number of personal visits in both directions. That seemed to signal the possibility that there might someday be some form of confederation. West German politicians and media, RIAS among them, referred less and less often to "the so-called German Democratic Republic." The West German government was now covering most of RIAS's annual budget, although a few U.S. administrators remained nominally in charge and the station remained within USIA. Yet jamming of the station continued, even as it was becoming easier for East Germans to watch West German television without interference from the East German authorities. (RIAS itself began a regularly scheduled TV service, but not until August 1998.)

Demise

By the 1980s, there were further signs of relaxation, accommodation, and even cooperation by both Germanies, and RIAS broadcasts were careful to take note of the changing climate. However, jazz and rock music more or less indigenous to East Germany (but often sounding suspiciously like current Western jazz and rock stars) began to appear on East German radio and TV. Mild forms of criticism of the government (but not of communism itself) appeared in East German cabarets and novels. Such moves made RIAS less unique, but since the GDR remained one of the most rigid communist-governed nations in Eastern Europe, RIAS broadcasts about the greater freedoms developing in some of the GDR's neighbors continued to find ready ears. Still, very few Germans on either side of the Berlin Wall were prepared for its entry points to open freely on 9 November 1989, and even fewer to see large numbers of East Germans walking through to mingle with West Berliners. Within a year, the two German governments had signed a treaty of unification and become a single nation, but hardly as equal partners: the "new" Federal Republic was a larger version of the old one, and very much a part of the West.

The unification ended RIAS's *raison d'être*. In 1992 RIAS TV was incorporated with West Germany's international radio service, Deutsche Welle, and became DW Auslandfernsehen ("international TV"). In that same year, the station's second radio service, RIAS 2, became a commercial radio station ("r.s.2") operating on the same frequency. In 1994 the West

German longwave radio service Deutschlandfunk incorporated parts of the East German radio services and parts of RIAS 1 as a new Deutschlandfunk "Berlin-programm." Thus, two erst-while Cold War enemy services now found themselves partners, even as the release of hitherto secret data from East Germany showed that RIAS Berlin indeed had been a major thorn in the side of the East German government and an important factor in bringing about its demise.

DONALD R. BROWNE

See also Cold War Radio; Germany; Jamming; Propaganda by Radio; Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty

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Radio Authority

Regulating British Commercial Radio

The Radio Authority is at the center of the United Kingdom's regulatory system for radio. The Broadcasting Acts of 1990 and 1996 gave it responsibility for advertising and awarding licences and subsequently for overseeing the performance of all commercial, community, and other radio services in the U.K., whether they be national, local, cable, satellite, or other broadcast services. Its reach covers everything in the British radio business in the country with the exception of the publicly owned and non-commercial British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). The radio services for which it is responsible range from national radio networks such as Classic FM and Talk Sport to hospital and student radio stations and special short-term radio services covering, for example, special events and trial services.

The Radio Authority also launched a project known as Access Radio, a not-for-profit pilot scheme, in 2002. This may lead to a series of small-scale local community radio services licensed on a permanent basis in the future. The Access Radio stations under the pilot scheme are intended to serve a particular neighborhood, or community of interest, and to have clear social gain aims. The Radio Authority took over the responsibility for all non-BBC radio from the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) in 1991. That body had been responsible for licensing and supervising British commercial television until the first commercial radio license in Britain in 1973, when it added radio to its responsibilities. The 1990 Broadcasting Act separated the functions of commercial radio and television, giving the former to the Radio Authority.

The Authority carries out three main tasks and responsibilities: it plans the use of frequencies allocated to radio broadcasting, awards licences to bidders with a view to broadening listener choice, and regulates content, in both advertising and programming. It publishes codes that broadcasters must adhere to, covering the use of frequencies, the content of programs, and advertising and sponsorship. It also supervises the radio station ownership landscape.

Although it may appear that Britain's radio industry remains highly regulated, in general regulations are designed to ensure that those who are awarded licenses abide by the undertakings that they have made in their applications. If, for example, a station bids for a license to program talk radio, it cannot then play a lot of adult contemporary rock music. If one bids for a license to be a local mixed-programming station, it cannot then broadcast only religious evangelism.

The Authority has the power to demand that stations make apologies for breaches in Authority codes. Offending stations may be asked to make corrections, may be fined, or may, in extreme cases, have their licenses shortened or revoked entirely.

Concerning advertising, the Authority code sets out standards to ensure that advertising is legal, decent, honest, and truthful. The Authority code on news and current affairs requires all coverage of these to be both accurate and impartial. Unbalanced politically partisan broadcasting is not permitted. The code covers discussion and phone-in programs, personal view programs, documentaries and features, and pro-

grams at election times. There are also codes on general programs and on engineering and the way in which allocated frequencies are used.

The Radio Authority advertises when new radio licenses become available and is open to anyone to apply. There are several levels at which licenses are advertised and awarded. National licenses are for services covering the entire country on AM or FM, of which there are three. They are advertised nationally and in open competition. Applicants have to make a cash bid; provided that they meet the requirements laid down in the Broadcasting Acts, licenses are awarded for eight years' duration to the highest bidder.

Local licenses are available for both AM and FM services and are advertised in the respective locality. The Authority has to decide whether a suitable frequency is available and whether the local market has the commercial resources to support another service. When deciding on the applications, it has to consider whether the proposed service will cater to local interests and tastes and broaden listener choice. There is public consultation during the decision making process. The Authority also has to decide whether the applicant has the financial resources to sustain the service for the license period. As with the national licenses, local licenses are awarded for eight years.

Cable and satellite licenses are subject to fewer requirements and obligations. All services intended for general reception (i.e., those without any coding or restricted access provision) need to be licensed by the Authority. Such licences

are awarded for five years. Like many other European countries, Britain now has digital radio using the Eureka DAB system. The Radio Authority is required to license all commercial services using the platform. The Radio Authority had awarded 42 digital licences by mid-2003, and together these provide more than 250 program services.

The Authority is funded by the license fees paid to it by each of the licensees and by the fees payable by all applicants. The chair, deputy chair, and all other members are appointed by the government's secretary of state for Culture, Media, and Sport; the organization consists of 47 full time and part time staff.

A new communications regulator, Ofcom, was to be established by the end of 2003. The new Communications Bill that went through Parliament in 2003 is expected to bring about the transfer of the functions of the five existing regulatory bodies, the Radio Authority, Independent Television Commission, Broadcasting Standards Commission, Oftel, and the Radio-communications Agency, to Ofcom. The existing bodies will be disbanded as a result.

GRAHAM MYTTON

See also British Commercial Radio

Further Reading

Radio Authority website, <www.radioauthority.org.uk/>
Ofcom website, <www.ofcom.org.uk>

Radio City

New York City Headquarters of NBC

Few station or network headquarters are well known as tourist spots. However, Radio City, a central part of Rockefeller Center in midtown Manhattan, has been an exception virtually since it opened in 1933 as the operational headquarters of the National Broadcasting Company (NBC). Public tours are offered, and Radio City has even been the subject of at least three novels.

Origins

In 1928, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., leased 12 acres in midtown Manhattan from Columbia University. Called the "Upper Estate" by the landowner, the plot was bounded by Fifth and

Sixth Avenues and 49th Street to 52nd Street, and was then occupied by low-rise brownstones, tenements, and theaters. Rockefeller planned to revitalize the area with three large office buildings and a new Metropolitan Opera House, but the stock market crash of 1929 forced him to scrap the original plans. Still wanting to develop a commercial district on the property, however, Rockefeller hired three architectural firms and a consultant to refine his plans.

In 1930, a \$250-million, 11-building project for the area was announced. Raymond Hood had overall architectural control of what would become the largest privately owned prewar business and amusement complex in the world. The first art-deco-style building to open was the Radio-Keith-Orpheum

(RKO) Theater, which seated about 3,500 moviegoers (it was torn down in 1954 to make room for an office building). Delayed somewhat by the Depression, the last of the original buildings was not completed until 1940.

In the 1950s what had become known as Rockefeller Center was extended west of Sixth Avenue to incorporate several high-rise office buildings; the Center now comprises 18 buildings. Control of the Rockefeller Center was sold by the family in 1985 in a complex deal. By 1989 the Japanese Mitsubishi company had become the majority owner, but after a real estate turndown, ownership went to Tishman Speyer Properties in 1997.

The centerpiece of Rockefeller Center, however, was the 70-story building at 30 Rockefeller Plaza, soon known for its chief occupant as the "RCA Building" ("GE Building" after 1986), but often referred to simply as "30 Rock." It opened in 1933.

NBC Headquarters

The Radio Corporation of America (RCA) moved its headquarters into many floors of the skyscraper in late 1933, bringing the NBC network along with it. NBC occupied its new studios early in November and dedicated them on 18 November 1933.

Studios for the network and its New York flagship station, then WEAf (later WNBC), would eventually occupy 11 floors, of which only the second and fifth had windows. This was part of an unprecedented effort to keep outside sounds isolated. Extensive sound filtration and insulation systems made the many studios among the finest anywhere. Their entire space (4.5 million square feet) was air conditioned, a rarity in that early period. The studios ranged in size from 14 feet by 23 feet to the world's largest studio—78 feet by 135 feet with ceilings 30 feet high. This huge room, Studio 8-H, could accommodate an audience of 1,300 persons.

Not all of the NBC space was immediately used; postwar auditorium studios (Studios 6, 7, and 8) were developed on the sixth and seventh floors as needed. Most studio equipment—master control and the like—was on the fifth floor with 50 tons of backup batteries in case of a power loss. No fewer than 275 synchronized clocks appeared throughout the NBC and WEAf floors.

The new NBC space had also been designed for eventual television operations, although that medium was technically very crude in the early 1930s. Later in the decade, however, NBC began studio television experiments with a much improved all-electronic system that soon extended to two large mobile vehicles, often seen parked outside 30 Rockefeller Center. Right from the start, NBC provided studio tours to the general public, which proved to be highly popular and grew even more so when extended to the new television spaces. By

the end of World War II, more than half a million people took either the basic or extended studio tour of NBC every year.

The Radio City Music Hall

Perhaps the most famous single part of the Rockefeller Center complex is the Radio City Music Hall on Sixth Avenue. Built at a cost of about \$8 million, it was the largest theater in the world with almost 6,000 seats under a huge arching ceiling. Its handsome art deco interiors were designed by Donald Deskey. It opened on 27 December 1932, and the first of its now-famous Christmas stage shows was offered a year later.

For decades the Music Hall offered movie and stage show combinations that were hugely successful. But as television developed and films began to draw smaller audiences, so did the Music Hall. In 1978 some discussions were held with regard to tearing the place down and erecting another office building; however, the building was granted city landmark status and saved. Its presentations after 1979 focused on what people could not see in their home towns or on television—spectacular stage shows.

In the late 1990s, the Hall underwent a massive \$77 million renovation paid for by Cablevision, which currently operates the facility. The complete renovation even included changing each of the nearly 6,000 seats by the company that had made the originals. Much of the original lighting was repaired and rejuvenated, as were all wall surfaces. Computers now control lighting and sound effects, yet much of the Music Hall's original stage equipment remains in place and in use.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also National Broadcasting Company; Radio Corporation of America; WEAf; WNBC

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Radio Corporation of America

No single U.S. communications company has had a more fundamental and important association with the worldwide development of radio broadcasting than the Radio Corporation of America (RCA). Although RCA no longer exists as a separate corporate entity today, having been acquired by General Electric (GE) in 1986, its brand-name products continue to be marketed by Thomson S.A. of France.

Origins

In the early 20th century, the American Marconi Company was a wholly owned subsidiary of Marconi Company, a British corporation. Marconi had a virtual monopoly on maritime ship-to-shore wireless communication when England entered World War I against Germany in 1914. Because of the important role of wireless in maritime operations, President Woodrow Wilson directed the U.S. Navy to assume control of the American Marconi stations and all German-owned stations in 1917 when the United States entered the war. The Navy operated these until the end of the war in 1918, when the U.S. government was reluctant to return control of the American Marconi stations to the British parent company.

Franklin D. Roosevelt was then Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and the experience gained from overseeing operation of these wireless stations during the war convinced him that all radio patents and operations in the United States should be kept under U.S. control. After World War I, British Marconi and General Electric began negotiations for the GE Alexander-son Alternator, which was the state-of-the-art hardware for long-distance wireless transmission. The U.S. Congress expressed concern that Marconi's acquisition of this equipment would result in a foreign company (and, by implication, a foreign country, albeit a friendly one) gaining complete control over maritime communication, which would not be in the national interest. Congress and the Navy pressured General Electric to buy American Marconi, which it did in October 1919. RCA was established to operate all the American Marconi wireless stations that General Electric had acquired. RCA's charter mandated that all board members were to be

U.S. citizens and that stock interest by foreign companies or individuals could not exceed 20 percent. The chief of GE's legal department, Owen Young, was appointed RCA board chairman, and two former American Marconi executives, Edward McNally and David Sarnoff, were appointed its president and commercial manager respectively.

GE and RCA developed cross-licensing agreements that permitted each firm to use the other's radio patents. Over the next three years (through 1922), cross-licensing agreements and RCA stock purchases were made by Westinghouse, American Telephone and Telegraph (AT&T), and United Fruit Company, which had patents on crystal radio, as radio was United Fruit's primary means of communication with its Central and South American plantations. The radio business at that time consisted primarily of international, maritime, and amateur radio services, and just a handful of radio broadcasting stations.

Radio broadcasting grew rapidly during the early 1920s and fostered corporate competition, much of it bitter, over whether the Federal Government or private corporations should control radio broadcasting and how. The corporations, for that matter, were engaged in vicious competition for control and experimented with various ways to shoulder the costs of radio broadcasting and the need for its further development. During this fractious period, AT&T and its manufacturing subsidiary Western Electric were referred to as the "telephone group." WEAf in New York was its first AM station and was in the vanguard for many experiments and innovations during the 1920s. An important experiment was known as "toll broadcasting." The telephone group introduced the first commercial announcements on radio (WEAF) in 1922. RCA, GE, and Westinghouse were referred to as the "radio group" and pooled their development efforts, including operation of the GE and Westinghouse stations. The two groups had very different ideas about how radio and broadcasting should develop.

The Federal Trade Commission, following a congressional mandate, began an investigation into alleged monopolistic practices brought about as a result of the more than 2,000 pooled patents and cross-licensing agreements. The results of this 1923 investigation led to a binding arbitration agreement

between the telephone and broadcasting groups to resolve their differences. Eventually, in 1926 they resolved the disputes when AT&T agreed to leave the broadcasting field, selling the popular WEAF station to RCA. RCA then created the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) as a wholly owned subsidiary of RCA. NBC began a regular network service using WEAF as its flagship program source. In time, 25 stations in different markets were affiliated with the NBC network. Shortly thereafter NBC established a second radio network using Westinghouse's WJZ, also in New York, as its anchor for programming. The WEAF operation was to be known as the Red Network and the WJZ operation was known as the Blue Network, ostensibly because an RCA engineer drew connecting lines in red and blue on a map showing the locations of the stations served by each. NBC became the base for RCA's expansion into commercial radio broadcasting on a national scale.

RCA became a giant in the radio set manufacturing business initially by marketing GE and Westinghouse radios. In 1929 the three companies consolidated their research, manufacturing, and marketing operations. RCA then bought the Victor Talking Machine Company and its famous logo and slogan "His Master's Voice"—the Francis Barraud painting of "Nipper" the Fox Terrier looking into the bell of a Victrola. The \$154 million paid for Victor enabled RCA Victor to manufacture its own radios and phonographs at a new plant in Camden, New Jersey. The new RCA Victor then established the RCA Radiotron Company to manufacture radio tubes, and by 1930 RCA controlled a substantial portion of the several markets in which it was active. This raised eyebrows in Washington, and investigations soon followed.

The Justice Department instituted antitrust proceedings that lasted almost three years. Finally, in 1932 the companies signed a compromise consent decree that resulted in GE and Westinghouse divesting themselves of RCA stock, relinquishing their positions on the RCA board of directors, and making their license agreements (dating back to the early 1920s) non-exclusive. RCA was now an autonomous and independent corporation. Its new president, David Sarnoff, introduced the RCA Photophone in 1932, a device that allowed moviegoers to hear Al Jolson on screen in the first "talkie."

Expansion

The newly independent Radio Corporation of America grew rapidly, expanding some operations to Hollywood, and growing both its manufacturing base and NBC networks. A research and development center opened near Princeton, New Jersey. Research on television focused at RCA's plant in Camden, New Jersey. RCA joined with a chain of vaudeville theaters to start Radio-Keith-Orpheum (RKO) Movie Studios and produced many successful feature films. The NBC radio net-

works flourished in the 1930s. Rockefeller Center was built in New York City during the early 1930s, and the high-rise building in that complex was named the RCA Building as part of the agreement by RCA to occupy multiple floors, including the first eight (which housed both WEAF and the NBC network facilities), and the top floors (which housed RCA's corporate offices).

RCA's involvement in television began in 1930. Sarnoff hired Vladimir Zworykin, the inventor of the "Iconoscope" (forerunner of today's camera tube) and "kinescope" (forerunner of today's picture tube) away from Westinghouse at the end of the 1920s to establish a laboratory in Camden to develop television. Ten years and \$50 million later, Sarnoff introduced RCA's electronic television at the 1939 World's Fair in New York City. Commercial television, using largely RCA technology, began operation in mid 1941.

When the United States entered the war in 1941, RCA plants were converted to war production, making tubes, sound equipment, sonar bomb fuses, mine detectors, and ultimately radar, which was introduced later in the war by the British. Commercial radio and television production resumed less than two months following the end of World War II in 1945. Many new television stations sprang up, resulting in a freeze on authorizations (licensing) by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) for almost four years, in order to assure equitable allocation of stations and non-interference of signals throughout the country.

Following a round of controversial Congressional hearings, RCA's all-electronic color TV system was adopted as the national standard in 1953. RCA held the patents on that technology at the time, so virtually every color television set produced until the mid 1960s contained RCA parts. All color kinescopes were manufactured by RCA. When a finished tube came off the assembly line it was given one of several different brand labels, packed into a matching brand-labeled box, and forwarded to an RCA competitor such as General Electric, Sylvania, Philco, or Motorola, if not labeled for sale as an RCA set.

Decline

The 1950s and early 1960s marked the peak of RCA's role in the broadcast and electronics industry. Sarnoff had actively supported the research underlying the company's success in black-and-white and later color television. The firm had developed a huge collection of patents, further strengthening its position. RCA was active in virtually all parts of the electronics field, including military and space communications, and it held major market positions in all those industry segments. At the same time RCA had become a major military equipment manufacturer and had entered the computer business, among others, spreading its resources across new fields.

Sarnoff remained in charge until his 1969 retirement, but other firms made the breakthroughs that would dominate the business in years to come. After Sarnoff's retirement, massive investments in technology that rapidly became obsolete (such as a type of video disc recording and mainframe computers) led to huge losses, weakening RCA in the 1970s (then under the leadership of Sarnoff's son Robert). As manufacturing lagged, soon the NBC television network subsidiary was providing RCA's margin of profit. The younger Sarnoff was soon replaced by a quick succession of other presidents and chairmen as RCA sought to regain its former electronics preeminence within a far more competitive and deregulated marketplace. Much of its consumer electronics business (as with other U.S. firms), including radio and television manufacturing, faded in the face of new competition from abroad. The company's attempt to break into the computer manufacturing business resulted in a huge loss—more than \$500 million when RCA finally pulled out. When a strong hand was most needed, severe management infighting broke out that would prove fatal to the company's survival as an independent entity.

Finally secret negotiations (initially RCA's board and other leaders were not included) were begun between RCA chairman Thornton Bradshaw and General Electric, which was now rich with profits from manufacturing and takeovers of other companies. The situation was ironic, as GE had created RCA so many years before. Bradshaw said later that some kind of takeover was the only way RCA's many parts might be kept together. But this was not to be.

In 1986 GE took over all of RCA for \$6 billion (a huge deal at the time) and shortly thereafter began to dismantle the empire David Sarnoff and others had created. Some parts were incorporated into GE's operations. The research labs that had helped to create television and other products were sold because GE had its own research labs. In 1987 the RCA trade name was also sold for use on consumer products that would now be sold by the French company, Thomson S.A. The NBC radio network that had pioneered national radio programming in the 1920s was sold, as were all of the NBC-owned radio stations.

RCA exists today merely as a product trade name, the giant company that once dominated U.S. radio having disappeared less than two decades after the retirement of its longtime leader.

ROBERT G. FINNEY

See also American Telephone and Telegraph; Armstrong, Edwin Howard; Blue Network; General Electric; National Broadcasting Company; Sarnoff, David; Westinghouse

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Radio Data System

Transmitting Additional Information

Radio Data System (RDS), or Radio Broadcast Data System (RBDS) as it is called in the United States, is a transitional technology for FM radio, important parts of which will be incorporated into the developing digital radio systems. RDS technology allows a station to transmit an eight character digital message (e.g., station call letters, identification of music being played) to suitably equipped receivers. A small digital readout tells a listener what station is tuned, what music or talk is being provided at the time, as well as other types of information.

Development

Because of the line-of-sight limit to analog FM radio transmission, many transmitters are required to cover a large geographical area. Adjacent transmitters cannot broadcast on the same frequency because they would interfere with each other. In order to stay tuned to the same radio network or program service, a listener driving long distances would have to constantly seek out a new signal as he moved. Unless the listener knew which transmitter served which area, he would not know the optimal frequency for his favorite network or music or talk program service. This was the problem that engineers sought to solve with the development of RDS beginning in the late 1960s.

Swedish engineers began development of what became RDS in 1976. They sought a means of sending data to radio pagers. Soon a group of broadcast engineers working under the auspices of the European Broadcasting Union (EBU) developed the RDS through the 1970s to meet the requirements of European countries, and subsequently it became a European standard under the umbrella of the Comité Européen de Normalisation Electronique. Initial field tests began in 1980. A large-scale operational trial took place in Germany five years later. Regular service began in Ireland, France, and Sweden, in addition to Germany, in 1987, the same year that Volvo made available the first car radio featuring RDS capability. More European countries—and radio manufacturers—followed over the next two years. By the early 2000s, the number of RDS sets in use totaled over 60 million, most of them in Europe.

Radio Data System Features

RDS technology uses a separate and inaudible digital signal that is a subcarrier (an additional signal) of an FM transmission. An RDS receiver can decode this information to enable

digital display of station or program information including the following features.

RDS allows automatic retuning to alternative frequencies. When the radio detects that the signal for a particular program service is becoming poor and hard to hear (due to distance from the transmitter), it seeks another one with the same program identification, and if that station provides better quality, the radio switches over so quickly that the listener is not aware of it. More expensive and sophisticated radios have two tuners at the front of the set, and these are constantly searching for a better service, making for even more efficient switching. Not having to look at the radio to retune while driving has obvious implications for safety on congested roads.

Indicating the type of program provided by the station is one popular RDS feature, while providing additional information such as useful telephone numbers, record titles, and so on via the display is another. This information can be up to 64 characters long and is displayed by scrolling through successive eight character screens. This feature is obviously of more use in home tuners than in moving cars.

On an RDS-equipped radio, the listener is offered an 8-character alphanumeric display of the call letters of the station. With the use of abbreviated indicators, this display can also inform the listener whether that station will provide any sort of traffic or travel program. The radio can interrupt listening when these traffic announcements are being broadcast.

A feature that has made the traffic and travel service work efficiently is the enhanced other networks (EON) feature. This is used to update information stored in a receiver about other program services than the one currently tuned. In other words, a listener can be listening to one radio station or even to a cassette or CD, and if a different local news station is about to broadcast travel information, the receiver can switch away from the primary source of entertainment to that travel information and back at the end of it. If manufacturers were convinced of a demand, they could build sets that would be able to vector onto any particular program type. EON availability is demonstrated by the logo "RDS-EON" which is normally displayed on a radio's front panel or on receiver packing.

In Europe, many broadcasters are currently implementing another feature using the RDS traffic message channel (TMC). Through this, it is possible to broadcast encoded travel announcements, and by means of a voice synthesizer, these can be heard or printed out by the listener in his or her own language regardless of the country through which he or she is driving. Because of the complexity of the process, in order to make the best use of the service, receivers should have two tun-

ers at the front, one listening for conventional RDS services and one tuned to the service carrying the TMC information. To date, probably because of cost, the manufacturing industry is dragging its feet over the development of these more sophisticated radios, though there are several simple TMC-capable sets on the market.

RDS can also supply the smart radio with the current date and time, which adjusts automatically for time zone changes. Among the more subtle features especially useful in Europe is the extended country code, which provides supplementary information to tell the radio in which country (and thus language) it is operating. To keep the RDS system flexible and to adapt to new developments, an “open data application” retains unallocated data groups for control of potential new tasks.

The system can also control the relative volumes of speech and music via a music-speech switch. One feature extensively used in some European countries (and indeed, the feature that began RDS development), is radio paging, which enables broadcasters to use existing networks in a cost-effective way to deliver messages to personal receivers. Up to 40,000 subscribers can take advantage of the service on one program service. There is a related emergency warning system so that those broadcasters who wish to do so can transmit confidential warning messages in the event of a national emergency.

Radio Data System in the United States

Initial RDS demonstrations took place in the United States in 1984 in Detroit. Ford began development work on an RDS-equipped automobile radio. Research and further demonstrations continued in various locations for several years. RDS was demonstrated at the 1986 NAB convention. The National Association of Broadcasters and the National Radio Standards

Committee (NRSC) formed a subcommittee to develop an American technical standard recommendation for the Federal Communications Commission. The United States adopted a Radio Broadcast Data System (RBDS) standard in 1993 that added functionality to the basic RDS offering. Further developments in the 1990s sought to retain basic RDS and RBDS compatibility.

As stations are all identified by call letters, a unique set of program identification codes was devised for the transmitter RDS encoders in North America, and a new set of program types was needed to meet the specific needs of the American market. The 31 numerical program type (PTY) codes thus vary in the European RDS and American RBDS systems.

Future

RDS was designed for use with analog FM broadcasting. As such, it achieved some success in several European broadcasting systems and in a few other countries. But as RBDS, it never took off in the U.S. American station managers saw little value in the system, deciding not to invest in a technical patch for a medium—FM—threatened with obsolescence. They foresaw that most of the RDS/RBDS features would be provided in the more revolutionary digital services coming on line in the new century.

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See also Digital Audio Broadcasting

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Radio Disney

Radio Network for Children

Radio Disney is a radio network for children and a marketing unit of The Walt Disney Company. The network is distributed nationally by Disney's American Broadcasting Companies (ABC) Radio Networks to an affiliate base of AM radio stations and is also streamed on the internet.

Radio Disney is a 24-hour synthesis of contemporary hit music, oldies, radio theater, and game shows, all programmed

for “kids and moms.” Its live feed originates from an ABC production facility in Dallas, and some programming occurs remotely from locations such as Disneyland in Anaheim, California. Disc jockeys play music, talk to children on the telephone, and interview celebrities. Signature Disney cartoon characters (Goofy, Donald Duck, Minnie and Mickey Mouse) pop in regularly to keep the broadcast environment “fun.”

Commercial breaks include avails (available commercial spot positions in a program) for local affiliate sponsors, although advertising and promotion for other Disney businesses (theme parks, live events, websites, movies, television, and retail) is an inherent aspect of program content and contest prizing.

Radio had scores of shows for children in the pre-television age, but as those comedies, adventure series, and westerns migrated to the tube, so did their audiences. In fact, Disney's *Mickey Mouse Club* was long responsible for television's ability to keep kids entertained. Consequently, radio essentially abandoned children, reacting to the onslaught of TV with increasingly sophisticated strategies to identify and sell its listeners to advertisers, supported by ratings methodologies that were unable to effectively quantify the under-12 demographic. Although pop music radio has attracted kids since the early days of rock and roll, children had not been directly targeted, nor could they be accurately counted.

Nonetheless, experiments in format radio for children began in earnest in the early 1980s on both commercial and public stations, laying the groundwork for an ongoing children's radio network, which led to Disney's entering the field. A number of concepts for children's radio were tested by the *Children's Radio Network*, established in 1982 by William C. Osewalt; these were broadcast on a handful of underutilized commercial AM stations from Florida to Oregon and eventually found a full-time home at WWTC in Minneapolis. The station's owner, Christopher Dahl, designated WWTC the flagship station for the first full-time kids' radio network, adopting the moniker "Radio Aahs." The network was programmed with specific segments for younger and older children; featured music, contests, and stories; and encouraged audience participation. Because its survival depended on increased distribution and advertising revenues, Radio Aahs entered a marketing relationship with ABC Radio.

It seemed that radio for children would flourish in the 1980s, as others, too, explored opportunities, some supported by Peter Yarrow of the singing group Peter Paul and Mary and

by Peggy Charren of Action for Children's Television. KPAL in Little Rock, Arkansas, had a full-time children's format, and WGN in Chicago was among the affiliates of the short-lived weekly music and news series for children, *New Waves*, which was cohosted by Fred Newman of Nickelodeon and funded by the Markle Foundation.

Public radio's significant children's radio venture, *Kids America* (which started locally in 1984 on New York's WNYC as *Small Things Considered*), was a live, 90-minute daily program distributed by American Public Radio that featured music, wordplay, call-ins, jokes, celebrity interviews, and problem-solving advice for a national audience until 1988.

Discussions at ABC about a children's network began as early as 1989, but it was not until 1996 that Radio Disney began broadcasting. Although Radio Disney's format is derivative of its predecessors (ABC Radio's marketing relationship with Radio Aahs resulted in a \$30 million judgment against Disney in 1998), its uniqueness resides in the use of Disney characters—the first time Disney cartoon stars have had a regular radio presence—and in Radio Disney's internet site (www.pcs.disney.go.com/disneyradio/), which promotes the music it plays on the air, conducts listener polls, and attempts to engage kids in an array of participatory content. Disney's relationship with Infoseek, which established go.com, and distribution via satellite (both XM and Sirius Satellite Radio offer the channel to subscribers), has propelled Radio Disney beyond its progenitors and the limitations of AM. Because Arbitron (the radio ratings company) does not provide listening statistics on children, Radio Disney relies on a marketing model to determine its media value rather than the more typical advertising model based on cume audience (or CPM, cost per thousand), common with other radio networks. Radio Disney uses the might of its brand to cross-promote, creating a children's media environment that is as much aural amusement park as it is radio network.

JOSEPH R. PIASEK

See also Children's Programs

Radio Free Asia

U.S. International Radio Service

The collapse of the Soviet empire in the so-called velvet revolution that began in 1989 led many to credit the work of international radio services, particularly Radio Free Europe (RFE) and Radio Liberty (RL), for breaking the information

monopoly in Eastern and Central Europe. Because of the Tiananmen Square massacre of June 1989, opinions developed that perhaps a similar broadcasting effort might be attempted in Asia. Yet there was also a feeling that the work

of the surrogate stations was over and that they should be phased out.

During the administration of President George H.W. Bush (1989–93), two ad hoc committees were established to examine this issue. In 1991—the year of the Soviet Union’s own collapse—one of these groups, the President’s Task Force on U.S. Broadcasting, recommended that the United States increase its efforts to broadcast into China and other communist states in Asia. The following year, the second group mandated by the U.S. Congress, the Commission on Broadcasting to the People’s Republic of China, made a similar recommendation. Both groups suggested that the United States follow the RFE/RL model of setting up a surrogate radio service, although a long-standing group, the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, disagreed with these recommendations in 1992, endorsing a minority opinion that the United States should augment its current broadcasting activities through the Voice of America (VOA). No action was taken, however, during the remaining years of the Bush administration.

In 1993 the new Clinton administration proposed shutting down the RFE/RL operation to save \$210 million per year. A fight to save the services was mounted in Congress, led by Senator Joseph Biden, and the Clinton administration gave way. Daniel A. Mica, Chairman of the Board for International Broadcasting, parent organization of RFE/RL, despite the U.S. Advisory Commission’s reservations, argued that surrogate radio stations had been effective in the past. As he put it, “I have talked with Yeltsin, Havel, Walesa, people in the streets who would come up and tell me that they huddled in closets for 40 years to listen to our broadcasts. It helped make possible, I think, what we see today . . . the fall of the Berlin Wall, the new and emerging democracies. Is surrogate radio, VOA, necessary any longer? Do you believe that everything is going to be fine in Russia, in some of the bloc countries that are going through elections, that are electing some of the very people who were just toppled a few years ago? Any knowledgeable person knows that is not the case. As a baby being born, you cannot abandon it. As a new nation being structured, we cannot abandon it.”

In 1994 Congress passed the Radio Free Asia Act to establish a new surrogate radio service for Asia. It was to be housed, along with RFE/RL, under the Board for International Broadcasting. Although funded by Congress, it was to have—like its predecessor services—a quasi-independent status. Radio Free Asia began broadcasts in March 1996. It uses 12 leased transmitters in Asia, the Pacific, Europe, and the United States to broadcast into China, Laos, North Korea, Burma, Vietnam, Tibet, and Cambodia. The service functions as a “home” or surrogate radio station, with its programming aimed at providing internal news to populations living within its target areas. It also promotes democratization and the

establishment of a market economy in its broadcasts. Its stated mission is

[t]o broadcast domestic news and information in nine languages to listeners in Asia who do not have access to full and free news media. The purpose of RFA [Radio Free Asia] is to deliver accurate and timely news, information and commentary and to provide a forum for a variety of opinions and voices from within Asian countries. RFA seeks to promote the rights of freedom of opinion and expression—including the freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any medium regardless of frontiers.

In 1997 the Radio Free Asia Act passed by Congress declared that the government of the People’s Republic of China was systematically controlling the flow of information to the Chinese people and that the Chinese government was more interested in maintaining its political monopoly than in economic development. The act called for increasing the hours of broadcasting in Mandarin, Cantonese, and Tibetan to 24 hours a day and for increasing efforts to add other dialects to Radio Free Asia broadcasts; the act also endorsed the idea of adding Mandarin television broadcasts through Worldnet seven days a week.

Like the VOA, Radio Free Asia broadcasts in Mandarin have been jammed with limited success. There have also been reports that its programs in Korean and Vietnamese have been jammed from time to time.

In March 2000 Radio Free Asia, with a staff of 248 people in eight locations (Washington, D.C.; Hong Kong; Tokyo; Taipei; Phnom Penh; Dharamsala; Bangkok; and Seoul), was broadcasting 12 hours of Mandarin per day, 8 hours of Tibetan, 2 hours of Burmese, 2 hours of Vietnamese, 2 hours of Korean, 2 hours of Lao, 2 hours of Khmer, 3 hours of Cantonese, and 1 hour of Uygher. All services were aired seven days a week.

ROBERT S. FORTNER

See also Board for International Broadcasting; Cold War Radio; International Radio Broadcasting; Jamming; Propaganda by Radio; Shortwave Radio; Voice of America

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Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty

U.S. International Radio Services

Radio Free Europe (RFE) and Radio Liberty (RL) represent the most ambitious of all Western international broadcast operations developed especially for the Cold War. Directed at the Soviet Union and the communist-governed nations of Eastern and Central Europe, by the 1980s they broadcast over 1,000 hours per week in 21 languages. As the century closed, those figures stood at over 800 and 22, respectively. RFE and RL have proven to be remarkably adaptable and resilient over time, escaping extinction on more than one occasion, and both continue to operate years after the end of the Cold War.

Origins

A clear majority of international radio services are financed openly by national governments, but several governments also covertly finance clandestine (concealed identity, often unlicensed) radio stations, most of them small-scale operations using one or two languages and with active lives of weeks or months. From their origins in the early 1950s until the early 1970s, RFE/RL functioned as very large-scale operations using many languages, and with a highly unusual form of concealed identity: they masqueraded as nongovernmental services financed by contributions from citizens and private corporations throughout the United States. Even after the U.S. journal of opinion *Ramparts* published an article in March 1967 that provided a detailed account of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency's (CIA) many financial conduits used to support such operations as RFE/RL, the now not-so-covert system of financing continued.

That the stations were provided with such an elaborate disguise in the first place has much to do with a *modus operandi* that the U.S. government first established during World War II. The Voice of America (VOA) began operation in February 1942 as the official international radio "voice" of the government. Very soon, however, the predecessor to the CIA—the Office of Strategic Services (OSS)—began to create clandestine stations to broadcast to Germany, Italy, Japan, and the territories they occupied. Since there were no official links between the government and those stations, government officials could deny knowledge of them and of anything they broadcast, which they clearly could not do in the case of VOA. The CIA was created in 1947, and within two years it had established the National Committee for a Free Europe (NCFE) as a private corporation. The NCFE supported unofficial (i.e., nongovernmental) services that would follow an independent policy line where Eastern Europe was concerned. Diplomatic custom pre-

vented the U.S. government from calling for the liberation of Eastern European nations from communist rule, because they were sovereign states; NCFE, as an independent body, could and did advocate such a position.

RFE came on air in 1950 with a service to Czechoslovakia. It was staffed mainly with Eastern Europeans who had fled to the West when the communist governments came to power, and it was administered by some of the same individuals who had worked for the OSS during World War II. It identified itself as "the sort of station that Czechoslovaks [then, in turn, Romanians, Hungarians, Poles, Bulgarians, and from 1951 to 1953, Albanians] would want if they had a real choice." In other words, the various RFE language services, following the lead of Radio in the American Sector (RIAS) Berlin, functioned as surrogate domestic stations. Radio Liberation from Bolshevism, as the eventual Radio Liberty was called at its inception in 1953, served the entire Soviet Union in much the same manner, except that its surrogate services were often vehicles for encouraging separatist sentiments in Soviet republics such as Georgia, Ukraine, and Uzbek, using the languages of those republics as well as Russian to do so.

Strategies and Cooperation

Although RFE and RL were separate organizations until 1976, they did cooperate in a number of ways, particularly in sharing audience research findings. Each had its own office of research and relied heavily on data gathered from refugee centers, as well as from visitors to Western nations. (When the Cold War ended, unpublished research studies that had been conducted by the communist governments revealed that the RFE/RL data were remarkably accurate.) Also, both were administered by U.S. citizens covertly appointed and paid by the CIA, and both received CIA intelligence reports concerning RFE/RL target nations.

The stations did follow somewhat different pathways where the theme of "liberation" was concerned: The Radio Free Europe appeal was more likely to urge individuals to take small-scale actions, such as work slowdowns or minor acts of sabotage, that would weaken the communist governments to the point where large numbers of citizens might rise up and force them out of power, perhaps with the military support of the Western democracies. The Radio Liberty appeal regarded the liberation of the Soviet Union as much more of a long-term undertaking, and exposure of governmental corruption, inefficiency, brutality, and unequal treatment of many of the republics was seen as an important contribution to the eventual

downfall of communism. However, hints at overt Western military intervention were exceedingly rare. To the communist governments of the target nations, distinctions between the stations did not matter: both were jammed (their transmissions blocked by electronic interference) from the time they first came on air.

When the Hungarian Revolution of October 1956 failed to draw Western intervention and brought an even tougher communist government into power, both RFE and RL were forced to reappraise their strategies. Anything suggesting such intervention now was forbidden. One overt symbol of that change was the renaming of Radio Liberation, which became Radio Liberty in 1958. The stations now began to emphasize the growing economic strength of the West, particularly Europe. The hope was that listeners in the Eastern European nations and the Soviet Union would compare their own circumstances with those of their Western counterparts, eventually conclude that they were falling farther and farther behind, and then put increasing pressure on their own governments to liberalize economic policies (with possible effects on political policies) so that they would more closely resemble the obviously successful Western policies. The message now was one of evolution, not revolution. This message was often supported by news reports and other current events programs that informed all of the target nations about reforms undertaken in any one of them—in RFE parlance, “cross-reporting.”

Whether that policy shift impressed RFE/RL audiences is difficult to say. The communist media publicized allegations that RFE’s Hungarian service had in effect caused the deaths of thousands of Hungarians in the 1956 revolution by leading them on with false promises of Western intervention. Research conducted in the years immediately following the revolution revealed that, although there were no unequivocal promises, there were strong suggestions of intervention in several broadcasts, usually added spontaneously by RFE announcers to reports from Western sources. That caused both RFE and RL to tighten their systems of internal supervision, which until then had given the heads of the various language services (many of them not U.S. citizens and usually driven by strong personal hatred of communist rule in their old homelands) great freedom to interpret and apply overall policy directives as they wished. Stricter supervision proved easier to manage with RFE than with RL, in part because of the scarcity of individuals with sufficient fluency in the many non-European languages, such as Uzbek, in which RL broadcast. What is more, any supervisor would have to be sensitive to the emotional nuances of those languages yet possess sufficient emotional detachment from the Soviet political culture that affected life in the Uzbek Republic to be able to render valid independent judgment on the style and content of RL’s Uzbek Service broadcasts—no easy task.

Challenges in the 1960s

In the 1960s, RFE/RL faced three major challenges. The first was the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962, in which nuclear war at times appeared imminent. RL increased the broadcast time of its Russian-language service and added a special Russian-language service for Soviet military personnel stationed in Cuba. Its message was one of restraint, although it underlined in the clearest possible terms the determination of the U.S. government to keep Soviet nuclear missiles out of Cuba. Within days, the Soviet ships carrying the missiles turned around in mid-ocean and headed back home. The second crisis—the move by Czechoslovakia in 1968 to become more independent of Soviet influence—was in certain ways more difficult for RFE/RL. The stations were aware that what they broadcast to Czechoslovakia itself and what they broadcast about the Czech situation to the other Eastern European countries and the Soviet Union would be compared with RFE’s performance during the Hungarian Revolution in 1956. Supervision of broadcast content was tight enough this time that the basic message of U.S. and overall Western support for Czechoslovakia’s seeming shift toward democracy was accompanied by messages urging Czech listeners to proceed with caution. There were no messages even suggesting the possibility of Western military intervention. The Soviet military already stationed in Czechoslovakia did intervene and in effect installed a more loyal communist government, but bloodshed was minimal.

The third crisis—disclosure of CIA funding for RFE/RL in 1967—sent many station staff members into shock. There were already rumors that the CIA was losing interest in the stations, chiefly because the Cold War seemed to be easing off, but also because the stations were costly and difficult to administer. (Power struggles among and within the various RL language services over “correct” policies for “their” republics, religious denominations, and so forth were legendary and sometimes vicious.) The stations’ handling of the Czech situation during the following year earned them some praise, but the seeming shift in U.S. policy toward greater accommodation of the Soviet Union and the People’s Republic of China at the end of the decade and on into the early 1970s gave the anti-RFE/RL forces within the CIA fresh hope and encouraged some members of Congress (including the highly influential Democratic senator from Arkansas, J. William Fulbright) to argue that what Fulbright labeled “this relic of the Cold War” should be put to rest.

The stations lobbied Congress on their own behalf and, with the support of Eastern European and Soviet Republic exile groups around the United States—many of them well connected with U.S. senators and representatives—managed to avoid extinction, albeit under a new administrative structure that was far more open to public scrutiny than that

under the CIA had ever been. Congress was also anxious to see some visible signs of increased efficiency in the stations and pushed for a merger of their respective staffs into one building, with one administrative board, a consolidated management, and joint policy guidance. All of these changes took place in 1976.

The Era of Détente

The spirit of détente (relaxation of Cold War tensions) introduced by President Richard Nixon as he visited China and the Soviet Union in the early 1970s held up reasonably well in succeeding years, and by the early 1980s there were signs of relaxation in some of the more doctrinaire Marxist economic and cultural policies. Those signs became far more evident after Mikhail Gorbachev became president of the Soviet Union in 1985. Artistic and economic freedoms multiplied and were joined by a degree of political freedom, particularly in the form of the increasing freedom accorded to the Soviet media to criticize graft and corruption even when committed by high-ranking officials. The government's failure to promptly disclose the magnitude of the Chernobyl nuclear plant disaster in 1986 infuriated Gorbachev, who urged the media to redouble their investigative efforts while virtually ordering Soviet officials to cooperate with the media in those efforts. By the end of the 1980s, the Soviet Union and most of the Eastern European countries had shut down their jamming transmitters, and RFE/RL broadcasts could be received clearly, but there was less reason to listen to them now that the communist media were able to report more fully, frankly, and immediately. It looked very much as if the old RFE/RL mantra—"We're in this business to work ourselves out of a job"—might finally be coming true.

Finding a New Mission

But if the RFE/RL cat had already used up some of its nine lives, it had others in reserve. There were numerous calls in Congress during the early 1990s for abolition. What purpose could those services have, opponents argued, now that the Cold War was over and the former communist nations were establishing media systems that operated along democratic and even free enterprise lines? RFE/RL and its supporters argued that it was premature to assume an immediate, or even swift, conversion to democracy and free enterprise on the part of radio and television in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Furthermore, RFE/RL could be a key player in effecting such a conversion, both by the example of its own programming and by consultation services that it was well suited to provide, since its staff spoke the languages of those countries and understood democratic broadcasting. The service also agreed to shift its operational base from Munich to Prague—a

move that would save a great deal of money because of the lower cost of living in Prague and freedom from high German labor contract costs.

The stations also could point out the support they continued to receive from prominent political figures in their target regions. Russian President Boris Yeltsin helped RFE/RL establish a bureau in Moscow following the unsuccessful coup attempt of August 1991, during which RL had played an important role in keeping Russian listeners informed of developments. Czech President Vaclav Havel told station staff that Czech Republic stations needed the professional example of RFE's Czech service as a reference point and that Czech listeners could profit from the broad perspective on regional and world events that it supplied. Even so, RFE's Czech service was cut back, and it entered into a cooperative relationship with Czech public radio to set up a new public-affairs program. The RFE Polish and Hungarian services ceased. But both RFE and RL found new outlets by making arrangements with more than 100 radio stations throughout Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union to rebroadcast RFE/RL programs.

As Yugoslavia began to break apart in the early 1990s, RFE and its supporters raised the possibility of a Yugoslav service, and in 1994 RFE began broadcasting in Serbian, Croatian, and Bosnian. Disorder in Albania in the mid-1990s brought a resurrection of RFE's former Albanian service. Continuing crises in the Balkans during the late 1990s, the war in Kosovo in particular, served as fresh reminders of the fragility of that part of the world and provided one more reason for maintaining the services. RL acquired responsibility for two tactical radio operations originally established by the CIA. Radio Free Afghanistan and Radio Free Iraq both came under RL in the 1990s; the former has survived the disappearance of a harsh Islamic government in Afghanistan in 2002, while instability in Iraq virtually guarantees continuation of the latter. RL also added a Persian (Farsi) service, Radio Azad, in 1998, then renamed and reoriented it in December 2002 as Radio Farda, for Iranians under 30. (Farda is a joint venture between RFE/RL and VOA.) Finally, RL initiated a web-based Tajik service in 2001.

Thus, RFE/RL has been able to establish for itself what appears to be a permanent place in the overall structure of international broadcasting activity financed by the U.S. government. The International Broadcasting Act of 1994 (Public Law 103-236) brought together all U.S. government nonmilitary international services under a Broadcasting Board of Governors. The nine presidential appointees who serve on the board also function as the RFE/RL board of directors. They also provide oversight for the International Broadcasting Bureau (IBB), which includes the VOA, Radio-TV Martí (to Cuba), Radio Free Asia (RFA), and the WORLDNET Television and Film Service. As of 1 October 1999, the IBB became independent from the U.S. Information Agency and is now

financed through a separate annual appropriation by Congress. RFE/RL also receives such an appropriation. So does the new (broadcasts began in 1996) RFA, which serves listeners mainly in the People's Republic of China, Laos, Cambodia, and North Korea.

This situation throws into sharper relief than ever one of the longer-running questions about RFE/RL and RFA vis-à-vis VOA: why does the U.S. government need two broadcast services to reach the same parts of the world in the same languages? There is little evidence to suggest that listeners see RFE/RL or RFA as anything other than voices of the U.S. government, even though official publicity from them stresses their "private" identities. There is one notable difference in program strategies: RFE/RL and RFA both place far more emphasis on coverage of events taking place within the nations they serve, whereas VOA stresses political, economic, and cultural life in the United States. But all of them provide coverage of international events, and there is duplication in that coverage. It seems likely that there will be increased pressure by Congress on all of the services to coordinate that and possibly other aspects of their programming, with a full merger into a single service as a not-unlikely prospect at some future date.

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See also Board for International Broadcasting; Cold War Radio; International Radio Broadcasting; Jamming; Propaganda by Radio; Radio Free Asia; Radio in the American Sector; Shortwave Radio; Voice of America

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Radio Hall of Fame

Recognizing Important Contributions to American Radio

Operated by the Museum of Broadcast Communications (MBC), the Radio Hall of Fame honors those who have done the finest work in U.S. radio broadcasting, past or present. Each year several new winners are added to the growing list of honorees.

How It Operates

The idea of creating a hall of fame for radio broadcasting originated with the Emerson Radio Corporation in New York. The first awards were given in 1988. The MBC in Chicago took over administration of the awards in 1991.

Each year the Radio Hall of Fame steering committee (a group of about 30 radio professionals and others named by the president of the MBC) nominates worthy individuals in each of four categories: pioneer network or syndicated; pioneer local or regional ("pioneer" meaning at least 20 years of service); active network or syndicated; and active local or regional ("active" meaning at least 10 years of service). Up to four nominations may be made in each category.

Nominations are sent to members of the Radio Hall of Fame and the MBC in May and (to new members) July of each year. Ballots are tabulated by a Chicago accounting firm. Nominees who receive at least 50 votes are eligible for consideration for

induction for up to five subsequent years. New winners are announced in August and presented at an annual Chicago dinner/broadcast in November.

Inductees: 1988–2001

Each of the inductees (person or program) is listed below alphabetically by program category.

Comedy

Fred Allen
Amos 'n' Andy
 Eddie Anderson
 Jack Benny
Bob and Ray
Burns and Allen
 Eddie Cantor
Can You Top This?
Car Talk
Easy Aces
Edgar Bergen and Charlie McCarthy Show
Fibber McGee and Molly
 Stan Freberg
 Bob Hope
Our Miss Brooks
 Red Skelton
You Bet Your Life

Disc Jockeys

Dick Biondi
 Martin Block
 Dick Clark
 Yvonne Daniels
 Rick Dees
 Alan Freed
 Karl Haas
 Hal Jackson
 Tom Joyner
 Casey Kasem
 Murry "the K" Kaufman
 Herb Kent
 Robert W. Morgan
 "Cousin Brucie" Morrow
 Gary Owens
 Wolfman Jack

Drama and Adventure

Don Ameche
 Himan Brown
 William Conrad
 Norman Corwin
The Goldbergs

Jack Armstrong, The All-American Boy
Little Orphan Annie
The Lone Ranger
The Lux Radio Theater
Ma Perkins
The March of Time
The Mercury Theater of the Air
One Man's Family
The Romance of Helen Trent
The Shadow
 Les Tremayne

Music and Variety

Bing Crosby
 Tommy Dorsey
 Ralph Edwards
 Arthur Godfrey
 Benny Goodman
Grand Ole Opry
 Garrison Keillor
 Kay Kyser
 Don McNeill
 Chuck Shaden
 Kate Smith
Take It or Leave It
Your Hit Parade

News and Talk

All Things Considered
 Paul Harvey Aurandt
 Jack Carney
CBS World News Roundup
 Jim Dunbar
 Paul Harvey
 Gordon Hinkley
 Don Imus
 Larry King
 Rush Limbaugh
 J.P. McCarthy
 Edward R. Murrow
 Charles Osgood
 Wally Phillips
 Susan Stamberg
 Bob Steele
 Lowell Thomas
 Bruce Williams
 Jerry Williams

Sports

Mel Allen
 Red Barber
 Jack Brickhouse

Jack Buck
 Harry Caray
 Don Dunphy
 Ernie Harwell
 Vin Scully
 Bill Stern
 Bob Uecker

“Emerson” Winners

(presented “for distinguished lifetime achievement in production, management, or technology”)

Edwin Howard Armstrong
 Jesse B. Blayton, Sr.
 Andrew Carter and Edward Pate, Jr.
 Lee de Forest
 Lynne “Angel” Harvey

Leonard Goldenson
 Ralph Guild
 Edward F. McLaughlin
 Gordon McLendon
 Guglielmo Marconi
 William S. Paley
 James H. Quello
 David Sarnoff
 Rick Sklar
 Frank Stanton

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Awards and Prizes; Museums and Archives of Radio

Further Reading

Radio Hall of Fame website, <www.radiohof.org>

Radio Liberty. *See* Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty

Radio Luxembourg

English Language Service, 1933–1992

Radio Luxembourg has a unique place in radio history. It broadcast to three generations of United Kingdom listeners, and it is the best-remembered—though not the first—station broadcasting from Europe. Some of the most famous personalities in broadcasting and light entertainment were heard on the station.

Origins

Before World War II, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), which had an official monopoly on U.K. radio services until 1973, broadcast mainly serious and high cultural programming, especially on Sundays—often the only rest day for working people. This left a clear gap in demand for lighter, entertainment-led fare.

The tiny country of Luxembourg had been allocated only a single low-power, medium wave transmitter by the International Broadcasting Union, but in order to gain lucrative

advertising from much bigger audiences elsewhere in Europe, the Compagnie Luxembourgeoise de Radiodiffusion (CLR), which had been incorporated in 1931, appropriated a long wave frequency. It began broadcasting services in several languages over the most powerful transmitter in Europe from studios at the Villa Louvigny in the city of Luxembourg. The English service, initially broadcast only on Sundays to counter the limited BBC programming, began on 4 June 1933. Most of the programs were produced by London advertising agencies, principally J. Walter Thompson and the London Press Exchange; most programs were variety shows, dance-band half hours, and personality showcases, with the artists closely associated with the products they advertised. The most fondly remembered show of this period was a children’s program, *The Ovaltine’s Concert Party*, sponsored by the makers of the malted drink Ovaltine. In an inspired marketing ploy, a club called the League of Ovaltineys was formed in 1935; by 1939 the club claimed some 5 million members.

In 1936 the BBC's audience research indicated that most listening in the United Kingdom on Sundays was to continent-based stations, with Luxembourg being the most successful. The post office in the United Kingdom, under pressure from the BBC, refused to carry programs from England by landline to the Luxembourg transmitter, so most were recorded in London on either 78 rpm discs or film celluloid and shipped to the Grand Duchy.

Indeed, the BBC, the U.K. government, and other national and international bodies made strenuous and persistent efforts to thwart the Luxembourg broadcasts, but the broadcasts continued until World War II and Luxembourg's 1940 occupation by Germany. Even then, the station continued broadcasts in English to the United Kingdom—this time for Nazi propaganda. The most notorious broadcaster on this "service" was William Joyce, whose outrageous claims about the progress of the war and the Allied leaders—all delivered in an exaggerated upper-class accent—led the British public to mock him as "Lord Haw Haw." Joyce was executed for treason in 1946.

Postwar Operations

Toward the end of 1944, U.S. forces took over the station, initially to broadcast morale-boosting programs for Allied prisoners of war and, after peace in 1945, as an entertainment station for troops remaining in Europe. The U.S., French, and British governments were all involved in negotiations to take over the transmitters, but in September 1946, Radio Luxembourg announced that sponsored programs in English would begin again at the end of the year. The U.K. audience quickly returned, along with the Ovaltineys, and in 1948 British listeners heard their first record chart show. However, the range of programs also included comedy shows and quiz and talent shows; several of the latter, including *Take Your Pick* and *Opportunity Knocks*, made a successful transition to the new commercial television service in the United Kingdom.

The rapid success of television's claim on U.K. audiences led CLR to believe they could make more money by using the long wave frequency for their French programs. So in 1951 the English language service was moved to medium wave—the soon-to-be-famous 208 (meters) frequency—and confined to evening broadcasts. In 1954 CLR began a television service and became CLT—the Compagnie Luxembourgeoise de Télédiffusion. In the mid- to late-1950s Radio Luxembourg's content became more concentrated on record programs, sponsored by the major record companies, which, naturally, insisted that only their own releases be played in their slots. Nevertheless, this was the first time U.K. listeners had the opportunity to hear rock and roll records—the BBC broadcast only a couple of hours of "pop" music every week and for several years frowned on the new music genre, as did many parents. This, of course, only added to the illicit thrill for the

young generation of listening to Luxembourg—especially with a "secret" transistor radio under the bedclothes.

The limitations of the content and presentation of the sponsored record programs became increasingly unsatisfactory after "pirate" radio stations began operations in 1964 off the coast of Britain, mainly broadcasting "live" programs and based on a much wider mix of popular music. Crucially, in this era Luxembourg lost its place as the buccaneer of broadcasting: the offshore stations were now the ones pushing the legal and musical boundaries and defying authority—Luxembourg now almost sounded like the establishment.

Demise

In 1968, after a new law had forced most of the pirate stations off the air, Luxembourg introduced a "live" disc jockey-presented Top 40 format, broadcast directly from the Grand Duchy. The BBC had introduced the officially sanctioned replacement for the pirates, Radio 1, in September 1967. Broadcasting on this station was mostly restricted to daytime, so for the pop-hungry audience, Luxembourg had evening hours virtually to itself until the start of authorized local commercial radio services in October 1973.

In the 1970s and 1980s, in order to stave off increasing competition from BBC and newer commercial stations, Radio Luxembourg made several further attempts to redefine itself and appeal to a more tightly defined niche audience; formats included disco and album rock. However, U.K. listeners had an increasingly sophisticated range and quality of media on which to listen to music, and the famous "Luxembourg fade"—the signal struggling against nighttime AM interference—lost much of its charm. All of this led to a dramatic loss of audiences and, with them, advertising revenues.

The decision was made to reallocate the transmitter and frequency used for the English language service: programs on 1440 kilohertz ended on 30 December 1991. An English service continued on the ASTRA satellite—using an audio channel on SKY TV—and on shortwave, but even this restricted service was deemed not to be viable and was closed just 12 months later. In 1997 CLT merged with the Hamburg-based Film-und-Fernseh-GmbH (UFA) to form CLT-UFA.

RICHARD RUDIN

See also British Broadcasting Corporation; British Pirate Radio; British Radio Formats; Lord Haw Haw

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Radio Martí

U.S. Service Directed at Cuba

Radio Martí is a U.S. government operated news, public affairs, and music radio service designed for listeners in Cuba. Named after an early 20th century Cuban independence hero José Martí (who, ironically, often fought against the U.S.), Radio Martí was modeled after other government-sponsored propaganda radio services such as Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty, and the Voice of America (VOA). Radio Martí began operating in 1985 and generated considerable controversy, much of which continues today.

Origins

The U.S. government began to oppose Fidel Castro's regime shortly after it came to power at the beginning of 1959. Opposition escalated in the early 1980s with Cuba's support of rebellions in El Salvador and Guatemala, and Cuba's influence on Nicaragua's Sandinista regime. A 1981 Reagan Administration initiative, "Radio Broadcasting to Cuba" became the seed for what would become Radio Martí, and was a revision of a proposal by Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC). In June 1981 he asked that existing Cuban broadcasts by VOA be designated "Radio Free Cuba" and be transmitted over an AM frequency as there were few shortwave receivers available in Cuba.

American AM broadcasters were alarmed as they were already experiencing escalating radio interference from domestic Cuban transmitters. Noted first by stations in southern Florida, AM stations across the Southeast were suffering growing interference from often high-powered (50 kilowatts and more) Cuban transmitters. U.S. radio broadcasters charged Cuba with violating the North American Broadcast Agreement, which both nations had signed in 1950 (and from which Cuba withdrew in 1981). In response to station pleas for action, the Federal Communications Commission began granting "temporary" power increases to the U.S. outlets most strongly affected.

After Cuba announced plans to launch almost 200 new radio stations, many of them also using high power, a Western hemisphere AM broadcasting conference was convened in late 1981 in Rio de Janeiro. The American proposal to develop a Cuban-focused radio service angered Cuban representatives who walked out in the middle of the six-week conference. Despite this growing domestic and international tension, however, the Reagan Administration continued to push for establishment of the service.

A Presidential Commission on Broadcasting to Cuba was established in September 1981 to recommend the operating principles and details of the new station. Its report a year later suggested what became Radio Martí's charter, stating that the purpose of the station was to "tell the truth to the Cuban people about their government's domestic mismanagement and promotion of subversion and international terrorism in this hemisphere and elsewhere." In the meantime, congressional funding to initiate Radio Martí development was delayed for two years as debate dragged on.

Use of AM Frequencies

At the heart of the debate was the proposal to use an AM frequency for the Cuban service due to the dearth of shortwave receivers on the island. This provoked a conflict between American broadcasters fearing greater interference and the government's anti-Castro policies. U.S. AM stations also feared Cuban retaliation in the form of high-powered signal jamming that could wreak havoc with American stations and not just Radio Martí. The National Association of Broadcasters promoted several alternatives for Radio Martí, including use of a shortwave frequency and making the service a function of VOA rather than a free-standing service. Radio Martí supporters argued that VOA was prohibited by its charter from performing this function.

In its final report, the presidential commission acknowledged that government use of a civilian AM frequency was a violation of principle, but was not without precedent. VOA already used 1580 kHz for Caribbean broadcasts from the island of Antigua. Radio Free Europe also used an AM transmitter to broadcast to Eastern Europe from Germany. In the late 1960s, a government-sponsored anti-Cuban AM station was established on Swan Island, about 400 miles southwest of Cuba. Named Radio Americas, the clandestine station (supported by the Central Intelligence Agency) was successfully jammed by Cuba and operations were quickly terminated. Since none of these stations were located in the U.S., they posed little threat to American broadcasters.

The most important precedent invoked by the commission, however, was an AM frequency VOA had been using since the Cuban missile crisis in October 1962. Located in Marathon Key, Florida, it broadcast to Cuba on 1180 kHz for three decades even though the military crisis originally used to justify the operation had quickly faded away. Radio Marathon, the first government operated station within the continental United States to use an AM frequency, shares the AM channel used by radio station WHAM (Rochester, New York) and other outlets.

In 1982 lawyers for station WHO submitted testimony showing that it would not be a violation of the VOA charter for it to assume responsibility for Radio Martí. This new evidence allowed the existing Radio Marathon operation to evolve into a new Radio Martí. Senate Bill 602 was signed into law by President Reagan in September 1983, formally creating Radio Martí as a part of VOA. Controversies continued over who would actually control station content—professional VOA administrators and broadcasters, or the anti-Castro Cubans based in Miami. The latter wanted a far stronger political tone to the operation and sought to make it a voice for the Miami-based opposition movement. This battle would extend over the next two decades.

Operations and Controversy

Radio Martí signed on the air on 20 May 1985 from Marathon in the Florida Keys, transmitting on 1180 kHz. Initial reports from listeners suggested that while the station was less strident in its message than many had feared, it was also dull. Music programming was popular, but provided little that was not already available on Cuban stations (or those in Miami often picked up in Cuba). One Radio Martí soap opera had been produced a decade earlier (and sounded that way) while a Spanish-language comedy show was older still. Lack of personnel was cited by station programmers as the reason for what was planned as temporary use of the old material.

Initially programming 14 hours per day, Radio Martí expanded to 17 hours in 1986, and eventually into a 24-hour

service. Audience research was difficult given the understandable refusal of Cuban authorities to allow on-site surveys. Instead, Radio Martí officials relied largely upon interviews with recent Cuban emigrants for a sense of what was being listened to and listener reactions.

Radio Martí operation and an appreciation of its growing audience led to the creation of a television counterpart, TV Martí, and an Office of Cuba Broadcasting (OCB) to supervise both radio and television stations, in March 1990. Thanks to consistent jamming of its signal, however, the late afternoon telecasts were seen by few on the island. Its relative lack of success prompted calls for a cut in funding to both services, though political support assured that funding continued into the 21st century, with most of the money going into the radio service. The U.S. government experimented in May 2002 with delivery of both radio and television signals using transmitters in circling airplanes as well as direct broadcast satellite links in an attempt to overcome Cuba's jamming efforts. By early 2003, broadcasts also encouraged tuning the services over the internet, though internet access is limited (and tightly controlled) within Cuba.

In 1994 the International Broadcasting Act required that all American international broadcasts, including Radio Martí, be consistent with broad American foreign policy objectives. It also reorganized all U.S. international radio services and later made them part of the Department of State. New management for Radio and Television Martí was installed in 1997 and fairly regularly thereafter. By late 1998, 80 percent of Radio Martí programs were live, replacing pre-recorded material and making the service more appealing to younger listeners. Five years later, the service was operating on a budget of about \$15 million annually, employed just over 100 people full-time (both in Miami and at the transmitter site in Marathon Key) and made use of many part-time broadcasters. Its two AM transmitters (upgraded to 100 kilowatts in 1999) utilize four antenna towers that focus signals toward Cuba. Cuban jamming efforts varied depending on relations between the two countries.

Despite strong congressional and administration political support, problems persisted with station administration and internal controls of Radio Martí program balance and objectivity. News commentary and public affairs programs were often found to be too shrill and more reflective of Miami Cuban exile thinking than broader American foreign policy as was required by law. A State Department study in mid-1999 confirmed these concerns and recommended more internal program reviews and effective logging of what exactly was being broadcast as well as external oversight. As just one high-profile example, debate erupted over Radio Martí coverage of the Elián Gonzalez controversy in early 2000. A six year-old boy had escaped the island with others, and was living in Miami with a relative. After much political wrangling over several months, he was taken by U.S. police (resulting in some

inflammatory news coverage and photos) and returned to Cuba and his father. Raging controversy over this "surrender" pitted the Miami exile community against the federal government and the radio service was caught in the middle. Radio Martí delayed the news of what many Cuban exiles perceived as a political abduction for four hours. The station director was soon replaced.

Well into the early 2000s, continuing controversy enveloped direction of both the OCB and Radio Martí, and a succession of directors of both operations came and went, reflecting continued infighting over the content and tone of the service.

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See also Board for International Broadcasting; Broadcasting Board of Governors; Cuba; International Radio Broadcasting; Jamming; North American Regional Broadcasting Agreement; Propaganda by Radio; Voice of America

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Radio Monte Carlo

Commercial Radio in France

Nominally the radio service of the principality of Monaco, Radio Monte Carlo was in fact controlled by France until 1998, providing news and entertainment programs in a commercial format for both French and European audiences. A later Middle East service had more of an international flavor.

Origins

Prior to World War II, France experimented with both commercial and state-operated radio, with some of the most popular radio heard in Britain coming from French-established radio stations such as Radio Luxembourg, Radio Normandie, and Radio Paris. During the war, Vichy Prime Minister Pierre Laval created an organization to operate what were eventually known as *radios périphériques*, commercial stations that could broadcast into France from the fringe. Radio Monte Carlo was

the first of these, established in 1942. The Vichy (collaborationist) government in the southern part of France purchased the property in 1943. The German government began to install high-powered transmitters in an underground bunker located in the principality of Monaco, for propaganda purposes. Allied forces captured the station before it could be put on the air by the Nazis, however, and in 1945 at the conclusion of the war, all radio stations in France itself were nationalized through the organization Société Financière de Radiodiffusion (SOFIRAD).

Between 1945 and 1958, SOFIRAD controlled more than 80 percent of the interest in Radio Monte Carlo. In 1964 the French state took over indirect control of the *radios périphériques*, creating a quasi-state corporation. This was part of what was called France's "audiovisual foreign policy," coordinating all schools, technical and scientific cooperation, and cultural activities (including radio, television, and film) as

part of the state's cultural diplomacy. Through this activity it subsidized the operations of public broadcasting in France; the operations of TV5; Canal France International; Radio-France Internationale; the *périphériques*; Radio Monte Carlo Moyen-Orient (Middle East), an AM (medium waveband) station broadcasting in Arabic and French from Cyprus; and Médi 1, broadcasting to the Maghreb countries from Morocco.

Radio Monte Carlo's programs were generally livelier, more informal, and more commercial than those of the state monopoly radio stations. In 1964 it began FM broadcasting and in 1965 it started experimental broadcasts using long waves at 1,250,000 watts, making it the most powerful long wave radio station in the world. It also developed a reputation as a more reliable source of news in France than the state monopoly broadcasters, even though the French government itself had such a large (over 80 percent) interest in it and appointed ten of the 12 members of its board of governors. This reputation for news coverage became especially noteworthy in its reporting of the student riots in Paris in 1968.

Transition to Private Ownership

Although it was originally a profitable venture, as it and the other *radios périphériques* attracted more than half the French radio audience, by the end of the 1980s Radio Monte Carlo's audience had dropped significantly, partly due to the rise of pirate radio stations in 1977 and 1978. These pirate stations were operated not only by individual entrepreneurs but also by French opposition political parties themselves so that by 1981 the French state radio monopoly was effectively broken. Radio Monte Carlo attempted to attract people back by initiating talk radio and purchasing the Radio-Montmartre.

In 1986 the government granted domestic FM licenses to the *radios périphériques* and in 1989 Radio Monte Carlo purchased the Nostalgie FM network. By 1992 there were 1,700 radio stations operating in France, 1,200 of which were commercial. Radio Monte Carlo operated on a variety of wavelengths including AM or medium wave frequencies and shortwave, from both Monaco and Paris. This prompted questions about the long-term viability of the *radios périphériques* in the newly competitive and privatized environment of French media, as well as question about the French government's par-

ticipation in them. In 1994 an agreement was reached whereby Radio Monte Carlo would be privatized, thus ending the participation of the French state in its finances and operations. This occurred by mutual agreement in 1998.

Middle East Service

When Radio Monte Carlo Middle East was first created, it relayed its programs from the studios of Radio Monte Carlo in Monaco, but in the mid 1970s the production headquarters was shifted to Paris. (Although it broadcast on medium wave, it also began a short-lived experiment in shortwave delivery after 1985.) Increasing in popularity in the Middle East, particularly for its pro-Arab reporting during the 1973 Middle East war, Radio Monte Carlo played a prominent role in reporting the 1970 Mecca Mosque incident, the 1981 assassination of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, Lebanon hostage-takings, and the 1981 *Achille Lauro* cruise liner hijacking. It broadcast a mix of French, American, and Arabic music, in addition to news and commentary. As Boyd puts it, Radio Monte Carlo Middle East was an especially profitable station from the mid 1970s until the early 1980s, when the oil slowdown occurred in the region. Its profits were further reduced in 1986 when Saudi television began accepting advertisements.

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See also France; International Radio Broadcasting; Shortwave Radio

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Radio Moscow

International Radio Service of the Soviet Union

The Soviet Union was one of the first countries in the world to engage in international broadcasting. Its first official international broadcasts aired in 1927 during the tenth-anniversary celebration of the Bolshevik Revolution. Listeners outside the Soviet Union had been able to hear Soviet shortwave broadcasts as early as 1922 from Radio Comintern, although these broadcasts were officially designated as domestic. In 1925 broadcasts about the anniversary of the October Revolution were broadcast in English, French, and German (although also ostensibly to internal audiences), and the 1927 broadcasts from Moscow were also aired in foreign languages. All these efforts, however, were sporadic, ending as quickly as they had begun when their official purpose concluded. Radio Moscow was officially inaugurated as a continuous service in 1929, with broadcasts in Chinese, Korean, and English from Khabarovsk, Siberia, near Manchuria, and in German, French, and English from Moscow itself.

Radio Moscow was the Soviet Union's entry into the radio war waged against Nazi Germany by the Allied powers in World War II. Although the Germans had used radio against the Soviet state in the mid-1930s, the battle between these two powers ceased once the Russo-German non-aggression pact was signed in 1939, a situation that continued until Hitler attacked the eastern front in June 1941, at which time Radio Moscow resumed its anti-Nazi broadcasts. Radio Moscow continued to be heard throughout Europe during the war, including in Nazi Germany, and it was a prime target for Luftwaffe bombing runs over the Soviet Union.

Cold War Transmissions

Following the end of the war in 1945, Radio Moscow became the principal adversary of the radio services emanating from North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) countries in the Cold War that began in 1946. It broadcast about 48 hours a day (or about 335 hours per week) in various languages. Like the Western international radio stations, it broadcast a mix of news, features, music, commentaries, mailbag (comments from listeners or answers to their questions), and interview programs. By 1950 Radio Moscow was broadcasting 533 hours a week, by 1960 1,015 hours, by 1970 1,908 hours, and by 1980 2,094 hours. In 1986 Radio Moscow, Radio Peace and Progress, and other Soviet regional stations were broadcasting 2,229 hours per week (second only to the American stations, Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, Radio

Liberty, and Radio Martí, in total hours per week). In 1985 Radio Moscow was broadcasting in 82 languages to Europe, Asia, Africa, the Americas, and the Pacific Island nations (including Australia).

From its earliest years, Radio Moscow was under the control of various state ministries and committees, with the State Committee for Radio and Television in charge from 1957 until the demise of the Soviet Union. Radio Moscow was thus subject to the same ideological expectations as those that applied to the Soviet Union's domestic services. These expectations were enforced by the Communist Party itself, exercised through the Council of Ministers. The principal divisions of the State Committee—mirrored in the organization of each of the broadcasting services—were information, propaganda, children's programs, youth programs, literary programs, music, audience research, and program exchange.

Voice of Russia

A new policy of *glasnost* (openness) began to filter into the broadcasts of Radio Moscow in 1987, based in the avowed commitments of the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. Radio Moscow became less adversarial toward the West, and its broadcasts began to take on more of the tone of the Western stations, particularly the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) World Service. But with the fall of the Soviet Union and the financial difficulties of the new Russian state, Radio Moscow also fell on hard times. It began to cut back its broadcast hours and to reduce its programming languages. In 1995 it laid off 30 percent of its staff. By 1999 the "Voice of Russia," Radio Moscow's new name, was down to 31 languages, and its weekly airtime was down to 504 hours. The Voice of Russia claims to broadcast 340 feature programs, providing its listeners with insights into the various "fields of life" in Russia, and to have listeners in 160 countries. It uses 50 transmitters in Russia, 30 in former states of the Soviet Union, one in Germany, and two in China to reach its audiences.

The change in Radio Moscow's programming philosophy could be seen between 1987 and 1990 in its coverage of international news, particularly in events that included the two superpowers. Its ideological edge was softened over this period, and it began to grope for ways to report the news using different linguistic frames than those that had influenced its broadcasts from early in its history. It shifted away from a perspective grounded in rivalry or enmity between the Soviet

Union and the West, to different linguistic categories that were more dynamic and neutral in their treatment of the American president and life in the United States.

Despite the changes in Russia, the Voice of Russia continues to be a state broadcasting company. It is financed by the Russian government and is governed by a chairman and a board of directors. It is also a member of the Federal Teleradio/Broadcasting Service of Russia, which also includes the state-financed domestic radio and television services in Russia. Although it is expected to provide multiple views in its programming, it continues to give priority to views of the state in its broadcasts. Its mission continues to be that of telling the world about Russia, portraying the country realistically, and explaining it to its international audiences.

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See also Cold War Radio; International Radio Broadcasting; Jamming; Propaganda by Radio; Shortwave Radio

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Radio Sawa/Middle East Radio Network

U.S. International Radio Service

Early in 2002 the United States initiated a new 24-hour Arabic language radio broadcasting service in the Middle East. The service was a product of Voice of America (VOA) rethinking about the United States' image in the region. Implementation was speeded up after the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks on New York and Washington, D.C., and Radio Sawa ("together" in Arabic) began service in March of 2002.

Origins and Mission

For several decades the Voice of America provided an Arab-language service by shortwave and medium wave. These broadcasts were usually for only a few hours a day, and there was often considerable criticism of this single service for such a varied area. More specifically, the service was often criticized for what was or was not broadcast. With the expansion of FM service throughout the Middle East, shortwave listening dropped off. United States radio "presence" across the region was thus increasingly left behind by the domestic and international radio efforts of other countries. Consideration of a dedicated Arabic service was initiated at the end of the 20th century.

The idea for what would become Radio Sawa originated with the U.S. Broadcasting Board of Governors (BBG), which supervises all U.S. international radio services. Norman J. Pattiz, chairman of Westwood One, and a Clinton administration appointee to the BBG (and the only radio professional member), spearheaded the process to get the new service on the air. He led a study mission to the Middle East in early 2001, becoming even more convinced of the need for a full-time Arab-language service to counteract the many area government-supported media services that provide less-than-positive views of the United States. Pattiz's idea took on more urgency in the aftermath of the September 2001 terrorist attacks on the United States and soon became a "pilot project" of the Voice of America. Congress provided \$35 million to launch the project in fiscal year 2002, half of which was to be used for one-time investments in transmitters. The second year (fiscal year 2003) financial request to Congress was for nearly \$22 million.

The intent of the Middle East Radio Network (MERN), as it was originally dubbed, was expressed in an early press release: "to broadcast accurate, timely and relevant news and information about the region, the world and the United States, and,

thereby, to advance long-term U.S. national interests.” MERN’s primary audience was defined as those in the Middle East under the age of 30—roughly 60 percent of the population. A secondary audience was defined as anyone seeking news.

United States delegations visited various Arab nations in late 2001 and early 2002, seeking agreements to establish both medium wave (AM) and FM transmitter locations for the new service. Operations were established in Washington and in Dubai, and Arab-speaking staff was hired in both locations. Broadcasts would be provided in five regional Arabic dialects aimed primarily at listeners in Jordan and the Palestinian areas, Egypt, Iraq, Sudan, and the Gulf States.

Initiation

MERN first went on the air as Radio Sawa on Friday, 22 March 2002, with popular Western and Arabic musical programming and promotions for news broadcasts that began in early April. Initial broadcasts came from FM transmitters based in Amman, Jordan, and in Kuwait City. The service was also carried on the digital audio channels of the satellite services Nilesat, Arabsat, and Eutelsat’s “Hotbird.” Termed “phase one” of the service’s rollout, these first transmitters were joined in mid-April with two more from both Abu Dhabi and Dubai in the United Arab Emirates. Medium wave or AM transmissions were provided from both the Eastern Mediterranean and the Gulf. (The VOA’s Arabic language service was terminated in favor of Radio Sawa shortly after the latter went on the air.)

Programming was planned to expand to include news analysis, interviews, opinion pieces, sports, weather, and features on a variety of political and social issues. Various regional programs were also projected. By early 2003, FM transmitters were operating 24 hours a day from Amman (Jordan); Kuwait; Dubai; Abu Dhabi; Doha; Djibouti; and Manama (Bahrein), along with the two medium-wave (AM) transmissions—and the service could also be tuned in numerous short-wave frequencies. Plans included six different program streams for different parts of the Middle East. Initial Radio Sawa audiences were difficult to ascertain, although by mid-2002 audiences seemed to be growing, especially in Jordan. Original expectations were that 4 million would listen during the service’s first year, with closer to 7 million a year later.

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See also Arab World Radio; Broadcasting Board of Governors; Voice of America; Westwood One

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Receivers

Over the course of some eight decades of radio broadcasting, receivers for tuning into broadcasts have evolved and become generally lighter, more efficient, and less expensive. They have changed radically in both design and internal features. While radio receivers are now virtually ubiquitous in homes, cars, and offices, such was not always the case. This entry focuses primarily on U.S. commercial development of consumer radios, with some discussion of developments outside the U.S. as well.

Early Receivers

The earliest consumer radio receivers were relatively crude handmade devices created by amateurs. Throughout the

1920s radio enthusiasts built a variety of sets: sometimes simple crystal tuners, often more complex sets featuring several vacuum tubes (these were sometimes sold as ready-to-make kits). Except for the crystal sets, early radios required power provided by bulky wet-cell batteries and later by rechargeable storage batteries. Users listened using earphones or, by mid-decade, separate horn-shaped acoustic speakers. These early sets were limited in sensitivity (ability to pick up weaker signals) and selectivity (ability to distinguish between signals and to tune sharply) and were not very handsome to look at, consisting of a mass of wires, tubes, batteries (often leaking), and controls. They required careful tuning with several dials, and delivered (by present day standards) poor audio quality.

The first commercial receivers became available in 1920–21, but initial store-purchased sets were expensive and thus limited in appeal. Manufactured initially by Westinghouse and General Electric (for sale under the RCA “Radiola” label) and soon thereafter by other manufacturers, they came with key components simply mounted on boards (termed *breadboards* in the trade) or built into wooden cases (sometimes referred to as *breadboxes*), and they required the same complex battery and antenna rigs used by the home-built sets. As the radio craze peaked in 1922, hundreds of other manufacturers—including Atwater Kent, Crosley, Grebe, and many smaller firms—offered receivers from inexpensive single-tube sets (selling for up to \$10) to far more sophisticated multi-tube receivers selling for well over \$100. By 1924 more than a million commercial sets a year were being sold to consumers. Most were hand-wired, thanks to relatively cheap labor (this industry was one of the first modern manufacturing businesses to employ women) and the complexity of their designs.

The first receivers able to operate on AC power, thus eliminating the need for messy batteries, appeared from Atwater Kent, Grigsby-Grunow (“Majestic” radios), and then RCA in 1927–28. From 1924 until 1931, only RCA offered the superior superheterodyne circuit, for the company had purchased Edwin Armstrong’s patent. The “superhet” provided far better selectivity and sensitivity than did radios made by other firms. As part of the settlement of an antitrust proceeding, RCA had to make the circuit available to other manufacturers. Superheterodyne circuits dominated radio receivers for decades.

By the late 1920s receiver design was becoming more sophisticated, and the first console (free-standing) “hi-boy” floor models became available as radios became an item of furniture for the home. Indeed, the design of the wooden cabinetry became an important radio selling point, as did annual model changes (sometimes models changed more frequently than annually), somewhat paralleling automobile sales techniques. Radios were widely sold in various historical “period” styles as well as utilitarian furniture—desks and end tables, for example—all intended to fit with varied home decor. Some table models appeared in all-metal cases, which added to their weight but protected the delicate tubes and circuits. Again attesting to inexpensive labor costs, some were even offered with hand-painted floral designs in multiple colors, made to order. Most radios offered circular dials for selecting stations, leading to users referring to a given frequency “on the dial.”

On the eve of the Great Depression, some 60 manufacturers of radios were operating, although four of them held two-thirds of the market and two controlled a third. Fancy console models dominated the radio market. Overproduction, however, helped to force prices down (from an average of \$136 in 1929 to about \$90 in 1930 and down to \$47 by 1932). A host of manufacturers were forced out of the market and then out

of business. Depression realities forced a return to cheaper small table model radio receivers, and by the mid-1930s Philco was making a third of them. Crosley and Emerson also specialized in small and inexpensive radios (around \$15).

Mass Market Receivers

In part as a move toward greater efficiency, radio circuits, vacuum tubes, and designs all became more standardized. Most table radios (by the mid-1930s, these combined the receiver and loudspeaker in a single enclosure and made up 75 percent of the market) were of the “cathedral,” “gothic” (with a rounded or pointed top), or later “tombstone” (with a flat top) design. As economic conditions improved, console radios resumed their former popularity, and better models featuring shortwave as well as medium wave (AM) bands, pushbutton station selection, better speakers, and larger lighted radio dials for easier tuning became available. The first car radios appeared around 1930, although only the more expensive models included radios as factory-installed equipment. By 1938 more than half of the world’s radio receivers were in the United States. That radio had become central to daily life is clear as more homes owned radios than owned telephones, vacuum cleaners, or electric irons.

Radios came in an increasing variety of shapes and sizes. Smaller shelf or “mantle” radios became popular because they were easy to move from one room to another. Compact or “midget” radios by Emerson and other firms were made possible by smaller vacuum tubes. Some were manufactured in novelty designs tied to popular radio shows (e.g., Charlie McCarthy or Hopalong Cassidy) or reflecting popular culture (e.g., the Dione Sextuplets) themes. Prices dropped below \$10 for some models. In the late 1930s and early 1940s, tabletop sets manufactured from special Bakelite and Catalin plastic resins became popular owing to their reasonable prices and huge decorative appeal. Most sets featured two to three colors and fit in well as bright additions to kitchens and family rooms. Some models were purchased because of their value as both colorful and practical accessories in bedrooms and even bathrooms. (Today many of these same sets are expensive collector’s items, costing thousands of dollars.)

In April 1942 manufacture of all civilian radios was halted as part of the U.S. war effort. Finding spare parts grew harder, and thus radio repairs became increasingly difficult as the war continued. Pent up demand led to massive numbers of AM radios being made again starting in late 1945. More than 50 million were sold from 1946 to 1948 alone. The availability of more receivers meant more multi-receiver households, a phenomenon that had first appeared in the 1930s. Plastic was now the radio cabinet material of choice, available in many different colors and shapes and less expensive to manufacture than the former wooden casings.

Radios in the 1950s continued the trend to smaller and lighter formats. Few consoles were sold (households devoted available console space to television) as sales concentrated on table radios, most of which were AM only despite the appearance of FM stations. Clock radios with “wake-up” features became popular. Radio technology had changed very little over two decades because designs were still based on the use of vacuum tubes. Only in 1954 did the first tiny transistor models become available, their ready portability a trade-off for very poor sound quality. Only in the 1960s did transistor radio prices drop sufficiently to drive tube models off the market.

FM Receivers

The first FM radio receivers became available in 1941 just as the first FM stations took to the air. Perhaps 400,000 were manufactured before wartime consumer product restrictions came into force. All of the pre-war sets were designed for the 42–50 megahertz FM band, so when the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) shifted the service up to 88–108 megahertz in 1945, the older sets were made obsolete. A few receivers were sold with both old and new FM bands in the 1945–48 period, when dual station operation was allowed. Only very slowly did sets on the new band become available, and then only at prices far higher than comparable AM models. Sales were slow—a tiny fraction of AM levels—and declined into the 1950s.

As FM service began slowly to expand in the late 1950s, however, so did the manufacture and sale of FM receivers. The addition of stereo service in 1961 was a major factor in rising FM receiver sales, as was the growing high fidelity movement (which originated in Britain) among audiophiles. FM reception was a core feature of component stereo systems. Companies such as Fisher, Marantz, and Scott built high-quality tuners that required separate amplifiers and speakers but delivered superb sound.

By the mid-1960s FM radios were found in more than half of the nation’s households, but FM radios remained rare in automobiles into the 1970s. FM proponents sought to persuade Congress to require that all radios receive both AM and FM bands (parallel to television legislation that mandated UHF as well as VHF reception capability), but slowly rising FM sales made the attempt unnecessary. As prices came down and more FM stations took to the air, more radios featured both AM and FM tuning capability.

Portable Receivers

Initial portable radios were portable in name only. Handmade “portables” were fragile, bulky, and heavy, even without the required horn speaker and batteries. Yet the ability to take a

radio with you was a strong lure, as is evident even in radio advertising of the early 1920s. Some homemade models were tiny and featured earphones. Still, the first commercial portables resembled midsize suitcases, and not light ones at that. One knew they were intended to be portables simply because they had handles. All these difficulties drove the portable radio off the market by 1926–27 while consumers focused on the new plug-in home receivers.

While many small radios were sold with handles, they still had to be plugged in (they did not operate with batteries), making them what Schiffer (1991) terms *pseudo-portables*. They looked the part, but they were not. Almost no true U.S. portable radios were manufactured in the 1930s save by some smaller companies operating on the fringe of the business. The market was simply too small.

The availability of smaller and more efficient tubes that drew battery power more sparingly helped spark a revival in manufacturer interest in portable radios in 1938–39. Led by Philco and other firms, battery-powered portables began to flood the U.S. market: more than 150 models were available by the end of 1939. Many still looked like cloth-covered suitcases, but now they were small, light, and clearly intended to be carried about. Others made use of the then-new plastic cases and weighed only five or six pounds even with their batteries. Some were even touted as being pocket sized. Most could also double as plug-in table radios. One of the best was Zenith’s Trans-Oceanic, which went on sale early in 1942 featuring several shortwave bands with AM reception, a radio log, special antenna, and a large battery pack. Despite its high price (\$100), it was hugely popular in the few months it was available, and it resumed production after the war, lasting in improved models well into the 1960s.

Postwar portables were central to the AM radio boom. Although based on prewar technology, they appeared in bright plastic cases that emphasized modern styling, many of them dubbed “lunchbox” radios because of their size. Manufactured by many companies, these were hugely popular in the late 1940s and into the 1950s, selling more than a million units a year. Smaller “miniature” or “shirt-pocket” models appeared in the early 1950s. No portables included FM tuning, in part because of the limited distance FM stations could transmit.

Announcement of the transistor in 1948 and its first appearance in a small radio (the Regency TR-1 in 1954) sparked a new generation of portables in the late 1950s that emphasized their tiny size, light weight (11 ounces in the Regency’s case), long-lasting batteries, and portability. Combined with radio’s development of Top 40, the transistor portable helped to transform radio’s audience from an at-home family image to an on-the-road active youth image. Yet tube-based (or tube-transistor combination) portables lasted into the early 1960s, in part because of the initial high cost of transistors.

Receivers Outside the U.S.

Radio receivers in other countries generally followed the same trends as in the United States. Tight patent control encouraged domestic manufacturing in most industrial nations before World War II, limiting imports from the United States or elsewhere. What most set different nations apart was the design of the radios in each era.

Early British wireless sets were battery powered; sets designed for “mains” (AC) power appeared in 1926 but took longer to catch on as electrical service was spotty. Annual (1926–49) 8- to 10-day “Radiolympia” shows near London highlighted the annual model changes of the dozens of receiver and radio equipment manufacturers. There was little standardization of components or design, although regulations required the use of largely British materials and vacuum tubes. Receiver cabinets were made largely of wood until the inception of Bakelite products in the mid-1930s. Many receivers were rented rather than sold. Thanks to the lingering lack of rural electricity, the battery-powered portable radio was very popular in the 1930s, well before that occurred in the United States. Although civil production continued well into 1940, the war’s demand for rapid construction of military equipment brought about far more standardization of parts and processes with a dramatic reduction in the different numbers of devices manufactured. Postwar radios were made under conditions of rationing yet achieved prewar levels very quickly. Promotion centered on homes purchasing a “second set” to expand radio listening. Radios appeared in more modern designs. Although BBC broadcasting in FM began in 1955, few FM radios were sold until the 1960s. The inception of FM and availability of improved recordings sparked the high-fidelity movement that began in Britain. High quality audio products became a chief British export. At the other end of the radio scale, the first British transistor radio was sold in 1956 but by 1964 (as in the United States), the market was dominated by Asian imports.

In Europe, Germany had scores of radio manufacturing firms before World War II. Cheap labor and solid patent control (especially by Telefunken) allowed manufacture of good radios at low cost, resulting in few imports. During the war, many receivers were made to receive only local German stations in an attempt to reduce foreign listening. Saba made some of the best German radios from the mid-1920s into the 1960s. They offered advanced features such as motor drives for more rapid tuning, multiple bands, and remote controls. Many German table radios of the 1950s, such as those by Grundig, Telefunken, and Blaupunkt, became high-end imports to the U.S. market. They featured multiple bands (including FM well before most American sets), good speakers, push-button tuning, and often had rounded and polished

wooden cabinetry. The German industry finally succumbed to Far Eastern imports, as had U.S. firms.

In France, prewar radios were nearly all of domestic manufacture, with a fair number being exported to European and South American markets. As in many nations receivers were expensive at first, leading to considerable community listening to radios in centrally located public places. French postwar radios featured some of the most dramatic styling of receivers anywhere. A combination of art deco and moderne, their cabinets combined wood with metal and plastic highlights.

A few nations emphasized the manufacture of receivers for wired radio systems. Designed to keep receiver costs down while preventing listening to foreign stations, receivers could be very cheaply designed (essentially they were loudspeakers) as they were connected by wire to only one or two nearby transmitters. Some 12 million of these existed in 1950 and 40 million by 1960, nearly all in Russia (70 percent of all sets) and Eastern Europe (25 to 40 percent depending on the country). China made considerable use of wired radio systems as well.

In Japan most receivers into the late 1920s were of the crystal type. Battery-powered tube receivers (with from one to three vacuum tubes) cost ten times as much, and the best models were imported from the U.S. Set makers were usually small companies with limited output, which partially explains why early Japanese radios did not achieve the technical prowess of those in other nations. AC-powered receivers appeared in 1926 and by late in the decade were becoming more affordable and thus common. By 1930 loudspeakers were built into radio sets and were soon of the vastly improved dynamic type providing better quality sound.

Superheterodyne receivers were on the market by 1933 but did not become commonly available until after World War II due to cost. By 1938 the NHK network developed a “standard receiver” type with three or four tubes and magnetic speakers, and it “approved” though did not license the 15 companies chosen of the more than 60 operating set makers. During the war, government-encouraged consolidation resulted in about 30 firms being allowed to manufacture approved types of receivers, none of which included shortwave bands in order to better control listener choices. Price controls were imposed that continued under the occupation. By the late 1940s rationing and price controls were lifted, and Japanese radios began to match the best of those made abroad, often sold on the installment plan to spread out their high prices. The number and quality of receivers both expanded dramatically in the 1950s. All-wave receivers became standard, high-fidelity sound was available by 1955, FM reception in 1957, and stereo receivers after 1960. Transistor radios, manufactured in small numbers in the 1950s, dominated the industry by the 1960s, when many were exported to the United States.

Modern Receivers

The primary change in the U.S. radio market after 1960 (other than the addition of FM stereo) was less in their technology than their source. Japan began producing small tube portable radios for sale in the United States in the 1950s and sold its first transistor radio (a Sony TR-63) in 1957. Soon thousands of radios were being imported, combining solid (and often better) engineering with low prices. Some U.S. manufacturers shifted set making (or licensed their designs) to companies in the Far East. The revolution happened quickly; by 1963 there was no U.S. small transistor radio, for they all came from Japan. Cheaper foreign labor soon wiped out U.S. radio (and later television) manufacturing of all types; the final Zenith Trans-Oceanic model of 1973 was made in Taiwan.

In the 1990s some sets (called "smart receivers") featured RDS (Radio Data Systems) technology that enabled AM and FM stations to transmit data to receivers, thus allowing them to perform several automatic functions. Users of such sets could interface with stations and access programming information from them via a built-in light-emitting diode (LED) screen. Radio thus became a visual medium. At the turn of the 21st century, the first digital radio receivers were becoming available in the United States, having already appeared in Britain and several European countries. These were high-end products designed for use with satellite radio services.

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See also Automobile Radios; Capehart; CONELRAD; Crystal Receivers; Developing Nations; Digital Satellite Radio; Dolby Noise Reduction; Early Wireless; Emerson Radio; General Electric; Ham Radio; Japan; Kent, Atwater; Motorola; Philco Radio; Radio Corporation of America; Radio Data Systems; Shortwave Radio; Stereo; Transistor Radios; Walkman; Westinghouse; Zenith

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Recording and Studio Equipment

From the carbon microphones used by the early radio experimenters to the virtual studio of today, radio equipment has evolved to meet the demands of changing programming strategies. In the earliest days of radio, the equipment used to create programs was very basic. The radio operator spoke into a microphone connected to a transmitter. Soon, radio control rooms were equipped with mixing consoles to mix and route

microphones, remote lines, network feeds, and transcription players. In the 1950s, tape recorders were added to the equipment inventory of the best-equipped radio studios. In the 1960s, broadcast cartridge recorders and players were adopted by broadcasters as the industry standard for recording and playback of commercials and other short-form production.

In the 21st century, the basic functions of recording, editing, and playback are still central to the production process at all radio stations, but the choice of type and brand of equipment is extensive. At many radio stations, most of the recording and studio equipment is now digital, and the computer hard disk and other digital alternatives are the storage media of choice. The typical production and on-air studios of today are equipped with a variety of microphones, mixers, and consoles, analog and/or digital recording and playback equipment, audio processing equipment, and monitors. This essay describes the typical recording and audio equipment that either has been used or is being used in radio studios to meet production needs.

Microphones

The microphone is the most fundamental of all the recording and studio equipment in use today. Most radio production usually starts with a microphone. A microphone is a transducer: it changes the sound energy of an announcer's voice, musical instrument, or other sound into an electrical signal that can then be mixed with other microphones and audio sources to create the radio program. Depending on production requirements and budget, a number of different types of microphones have been used in radio broadcasting.

Microphones can be classified by the method of creating the electrical signal, or the means of transducing the sound. Adapted from their applications in telephones, carbon microphones were the first microphones used in radio. As the carbon microphone was prone to distortion and easily damaged, it was soon replaced by more durable and accurate microphones. Dynamic, or moving-coil, microphones use a diaphragm attached to a moving coil in a magnetic field to generate electrical energy. The dynamic microphone is accurate and fairly inexpensive, making it popular for both studio and remote situations. The Electro-Voice RE-20 and Shure SM-7 are two of the most commonly used dynamic microphones in radio studios today.

Condenser (or more accurately, capacitor) microphones use a built-in battery or phantom power supply from a console or mixer to charge a conductive diaphragm and backplate, creating a changing capacitance that generates the electrical signal. Condenser microphones, because of their wide frequency response, are the microphones of choice in many radio studios.

A third type, the velocity (also known as ribbon) microphone, suspends a strip of corrugated aluminum ribbon in a magnetic field. When the ribbon is vibrated by the sound pressure, an electric current is generated. While this type of microphone may still be found in some radio studios, the dynamic and condenser microphones are the microphones typically used in today's radio operations.

Microphones can also be classified by pickup patterns. A microphone's pickup pattern describes how the microphone responds to sound coming from different directions. There are three major types of pickup patterns: omnidirectional, bidirectional, and unidirectional. All three types have been or are being used extensively in radio production. An omnidirectional microphone picks up sound uniformly from all directions. The bidirectional pattern picks up sound best from the front and rear, rejecting sound from the sides. A unidirectional pattern picks up sound from the front.

A specific type of unidirectional pattern is the cardioid. Its heart-shaped pattern picks up sound best from the front, with more rejection as the sound source moves to the back. Subcategories of the cardioid pattern are the supercardioid, hypercardioid, and ultracardioid. Each of these successively rejects more sound from the sides, focusing more narrowly on the area in front of the microphone pattern. The pickup pattern of a microphone is determined by the type of pickup element it uses together with the number, size, and positioning of ports in the microphone housing used to direct the pickup of sound. Specific production situations dictate the type of pattern to be used. An omnidirectional microphone works well to pick up a group of people gathered around a microphone. Bidirectional microphones were useful in producing radio dramas because the actors could face each other. Cardioid microphones are especially popular in modern radio production because of their ability to reject unwanted studio noises behind the microphone.

Audio Mixers and Consoles

The audio mixer or console is the focal point of operations in a radio or recording studio. A mixer or console is a device that selects, amplifies, routes, mixes, processes, and monitors input signals, sending the resulting output(s) to the transmitter, recorder, or other destination. A mixer is distinguished from a console in that the mixer is smaller and sometimes portable, and is used for basic production such as mixing the three or four audio sources typically used in a newscast or sportscast. An audio console or audio board is larger and more complex, sometimes with 20 or more channels providing space for the numerous audio selection and processing options needed regularly in on-air and production situations. The console used for on-air operations is designed to be easy to use and efficient in selecting, controlling, and mixing the sources typically needed during a live radio program. The production console, because it is used in recording situations, often has a completely different design and layout from an on-air console. Flexibility, in terms of assigning and processing inputs and outputs, is the key to production console design.

On-Air Console

The electronics and design of on-air consoles have changed significantly from the early days when consoles were large, custom-designed, vacuum-tube units with large rotary controls that dominated the studio. Today's solid state, often digital, fader-control consoles meet the same needs as those first audio consoles. The on-air console is used to select, mix, and control the audio signals used to create the on-air programming of the station. This console's main purpose is to facilitate the simultaneous playback of several microphones, compact disc (CD) players, broadcast cartridge players, and other audio playback equipment. The primary output of this console is typically fed to the final audio processing and on to the transmitter.

Most on-air consoles have similar standard features and layouts. Variation comes from the number of channels and sources that can be connected to the console and special features in processing and monitoring the inputs and outputs. The number of channels on the on-air consoles varies greatly. In small or mostly automated stations, a console with six channels may handle all required operations; stations with complex live programming may have an on-air console with 20 or more channels. Each of these channels has a linear fader control that increases the output of the channel as it is pushed up, allowing the operator to visually monitor the settings of the channels. Each channel usually has two, three, or more selectable inputs to allow alternative sources to be selected depending on specific requirements. For example, channel five on a console may have CD player one as the A input, mini-disc player one as the B input, and reel one as the C input. Most on-air consoles have two or three outputs, often labeled program, audition, and utility. Each channel can be assigned individually to program, audition, or utility. The program output is often fed directly to the on-air audio processing equipment and then on to the transmitter. The audition output is often fed to recording equipment, to record telephone calls off-air, for example. Some facilities use the audition and utility feeds to send program material to a second radio station or other location. These outputs usually have corresponding VU (Volume Unit) or LED (Light Emitting Diode) meters to allow for visual monitoring of the audio outputs. The console will also have switchable monitoring of these outputs using loudspeakers and/or headphones. On-air consoles also have a completely separate monitoring circuit called "cue" to allow the operator to preview or cue the audio before it is added to the mix. Each channel, where appropriate, has remote start/stop capability to control an audio source such as a tape recorder or CD player. Other standard console features typically include a digital clock/timer, built-in connection circuits for adding telephones as audio sources, and intercom circuits to facilitate communication with announcers in other studios.

Production Console

Until the 1970s, equipment in most radio production studios was not significantly different from equipment in on-air studios. Each studio was equipped with a console, microphone(s), open-reel audiotape recorder, broadcast cartridge (cart) player, and turntables. A broadcast cart recorder and perhaps additional open-reel audio recorders and audio processing distinguished the studio used for production from the on-air studio. As the popularity of stereo FM radio increased after 1961 and affordable multitrack tape recorders were introduced, the motivation and the means existed to create more elaborate commercial and program productions. The contemporary radio production console reflects this more complex approach. The console is designed to facilitate concurrent selection of more audio sources, compound audio processing of the various signals, and provide flexibility in routing inputs and outputs depending on the specific needs of the production project.

Much of contemporary radio production, especially in larger markets, begins as a multitrack recording project. Generally, multitrack recording involves a two-stage process. In the first stage, the different elements of the production are each recorded individually, at full volume, on separate tracks. The second stage involves playing back all of the separate tracks concurrently, adjusting the relative outputs to their appropriate levels, and mixing down to two-track stereo. This procedure provides a more efficient method of changing one or any combination of elements without re-recording all the elements. Experiments with the mix can be conducted without affecting the final recording. The production console needed to support this method provides the ability to route each of the tracks from a multitrack recorder to a separate fader for adjustment and processing during mixdown.

Digital Console

One of the most recent innovations in recording and studio equipment is the digital console. Digital consoles accept the digital output of CD players, hard disk recorders, and other digital sources without conversion to analog for the purpose of routing and mixing. Maintaining the signal in digital form minimizes the possibility of noise and other artifacts introduced during conversion to analog and reversion back to digital. The continuity of the digital signal can be maintained throughout the audio chain. A digital console is different from an analog console in that the audio controls on the surface of the digital console are not physically connected to the audio circuitry. The controls are actuators that send digital control signals to the circuitry to carry out the console functions. These digital signals are commands that can be stored, grouped, recalled, and assigned as needed to various channels.

This process creates simplicity and flexibility, allowing console size to remain compact and efficient to operate.

The digital console also provides sample-rate standards conversion and synchronization, converting differing standards from different equipment to one station standard. The CD uses a sampling rate of 44.1 kilohertz, or 44.1 thousand times per second, to measure the height of the analog signal. Hard disk audio systems usually sample at 32 kilohertz while digital audiotape uses a 48 kilohertz rate. The console can generate one standard and all devices can be converted to it, along with providing a reference signal for synchronization.

Most digital consoles also accept analog inputs (open-reel audiotape recorder, microphones, etc.) and provide analog to digital conversion for insertion of these sources into the digital air chain. The console has been the last piece of major radio production equipment to complete its evolution to digital. At the same time, digital developments have, in some respects, eliminated the need for the hard-wired console.

Virtual Console

As more production is created in the digital domain, there becomes less need for an audio console to be a separate piece of hardware, manipulated by an operator. Audio sources can be connected directly to a computer and the functions previously controlled by an operator working a console (such as source selection, routing, mixing, and processing) can be programmed on the computer screen as a software function. In essence, the same process described above for digital console operation can take place entirely within the computer. The virtual console is usually a component of many hard disk recording systems. The console may simply be used to select and route audio sources for two track recording and editing or the console may be the starting point for a complex multitrack recording and editing session. Radio has come a long way from the early days of recording programs on transcription disks.

Transcription Disk Recorder

The earliest recording method used in radio was the transcription disk recorder. Modified from the early phonograph technologies, radio stations began using the transcription recorders and players in the 1920s. By the 1930s, most of the larger radio stations had transcription disk recorders. The recording process used a 16-inch flat disk of aluminum or glass covered with cellulose nitrate in which a lateral or vertical groove was cut. The transcription was cut at a speed of 33 1/3-rpm and provided a transcription time of 15 minutes. These disks were used by affiliate stations to record network programs and play them back at a later time, by program producers to distribute non-network programs to stations, and by local stations to

record their own programs for rebroadcast or air check purposes. Even after the introduction of the magnetic tape recorder, the use of transcription recordings continued into the late 1950s.

Open-Reel Audiotape Recorder

The analog open-reel audiotape recorder was introduced to radio in the United States after World War II. Both Rangertone and Ampex Corporation manufactured professional open-reel audiotape recorders based on the designs brought back from Germany. The analog open-reel audiotape recorder has been an integral part of every radio studio since then. At first, recorders were monaural, recording and playing one track. The two track recorder was then introduced and, as FM radio and stereo transmission developed, soon became the recording standard.

The fundamentals of tape recorder technology have changed very little since the tape recorder's introduction. The audiotape used today is of better quality, resulting in better fidelity and lower noise, but the electronic principles and mechanics of operation are largely unchanged.

The main components of the open-reel audio tape recorder are the magnetic heads, the tape transport mechanics, the recording and playback electronics, and the tape itself. The magnetic heads of the recorder are the focal point in the process of recording audio on a tape and reading audio from a tape in order to recreate it. There are three heads in a professional recorder, mounted left to right in the following order: erase, record, playback. The tape goes past the erase head first, where any previous signal recorded on the tape is removed during the record function. At the record head, if the tape recorder has been placed in the record mode and a signal is being sent to input of the recorder, this signal will be deposited on the tape, magnetizing the metal particles present on the tape to create an analog of the original sound waves. This signal is now stored on the tape, and as the tape passes the playback head, the arranged magnetized particles create an electrical signal representing the original sound, which is then sent to the output section of the tape recorder electronics.

A tape recorder can be described by the number of tracks it can record or play. A recorder with one head each for erase, record, and play is a one (full) track monaural recorder. Its record and playback electronics are configured using one channel. A recorder with two heads is a two channel, two (or half) track stereo recorder. A recorder with four heads is a four channel, four track recorder. Larger radio production facilities will often have four or eight track recorders available for multitrack radio production. Because multitrack recordings are typically mixed down to two track stereo for on-air playback, the most common audiotape recorder used in radio is the two track stereo recorder.

The open-reel tape transport mechanism is designed primarily to move the tape past the heads at a consistent, exact speed. Tape speeds used in radio are seven and a half inches per second (ips) and 15 ips. Tape reels of seven inches, holding 1200 feet of one and a half mil (thousandths of an inch) tape will record and play for 30 minutes at seven and a half ips. Tape reels measuring 10.5 inches will hold 2400 feet of one and a half mil tape for 60 minutes at seven and a half ips. The tape transport system consists of the motors and tensioning systems to move the tape efficiently from supply side to take-up side. The key component in this process is the capstan and pinch roller. The capstan turns at a precise speed while the pinch roller holds the tape against the capstan, pulling the tape past the heads at the selected speed. Any variation in speed or interference in the transport process will result in inaccurate recording or reproduction. Most recorders also have some type of tape counter to display elapsed time or the amount of tape used.

The open-reel audiotape recorder also has electronic circuitry to support the recording and playback processes. Professional recorders typically have both microphone and line level inputs with individual level adjustments for each channel. The line level input accepts outputs from the console or other equipment, including other recorders. The record mode can be engaged separately for each channel as well. This feature, combined with a feature often called Sel Sync (Selective Synchronization) or Sel Rep (Selective Reproduction) allows the user to listen to material recorded on one channel while recording on the other channel in synchronization with the playback channel. Professional recorders also have monitor selector switches, one for each channel, that allow listening to the source audio at the input or the audio coming from the playback head. These monitor select switches also control the signal sent to the VU meter for visual monitoring of the audio. Output level controls for each channel are also part of the electronics of a professional recorder.

The audiotape itself is an important component of the recording process. Better quality tape costs more but provides better reproduction and long-term storage. Inexpensive tapes will deteriorate faster, causing audio dropouts and flaking of the magnetic oxide coating. Tape thickness is either one or one and a half mils (thousandths of an inch). Open-reel audiotape is available in quarter-, half-, one-, or two-inch widths. The quarter-inch tape is used with full track, two track, and some four track recorders. Multitrack recorders of four or more tracks use half-inch or wider tape. The two inch tape is used on recorders that record and play 16 or 24 tracks used in professional recording applications.

Broadcast Cartridge Recorder/Player

Shortly after the open-reel audiotape recorder became a mainstay of the radio production process, the development of the

broadcast tape cartridge and recorder/player created another major refinement in the ability of radio to efficiently record and reproduce content. The cartridge recorder and player were introduced to radio in the late 1950s. Using a quarter-inch tape traveling at seven and a half ips, the tape is spliced into an endless loop wound on a single hub so that it comes out from the center of the reel, travels past the record/playback heads, and is rewound on the outside of the hub. A cue tone recorded on the tape when the start button is pressed in the record mode is sensed by the player during playback mode, stopping the tape at exactly the start of the message. A standard sized cartridge allows recording times of five seconds to ten minutes. Multiple messages can be recorded on one cart; each has its own cue (stop) tone. At one time, recording and dubbing carts was the primary activity in any radio production facility. Commercials, jingles, music, news actualities, and any program or message shorter than ten minutes was recorded on a cart. Almost every radio station used carts until the late 1990s, when digital media rapidly began to replace them.

Digital Recording, Playback, and Editing Equipment

The development of digital audio recording and playback equipment has introduced major changes in radio recording and production. The changeover from analog to digital started with the compact disc player. The once ubiquitous turntable is now almost nonexistent in radio studios. Radio quickly adopted the CD as a playback medium for music and other programs. A read-only medium until recently, CD recorders and re-writeable CDs are now being used in radio for a variety of purposes, including program production and archival storage.

Digital versions of the audiotape recorder are also being used in radio production. The rotary-head digital audiotape recorder (R-DAT) uses a helical scanning process very similar to that used in a video cassette recorder to record the digital information necessary to encode CD-quality two-channel stereo audio on a small cassette tape. The open-reel stationary head digital tape recorder manufactured today is a multitrack recorder with 24 or 48 tracks, and because of its complexity it is generally found in professional recording studios rather than in radio production studios.

Introduced as a consumer application, the digital minidisc combines the laser optical technology of the CD with the magnetic recording process of tape. The minidisc format has been adopted by many radio stations because it provides digital-quality recording, random access, and portability for field recording, all at a more modest cost than many other digital recording and playback systems. In these facilities, the minidisc recorder/player has replaced the cart recorder/player for recording and playing back short-form programs, announcements, and messages.

Digital options for recording, storing, and playing back radio programming have increased dramatically in recent years. Another option is now the hard disk of a computer. When a sound card is added to a computer with sufficient speed and a large enough hard drive, the computer can effectively replace a tape recorder. As the cost of hard drives has decreased and disk storage space has increased, recording audio on hard drives has rapidly become a viable alternative to tape and disk-based audio recording systems in radio stations. The tapeless digital radio studio exists in many different configurations and formats.

Hard disk recording systems used in radio include self-contained units such as the 360 Systems Shortcut, a hard disk two track recorder/editor, and the 360 Systems Instant Replay, a hard disk audio player, capable of playing back up to 1,000 different audio cuts when a button is pushed. Another approach to the hard disk system is the software-based integrated system installed on a personal computer. The Enco Digital Audio Delivery system and Arrakis Digilink are two of the many examples of this approach to digital audio. These systems integrate, in varying combinations, the mixing and routing functions of a console, audio editing and processing, playback, and automation functions into a single unit. While hard disk recording allows efficiency, quality, and creativity not possible with tape-based systems, broadcasters must contend with a new set of interface and technical support issues as they adopt these technologies. Hard disks can fail without warning. Where these systems completely replace tape and cartridge-based playback systems, some type of drive redundancy or removable tape or disk-based back-up is a necessary component of the system.

Once cost-prohibitive for many radio stations, digital multi-track recording and editing is now a key feature of much of the digital recording software and equipment. Many of the products are software-based so that any computer with a sound card and a large hard drive can become a digital recorder/editor. Many are self-contained units capable of recording eight, sixteen, or more tracks onto a built-in hard disk, Hi-8 videotape, or removable disk or tape system. Many of these devices are capable of being synchronized together using MIDI (Musical Instrument Digital Interface) or SMPTE (Society for Motion Picture and Television Engineers) time code so that the number of recording tracks can be expanded.

Digital recording has also changed the methods of editing audio. The process of recording over material to be replaced, dubbing to a new tape, or physically marking, cutting, and splicing the audio tape to remove or insert material has largely been replaced by a virtual editing process that takes place on the computer screen. A visual representation of the waveform of the audio to be edited is displayed on the computer screen or LCD (Liquid Crystal Diode) panel of the hard disk editor. Various editing functions can be carried out by marking and

highlighting segments of the waveform. Material can be cut from one file and pasted into another. Adjustments can be made to the beginning and ending points of the audio file. The whole file or just a portion can be programmed to loop continuously. Files can be combined in a virtual over-dubbing mode.

Audio Processing

In addition to the audio sources, console, and recording devices, most radio recording studios have additional equipment to process the audio for creative and technical reasons. There are four general categories of audio processing: frequency, amplitude, time, and noise. An equalizer is a type of frequency processor, increasing or decreasing selected parts of a sound's frequency response. Equalizer controls are included on many production consoles and in digital audio software programs and are used to refine and enhance the sounds during the recording or production. An amplitude processor is used to control the volume of the audio. Compressors and limiters are commonly used to even out the level of audio. Reverberation and echo units are time processing units that give a sound a distinctive characteristic. Noise reduction processors such as Dolby and DBX units help lower noise caused by analog recording and electronics. Audio processing today is often created digitally, allowing multiple functions to be manipulated. Some processing and effects equipment uses MIDI as an interface system to connect to synthesizers, keyboards, samplers, and other electronic equipment for creative control purposes in radio production.

Monitors

Every studio needs at least one pair of monitor speakers in order to hear the production being created. A speaker performs the exact opposite function from a dynamic microphone; electrical energy is transduced into sound energy when the electrical energy representing the sound is sent through two wires into a magnetic field at the back of the speaker. A moving coil and speaker cone suspended in this field are induced to vibrate by this electrical energy, causing surrounding air molecules to vibrate, creating sound analogous to the original sound. In critical production and recording situations, the monitors must be capable of accurately reproducing the sound from the audio that has been mixed and recorded. Most speakers used as radio studio monitors are dynamic speakers. A separate woofer is used to reproduce the lower frequencies and a tweeter reproduces the higher frequencies. A crossover is an electronic circuit that sends lower frequencies to the woofer and higher frequencies to the tweeter. An acoustic suspension

design has speakers and crossover mounted in a sealed box enclosure. The bass reflex design uses a tuned port to release some of the lower frequency sound from the rear of the speaker to combine with the main sound of the speakers, resulting in stronger bass sound. Typically, radio studio speakers are hung from the ceiling or mounted on the walls behind the audio console. This placement, with the speakers slightly angled in toward the operating position, enables the operator to accurately hear the stereo imaging in the mixed sound. Since an open microphone near a monitor speaker will cause feedback, in radio studios a mute circuit is usually used so that when a microphone is turned on, the monitor speaker will be muted. Headphones are worn so that the operator or other personnel may continue to hear the mixed audio while the microphone is on.

Studios

At the beginning of radio broadcasting, studios did not exist; the announcer used a microphone connected directly to the transmitter, housed in whatever space was available, often in a garage or shack. As the process of creating live radio programs grew more sophisticated, so did the studios. Soon the engineers and equipment were housed in a control room, separated from the performers (and often studio audiences) in the studio. A variety of materials including burlap, plush velour curtains, and solid surface baffles were used to control the acoustics of the studios. Larger stations and networks constructed very elaborate and large studio complexes, rich in architectural design and isolated from the rest of the building through special suspensions. Some studios were large enough to seat full orchestras and large studio audiences.

As radio began to rely on local programs featuring recorded music, radio stations began to build smaller, more specialized studios. Initially, most stations relied on an engineer to operate the audio console and adjust the transmitter from the control room while the announcer or program host remained in the announcer booth, receiving cues through the glass separating the two rooms. As transmitters became more stable and stations looked for ways to cut costs, it soon became common for the announcer to also engineer his or her own program. This operational change resulted in a smaller radio studio where the announcer stands or sits at a microphone and console, surrounded by other necessary equipment within easy reach. While proper acoustic design and isolation is still important in these contemporary studios, audio processing helps overcome acoustical problems. Digital remote equipment also minimizes the need for radio studios. A telephone line and a digital

encoder/decoder set make it possible for a radio station to be able to have a studio virtually anywhere.

JEFFREY D. HARMAN

See also Audio Processing; Audiotape; Automation in Radio; Control Board/Audio Mixer; Digital Recording; Dolby Noise Reduction; High Fidelity; Production for Radio; Stereo

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Recordings and the Radio Industry

The radio business and music recording industry have been symbiotically related from the inception of broadcasting in the 1920s. While live music performed on radio initially devastated the record business, radio's improved technology later helped to revitalize the manufacture of recordings. As radio shifted in the 1950s from programs to formats, popular recorded rock music became a staple on the air. Music played on radio promoted record sales—indeed, radio and records (the title of one trade periodical) became virtually inseparable.

Origins

However, radio's relationship with recordings was not so close at first; the two were separated by their differing technologies. While records were played on some early experimental broadcasts, and on smaller market stations in the 1920s, generally radio avoided the use of recorded music. This was due in part to the poor quality of the largely mechanical recordings of the time, and in part to a widely held feeling that radio should not merely play recordings people could easily buy on their own. This tradition of live radio carried over to the networks as they began forming in the late 1920s. Stations and networks provided hours of live music programming of all types, popular to classical, and the best techniques of studio design and microphone placement became issues of scientific analysis.

Live music on radio nearly doomed the record industry. The poor quality of mechanically recorded records could not hold up to the higher quality of live singing and orchestral music on the air. As record sales declined sharply, many firms left the business. Radio's technology came to the rescue in the form of the electrical transcription (ET). Developed in the late 1920s to allow longer recording times (up to 15 minutes on a side), the 33 1/3 rpm discs featured better frequency response through all-electronic means of recording. They were typically used by stations (WOR in New York was one of the first) to record and sometimes to archive programs. ETs encouraged the development of program syndication as well. Initial attempts failed to sell the better quality 33 1/3 format as commercial records, probably because requiring consumers to buy a new record player in the depths of the Depression was doomed from the start.

The big band music of the 1930s and 1940s was programmed widely on radio and helped to revive record sales. Many programs featured top singers and orchestras whose records were often promoted on the shows. Musicians had plenty of live venues at which to play, and radio carried many of them. At the same time, however, worries about recordings concerned the American Federation of Musicians, which insti-

tuted two strikes in the 1940s to preserve live radio in the face of some pressure to allow greater use of recordings.

Even as recording methods improved, the standard commercial recording, a 78-rpm disc, could still play only a few minutes on a side. World War II delayed further progress on all consumer products, but wartime research would contribute to a post-war revolution.

Postwar Revolution

When popular singer Bing Crosby heard about audio tape recording, he offered his top-rated program to a new network (ABC) on the condition that they allow him to record the show to avoid having to perform it twice each time for the East and West Coast time zones. Although networks had stoutly resisted the use of recordings on the air save in emergency situations, ABC was desperate for a popular star to build its competitive position. Crosby got his wish, and the ban on use of recordings began to waste away in the face of this new means of making high quality recordings that sounded almost live.

In 1947–48, engineers at CBS Laboratories, working under Peter C. Goldmark, developed a considerably enhanced 33 1/3 rpm record that squeezed in more grooves on each side of a 12-inch disc. Other parts of the system were also upgraded, including the vinyl from which the record was made, the stylus, microphones, amplifiers, and record players themselves. The "microgroove" long-playing (LP) records, with 20 to 25 minutes of music on each side, were a sensation when introduced on the market. Now consumers could hear opera or symphony concerts without annoying record changes every few minutes. Shortly thereafter, RCA introduced its own version of the improved records, a 45-rpm 7-inch disc, called "extended play" (EP) designed particularly for popular songs. Soon "the 45" became the standard form for selling popular music, while "the 33" was the standard album for longer-form music. Record players were designed to switch among the three speeds, although the 78 quickly disappeared. The most expensive console models combined radios (and soon televisions) with the record player.

As new radio stations flooded onto the air in the late 1940s and the 1950s, they sought programs to attract listeners and advertisers. Live programming was expensive while the use of records was cheaper and thus far more profitable. The result was more playing of recordings on the air—unheard of a mere few years earlier. At the same time a quest for high-fidelity (hi-fi) began to spread from Britain, encouraging an interest in better sound. The new FM stations catered to this interest as did a market for often expensive sound systems. But more atten-

tion—and far more money—was focused on the mid-1950s rise of rock-and-roll music.

Rock music saved radio as the networks gave way to television competition. As the top-40 music system developed in the mid-1950s, record sales grew modestly. After the rise of Elvis Presley in 1956, the growth in sales of 45 and 33 rpm records through the end of the decade was more than 125 percent over previous years. The payola scandal late in the decade served to underline what everyone in the business now understood—that radio's on-air "plays" were essential to popular record sales just as the existence of those records was vital to radio's success. Though more closely controlled after 1960, music companies continued to provide free or heavily discounted records to radio stations to encourage their inclusion on program playlists, and thus to promote record sales.

Record sales continued to skyrocket into the 1960s. Capitalizing on the popularity of rock, radio programmed more of it—and record companies produced more recordings. Radio and records were both aimed at a youthful audience with expendable income, listeners of increasing interest to advertisers. By the 1970s the splintering of music formats as well as the increasing separation of programs between AM and FM stations provided more outlets for recorded music of all types.

Radio's continuing popularity clearly affected music types and formats. "Crossover" music became more common: a specialized recording (say, a country song) might begin to sell well more broadly in the pop music market. Or a specialized song might sell well in another niche market. A crossover can be accidental, but most often it is the result of a deliberate attempt by a music company to bring a song or performer to the attention of more buyers to increase sales. Crossovers have become more common since the 1950s. The constant changing of their music formats by many radio stations has encouraged this constant mixing and changing of musical types.

Modern Era

The arrival of both television and especially cable TV channels changed radio's role. By the late 1980s, radio was no longer the sole broadcast outlet for recorded music as listeners flocked to music concerts and channels offering video with sound. Radio remained the most mobile means of listening to music.

Development of the relatively short-lived cartridge and then cassette audio recording devices aided not only radio stations, but also consumers who could now more readily travel with their recordings. The appearance of compact disc (CD) recordings in 1984 soon displaced the LP as the standard consumer recording format, and the even higher capacity of DVDs may do the same to CDs in the early 21st century. Through all these recording format changes, however, radio (along with some cable music channels) continued largely to define what music America liked.

In the late 1990s, internet streaming of music added yet another channel of music delivery to consumers. While the internet offered radio stations far greater reach, this development directly threatened music companies as listeners could download digital copies of desired music without buying it. A host of legal cases, especially involving an internet service called Napster, tested what could and could not be offered online, generally having the effect of limiting downloads only to music that customers paid for. Even here, however, the relationship of music delivery and sales was somewhat symbiotic as recordings (CDs or tapes) were increasingly being sold online as well as through retail outlets.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also American Federation of Musicians; Contemporary Hit Radio Format/Top 40; Internet Radio; Payola

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Re-Creations of Events

Creative Use of Sound Effects

The term *re-creations* refers to the creative use of sound effects and other inputs to provide a program that is not what it appears to be. To an extent, any radio drama that uses sound effects to create in listeners a mental image involves re-creations. But the most famous examples in radio history involved the use of wire service reports (for the facts) and recorded sound effects (for the color, especially crowd noises such as applause and shouts) to encourage listeners to think they were listening to sports play-by-plays from an observer right on the field rather than, in fact, as visualized by an announcer often hundreds of miles from the scene.

In the early days of radio, news played a relatively small role in radio broadcasting. With entertainment programming serving as the main precedent for new programs, some early radio newscasters re-created events in the news. Given the available technology at the time, radio broadcasters found it difficult to easily produce actualities of people in the news, so the dramatizations of events in the news became a well-accepted substitute.

The best-known example of a news re-creation was *The March of Time*, a program produced by *Time* magazine. *Time* general manager Rob Edward Larsen and Fred Smith of WLW in Cincinnati originally produced a program in 1928 called *NewsCasting*, a summary of the news syndicated to about 60 stations. (Larsen receives credit in some sources for coining the term “newscasting.”) In late 1929, Smith hit upon the idea of dramatizing the news, and the Larsen-Smith team began producing a program called *NewsActing*.

On 6 March 1931, *The March of Time* debuted on CBS, produced by Larsen and Smith and using actors, sound effects and music. The program took its name from its theme song *The March of Time*, composed by Ted Koehler and Harold Arlen. The script of the first program began: “Tonight, the editors of *Time*, the weekly newsmagazine, attempt a new kind of reporting of the news, the re-enacting as clearly and dramatically as the medium of radio will permit, some themes from the news of the week.”

Many of the “historical” recordings of early radio broadcasting are, in fact, re-creations. Especially in the 1920s, most radio stations generally did not have the capability to record their programs. The legacy of *The March of Time* made such re-creations acceptable in the late 1940s and early 1950s when a number of records celebrating radio-station anniversaries were released. For example, the recording of “the first broadcast” of KDKA in Pittsburgh on election night, 1920, is actually a re-creation made in the mid-1930s.

Sports, especially baseball games, became popular occasions for radio re-creations. Until the late 1950s, major league

baseball franchises were concentrated in the Northeast. No team was located farther west than St. Louis or farther south than Cincinnati. As a way of bringing major league games to vast areas of the nation without big-league teams of their own, radio stations began to re-create games that were taking place in ballparks around the country.

“Dutch” Reagan

Certainly the most famous of the re-creators, now if not then, is Ronald Reagan. “Dutch” Reagan, as he was then known, broadcast more than 600 re-creations of Chicago Cubs games on WOC in Davenport, Iowa, and WHO in Des Moines, Iowa, between 1933 and 1936. The future president’s system was typical of the play-by-play re-creators. Reagan sat in a radio studio in Des Moines, 300 miles away from Wrigley Field, and received a pitch-by-pitch description of the game in progress via telegraph. As Reagan described it many years later:

Looking through the window I could see [the producer] “Curly” (complete with headphones) start typing. This was my cue to start talking. It would go something like this: “The pitcher (whatever his name happened to be) has the sign, he’s coming out of the windup, there’s the pitch,” and at that moment Curly would slip me the blank. It might contain the information “S2C,” and without a pause I would translate this into “It’s a called strike breaking over the inside corner, making it two strikes on the batter.”

Occasionally the telegraph line would fail and the announcer would have to improvise until it was restored. In those situations, the announcer had to use his wits, as Reagan once was forced to do in a game tied in the ninth inning:

I knew of only one thing that wouldn’t get in the score column and betray me—a foul ball. So I had Augie [Galan] foul this pitch down the left field foul line. I looked expectantly at Curly. He just shrugged helplessly, so I had Augie foul another one and still another. . . . I described in detail the red-headed kid who had scrambled and gotten the souvenir ball. . . . He fouled for six minutes and forty-five seconds until I lost count.

Gordon McLendon

Whereas Reagan’s colorful exploits as a play-by-play re-creation announcer are well known because of his later fame as

an actor and political figure, the person best known as a practitioner of the skill was Gordon McLendon, "the old Scotchman, 83-years-old this very day" (quoted in Garay, 1992). Recreations had been around since the earliest days of radio and were considered an "honorable practice of the time," according to famed sports broadcaster Lindsey Nelson. But McLendon elevated re-creation to an art with his productions of baseball on the Liberty Broadcasting System (LBS) in the late 1940s and early 1950s.

McLendon was the young owner of fledgling radio station KLIF in Dallas, Texas. One of his early programming ideas at KLIF was to re-create sporting events. In fact, his first re-creation was of a professional football game between the Detroit Lions and the Chicago Cardinals on the day that KLIF took the air, 7 November 1947. But baseball was McLendon's true love.

The leisurely pace of baseball has always allowed play-by-play announcers great freedom, and it was said that in re-creating baseball games, there were no limitations—the broadcaster's imagination could run wild. McLendon started re-creating major league baseball games on KLIF in 1948. This soon led to the establishment of LBS. By 1951, 458 affiliates had joined LBS, and the network was second in size only to the Mutual Broadcasting System.

An important aspect of re-creations was the use of sound effects. Author Ronald Garay described McLendon's technique:

Three or four turntables were kept spinning throughout the re-created games with disks containing the various crowd noises always cued on one or more of the turntables. . . . What would be distinguishable above the crowd noise every so often would be a vendor hollering out the name of a sponsor's product. . . . Gordon's passion for realism and accuracy led him to send an engineer to record every ballpark sound that a radio listener might expect to hear. [Engineer] Glenn Callison recorded many of the sounds at Burnett Field in Dallas. . . . Gordon sent [technician] Craig La Taste to every major league baseball stadium in the country to record sounds identified with each particular stadium.

The success of a re-creation also depended, of course, on the skill of the individual announcer. Author Willie Morris, in his autobiography *North Toward Home* (1967), wrote of McLendon:

His games were rare and remarkable entities; casual pop flies had the flow of history behind them, double plays resembled the stark clashes of old armies, and home runs deserved acknowledgement on earthen urns. Later, when I came across Thomas Wolfe, I felt I had heard him before, from Shibe Park, Crosley Field, or the Yankee Stadium.

McLendon himself described his approach this way:

No picture that is shown on television could be possibly as vivid as the picture I painted in my own mind of a baseball game. To me . . . those players were far bigger than life, and Ebbetts Field, even though there were 3,000 people there if you actually were broadcasting from the field, was always in my mind's eye crowded with 35,000 people. The walls were a thousand feet tall that those home runs were hit [over]. . . . I could come out with a far more vivid picture than any that I could have ever painted from the baseball park itself.

The end of this creative but somewhat misleading use of the airwaves came in the early 1950s as both major- and minor-league audience attendance began to decline, in part owing to growing television coverage of the majors. A glimmer of the potential profits from controlling television and radio rights to their franchises pushed baseball owners to forbid unauthorized use of the activities in their ballparks. They sharply increased the fees charged to LBS for game rights (from \$1,000 for a whole season in 1949 to \$225,000 just two years later) and then turned the matter over to individual baseball clubs for renegotiation and higher fees. Thirteen of the teams refused to grant LBS rights at all. This fee increase, in conjunction with the departure of key advertisers, spelled the end of re-created baseball games.

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See also Liberty Broadcasting System; March of Time; McLendon, Gordon; Sound Effects; Sportscasters

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Red Channels

1950 Blacklist

In 1950, as Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were being arrested for atomic spying and the Korean War was commencing, the American Business Consultants published *Red Channels, The Report of Communist Influence in Radio and Television*, which formalized the practice of blacklisting in the broadcasting industry. The publication listed 151 performers and artists who were deemed to be communist sympathizers (“fellow travelers” in 1950s parlance). Many of the personalities who were charged and others who were whispered about were denied employment in show business.

The publication of *Red Channels* was an outgrowth of the investigation of communist infiltration of the motion pictures by the House on Un-American Activities (HUAC), chaired by Parnell Thomas in 1947. After World War II, as the Cold War developed between the United States and the Soviet Union, someone suspected of being a supporter of communist and, in many instances, liberal causes could be branded a traitor and forced to reveal his or her political ideology. There was a great concern among certain members of Congress and other patriotic organizations that writers, directors, and actors were using popular culture to spread their nefarious beliefs. Many studio and broadcasting executives, under pressure by the HUAC hearings and by advertiser concerns, agreed never to hire a known communist on staff.

Founded in 1947, the American Business Consultants was a private organization headed by three former Federal Bureau of Investigation agents: John G. Keenan, Kenneth Bierly, and Theodore Kirkpatrick. Proclaiming that the government’s efforts had failed to combat the communist message, the group published a newsletter, *Counterattack: The Newsletter of Facts on Communism*, to “obtain, file, and index factual information on communists, communists fronts and other subversive organizations.” The group canvassed volumes of the *Daily Worker*, pamphlets of leftist rallies, and unpublished findings of the HUAC committee to uncover names of potential traitors. In June 1950 they published their special report, *Red Channels*, a formal list of 151 people whom the Communist Party used as “belts” to transmit pro-Sovietism to the American public.” The

report claimed that the Russians were using radio and television as a means of indoctrinating U.S. citizens even more than press or film. Many of radio’s most influential and talented artists were cited, including producers/directors Himan Brown, Norman Corwin, and William Robson; personalities Ben Grauer, Henry Morgan, and Irene Wicker; and commentators Robert St. John, William L. Shirer, and Howard K. Smith. Some retribution was immediate: Wicker, the “Singing Lady” who had entertained children for years on radio, was dropped by her sponsor Kellogg, and Robson, who had directed many of *Columbia Workshop*’s innovative dramas, was mysteriously dismissed from his Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) assignments, receiving payments until his contract expired.

Many of the 151 industry members were listed because they were social activists, from New Deal supporters to civil rights demonstrators. The writers of *Red Channels* (who were not credited by name) admitted that not all those named were political radicals; in fact, some “dupes” advanced “communist objectives with complete unconsciousness.” Nevertheless, everyone was under suspicion, and *Red Channels* became one of several blacklists circulating on Madison Avenue (though one of the only ones formally published), consulted by broadcasting executives, advertising agencies, and sponsors. Some performers were given the opportunity to recant their previous beliefs or risk being barred from the industry. For a fee, the American Business Consultants also advised radio and television producers as they were casting on which performers had problematic backgrounds.

With the publication of the 215-page *Red Channels*, many companies began to institutionalize blacklisting. CBS, considered the most progressive of the networks, demanded loyalty oaths from its employees and hired a vice president in charge of “security.” The other networks quickly followed suit. Batten, Barton, Durstine, and Osborn legitimized the hiring of “security officers” to clear names for the advertising agencies. Both networks and agencies, working as quietly as possible behind the scenes, abided by one principle: don’t hire controversial personnel, so that you won’t have to fire them.



Red Channels



The Report of
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RADIO AND TELEVISION

Published June, 1950

By AMERICAN BUSINESS CONSULTANTS
Publishers of
COUNTERATTACK
THE NEWSLETTER OF FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM
55 West 42 Street, New York 18, N. Y.

Title page of *Red Channels*
Courtesy Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research

For many, the *Red Channels* list was the culmination of many years' worth of whispered accusations. Radio director William Sweets had been under investigation since the late 1940s. Sweets directed two hit series, *Gangbusters* and *Counterspy*, for the radio production company Phillips H. Lord, Inc. A charge had been made to the series' sponsors that Sweets, also national president of the Radio Directors Guild, had mandated that only communists could work for him. He was forced to resign and, following the distribution of *Red Channels*, had difficulty finding any employment. Sweets' difficulties were later attributed to Vince Harnett, who had worked in the Lord office and who became a specialist in communist infiltration. As a freelancer, he wrote the introduction to *Red Channels* and worked with Lawrence Johnson's supermarket chain

in Syracuse, New York, to boycott products of sponsors that allegedly advertised on shows employing subversives.

The institutional pressure also affected radio news departments. William Shirer had been a member of "Murrow's boys" and was one of radio's most respected commentators. In 1947 he resigned from CBS when his news program lost its sponsor. The *New Republic* (13 January 1947, cited in Cloud and Olson, 1996) charged that after World War II, 24 liberal analysts, such as Shirer, were dropped by the radio networks because of objections from sponsors. Shirer did work for other stations, but after his name appeared in *Red Channels*, no major network regularly employed him again. Considering himself a victim of the blacklist paranoia, Shirer contended "that if the major networks had taken a firm stand in the beginning . . . [by] making a fair determination of individual cases, this thing would never have gotten off the ground."

Before the dissemination of *Red Channels*, discrimination based on political reasons was informal and subjective. The publications of the American Business Consultants commenced systematic ideological screenings, although always behind closed doors. Such blacklisting also coincided with corporate pressures in broadcasting to make a profit in postwar America by pleasing the largest audience possible. Any controversy was strictly to be avoided. Even after the 1954 downfall of one of *Red Channels*' most ardent supporters, Senator Joseph McCarthy, the purging of subversive elements in the entertainment industry persisted quietly into the 1960s. In 1962, when a radio raconteur, John Henry Faulk, won a libel suit against *Counterattack* and other accusers, the mechanics of blacklisting finally became part of the public record just as the process died out.

RON SIMON

See also Blacklisting; Corwin, Norman; Faulk, John Henry; Shirer, William L.

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Red Lion Case

Landmark Supreme Court Decision

In this 1969 decision, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the Federal Communications Commission's (FCC) fairness doctrine and of related personal attack rules. These FCC regulations in some instances required broadcasters to air viewpoints with which they disagreed or to provide airtime to persons criticized by or on the stations. The case is important because it reaffirmed the notion that radio stations' use of a scarce public resource—the electromagnetic spectrum—justified a different First Amendment standard for broadcasting than for print media.

Although the case is commonly referred to as simply *Red Lion*, the court's decision involved a second lower court case as well, *United States v Radio Television News Directors Association*. Because the two cases involved similar issues, the Supreme Court consolidated them and issued one opinion. The cases involved the FCC's fairness doctrine and a specific application of the doctrine known as the personal attack rules. Under the general fairness doctrine, all radio broadcasters had an affirmative duty to cover controversial issues of public importance in their programming and to provide a reasonable opportunity for all sides of the controversy to be aired. The personal attack rule stated that if a person's character, integrity, or honesty was attacked during the discussion of a controversial issue of public importance, the station airing the attack had to notify the person of the attack; provide a tape, transcript, or summary of the program; and afford the attacked person an opportunity to reply to the attack on the air.

The *Red Lion* litigation arose when WGCB, a radio station licensed to the Red Lion Broadcasting Company in southeastern Pennsylvania, aired a 15-minute syndicated program by the Reverend Billy James Hargis. During the program Hargis discussed a book, *Goldwater—Extremist on the Right*, written by Fred J. Cook. Hargis attacked Cook as being a communist sympathizer, a newspaper reporter who was fired for writing false charges against public officials, and a critic of J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI and of the Central Intelligence Agency. When Cook heard of the broadcast he demanded time to reply on the station pursuant to FCC policy. Red Lion refused, and the FCC ordered the company to afford Cook an opportunity to reply. Red Lion appealed the order, and the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit upheld the FCC's decision. (Years later, respected journalist Fred Friendly alleged that Cook may have been working with the Democratic National Committee, using the fairness doctrine and the personal attack rule to harass stations that carried ultraconservative programming. In response, both Cook and the Committee insisted that Cook had acted alone.)

After the *Red Lion* litigation had begun, the FCC adopted specific regulations clarifying its personal attack rules. The Radio Television News Directors Association challenged the FCC's action in court, and the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit ruled that the FCC's regulations violated the First Amendment free speech and free press rights of broadcast stations.

In its ruling on the consolidated cases, the Supreme Court confronted two primary legal issues: whether the FCC had jurisdiction under the Communications Act to adopt the fairness doctrine and its related rules, and whether the policies abridged the free speech and free press rights of broadcasters. Justice Byron White wrote for a unanimous court. (Eight justices voted in the case. Because he had not participated in the oral arguments, Justice Douglas took no part in the Court's decision.)

With respect to the jurisdictional issue, the Court noted that the FCC had been given extensive powers to regulate in the public interest, convenience, and necessity. In previous cases, the power to regulate had been described by the Court as "not niggardly but expansive." The Court also cited various congressional actions that seemingly approved of the FCC's actions in adopting and enforcing the fairness doctrine. Given the Court's own precedents and the implied congressional approval of the FCC's actions, the Court determined that the FCC did in fact have the necessary authority under the act to establish the fairness doctrine and personal attack rules.

Regarding the constitutional issue, the Court first stated that broadcasting was clearly a medium protected by the First Amendment, but that differences in the characteristics of various media justified different treatment under the First Amendment. The Court then addressed the issue of spectrum scarcity. Because of the interference that would result, not everyone who wants to broadcast can do so; there is simply not enough spectrum for all would-be broadcasters. For this reason, Congress enacted legislation giving the FCC the authority to license and regulate broadcasting to serve the public interest. Justice White wrote that, given this scarcity of frequencies, "it is idle to posit an unbridgeable First Amendment right to broadcast comparable to the right of every individual to speak, write, or publish."

The Court determined the public has a right to hear the voices of those who, because of spectrum scarcity, cannot speak through their own broadcast station. According to Justice White,

Because of the scarcity of radio frequencies, the government is permitted to put restraints on licensees in favor of

others whose views should be expressed on this unique medium. But the people as a whole retain their interest in free speech by radio and their collective right to have the medium function consistently with the ends and purposes of the First Amendment. It is the right of the viewers and listeners, not the right of the broadcasters, which is paramount. It is the purpose of the First Amendment to preserve an uninhibited marketplace of ideas in which truth will ultimately prevail, rather than to countenance monopolization of that market, whether it be by the government itself or a private licensee. . . . It is the right of the public to receive suitable access to social, political, esthetic, moral, and other ideas and experiences which is crucial here. That right may not constitutionally be abridged either by Congress or the FCC.

Having found that the First Amendment rights of viewers and listeners to receive diverse viewpoints were paramount over the First Amendment rights of broadcasters to control the speech over their stations, the Court concluded that the fairness doctrine and its related regulations passed constitutional muster.

The *Red Lion* case is important not so much because of the individual disputes it settled but because of its lasting contribution to our understanding of the First Amendment rights of broadcasters. Even though the FCC stopped enforcing the fairness doctrine in 1987 and the personal attack rule in 2001, the case still stands for the proposition that, because of spectrum scarcity, the government can apply different First Amendment standards to broadcasting than it does to other media.

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See also Controversial Issues; Fairness Doctrine; Federal Communications Commission; First Amendment and Radio; United States Supreme Court and Radio

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Regulation

Regulation of radio in the United States began in 1910 when Congress passed modest legislation to control the use of wireless at sea, a law updated in 1912. A separate and more substantial Radio Act of 1912 could not foresee broadcasting. Following the beginning and surge of radio broadcasting in the early 1920s, pressure rose for a new law. The Radio Act of 1927 created an independent commission to determine regulatory policy for radio and broadcasting in the United States. The venerable Communications Act of 1934 expanded the powers of what became the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to determine regulatory policy, subject to congressional oversight.

Over the past eight decades, government regulation of American radio has varied from minimal oversight, to pervasive control, and more recently to substantial deregulation. Beginning in the late 1970s the commission began adopting less stringent regulatory policies for broadcasters, replacing specific requirements with market-based competition. The Telecommunications Act of 1996 introduced significant relaxation in broadcasting ownership requirements. The 1934 Act, though amended many times, still provides the overarching schema for American radio regulatory policy.

Early Radio Regulation

The “commerce” clause of the U.S. Constitution (art. 1, sec. 8) assigns to Congress the option of regulating interstate and foreign commerce. Early radio stations served as basic communication systems, transmitters of messages that were meant to facilitate commerce and to protect the health and well-being of U.S. citizens. The Wireless Ship Act of 1910 (PL 262, 61st Cong.) reflected congressional intent to institute modest regulatory requirements on the nascent wireless communications industry. Oceangoing ships traveling to or from the United States were required to have transmitting equipment if carrying more than 60 passengers. The secretary of the Department of Commerce and Labor was given the authority to make additional regulations to secure the execution of the 1910 Act.

The 1912 sinking of the *Titanic*, with the tragic loss of 1,500 lives, forced congressional action to meet American international treaty obligations in wireless communication. The 1910 law was expanded, and was followed a few months later by the more comprehensive Radio Act of 1912. The law provided for licensing all transmitting apparatus for interstate or foreign commerce by the secretary of commerce and

required that each station operator be licensed and that the government prescribe regulations to minimize interference. Other sections of the act provided for the licensing of experimental stations, regulation over the type of modulation, prohibition against divulging the content of private messages, and a requirement to give preference to distress signals.

The Radio Act of 1912 did not foresee and thus did not mention radio broadcasting. Public interest and service obligations were not discussed except as they pertained to point-to-point communication. However, the emergence of broadcasting after 1920, with the rapid proliferation of new stations seeking licenses and vying for airtime on an extremely limited allocation of frequencies, created administrative problems for Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover. The 1912 act allowed the secretary no discretion to develop and modify administrative regulation as needed, depending on changes in the radio business.

In 1922 Hoover convened the first of what became four annual National Radio Conferences designed to elicit voluntary self-regulation by broadcasters and other interested parties. Attendees realized the inadequacy of the 1912 Act and many called for better government oversight through more comprehensive legislation. But interference among broadcasting channels dramatically increased as the number of stations proliferated and as operations increased power and moved transmitters; early broadcasting entered a period of chaos without any significant government oversight.

Between 1922 and 1923, Hoover expanded the number of frequencies assigned to radio broadcasting in an attempt to relieve interference conditions. The secretary, who strongly endorsed the notion of self-regulation, had some success persuading stations to share frequencies, limit power, and split up the broadcast day. However, despite his attempt to facilitate solutions, a growing dissatisfaction with time allotments and frequency sharing created problems for Hoover's policy of "associationalism." It was becoming apparent to Hoover and the industry that self-regulation could not solve increasing interference and allocation problems. At the fourth and final radio conference in November 1925, all agreed that "public interest" should be the basis for broadcasting policy. Attendees also convinced the secretary to stop issuing new radio licenses. Thus, the licensing provisions of the 1912 Act were suspended under an ad hoc regulatory policy that was agreed to by government and by the large radio manufacturing and broadcasting interests.

On 16 April 1926, however, a federal appeals court dealt the final blow to the 1912 Act when it ruled that the secretary had overstepped his authority. As a result, Hoover was powerless to enforce any operating requirements on licensees (*United States v Zenith Radio Corp. et al.*, 12 F. 2nd 614 [N. D. Ill. 1926]). Immediately after the *Zenith* decision, stations began switching frequencies, increasing power, and ignoring previ-

ously agreed-upon time-sharing arrangements. Interference levels grew dramatically, particularly at night, when signals were prone to long-distance skipping.

Under growing pressure that was fueled by dissatisfaction among broadcasters and the listening public, Congress passed the Radio Act of 1927. The legislation specifically regulated broadcasting for the first time by establishing a framework to regulate the industry and investing decision-making powers in an independent agency. Seven years later, with the passage of the Communications Act of 1934, Congress merged oversight of wired and wireless communication under the new FCC.

The Radio Act of 1927—Real Beginning of Broadcast Regulation

The Radio Act of 1927 (PL 632, 69th Cong.) conceived that a newly constituted Federal Radio Commission (FRC) would be able to resolve numerous interference problems that had emerged during radio's development. Drawing on a combination of earlier legislative efforts introduced by Representative Wallace White of Maine and Senator Clarence C. Dill of Montana, the 1927 legislation provided for continued but more effective licensing and for the assigning of station frequencies, power, and fixed terms for all radio licenses. The legislation also provided for the creation of a temporary commission with authority to designate licensees and to regulate stations' operating conditions. The act asserted a public interest in broadcasting and public ownership of the airwaves, extended considerable rulemaking discretion to the commission, and provided commissioners with considerable discretion to decide questions of law and policy.

One of the significant outcomes of the 1927 Act, still debated today, was that broadcasters were accorded more limited rights under the First Amendment than was traditional for the press. The legislation clearly designated the electromagnetic spectrum as part of the public domain, allowing the commission the power to grant rights to users of the spectrum but forbidding private ownership over communication channels. In addition, extreme interference problems encountered with the breakdown of the 1912 Act suggested that a real scarcity of available channels existed. This complicated the task of the commission to devise a permanent allocation scheme that would suit all political and business constituents. Because the known radio spectrum and limited engineering capabilities could not afford all who wanted to speak an opportunity to do so, the FRC was empowered to impose rules and regulations limiting the number of entities actually using the airwaves. Legislators provided the commission with broad discretionary powers, subject to adjudication by the federal courts.

Many of today's expectations for regulatory policy emanate from the 1927 legislation. The Radio Act called for a commission comprising five members, each appointed from and

responsible for representing a specific geographical zone of the United States. Congress initially conceived that the agency would dispense with the interference problems within the first year, after which the commission would become a consultative, quasi-judicial body meeting only when necessary. Sections 4 and 9 of the act invoked an undefined public-interest standard and gave commissioners the power to license and regulate wireless stations; federal radio stations were exempt from regulatory oversight. Licensing decisions made by the commission were subject to adjudication by the court of appeals, essentially as a *de novo* review. Legal scholars point to the fact that oversight was essentially a limited review of specific issues within a narrow class of petitioners.

Although the act did not contain specific language to regulate broadcasting "chains" or networks, legislators gave commissioners the ability to "make special regulations applicable to radio stations engaged in chain broadcasting" (sec. 4 [h]). Therefore, whatever control the commission could impose over radio networks had to be accomplished at the station level. Similarly, the act dealt with advertising in a minimal fashion. Some historians point to the fact that advertising was not widely accepted in 1926, when the bill was written, as one possible reason to explain the apparent oversight in the legislation.

Scholars are divided over the effectiveness of the FRC, but they generally give the organization little credit for effecting consistent and strong regulatory policy. During its six-year tenure, relations with Congress were stormy, sometimes to the point of hostility. By the end of its first year, congressional members who wrote provisions of the act called FRC commissioners "cowards" for their lack of regulatory action. Other critics pointed to flawed decision making based on poor information collection. The FRC's inability to resolve interference problems and redistribute licenses caused Congress to impose the Davis Amendment, which called for equality of service standards, in the 1928 reauthorization bill.

The broadcasting industry, led by the Radio Corporation of America (RCA), Westinghouse, and General Electric, succeeded in convincing the FRC that the general framework of broadcasting developed under the secretary of commerce should be retained. Robert McChesney (1993) points out that reauthorizing the existing commercial stations without redistributing licenses caused many noncommercial licensees to have their allocations and times of operation reduced. At the end of the FRC's tenure in 1934, commercial broadcasting was well established in the United States.

Passage of radio legislation clearly reflected the congressional view that the electromagnetic spectrum represented a valuable natural resource that was to be carefully cultivated and conserved for the general population. *United States v Zenith* had opened the floodgates to far too many licenses, creating substantial interference and chaos for listeners and broadcasters alike. It is not surprising, therefore, that resolu-

tion of licensing-related controversies became the first priority of the FRC. Regulatory decisions of the early commission were frequently politically motivated. Client politics stifled regulatory efforts by pitting interests that favored policies to support the growth of a nascent broadcasting industry on one hand against the desires of congressional members who wanted a solution that redistributed licenses along geographical regions on the other. Thus, partisan politics made the FRC sensitive to criticism from both large industry players and the regional constituents of various members of Congress. Furthermore, because only two of the FRC commissioners were actually confirmed by the Senate during the FRC's first term, the initial action of the agency was tentative, depriving the commission of an opportunity to regulate boldly. With passage of the Davis Amendment in 1928, Congress specifically directed the FRC to solve interference problems that plagued the AM band and to provide equalization of services to the different geographical regions of the country. With newly confirmed commissioners and a better sense of purpose, the FRC redistributed the broadcast band in the fall of that year. General Order 40 put into place a structure that allocated certain broadcast frequencies for long-distance, regional, and local services. The outcome of this new engineering calculation was the development of clear channel stations, which came to dominate radio during the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s.

The basic regulatory structure embodied in the Radio Act of 1927 became the basis for the permanent body designated under the Communications Act of 1934. By 1934 broadcasting had evolved into a highly profitable business. The structural components of the network radio system, almost wholly outside the purview of the FRC, had developed into a series of highly successful operations. The breakup of the RCA trust had created powerful forces within the communications industry vying for different segments of the industry. Many of the most powerful broadcasting stations, designated as "clear channels," were licensed to the large broadcasting or radio manufacturing companies, and the FRC's adoption of a system of clear (national), regional, and local AM channels (General Order 40) solidified the interest of stations already on the air, but has lasted in large part to the present as the chief means of allocating channels and reducing interference.

The Federal Communications Commission

The passage of the Communications Act of 1934 (PL 416, 73rd Cong.) established a permanent commission to oversee and regulate the broadcasting and telecommunications industries. In creating the FCC, Congress invested the permanent agency with the same broad regulatory powers that had been given to the FRC. These powers were extended to include wired telecommunications services, which had previously been under the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Most

provisions of the 1927 Act were incorporated word for word into Title III of the more comprehensive Communications Act. The language of both the 1927 and 1934 acts allowed the agency to employ a wide variety of sanctions, incentives, and other tools to fulfill regulatory or policy mandates. Over the years, court rulings concerning the Act and appealed FCC decisions have helped to delineate the boundaries of permissible government action.

The new agency did not intend to upset the broadcasting systems that had developed under the Secretary of Commerce and the FRC. However, Congress provided the new agency with some regulatory flexibility by repealing the specific requirements of the Davis Amendment. The general themes of the 1934 Act exemplified the principles of the New Deal by consolidating federal powers under one agency and centralizing the decision-making power for all communications industries. Both the 1927 and 1934 acts are significant because they invested regulatory powers in an independent “expert” agency. The realization that broadcast regulation should not be limited to supervision of interference and other technical aspects was fully apparent to legislators.

The newly formed FCC was confronted with the need to develop both an immediate and a long-term agenda. Immediate tasks included identifying and defining what constituted service in the “public interest, convenience, and necessity.” The FRC had developed some regulatory policies, but clarification would be needed for long-term administrative policy development. As a corollary to this process, the FCC would have to develop reflective criteria to determine whether stations were doing an acceptable job of meeting their public service obligations. Consistent with this goal, the agency would be required to articulate and give meaning to broad phrases such as *public interest*.

Secondly, the FCC was now charged with developing a plan for utilizing the expanding electromagnetic spectrum. The years between creation of the FRC and creation of the FCC yielded important discoveries regarding the extent and usage of the spectrum. The commission, charged with “the larger, more effective use of radio” (sec. 303 [g]), needed to develop a more complex mechanism for determining which users should be allowed to use what radio band and for what purposes. Different uses would require differing amounts of spectrum space, and conflicting requests for spectrum utilization would require the FCC to make determinations for which services and how many users the spectrum could provide for.

FCC *Annual Reports* through 1939 illustrate that the commission undertook much more sophisticated record collection than the FRC. Between 1936 and 1937, the commission required all broadcasters to file comprehensive information regarding income, property investment, number of employees, and nature and types of programs. The FCC reported much of the statistical data to Congress during 1938. In that same year,

the Commission began the first full-fledged review of the practices of chain (network) broadcasting. The initial years of the FCC reflected the need to collect and collate sufficient data to implement a long-term broadcast regulatory policy.

Localism and Trusteeship—A Framework for Broadcast Agenda Setting

The broad nature of the language used in the 1927 and 1934 acts did not prescribe specific tests or mandates for users of the radio spectrum. Consequently, it became necessary for the FRC and FCC to articulate policies that it could use as touchstones for measuring the service of the licensee. Over time, these pronouncements, coupled with rules and regulations, allowed the commission to establish a baseline regulatory policy.

Early decisions of the FRC and the FCC generally illustrate the importance placed on local operation and on a “trusteeship” model in broadcasting. Local outlets were seen as “trustees” of the public interest, despite the growing power and programming of the radio networks throughout the 1930s and 1940s. These two principles became the bedrock of federal radio policy making for decades.

The commission realized that defining what constituted acceptable service for a licensee required developing a set of standards that a broadcast licensee could aspire to or be measured against. In *Great Lakes Broadcasting Company et al v FRC* (37 F. 2nd 993 [D.C. Cir.]), the FRC devised an important set of principles to delineate what constituted public service and to inform licensees as to what their obligations would be as trustees using a natural public resource. The principle of trusteeship was based on a rationale of spectrum scarcity and required broadcasters to provide that

the tastes, needs, and desires of all substantial groups among the listening public should be met, in some fair proportion, by a well-rounded program, in which entertainment, consisting of music both classical and lighter grades, religion, education, and instruction, important public events, discussion of public questions, weather, market reports, and news, and matters of interest to all members of the family find a place.

In asserting that stations were trustees, the FCC attempted to develop a policy that scrutinized the economic impact that proposed stations would have on current station trustees. Thus, the FCC denied some licenses when it feared that an applicant had inadequate resources. At other times, the FCC refused to issue a license when an applicant was financially secure but would provide harmful competition to an existing licensee. Taken as a whole, FCC decisions published between 1934 and 1940 do not illustrate how the agency evaluated the merits of potential economic injury, nor do they demonstrate a uniform

record of policy making. Robert Horwitz notes that the FCC's decision to protect the broadcast system resulted in de facto protection of existing broadcasting facilities. In apparent ad hoc fashion, the FCC sometimes approved license applications where there were existing stations, and other times it refused to grant construction permits in cities that had no primary radio service at all. Engineering factors were not critical in many decisions.

Encouraging localism (the idea that stations should reflect their own communities) became the second fundamental principle and proved useful for several reasons. Both network and local programs were being provided to listeners via a local licensee assigned to serve a particular community or via a clear channel station meant to serve a wide geographical area. Although the FCC had very limited control over national networks, it discerned that its power to regulate was essentially the power to control local stations, the stations' relationships with network program suppliers, and the stations' relationship with the community of license. Thus, policy evaluation based on serving the interests of the city of license provided the FCC with sufficient leverage over the whole of the broadcast industry through station regulation.

Regulatory Policies in the 1940s

As the 1930s ended, the FCC expressed concern that radio networks held too much power over licensees through affiliation agreements that prevented stations from programming more independently. The commission's actions during this period illustrate a desire to increase the responsiveness of local licensees to their listening public, reduce the anticompetitive behavior of the powerful radio networks, and effectively increase competition in local broadcasting. In addition, the commission wanted to end the competitive advantage the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) held over the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) and the smaller Mutual network as a result of its ability to program both the NBC Red and Blue networks. The Chain Broadcasting Regulations issued in early 1941 were challenged by NBC in *National Broadcasting Company et al v United States* (319 U.S. 190 [1943]). The Supreme Court decision, written by Justice Frankfurter, upheld the FCC's authority to regulate the business arrangements between networks and licensees. More important, the decision upheld the constitutionality of the Communications Act and reaffirmed the commission's presumption that it had substantive discretionary power to regulate broadcasting.

But hoped-for changes in the relationship between networks and affiliates failed to emerge. Even though the commission faced increased criticism and oversight hearings between 1942 and 1944 (resulting in the resignation or non-reappointment of several commissioners), FCC staff investigated what licensees proposed to program when they filed applications

compared to what they actually programmed. The results of the investigation were summarized in the 1946 "Blue Book." The Blue Book restated the commission's interpretation of what constituted public-interest obligations and articulated four primary concerns: the quantity of sustaining programming aired by the licensee, the broadcast of live local programs, the creation of programming devoted to the discussion of public issues, and elimination of advertising abuse.

Although the Blue Book reflected the first attempt by the FCC to articulate a fully developed policy statement regarding what constituted good service, the FCC never fully enforced application of the service statements it advocated. Still, the Blue Book was an attempt to make broadcasters more responsive to their listeners. First, it articulated the commission's view as to what constituted good service. Second, it started a debate within the industry as broadcasters objected to a perceived governmental attack on their ability to program without censorship or government interference. Third, in an attempt to forestall the promulgation of formal content-based rules, the National Association of Broadcasters strengthened its own self-regulatory radio code. Finally, though perhaps unintentionally, the commission increased record-keeping requirements for broadcasters.

Following the end of World War II (a period of unparalleled prosperity in broadcasting), the commission encouraged local competition by allowing a rapid and dramatic increase in the number of licenses in the standard (AM) broadcast band. Some experts note that the pressure to expand broadcasting may be seen less as a regulatory initiative and more as a result of renewed interest in entertainment due to the end of the Depression of the 1930s and the repeal of war priority restrictions. The expansion of radio broadcasting was further enhanced with the FCC's creation of a new expanded FM band after 1945. As the decade drew to a close, the FCC revoked its former prohibition on station editorializing, thus laying the groundwork for what would become known as the fairness doctrine.

Postwar Radio Policy

The shift in revenue from network to local radio and the increased competition in the AM band forced significant changes in radio programming. Morning and afternoon "drive" times became major sources of revenue. Stations abandoned the block programming structure typical of network affiliation in favor of generic formats that were stripped across the broadcast week. Because concepts developed in the Blue Book held little significance in the context of this new local competition, the FCC issued a *Programming Policy Statement* in 1960 (25 Fed. Reg. 7291; 44 FCC 2303) to restate a licensee's broadcast obligations. Reflecting the changes in radio with the rise of television, requirements for

sustaining programs (those without advertising support) were dropped and other program guidelines were updated.

The 1960 *Programming Policy Statement* required broadcasters to discover the “tastes, needs, and desires” of the people through local area surveys known as “community ascertainment.” With the 1960 Policy Statement, the commission delineated a 14-point list of major program elements that broadcasters were supposed to provide for the service area. Broadcasters criticized the laundry-list approach to programming requirements and the agency itself for using specific “quotas” of programs enumerated in guidelines as a litmus test for automatic license renewal.

A decade later, the FCC issued a “primer” that placed significance on programs that were responsive to community problems rather than serving the “tastes, needs, and desires” of the community. In 1976 the commission reaffirmed a commitment to the ascertainment process by making it a continuous requirement. Many felt that with this requirement, combined with other filing requirements, the FCC was imposing a significant record-keeping and filing burden on licensees.

Between 1964 and 1980, the fairness doctrine was fairly rigorously enforced by the FCC, and critics of the doctrine claimed that the specter of a fairness complaint, with its potential for legal entanglements, frequently prevented (“chilled”) broadcasters from airing more discussion of public controversies. Supporters of the doctrine claimed that broadcasters merely used the threat of a fairness complaint as an excuse for not airing more controversial material. The fairness doctrine was a source of discomfort for broadcasters and First Amendment advocates alike. By the 1980s, because of the increasing competition among stations and with radio deregulation under way, the commission began looking for a way to eliminate its own doctrine.

Until 1980 the FCC set policy through implementation of a series of behavioral rules meant to provide guidelines for broadcasters as to what was or was not acceptable. For example, the ban on indecent language was proscriptive, telling stations what was the boundary of acceptable speech. Rules banning some types of cross-media ownership and simulcasting of AM and FM programs were examples of agency rule-making designed to *structurally* organize the industry. Taken as a whole, the accretion of rules and record keeping led broadcasters and policy makers alike to question whether the time was ripe for regulatory reform.

Radio Deregulation

Serious thinking about deregulation began at the FCC in the mid-1970s, and a move to lift some rules on radio had been outlined in 1979. The 1980 election of Ronald Reagan increased the pace of thinking about radio deregulation. Radio had grown from a few hundred stations in the 1920s to thou-

sands of outlets. Under the lead of FCC Chairman Mark Fowler, the agency pushed to deregulate four required station activities, leaving more up to licensees. The eventual report and order (84 FCC2d 968) eliminated minimal advertising and non-entertainment program guidelines, program log requirements, and rigid approaches to ascertaining community needs. Instead, the commission planned to rely more on “marketplace forces” to provide checks against program or advertising abuses. Many filing requirements were abolished. In the deregulatory process, radio license renewal literally became a pro forma postcard process, increasing most licensees’ expectations of renewal. Deregulation, combined with an easing of ownership restrictions in the early 1990s, reflected the agency’s attempt to make market economies define broadcasters, who now faced increasing operating costs and stagnant advertising revenues.

Commission Regulation as Ad Hoc Policy Making and a Diminishing Public Trustee Model

Robert Horwitz notes that FCC deregulatory policies championed under Mark Fowler (1981–87) mirrored the 50-year-old demands of the broadcasting industry to make the commission a neutral technical oversight agency. The liberal interpretation of the First Amendment, characterized by the equal-time requirements of the FCC’s political broadcast rules, faded with the commission’s deregulatory efforts. With fewer content and structural controls left in place, radio broadcasting illustrated erosion of the public trusteeship model that had characterized radio since 1927. The dismantling of the trustee concept, combined with the reduction in structural requirements in regulation, left radio open to freer market competition. Passage of the Telecommunications Act of 1996 eased radio station ownership limitations, although the maximum number of stations allowed in any specific market is still restricted.

Even though deregulation and ownership consolidation have increased competition among the top radio stations in most radio markets, critics of deregulation note that the FCC has failed to create a diversity of ownership to mirror the demographic characteristics of America itself. Despite agency attempts to encourage diversity, the number of minority-held licenses has actually decreased, whereas the overall number of station licenses has increased. Other critics point to the failure of AM stereo and the delayed introduction of a digital radio broadcasting standard as indications that the FCC has rarely been successful in inducing the industry to embrace technological innovations. Pirate radio broadcasters and growing disenchantment with increasingly stratified radio programming led the FCC to create a new low-powered FM broadcasting service, which faced strongly negative reactions from the industry and Congress.

The commission's decision making can be viewed from a number of useful perspectives. Commission policy can usually be traced on a track parallel to congressional initiatives. For example, with the growth of radio into a large, mature industry, constituent pressure on the agency from members of Congress became less significant, and as a result social regulatory or structural policies were relaxed. Congressional intent, as manifested in legislative efforts such as the Telecommunications Act of 1996, illustrates Congress' desire to treat radio broadcasters less like public trustees and more like a price- and entry-controlled industry segment.

Early critics of the FRC and later the FCC complained that forced social regulation created artificially close ties between the regulatory agency and the broadcasting industry. Under "capture theory" analysis, such a regulatory agency becomes overly concerned with maintaining the economic well-being of the public trustees it licenses. The result is the creation of an oligopoly with limited, managed competition. During the 1980s, both conservatives and liberals promoted broadcast deregulation as a way to deconstruct the relationship that had developed between the regulators and the maturing broadcasting industry. Because competition creates long-term economic uncertainty, deregulation undermines the agency-client relationship.

The success of U.S. radio regulation can be measured in a number of ways. Radio is a vibrant industry with several large competitive players owning hundreds of radio stations each. Competition for listeners within specific demographic segments in most medium and large radio markets is fierce. Large radio markets support many different formats. Critics of the FCC liberalization policies complain that such policies may serve large listening segments but tend to marginalize smaller populations that seek more diversity in programming or increased access to the media to express divergent viewpoints. Whether one believes that the government should be worried about First Amendment issues largely depends on one's view of whether social regulation should mandate public access to the airwaves. However, a consequence of the expansion of the number of radio outlets and deregulation as a governmental policy is that both factors undermine the public trustee argument. In the long term, radio broadcasting will continue to be more concerned with economics and less concerned with the tastes, needs, and desires of the community of license.

FRITZ MESSERE

See also Blue Book; Censorship; Clear Channel Stations; Communications Act of 1934; Controversial Issues; Copyright; Deregulation; Editorializing; Equal Time Rule; Fairness Doctrine; Federal Communications Commission; Federal Radio Commission; First Amendment and Radio;

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Reith, John C.W. 1889–1971

First Director-General of the British Broadcasting Corporation

In its 75-year history, only two directors-general of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) have seen their names used as descriptions for a style and philosophy of management. One was the most recent, John Birt, and the other was the first man to hold the post, indeed, the man credited with giving the BBC its unique character among broadcasting organizations, John Reith.

Reith was a unique character, a towering presence both physically (he stood 6 feet, 6 inches tall) and in the force of his personality. He was a man driven by the belief that it was his destiny to perform a great service for his country and constantly tortured by the fear that he was failing to fulfill that destiny. He was capable of the breadth of vision required to see the potential for the infant broadcasting industry, but at the same time he harbored petty grudges and resentments against those he felt were hindering him in his task. And just as his personality was complex, so was the institution he fashioned in his own image. The term *Reithian* has come to embody the first principles of British public service broadcasting: to provide the best in order to enlighten and educate. The term also carries overtones of paternalism and elitism.

Early Years

Reith was born in 1889, the seventh child after a gap of ten years, to the Reverend Doctor George Reith and his wife Mary. Dr. Reith was a minister of the Presbyterian Church in the fashionable part of Glasgow. He ran an austere and joyless home based on strict Christian principles. The influence of his father's puritanism ran through the whole of John Reith's life and work.

The fact that his father refused to send him to university after leaving school and instead apprenticed him to an engineering firm was a perpetual source of resentment. Although Reith never felt satisfied with engineering, he discovered a talent for organization and found a good job with another engineering firm in London.

After being invalided out of the army in 1915 with a World War I injury that left him with a huge scar down his left cheek, Reith again turned to engineering. But, in common with many after the war, he had a period out of work until he was given a temporary post in London as the personal assistant to a Conservative politician, Sir William Bull.

A few months later, he answered an advertisement for the general manager of the BBC. Reith applied although, as he wrote in his diary, he knew next to nothing about broadcasting. Probably in part because of the influence of Sir William

Bull, Reith was appointed, and in December 1922 he began to organize British broadcasting.

The BBC began as a private company formed from a group of the most successful wireless set manufacturers. It was answerable to the postmaster general, who issued broadcasting licenses to the BBC to be distributed regionally. The conditions of the licenses were that the service should not carry advertising and that it should not broadcast news that had not previously been published. This last restriction was a sop to the newspaper industry, which feared the BBC would put newspapers out of business.

It did not take Reith long to find out what broadcasting was about. Along with the small group of talented and enthusiastic men who had been recruited to help launch the BBC, he quickly saw its potential. He also decided from the very early days that the BBC should perform a public service regardless of the effect on the company's profits.

Regional stations were quickly established in the North in Manchester and in the Midlands in Birmingham. But Reith strongly believed that a national broadcaster operating in the public interest should be able to serve everyone. A number of smaller relay stations were quickly opened, and by 1925, 80 percent of the population could receive the BBC. Reith quickly introduced a networking system that would allow the regional stations to broadcast simultaneously important programs from London and that would also allow the regional stations to supply the network. By 1930 the BBC was transmitting two services, the National Programme, from London, and the Regional Programme, which offered a more local schedule.

Reith's declared aim was to bring the best of Britain to all the British. To this end he set up advisory committees to guide the content of the broadcasts. The first of these was the Religious Advisory Committee, which was formed in March 1923. It was the prototype of others set up not only in London but also in the regional centers. The Spoken English Advisory Committee had as members George Bernard Shaw, Rudyard Kipling, and the Poet Laureate Robert Bridges, among others. He wanted the committees to bring the best minds to consider the quality of the programs, but his was a very highbrow view of quality. The Music Committee, for example, set up in 1925, comprised only classical musicians.

In 1925 the government appointed Lord Crawford to head an enquiry into the future of the BBC. Reith took it upon himself to deliver a memorandum to the committee, not on behalf of his board but in a personal capacity. In it he urged the committee to turn the BBC into a public corporation along the

lines of the utilities. In March 1926 the committee agreed, and the BBC ceased to be a private company on 1 January 1927 and became the British Broadcasting Corporation.

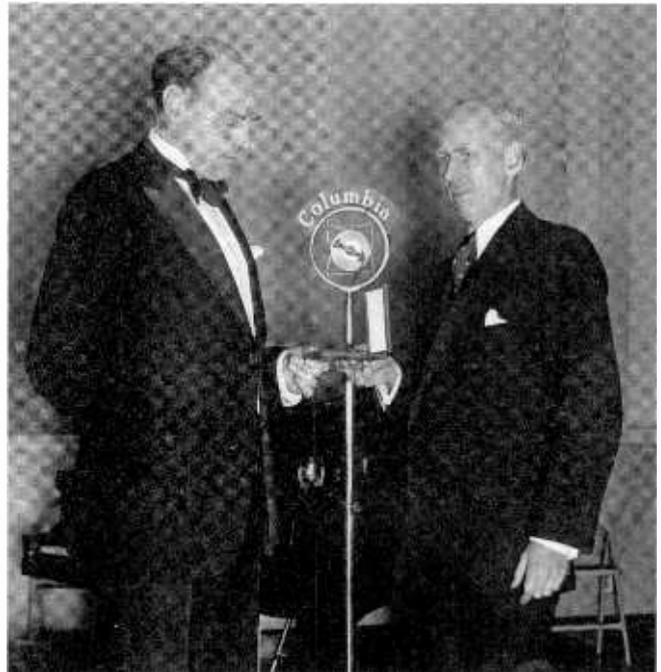
BBC and the General Strike

Reith had once again gotten his own way, but he was soon plunged into one of the most serious crises of the BBC's history, one that would establish the character of the BBC forever. Britain's coal miners had been protesting about their working conditions and pay for many months, and the Conservative government, under Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin, had been stalling. The storm finally broke in May 1926, when the Trades Union Congress called for a general strike. The broadcast of dance music was interrupted so that Reith himself could broadcast the news of the start of the strike. Because the newspapers were not being printed, restrictions on the broadcasting of news were relaxed, and the BBC put out five bulletins a day. Reith insisted that only announcers who spoke English with an Oxford accent should be allowed to read the news, so as to "build up in the public mind a sense of the BBC's collective personality" (Briggs, 1965).

Immediately the BBC clashed with the government. Chancellor of the Exchequer Winston Churchill, who was putting out a government propaganda sheet, saw the potential of the BBC and wanted to commandeer it. Reith got wind of this and was determined to stop him. He persuaded Baldwin that if the BBC were to retain any credibility with the public, it must be seen as impartial. At the same time, in the national interest, he promised that the BBC would not do anything that might prolong or be seen as justifying the strike.

To this end, the BBC broadcast news of demonstrations and read out statements from the Labour Party leader, Ramsay MacDonald, and various prominent Trades Unionists. But neither the representatives of the strikers nor the parliamentary opposition were allowed to appear in front of the microphone in person. Eight days after the strike began, Baldwin went on air to tell the British people that the strike was over and that they should forgive and forget. When Baldwin finished speaking, Reith the showman paused and then started to declaim the words of the hymn "Jerusalem," which begins, "And did those feet in ancient times, / Walk upon England's mountains green?" A massed choir and orchestra he had set up in the studio picked up the hymn, and it ended in a great climax.

This event marked the future of relations between the BBC and successive governments. The BBC has remained impartial and often a thorn in the flesh of government, but it has always supported the concept of parliamentary democracy and has always been vulnerable to government pressure on such things as the renewal of its charter or the amount of the license fee. Reith defined the BBC as "an institution within a constitution."



Sir John C.W. Reith (left) and Henry Adams Bellows of Columbia Broadcasting System
Courtesy CBS Photo Archive

The events surrounding the strike have led some commentators to conclude that Reith failed the BBC at this crucial time, that because of his desire to be in with the people at the center of power and his desire for a knighthood, he allowed the BBC to be used by the government. Others say that he could have done no more. With Churchill breathing down his neck, the indecisive Baldwin could easily have allowed the BBC to be taken over if Reith had not fought so hard to keep the company unaligned.

Reith's whole vision for the BBC was as a force for social cohesion. One of the ways he sought to achieve this was through the live broadcasting of national events. The first of these was the speech by George V to open the British Empire Exhibition on 23 April 1924, heard by an audience of 10 million people. From 1927 onward, many more public events were covered on a regular basis, such as The Trooping the Colour ceremony, and also major sporting events, such as the Oxford and Cambridge boat race, international rugby matches, the Grand National horse race, and the Wimbledon tennis tournament.

Final BBC Years

Directors-general of the BBC have to report to the board of governors. Reith's first four years after incorporation were a time of great tension between himself and the board. The

chairman was Lord Clarendon, who was ineffectual in the role and easily bullied by more assertive board members, among them Mrs. Philip Snowden, the wife of the former chancellor in the Labour government. She took issue with almost everything Reith did. She felt he was an overbearing autocrat and spoke in letters of his "overwhelming egoism." Although Mrs. Snowden, or "the Scarlet Woman," as Reith called her in his diaries, was undoubtedly out of line with her approach to her work on the board, she made some telling points. Reith certainly was an autocrat. He wrote in his diary about his frustration at having to refer to committees and work with others when he could do the job so much more quickly if he were left to do it alone. His conviction that he alone could run the BBC properly was mirrored by his conviction that the BBC alone could provide the best service to the British people. He was adamant that the BBC should remain a monopoly, but he believed equally that it must remain in the hands of the state and not become a commercial operation.

Mrs. Snowden was particularly bothered by the lack of any staff associations at the BBC (all staff complaints went directly to the director-general) and by Reith's unorthodox recruitment procedures. Very few senior jobs were advertised; they mostly went to friends of friends. All senior appointments were made by the director-general himself, and every new person taken on by the BBC had an interview with him soon after starting. Reith also sacked people himself. One of the more controversial firings was of the chief engineer, Peter Eckersley, who was reputed to know more about broadcasting than anyone else in the country. Reith fired him in 1929 for being involved with a woman before her divorce had come through. Reith later explained that it was not a simple moral case. He would not fire everyone who had an extramarital affair. A conductor or a variety show producer could behave differently from a manager, an announcer, or a senior talks producer. But he did believe the BBC was the keeper of the nation's conscience, and as such, those who worked for it had to be seen as above reproach themselves.

But Reith started to get bored. He announced loudly that there was not enough to do at the BBC now he had gotten it running and that he was ready to take on a really big job and so be of more service to his country. Unfortunately, his character and his oft-professed contempt for politics if not politicians told against him. Nothing was forthcoming. He set about restructuring the BBC, but his style of management was becoming rather outdated and very cumbersome. He created far too many committees, which acted as a dead weight on the program makers, who, in the national center at least, became dutifully conformist.

In the regions, however, where Reith was less able to interfere, there was room for more creativity. The northern region in particular saw a burgeoning of innovative programs, using

regional accents, live broadcasts, and the voices of ordinary people talking about their work.

By the late 1930s it was clear that Reith had to go. What is not clear is how his departure was engineered. One theory is that the chairman and various board members plotted to oust him, but there is little concrete evidence to support this. In 1938 Reith was summoned by the prime minister's office to be told that he was to leave the BBC forthwith and take over Imperial Airways.

After his last day at Broadcasting House, he was driven, with his wife, to the Droitwich transmitter, and at the stroke of midnight he closed down all the engines and switched it off, without, he was pleased to be able to tell anyone who would listen, any engineer telling him what to do. As he left he signed the visitors' book: "JCW Reith, late BBC."

For a while he lobbied to be allowed to become chairman of the board or to be otherwise involved, *ex officio*. When these pleas fell on deaf ears (he would undoubtedly have made his successor's life very difficult), he sent back all his radio sets and turned his back on the organization to which he had devoted the previous 16 years.

Although he had another 33 years in public life, and although his subsequent posts were in prestigious government departments and public companies, Reith frequently succumbed to bouts of depression over his own failure to achieve anything of what he deemed real greatness. To others, however, his legacy is still in evidence whenever anybody turns on a radio to listen to the BBC.

SARA JONES

See also British Broadcasting Corporation; Public Service Radio

John C.W. Reith. Born in Stonehaven, Scotland, 20 July 1889. Educated at Glasgow Technical College; served in Scottish Rifles in World War I; served in Officers' Training Corps, 1911-14; lieutenant, Royal Navy, 1942-44; engineering apprenticeship, Hydepark Engineering Works, Glasgow, 1906-14; junior engineer, Pearsons, London, 1914; general manager, Beardmore's engineering works, Coatbridge, 1920-22; general manager, British Broadcasting Company (BBC), 1922-26; first director general, BBC, 1927-38; started first regular schedule of public television broadcasts in the world, 1936; chairman, Imperial Airways, 1938; Minister of Information, 1940; member of Parliament for Southampton, 1940-41; Minister of Transport, 1940; Minister of Works, 1940-42; director, Cable and Wireless, 1944; chairman, Commonwealth Communications Council (later the Commonwealth Telecommunications Board), 1944-50; chairman, National Film Finance Board, 1949; director, Tube Investments, 1953. Received GBE, 1934; knighted, 1927; GCVO Doctor of Laws, Manchester University, 1933; honorary doctorate, Oxford

University, 1935; member of Royal Company of Archers, 1937; GCVO, 1939; titled Baron Reith of Stonehaven, 1940; Commander of the Bath, 1944; Lord High Commissioner of Church of Scotland, 1967–69; Lord Rector, Glasgow University, 1966; Knight of the Thistle, 1969. Died in Edinburgh, Scotland, 16 June 1971.

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Religion on Radio

The message, “What hath God wrought?” sent over Morse’s telegraph in 1837 indicated that religious topics might well be prominent in electronic communications. This proved to be the case when, shortly after Marconi succeeded in transmitting messages by wireless telegraphy in 1895, hymns and prayers were included in the earliest test broadcasts. As stations were granted licenses, religious programming instituted itself as a vibrant and often controversial element in radio.

Beginnings

One of the country’s first radio broadcast stations, Westinghouse’s KDKA in Pittsburgh, aired *Sunday Vespers* from the nearby Calvary Episcopal Church on 2 January 1921. The pastor was not very interested in the event and so asked his junior associate, Rev. Lewis Whittemore, to conduct the service. In order not to distract those attending, the two KDKA engineers (one Jewish, the other Roman Catholic) donned choir robes. This broadcast was so well received by the listening audience that it soon became a recurring feature of KDKA’s Sunday schedule and was presided over by the senior pastor.

In November 1921 the first continuous religious program was broadcast as the *Radio Church of the Air*, and in the following month the Church of the Covenant in Washington,

D.C., obtained a broadcast license in order to set up WDM, the nation’s first religious radio station. In 1922 Chicago mayor William Hale Thompson invited Paul Rader, who had recently founded the Gospel Tabernacle, to broadcast from a radio station set up in City Hall. Rader quickly grasped the potential reach of radio and negotiated the use of WBBM’s studios and airtime on Sundays to run his own once-a-week station, WJBT (“Where Jesus Blesses Thousands”). Besides broadcasting services, Rader presented talks and aired performances by his Gospel Tabernacle Musicians.

Rush to Radio

By 1923 religious organizations held 12 broadcasting licenses and other church groups offered programs to nonreligious channels. That year, fundamentalist preacher R.R. Brown launched the first weekly non-denominational program over Omaha’s WOW. Later known as the *Radio Chapel Service*, the program continued until Brown’s death in 1964. In 1924 Walter Maier, an Old Testament professor at Concordia Seminary, was the force behind the establishment of KFJO, which still broadcasts from St. Louis under the auspices of the Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod. Also in 1924, Aimee Semple McPherson’s International Church of the Foursquare Gospel

in Los Angeles set up KFSG. By 1925 the number of religious organizations holding broadcasting licenses had increased to 63. Faced with the explosion of interest in all types of radio, the Department of Commerce passed a rule limiting any new religious or public service stations to broadcasting at 83.3 kilocycles, forcing the sharing of this one frequency by several stations.

Controlling the Flow

On the East Coast in 1923, S. Parkes Cadman started broadcasting services from the Brooklyn YMCA over WEAJ and, through a telephone hookup, to a few New England stations. WEAJ liked his interdenominational and low-key approach, but other religious groups quickly began pressing for access to the airwaves, so WEAJ approached the Greater New York Federation of Churches (GNYFC) for help. It agreed to provide the station with three program streams: Protestantism was represented by the *National Radio Pulpit* (which remained on the air until the early 1970s), while Roman Catholics and Jews were given their own airtime. When WEAJ became part of NBC, its religious programs became available coast-to-coast.

Sustaining Time

Looking at the varieties of religious broadcasting available and conscious of the diversity of their vast audiences, the networks were eager to keep radical and controversial religious broadcasts off their airwaves. The Federal Council of Churches (which, paradoxically, was subservient to the GNYFC) was consulted by NBC's Religious Advisory Council, which subsequently decided that mainline religious groups would receive sustaining (free) time on the network provided the groups paid their own production costs and avoided proselytizing. All programs would be non-denominational in nature and would be presented by a single speaker so that a preaching format could be maintained.

Under the system of sustaining time, not only were minority groups such as Muslims and Buddhists excluded, but so were Christian Fundamentalists, Evangelicals, Pentecostals and, for many years, Southern Baptists, Lutherans, and other sizable denominations. Mormonism was represented (on CBS) by *Music and the Spoken Word*, featuring the Mormon Tabernacle Choir. In effect, religious broadcasting became segregated—mainline Protestantism, Catholicism, and Judaism were welcomed by the networks at both the local and national levels, while Fundamentalists, Evangelicals, and other independent groups were forced to rely on paid broadcasting. Furthermore, NBC refused to sell them any network airtime.

The Federal Radio Commission's (FRC) attempt in 1927 to end the chaos caused by too many stations trying to broadcast on too few available frequencies made matters even more diffi-

cult for non-mainstream religious groups. In tightening up its regulations, within six years the FRC had forced about half of the religious radio stations to close because they could not provide the required equipment and personnel.

In 1934 the GNYFC ceded responsibility for religious programming on NBC and CBS to a new committee of the Federal Council of Churches. The mainstream groups accepted the idea of sustaining-time religious broadcasting because it guaranteed them access to large audiences through programs such as *National Radio Pulpit*, *Catholic Hour*, and *Message of Israel*. Cooperation with the networks lessened any threat that they would seek to ban all religious broadcasting because of the often provocative views of conservative groups. Protestant conservatives, however, believed that their voice was being silenced by federal intervention and collusion between mainline religions and liberal network bosses.

Paid-Time Programs

Despite their inability to purchase airtime on the networks and the increased technical regulations on their facilities, many Protestant conservative broadcasters prospered. In 1926, for instance, WMBI, a station sponsored (then and now—it is the nation's oldest audience supported station) by the Moody Bible Institute, went on the air with up-to-date equipment and a professional staff who avoided both direct financial appeals and demagogic attacks on other religious viewpoints.

Charles E. Fuller was perhaps the quintessential fundamentalist preacher of the 1930s and 1940s. He made his first radio broadcast in 1923, but did not begin a full-time career in religious broadcasting until 1933. The Mutual Broadcasting System (MBS) was happy to sell airtime to Fuller and to other non-mainline religious broadcasters in order to get enough revenue to establish itself in the marketplace. The success of Fuller's *Old Fashioned Revival Hour (OFRH)* may be tracked by the number of Mutual stations that carried the program: 66 in 1937, 117 in 1938, and 550 by 1942.

As its name indicates, Fuller's *OFRH* largely followed the format of a revival meeting; its message was simple and represented an amalgamation of conservative religious and cultural values, such as a certain anti-intellectualism and concern with apocalyptic themes. Fuller was given to addressing the audience as his "friends in radioland" and would encourage them to take out their Bibles and gather round the radio set. The *OFRH* was in many ways a model for later broadcasts of a similar nature: its charismatic presenter was at the center of the show, the program was positioned within larger church activities, fundraising activities were emphasized, and production values were kept extremely high.

Walter Maier, who had been instrumental in the founding of KFUV, started *The Lutheran Hour* in 1930. It aired on CBS until the network changed its policy on paid time broadcasting



Billy Graham
Courtesy Billy Graham Evangelistic Association

in 1935 and so had to move to the Mutual network. Underwritten by General Motors, *The Lutheran Hour* became the most popular religious program of its day, broadcast in 36 languages over 1200 stations worldwide, and receiving more mail from listeners than *Amos 'n' Andy*. Unlike many other radio preachers, Maier avoided any sort of star status, insisting that the message rather than the messenger was the only thing that mattered.

Other significant programming was supplied by Paul Rader, the founder of WJBT in Chicago, who by 1930 had an hour-long network show on CBS, the *Breakfast Brigade*, which featured his Tabernacle musicians. J. Harold Smith's *Radio Bible Hour* and Theodore Epp's *Back to the Bible Hour* also had many devoted listeners.

Anti-Bias Stance Strengthened

In 1939 issues concerning sustaining time versus paid time once more came into sharp relief with the decision by the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) to restrict its member stations from editorializing about "controversial" matters, such as anti-Nazi or anti-communist statements. The NAB was responding, at least in part, to the mounting anti-Semitic and anti-Roosevelt rhetoric in broadcasts on CBS by Father Charles Coughlin, a Roman Catholic priest.

One result of the NAB's actions was that the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) began to deny license renewals to stations judged to have neglected warnings against bias and controversial themes. Further, the FCC insisted that religious broadcasters and other such groups could no longer seek new members or beg for financial contributions over the air. In reaction to the latter ruling, religious broadcasters devised the "free will offering" pitch which is still used today.

Although by 1941 Coughlin had been removed from the airwaves, the FCC took its anti-bias stance even further with the "Mayflower Decision" which, in commenting upon a Boston radio station, held that "the broadcaster cannot be an advocate." This ruling was relaxed somewhat during World War II when paid time religious programming was allowed to return to evangelization activities as long as national politics were not commented upon.

Mutual Changes Its Course

By 1940 about a quarter of the Mutual network's revenues came from Fuller's *OFRH* and other paid-time religious broadcasting. Two things, however, caused it to change its position: it was becoming more financially stable and was looking to further diversify its revenue stream, and in 1942 it was attacked by a liberal interest group, the Institute of Education by Radio, which was opposed to all forms of paid religious broadcasting.

Responding to this onslaught, conservative broadcasters met in St. Louis and set up the National Association of Evangelicals in an attempt to prevent further restrictions on paid religious broadcasts. Despite this move, Mutual announced in 1943 that it intended to make deep cuts in the time it made available for such programs in its 1944 season. The NAE reacted with consternation and worried that individual stations might also try to limit the time sold to religious broadcasters. In 1944, therefore, the members of the NAE decided that they needed to organize an effective pressure group and so set up the National Religious Broadcasters (NRB).

Fuller, forced by Mutual to accept only one half-hour program a week, chose to put a shortened version of *Pilgrim's Hour* in that slot and moved the *OFRH* to a hastily assembled group of independent radio stations, which gave him most of the coverage of the Mutual network. Fuller's solution of non-network syndication through independent stations soon became, and remains, a favorite method for distributing paid religious programming. Mainline religious groups, in fact, also decided in 1944 to start their own syndication campaign through the Joint Religious Radio Committee of the Congregational Christian Church, the Presbyterian Church USA, and the United Church of Canada. Today, in the same way that the NRB supports the conservative or independent wing of Protestantism, mainline Protestantism is represented by the Communications Commission of the National Council of Churches.

After World War II

During World War II, the government froze construction of new stations and the FCC granted few new licenses. By the end of 1945, however, the FCC had already issued more than a thousand licenses for stations and, for the first time since the 1920s, new noncommercial stations began to appear. This provided new outlets for religious programming. Choices also expanded in commercial operations. In 1946, for instance, KDRU in Dinuba, California, began as the first ever Christian radio station run as a commercial enterprise.

In the 1940s and 1950s new voices and new programs found their way onto the airwaves. ABC, the new network founded after the split-up of NBC's Red and Blue networks, aired *The Greatest Story Ever Told* between 1947 and 1956. The Southern Baptists finally got sporadic access to sustaining time for *The Southern Baptist Hour*, and the Christian Reformed Church's *Back to God Hour* started in 1947. The Church of the Nazarene was represented by *Showers of Blessings*, the Seventh Day Adventists had the *Voice of Prophecy*, the Free Methodists produced the *Light and Life Hour*, the Mennonites had their *Mennonite Hour*, and the Assemblies of God sponsored *Sermons in Song*.

Under the direction of the National Council of Catholic Men, the Catholic Church produced four programs: a drama,

The Ave Maria Hour, *The Catholic Hour* with Fulton Sheen (who presented the program from 1930 until he transferred to television in 1952), *Faith in Our Times*, which was broadcast on the Mutual network, and *The Hour of Faith*. Judaism was represented by one new program, *The Eternal Light*, which ran on NBC from 1946 until 1955. Noted for its excellence, it was funded by NBC and produced in conjunction with Moishe Davis, director of the Jewish Theological Seminary.

Just as many secular shows moved from radio to television, so also did several well-known religious programs. Nevertheless, radio continued to host a wide variety of religious shows. In 1950 *The Hour of Decision* carried Billy Graham's Atlanta Crusade over more than 150 ABC affiliates, and the next year Norman Vincent Peale and his wife Ruth became the first husband-and-wife team to host a religious program on radio.

Decline of Radio Networks

The rise of television caused a huge shakeout in the radio industry. At the same time that conservative and independent religious broadcasters seemed to find new confidence and dynamism, some mainline churches (including some that were having major financial upheavals) appeared to be losing interest in maintaining a vital presence on the radio.

The mainline churches had bought into the notion of sustaining time. As network revenues fell, however, and many local stations wished to maximize their profitability, there was a marked decrease in the amount of time given to sustaining programs and a trend to place these programs into fringe timeslots, either very late at night or early in the morning. The NCC, noting that sustaining time had declined from 47 to 8 percent of religious broadcasting, charged that this trend moved against the public interest, but it did not get very far with its complaints.

In 1960 the NRB and the NCC reached a compromise between their two positions, declaring that broadcasters' public service obligations could be fulfilled by either sustaining or paid time. Their announcement banned program-length fundraising, declaring it unconstitutional, and further stated that religious programs were exempt from the FCC's Fairness Doctrine. The FCC's "hands off" stance facilitated this posture, but it was challenged in 1964 when an author claimed that he had been slandered by a conservative preacher and demanded equal time to reply on WCCB, a Pennsylvania Station of the Red Lion Broadcast Group. This demand was upheld by the FCC and, ultimately, by the U.S. Supreme Court.

Toward the Current Era

In the mid-1970s, word started to spread that Madelyn Murray O'Hair, a leading atheist, was asking the FCC to put an end to all religious broadcasting. Although a total fabrication,

it was taken very seriously by conservatives and independents who had already been riled at an unsuccessful attempt by Jeremy Lanzman and Lorenzo Milam to limit the number of licenses given to religious broadcasters. A result of this was a significant increase in donations to conservative and independent religious broadcasters.

In 1977 James Dobson, a lay psychologist whose "traditionalist parenting" ideas pitted him against the likes of Benjamin Spock, began broadcasting *Focus on the Family* on local radio. Within 15 years his show had grown into the most popular Christian program ever, being broadcast on nearly 1,500 radio stations in the United States and abroad. Unlike many others who started in radio, Dobson insists that he remains happy working in radio and has no desire to move into television.

The NRB became explicitly involved in the political process during the late 1970s. Alarmed at what it considered the "liberal drift" of the Carter Administration, the NRB convened a meeting of religious broadcasters to urge them to become more involved in "educating" Christians about the political process. As a result of this gathering, Jerry Falwell formed the Moral Majority and Pat Robertson not only organized the Freedom Council, but seven years later launched an unsuccessful campaign to win the Republican presidential nomination. Since the early 1980s, Christian fundamentalists have been active and loyal supporters of Republican candidates for political office.

In 1978 WYIS in Philadelphia, the first religious station owned by African-Americans, went on the air. Although it is conservative in nature, there are other preachers of the "Black Gospel" who are not quite as traditional. Frederick J. Eikerenkoetter II, known to his followers as the "Reverend Ike," began to make a name for himself by preaching a "gospel of prosperity," mailing out "miracle prayer cloths" and pamphlets about how to become rich and stay that way. At one point in the late 1970s, the Reverend Ike had a program in 56 radio markets, but he has since faded into obscurity. The American Muslim community has been served by programs featuring the Honorable Elijah, Malcolm X and, more recently, Minister Louis Farrakhan. Mainstream Muslim radio is now available via the internet.

Jewish radio is largely served by syndicated programs such as *Israel Today Radio* and programs made by the Jewish Federation and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. There are a few Jewish radio stations, notably in Florida and Boston, but as with the Muslim community, the biggest source of Jewish religious programming can be found through streaming audio on the internet.

Catholic radio appears to have fallen on hard times since the days when it was the responsibility of the National Council of Catholic Men. Certain dioceses, mostly in the Northeast, the states bordering Mexico, and on the West coast, have their own radio stations, and some syndicated programs are produced by groups such as Franciscan Communications, the

Christophers, and the Paulists. But given the hierarchical structure of the Roman Catholic church, the lack of a consistent radio strategy is puzzling. In 1999 a group of Roman Catholic entrepreneurs funded Catholic Family Radio, a network with an avowedly conservative viewpoint, but it almost immediately fell into financial difficulties and faced bankruptcy within a year. Mother Angelica's EWTN network, although principally a television operation, also broadcasts on shortwave radio, provides syndicated programming to local stations, and can also be heard over the internet.

Entering the 21st Century

In 2003, www.radio-locator.com listed 1184 religious radio stations in the United States and Canada, about equally divided between AM and FM. Most carry inspirational and spiritual talk and music, and many of them continued to air sermons. Another 411 stations were listed as "Christian Contemporary" and there were 495 "Gospel" stations, most of these in the South.

Clearly, religious broadcasting by radio continues to flourish, although media consolidation and population shifts have meant that some forms of Christian radio (local stations in Appalachia, for example), are in decline. Conversely, the continuing influx of Hispanics into the United States has meant that considerably more resources are being dedicated to the religious needs of Spanish-speaking peoples.

The excitement that greeted the first religious broadcasts 80 or more years ago has, of course, been considerably tempered. Radio was the first medium that could communicate the sense of a speaker's presence to a mass audience in distant locations. Christians especially hoped that radio broadcasting would allow them to obey the command of Jesus to "Go ye therefore and teach all nations." Experience has shown that radio is not a very efficient tool for gaining converts, but that it can be very useful in providing comfort and support to those already committed to the broadcaster's viewpoint.

Future developments in religious broadcasting by radio will depend on at least three major factors: the creedal and liturgical orientations of the people who will want to listen to the programming, the structures of ownership and control of the media, and ongoing technological developments.

PAUL BRIAN CAMPBELL

See also Blue Book; Contemporary Christian Music Format; Controversial Issues; Coughlin, Father Charles; Evangelists/Evangelical Radio; Fairness Doctrine; Far East Broadcasting

Company; Gospel Music Format; Jehovah's Witnesses; Jewish Radio Programs in the United States; McPherson, Aimee Semple; Mormon Tabernacle Choir; National Religious Broadcasters; Red Lion Case

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Renfro Valley Barn Dance

Country Music Program

One of country music's important radio stage shows, the *Renfro Valley Barn Dance* could be heard in the U.S. South and Midwest from the late 1930s until the late 1950s. Along with the *Grand Ole Opry* on WSM (Nashville, Tennessee), the *Jamboree* on WWVA (Wheeling, West Virginia), the *National Barn Dance* on WLS (Chicago, Illinois), and other similar country music shows, the *Renfro Valley Barn Dance* provided a widely heard forum for country music as it grew commercially in the 1940s and 1950s.

The Saturday night showcase for country music talent debuted on 9 October 1937 over the 500,000-watt radio station WLW in Cincinnati, Ohio. Initially, *Renfro Valley Barn Dance* broadcast from the Cincinnati Music Hall and then from the Memorial Auditorium in Dayton, Ohio, but in 1939 John Lair, the program's originator, moved operations to Renfro Valley, Kentucky, some 60 miles from Lexington and not far from Lair's birthplace in Rockcastle County. In Renfro Valley, Lair stationed his show in a converted barn and built around it a rustic pioneer village for tourists to visit. This idea of building a tourist destination around the Renfro Valley stage show predated the *Grand Ole Opry's* Opryland megaplex by some 30 years.

With the show's physical move to Kentucky came also a move to a new radio station home. In 1941 the 50,000-watt WHAS in Louisville began airing the *Renfro Valley Barn Dance*, propelling to the South and Midwest the sounds of the show's country singers and comedians. Over the span of the show's run on radio, it would also be carried by the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), and the Mutual Broadcasting System.

Many of the early performers on the *Renfro Valley Barn Dance* had come to the show from WLS radio in Chicago, where John Lair had organized the popular Cumberland Ridge Runners—a musical act on the *National Barn Dance*—and had worked as a music librarian in the 1930s. Former *National Barn Dance* acts on WLS who followed Lair when he headed South were the musical acts Red Foley, Lily May Ledford's Coon Creek Girls, and Karl and Harty. Foley, who was an original investor in the Renfro Valley complex, would go on to be the best-known graduate of the *Renfro Valley Barn Dance*, garnering many hit country songs on the Decca recording label and a prominent spot on the nation's most popular barn dance, the *Grand Ole Opry*. Other nationally known talent who appeared regularly on the *Barn Dance* included comedian Whitey "The Duke of Paducah" Ford (another original investor in the Renfro Valley complex), comedians and song parodists Homer and Jethro, and steel guitar legend Jerry Byrd.

Although the *Barn Dance* gave valuable exposure to country musicians and comics and, in general, helped to establish country music as a commercial force, the show was also important in preserving many of the pre-World War II elements of country music. Founder John Lair was an avid collector of folk songs and ensured that those songs continued to be performed by *Renfro Valley Barn Dance* performers, even as other country music radio shows and performers were forgetting such songs. In addition, as electric instruments and drums became increasingly common in country music during the 1940s, Lair maintained an emphasis on traditional acoustic music, such as that performed by Renfro Valley acts Manuel "Old Joe" Clark, the Callaway Sisters, the Mountain Rangers, and the Laurel County Boys.

As the popularity of the *Renfro Valley Barn Dance* grew in the 1940s, it spun off other musical showcases that brought country music to various audiences. Tent shows featuring *Renfro Valley* talent played one-nighters throughout the East, Northeast, and South. In addition, the Renfro Valley troupe performed on daily shows broadcast over WHAS. For fans of gospel music, Lair and his "Renfro Valley folks" produced the *Renfro Valley Gatherin'*, a program that aired on the CBS network in the 1950s and that still airs today in syndication over more than 150 radio stations in the United States and Canada.

In 1958 WHAS and CBS dropped the *Renfro Valley Barn Dance* from their schedules, marking the end of the show's wide distribution. The program was a victim of the rise of rock and roll music and the decline of network radio. Virtually the only broadcast outlet for Renfro Valley talent would be the tiny radio station WRVK, which Lair established in 1957. As a live performance, however, the *Renfro Valley Barn Dance* continues to be staged every Saturday night, drawing tourists to Lair's pioneer village and often featuring major country music artists. Lair died in 1985 at the age of 91, but his mission to bring country music to the people continues to be fulfilled.

MICHAEL STREISSGUTH

See also Country Music Format; Grand Ole Opry; National Barn Dance

Programming History

Mutual	1938; 1946–47
NBC	1940–41
NBC Blue	1941
CBS	1941–49; 1951 (as <i>The Renfro Valley Country Store</i>)

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Retro Formats

Oldies/Nostalgia/Classic

Although these programming formats are not identical, they all derive the music they air from years gone by. Whereas the nostalgia station, sometimes referred to as *Big Band*, builds its playlist around tunes popular as far back as the 1940s and 1950s, the oldies outlet focuses its attention on the pop tunes of the 1950s and 1960s. A typical oldies quarter hour might consist of songs by Elvis Presley, the Beatles, Brian Hyland, Three Dog Night, and the Ronettes. In contrast, a nostalgia quarter hour might consist of tunes from the pre-rock era performed by Duke Ellington, Benny Goodman, Frank Sinatra, the Mills Brothers, Tommy Dorsey, and popular ballad singers of the past few decades.

Nostalgia radio caught on in the late 1970s, the concept of programmer Al Ham. Nostalgia is a highly syndicated format, and most stations go out of house for program material. Because much of the music predates stereo processing (1958), AM outlets are frequently the purveyors of this brand of radio, although in recent years more and more nostalgia programming has appeared on FM because recordings have been remixed in stereo. Music is invariably presented in sweeps, and for the most part disc jockeys maintain a low profile. Similar to easy listening, nostalgia emphasizes its music and keeps other program elements at an unobtrusive distance. In the 1980s, easy listening stations lost some listeners to this format, which claimed a viable share of the radio audience.

The oldies format was first introduced in the 1960s by programmers Bill Drake and Chuck Blore. Whereas nostalgia's audience tends to be over the age of 55, most oldies listeners are somewhat younger. Unlike nostalgia, many oldies outlets originate their own programming, and very few employ syndicator services. In contrast with its vintage music cousin, the

oldies format allows greater disc jockey presence. At many oldies stations, air personalities play a key role. Music is rarely broadcast in sweeps, and commercials, rather than being clustered, are inserted in a random fashion between songs.

In the 1990s, oldies stations attracted a broader age demographic than they had in previous years because of a continuing resurgence in the popularity of early rock music. At the same time, nostalgia listener numbers remained fairly static but substantial enough to keep the format on the air in several markets. As of 2002, some 700 radio stations featured one or the other retro sound. A more dance/contemporary approach, called "jammin' oldies," has attracted additional listeners in recent years.

Another variety of vintage radio, classic rock/classic hit (also called boomer rock and adult hits), rose to prominence in the late 1980s. Stations employing this music schematic draw their playlists from the chart toppers (primarily in the rock area) of the 1970s through the early 1990s and often appear among the top-ranked stations in their respective markets.

Whereas classic rock concentrates on tunes essentially featured by album-oriented rock stations over the past quarter century, classic hit stations fill the gap between oldies and Contemporary Hit Radio (CHR) outlets with playlists that draw from Top 40 charts of the same period, although there may be an emphasis on more recent tunes at some classic hit stations.

MICHAEL C. KEITH

See also Album-Oriented Rock Format; Blore, Chuck; Classic Rock Format; Drake, Bill; Formats; Oldies Format; Rock and Roll Format

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Rock and Roll Format

Radio's 1950s Transition

Rock and roll was a hybrid musical form that grew out of rhythm and blues and country boogie, adapting the adult themes of the lyrics found there to the concerns of teenagers. Electric guitars and saxophones were predominant. The rhythm was usually marked by a strong backbeat, though shuffle, swing, straight-eight, rumba, and other rhythms were used. Harmonically, rock and roll adopted the blues chord changes and the standard song structures of the music that preceded it.

Background

Rock and roll radio in the United States was part of a massive set of changes in the industry beginning in the late 1940s and leading to modern formatted radio. After World War II and through the 1950s, the radio industry in the United States underwent fundamental changes, including an increase in the number of AM stations from less than 1,000 in 1945 to about 3,600 in 1960. This radically increased the competition for advertising income, on-air talent, programming materials, and audiences. At the same time, broadcasting networks were shifting their advertising finances, talent, and programming to television, leaving many of the older, established stations in need of programming, income, and management ideas. As television began to dominate the prime-time evening audience, radio increasingly depended on daytime audiences and on audience segments outside the urban, middle- and upper-class living rooms where television was adopted early, audiences such as African-Americans, teenagers, rural dwellers, and the less affluent. The displacement of the living room radio by the television, the postwar increase in the prevalence of car radios, and the later transistor revolution led to a dispersion and segmentation of the audience. People listened outside the family group, as individuals in different rooms of the home and outside the home.

Record shows served the need for cheap programming that appealed to audiences who tended to be listening second-

ary to other activities. The shows were usually built around a disk jockey personality, who often chose the music and might also work with local record stores and other sponsors. The personality and the music became a programming package with special appeal to targeted audience segments—as opposed to the old network model of wholesome entertainment for the whole family. Rock and roll reflected the shift from mainstream homogeneity to diversity and special-appeal programming.

Origins

In the late 1940s, commercial necessity began to overcome racist habits among radio station owners, managers, and advertisers, who began to program and advertise for African-American audiences and to hire African-Americans as on-air talent and program advisers. The first experiments were so successful that they led to a revolution in what was called “Negro appeal radio,” featuring rhythm and blues music and disc jockeys who used the argot of working-class black folks. Disc jockeys in this format quickly became local celebrities, with their personal styles growing correspondingly more flamboyant. Attention-getting nicknames, rapping, rhyming, signifying, and characteristics of older verbal insult games and of the later rap and hip-hop were present in the style of African-American personality disc jockeys. As this became the hot new trend in radio, white disc jockeys learned to talk like hep cats too, and sometimes African-American voice coaches and programming consultants were hired at otherwise segregated radio stations. Later white proponents of the style, such as Dewey Phillips and Alan Freed, dropped the rhyming and much of the stylized wit, replacing them with a kind of wildness that may have reflected the liberty of white release into black style—as well as the booze and pills they were famous for consuming.

Negro appeal radio was not only a boon to the African-American community but also led to the discovery and development of white audiences for what had been conceived of as

race music. Two important contingents were white entrepreneurs, often with working-class roots and rebellious attitudes, and white teenagers with spare time and disposable income. Disc jockeys such as John Richbourg (WLAC, Nashville), Dewey Phillips (WHBQ, Memphis), and Alan Freed (WJW, Cleveland); record producers such as Leonard Chess (Chess Records, Chicago), Sam Phillips (Sun Records, Memphis), and Randy Woods (Dot Records, Nashville); and record store owners and mail-order entrepreneurs such as Randy Woods (who turned mail-order business for Randy's Record Shop in Gallatin, Tennessee, into financing for Dot Records) and Leo Mintz in Cleveland were key players. They were white people with more than casual contact with African-American culture and with their own complicated mix of motives. Although some were primarily exploiting business opportunities, others were responding to a genuine affinity for African-American people and culture, and for others rebelliousness appears to have been the primary motive. The disc jockeys became the spoken voice bringing rhythm and blues music to white teenagers, and thus their rebellion—explicit in their loud, rude, on-air style and implicit in their love for forbidden black culture—became an essential component of rock and roll.

Heyday and Controversy

Beginning in 1955, rock and roll records became an ever-larger presence on music sales charts. These were songs by both white and black artists, mostly produced by independent record companies, bought by both white and black audiences. Eventually these songs dominated both the pop and the rhythm and blues charts, with notable presence on the country chart as well. In 1956 Elvis Presley made his first release after his contract was bought from Sun records by the major Radio Corporation of America (RCA); "Heartbreak Hotel"/"I Was the One" was in the top 10 of all three charts simultaneously. In the following years, the pop charts became completely dominated by rock and roll and soul, and so many songs crossed over from the rhythm and blues chart to the pop chart that *Billboard* actually suspended a separate listing for a short period in the early 1960s.

Across the same years that rock and roll came to dominate the pop charts, Top 40 radio became the new standard model for popular music radio programming. In this model, the popularity charts were used as a guide to radio programming, with the most popular songs played the most often. Complications about the validity of the charts or about the necessity that radio stations chose songs to play before they could appear on the charts, were ignored. The programming logic was hailed as a dispassionate, even scientific advance. Questions of taste were irrelevant, it was said; the new Top 40 programmers gave the public what it wanted. The result was that the charts and the radio were locked into a positive feedback system, so that

some popularity led to more popularity—and rock and roll took over.

Rock and roll was controversial, and not only because of its associations with rebellion and forbidden fun. Though it took a while to catch on in the white middle class, by the late 1950s it swept up teenage interest in a manner that disconcerted adults. Reports of conflict between police and crowds at a few concerts were widely publicized. Exploitation movies capitalized on the association of rock and roll and delinquency. Racists objected to the mixing of black and white musicians and audience members. Rock and roll was predominantly produced by small, independent record companies that quickly came to dominate the older major companies in the popular music market. It was pioneered on independent radio stations, and when it crossed to more established stations, the flamboyant, independent character of the personality disc jockeys came with it. More established interests in the music industry, white backlash groups in the South, conservative ministers, parent-teacher associations, and politicians found a convergence of interests in their suspicion that rock and roll was a conspiracy led by the disc jockeys and damaging to (white) youth.

The payola scandals of 1959–60 were the most prominent component of the anti-rock and roll backlash. The practice of record companies' plying radio and other industry personnel with money and favors was decades old and not illegal; as early as the 1890s, song publishers had aided sheet music sales by paying prominent band leaders to perform their songs. What was new was the power of individual disc jockeys and the success of new, small record companies outside the New York music industry establishment. The disc jockeys were the primary target of the scandal, and station owners used the opportunity to wrest control of programming away from them. The model of management-controlled Top 40 programming spread throughout the industry, and by the early 1960s few disc jockeys anywhere selected their own music to play. The free-spirited and entrepreneurial era of rock and roll radio in the United States was over.

ERIC W. ROTHENBUHLER

See also African Americans in Radio; Black-Oriented Radio; Disk Jockeys; Freed, Alan; Music; Payola; Recordings and the Radio Industry; Social Class and Radio; Contemporary Hit Radio Format/Top 40

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Rogers, Will 1879–1935

U.S. Radio Humorist

Will Rogers became one of the United States' most popular entertainers of the 1920s and early 1930s. His appeal was enormous through his newspaper columns, movies, lectures, books, and radio shows.

A photo at the Will Rogers Memorial Museum in Claremore, Oklahoma, shows him making his first radio appearance in 1922 over pioneer station KDKA in Pittsburgh. A 1924 photo shows him with members of the Eveready Orchestra at WEAf in New York City on election day. He did a series titled "Fifteen Minutes with a Diplomat" on the *Eveready Hour*, the first commercially sponsored pre-network hookup.

Rogers was initially uncomfortable with radio. He had difficulty with time restrictions and performing in studios without audience laughter to give him clues as to whether his remarks were funny. He wrote after an early broadcast, "Well that little microphone that you are talking into, it's not going to laugh, so you don't know when you tell anything whether to wait for the laugh, or just go right on." As radio studios became more elaborate, producers included live audiences as part of his programs.

Departing from his wealthy upbringing, Will Rogers approached his radio audiences in the guise of a simple cowboy from the plains of Oklahoma. Always an enthusiastic reader of newspapers, Rogers delivered a style of humor encompassing current social and political issues while gently roasting the key personalities or offering advice on various matters.

During the 1920s his numerous professional endeavors included radio appearances and participation in various national radio hookups. He also wrote humorous radio ads for Bull Durham tobacco. On 17 August 1926, while in Europe, Rogers did a broadcast in London for the largest fee ever paid a radio personality in Great Britain. Known for his

support of relief organizations, his fee went to a hospital charity.

On 4 January 1928 Rogers hosted an ambitious nationwide show connecting 45 stations. Sponsored by Dodge, it was the first broadcast featuring performances in four different locations. After introducing the main guests, Fred and Dorothy Stone, Al Jolson, and Paul Whiteman's orchestra, Rogers announced that he had a surprise. Then imitating the high-pitched voice of Calvin Coolidge, he delivered his own version of the president's state of the union message. Listeners actually believed that Coolidge was talking. Although Rogers sent an apologetic telegram to the White House, biographer Ben Yagoda claims that Rogers never got back into the president's good graces.

By the early 1930s Rogers' broadcasts and daily newspaper pieces reached 40 million people. His income from his various ventures amounted to \$600,000 annually. Beginning in 1930 he had his own regular program, sponsored by E.R. Squibb and Sons, a drug company. From that date until his death, he made regular appearances over radio. He did 12 radio broadcasts for Squibb in 1930 and 53 programs called *The Good Gulf Show* for the Gulf Oil Company between 1933 and 1935. According to the *New York Times*, Squibb paid Rogers \$77,000, almost as much as Babe Ruth's annual salary. The Squibb shows were monologues on Charles Lindbergh, President Hoover, Alfred E. Smith, the Prince of Wales, Henry Ford, and other popular persons and topics.

In 1932 Rogers agreed to be a regular on *Ziegfeld's Follies of the Air*. The show's tight format allotted just four minutes for Rogers' monologue. Rogers' segment, done from Los Angeles, was hooked into the rest of the program originating in New York. When cued to close his segment, Rogers went on talking. After finding out that he was cut off, Rogers sent

the sponsor, Chrysler, a three-word telegram: "Get Another Boy."

Rogers' difficulty with time constrictions can be attributed to the freewheeling style that he had perfected over years of ad-libbing on the Ziegfeld Follies and as a vaudeville entertainer. He said whatever came into his head while rambling from one anecdote to another without any concern for time. He took advantage of the situation to get laughs by bringing an alarm clock to the studio during a *Good Gulf Show* on 7 May 1933. "When the clock's alarm sounds," he promised, "I don't care whether I am in the middle of reciting Gunga Din or the Declaration of Independence, I am going to stop." Each Sunday thereafter the announcer opened the program with, "Here is Will Rogers and his famous alarm clock." The alarm became the signature for his time to sign off.

Rogers appeared weekly on *The Good Gulf Show* beginning on 30 April 1933. He was paid \$50,000 for the series and donated all the money to unemployment relief. The broadcast normally originated from Los Angeles, but his commentaries were transmitted from wherever he was on tour. After the commercials and orchestral segments, Rogers' presentations lasted 15 minutes. The show aired on Sunday evenings at 9:00 P.M. and was followed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt's "Fire-side Chats."

Rogers drew from the headlines and combined materials from his newspaper column with extemporaneous horseplay. The programs were live and unedited, offering a less mediated, rawer version of Rogers than do his writings.

On a Gulf program from Chicago, he employed his vocal version of the voices of *Amos 'n' Andy*. On another program, Rogers discussed radio's invisible audience while asking the listeners if his humor was too political. One Gulf program opens with a tribute to Will Rogers from the Senate read by Colonel Edwin A. Halsey describing Rogers as "the poet laureate of wisecracks." Another memorable Gulf broadcast features him talking about gold; however, he discusses it as a sportscaster announcing a football game between the United States and the rest of the world.

The *Good Gulf Show* lasted until June 1935. Rogers signed an agreement to continue the programs, but he and his friend Wiley Post died in a plane crash in Alaska on 15 August 1935. Both NBC and CBS went off the air for 30 minutes as a tribute to his life.

Few recordings of Rogers' air work have survived. Printed transcriptions of the Gulf programs are available at the Will Rogers Memorial. Unfortunately, only 16 sound recordings of the Gulf series exist. Verbatim transcripts of the 12 Squibb shows can be found in *Radio Broadcasts of Will Rogers* (1983) along with an important single broadcast made in 1931 for the Organization of Unemployment Relief. An audio cassette tape collection of his radio talks, mostly from the Gulf show, is available at the memorial.

FRANK J. CHORBA

William Adair Rogers. Born 4 November 1879, near Oologah, Indian Territory (later Oklahoma), one of eight children of a successful rancher and banker. After an extensive rodeo career, came to New York as vaudeville performer, eventually with Ziegfeld Follies, 1904-14; moved to Hollywood in 1918 and appearance in dozens of films, 1918-35; syndicated newspaper column, "Will Rogers Says," 1922-35. Killed in a plane crash with Wiley Post near Point Barrow, Alaska, 15 August 1935.

Selected Publications

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Letters of a Self-Made Diplomat to His President, 1926

Ether and Me or "Just Relax," 1929

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Rome, Jim

U.S. Sports Radio Personality

Jim Rome is one of the most popular and respected sports radio personalities of the day, with a following so rabid that it approaches cult status. Known for his aggressive, “in-your-face” style, Rome asks only one thing of the callers to his Los Angeles-based, nationally syndicated program: “Have a take and don’t suck.”

Rome’s radio career began while attending college at the University of California, Santa Barbara (UCSB) and working for campus station KCSB. After graduation in 1987 with a degree in Communications, he worked for a Santa Barbara radio station KTMS in a number of capacities, including sports director and play-by-play announcer for UCSB sports. The essence of his radio program today can be traced to its roots in that period, when he tried to make the program he hosted both different and appealing.

In late 1990 Rome received a big break when he began working for XTRA Sports 690 in San Diego, a 50,000-watt station whose signal could be heard up and down the Pacific coast. His show ran from 7:00 P.M. to midnight, and this was when the program really developed. Off-the-wall callers were commonplace, prompting Rome to characterize the climate as a jungle where only the strong survive. The label stuck. The phenomenon grew through mid-1995, when the Nobel Broadcast Group began syndicating Rome’s program, initially to four affiliates. The program is now syndicated by the Premiere Radio network and has more than 200 affiliates with 2.5 million listeners in the United States and Canada.

The Jim Rome Show is much more than telephone calls and interviews. When listeners tune in, they are transported into a unique radio environment—the Jungle. To survive in this jungle, the visitor is advised to understand its unique language—its “gloss” (short for glossary). A few examples include *crib* (a team’s home field or arena, or one’s home territory); *blowing up* (becoming popular, thriving); *props* (credit, praise); *fishwrap* (*newspaper*); and *monkeys* (program directors of stations that air *The Jim Rome Show*). That gloss, along with the overall texture of the program, can make it difficult to follow initially. Rome characterizes his program as an acquired taste and asks new listeners to give it a two-week trial before rendering a verdict. The three-hour program consists largely of running “smack”—the host and his callers lining up with highly critical takes on one or more topical issues or personalities. It is not for the faint of heart. Only the thick-skinned need apply—or call. Failure to have a take that does not “suck” will generally lead Rome to “running” the caller—sounding a buzzer and hanging up. Espe-

cially good takes, however, often punctuated with “Out!!!” by the caller, will be followed by the host’s exclaiming, “Rack him!” (or, on occasion, her). This means that the call is now eligible for the “Huge Call of the Day” and may be replayed at the end of the program. For those unwilling or unable to call, they may fax or e-mail their takes, and Rome (“Romey” to Jungle veterans—the “clones,” as they are called) will read them.

Although the Jungle can be a rough place, it is a principled place, where the host’s takes—though delivered with his typical edginess—are replete with moral integrity. Rome’s contributions to radio include bringing intelligence, knowledge, and insight to a genre—sports talk radio—that is often lacking in those attributes. An expert interviewer, Rome frequently elicits information that others would not. Moreover, because he is so widely respected, people who typically refuse interview requests often agree to talk with Romey.

Rome’s respect from the public and sports figures alike stems from his knowledge of his subjects plus a penchant for asking the tough questions. Although his style remains hard-hitting and no holds barred, Rome is highly respected by many people for the insight and preparedness he brings to his interviews. Much of his day, in fact, is devoted to preparation. He claims that for every hour he is on the air, he spends at least two doing his homework.

Linked to *The Jim Rome Show* is the phenomenon of the “Tour Stop.” Tour Stops began with Rome’s occasionally originating his radio program from a location in one of his affiliate cities. His clones attend en masse, some traveling long distances. In addition to listeners, several sports figures who live in the Tour Stop city also drop by. Like the program itself, the Tour Stop happening has grown exponentially since its inception. The first was in Omaha in 1996. Because of escalating crowd sizes and a sort of “Jungle fever” that ensued as Rome attempted to conduct his program, Tour Stops are now conducted off the air on Saturdays.

Although Rome’s résumé is dominated by his work in radio, he also has utilized his talents in television. This includes two years hosting *Talk2* on ESPN2 in the mid-1990s. In that venue, an incident occurred that continues to follow Rome. Then-Los Angeles Rams quarterback Jim Everett was a guest on the show, and Rome called him “Chris” three times, a reference to female tennis player Chris Evert, in questioning his toughness. Once Everett had enough, he flipped over the table and nearly did the same to Rome. Rome now acknowledges he mishandled the situation and calls it “regrettable.”

Rome's television programs also include *The Last Word* on Fox Sports Net, which he hosted for five years nightly. In May 2003, he began a weekly program on ESPN, *Rome is Burning*.

Rome was named California's sportscaster of the year in 2000. He lives in Los Angeles with wife Janet and son Jake.

JOSEPH A. RUSSOMANNO

See also Sports on Radio; Sportscasters

Jim Rome. Received degree in Communications, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1987. Worked for station XTRA, San Diego, beginning in 1990. *The Jim Rome Show* became nationally syndicated in 1995, eventually gaining more than 200 affiliates.

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Roosevelt, Eleanor 1884–1962

U.S. First Lady and Broadcaster

Among her many roles as first lady, Eleanor Roosevelt delivered commercially sponsored broadcasts. She was the first to do so. Eleanor Roosevelt was on the air more often than any other Roosevelt and for a greater variety of reasons. She used radio to sway public opinion on issues she was concerned about, to make money, and to help her friends and family. And like her husband, she had a personal, conversational approach to the medium that worked well for radio.

Roosevelt's radio career included a few political talks before 1927, a number of sponsored series from 1930 through the 1950s, and hundreds of speeches and interviews. From 1921 to 1924, while Franklin D. Roosevelt was struggling with his polio, Eleanor Roosevelt was reaching out into political activism and giving radio speeches to keep the Roosevelt name before the public. She gave a very well organized speech on WRNY about an upcoming referendum in New York. It was clearly a political speech supporting the Democratic platform, but it started off on a personal note—"On one of the registration days here in NYC a friend of mine tells me that she had the following experience . . ." Other speeches were on topics that reflected her own interests in helping others: charities such as Children's Aid Society, Salvation Army, Emergency Unemployment Relief Fund, and later the United Nations. She also gave messages that reflected her set of values; they could be about parenting, the duties of a wife, or the life of a first lady. She was aware of her prominence and desired to keep that stat-

ure to continue to be able to influence social change. She worked at maintaining a platform and a channel to her audience, one that she assumed to be mostly women.

Her first series of sponsored radio programs in 1932–33—*Pond's Radio Program Speeches*, for Pond's, a cold cream manufacturer—was clearly directed to women during the daytime. A sampling of her subjects included "Keeping Your Husband Happy" and "Official and Social Life in Washington." The very fact that Roosevelt, soon to be first lady, was being paid for her broadcasts made the news, but she replied that the monies were going to charity via a special fund set up with the American Friends Service Committee, and she reluctantly held off making more commitments for sponsored programming until 1934.

The sponsored series that aired from 9:30 to 10:00 P.M. in 1934 for the Simmons Mattress company was intended to be a blend of feature material and current events. Roosevelt actually referred to herself as a news commentator. She had other sponsored series, but the series that had the most controversial programming was her 25-program Sunday night series for the Pan American Coffee Association—an organization that represented eight coffee-exporting countries—while she was co-director of the Office of Civil Defense. Her topics included rumors of the president's dictatorial powers, torpedoing of ships, German propaganda, U.S. civilian defense, anti-Semitism, and others. The programs were remarkable for their



Eleanor Roosevelt at CBS's WABC Studios
Courtesy CBS Photo Archive

incorporation of propaganda for the president's policies, but research indicates that only the socialist Norman Thomas asked for reply time to give the isolationists' perspective—which he was denied.

After the war and out of the White House, Roosevelt's selection of broadcast topics continued to vary. Her daughter Anna produced a 15-minute weekday radio series with her from October 1948 to August 1949; Eleanor Roosevelt participated two or three times a week. Samples of Eleanor's topics for this included the value of Wiltwyck School, a small school for delinquent children across the Hudson River from Hyde Park that she had supported throughout its years; radio's responsibility, which was heavily drawn from Edward R. Morrow's acceptance speech for an award; and spring at Hyde Park. But apart from this series, Roosevelt also gave radio broadcasts on very serious issues such as communism and the value of freedom of expression, and the significance of the Declaration of Human Rights. She also gave partisan speeches for Democratic candidates, and she was always ready to be interviewed.

The lack of continuity of broadcast series and the variety of topics indicate to some that Roosevelt did not take radio especially seriously. She was not a broadcaster first and foremost, but she was clearly aware of the business aspects of broadcasting. Her correspondence with her agents, who demanded high fees for her, make apparent her awareness of the need for exclusivity with agents or with networks, and illustrates her desire to protect her output so that it was always valued. One agent, Myles Lasker, was adamant about trying to get high fees. He found a sponsor, the J. Walter Thompson advertising agents for The Johns-Manville Company, willing to pay a \$3,000 honorarium for a 5-minute talk on "The American Home—Its Traditions and Hopes." Another agent noted: "I've chased down several radio inquiries and find they're phony. I guess it's someone trying to pull some cheap stunt." Roosevelt was careful to protect any content that had been sponsored. She notified the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) that they could list her speeches in a catalog intended to sell their programming but that she would not allow for any of her commercially sponsored broadcasts to be listed. She was also economical in her use of content. Just as she had a selection of four or five topics for her lecture tours, she often repeated subjects over the years. There are countless programs whose topic is "A Day in the Life of the First Lady," "Role of the Wife," or the value of "Freedom of Expression."

She also used the medium as a means to work with and help friends. At the request of her friend Esther Lape, for example, Roosevelt broadcast a speech in January 1935 to counter the Hearst-Coughlin onslaught against the World Court. Then, in 1941, she was more than willing to speak on behalf of FDR's policies, and she was sure to have him, or his aides, go over the scripts. To help her children make money she worked with her

daughter Anna (1948–49) on a radio series, and then with son Elliott (1950–52) on a television series.

Roosevelt appreciated the power and influence the medium afforded her. In her later years she gave up her lecture circuit in favor of broadcasting, so that more people could hear her. In 1951 she was asked to be a charter member of the women's broadcasting organization, AWRT (American Women in Radio and Television).

MARGOT HARDENBERGH

See also American Women in Radio and Television; Fireside Chats; United States Presidency and Radio

Eleanor Roosevelt. Born Anna Eleanor Roosevelt (fifth cousin to Franklin Delano Roosevelt) in New York City, 11 October 1884. Educated privately and at Allenswood School, England; married Franklin Delano Roosevelt, 1905; active in Women's Trade Union League, League of Women Voters, and women's division of Democratic Party; helped form furniture factory, Val-Kill Industries, 1926–38; co-owner with Marion Dickman, Todhunter School, New York City, 1927–32; as first lady she initiated weekly press conferences with women reporters, lectured throughout country, delivered sponsored radio broadcasts with proceeds going to American Friends Service Committee, co-director, Office of Civilian Defense, 1941–42; during WWII visited troops throughout world; named "The First Lady of Radio" by WNBC, 1939; appointed representative to United Nations, 1945–51, 1961–62; elected chairman of Commission on Human Rights; helped draft Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1946; wrote books, magazine articles, and syndicated daily newspaper column "My Day," 1936–62; hosted radio and television programs and traveled widely as lecturer. Died in New York City, 7 November 1962.

Radio Series

1932–51 *Eleanor Roosevelt* or
(with some hiatuses) *Eleanor Roosevelt's Chat Show*

Television Series

Today with Mrs. Roosevelt (packaged by Elliott Roosevelt),
1950–51; *Prospects of Mankind*, 1960–62

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This I Remember, 1940
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Roosevelt, Franklin D. *See* Fireside Chats

Russia and Soviet Union

Prerevolutionary Russia, although in many ways technologically undeveloped, was a leader in the development of wireless. Despite the Russian Revolution and the civil wars that followed it, the country's deployment of radio in European (western) Russia in the earliest decades of the 20th century was comparable to that occurring in other industrialized nations. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) subsequently developed extensive wired and wireless radio systems that, in content and structure, were consistent with communist ideology and the aims of communist states. The collapse of the USSR in 1991 put radio, like many aspects of life in the Russian Federation, on a chaotic course. Commercialism came rapidly to some areas, but state-run systems struggle on. Despite exploiting some new technologies, such as the internet, for global as well as national distribution, the overall preparedness of Russian radio broadcasters for the radio technologies of the 21st century seems inadequate.

Prerevolutionary Russian Radio (to 1918)

The Soviet Union long hailed St. Petersburg academician Alexander Stepanovitch Popov as the "father of radio," and Russia continues to celebrate 7 May as "Radio Day" in recognition of his demonstration of the detection of electromagnetic discharges from lightning on that day in 1895. It is possible that Popov transmitted the Morse-coded words *Heinrich Hertz* at St. Petersburg University on 24 March 1896, but documentation of this achievement has always been hazy. If one counts the 7 May 1895 demonstration as a true demonstration of radio telegraphy, then Popov invented radio more than a year

before Marconi's 2 June 1896 patent application. However, Marconi's July 1896 demonstration of sending and receiving coded messages is better documented than Popov's alleged March transmission. Unlike Marconi, Popov did not capitalize on his invention. He seems to have had less interest in radio than Marconi did, and in any event, the czarist navy took over radio's development by 1899. Popov worked independently of Marconi, although they both built on the common work of scientists and inventors such as Maxwell, Hertz, and Lodge, and Popov certainly counts as an important inventor of early radio. Others were also at work on radio in St. Petersburg at the time, including Vladimir Zworykin, who immigrated to the United States just two years following the 1917 Russian Revolution, joined Westinghouse Electric Corporation, and later became known in the West as a father of electronic television. Although the West benefited from the flight from revolutionary Russia, many scientists and technicians remained in the country after 1917 and contributed to the development of radio in the Soviet Union.

Radio in the USSR (1918-90)

Vladimir Lenin appreciated the potential for radio to advance the causes of the Bolsheviks and to build support for the party. He considered radio sufficiently important as a potential means of overcoming the huge distances in the country to justify devoting a substantial portion of the country's scarce gold reserves to its development. Newspapers, Lenin's preferred means of communication, could not reach the masses of illiterate workers and peasants as radio might. Therefore, as early

as December 1918, Lenin set up an experimental radio laboratory in Nizhniy Novgorod (Gorki in the Soviet era). Activity at the lab was halted during the civil wars that followed the 1917 revolution, but it resumed in 1924. A 12-kilowatt station (among the most powerful in the world at the time) went on the air from Moscow beginning 17 September 1922, irregularly transmitting music and an occasional speech by Lenin. In October 1924 the Russian government's Council of People's Commissars established a Joint-Stock Company for Radio Broadcasting, *Radioperedacha*, with the stock held by trade unions and teachers. Control of the station by such a joint-stock company reflected a level of freedom from Communist Party control that would later disappear in the USSR. Under this company, the Moscow station on resumed systematic, regular broadcasts on 12 October 1924. Within a year Moscow also had the first Soviet wired radio system (*radiotranslyatsionni uzel*), an interconnection of 50 speakers. Although Russia may not have invented the radio, a good case can be made that it invented the wired nation, because up until the mid-1960s, the number of wired receivers—*radiotochki*—in the country generally exceeded the number of over-the-air receivers.

With Stalin's ascent to power, a movement began to increase central government and party control of wired and wireless radio. *Radioperedacha* was dissolved in July 1928, and the Commissariat of Posts and Telegraphs, which already regulated radiotelegraphs, unsuccessfully assumed control. On 31 January 1933 the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR established the All-Union Committee for Radiobroadcasting and Radiofication (Russian acronym, VRK) and put it broadly in charge of wired and wireless radio throughout the USSR. Ultimately, each USSR republic (except, notably, Russia) established its own radio committee to oversee services to the republics, but these committees worked under close supervision from Moscow, which continued to determine nationwide programming. There were local committees for cities and even for factories, collective farms, and the like.

Wired and wireless radio grew slowly prior to World War II. In 1928 there were about 20 over-the-air stations, and by the time Hitler invaded Russia in 1941, that number had grown to about 90 stations and an estimated 760,000 over-the-air receivers. But VRK estimated that in 1940 there were 11,000 "radio exchanges" powering about 5 million speakers.

The "Great Patriotic War," as Russians call World War II, devastated Soviet radio. Nearly all over-the-air sets were confiscated by Soviet authorities and, it is claimed, returned at the war's end. In European (western) Russia, German invaders either captured wired radio exchanges or destroyed them. When the war turned for the Soviet Union, it discovered that it was unable to broadcast pro-Soviet propaganda to the western part of the nation because very few individuals had wireless receivers. At the war's end, only 5,500 exchanges were opera-

ble, most of them east of Moscow. The wired systems, however, were quickly rebuilt, and it is estimated that by 1947 9,250 exchanges were operable.

Wired radio was attempted in other nations, both in the East and in the West, but no nation took the idea as far as the Soviet Union did. The addiction to wired radio is sometimes traced to the desires to limit information access of Soviet citizens, and that may have been part of the motive. But there were other reasons for the adoption and expansion of the system.

Until they grow to gargantuan size (which eventually they did), wired exchanges are cost efficient. Because the home or work receivers consist of little more than a case, a transformer, a switch, and a speaker, they are something that the chronically underdeveloped Soviet consumer electronics industry could produce in quantity. Over-the-air radios were more complex and expensive; in 1936, for example, there were just 650,000 such sets in the country. Around 200,000 of these were regarded as outmoded, and 270,000 were crystal sets.

Wired systems had some other advantages. They did not require batteries—chronically unreliable and in short supply—as inexpensive receivers often did. They could even operate in households without electricity. Through wind-powered exchanges, some Soviet villages got wired radio before they were electrified. During the Nazi siege of Leningrad (September 1941–January 1944), the wired radio system continued to function despite the collapse of the electrical system in the city. Throughout the 900-day siege, a metronome continued to beat as the heart of Leningrad, varying in pace, some said, with the level of threat to the city. Speeches, war information, and even live symphony concerts were transmitted to the beleaguered city.

Wired exchanges could also be operated to provide some time for "local" broadcasts. At the very least, services from Moscow could be interrupted for short periods of time to accommodate programming specific to a republic (including programming in languages other than Russian) or city, or, in some instances, programming intended for a specific factory, collective farm, or workplace. Given the low signal capacity of the systems, however, such programming displaced Moscow programming and therefore never amounted to a large percentage of transmission time.

Wired radio systems were repaired and expanded after the war. By 1946 Moscow (and later other parts of the country) had two-channel service. A third channel was added in 1947, when it was estimated that only 18 percent of radio listening came from over-the-air services. A fourth channel was added in 1965, and a five-channel system was the never-realized Soviet goal.

Slowly after the war, however, over-the-air stations were begun in earnest. Because AM had not become as entrenched in the USSR as in other countries (notably in the United States), FM was introduced relatively early. In 1963 the coun-

try was thought to have 170 long-, medium- (AM), and short-wave stations but also 86 FM stations. Whereas wired speakers accounted for 75 percent of receiving equipment in the 1950s, by about 1965 half of all receivers in the country were wireless. The country settled into a pattern, still true today, of hybridized wired and wireless transmission.

Following Stalin's death in March 1953, VRK evolved into the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio (*Gosteleradio*), which, until the collapse of the USSR in 1991, monopolized domestic radio and television as well as international broadcasting. Choices expanded somewhat as *Gosteleradio* added services. At the end of the Soviet era, the "First Program," a mixture of news, commentary, classical music, and folk music, used wired and wireless services to reach 97 percent of the population. The second program, *Mayak* (lighthouse or beacon), a highly popular, slightly less political or stuffy service, reached 85 percent of the country. In 1964 *Mayak* was the first service to go full-time in the USSR. Its lighter, sometimes even deliberately entertaining, service and round-the-clock schedule were intended to make it, in part, a competitor to Western shortwave international radio services, such as Radio Free Europe. The Western services attracted audiences through their brighter blend of music and talk, and, until *Mayak* was introduced, they exploited the fact that Soviet radio channels shut down at midnight. The third program service, emphasizing classical music and education, reached only 40 percent of the nation by the 1980s, and the fourth channel could be heard by only 7 percent of listeners, mostly in Moscow.

Although not as political as in Stalinist times, Soviet radio services remained generally faithful to the communist ideal of using the mass media primarily to raise the cultural level of the populace. Entertainment was secondary. There was some popular music and jazz by the 1960s but also, compared to Western standards, heavy doses of opera, drama, and literary programs. Many programs were specifically targeted at children. Sporting matches were also frequent fare. The national service emphasized Russian, but services in the republics produced programming in many of the Soviet Union's more than 80 major languages. About 65 percent of receivers were over-the-air, picking up predominantly shortwave and FM signals. Although the Soviet AM band was similar to the band used in Europe and in the United States (570–1479 kilohertz, but on 9-kilohertz spacing rather than the 10-kilohertz spacing used in the United States), the Soviet FM band used a different range than that used in Europe and the United States. In part to discourage reception of Western FM signals in border states, the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies used a lower (64–74 megahertz) FM band, commonly known as the UKW or ultrashortwave band, than was used in the West (88–108 megahertz). Unlike FM in the United States, Soviet FM stations transmitted on even as well as odd (e.g., 88.1 and also 88.2)

frequencies in the FM band. Soviet radio also used a longwave band of 150–350 kilohertz and a shortwave band of 5.9–17.6 megahertz. Wired systems, by then usually carrying three channels, except in one-channel rural areas, continued to serve both cities and the countryside. In rural areas, they were often the only services available. Some urban wired systems used stereo. The *Gosteleradio* empire, on the eve of the Soviet collapse, had grown colossal, employing an estimated 82,000 people, second in size only to the Ministry of Defense.

Radio in the Russian Federation (Since 1991)

Some liberalization of Soviet radio occurred early under General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's policies of *glasnost* (openness) and *perestroika* (restructuring) once he succeeded Konstantin Chernenko in March 1985. Reporting of the failings of Soviet government (obvious to many Soviet citizens anyway) was allowed, although reporting of disasters such as Chernobyl in 1986 still did not take place immediately. Although a reformer, Gorbachev sought to preserve the USSR and, at least initially, the Communist Party. But *glasnost* empowered critics of the Soviet system. Boris Yeltsin, a well-known political figure, resigned from the party in June 1990, only to become the first freely elected president of the Russian Republic in July 1991. Independence movements in the non-Slavic republics grew. Often, anti-Soviet forces seized radio and television facilities. On 13 January 1991, 13 Lithuanians were killed in battles over studio and transmission facilities in Vilnius. The shocking bloodshed, many believed, hastened the end of Soviet rule, already undercut by dissent and rot at its heart. Significant squabbling began between Yeltsin—advocate of an independent Russia—and Gorbachev, defender of the Union.

The end really began on 19 August 1991 when, with Gorbachev out of Moscow, hardliners led a short-lived putsch aimed at removing him. After heroic defense at the Russian White House—headquarters for Yeltsin's Parliament of the Russian Republic—the ill-planned coup collapsed and Gorbachev returned to Moscow, weakened and disgraced. In short order, the USSR had to accept the independence of the Baltic and, later, other republics. On 25 December 1991—after a 74-year run—the curtain fell on the USSR. Gorbachev's goal of an open, but still communist, society had proved unsustainable.

Yeltsin realized that Gorbachev and *Gosteleradio* directly controlled electronic mass media in Russia. As noted earlier, under the USSR Russia had been the only republic without its own radio and television committee: the interests of Russia in electronic media were supposedly represented by *Gosteleradio*, but this situation was unacceptable to Yeltsin. In August 1990 the Russian Parliament created the All-Russian State Radio and Television Company (*Vserossiyskaya Gosudarstvennaya Teleradiokompaniya* [VGTRK, also known as RTR]), which

launched Radio Russia (*Radio Rossii*) on 6 December 1990. During the Lithuanian revolt in January 1991, Radio Russia supported the rebels. Gorbachev officially acknowledged RTR on 13 May 1991, and it assumed control of the national radio channel 2. When, in August 1991, coup leaders gained control of the main transmitter in northeast Moscow, RTR continued to transmit from the White House via shortwave and, in effect, through CNN.

As Yeltsin consolidated power following the coup, Radio Russia became the "first button" on wired radios throughout the Russian Federation, although the by then withering *Gosteleradio* held on to other national radio services. During an attempted coup against Yeltsin in fall 1993—following the collapse of the Soviet Union—anti-Yeltsin forces attempted to seize the shared RTR/Ostankino production facilities, but RTR had downtown studios and somehow maintained its link to the transmitter.

Today, Russia is served by four interregional, theoretically state-funded, radio services. Radio Russia, run by RTR, is the second most widely attended to service and is generally regarded as the official voice of the Putin government that succeeded Yeltsin in 1999. It broadcasts 18 hours per day on channel 1. Radio *Mayak*, a subsidiary of VGTRK, is still the most popular single service in the nation. Radio *Yunost* (youth), now associated with *Mayak*, broadcasts programs for audiences from 14 to 25 years old. Together, they now share channel 2. Radio *Orfey* (Orpheus) broadcasts 18 hours daily of classical music, educational programs, and newscasts about cultural events as a noncommercial state institution, typically on channel 3. Regional governments continue to run regional services, sometimes in languages other than Russian. There is also a state-run international service, the radio broadcasting company *Golor Rossii* (Voice of Russia), formerly *Radio Moscow*, which transmits programs in Russian and 31 foreign languages. As with many Russian state institutions, however, the economics of all state-run services are unsettled. Salaries are low and irregular. The state often fails to pay agreed-upon sums, and as a result, state-run services accept some advertising and are often behind in payments to other state-run agencies that still control towers and transmitters.

Given the continuing dependence on state-controlled over-the-air radio transmitters and wired radio systems, it should not be surprising that "independent" (nonstate) radio had a difficult birth. The first nonstate radio broadcast station (since Lenin's experiments just after the revolution) began in August 1990, when radio journalists at the faculty of journalism at Moscow State University founded *Echo Moskvy* (Moscow's Echo). It stayed on the air even when, during the 19 August 1991 putsch, KGB officials attempted to close it. Today it is one of about 20 nonstate FM stations available in Moscow. Nonstate over-the-air radio broadcasting has blossomed in many other larger Russian cities, but in nonurban areas, state

broadcasting (by wire and over the air) is often all that is available. Regional governors often have fairly tight control over state, and even nonstate, radio in their regions.

Many independent over-the-air radio stations operate in multiple cities. In U.S. terms, they might be described as par networks or certainly as closely controlled by a group owner. Many independent radio stations function as Russian-Western joint ventures of some sort. *Europa plus*, for example, is a joint French-Russian company that operates through about 60 "partner stations." American media entrepreneur John Kluge (after selling Metromedia's television properties to Rupert Murdoch to form the heart of Fox broadcasting) turned Metromedia International Group into a major player in Eastern Europe. It broadcasts on two frequencies in Moscow and on one in St. Petersburg and has other properties in Hungary, Estonia, Georgia, Latvia, and the Czech Republic.

According to the Licensing Administration of the Ministry for Press, Television and Radio Broadcasting, and Mass Communications of Russia, 946 licenses for the operation of radio transmitters were in use in Russia as of 1 September 2000. These include 671 licenses for over-the-air radio broadcasting, 216 for wired transmission, 10 for satellite radio, 7 for over-the-air and wired broadcasting, and 2 for multiprogram broadcasting.

Programming of independent radio generally does not stress politics. Rather, the stations often target the small and continually endangered Russian middle class, especially its youth. Programming is often an eclectic mix of Russian and Western rock and pop and can include weather and helicopter traffic reports and disc jockey patter that would be familiar to Western ears, although Russia has yet to develop an indigenous Howard Stern. Hard hit by the Russian economic collapse of 1998, which wiped out much of the advertising marketplace, the economics of independent stations are often problematic, although Western investors seem committed for the long haul. Independent stations are often in arrears to state-run transmission facilities, and continual government threats to collect the debt compromise their independence. Some often generate revenue by accepting payment for retransmitting the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), Deutsche Welle, or Radio Liberty. Others retransmit paid religious programming from Western (often fundamentalist Christian) sources. Weak economics tempt playola on a scale considered unlawful in the West, and because of lax copyright law enforcement (and no effective organization such as the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers [ASCAP] or Broadcast Music Incorporated [BMI]), Russian popular musicians are eternally complaining that they are undercompensated for their music. One response is frequent co-promotion of raves and concerts between artists and radio stations.

Many of the independent stations found frequency space in the upper (Western) FM band (88–108 megahertz), which was

not used in Soviet times. Since 1991, the Russian consumer electronics industry has largely collapsed. Today, radios in Russia are often imported from Europe or Asia and (at least in the early to mid-1990s) often did not even receive the "Russian" (64–74 megahertz) band. Wideband FM radios are now available but are more expensive than sets without the old Soviet frequencies. The result is that those who can afford new radios sometimes cannot receive the Soviet frequencies at all but have easy access to the Western band, which may not be heard by Russians who have not replaced their radio sets. Car radio listening (almost insignificant in Soviet times because of the lack of private cars) is important in major cities. Despite tough times, urban Russians increasingly own cars. Imported used and new vehicles inevitably come with Western FM radios, and whenever they can, Russian youth mount Japanese radios in even the most decrepit of Russian cars. A response to this frequency chaos, by both independent and state-run over-the-air broadcasters, has been, in effect, cluster broadcasting. The same "station" may transmit on a variety of frequencies—from shortwave to Soviet FM to Western FM.

The Future of Russian Radio

It is as risky to predict the future of Russian radio as it is to predict the future of the Russian Federation itself. Political pressures continue on independent Russian television, and although less on radio, they are still present there. The economics of independent broadcasting, given the sad state of the Russian economy, remain less than promising. Transmission towers and transmitters themselves, still overwhelmingly state owned (and leased by independent radio), have received few technical upgrades and often not even basic maintenance for almost 20 years. A fire, allegedly started by a short circuit, at the Ostankino television tower in August 2000 knocked out most radio and television broadcasts in Moscow for several days. Other transmission facilities are likely to be in even more decayed condition. Russia lags behind Europe (and even the United States) in making a transition to digital radio.

Compared to Soviet times, however, some things are brighter. There are more radio services and more diverse content. There is political debate. There is more popular entertain-

ment, and somehow, high culture hangs on. Perhaps because of their familiarity with wired radio (or conceivably out of fear of the state of their transmitters), Russian radio has embraced the internet, and those of the international Russian-speaking diaspora, at least, can access a wide range of state and nonstate audio services. Indeed, if the money could be found for nationwide wireless broadband services (a not entirely fanciful idea in a country with decaying traditional broadcasting and wired telephone systems), "radio" in Russia's future might someday be widely delivered by the internet.

HERBERT A. TERRY AND ANDREI RICHTER

See also *Metromedia*; Popov, Alexander; *Propaganda by Radio*; *Radio Moscow*

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Sarnoff, David 1891-1971

U.S. Broadcast Executive

Though not an engineer and lacking much formal education, David Sarnoff played an important role supporting the technical development of American radio and television through his leadership of the Radio Corporation of America (RCA), a key manufacturer of receivers and broadcast equipment. He was also instrumental in the formation of the first permanent radio network, the National Broadcasting Company (NBC). The originator of many myths about his own background, Sarnoff's actual accomplishments needed little embellishment.

Early Years

Sarnoff's father, Abraham, left Russia for America when David was four, leaving behind his pregnant wife, David, and a younger son. When David was five, his mother sent him to Korme to begin training as a rabbi with his granduncle. He remained there until he was nine, when his father sent for the family to move to America. They left Russia in 1900 in the midst of considerable political confusion, traveling by ship to their new country. Soon after their arrival in New York City, David's father became an invalid. The boy took jobs delivering meat and newspapers, and he entered school to learn English. Within two years 11-year-old David bought a newsstand for \$200, and he took a job singing soprano in a synagogue choir at \$1.50 per week. Sarnoff's voice changed when he was 15, so he lost the choir job, and in that same year his father died. Sarnoff decided to pursue a career in newspapers and set his sights on the *New York Herald*. The first of many legends sprang from his visit to the paper. It has been said fate took Sarnoff the wrong way in the *Herald* building, causing him to end up at a Commercial Cable Company branch office. In reality, Sarnoff merely stopped at the first desk he saw and he became an office boy for \$5 a week. He discovered operators made more

money, so he studied on his own to learn telegraphy and Morse code.

Sarnoff moved to a job with the Marconi Wireless and Telegraph Company, where he first worked as office boy and then served as wireless telegraph operator wherever needed, be it on land or sea. At 17 he was assigned to Marconi's Siasconset station on Nantucket Island, where he read every technical book in the small station library and in Nantucket. In 1911 he volunteered for an Arctic sealing expedition that some considered to be so dangerous that the crews might not make it back alive. Sarnoff installed and operated the Marconi Company's wireless equipment onboard the *Beothic*. After the journey, the Marconi Company wanted him to continue at Nantucket, but he wanted to transfer to Sea Gate station in Brooklyn. Sarnoff took a pay cut to work at the busiest American wireless station, and within months, before he turned 20, he became manager.

Sarnoff parlayed the Sea Gate position into a better one at the Marconi facility located in the Wanamaker department store in New York City. Now on duty only during store hours, Sarnoff had time to pursue technical training at the Pratt Institute in Brooklyn. Although the story was widely repeated in later years, Sarnoff was not directly involved in the wireless reporting of the 1912 Titanic disaster. By that time he had moved into the lower rungs of Marconi management and was no longer a regular operator.

Sarnoff's rise was rapid. He was appointed as an operator instructor, then inspector of wireless equipment installed onboard ships, and then inspector of wireless stations. Soon he was appointed assistant traffic manager, assistant chief engineer (1913), and commercial manager (1917). At some point during this period, he may have composed a memo proposing the American Marconi manufacture of a "radio music box"—what today we would call a radio receiver—as a consumer device. The idea was initially ignored.



David Sarnoff
Courtesy Radio Hall of Fame

Radio Corporation of America (RCA)

Sarnoff's future shifted immediately after World War I when the U.S. Navy became concerned about British control of American Marconi. Given how central the company's stations were to government and commercial wireless operations, the navy pressed for elimination of the foreign (albeit Allied) control of its facilities. General Electric was prevailed upon to buy American Marconi and spin it off into a subsidiary to be named the Radio Corporation of America (RCA). Sarnoff continued in his role as commercial manager with the new firm and reframed his "radio music box" memo in 1920 or 1921, this time to broader acceptance given the initial appearance of radio broadcast stations.

RCA played a central role in the development of radio in the 1920s, with Sarnoff often directly involved in important innovations. He was a key figure in the formation of radio's

first permanent network, the National Broadcasting Company, in 1926. He was named to RCA's board of directors in 1927, and he became acting president of the company and president in his own right on 3 January 1930. A government anti-trust suit forced General Electric and Westinghouse to give up their stock in RCA by 1932, and the corporation emerged for the first time as a fully independent entity.

In the early 1930s, Sarnoff pushed RCA into the front line of radio research. The company began active television research in 1929. Sarnoff was intrigued when his old friend Edwin Armstrong proposed a wholly new system of radio that could successfully eliminate the static. After receiving his initial patents on FM in 1933, Armstrong was invited by Sarnoff to test the system in RCA facilities on top of the Empire State Building. However, Armstrong's claim that his new FM would make AM obsolete and eventually replace it—despite the fact that RCA and NBC were based on the existing AM technology—soured Sarnoff on the FM idea, and RCA turned to a major research push for television. Armstrong was asked to remove his apparatus, and he soon went his own way. The former friends soon became enemies as Armstrong pushed for FM development while RCA concentrated on television, which it introduced to American audiences at the 1939 World's Fair. RCA research was central to the system of black-and-white television that began regular operation in mid-1941.

In 1942 Sarnoff consolidated RCA's many research efforts in a new laboratory facility in Princeton, New Jersey (in 1951 it took his name). For much of 1944, Sarnoff was on active duty with the U.S. Army, assisting in development of communication systems for the invasion of Europe. He returned to RCA at the beginning of 1945 as a brigadier general (and was known as General Sarnoff for the remainder of his life).

Sarnoff's final 25 years (until his 1969 retirement) at RCA were increasingly dominated by two circumstances: competition with CBS and William S. Paley (a very different kind of industry leader), and the development of color television. Paley's network lacked a manufacturing arm and so concentrated more fully on programming, leading to his "raid" on NBC's chief stars and programs in 1948–49, just as network television was taking hold (and a year after Sarnoff moved up to become RCA's chairman). CBS led in the ratings war for the next two decades, but the rivalry extended to technology as the two firms fought over improved records (CBS developed the 33 1/3-rpm LP, while RCA played catch-up with the 45 rpm disc) and development of a system of color television. RCA worked feverishly on an all-electronic system compatible with existing black-and-white receivers. CBS pursued a different route with a partially mechanical system that was not compatible with existing sets and won initial approval from the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) in 1950. RCA research to improve their system continued during the Korean War (1950–53) when manufacture of color sets was suspended because of

wartime needs. Late in 1953 RCA persuaded the FCC to reverse its decision and accept the RCA all-electronic system as the basis for American color television. NBC began color telecasts early in 1954.

After a series of RCA presidents passed through the executive suite, Sarnoff turned to his son Robert, naming him president of NBC in 1956 and of RCA itself in 1965. Sarnoff remained CEO and fully in charge through the 1960s, years that were filled with public homage and honors to his long career. He retired in 1970 and died in 1971.

W.A. KELLY HUFF

See also Armstrong, Edwin H.; Columbia Broadcasting System; FM Radio; National Broadcasting Company; Paley, William S.; Radio Corporation of America; Talent Raids

David Sarnoff. Born in Uzlian, Russia, 27 February 1891; immigrated to United States, 1900. Attended Pratt Institute, New York City; Army War College, 1926. Took delivery jobs and at age 11 bought newsstand; office boy for Commercial Cable Company; taught himself telegraphy and Morse code; office boy and then wireless operator with American Marconi Wireless and Telegraph Company; manager, Sea Gate Station, Brooklyn, 1909; installed and operated Marconi wireless equipment on *Beothic* for Arctic exposition, 1911; employed by Marconi, 1912–19; allegedly first to propose “Radio Music Box,” 1915 or 1916; married Lizette Hermant, 1917; RCA commercial manager, 1919–21; RCA general manager, 1921–22; proposed network radio, 1922; RCA vice president and general manager, 1922; wrote memo to RCA board predicting television, 1923; helped form NBC, 1926; elected to RCA’s board, 1927; acting RCA president, 1928; created Radio-Keith Orpheum (RKO) motion pictures company with Joseph P. Kennedy, 1928; became chairman of board, RKO, 1928; RCA executive vice president, 1929; served as chairman of board, RCA, 1947–70; forged RCA purchase of Victor Talking Machine Company, 1929; RCA president, 1930–65; gained

FCC approval of RCA’s color TV system, 1953. Died in New York City, 12 December 1971.

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Satellite Radio. See Digital Satellite Radio

Scandinavia

Broadcasting in the Nordic Countries

Radio in the five Scandinavian countries typifies the public service tradition in Europe, as private commercial stations appeared only in the mid 1980s. Although now competing with commercial ventures for listeners, the public service systems remain the foundation of radio in this region.

Scandinavian radio is heavily influenced by the geography of the region and by language traits. Variations in geographic size and population density explain comparative distinctions, but there is also a shared cultural and social heritage (broadly construed) that is responsible for its similarities. Thus geographic and linguistic traits influence how radio is organized as well as explain its comparative importance.

It costs a great deal to broadcast in Norway due to its mountainous terrain, which requires a large number of transmitters and relay stations. In Finland the per capita costs for serving the Swedish-language and Laplander minorities are high. Iceland has a small and comparatively isolated population, and not surprisingly the fewest number of radio channels. Denmark is densely populated and has the highest number of channels per capita, although Norway actually has more total channels.

None of these countries speak a language that is widely spoken elsewhere, although Swedish is the best known due to Sweden's legacy as a former colonial power. Linguistic distinctiveness supports the popularity and importance of radio broadcasting in Scandinavia, whereas shared cultural and historical experience explains the cooperative framework between regional public service broadcasters.

Radio's Potential

History explains much about the organization and importance of Scandinavian radio. Radio was used as a propaganda tool by neighboring countries during World War II and the Cold War, and more generally as a way of strengthening national resolve and consciousness throughout Europe. The potential for abusing its capabilities for social influence combined with a desire to strengthen democracy and facilitate postwar reconstruction proved decisive in confirming the public service monopoly approach in the mid 1900s.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union and growing American influence, Scandinavia adopted processes and practices characterizing the European Union (EU) and Common Market in the 1990s. Deregulation targeted a range of monopolies in the early 1980s, especially electronic media. As a result, contemporary Scandinavian radio is characterized by dual systems, with private commercial and public service channels

competing in an increasingly open and international media marketplace.

Early History of Scandinavian Radio

There are broad similarities in the early history of radio broadcasting in the Nordic region. Wireless transmission was initially restricted to the military. Transmission typically depended on connections provided by a public trust telegraph company, and radio amateurs helped to develop and popularize radio. The economic depression of the late 1920s and early 1930s contributed to the establishment of the public service approach and monopoly organization, coinciding with concerns about the growth of fascism and communism in mainland Europe. The early history of radio was characterized by rivalry with newspaper companies and, paradoxically, benefited from newspaper innovations in developing program services.

Denmark

In the early 1920s radio amateurs (army engineers, etc.) were illegally experimenting with radio transmission, which was restricted to military control. Public interest grew when Svend Carstensen from the Copenhagen daily *Politiken* began broadcasting news bulletins in 1923 (via *Radioavis*). There were three transmitters in Denmark from 1923 to 1925. Radio manufacturers were also involved, holding seats in the first radio council of the Danish State Broadcasting Company (Statsradiofonien). Neither manufacturers nor amateurs had strong preferences about funding. Early Danish radio did not have advertising or sponsorship, although newspapers did produce radio shows during the experimental period between 1922 and 1925.

Radio became an issue of public debate in the mid 1920s. Engineers, industrialists, and the political right were in favor of organizing radio as a private industry. Union representatives, educators, and the political left favored public ownership, voicing concerns about the cultural impact of radio. The business interests were weak and disorganized, and in 1925 a one-year experiment for nationwide broadcasting by the Statsradiofonien was legislated.

Statsradiofonien became a permanent institution in 1926, and the name was changed to Danmarks Radio (DR) in 1959. DR is regarded as an independent institution of the state: it is financed totally by license fees, regulated by public service obligations, and administered by the radio council (*Radioraadet*).

Iceland

The Icelandic Parliament (Althingi) passed the first radio law in 1925, which authorized a private company for a seven-year period. That company, Utvarp HF, only lasted two years because its listeners never exceeded 500 and the company was denied government financial support. In 1927 a government committee investigated possibilities for creating a public broadcasting company. Icelandic Radio or Útvarpsstöð Íslands í Reykjavík (later known as RUV) was established in 1928 in the capital city of Reykjavík. The broadcasting board had its first meeting in late 1929, and broadcasting began in December 1930 with a 16-kilowatt station at Vatnesendi, five miles from the capital city. (The studio was located in Reykjavík.) Early broadcasting was restricted to a couple of hours each evening.

RUV was financed with a license fee and with supplemental advertising. The birth of radio broadcasting was not a conflicted event in Iceland because it began later here than elsewhere in Scandinavia, and also because characteristic problems had already been addressed in the 1920s when telephony was an issue.

Norway

Early Norwegian broadcasting was technically illegal because the Telegraph Law of 1914 prohibited radio listening. Wireless announcements were restricted to military and commercial correspondence under telegraph monopoly. Legal broadcasting began in October 1924 when the radio ban ended and license fee funding was established. Some advertising was also allowed. Advertising revenue peaked in 1929 at a bit less than 5 percent of total income. There was also a 10 percent "turn-over tax" levied on all broadcasting equipment.

Experimental transmissions actually began in 1923 with Norway's first radio station, Kristiania Broadcasting, which broadcast using a 500-watt transmitter located at Tryvannshoegda, near Oslo. The station was moved to the center of Oslo when radio made its official broadcasting debut in 1925. The Norwegian Broadcasting Company (Kringkastingsselskapet AS) was operated as a private company from 1925 to 1933. Other private broadcasting companies were established in Bergen (1925), Aalesund (1926) and Tromsø (1927). In 1933 the Norwegian government acquired the stock and created The Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation (NRK) that exists today. Despite opposition, advertising continued until 1939 (all NRK today are completely without advertising). The turnover tax ended in 1988.

Sweden

In the 1920s most Swedes supported a public monopoly because of concerns about radio's propaganda potential and

out of a desire for "order." Broadcasting was, however, first organized as a private company under strict government control. News content was prohibited until 1956 because of pressure from newspaper companies; this was supported by political parties. Radiotjänst AB (Svergies Radio) was then established in 1925 by a group of publishers and businesses. Manufacturers also applied for licensing. License fee funding was the preferred model; advertising was legally possible, but never accepted in practice. Radiotjänst AB was dependent on Televerket (the Telecommunications Administration). Televerket collected the license fees and distributed the monies. Until 1951 the state received about 30 percent of the annual levy. Televerket was responsible for the terrestrial infrastructure and also signed the annual operating agreement with the government.

As was typical in the Nordic region, most Swedes of the day lived in the countryside. (Heavy urbanization occurred in the postwar era.) Radio was assigned obligations to provide distance education and cultural services, and was mandated with an "enlightenment mission." The license fee was inexpensive to encourage rapid diffusion and to avoid discrimination against lower-income families, and a broadcasting commission was set up in 1927 to insure that Radiotjänst fulfilled its legal obligations. Since 1935 the commission has focused on reviewing programs.

Finland

Early Finnish radio is linked with the first decade of Finland's independence in the 1920s (it had been a Russian Grand Duchy until 1918). Clandestine radio had begun in 1917 under Czarist rule. The Radio Act was first enacted by the new Finnish government in 1919, specifying that equipment use be an exclusive right of the state.

The Finnish Radio Amateur League (Nuoren voiman liito) was formed in 1921 by young officers in the army's Signals Battalion. The Finnish government granted them a license to transmit radio signals and within a few years they had established 75 radio stations in Finland. The Finnish Radio Association (Suomen radioyhdistys r.y.) was independently formed in 1923 to represent the "interests of listeners." The association began offering evening programs on radio stations in 1924.

Most activity in early Finnish radio was situated in and around Helsinki and Tampere, the two biggest cities. The league and the association agreed on a public service approach. The Finnish government supported this as well because of a shared understanding that radio was a useful educational tool for people in remote regions. Most Finns lived in rural locations, and radio was also perceived as an appropriate tool for "sharing the cultural wealth." Early independence was marked by social turmoil between Finnish Finns and Swedish Finns, so radio was given a national unity mandate. In 1926 the Finnish

government approved a private corporation financed by stockholders involved with radio in the period, as well as the Finnish State, and called Oy Ylesiradio—AB Finlands Rundradio (YLE), the first part of the name in Finnish and the second in Swedish. An administrative council represented stockholder interests. After 1927, however, only members of Parliament were nominated to the council.

In the early years YLE was situated as a production company that could lend programs to local private stations. The transmission network was owned by the Finnish military. Programming requirements specified non-political content, no advertising, license fee revenue, bilingual services (Finnish and Swedish), and an emphasis on rural populations in need of distance education and cultural literacy services. In 1934 YLE became a complete public service radio company. Thereafter the state owned 90 percent of all stock, private sector involvement ended, and program content as well as organizational management became increasingly linked with the Finnish State via Parliament. This coincided with the depression era when money was tight and there was increasing apprehension over the rise of fascism and communism in other parts of Europe.

Broadcasting Principles

Unlike the situation in the United States, where public broadcasting operates at the fringes of a dominant commercial media market, in Scandinavia public broadcasting has been the foundation of the broadcast media. That foundation rests on five principles that position broadcasting as a service for citizens: (1) public broadcasters are required to provide a comprehensive range of program services for everyone who pays an annual license fee, typically referred to as “universal service”; (2) public broadcasting is a non-commercial venture. Annual license fees are collected as a form of taxation, the payment of which confers rights on the receiver and obligations on the source; (3) public broadcasting is accountable to parliamentary oversight; (4) broadcasting must serve cultural and educational intentions (frequently summarized as an “enlightenment mission,” this principle gives entertainment a lower priority); and (5) radio should have a tight domestic focus premised on language, culture, and unity.

The public service approach to broadcasting was created, in part at least, as a reaction against U.S. commercialism. Analyses of U.S. radio convinced many in Scandinavia that the commercial approach did not provide sufficient minority services and placed educational radio in a marginal context. Because U.S. radio focused on popular culture programs, to some observers it appeared that network and station owners demonstrated little interest in or potential for developing “high culture” services. Finally, although the commercial approach can address audiences as citizens, marketplace imperatives tend to favor a consumer-oriented emphasis. These value judgments,

in turn, were used to legitimate the public service ethic, and by extension a monopoly organization. The monopoly preference was also linked to limitations in available frequencies before FM radio was developed as well as the large investment required to create nationwide broadcasting systems for such small populations.

Competition and Deregulation

The pirate radio phenomenon of the 1960s and 1970s directly challenged the public monopoly in radio. These unlicensed and unregulated private channels broadcasting from offshore locations in international waters successfully targeted teenagers and young adults in the largest metropolitan areas, particularly Stockholm and Copenhagen. They took advantage of the underutilized VHF bandwidths in this part of the world. Although clandestine political activists were involved, most pirate stations were advertising-supported ventures. They capitalized on the lack of popular culture programs that were preferred by young people. Radio Luxembourg also filled this need, although it was a licensed commercial channel.

Public broadcasting monopolies fought back by launching regional channels in the 1970s and by offering limited and select popular music targeting young people. Although the regional channels were popular with adult and elderly listeners, youngsters were not satisfied. The popular success of the pirate radio channels strengthened the move to liberalize broadcasting policies.

With the exception of Sweden, private local radio was introduced in the Scandinavian countries in the mid to late 1980s. In light of the pirate channels, it was clear that there were sufficient frequencies available for new commercial stations. The public monopolies were now challenged as being contrary to democratic virtues. The 1990s saw growing competition between public and private channels, the latter becoming increasingly nationwide and network-oriented by the end of the decade.

In Finland, for example, the government approved legislation in 1993 called the Act on YLE that provides increased security for that company and its public service character but in exchange requires much higher productivity, efficiency, and openness to public scrutiny. This followed a major internal restructuring initiative launched in 1990 when Yleisradio reformed its radio channels. Radiomafia was launched to compete directly with the private commercial channels for the ears and hearts of young Finns, whereas Radio Suomi was structured as a network of regional channels featuring news and current affairs programming. In 2003 YLE launched a second radio reform in response to increasing competition, especially for young adults. Radiomafia was replaced with YLEX, for example. The situation in Finland is paralleled elsewhere in the Nordic region. In Norway, the combined private channels

account for about 10 percent of gross advertising, and P4 is a commercially financed national channel that recently purchased a substantial share of the company that owns Radio Nova, Finland's first nationwide commercial channel. The Disney corporation is also involved in Finnish radio, sharing ownership in Kiss FM.

Increases in competition coincide with and are increasingly fueled by European Union initiatives that decry protectionist policies and pursue European integration on the basis of commerce and competitive open markets in the European Economic Community (EEC). Member states find it increasingly difficult to regulate and control broadcasting as a purely domestic matter.

Even more pervasive is the increasing influence of concepts and tools developed in U.S. commercial radio. Today's public radio broadcasters are increasingly aware of rotation clocks, target audiences, formats, and profiling. Such concepts and tools were anathema a dozen years ago, but today one commonly hears programs referred to as products, audiences as customers, and listeners as markets. Media consultants, researchers, and scholars from the U.S. are no longer rare, but quite commonplace. For example, the European Broadcasting Union offered a 1999 seminar for public broadcasters on "Marketing Public Service Values." A radio training curriculum developed at Yleisradio in Finland features such coursework as "Competition Analysis" and "Program Soundscape." Broadcasters in the private sector are similarly inclined to learn about and rely on U.S. concepts and tools, partly because those channels are also commercial and thus fully compatible with the approach, and partly because U.S. media companies are investors and partners with various private channels and media concerns in Europe today.

The Future

The future of Nordic radio broadcasting depends on at least four factors. The first is the extent to which public broadcasting companies will be able to maintain the public service ethic, which will be increasingly difficult in light of growing competition with the private sector. Private competition is the second factor—the intensity and amount of private competition that will be permitted by the respective governments.

Third is technology, specifically digital audio broadcasting (DAB). In the late 1990s public broadcasting companies and governments in Scandinavia have pursued DAB as a priority, although the relative ranking of that priority varies from country to country (e.g., high in Finland but subject to recent setbacks in Sweden). DAB provides the only viable option for expanding the range of services radio can provide because the bandwidth required for one VHF/FM channel is sufficient for six DAB channels (and possibly more, depending on the type of content). To date sales of DAB receivers have been sluggish

because costs are comparatively high. Public broadcasters are carrying much of the responsibility for DAB development; the private sector has limited investment risks until a market develops.

A fourth and final factor is ultimately catalytic in determining how all of the others unfold in practice. The dynamics of radio broadcasting in the Nordic region depend on the balance between European Union policies emphasizing a business-oriented approach to just about everything, and a popular backlash that appeared in the late 1990s against such a strong economic orientation. EU policy is increasingly castigated for lacking sensitivity and balance with regard to regional concerns and cultural distinctions.

There are at least two major challenges facing radio broadcasting in the Nordic region. First, as public broadcasting has formed radio's foundation, the commercial sector has been supplemental. If this changes under increasing economic pressure, Nordic countries might create a public service ghetto wherein only the commercially unattractive programs and audiences are left to public service entities. That would mark the end of universal service and weaken the democratic orientation in Nordic radio. Second, there is the danger of an ethical dilution of the public service approach caused by the necessity of mastering commercial logic, concepts, and tools in order to cope with increasing competition. Ironically, the competitive dynamic that has fueled development could be weakened.

GREGORY FERRELL LOWE

See also Digital Audio Broadcasting; European Broadcasting Union

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Schechter, A.A. 1907–1989

U.S. Reporter, Broadcast Executive, Creator of NBC News

With ingenuity but few resources, Abe Schechter built a news operation at the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) in the 1930s that could compete with print journalists.

He was born in Central Falls, Rhode Island, in 1907, the son of George Schechter and Celia Riven. In high school, he began as a reporter for the *Providence Journal* and continued there until he received a bachelor's degree from Boston University with a major in journalism. Then he worked at the *Newark Star-Eagle* and moved onto the *New York World*. He went to work for the wire services, first the Associated Press (AP) and then International News Service, where he became the youngest city editor in New York City.

In 1932, he joined NBC in the publicity department and then in the news and special events department. When he took the job, the network did little to cover news on a daily basis with the exception of a 15-minute, five-day-a-week newscast that had been launched in 1930 by Lowell Thomas. There were also a few commentaries, some with objective content and some with predictable political bias. But neither NBC nor the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) had a team of reporters and editors to collect, write, and present the news. Instead, the networks relied on the wire services for their information.

As the Depression deepened during the 1930s, the newspaper industry began to feel that broadcasters were becoming too competitive in the fight for the advertising dollar. To solve the problem, wire services were told to stop providing material to broadcasters, and because the print industry controlled AP and was the dominant client of the other services, the wire services agreed.

Schechter was forced to find his own news. Story ideas came from affiliates and, of course, from newspapers. To gather information for the Lowell Thomas newscast, Schechter relied on telephone interviews, because he had no staff and worked out of a storage room. He found that the words *NBC* and *Lowell Thomas* were effective tools for getting his calls through to important people, and the promise of tickets to live broadcasts of their programs was helpful, too. Sometimes, he

even managed to scoop the print reporters. But for the most part, he had to settle for broadcasting features, rather than news.

Schechter headed NBC's news and special events department from 1938 to 1941. He described the early years of NBC news in his autobiography, *I Live on Air*, published in 1941. Despite the success in gathering news during the press-radio war, NBC returned to using Schechter's department primarily for features, such as a singing mouse contest or the voice of a deep sea diver fathoms under the ocean.

Then, as the tensions in Europe tightened, NBC hired more correspondents and allowed more news on the air. Perhaps the network's motivation was to promote itself in the competition with CBS for listeners, but the result was more and better coverage of international events and an increase in advertising revenues as the audience for news grew. Schechter hired a news team in Europe to cover the coming war (although some criticized his choice of reporter for Munich, Max Jordan, who seemed to favor the Germans and was often able to get information out first).

Schechter's most famous scoop occurred in 1939. The German battleship *Graf Spee* was attacked by British cruisers and sought refuge in Montevideo, Uruguay. When the South American country asked her to leave, the captain decided to scuttle his ship rather than surrender her to the British. An NBC reporter described live on air the explosions and the sinking as millions listened. In 1940 Schechter scored another coup when he got a statement from the minister of The Netherlands as his homeland was being invaded by the Germans; Schechter followed this up with an on-the-scene report of Nazi paratroopers landing on Dutch soil.

When the United States joined World War II, Schechter left NBC to work with the Office of War Information but then moved to the War Department's Bureau of Public Relations as a civilian adviser; there he oversaw radio communications for journalists covering the war in the Pacific Islands. He received the Legion of Merit for his work during the Philippine campaign.

After the war, he became vice president in charge of news at the Mutual network, and then for a short time he was an executive with Crowell Collier Publishing Company. He returned to NBC in 1950 and became executive producer for a new television program, a morning news and talk show called *The Today Show*, but he left soon after the program went on the air to start up his own public relations firm, A.A. Schechter Associates, in 1952. The company was purchased by Hill and Knowlton in 1973. Schechter and his wife were killed in an automobile accident on Long Island in 1989.

BARBARA MOORE

See also National Broadcasting Company; News; Office of War Information

Abel Alan Schechter. Born in Central Falls, Rhode Island, 10 August 1907. Attended Boston University, B.A. in journalism, 1928; reporter, *Providence Journal*, 1924–28; reporter, *New York World*, 1928–31; reporter, Associated Press; editor,

International News Service, New York, 1931–32; publicity specialist, NBC, 1932–38; head of news and special events, NBC, 1938–41; Office of War Information, 1942; civilian adviser, War Department Bureau of Public Relations, 1942–45; vice president in charge of news, Mutual network, 1945–50; creator and executive producer, *Today Show*, NBC-TV, 1950–52; owner of public relations firm, A.A. Schechter Associates, 1952–73. Died in Southampton, New York, 24 May 1989.

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Schulke, James 1922–1999

U.S. FM Radio Pioneer

James A. Schulke is recognized by many as the father of FM musical programming. Schulke's uniqueness in radio broadcasting is directly related to the legendary discipline that he instilled in radio management, programming, engineering, talent, and marketing. At the time Schulke embarked on a career in radio, less than 5 percent of U.S. radio listening was to the FM band.

An Ohio native, Schulke received his B.A. from Denison University and his M.B.A. from Harvard. He served in the U.S. Marine Corps during World War II.

Schulke began his career far from the established radio industry. Following an early New York City career with talent agent J.L. Saphier and advertising agency Young and Rubicam, Schulke was hired as vice president of the Paramount Sunset Corporation in Hollywood. He was charged with the responsibility of revitalizing the Paramount Lot and brought the production of such popular television shows as *Gunsmoke*, *Have Gun Will Travel*, and *Bonanza* to the facility. Having built a reputation as a turn-around specialist, Schulke was transferred by Paramount to become general manager of KTLA-TV, Los

Angeles, one of three independent TV stations operating in the competitive Los Angeles market.

Schulke's television career flourished with creativity. He established the first dual-anchor newscast in the market, was first to use a helicopter for covering television news, and built the first videotape newsroom. Under his leadership, KTLA became the first independent television station to rank number one in late news.

Schulke's career in radio began in 1962 when he joined the Magnavox Company, which was searching for methods to promote the sale of FM radio receivers. Schulke helped convince Magnavox to underwrite the creation of the National Association of FM Broadcasters (NAFMB). Schulke was the organization's first president. Under his leadership, the NAFMB lobbied the media research firm Arbitron to begin measuring FM listening separate from AM. The organization was also instrumental in pushing the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) in the mid-1960s into establishing a rule requiring separate programming for AM and FM stations. The original rule required 50 percent separation. Up until that

time nearly all FM stations had been simulcast with an AM station.

Upon leaving Magnavox, Schulke teamed with Robert Richer and Marlin Taylor in 1965 to form Quality Media Incorporated (QMI), an organization designed exclusively to market FM radio to advertisers. QMI's specialty was selling "good music" radio stations, including those with classical music formats. It was at QMI that Schulke first examined the potential of a tightly controlled "beautiful music" format. He saw the potential of matched-flow music and the need to appeal to the female listeners who controlled at-home listening. Schulke left QMI in 1970 to form Schulke Radio Productions (SRP). Marlin Taylor later left QMI to form a competitive beautiful music programming company for the Bonneville Corporation.

SRP's original operation was located in a brownstone apartment on New York's upper east side, where Schulke resided. Schulke recruited Phil Stout as his music director, and together they developed a matched-flow all-instrumental beautiful music format. The programming was based on long-term quarter-hour audience maintenance to drive average quarter-hour audience ratings. Schulke's control was so complete that he personally approved every music selection and every matched-flow quarter hour syndicated by SRP. When the supply of original instrumental and cover recordings recorded in the United States was exhausted, he was the first U.S. radio programmer to enter into an exclusive agreement with the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in London for original arrangements.

SRP was very selective in choosing its clients because of Schulke's extremely rigid contract requirements. He insisted upon maintaining what was tantamount to total creative control. Commercial load was limited to no more than six minutes of advertising per hour, and the commercial acceptance policy rigidly forbade personal hygiene products or any loud multiple-voice pitches. News was kept to the bare minimum, so as not to distract the listener from the music flow. Schulke's contracts forbade subsidiary use of a station's subcarrier and demanded circularly polarized antennae, which would improve FM reception in the home and in the automobile. He even retained the right to veto the selection of any announcer.

Among the early Schulke believers was Woody Sudbrink, the founder of Sudbrink Broadcasting and the owner of the greatest number of independent FM stations in America from

1970 to 1978. Other original clients were Mike Lareux of WOOD-FM, Grand Rapids, Michigan, and J.D. McArthur, owner of WEAT-FM, Palm Beach, Florida. Each was the first top-rated FM station in its market.

Innovative marketing was also a Schulke signature. He is credited with creating phonetic call letters such as WLIF, "Life in Baltimore"; WLAK, "Lake in Chicago"; and WPCH, "Peach in Atlanta." He was also an early believer in using television to promote FM listening, with on-air ads noted for serene scenes and beautiful music that always culminated with an exact focus on the station's numeric dial position and phonetic call letter reference.

When the business grew, Schulke moved the operation to a self-contained facility in New Jersey where a state-of-the-art stereo duplication facility was constructed and the famous "black box" was located. The "black box" was developed there and was later installed in the audio-processing chain at every SRP station. The technical details of this engineering development were never disclosed (legend has it that the box was empty), leading some to regard it as a marketing ploy. It is factual that Schulke would not allow stereo commercials on any of his stations because SRP was not in a position to control the quality of the stereo duplication of commercials.

By 1974, two years after forming SRP, Schulke stations ranked either number one or two in the top 20 U.S. radio markets. SRP, which had been renamed Stereo Radio Productions, was sold to Cox Radio in 1979. At that time, SRP stations held major audience positions in the top 150 U.S. radio markets. James A. Schulke died on 6 August 1999 in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, at the age of 77. His papers are archived at the Library of American Broadcasting at the University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland.

GORDON H. HASTINGS

See also FM Trade Organizations; Taylor, Marlin R.

James Schulke. Born in 1922. Received B.A. from Denison University and M.B.A. from Harvard; served in United States Marine Corps in World War II; worked at Magnavox Company, 1962-65; first president of National Association of FM Broadcasters; formed Quality Media Inc., 1965; formed Schulke Radio Productions, 1970; sold operation to Cox Radio, 1979. Died in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, 6 August 1999.

Science Fiction Programs

Science fiction programming takes full advantage of radio's ability to transport us through time and space—at a fraction of the cost of a bus ticket. With a well-written story, good voice actors, a few inexpensive sound effects devices, and a willingness to suspend disbelief, we can easily find ourselves lost in *Dimension X*, refugees in a *War of the Worlds*, or leaping tall buildings with our pal *Superman*.

The genre, which traces its roots to the pulp magazines and comic strips of the 1920s, has most often been labeled “thriller drama,” but it has actually infused almost every type of fiction, from action-adventure to comedy. There have been sci-fi detective programs, sci-fi adventure shows, sci-fi comedies, sci-fi kids' shows, even sci-fi soap operas. Many programs such as *The Shadow* dealt, at least periodically, with science fiction themes. Regardless of the other elements of a program (or episode), to be science fiction, a work should integrate the relationship between humans and “futuristic themes” such as new technology or alien races.

Science fiction radio dates back to the earliest days of commercial radio. *Ultra Violet*, a program few people remember, was first syndicated as early as 1930. More famous, however, were programs such as *Buck Rogers in the 25th Century*, which was first broadcast in 1932 and is commonly credited as being the first science fiction radio program.

Based on a popular comic strip, *Buck Rogers* was a 15-minute serial that aired five times a week at 7:15 P.M. on the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS). Aimed predominantly at children, the series focused on Buck, a man from the present (the 1930s) who finds himself transported to the 25th century. The cast of characters included a very strong female character, Wilma Dearing, and the amazing scientist Dr. Huer. Interestingly, many of the fanciful technological devices invented by Dr. Huer in the show became commonplace technologies in the late 20th century. Good and evil were very clearly defined in *Buck Rogers*, and good always prevailed, but there were no truly memorable villains such as *Flash Gordon's* Ming the Merciless. Like all good serials, most episodes of *Buck Rogers* closed with a “cliff-hanger” ending that left many questions unanswered. Listeners had to “tune in tomorrow” for the next exciting installment. The series and sponsor also held the attention of their audience by allowing them to become “Solar Scouts” and to receive items such as “planetary maps” by responding to Kellogg's premiums.

Superman first arrived from Krypton on the Mutual Broadcasting System in 1940 and is a good example of how science fiction merged with other genres. In this show, also aimed predominantly at children, our superhero fought crime both as Superman and as his alter ego, mild-mannered reporter Clark Kent. “Girl reporter” Lois Lane and “kid photographer”

Jimmy Olsen, along with gruff editor Perry White, made up the rest of the regular cast. Often categorized as an action-adventure, crime, or thriller-drama program, the show's central character was an alien with superhuman powers.

Although most 1930s sci-fi radio programming was aimed at children, a few shows were designed for adults. Most of these were episodes of anthology programs such as *Mercury Theater of the Air*, which premiered on CBS in the fall of 1938. On 30 October, just a few short weeks after the premiere, this prestigious drama program, hosted by Orson Welles, pulled off the greatest hoax in radio history—the radio adaptation of H.G. Wells' “War of the Worlds.” The pre-Halloween dramatization of Martians landing in Grover's Mill, New Jersey, led some listeners to panic—and many to leave their homes.

Orson Welles' program played on the fears of an audience worried about war in Europe. When actual fighting broke out in 1939, more adult science fiction programs were broadcast as episodes of anthology shows. Series such as *Lights Out*, *Radio City Playhouse*, and *Escape* featured science fiction entries concerning time travel, alien invasion, and world conquest. America, including its radio audience, was becoming more technologically savvy, and more world-weary. Consequently, adult science fiction programs were becoming less reliant on horror and fantasy and more focused on actual science and technology.

By the 1950s, television was pulling a significant number of listeners away from radio. In order to hang on to adult audiences, the radio networks experimented with science fiction series aimed at adult audiences. Several adult anthology series devoted exclusively to science fiction premiered in the early 1950s, including *Year 2000 Plus* on Mutual and *Dimension X* on the National Broadcasting Company (NBC). Later known as *X Minus One*, *Dimension X* was one of the first radio drama series to be recorded on tape rather than broadcast live. As a result, programs could be more involved and could be post-produced to clean up mistakes. As an anthology, stories changed from week to week. Some shows were quite serious, but one of the most famous is an ironic comedy titled “A Logic Named Joe.” Originally broadcast on 1 July 1950, this humorous tale is about a world where futuristic computers, or “logics,” can do “everything for you.” The logics are interconnected in a worldwide web of computers that exchange information. “A Logic Named Joe” takes a comic look at a common theme in science fiction: humanity's fear that technology will take over and corrupt society. Unlike the adult-oriented anthology programs, most series science fiction of the era was limited to such children's shows as *Tom Corbett*, *Space Cadet*, and *Space Patrol*.

As U.S. radio comedy and drama moved to television, science fiction on the radio declined but did not disappear. Later series such as *CBS Radio Mystery Theater* often included science fiction, as well as fantasy and horror themes. National Public Radio stations also imported programs from the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). One of the more famous imports, originally aired in England in 1978, was *The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy* series, which later spawned a BBC television series, several novels, and an interactive computer game.

Radio science fiction programs are actually more plentiful today than they have ever been, thanks to cassette sales, the internet, and a variety of interest groups. Not only are episodes of many classic programs such as "A Logic Named Joe" available for audio streaming, but original programming is being produced, such as the Sci-Fi Channel's web "radio" program, *Seeing Ear Theater*. Thanks to continued interest in the

form and some very fantastical technological advances, science fiction radio is not only alive and well, but its future is very exciting.

PHILIP J. AUTER

See also Children's Programs; Hoaxes on Radio; Shadow; Sound Effects; Star Wars; War of the Worlds

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Sevareid, Eric 1912-1992

U.S. Journalist and Radio Commentator

One of the first "Murrow Boys" at Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) news, Arnold Eric Sevareid reported many aspects of World War II and then became well known for his radio and television commentaries that surveyed the several sides of various controversies, often leaving the final conclusion up to the listener. He spent his entire broadcast career of 38 years with CBS.

Origins

Sevareid grew up first in North Dakota and then in Minnesota, graduating from high school in 1930. That same year he undertook an arduous 2,200 mile canoe trip with a friend, Walter Port, traveling from Manitoba all the way to the Atlantic Coast. Five years later he wrote his first book, a children's tale about the trip called *Canoeing with the Cree*. He spent a few months in the summer of 1931 out in the California gold fields, gaining useful experience, though little gold.

While in college at the University of Minnesota, he first entered journalism, working as a reporter on the student paper, the *Minnesota Daily*. He was active in and reported on the university's move to drop compulsory military training. But his radical views and activities probably cost him a chance for the

paper's editorship. Before graduating in 1935, he had begun working as a reporter at the downtown *Minneapolis Journal*. After graduation he helped organize the local chapter of the Newspaper Guild at the paper, which led to his being fired soon thereafter, supposedly for a minor error in a story.

In 1937 Sevareid and his wife sailed to Europe on a freighter, seeking a change of scene and new challenges. He studied for a time at the London School of Economics and at the Alliance Française in Paris. At this point he began using his middle rather than his first name and again became a reporter (and eventually night city editor) for the *Paris Herald*. He also worked part time for United Press in Paris. His writing soon attracted attention.

Radio Years

Sevareid's broadcast career began with a telephone call from London. Edward R. Murrow called him in mid-1939 to offer him a CBS radio job. Murrow noted that while he knew little of Sevareid's background, he liked his writing and ideas. The radio career nearly ended at its beginning when, nervous and with a halting delivery, Sevareid underwhelmed CBS officials in New York on his first broadcast in August 1939 just before



Eric Sevareid
 Courtesy CBS Photo Archive

World War II. A subsequent broadcast was only marginally better, but Murrow stuck by his new discovery and urged CBS to do the same.

As with other members of the “Murrow Boys” band, Sevareid covered many different aspects of the war. Based in Paris, he covered the fall of the city (getting his wife and new-born twin sons out just in time) in one of the last broadcasts before German troops entered. He was the first to report the surrender of the country a few weeks later. He reported from London with Murrow during the Blitz in 1940 and was then called back to the United States to report the war from New York and Washington. In 1943 he moved to the complex and remote China-Burma-India theater, where he at one point was lost for several weeks in the Burmese jungle after having to bail out of an airplane. By 1944–45, Sevareid was covering Allied advances in the Mediterranean theater and into Germany itself.

After the war he returned to the United States and headed the CBS news bureau in Washington, D.C., from 1946 to

1959. He published *Not So Wild a Dream*, a memoir of the Great Depression and the war years that was widely praised and long remained in print. CBS moved him to London for two years (1959–61) as a roving correspondent for the network. The new decade saw him briefly back in New York (until 1964) before a permanent return to Washington, where he remained for the remainder of his career. Not initially fond of the nation’s capital (he felt it was too provincial), he soon found it an exciting place to work, later terming it the news center of the world.

Later Career

Never entirely comfortable on the air even after years of radio experience, Sevareid was even less comfortable on television. As with Murrow and his other contemporaries, he thought little of television at first, considering video merely a means of entertainment and not a means of covering serious news.

Nevertheless he undertook CBS assignments on such early Sunday "news ghetto" programs as *Capitol Cloakroom* and *The American Week* and was both host and science reporter on the CBS series *Conquest* in the mid-1950s. Severeid reported eight presidential elections from 1948 to 1976, fulfilling different roles in CBS coverage of those campaigns. His important 1965 interview with former candidate Adlai Stevenson (for which he won a New York Newspaper Guild "Page One" award), however, was not broadcast over CBS but instead appeared as an article in *Look* magazine.

Severeid became best known to millions of Americans as the avuncular senior commentator on *The CBS Evening News with Walter Cronkite* from 1963 to his retirement in late 1977. His two-minute commentaries ranged over many subjects and were criticized by some observers as covering many sides of a controversy without clearly coming to any firm conclusions. In return Severeid argued that his role was to enlighten, not to lead. Indeed, he would often readily admit he did not know the answer to some controversial issue. His last CBS television commentary appeared on the Cronkite program 30 November 1977, just four days after his 65th birthday, then the mandatory retirement age at the network.

Severeid defined himself as a cultural conservative and political liberal, later refining the latter to conservative on foreign affairs and liberal on domestic matters. He would always consider himself first a writer, even during his decades with CBS. For many years (until 1966) he wrote a widely syndicated weekly newspaper column and also produced many magazine pieces and several books, the latter usually based on his radio or television commentaries. He also lectured widely.

Severeid's radio and television journalism won prestigious Peabody awards in 1950 (for his radio work), 1964, and 1967, and television Emmys, two in 1973 and one each in 1974 and 1977.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Commentators; Murrow, Edward R.; News; World War II and U.S. Radio

Arnold Eric Severeid. Born in Velva, North Dakota, 26 November 1912, one of four siblings, to Alfred Severeid, a local banker, and Clara Hougen. Moved to Minnesota and graduated from high school, 1930; graduated from University of Minnesota (political science, 1935). Reporter, *Minneapolis Journal*, 1933-36. Studied at London School of Economics and Alliance Française in Paris, late 1930s. Reporter, *Paris Herald*, 1936-39. CBS News, 1939-1977. Commentator, *CBS Evening News* 1963-1977. Died in Washington, D.C., 9 July 1992.

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Small Sounds in the Night: A Collection of Capsule Commentaries on the American Scene, 1956

This Is Eric Severeid, 1964

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"Seven Dirty Words" Case

Supreme Court Decision on Broadcast Obscenity

For five years in the 1970s, the case of the "seven dirty words," in which a complaint by one listener brought the issue of electronic free speech all the way to the Supreme Court, was a direct challenge to the whole underpinning of Federal Communica-

tions Commission (FCC) regulation of the airwaves. The "seven dirty words" trial originated when a George Carlin record was played on a New York City radio station and became one of the landmark cases concerning indecency on the public airwaves.

Following in the tradition of his mentor Lenny Bruce, stand-up comedian George Carlin revolutionized comedy with a hip, irreverent attitude and an uninhibited social commentary. By the early 1970s Carlin turned his back on an established, middle-class audience and played almost exclusively to the counterculture. In 1972 he was arrested at the Milwaukee Summerfest while performing one of his satirical routines on language, entitled “Filthy Words” (sometimes called the “Seven Dirty Words You Can Never Use on Television” because of the monologue’s central joke). A local judge threw out the charges, but the same routine became the linchpin of a Supreme Court case involving the FCC.

In 1973 Carlin recorded “Filthy Words” for his album *Occupation: Foole*, which was distributed by Little David Records. *New York Times* critic Peter Schjeldahl noted that “Carlin’s playing with words, through meaning and emotive permutations, is so mild and earnest it’s almost wholesome” and that his “subliminal puerilities are often dissipated by lovely flashes of pure sensitivity.” In the earthy monologue, Carlin claims that there are 400,000 words and only seven you can’t say on television. On 30 October 1973 a recording of “Filthy Words” was played on the Pacifica Foundation’s New York FM station, WBAI. An announcer for the early afternoon program, *Lunchpail*, preceded the album cut with a warning that some listeners might deem Carlin’s language offensive.

One month later, the FCC received a complaint from a man who was listening to the station while driving into the city with his 15-year-old son. This was the only objection about the Carlin broadcast that was forwarded to either the commission or WBAI, a listener-supported public radio station.

After writing to WBAI to confirm the broadcast, the FCC used the outraged letter to define the nature of indecency. Ruling that Carlin’s recording was not obscene, the commissioners argued that the language was indeed indecent, depicting “sexual or excretory activity and organs, at a time of day when there is a reasonable risk that children may be in the audience.” The FCC did not want to censor this material, which it cited as “patently offensive as measured by contemporary community standards for media broadcast,” but wished to develop a principle of “channeling,” or finding a time of day when the fewest children would be in the audience. Several commissioners thought their statement did not go far enough and wanted indecent language prohibited from the airwaves at any time, but the majority felt that Carlin’s material would be appropriate sometime after midnight. The Pacifica Foundation appealed the decision, contending that the definition of indecent did not take into account any serious literary, artistic, political, or scientific value.

In March 1977 the U.S. Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia overturned the FCC ruling in a two-to-one vote because it violated Section 326 of the Communications Act, which forbids the FCC from censoring any work. Calling the

FCC’s position “overbroad and vague,” Judge Edward A. Tamm of the Appeals Court also deemed the attempt to channel offensive material into the late hours a form of censorship. The FCC appealed.

In July 1978 the U.S. Supreme Court, in a five-to-four split decision, reversed the appeals court and affirmed the FCC’s right to limit the use of profane language. In the majority opinion Justice John Paul Stevens wrote that “of all forms of communication, it is broadcasting that has received the most limited First Amendment protection” (*Federal Communications Commission v Pacifica Foundation* [438 US 726]). No distinction was made between radio and television or between AM and FM radio. Stevens concluded that offensive satire is available elsewhere but should not be broadcast in the afternoon when it is accessible to children. The Carlin broadcast was not labeled obscene, but it was considered by Justice Lewis Powell as “a sort of verbal shock treatment.” Justice William Brennan dissented, finding that by its definition of indecency the FCC would deem works by Shakespeare, Joyce, Hemingway, and Chaucer to be inappropriate. He concluded that it is “only an acute ethnocentric myopia that enables the Court to approve censorship of communications solely because of the words they contain.”

The Supreme Court’s decision did not fully settle the question of what is free expression on the public airwaves. Many writers and producers considered the ruling a major setback to the First Amendment rights of broadcasters. Some newspapers, including the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*, included editorials in favor of the limited ruling but nevertheless did not print the notorious seven words. FCC chairman Charles Ferris worried that broadcasters would not tackle controversial subjects for fear of the ruling and reassured the industry that so-called indecent language would not be barred in news programs.

But by the end of the 1970s, the growth of cable television transformed the entire world of communications. Home Box Office (HBO) presented the entire “Filthy Words” routine in the special *George Carlin Again* in 1978. This time, Carlin was seen on premium cable, airing in the evening; there were no complaints to the FCC. Given that one has to pay a separate fee to receive HBO programs, the FCC or the courts would likely see such a presentation in a different light than the Carlin broadcast over WBAI. Over the next two decades, competition from cable would largely obliterate the definition of indecency for broadcasters and the FCC. But Carlin’s seven words would still rarely be heard on over-the-air radio or television. A clear legal distinction remained between cable service, to which one subscribes, and free over-the-air broadcasting. And the FCC maintained a partial ban on such material, channeling it to the 10 P.M. to 6 A.M. period.

In 2001 the FCC announced new decency guidelines for radio and television broadcasters, making it simpler for stations

to determine unacceptable material. The guidelines include instructions about intent and context as well as warnings against repeated swearing and explicit language. Under the new ruling, Carlin's routine would still be problematic if played during morning, afternoon, or evening hours.

RON SIMON

See also Obscenity and Indecency on Radio; WBAI

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The Shadow

Crime Drama

In radio drama's heyday, from the 1930s to the mid-1950s, few program openings matched—and perhaps none surpassed—the recognizability of *The Shadow's* aural calling card. The first straining phrases of Camille Saint-Saëns' tone poem *Le Rouet d'Omphale* (Omphale's Spinning Wheel) are established and begin to fade as the filtered voice cuts through in measured intensity: "Who knows what e-vil lurks in the hearts of men? The Shad-ow knows." A decidedly unfunny laugh follows, and the rushing music swells again. Here the listener can imagine the unblinking stare of the mysterious figure who has gazed into the dark side of human nature. Thus begun, the late Sunday afternoon broadcasts of *The Shadow* prompted many a schoolchild's nightmares and not a few adults' nervous glances into the evening darkness.

Origins

Although The Shadow became one of the best-known characters in radio drama, he first held the more modest role of introducer of stories about other protagonists, dramatized from pulp magazines published by Street and Smith, whose fiction factory had been churning out nickel and dime novels well before the end of the 19th century. Street and Smith's *Detective Story Magazine* and *Western Story Magazine*, both begun during World War I, were well established by the end of the 1920s, but competition tightened as rival mystery and Western publications as well as new aviation, sports, college humor, and romance titles crowded the market. Street and Smith

decided to seek new readers through the rapidly evolving rival popular medium, radio.

For *The Detective Story Hour*, first heard on CBS at 9:30 P.M. on 31 July 1930, Harry Engman Charlot wrote scripts based on stories soon to be published in *Detective Story Magazine*. Charlot (whose poisoning death in a seedy Bowery hotel five years later was never solved) also suggested that the host-narrator might be a mysterious figure who told the story from the shadows, his identity disguised. James La Curto was the first to impersonate The Shadow, but after several weeks he accepted a Broadway role and was replaced by Frank Readick, Jr., whose sidelit publicity photographs shielded his face behind a visor mask worn under a broad-brimmed fedora. Stimulated as much by the novelty of the program's mysterious host as by interest in the dramatized samples of Street and Smith fictional wares, listeners rushed to newsstands asking for "The Shadow's magazine." In April 1931 the publisher obliged with the first issue of *The Shadow, A Detective Magazine*, announced as a quarterly publication. Increased demand quickly turned it into *The Shadow Monthly* and then into simply *The Shadow*, published twice a month.

The Detective Story Hour was discontinued after a year, but audience interest led to the revival of The Shadow character as a part of *The Blue Coal Review*, a 40-week Sunday variety series that debuted on 6 September 1931 at 5:30 P.M. on CBS. Half of the hour was devoted to Street and Smith story dramatizations introduced by Readick in The Shadow persona. A few weeks later, Street and Smith reclaimed its Thursday evening

9:30 CBS spot with *Love Story Drama* (retitled *Love Story Hour* later in the season), in which The Shadow recounted tales from *Love Story Magazine*. These hosting duties kept The Shadow at work for a year.

In January 1932 Frank Readick was also heard in a Tuesday evening CBS series that used *The Shadow* as the program title for the first time. Other runs featuring Readick and the briefly returning James La Curto were aired in various time slots on NBC and CBS until 27 March 1935. During this period Street and Smith wanted the broadcast tales to reflect the magazine Shadow's protagonist role, while Blue Coal, by then a well-entrenched sponsor, did not want to alter the successful format that restricted the on-air Shadow to host-narrator duties. In 1937 the impasse was broken when Blue Coal agreed to a trial run in which The Shadow would serve as the main character, on the understanding that the program would return to its Shadow-as-host-only format if the public did not welcome the change.

Star Series

With Orson Welles newly cast as The Shadow, the program had a sensational re-opening on the Mutual network at 5:30 P.M. on Sunday, 26 September 1937, and it would remain a late Sunday afternoon fixture for many years. Ironically, just as Street and Smith had achieved a radio Shadow mirroring the print character's function as an active avenger against lawbreakers, the freshened broadcast figure pursued a new direction different from that which the magazine hero had taken from the beginning of the decade.

Having seen a market for The Shadow's own magazine in early 1931, Street and Smith offered the writing task to Walter B. Gibson, an experienced hand at turning out detective stories and a magician skilled enough to be the ghost writer of "how to" manuals published under the names of Harry Houdini, Harry Blackstone, Howard Thurston, and others. Gibson's interest in the occult would help in defining The Shadow's extraordinary powers. Borrowing names from two literary agents, Gibson began producing The Shadow novels under the pseudonym Maxwell Grant, and when the publisher increased and then redoubled the magazine's frequency, he found himself typing 5,000 to 10,000 words a day while his cabin in rural Maine was literally being built around him. The publisher arranged one meeting between Gibson and an early scripter of the radio series, Edward Hale Bierstadt, but otherwise the handling of the broadcast *Shadow* was left to Street and Smith and to the Ruthrauff and Ryan Advertising Agency. Turning out 28 novels of approximately 60,000 words per issue in the first year and 24 novels in each of the next six years, Gibson wrote of an international network of agents, lookouts, and operatives who reported to The Shadow, who himself took a number of guises, aviator Kent Allard being the chief of these. The

well-heeled and well-traveled Lamont Cranston, employer of a chauffeur named Stanley, was simply one identity that The Shadow assumed as needed when the "real" Cranston was abroad. The Shadow's print tales took him to the Caribbean, Asia, the Pacific islands, and other places where strange religions, philosophies, and practices abounded.

When Ruthrauff and Ryan, the program's packager, planned *The Shadow's* return to the airwaves in 1937, the agency decided that Lamont Cranston would be the sole alter ego of the crimefighter. Although the pulp Shadow had been a loner, Orson Welles' Shadow gained the companionship of "the lovely Margo Lane," first played by Agnes Moorehead, who shared Welles' background in the Mercury Theater and in *The March of Time* dramatizations of news events. According to the announcer's weekly spiel, Miss Lane (named after Margot Stevenson, whom producer Clark Andrews had been dating) was "the only person who knows to whom the voice of the invisible Shadow belongs." While the pulp Shadow had merely concealed himself in the shadows, the radio Shadow had learned "the power to cloud men's minds so they cannot see him." In the fifth episode of the revived series ("The Temple Bells of Neban," broadcast 24 October 1937), Cranston explained to Margo Lane how an Indian yogi had tutored him in "the mesmeric trick that the underworld calls invisibility."

The scripts gave Lamont and Margo a breezy sophistication reminiscent of the marital chat of Nick and Nora Charles in Dashiell Hammett's *The Thin Man* (novel, 1934; film, 1934; radio series, 1941-50) and anticipated the "darling" this and "darling" that conversations of amateur sleuths Pam and Jerry North in CBS's 1942-54 series *Mr. and Mrs. North*. Always on the go, Lamont and Margo might find danger in Haiti, at the opera, on the road to a ski resort, or in a carnival fun house. While Margo sometimes saved Lamont from danger or stumbled onto a key clue, she gradually became a convenient bait for psychopaths and a vulnerable "lady in distress" on whom to hang ten minutes' worth of plot tension. The pulp novels' supporting network of crimefighting agents was gone, and Lamont and Margo were generally left to their own resources. Crusty, snapping, and demanding Police Commissioner Weston, representing the civic establishment in contrast to The Shadow's benevolent vigilantism, dealt testily with Cranston on many occasions, and the taxi driver Shrevvy provided comic relief with his self-mocking repetitions of phrase. Even these secondary characters gradually disappeared.

When Orson Welles took the radio lead in *The Shadow*, he was promised that he would not have to attend rehearsals; he arrived at the WOR studios by taxi just before airtime, and the on-air performance was his *only* read-through of each script. His Mercury Theater and other commitments became so demanding, however, that he relinquished The Shadow's role after the regular 1937-38 Blue Coal season and a 1938 transcribed summer season (repeated in 1939) for B.F. Goodrich.



The Shadow played by Jimmy La Curto
Courtesy CBS Photo Archive

(The Shadow participated in the tiremaker's commercials, delivering a stern warning about worn tires on slick roads.) Ironically, although Welles was the best-known actor to portray The Shadow on radio, his sardonic laugh did not match the scariness of Frank Readick's, whose recorded "Crime does not pay" warning continued to be used at the end of each episode during Welles' tenure.

Bill Johnstone undertook the Cranston/Shadow role on 25 September 1938 and held it through five seasons, while Agnes Moorehead later yielded Margo Lane's part to Marjorie Anderson, and Ken Roberts became something of an institution as the announcer. Bret Morrison inherited the lead for the 1943-44 season but left over salary differences. John Archer and Steve Cortleigh had brief runs in playing The Shadow in the usual Sunday afternoon time slot as well as in occasional appearances on the mid-1940s quiz program *Quick as a Flash*, where a rotating series of radio detectives dramatized crimes for the panel to solve. Bret Morrison returned to the lead role in 1945, held it until the program ended in 1954, and later recorded a few new episodes for non-broadcast tape distribution. In those last years Margo Lane was played by Lesley Woods, Grace Matthews, and Gertrude Warner.

During the late 1930s and early 1940s, most episodes of *The Shadow* began *in medias res*, and the typical Sunday found Lamont, Margo, and their antagonists speeding from place to place by car, motorboat, or private airplane. To make an inquiring visit to a crime scene or to deliver a warning to a miscreant ("The Shadow already knows enough to hang you, Joseph Hart!"), Lamont Cranston often assumed The Shadow's identity shortly before the mid-program commercial break, and his second appearance, at the end of the episode, brought the crack of a handgun and the echoing cries of the guilty as they crumbled, sank, burned, or fell to their deaths. In later years the mad-scientist villains (often lisping and spitting in middle European accents) largely gave way to more commonplace thugs and hoodlums (grumbling in accents of Brooklyn and the Bronx). Early 1950s listeners often felt that they could predict, to the minute, the plot turn when a loudly protesting criminal's death would illustrate The Shadow's view that "*The weed of crime bears bitter fruit. Crime does not pay.*"

Neither Walter Gibson's pulp novels nor *The Shadow's* radio scripts gave much attention to subtleties of characterization or incident, and listeners have concluded that scarcely any story in all those broadcast years fully made sense. Villains, often nursing misconceptions of being wronged by society or stinging from previous encounters with The Shadow, were often megalomaniacs with ambitions for dominating large populations through the risky deployment of flimsy devices. One antagonist strove to block the sun's rays and leave the city in darkness, while in another tale a gang of robbers placed exploding light bulbs in fixtures throughout town so that peo-

ple would become fearful of using any lights, even car headlights or hospital operating room lamps. In "The Ghost of Captain Baylor" (15 January 1939), The Shadow freed 50 innocent sailors from the island dungeon of a group that was attempting to control naval traffic by rising in a submarine, popping open the hatch, and shooting a machine gun at passing vessels. The Shadow locked the thugs in their own dungeon and left them "to suffer, as long as their lives last, the terrible fate they designed for others," and while this typically articulated bit of poetic justice unfolded, Lamont Cranston's yacht proved capacious enough to return the victims to shore.

The Shadow's own powers and degree of vulnerability sometimes differed from one episode to the next. While he often seemed able to slip into any cell, cave, locked basement, vault, or ship's cabin, he was nearly burned alive in an ordinary room when its sole window was locked from the outside. In "Appointment with Death" (12 March 1939), a vengeful ex-con tricked The Shadow into swimming toward an island hideout so that the villain might shoot at the gap which the invisible Shadow's body would make in the rippling water. Other antagonists noticed the impressions of The Shadow's feet in deep-pile carpets or sought to trap his image in an early television receiver.

The last episode of *The Shadow* was broadcast on 26 December 1954, five years after Blue Coal had dropped its sponsorship and the same year that the Street and Smith *The Shadow* magazine had ceased publication. Communism and McCarthyism were the shadows then looming over the U.S. horizon, and television had begun to push drama programs from radio. In a 1960s reminiscence, Walter Gibson noted that The Shadow had become a creature of "camp," although he felt that those who derided the series also privately enjoyed it. In 1963 transcriptions of classic episodes were syndicated to WGN and other stations.

In the early 1940s *The Shadow* had been the highest-rated dramatic program on radio, and it prompted a 1940 movie serial starring Victor Jory, a short-lived comic strip drawn by Vernon Greene, a comic book series, three "Big Little Books," and a number of Blue Coal premiums, including ink blotters and glow-in-the-dark rings. The Shadow had been showcased in several "B" features in the 1930s and 1940s, and in 1994 Alec Baldwin starred in a large-budget film adaptation in which lavish costuming and set decoration adorned a typically loose-jointed plot.

The Shadow programs are reasonably well represented in the circulating libraries of radio clubs today, and many episodes starring Welles, Johnstone, and Morrison have been released on commercial records, cassettes, and CDs. Several internet sites offer easy access to program episodes, pulp novel texts, and splashy magazine covers. *The Shadow* persists, too, as a shuddering delight in the memories of those who knew radio before they knew television, when Sunday evening meant

sharing Lamont Cranston and Margo Lane's adventures among the obsessively evil and the picturesquely insane. With *The Lone Ranger*, *Amos 'n' Andy*, and a very few others, *The Shadow* remains an essential figure of golden age radio.

RAY BARFIELD

See also Drama, U.S.; Mercury Theater of the Air; Mutual Broadcasting System; Quiz and Audience Participation Programs; Violence and Radio

Cast

The Shadow/ Lamont Cranston	James La Curto (1930; 1934–35), Frank Readick, Jr. (1930–35), Robert Hardy Andrews (1932), Orson Welles (1937–38; 1939 repeats); Bill Johnstone (1938–43), Bret Morrison (1943–44; 1945–54), John Archer (1944–45), Steve Courtleigh (1945)
Margo Lane	Agnes Moorehead (1937–40), Marjorie Anderson (1940–44), Marion Sharkley (1944), Laura Mae Carpenter (1945), Leslie Woods (1945–46), Grace Matthews (1946– 49), Gertrude Warner (1949–54)
Announcer	Ken Roberts (1931–32; 1935; 1937–44), Dell Sharbutt (1934),

Don Hancock (1945–47), Andre
Baruch (1947–49), Carl Caruso
(1949–51), Sandy Becker (1951–53),
Ted Mallie (1953–54)

Programming History

CBS	1930–32
NBC	1932–33
Mutual	1937–54

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Shaw, Allen 1943–

U.S. Radio Programmer and Station Owner

Known first for the "Love" format on American Broadcasting Companies (ABC)-owned FM stations in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Allen Shaw was instrumental in the success of several major broadcast groups and became a station owner. During his career, Shaw was responsible for the operations of 43 radio stations in 31 markets for five different companies.

Origins

Radio attracted Shaw early. At age 11 he experimented with electronics, building transmitters and communicating via Morse code. A chance visit with his father to a local radio station turned young Shaw from aspiring engineer to aspiring air talent and programmer. The elder Shaw owned a building in

Haines City, Florida, where 50-kilowatt WGTO-AM located its studios in 1956, and one weekend he asked his son if he would like to see the facility. "It was the first time I had ever seen a disc jockey at work," Shaw remembered, "and it looked magical." He recalled his comments to his father about being able to hear the disc jockey in the car and in the kitchen. The performance side of radio hooked the 13-year-old.

WGTO was the first station licensed to Shaw's hometown, but it was not to be his first radio job. "They were a professional station; they hired good people," he said self-effacingly. In 1959 an "owner operating on a shoestring" established 500-watt WHAW-AM in Haines City, and, to use Shaw's words, "I was available for a buck an hour." An after-school job at WHAW launched Shaw's career at age 15.

In college he pursued radio, earning a degree in radio-television from Northwestern University in 1965. The proximity of Evanston to Chicago introduced Shaw to the legendary WCFL-AM, one of the two battling Top 40 stations in the Windy City at the time.

Radio Career

After college, Shaw moved to Albany, New York, for a brief stint as a disc jockey at WPTR, working the 7 to 11 P.M. shift. As Shaw told author Michael Keith in *Voices in the Purple Haze*, "I was supposed to be playing the top-selling hits of the day, such as 'Everybody Loves a Clown' by Gary Lewis and the Playboys and 'Lover's Concerto' by the Toys. I found myself slipping in unapproved cuts off the Rolling Stones, Beatles, and Bob Dylan albums. This was, of course, breaking the format rules of the station, a clear act of revolutionary protest." WPTR's program director told Shaw—"in no uncertain terms," as Shaw put it—that the public would decide through the purchase of 45-rpm singles what the station would play. Shaw, however, was hooked on the new music being released on long-playing albums.

A year later, in 1966, he was asked back to Chicago to become assistant program director of WCFL-AM. That station, like WPTR, was true to the top 40 singles. But Shaw listened at home to promotional copies of new rock albums by bands unfamiliar to him—Vanilla Fudge, Velvet Underground, and the Jimi Hendrix Experience.

"I found these sounds very interesting and exciting," he said, and he asked WCFL management if he could play some of them on the air. They agreed to one hour on Sunday nights. As Shaw described it, "Underground radio had come to Chicago, if only an hour a week and in monophonic sound."

During 1967 two events deepened Shaw's interest in the new music, called both "progressive rock" and "underground" at the time. The first was a radio conference featuring Tom Donahue, a former Top 40 disc jockey who became known as the "father of underground radio." Donahue's KMPX-FM, San Francisco, played an eclectic mix of blues, folk, and rock without structure or a playlist. The other event was a concert in Chicago where Lou Reed's band, Velvet Underground, opened for Jimi Hendrix. Shaw talked to Reed about the growing interest in the new music in New York and other cities. "[Reed] assured me that I'd be certain to succeed if I put this music on FM full-time," Shaw said.

That encouragement set Shaw working nights and weekends with WCFL colleague and former college friend George Yahraes on sample music tapes and graphics for what they decided to call the "Love" format. The two presented their ideas to owners of Chicago FM stations to no avail. Then they went to New York to meet with major radio networks. ABC Radio gave them not only a hearing, but also an invitation to

make their presentation at the annual ABC managers' meeting in February 1968. The new format was so well received by ABC managers that by June of that year Shaw was director of FM Special Projects at ABC.

On 28 February 1969, ABC launched the Love format on FM stations it owned in New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Detroit, Houston, and Pittsburgh. Tapes were produced in New York and shipped to the other stations for playback. Of the period, Shaw said, "We knew at ABC-FM that we were, as unlikely as it was, the largest corporate entity broadcasting the drumbeat of the flower-children tribe over powerful FM stations. . . . There was a certain amount of headiness in our attitude." The success of the Love format prompted ABC to name Shaw—at age 26—president of ABC-Owned FM Stations, a post he held from 1970 until 1980.

The executive experience he gained at ABC made Shaw valuable to other broadcast companies, too. In 1981 he was named executive vice president of radio for Summit Communications, based in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. His move to that city would turn out to be a long-term affair, as he remained in Winston-Salem when he was appointed executive vice president and chief operating officer of the North Carolina-based Beasley Broadcast Group.

Shaw moved into station ownership as president and chief executive officer (CEO) of Crescent Communications, which acquired KYLD-FM in San Francisco in November 1993. The company expanded with two additional stations in the San Francisco-San Jose market and acquisitions in Albuquerque, New Mexico and Las Vegas, Nevada. The aggregate purchase price for all the stations was \$63 million, and they were sold three years later to four separate buyers for a total of \$135 million.

The experience at Crescent allowed Shaw to build yet another company, Centennial Broadcasting, of which he was owner, president, and CEO. He understood the increasing value of scarce radio properties and in 1997 built clusters with three FM stations in Las Vegas and two FMs and an AM in New Orleans. A programmer at heart, Shaw developed yet another format by modernizing the adult standards format to make it attractive to the older baby boom audience. His standards format became the audience leader in Las Vegas on KJUL-FM. In early 2001 Centennial was sold to the Beasley Broadcast Group, and Shaw rejoined Beasley's corporate team.

ED SHANE

See also Underground Radio

Allen Shaw. Born in Haines City, Florida, 24 September 1943. Attended Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, degree in radio/television, 1965. Began radio career at WHAW-AM, Haines City, while in high school; after college, worked as a disc jockey, WPTR-AM, Albany, New York, 1965-66;

assistant program director, WCFL-AM, Chicago, 1966–68; developed FM Rock “Love” format on ABC Radio’s FM stations, 1968; program director, ABC Owned FM Stations, 1968–70; president, 1970–80; executive vice president, Radio Division, Summit Communications, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, 1981–85; executive vice president and chief operating officer, Beasley Broadcast Group, 1985–93; president and chief executive officer, Crescent Communications, 1993–96; president and chief executive officer, Centennial Broadcasting, 1997–2002; rejoined Beasley Broadcast Group, 2002. Active on the Boards of Directors of

the Radio Advertising Bureau, the Broadcast Pioneers Library, and Goodwill Industries of N.W. North Carolina.

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Shepard, John 1886–1950

U.S. Radio Pioneer

John Shepard was an important New England radio broadcaster who helped pioneer many of the medium’s program and technology innovations. Little remembered today, his was a name to be reckoned with in the first three decades of radio broadcasting.

Origins

Born into a family of Boston merchants, Shepard did not set out to work in radio. His grandfather had founded a department store called Shepard, Norwell & Company in the 1860s; it later expanded and was re-named the Shepard Stores. John Shepard III followed in his grandfather’s and father’s footsteps by joining the business and soon became manager of the store in Boston while his brother Robert managed the Providence store.

Early Boston Radio

With his ability to spot a sales trend, Shepard noticed during the 1920s the growing popularity of amateur radio and the first broadcast stations, and made sure to carry equipment and receiving sets in his store. He became friendly with several of the amateurs, and when they began working with newly emerging broadcast operations, Shepard became even more intrigued with the medium’s potential. Convinced that radio was no passing fad, he planned a station in the Providence store—WEAN, which was licensed in June 1922; and by the end of July, a Boston station, WNAC, was up and running from the 4th floor of the Boston store. WNAC became so iden-

tified with the department store that in its first few months, virtually nobody knew its call letters; even local newspapers referred to it only as the “Shepard Stores station.” That was fine with John Shepard, who believed the novelty of a radio station would bring people into his store to watch a broadcast under way, and then, he hoped, do some shopping. In WNAC’s first few months, he even helped with some of the announcing, calling himself merely “J.S.” after the under-spoken fashion of the day.

All of the initial announcers were Shepard store employees, and the entertainment was derived mainly from music schools or local entertainers who wanted some radio exposure. But as the station continued to gain new fans, Shepard did something unusual for the time: he hired some well-known performers, and he paid them to be on the air. In the early 1920s, most stations had no budget for talent, so they depended on volunteers. Shepard was determined to run his station as a business, however, and that meant paying performers. While good for the performers, this move soon proved unfortunate for smaller stations like Boston competitor WGI, which, with few dollars for talent, soon lost many of its most popular musicians.

Shepard quickly became one of radio’s most passionate fans. When the National Association of Broadcasters was founded in 1923, he became the group’s first vice president and a member of their board of directors. Later that year, he was one of a small group of owners and executives who met with President Coolidge to discuss the future of radio, and in subsequent years, he was part of delegations that spoke with congressmen about up-coming legislation which might affect radio.

Shepard had great respect for radio's ability to spread ideas. He invited members of the clergy from all the major faiths to give inspirational talks at a time when diversity was not commonly accepted; his station was the first in Boston to air synagogue services. His interest in politics led to broadcasting some very contentious political debates, and also led to accusations that he was allowing the candidates he liked more air time than the ones he did not. Of course, Shepard was also devoted to radio because of its ability to sell products; his staff became known for creative copywriting and memorable commercials.

Innovations

Shepard's station was the first in Massachusetts to put an African-American musical, "Shuffle Along," on the air, in November 1922. WNAC was also the first to use "house names." When "Jean Sargent" or "Nancy Howe" left his station, her replacement took the same name as the woman she succeeded. There is also some evidence that he aired the first play-by-play broadcasts of Boston Red Sox baseball.

In early 1927 Shepard experimented with what today would be called a home shopping operation. His new station, WASN (All Shopping News), was run almost entirely by women, several of whom went on to long careers in broadcasting. Though it turned out that home shopping's time had not yet come, it was only one of many innovations that came from Shepard. Although he never built a receiver nor invented anything, he knew how to spot a trend and hire the right people.

Shepard was among the first broadcasters to link two stations (he undertook an early version of networking with WEAJ in New York City in January 1923). Periodically during the 1920s, he also linked WNAC with sister station WEAN to share programming. (In fact, a friendly rivalry ensued between the Boston and Providence stores, beginning with a road race between the two cities in the early 1930s, and culminating in the '40s with a weekly show called "Quiz of Two Cities.") From the successful linking of WNAC and WEAN, the Yankee Network was born; a local network that offered smaller New England stations the resources of both WNAC and WEAN, the Yankee Network first began signing up affiliates in the spring of 1930 and quickly became very popular.

Shepard helped to create a wider acceptance of broadcast journalism. He threw his support behind his own local news-gathering organization, in direct opposition to the Associated Press, which wanted to restrict radio news. Established in 1934, the Yankee Network News Service won the right for local radio journalists to obtain press credentials. It was soon in direct competition with the region's newspapers, using the slogan "News while it IS news," a direct slap at the inability of newspapers to react instantly as radio could.

Yankee Network technical director Paul DeMars had become an early supporter of Edwin Howard Armstrong's FM research. When in 1936 Shepard saw what FM could accomplish, he too was won over. He invested more than a quarter million dollars on his own experimental FM outlets, placing W1XOJ on the air in 1939 near Worcester as the first FM station in Massachusetts and one of the first half-dozen such experimental outlets anywhere. Its 50,000-watt signal nearly blanketed all of New England. Programs were transmitted to the site 42 miles west of Boston by another FM transmitter near the main Yankee Network studios in downtown Boston. This was followed in late 1940 by a second FM transmitter, W1XER atop Mt. Washington in New Hampshire, thereby creating the world's first (occasional) FM network by early in 1941.

The Yankee Network applied, unsuccessfully, for an FM license in New York City. But despite that setback, Shepard was the first broadcaster to create daily programming for FM, and in 1941 he was the first to get FM programs sponsored. He continued to promote the benefits of the new technology by sponsoring demonstrations, as well as selling FM receivers in his stores.

A landmark legal ruling came about because of a Shepard station practice. A disgruntled ex-employee, Lawrence Flynn, contested Shepard's Boston license by demonstrating how Shepard allowed politicians he favored to receive extra air time and favorable editorial mention. Shepard received a reprimand but retained his station when the Federal Communications Commission's *Mayflower* Decision of 1941 forbid radio stations from editorializing.

Nor did Shepard focus only on radio. When Charles Francis Jenkins' innovations in mechanical television in Washington, D.C., showed promise, Shepard supported development of a station for Boston. W1XAY, with studios in Lexington, Massachusetts, was on the air from the summer of 1928 until it ran out of money in early 1930.

Shepard served in numerous executive positions with the National Association of Broadcasters throughout the 1920s and 1930s, and he was actively involved in Broadcast Music Incorporated; he also chaired the first organization for FM owners (FM Broadcasters Inc.), and served on the board of the Mutual Broadcasting System. In the mid 1940s, in rapidly declining health, he sold controlling interest in the Yankee Network to General Tire Company, staying with the company for a while before retiring in 1949. He died in June 1950.

DONNA L. HALPER

See also Editorializing; FM Radio; FM Trade Associations; Mayflower Decision; National Association of Broadcasters; Yankee Network

John Shepard III. Born in Boston, 19 March 1886. One of two sons of John Shepard Jr., owner of several department stores, and Flora Martin Shepard. Attended Brookline (Massachusetts) High School and the Wertz Naval Academy Preparatory School and then joined the family business. Founder and President of WNAC, Boston (on air 31 July 1922). Formed Yankee Network, 1930. One of the original members of the National Association of Broadcasters, serving as Vice President and later Treasurer. Helped pioneer FM radio, 1939–40. Helped create Broadcast Music Inc., was chairman of Board of Providence Shepard Store, on Board of Trustees at Suffolk College (Boston). Retired 1949. Died in Boston, 11 June 1950.

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Shepherd, Jean 1921–1999

U.S. Radio Humorist and Monologist

His fans called him "Shep." Media guru Marshall McLuhan hailed him as the "first radio novelist." Like a modern-day Scheherazade, Jean Shepherd was a master storyteller who, with wit, tempered irreverence, and a gimlet eye for the minutiae of growing up, spun an inexhaustible supply of tales to a loyal following of late-night radio listeners.

He was born Jean Parker Shepherd 26 July 1921 in Hammond, Indiana, a steel-mill town just outside Chicago. During World War II, Shepherd served in the Army Signal Corps (an experience that provided fodder for a number of his stories) and briefly attended Indiana University. He began his career in entertainment as a performer at Chicago's Goodman Theatre.

Between 1950 and 1954, Shepherd was a disc jockey at WSAI in Cincinnati, doing live remotes from a restaurant called Shuller's Wigwam and hosting a nightly comedy show, *Rear Bumpers*, on WLW. In 1956 he moved to New York's WOR, where the *Jean Shepherd Show* broadcast for the next 21 years to an audience that swelled to as many as 100,000 listeners all along the eastern seaboard, courtesy of WOR's 50,000-watt clear channel signal.

The 45-minute show opened with the familiar racetrack bugle call that heralded his theme song (the "Bahn Frei Polka" by Edouard Strauss). Working without a script, Shepherd embellished tales of his boyhood years hanging out with pals "Flick,"

"Schwartz," and "Brunner" and of time spent in the army. Sometimes an entire show would be built around an absurd news story, and on occasion he read selections from favorite literary figures, such as poet Robert Service. No Shepherd tale ever proceeded in linear fashion: there were detours everywhere. He would go off on a tangent, digress, interrupt himself with an overlapping story, and then, even as his closing theme started to play, easily and logically tie all the loose ends together.

His narratives evoked nostalgia without cloying sentiment and were cynical without being destructive. Shepherd spoke of the ordinary, the remembered things—his mother standing at the kitchen sink in her stained chenille bathrobe making a meal that was always red cabbage, meatloaf, and Jell-O; the perpetual whining of a younger brother; his father's Blatz Beer burp. His delivery was conversational, punctuated by an occasional staccato burst of laughter; a chortle; a conspiratorial whisper; or a musical interlude, which could include anything from a kazoo solo to *kopfspielen* (musical sounds created by tapping on one's head) to recorded selections (most requested was "The Bear Missed the Train," a parody to the tune of "Bei Mir Bist Du Schön"). And as expression of the very apex of human triumph, he would utter the word "Excelsior!" ("Excellence!").

Shepherd's stories were richly detailed. Walking to school during an Indiana winter meant wearing "a 16-foot scarf

wound spirally from left to right until only the faint glint of two eyes peering out of a mound of moving clothing told you that a kid was in the neighborhood.” The exaggerated anticipation of waiting for the mailman to deliver a coveted radio premium (the *Little Orphan Annie* “Secret Decoder”) was described as, “At last, after at least 200 years of constant vigil, there was delivered to me a big fat lumpy letter. There are few things more thrilling in life than lumpy letters. . . . Even to this day I feel a wild surge of exultation when I run my hands over an envelope that is thick, fat and pregnant with mystery.” Many of the tales were written later as short stories for a variety of magazines, and several were collected into books.

Shepherd described himself as a humorist rather than a comic. “A humorist looks outward and sees the world,” he said, “a comic looks inward and sees himself.” His familiar manner combined with the intimacy of the medium encouraged almost cultlike devotion, prompting Shepherd to observe, “I had 5 million listeners and each thought he was the only one.” Fans felt like they had a secret pact with him, as if he and they were the only ones in on a big joke—and sometimes they were. More than once he would tell his audience to crank up the volume on the radio and shout along with him, “Drop the tools, we’ve got you covered!” One evening, Shepherd encouraged listeners to leave their radios, go to a street corner in Manhattan, and just mill around. Thousands showed up—and so did the police, who had gotten reports of a mob gathering. But the WOR listeners had been advised to simply and quietly mill—and then go home.

The greatest prank ever played by Shepherd and his devotees was the celebrated *I, Libertine* hoax, in which he told listeners to go to their bookstores and ask for a nonexistent book called *I, Libertine*. Prompted by the sudden demand, booksellers frantically tried to locate the book. Articles began appearing about the publishing sensation—the *New York Times Book Review* even included the book in its list of newly published works. “Friends would call to tell me that they’d met people at cocktail parties who claimed to have read it,” Shepherd recalled. When the hoax was finally revealed, one of the publishers who had been pursuing paperback rights to the “sensation” persuaded Theodore Sturgeon to actually write it (under the pseudonym of Frederick R. Ewing) based on Shepherd’s idea. It is now considered a collectible volume.

A WOR staffer once commented, “nobody at the station worked with Shepherd, instead they tried to work around him.” His working relationship with WOR tended to be scornful, even antagonistic, and Shepherd made little attempt to soften this contempt: when giving the station identification, he would say, “speaking of relics, this is WOR Radio.” He was annoyed by the necessary interruptions imposed by the commercial break and would instruct the engineer to “hit the money button.” His 21-year run on WOR Radio ended in April 1977.



Jean Shepherd
Courtesy AP/Wide World Photos

In the 1970s, the *Jean Shepherd Show* was syndicated nationwide to public radio and college campus stations, and for the next two decades Shepherd made a series of personal appearances, including Carnegie Hall and an annual Princeton University show. He also began a longtime collaboration with the Public Broadcasting Service and eventually became involved in feature films. The film *A Christmas Story*, which Shepherd cowrote and narrated, has become a holiday classic.

LAURIE R. SQUIRE

See also WOR

Jean Shepherd. Born in Hammond, Indiana, 26 July 1921. Attended University of Maryland, 1948, Indiana University, 1949–50, and Goodman Theater School in Chicago; served in U.S. Army Signal Corps during World War II; host, *Rear Bumpers*, WLW, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1950–54; host, *The Jean Shepherd Show*, WOR, New York City, 1956–77, nationwide

syndication, 1975–77; worked in off-Broadway stage productions in the 1950s and 1960s; writer/narrator, *American Playhouse* series, PBS/WGBH, 1976, 1982–83, 1989; co-writer/performer, *New Faces of 1962*; one-man show, live broadcast, Limelight Café, New York City, 1962–68; one-man shows, Carnegie Hall, New York City, 1971–75, Princeton University, New Jersey, 1966–96; author, co-screenwriter and cameo appearance in film *A Christmas Story*, 1983. Received *Playboy Magazine* Humor/Satire Award; Mark Twain Award, International Platform Speakers Association, 1976; honorary doctorate, Purdue University, 1995. Died in Sanibel Island, Florida, 16 October 1999.

Radio Series

1950–54 *Rear Bumpers*
1956–77 *The Jean Shepherd Show*

Films

Silver Darlings, 1947; *Fame Is the Spur*, 1947; *Light Fantastic*, 1964; *Tiki Tiki*, 1971; *Lenny Bruce without Tears*, 1971; *A Christmas Story*, 1983; *My Summer Story* (aka *It Runs in the Family*), 1994

Stage

Voice of the Turtle, 1961; *New Faces of 1962*, 1962

Selected Publications

America of George Ade, 1866–1944: Fables, Short Stories, Essays, 1960
Night People's Guide to New York: A Darien House Project, 1965
In God We Trust All Others Pay Cash, 1966
Wanda Hickey's Night of Golden Memories and Other Disasters, 1971
Ferrari in the Bedroom, 1972
Phantom of the Open Hearth: A Film for Television Coordinated by Leigh Brown, 1978
Living Thoughts, 1980
Fistful of Fig Newtons, 1981

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Shirer, William L. 1904–1993

U.S. Radio Journalist and Author

William L. Shirer was an accomplished newspaper foreign correspondent when in 1937 he became an important member of the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) radio news team assembled by Edward R. Murrow. From the late 1930s into the early years of World War II, his was the voice people often heard from Berlin, Vienna, and other European cities. Shirer continued his career as a radio commentator until 1949 and later published a number of influential books growing out of his reporting experience.

Early Years

Shirer was born in Chicago, son of a crusading U.S. attorney who died when the boy was only nine. His mother moved William and his brother and sister to Cedar Rapids, Iowa, where

in 1921 Shirer entered the denominational Coe College and graduated in 1925, having worked on the school paper. He worked his way to Europe on a cattle boat, arriving in Paris, which was then at its peak as an arts and literary hot spot.

Shirer's journalistic career began with a stint as reporter on the *Paris Tribune*, a European arm of the *Chicago Tribune*, from 1925 to 1927. His reporting of Lindbergh's flight to Paris in 1927 landed him a spot as a foreign correspondent for the parent *Chicago Tribune* that year but he was laid off in a 1932 downsizing. He was able to land a job, albeit one at a lower status, as a copy editor for the *New York Herald* Paris office that lasted for a couple of years. His next post was as the Berlin-based correspondent for Hearst's Universal News Service beginning in 1934. His bad luck continued, however, and in 1937 he was laid off from that post as well.

Radio Reporting

Now Shirer's luck turned around. On the very day he lost the Universal position, he received a cable from Edward R. Murrow, then CBS director of "talks" based in London. Murrow, seeking seasoned reportorial help as he developed a European news team, took Shirer to dinner at the fashionable Adlon Hotel in Berlin and asked him to join CBS at the same salary Shirer had been earning (Murrow did not know Shirer had lost his job). With few prospects and a pregnant wife, Shirer accepted.

While he had extensive journalism and European experience and was multi-lingual, Shirer did not have an obvious "radio voice," especially when compared with Murrow. Nonetheless, after a rather shaky initial few reports for CBS from Berlin (CBS news director Paul White was less than overwhelmed), Shirer became the first member of what years later would be known as "Murrow's Boys," a team of reporters that would all but dominate radio's coverage of rising European tensions and eventually war.

After several frustrating months of fairly minor reporting chores, Shirer hit his stride with an eyewitness account of Hitler's takeover of Austria in early 1938. Unable to broadcast from Vienna because of street barricades, Shirer flew to London (not an easy thing to do at the time) and broadcast to CBS in New York by means of shortwave. On 13 March 1938 Shirer led off the first multi-city CBS "World News Roundup" (although the program title was created later) with reporters in several European cities. Months later he reported on the growing Czech crisis from both Prague and Berlin, again using shortwave links. Throughout this period, Shirer and Murrow were close personal as well as professional colleagues, working virtually as equals.

Perhaps his finest radio news coup came in June 1940 when, by carefully reading what was going on and ignoring German news officials, he was on hand to report the French surrender at Compiègne, north of Paris. His report, carried on both CBS and the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), beat the official news release by some six hours. As censorship became tighter in Berlin, Shirer found himself unable to report the full story from the German capital city, and at the end of the year, he traveled home to New York to arrange for publication of his diary.

Shirer's *Berlin Diary* was a huge best-seller in 1941, eventually selling half a million copies. He went on the lecture circuit and did well. For the rest of the war, he reported from the United States, with two brief trips, one to London and one to Paris. He and Murrow, the latter angry that Shirer had never returned to his European news haunts, began to grow apart. Beginning in 1944 he had a regular, sponsored, Sunday evening news commentary program on CBS and developed a considerable following.



William L. Shirer
 Courtesy Library of American Broadcasting

Murrow became Shirer's boss when the former became a CBS vice president in charge of the network's news operations. The tension between the two men grew as Shirer often rejected or ignored Murrow's suggestions for reports or news approaches. In March 1947 Shirer lost his program's sponsorship, weakening his position within the CBS news hierarchy, and costing him about \$1,000 a week in lost sponsor fees. Although the reasons were never made clear, Shirer became convinced he was dropped for his liberal views in a time of increasing concern about communism in the United States. Others argued that he had become lazy and insufferable, making the rupture inevitable. The end of Shirer's program was widely reported and caused a storm of protest against (but not within) CBS, some of it aimed at Murrow. Shirer resigned from the network, well aware he no longer had a future there. Although he offered a weekly radio commentary on the Mutual network for two years, that stopped in 1949 and Shirer never worked full-time in broadcast news again.

Later Years

Shirer felt betrayed by Murrow and CBS and was bitter about it for the rest of his life. He wrote two nonfiction books on postwar Europe and two novels, neither especially successful, but one of them, *Stranger Come Home* (1954), was felt by many who knew both men to be starkly critical of Murrow.

The last period of Shirer's life began with the publication and huge success of his *Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* (1960), a history of the German Third Reich. Drawing on his direct experience (and personal acquaintance with many of the German leaders) and research, it became a Book of the Month selection, went through 20 reprintings in the first year alone, sold millions of copies, and has remained in print for decades. Once again Shirer was successful, respected, and financially well off.

For the last quarter century of his life, Shirer lived in the Berkshires of western Massachusetts and devoted himself to his writing, regularly turning out nonfiction books, several of which did quite well. Among them was a three-volume autobiography. His last book, a biography of Leo Tolstoy and his wife, appeared just a year before his death at age 89. Seven years later, transcripts of many of his Berlin broadcasts from 1934–1940 were published, allowing a new generation to appreciate his commentary and insight.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Columbia Broadcasting System; Murrow, Edward R.; News; White, Paul

William L. Shirer. Born in Chicago, Illinois, 23 February 1904. Attended Coe College, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, B.A. 1925, and Collège de France, Paris, 1925–27; reporter, *Paris Tribune*, 1925–27; foreign correspondent, *Chicago Tribune*, 1927–29; chief of Central European Bureau, *Chicago Tribune*, Vienna, 1929–32; European correspondent, *New York Herald*, Paris office, 1932–34; Berlin correspondent, Universal News Service, 1935–37; CBS radio continental representative, news correspondent, and commentator, 1937–47; columnist, *New York Herald Tribune*, 1942–48; broadcast commentator, Mutual Broadcasting system, 1947–49; full-time writer, 1950–

93. Listed in *Red Channels*, 1950, blacklisted for five years; president, Authors Guild, 1956–57. Received Headliners Club Award, 1938, 1941; honorary doctorate, Coe College, 1941; George Foster Peabody award, 1947; National Book Award, 1961; Sidney Hillman Foundation Award, 1961. Died in Boston, Massachusetts, 28 December 1993.

Television Series

Nightmare Years, 1989

Films

Magic Face, 1951; *Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, 1968

Selected Publications

Berlin Speaking, 1940

Berlin Diary: The Journal of a Foreign Correspondent, 1934–1941, 1941

Poison Pen, 1942

End of a Berlin Diary, 1947

Traitor, 1950

Midcentury Journey: The Western World through Its Years of Conflict, 1952

Stranger Come Home, 1954

Challenge of Scandinavia, 1955

Consul's Wife, 1956

Rise and Fall of the Third Reich: A History of Nazi Germany, 1960

Collapse of the Third Republic: An Inquiry into the Fall of France in 1940, 1969

Twentieth Century Journey (autobiography), 3 vols., 1976–90

Gandhi: A Memoir, 1979

Love and Hatred: The Troubled Marriage of Leo and Sonya Tolstoy, 1994

"This Is Berlin:" Radio Broadcasts from Nazi Germany, 1999

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Shock Jocks

During a blizzard in January 1982, an Air Florida passenger jet lifted off from National Airport in Washington, D.C., and almost immediately crashed into the Fourteenth Street Bridge, close to the end of the runway. The resulting tragic loss of life led to a program segment by radio shock jock Howard Stern. Stern called Air Florida personnel and asked for the price of a ticket from National Airport to the bridge.

Radio shock jocks purvey a radio format known as "shock radio," "raunchy radio," or "topless radio." Shock jocks such as New York's Howard Stern and Chicago's Erich Mancow are aptly labeled, for the goal of their program content is to appeal to a predominantly male audience using a panoply of sexual and scatological references and stunts. Listeners are barraged by sexually explicit references, cultural and ethnic attacks, off-color listener telephone calls, and sexually based interviews and antics. It is not unusual for Howard Stern and his on-air staff to cajole a female guest into disrobing as Stern details her anatomy for his listening audience. Other radio jocks associated with this program style have included Steve Dahl, Gary Meier, Jonathon Brandmeier, Danny Bonaduce, and Don Imus.

Although it is difficult to specifically date the onset of the shock jock format, the trend can be traced to the early 1970s. Prior to that date, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) heard very few cases dealing with obscenity and indecency, and most objectionable programs were isolated in nature; for example, a station in North Carolina lost its license in 1962 for broadcasting blue material by country and western singer Charlie Walker. In 1972 a Detroit radio station was fined \$2,000 for a sexual parody of a popular song.

The origin of the shock radio issue, however, might rest with WGLD-FM, Oak Park, Illinois, for airing a syndicated program entitled *Femme Forum*. This early morning broadcast contained an array of explicit sexual references, including a female listener's technique for oral sex. Popularly labeled "topless radio," the format subsequently led to the FCC's imposition of a \$2,000 fine in 1973 for obscene broadcasting. The issue of indecency arose again in 1975 with the airing of George Carlin's comedy album *Occupation: Foole*, from which WBAI-FM, New York, broadcast the "seven dirty words" segment at 2 P.M. The FCC fined the station only a small amount but issued a ruling on the scheduling of adult-oriented and indecent broadcast material. Shock jock Howard Stern created the benchmark for such fines in September 1995, when Infinity Broadcasting agreed to pay almost \$2 million to settle a number of FCC fines against Stern's programming.

Although *Newsweek* has termed New York's Don Imus a "former shock jock," many instead consider him to be the "father of shock jocks." The nature of his early broadcasting career confirms his iconoclastic approach. More recently, Imus

has assumed the position of watchdog over the political and social arena, and his barrages of criticism have an acerbic edge. Imus' attacks on President Clinton and his verbal caricatures of Dan Rather and CNN's Wolf Blitzer, among others, have been widely reported. This may be a new arena for shock jocks.

Today's shock jocks continue to sustain a large youthful listening audience with programming challenging the limits of taste and legal suitability. The most notable is New York's Howard Stern, self-appointed "King of All Media." His program is a pastiche of sexual patter and risqué material. Although Stern's syndicated program has been canceled in several markets, he continues to command a large listening audience. Fans of Stern will find a myriad of webpages discussing his programming and personal life. On one website, "Howard Stern News Desk," Stern is quoted as remarking, "I always resented the term 'shock jock' that the press came up with for me . . . because I never intentionally set out to shock anybody. What I intentionally set out to do was to talk as I talk off the air, to talk the way guys talk sitting around a bar." Stern's rise as a shock jock is detailed in both his book and film, both entitled *Private Parts*.

Another popular shock jock, Erich "Mancow" Muller, has been successful in Chicago. His irreverent barrage of ethnic and cultural slurs, coupled with references to bodily functions, has led to a wide following in his markets. His broadcast sidekick, "Turd," provides on-the-street antics and interviews.

The longevity of shock jocks will depend on many factors, including continued audience acceptance and advertising support; intervening variables may include the role of self-regulation and the FCC's interpretation of regulations and statutes relating to obscenity and indecency. Historically, radio programming formats and personalities have changed with the whims of the radio audience. For a period in the late 20th and early 21st centuries, shock jocks occupied a popular position on the radio dial.

CHARLES FELDMAN

See also Imus, Don; Obscenity and Indecency on Radio; Seven Dirty Words Case; Stern, Howard; Topless Radio

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Chicago Reader (31 March 1995)

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Shortwave Radio

Most radio broadcasting takes place in the AM and FM bands (and, outside the United States, in the long wave band—148.5–283.5 kHz). However, the shortwave bands are home to domestic, regional, and international broadcasting as well.

Many different types of radio service use the shortwave frequencies, including maritime, aeronautical, data transmissions, and amateur radio. Within the shortwave spectrum of 1.7–30 MHz (often referred to as high frequency or "HF"), 14 bands have been allocated to shortwave broadcasting (ranges vary slightly in different parts of the world):

- 2.3–2.495 megahertz (120-meter band)
- 3.2–3.4 MHz (90-meter band)
- 3.9–4.0 MHz (75-meter band)
- 4.75–5.06 MHz (60-meter band)
- 5.9–6.2 MHz (49-meter band)
- 7.1–7.35 MHz (41-meter band)
- 9.4–9.9 MHz (31-meter band)
- 11.6–12.1 MHz (25-meter band)
- 13.57–13.87 MHz (22-meter band)
- 15.1–15.8 MHz (19-meter band)
- 17.48–17.9 MHz (16-meter band)
- 18.9–19.02 MHz (15-meter band)
- 21.45–21.85 MHz (13-meter band)
- 25.67–26.1 MHz (11-meter band)

The first three of these bands are referred to as the tropical bands and are generally reserved for broadcasting from countries in equatorial regions. The remaining "international" bands are open to everyone. A limited amount of shortwave broadcasting also takes place outside the designated bands.

Origins

The development of shortwave broadcasting traces its roots to early radio experimenters. Known as "hams," these amateur radio operators would utilize their radio equipment to communicate with each other, transmitting on any frequencies they chose.

Exploration of the shortwave bands began as a result of the Radio Act of 1912, which limited amateurs to operation above 1.5 MHz, bands then unexplored and thought to be of little value. All radio transmissions to that point (including those by the hams) had taken place *below* 1.5 MHz. What was widely thought to be ham radio's banishment to useless frequencies above 1.5 MHz proved to be its greatest asset, however, for the hams soon discovered that the reflective properties of the ionosphere made reliable radio transmission over great distances possible on the shortwave frequencies. Moreover, such transmissions could be accomplished with less power and smaller transmitting facilities than had theretofore been required for long-distance communication. (Ham radio operators continue to be an important element of the modern radio scene.)

Although Marconi had experimented with shortwave spark transmitters as early as 1901, the earliest shortwave broadcaster was Westinghouse engineer Frank Conrad, who experimented with the shortwave rebroadcast of Westinghouse station KDKA in 1921–22. These transmissions were heard in other countries, some of which rebroadcast the programs on their local standard broadcast stations. The long-distance capability of shortwave was a result of the reflective properties of a portion of the ionosphere known then as the Kennelly-Heaviside layer, so named after Britain's Sir Oliver Heaviside and Harvard professor Arthur Kennelly, who had independently suggested the existence of such a phenomenon.

By 1925 some large U.S. stations, including General Electric's WGY, Crosley's WLW, and RCA's WJZ, were simulcasting their regular AM programming on shortwave for experimental purposes. In the United States, it was hoped that shortwave could substitute for the long-distance cables needed to connect AM stations for network broadcasting. The cables were owned by the American Telephone and Telegraph Company (AT&T), which, as a competing broadcaster, was reluctant to lease the cables to others. When AT&T settled its disputes with the radio industry in 1926, ceased its own broadcasting, and agreed to lease its long-distance lines, a commercial rationale for reliance on shortwave as an adjunct to domestic broadcasting was lost.

Several objectives supported the use of shortwave for broadcasting purposes in radio's early days. Most important was basic technical experimentation: determining how far and how reliably signals could be transmitted, and at what times and frequencies. Another objective was to cover remote areas not easily reached by limited-range AM ("medium wave") signals, and thus provide news and entertainment to those not otherwise served by radio.

A third objective was to serve as a unifying national force. In the United States, broadcasting was essentially a private function. The government set technical standards and provided regulation on matters such as frequency, power, and hours of operation, but the broadcasters themselves were private enterprises. In most other countries, however, broadcasting was a government monopoly, and the government the principal broadcaster. (A modified American model was in force in Central and South America, where broadcasting was in mainly private hands, but with government broadcasting permitted as well.) Where the government controlled broadcasting, it was hoped that shortwave would be a useful tool for nation building. In some cases, geography dictated even loftier goals: Britain's "Empire Service," as its early international shortwave broadcasts were known, served as a means of communication with subjects in distant colonies.

The relaying of programs from one country to another by shortwave for rebroadcasting on local AM frequencies was another objective of early shortwave broadcasting. Although in theory such relays would provide a means of enriching local programming, the relays were usually small in scale until World War II, when rebroadcasting took on a propaganda objective. Both Germany and the United States entered into a large number of arrangements with South American stations for the rebroadcasting on local AM frequencies of programs delivered by shortwave.

The use of direct shortwave broadcasting—that is, shortwave programs intended for direct reception by listeners in another country, without local rebroadcasting—also proved a valuable propaganda technique for both sides during World War II. Although the reception of shortwave signals still required special equipment and some technical skill, it was not as complex as in the experimental days. In addition, the directional properties of shortwave—the ability to beam transmissions so as to maximize reception in specified geographic areas—lent itself to shortwave broadcasts specially targeted for particular parts of the globe. Thus Germany had its "U.S.A. Zone," and Italy and Britain had their North American services. The broadcasters made their programs more attractive by using the native language of the target audience.

After the war, the growth of shortwave broadcasting was largely a product of the propaganda needs of Cold War antagonists and the desire of many countries to have a place at the

international broadcasting table and a voice that served national pride. Shortwave broadcasting maintained its usual shape, however: international services presented by government broadcasters in the listener's own language, at convenient times, and on multiple frequencies so as to provide the best reception in the target zone.

Although never as prevalent on the shortwave bands as the government broadcasters, private stations use shortwave as well. In some cases these are private AM stations simulcasting on shortwave simply to increase their range. Private religious organizations have also used shortwave as a means of transmitting their message worldwide. This has been a growing phenomenon, with many religious organizations boasting modern, high-power transmitting plants. First in this category was HCJB in Quito, Ecuador, which has been broadcasting religious programs worldwide since 1931. Most private shortwave broadcasting in the United States is by religious stations.

Although its roots can be traced as far back as the 1936–39 Spanish Civil War, jamming became a serious problem in international shortwave broadcasting after World War II. The intentional transmission of noise on or near the frequency of an offending station by a transmitter located in the listener's area was routine in communist countries and was effective in preventing the reception of unwanted broadcasts. One response to jamming was to broadcast on multiple frequencies in hopes that one would get through. This led to more jamming and rendered significant parts of the shortwave broadcasting bands useless. Jamming largely ceased in 1988–89.

Modern Era

A number of modern trends have affected shortwave broadcasting both positively and negatively. The solid-state revolution greatly simplified the reception of shortwave signals. Frequency drift, a problem for many years in vacuum tube receivers, has disappeared; direct dial tuning has eliminated guesswork in finding the desired frequency; and synchronous detection has improved fidelity. In addition, miniaturization has made possible even portable shortwave receivers with sufficient sensitivity to give good reception. Higher transmitter power has meant stronger shortwave signals, the elimination of jamming has reopened previously unusable band space, and increased international coordination has led to better frequency allocation and less interference.

However, shortwave broadcasting is often underfunded by the parent authorities, and this, along with the absence of a marketplace ethic, has often resulted in unexceptional programming. And despite improvements in the quality of shortwave receivers, several factors, including the superior fidelity of local AM and FM reception, the "second nature" operation of regular radios, the absence of shortwave on car

radios, and the scarcity of widely available information on station schedules, have frustrated broad acceptance of shortwave. In addition, communication with faraway places is no longer a novelty. The ubiquity of information media such as cable TV and the internet makes shortwave broadcasting look quaint.

The number of shortwave broadcasters is on the decline. In addition to the loss of many local stations, some of the major broadcasters, including Radio Moscow, Radio Canada International, and the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), have reduced their output, sometimes drastically, and some countries have left shortwave broadcasting altogether. In some places, shortwave broadcast time has become a commodity, with high-power stations selling transmitter time to unrelated program producers (often in other nations). Although reliance on someone else's broadcasting facility is not without risk, purchase of airtime on a transmitter closer to the target zone can improve reception and eliminate the producer's need to maintain an expensive transmitting plant, while providing the transmitting station with additional revenue. With the demise of the Soviet Bloc and the introduction of market forces, Western stations have been able to purchase airtime in places that were previously off-limits. Thus, a religious station such as Trans World Radio can be heard broadcasting from Albania and the former Soviet Union. "Freedom" programs also rent time on transmitters in countries not directly related to the broadcaster's underlying message; for example, the Democratic Voice of Burma purchases time on transmitters in Norway and Germany, and the Voice of Tibet has broadcast from the Seychelles.

Notwithstanding the hurdles that shortwave broadcasting has faced, its oft-predicted demise does not appear imminent. Experiments in the use of the single-sideband transmitting mode and digital shortwave broadcasting continue the effort

to improve signal quality, lessen interference, and reduce the power necessary to push broadcast signals around the globe on shortwave.

JEROME S. BERG

See also BBC World Service; Cold War Radio; Ham Radio; International Radio Broadcasting; Jamming; Propaganda by Radio; Radio in the American Sector; Radio Free Asia; Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty; Radio Luxembourg; Radio Martí; Radio Monte Carlo; Radio Moscow; Radio Sawa/Middle East Radio Network; Religion on Radio; Vatican Radio; World War II and U.S. Radio

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Siemering, William 1934-

U.S. Public Radio Executive and Producer

Author of the Statement of Purpose of National Public Radio (NPR) and NPR's first program director, Bill Siemering is widely regarded as the philosopher and conscience of contemporary public radio in the United States. He defined a future for public radio in the late 1960s based on a firm foundation in educational radio's traditions.

Origins

Siemering's parents had toured on the Chautauqua circuit in the late 1920s until radio killed the movement in the early 1930s. The Chautauqua shows toured small towns in the United States, bringing entertainment, culture, inspiration, and

education to the largely isolated residents. When radio supplanted the touring shows, Siemering later believed, educational radio picked up their mission. When his parents settled in Wisconsin in 1934, rural Americans were receiving much the same sort of stimulation and diversion from the radio stations operated by state universities in the Midwest. Indeed, the family moved into a stone farmhouse literally in the shadow of the transmitting towers of the University of Wisconsin radio station, WHA, just south of Madison.

In his student days at the university, Siemering joined WHA's part-time staff and was immersed in the "Wisconsin Idea" of university outreach and public service. (He reminded public radio aficionados many years later that the first dictionary listing for "broadcast" refers to farmers throwing seeds in a wide circle, confident that some will take root but never certain about which ones or where.) This romantic rural vision of broadcasting met a gritty urban reality in 1962 when Siemering became manager of WBFO, the FM radio station of the State University of New York (SUNY) at Buffalo. He set out to do for a contemporary urban population what the traditional land-grant university stations had done for rural residents. Siemering saw the radio station as a potential link between the involved university and the community it served. "Public broadcasting can no longer be content as a refreshing cultural oasis," he said. "The emphasis must now be on solutions; how the individual can become politically involved to effect change."

To foster understanding between the races and to provide a voice for Buffalo's minority community, Siemering set up a storefront studio and provided airtime for volunteer broadcasters from poor neighborhoods. When the inevitable student strike to protest the Vietnam War hit the SUNY campus and 300 police moved in, he made the station a forum for discussion of the issues surrounding the strike. To the traditional authority of academics and journalists, Siemering added the unfiltered views of participants from all sides of the controversy. He saw a United States in which people were becoming compartmentalized, selecting those sources for their information that reinforced their existing beliefs. Public broadcasting, he said, should be an information source in which diverse groups could put their faith. He chastised both sides in the Vietnam War debate for avoiding meaningful discussion. Both sides, he wrote, feared that "discourse would modify, or in the eyes of some, weaken or compromise a position which has all the righteousness of a fundamentalist religion." The station's attitude was that all sides represented perspectives worth listening to: "We assumed they had a respectable point of view; our attitude was more like that of a counselor trying to have an individual share his perception of reality than an interrogating journalist."

Elected by fellow managers to the organizing board of National Public Radio in 1969, Siemering became the Thomas Jefferson of the new enterprise, capturing in eloquent words

the thoughts of his colleagues, which he had done much to shape by his example in Buffalo:

National Public Radio . . . will regard the individual differences among men with respect and joy rather than derision and hate; it will celebrate the human experience as infinitely varied rather than vacuous and banal; it will encourage a sense of active constructive participation, rather than apathetic helplessness. . . .

The programs will enable the individual to better understand himself, his government, his institutions, and his national and social environment so he can intelligently participate in effecting the process of change. . . .

The total service should be trustworthy, enhance intellectual development, expand knowledge, deepen aural aesthetic enjoyment, increase the pleasure of living in a pluralistic society and result in a service to listeners which makes them more responsive, informed human beings and intelligent, responsible citizens of their communities and the world.

Within a year, Siemering had moved to Washington as NPR's first program director, assigned the task of implementing his ideals, particularly in the form of NPR's initial offering, *All Things Considered*. Almost from the beginning, his philosophical approach clashed with bureaucratic necessities. Management seeking concrete plans were not reassured by phrases like, "Let's all hold hands and run a race." Yet it was exactly his humane philosophy that inspired much of the initial NPR staff and the emerging public radio family. He hired staff more on the basis of personal chemistry than professional experience, and his participatory management style relied on inspiration rather than direction. The results were both exciting and chaotic.

All Things Considered got off to a shaky start: occasionally brilliant, often less than competent. Ultimately the program found its stride, and it was at about that point when, to the shock of most staff and certainly Siemering himself, he was fired in December of 1972. The timing of the dismissal confounded him, although the underlying reason did not. From his first day on the job, his poetic operating style had bewildered and frustrated the NPR president and top management, who concluded after two years that his style would not change. Despite his rather brief tenure as head of programming, however, Siemering's influence on the institution endured. Many were inspired by his ideas and personality long after he departed. Even those who did not agree with his vision had to accept it as the point of departure from which NPR would evolve.

Siemering continued to work in public radio for 20 years after leaving NPR, holding leadership positions at Minnesota Public Radio and in Philadelphia, where he nurtured *Fresh Air* into a national program. Ultimately he was given what seemed

a perfect assignment for him when he was made executive producer of the documentary series *Soundprint*, which was designed to showcase the best work of the most creative producers in the public radio system. The father of *All Things Considered* and *Fresh Air* had a third child, one in which quality and creativity would prevail, where his ability to inspire would find an appreciative audience. Even *Soundprint* faced practical realities, however, and after five years more pragmatic leadership replaced him.

In 1993, the MacArthur Foundation selected Siemering as recipient of one of its coveted Genius fellowships, providing him with a stipend to pursue his interests. He used the opportunity to work with the emerging democratic radio systems in South Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe, and the former Soviet Union. He continued his international work after the MacArthur fellowship ended and well into his "retirement."

JACK MITCHELL

See also All Things Considered; Fresh Air; Minnesota Public Radio; National Public Radio; Public Radio since 1967; Soundprint; Stamberg, Susan; Wertheimer, Linda; WHA and Wisconsin Public Radio

William Siemering. Born in Sun Prairie, Wisconsin, 26 October 1934. Attended University of Wisconsin, Madison, B.S. 1956,

M.S. 1960; station manager, WBFO-FM, Buffalo, New York, 1962–70; became first director of programming, National Public Radio (NPR), 1970–72; noted for writing NPR's mission statement; founding member of NPR's board of directors; creator of NPR's *All Things Considered*; producer/reporter/manager, KCCM, Morehead, Minnesota, 1973–77; vice president of programming, Minnesota Public Radio, St. Paul, 1977–78; manager and vice president, WHYF-FM, Philadelphia, 1978–87; executive producer, *Soundprint*, WJHU-FM, Baltimore, Maryland, 1987–92; president, International Center for Journalists. Received Edward R. Murrow Award, 1986; MacArthur Foundation "Genius" Fellowship, 1993–98.

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Siepmann, Charles A. 1899–1985

U.S. (British-Born) Radio Critic, Author, and Educator

Co-author of the Federal Communications Commission's (FCC) controversial "Blue Book" program policy statement and author of two important postwar books on American radio broadcasting, Siepmann was a strong advocate for exploiting the educational and public service potential in radio and later in television.

Charles A. Siepmann was born and educated in England and spent most of his first four decades in that country. After an education in the classics (interrupted by service with the British Army's Royal Field Artillery on the Italian front in 1917–1918), he graduated from Oxford's Keble College in 1922. While in college and soon thereafter, he worked with Brown Shipley near London. For three further years, he was a housemaster at a British Prisons reform school for delinquent boys.

The important turning point to the second phase in Siepmann's career—practical experience in radio broadcasting—came in the fall of 1927, when he joined the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), then just five years old and in only its second year of operating as a state-supported service. Under the firm direction of its director general, Sir John Reith, the BBC was already making an important impression in Britain and elsewhere in defining what public service radio could provide. Siepmann's next dozen years with the BBC, in a series of progressively more responsible roles, firmly defined his mindset concerning the positive benefits of public service radio broadcasting.

He began as a deputy to the director of the BBC's adult education section, rising to director in 1929. After the two sections were amalgamated, he became director of talks in 1932.

As Asa Briggs writes, "Under Siepmann's general direction, the reorganized Talks Branch settled down to plan some of the liveliest talks in the BBC's history" (see Briggs, vol. 2). After rising tensions on political and organizational matters in the Talks Branch, Siepmann was shifted to a newly created post, director of regional relations, in mid-1935. Six months later, after a careful study, he produced an important assessment of regional transmissions "in which for the first time an official of the BBC fully explored the social and cultural aspects of regional broadcasting" (Briggs, vol. 2). This marked the beginning of his own understanding of and appreciation for local, rather than only centralized, program planning. For his last three years at the BBC, until 1939, Siepmann was director of BBC program planning and a member of the BBC's Control Board. His final role was to assist the BBC in planning for its informational and related roles in the event of what seemed an increasingly likely European war.

The remainder of Siepmann's life was spent largely in the United States. He had first visited the U.S. in 1937 with the support of a Rockefeller Foundation grant to study how U.S. universities utilized radio. He returned two years later as a lecturer and assistant to President James Conant at Harvard University, serving from November 1939 until he entered government service in 1942, the same year he became a naturalized American citizen. Siepmann's wartime government work applied his knowledge of radio to special wartime needs. He worked first with the radio division of the short-lived Office of Facts and Figures and then in various posts with the Office of War Information (OWI), concluding the war as director of OWI's Oriental Broadcasting Section, based in San Francisco.

Siepmann is perhaps best remembered today for what came next—several months' work as a consultant for the FCC in 1945. Working closely with FCC staff members, he authored some of the text of a landmark FCC report issued in March 1946: *Public Service Responsibilities of Broadcast Licensees*, which was quickly dubbed the "Blue Book" after its cover color. The Blue Book was a scathing critique of the program and advertising practices of selected commercial radio stations in the 1939–44 period and became the center of a long-lasting controversy between the industry and its regulators.

He paralleled his government work with an extended and more personal argument in *Radio's Second Chance* (1946), his first full-length book. Siepmann concluded that although the American system of radio was "basically sound" and had much to offer, it could do much more by offering a broader spectrum of content in addition to music and entertainment. He suggested the developing FM service as one means of reinventing American radio to serve a wider public interest, an image drawn in considerable part from his public-affairs program experience with the prewar BBC. He called for more talks and discussions, more local programs, and a clearer separation of advertising from programming.

In 1946 Siepmann moved into the third, longest, and final phase of his career, this time as a university academic. Appointed a professor of education, he soon became chairman of New York University's department of communications, a post he held for more than two decades. In addition to teaching and other university duties, he published widely in both research journals and magazines of opinion, writing about public policy concerns in both radio and television. He also consulted briefly with the Canadian government's Massey Commission, undertaking a content analysis of the country's network radio programming in 1949 that appeared as an appendix in the commission's final report two years later.

Siepmann's *Radio, Television, and American Society* (1950) became an influential college textbook that remained in widespread use for many years. Perhaps his definitive statement of what broadcasting was and might be within the U.S. context, the book's chapters were divided into two parts. The first several chapters were devoted to a description of the United States and other systems of broadcasting, and those in the second part dealt at considerable length with the "social implications" of broadcasting. Writing at the dawn of commercial television, he emphasized the likely impact of video on radio and other media and argued again that although the U.S. system was good, it could be made still better by providing a broader choice of programs, especially more public service content.

In the early 1950s, Siepmann's attention turned almost totally to television's role in education, which Siepmann made the subject of several articles in *The Nation* and elsewhere; of a UNESCO-published study (1952) describing early American efforts to develop television's educational potential; and of his last book, *TV and Our School Crisis* (1958), on how television might help the educational crisis, which won a Stanton award. On his retirement from New York University, he taught for a few additional years at nearby Sarah Lawrence College before his final retirement in 1971.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Blue Book; Critics; Education about Radio; Office of War Information; Public Service Broadcasting

Charles Arthur Siepmann. Born in Bristol, England, 10 March 1899. Attended Oxford University, B.A., 1922; served in British Royal Field Artillery, 1917–18; worked for Brown Shipley and Co., 1920–24; housemaster and education officer, British Prisons Service, 1924–27; worked for British Broadcasting Corporation, 1927–39; lecturer, Harvard University, 1939–42; became naturalized U.S. citizen, 1942; consultant and deputy director, Office of War Information, 1942–45; consultant, Federal Communications Commission (FCC), 1945–46; drafted FCC publication *Public Services Responsibilities of Broadcast Licensees*, 1946; chairman, Department of Communications, New York University, 1946–

68; chairman, New York Civil Liberties Union, 1956–60; professor, Sarah Lawrence College, 1968–71. Received Rockefeller Foundation Fellowship, 1937; first Frank Stanton Award for Meritorious Research on the Media of Mass Communications, 1958. Died in London, 19 March 1985.

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Radio's Second Chance, 1946

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Silent Nights

Enabling Distant Listening

The concept of *silent nights* is unique to American radio broadcasting in the early 1920s. Imagine a time when radio stations went off the air for two days because a president had died: it happened in August 1923, when, out of respect for the late President Harding, numerous stations voluntarily left the air until after his funeral. In the early 1920s, radio stations might also take a day off for a major holiday. A station could shut down because normal hours of operation were still very limited. No stations broadcast 24 hours a day yet—in fact, few were on for more than 4 hours, usually just in the evening. Even if a local station were broadcasting, static and interference from other stations might keep listeners from enjoying the entertainment.

In 1920, when regular broadcasting began in the United States, there were only a handful of stations on the air, and they shared a common frequency—360 meters (about 833 kilohertz). Sharing time was not yet an issue. By mid-1922, however, there were over 150 stations, and to have them all share one frequency was impossible. Trying to offer a solution, the government opened another frequency—400 meters (750 kilohertz). It was left to government radio inspectors to seek compromise with the stations to determine the times during which each would broadcast. Broadcast historian Erik Barnouw notes that in Los Angeles there were as many as 23 stations sharing one frequency at any given time.

And then came the idea of silent nights. It probably seemed like a good idea at the time. Stations in a city would voluntarily remain silent for several hours or for an entire evening, thus enabling radio fans to listen in to other cities and receive dis-

tant stations. Some cities also used the silent night concept to reduce interference, because with so many stations occupying only two frequencies, reception was getting worse and worse. From late 1922 to the mid-1925, stations grappled with the problem and tried various versions of silent nights. Some cities (such as Boston) couldn't seem to agree on it, so stations would suspend operation for each other if one station had a special broadcast planned; individual stations also agreed to stay silent one night a week to allow other stations more time on the air, but gradually this plan was abandoned. In Minneapolis, according to the *Morning Tribune* (6 October 1923), a "quiet hour" was chosen rather than an entire evening, but this idea also ran into trouble when a major event occurred during the time that was supposed to be the quiet hour.

Silent nights seem to have received the most support in Chicago. According to Barnouw, by 1923 Chicago stations voted to have Monday evenings after 7 P.M. as their silent night. In fact, Chicago was quite organized in its efforts. The Chicago Broadcasters Association sent out a very detailed press release to the major newspapers in early October of 1925 explaining why member stations had voted to continue with their silent night even though many other cities had tried it and given up. The Chicago Broadcasters Association believed that local listeners wanted to hear stations in other cities, and they felt they could bring about goodwill by continuing to make this possible. Atlanta, Kansas City, San Francisco, and Dallas were other cities that experimented with a silent night.

Unfortunately, silent nights didn't solve the problem. Although having stations voluntarily go off the air pleased

those people listening for distant stations (called “DXers”) the overall problems of crowding and interference were not alleviated by one city’s stations going silent for several hours once a week. Also, even in cities where one night was agreed upon, it didn’t take long for one or more stations to refuse to cooperate, and soon things were back to where they had begun. The Department of Commerce opened more of what became the AM band in 1923 and 1924, but the result was that even more stations came on the air, and radio columnists were once again noting complaints from listeners regarding poor reception.

By 1926–27 network broadcasting and paid advertising were becoming more common, and stations could no longer afford a night without revenue. The idea of silent nights, as noble as it may have been, became increasingly rare. In late 1927 even Chicago finally abandoned it, with station owners admitting that as much as they wanted to allow fans to hear

distant stations, they also wanted to make a living, and they couldn’t do that by staying silent. The days of shutting down for a holiday or going off the air to benefit the DXers were over, for radio had become a business and would be run like one.

DONNA L. HALPER

See also DXers/DXing

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Simon, Scott 1952–

U.S. Public Radio Journalist and Host

Scott Simon has since 1985 served as host of National Public Radio’s (NPR) *Weekend Edition Saturday*, a two-hour morning show known for its offbeat take on the past week’s news events intermixed with aurally distinctive long-form feature pieces.

Simon credits the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), Edward R. Murrow’s broadcasts, and his family’s show business background as early influences on his career in radio journalism. While working for Chicago public television station WTTW, Simon began filing stories as a freelancer for NPR in the wake of the death of Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley in 1976; he eventually became the full-time Chicago bureau chief for the radio network. Simon first came to national attention for his coverage of an American Nazi Party rally. Simon’s report deftly edited the sounds coming from the rally organizers, the counterdemonstrators, and even the apathetic, creating for listeners a three-dimensional account of the 1978 Chicago event unrivaled by any other media report. Later assignments moved Simon to NPR headquarters in Washington, D.C., where he specialized in covering wars and human rights.

NPR created *Weekend Edition* in November 1985 as a showcase for Simon’s talents and as a symbol of NPR’s re-emergence after a period of financial difficulty. The Saturday morning show quickly earned critical approval from adults dissatisfied with commercial television’s competing lineup of

programming designed for children. In an interview, Simon names three main factors that have given his show staying power over the years. First, the show is not news-driven but rather news-intensive. For example, the show is flexible enough to cover breaking news, but it is also more reflective, with longer features than NPR’s daily radio news programs, such as *Morning Edition*, typically have. Second, Simon credits the regular cast of characters who contribute to the show, such as entertainment critic Elvis Mitchell and political news veteran Daniel Schorr. Finally, Simon says that staff of *Weekend Edition Saturday* do not run story ideas by focus groups but instead try to find interesting stories that are often overlooked by other media.

Independent observers also credit Simon’s signature style as the key to the longevity of *Weekend Edition Saturday*. Like Garrison Keillor, Scott Simon’s style of presentation is distinctive. His soft-spoken voice, somewhat high-pitched by commercial radio standards, is capable of conveying subtle emotional emphasis, especially when powered by his skillful writing, which colleagues have described as being among the best in broadcasting. Indeed, the show gives Simon a weekly slot for commentary, which is known within NPR as the “music cue” because of the music used as a bridge after the feature. Simon’s commentaries often speak to overnight news developments, because he frequently works on his scripts until

very close to airtime. In 1989 Simon won a George Foster Peabody Award for his radio essays and commentaries, which are often the subject of listener mail.

Simon's writing kindles audience members' attention in part because of his willingness to discuss his personal views. This attitude also fuels Simon's critics, who praise journalistic objectivity and see Simon's injection of his personality into the broadcast as being at odds with that aim. An example is Simon's Quaker faith: though raised in a Catholic-Jewish household, Simon is affiliated with the Society of Friends. His strong views on the death penalty, alcoholic beverages, and human rights are well known to listeners. While respecting the notion of objectivity, Simon believes it is important for journalists to have opinions and to be willing to stand publicly for issues of conscience. Addressing critics, Simon points out that he was a respected war correspondent and covered military engagements fairly despite the conflict with his religious beliefs.

In August 1992, Simon went on hiatus from NPR and hosted National Broadcasting Company (NBC) Television's revamped weekend *Today* morning programs. By all accounts, Simon's first shows were awkward and riddled with technical mistakes. Contributing to the problem were miscasting with his cohost and Simon's discomfort with the soft news features that the television show's producers wanted. After disagreements with management about the direction of the show, Simon returned within a year to host NPR's *Weekend Edition Saturday*. Since NBC, Simon's most frequent television appearances have been on the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS). In 1997 he narrated a documentary, *Affluenza*, reviews of which again focused on Simon's personality. One reviewer described *Affluenza* as Simon's sermon about Americans' wasteful consumption habits. To less controversy, Simon co-anchored segments of PBS's millennium celebration coverage.

Simon's fascination with Chicago's sports teams is a frequent topic of conversation on *Weekend Edition Saturday* and the subject of Simon's autobiographical *Home and Away: Memoir of a Fan*.

Despite his long association with public radio, Simon maintains he is not a "radiohead." He sees himself primarily as a communicator and remains loyal to public broadcasting because of his conviction that good journalism, like the best

work of Edward R. Murrow, should challenge the audience. Reflecting on the state of contemporary commercial radio, Simon says NPR alone offers him that opportunity.

A. JOSEPH BORRELL

See also National Public Radio

Scott Simon. Born in Chicago, Illinois, 16 March 1952. Attended the University of Chicago; joined National Public Radio (NPR) as chief of Chicago Bureau, 1977; became host of NPR's *Weekend Edition Saturday*, 1985; took special leave from *Weekend Edition Saturday* to cover Kosovo War for NPR, 1999, and the war in Iraq, 2003. Received Unity Award in Media, 1978; Major Armstrong Award, 1979; Emmy for television documentary, 1982; Silver Cindy Award, 1986; Robert F. Kennedy Journalism Award, 1986; George Foster Peabody Award, 1989; DuPont-Columbia University Award, 1992; Presidential End Hunger Award.

Radio Series

1985– *Weekend Edition*, later known as *Weekend Edition Saturday*

Television Series

Weekend Today, 1992–93; *Coming and Going*, 1994; *Life on the Internet*, 1996

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Simulcasting

As television replaced radio in the 1950s, many previously successful network radio programs shifted to television. For a time, some television programs simultaneously aired their audio portion on network radio stations. Although radio listeners were sometimes annoyed by performers' references to images seen by the television viewer but invisible to the radio listener, the simulcast broadcast, with visual references, often provided a program incentive for the radio listener to purchase a television set. Music and variety programs were especially favored for radio simulcast because there was little or no loss of content for the radio listener. As television grew in popularity, simulcasting of television audio on radio declined.

A far more common form of simulcasting that went on for years involved duplication of AM programming on FM stations. As FM stations began going on the air in the 1940s, FM stations often provided 100 percent duplication of all network programs supplied to an AM sister station. Most new FM outlets were owned by and co-located with AM stations. The former nearly always carried the latter's programs. Broadcasters claimed they were trying to assist the new medium with popular programs from the old, but in fact the chief reason was that because of FM's small audiences, extra program expense made little sense. In reality, of course, simulcasting created little incentive for listeners to purchase an FM receiver. The public saw little advantage in buying an FM receiver to pick up programs they were already receiving from an AM station. About 80 percent of the FM stations signing on the air in the late 1940s were co-owned with an AM station—and most simulcast.

Duplication of programming by FM stations began to decline only in July 1964 when the first rules limiting such practice went into effect. The Federal Communications Commission specified that in markets of 100,000 residents or more, at least half the programming aired on an FM station had to be original. Full implementation of the nonduplication rule took place through the late 1960s, and the rule was extended to small-market stations by the 1970s. Although duplication did not always mean simulcasting, simultaneous delivery of programs from an AM station on an FM station was the most common form of duplication. The nonduplication rule also ended the practice of recording AM programs for playback in a nonsimulcast manner. Although widely criticized by broadcasters at the time (who would have to provide separate programming at considerable expense), the end of simulcasting soon provided a huge boost to FM popularity and a concomitant increase in demand for FM receivers.

In the late 1990s, simulcasting took on a very different meaning. Passage of the Telecommunications Act of 1996 allowed operation of multiple radio stations by a single owner

in individual markets. Some group owners have used simulcasting to extend the reach of successful urban stations to additional stations in outlying suburban areas. This strategy has also been used to introduce news or talk programs found on AM stations to listeners accustomed to FM stations. Rather than hoping to convince listeners to change their car radio programming to the AM band, a simulcast allows the listener to find the same programming on FM.

A closely related use of simulcasting has been to create a local "network" by purchasing two or more stations, usually FM outlets licensed to communities outside a major metropolitan area, and to simulcast programs on both. When the stations simulcasting the signal are not of sufficient power to cover the market, the simulcast enables listeners to change to a sister "network" station as the listener travels from the coverage area of one station into the coverage area of another.

Simulcasting has also returned as a promotional vehicle for radio stations and music video channels. Radio stations have simulcast the audio of concerts or music videos appearing on cable program services such as Music Television (MTV), Video Hits One (VH1), and Country Music Television (CMT). The simulcast enables the listener to enjoy the visual aspect of the program through cable while hearing a stereo broadcast of the same program via a radio station.

Simulcasting has also become a revenue source for some radio stations. These stations air the audio portion of a local television station's newscast either as paid programming or in exchange for station promotional mention by the television station. In some markets, group owners of radio and television stations in the same market regard simulcasting as a mutually beneficial promotion for both operations.

GREGORY G. PITTS

See also FM Radio; Programming Strategies and Processes

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Singers on Radio

From the beginning of radio broadcasting, the singing voice has been a staple. While some early microphones had trouble adequately carrying powerful voices (the carbon powder would congeal, cutting off sound transmission), as technology improved, vocal music and musical variety became—and have remained—radio’s program norm.

Origins

Many pioneer stations used local singers who craved audiences and would gladly perform free for the honor of singing on radio. Early announcers were often selected for their singing ability, as they could be called upon to fill unused air time at a moment’s notice. (There were pianos in many early studios for just this purpose.) When WEAJ dedicated its New York City studio on Broadway in 1923, the broadcast featured an assortment of singers ranging from opera stars to popular songsters. Indeed, well over 60 percent of radio air time in the 1920s was devoted to some form of music, often singing.

Reginald Fessenden engineered the first broadcast of a human voice—as distinguished from transmissions of Morse code—in December 1906. His broadcast included a recording of Handel’s “Largo,” a tenor aria from the opera *Scipio*. Fessenden himself sang a Christmas song, thus becoming the first person to sing live on radio. Fessenden’s audience was made up mostly of radio operators at sea in the North Atlantic off the coast of Brant Rock, Massachusetts. About two months later, in February 1907, vaudeville performer Eugenia Farrar became the first woman to sing live on radio when she performed “I Love You Truly” as part of a similar broadcasting experiment by radio pioneer Lee de Forest.

It would be another 13 years before radio broadcasting as it is known today had its true beginning. But from the earliest days of radio, listeners left little doubt about what they wanted to hear. For example, in 1922 listeners responding to a poll by WBAY (later WEAJ) in New York City said that music was what they most enjoyed hearing on radio. But their tastes in music were widely divergent, just as they are today. Various factions wanted to hear dance music, symphony concerts, old-time ballads, religious hymns, and brass band selections,

among other styles. One decision that played a large role in determining the type of music and singers to be heard on the radio came following World War I when Congress decided that radio broadcasting would be a commercial enterprise. Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, who guided the fledgling industry in its earliest days, was aghast: “It is inconceivable that we should allow so great a possibility for service, for news and entertainment, for education and vital commercial purposes, to be drowned in advertising chatter.” However, the decision to support the operation of radio broadcasting through advertising helped to ensure that most of the music broadcast on radio eventually would be popular in nature.

Early radio broadcasters were image-conscious, and operas played a major role in the content of early radio programs. Broadcasts by operatic vocalists and orchestras generated a wider appreciation for “fine music,” often among those who previously had little interest in music of any kind. As classical music impresario Sol Hurok said:

People who own sets look up programs to find out what is being broadcast. They read that an aria from *La Boheme* will be sung that night. They become interested and ask themselves, “What is *La Boheme*?” . . . In this way an interest in music is created which is beneficial because all of the listeners are prospective attendants.

Evidence of this came from the sale of phonograph recordings. Early on, phonograph record manufacturers were hostile to radio, as the sale of records initially dropped noticeably following the emergence of radio. In response, the Victor Talking Machine Company (which would later become part of RCA Victor) kept almost all of its major artists off the air, reasoning that if listeners could hear singers free over the radio, no one would pay for their records.

But by late 1924, more visionary ideas had prevailed. Victor announced “the beginning of a new era in radio broadcasting.” The company would feature its greatest recording artists in a series of radio programs. Every selection was, or soon would be, available on Victor’s prestigious Red Seal label. On New Year’s Day 1925, two of Victor’s most popular singers,

Lucrezia Bori and John McCormack, performed an hour-long program on WEA. The station estimated that 6 million listeners tuned in the broadcast, and within a week, listeners purchased more than 200,000 Bori and McCormack disks. The alliance between the recording industry and radio had been established.

Crooners

The phenomenon of the national pop music star had its beginnings on network radio. On 29 October 1929, only two days after the Wall Street crash known as "Black Tuesday," Rudy Vallee sang "My Time Is Your Time" for the first time as the host of *The Fleischmann Hour* on the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) network. Vallee's greeting, "Heigh-ho, everybody," had already become familiar to New York listeners on WABC and WOR. Soon fan mail was pouring in to NBC, so much so that the network bought the rights to "The Maine Stein Song" and gave it to Vallee to record. The song became a huge hit and earned what the *New York Times* described as "a small fortune" for NBC.

Vallee remained a popular entertainer well into the television era. He was the first well-known exponent of the singing style known as "crooning," which employed a soft, sensual style in contrast to the booming, straightforward manner of singing that had existed before electronic amplification. Crooning elicited strong attacks from traditionalists such as Cardinal William Henry O'Connell of the Boston Roman Catholic Archdiocese, who strongly denounced crooning in the January 1932 edition of *Literary Digest*, calling it

Immoral and imbecile slush. A degenerate, low-down sort of interpretation of love. A love song is a beautiful thing in itself . . . But listen again with this new idea in your head and see if you do not get a sensation of revolting disgust at a man whining a degenerate song, which is unworthy of any American man. . . . It is a sensuous, effeminate luxurious sort of paganism. . . . Think of the boys and girls who are brought up with that idea of music.

But as author Thomas DeLong explains in *The Mighty Music Box* (1980), crooning was a natural consequence of technology: "In essence, it was an adaptation to the techniques of radio broadcasting. The highly sensitive mike demanded a different mode of vocal production. Singing into the delicate carbon microphones compelled artists to use soft, almost caressing tones lest a loud or high note shatter a transmitter tube."

The Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) soon had a large stable of crooners, including Morton Downey, Will Osborne, Kate Smith, Ruth Etting, the Boswell Sisters, and Art Jarrett. The network featured one or two 15-minute song programs

during every hour of evening programming. NBC had its own programs with Russ Columbo, Little Jack Little, Jack Fulton, Jane Froman, and the Pickens Sisters.

But crooning found its ultimate expression in Bing Crosby's vocal stylings. Crosby had already found some measure of success as a vocalist with the Paul Whiteman orchestra, singing in a group called the Rhythm Boys. As part of Whiteman's band, they had sung on a CBS program, but Crosby came to the attention of CBS's young president, William Paley, when he repeatedly heard a recording of Crosby and the Rhythm Boys performing "I Surrender, Dear" while he was on board a cruise ship. He personally signed Crosby to a CBS contract and gave him a nightly program opposite NBC's *Amos 'n' Andy* in the fall of 1931.

Singers Eclipse Dance Bands

Until this time, instrumental music performed by dance bands had enjoyed at least as much popularity on radio as vocal music. If a bandleader wished to include a vocal within an arrangement, one of the band members, often the leader himself, would step forward to sing a verse. The quality of the singing was of little concern. But after Bing Crosby shot to stardom, the singer of popular songs on the radio became as important as the dance band, and bands began to feature star vocalists. The big bands remained extremely popular, but they were fronted by popular singers such as Jo Stafford, Rosemary Clooney, Doris Day, Dick Haymes, Tex Beneke, and the young Frank Sinatra. Like Sinatra, who sang with the Tommy Dorsey band, many of the singers came to eclipse the popularity of their bands and went on to become stars in their own right. Crosby's interpretive ability also brought a new appreciation for the words of the song, and as time went on, a musical performance without the singing of a song's lyrics became increasingly rare.

Sinatra's popularity as a singer blossomed in 1943 and 1944 on *Your Hit Parade*, an NBC program that featured an ensemble of male and female singers performing the 15 most popular songs of the week. His ardent following soon surpassed those of Vallee and Crosby at their peaks. Sinatra returned for a second stint on *Your Hit Parade* from 1947 to 1949, by which time song stylists had come to dominate popular music on the radio. In a time when several recorded versions of a popular song might compete for popularity on the airwaves, the *Your Hit Parade* stable of singers, popular in their own right, would present their own versions of the songs.

Royalty Fight Brings Diversity

A struggle over the payment of royalties to composers of music broadcast on radio had the unintended consequence of bringing new musical styles to the medium. The American

Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers (ASCAP) and the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) clashed over a new contract that was to take effect in 1941. The broadcasters felt that the fees being demanded were far too high. When discussions over a new contract reached an impasse, the NAB created its own performing rights society, Broadcast Music Incorporated (BMI). Stations stopped playing ASCAP songs and played only BMI or public-domain tunes. BMI's creation had opened the airwaves to new styles of music. ASCAP represented the traditional popular-music composers of Broadway, Tin Pan Alley, and Hollywood. BMI opened the door to the composers of regional music—rhythm and blues, country and western, and eventually rock and roll. As a result, the talents of songwriters and singers such as Fats Domino, Chuck Berry, and Hank Williams eventually found a place on the air.

New Song Styles

Even before BMI opened the airwaves to new, sometimes earthier styles of music, black singers had been prominent on radio. Although civil rights leaders criticized the creators of radio comedies and dramas for allowing blacks to perform only in limited and often demeaning roles, numerous black singers performed on sponsored programs. As early as the 1930s, the Mills Brothers, the Ink Spots, and Louis Armstrong had network programs. Although many advertisers shied away from sponsoring programs featuring African-Americans, Ethel Waters had a program sponsored by the American Oil Company, and Paul Robeson was the featured singer on General Electric and Eastman Kodak programs. At the beginning of World War II in Europe, when Nazi oppression focused attention on the broader implications of racism and intolerance, Robeson sang the "Ballad for Americans" on the CBS series *Pursuit of Happiness*. He received a 15-minute ovation from the studio audience that continued after the program left the air. In his commanding bass voice, Robeson performed the song, which proclaimed the values of freedom and human rights, on radio programs several times during World War II. Gospel music sung by black choirs and smaller vocal groups such as the Southernaires also received a significant amount of airtime during this period.

But radio also perpetuated unflattering racial stereotypes with offerings such as the minstrel program *Plantation Nights* on KFI in Los Angeles, in which "the imaginary locale is an old Southern plantation where darkies come to serenade the owner." As with music sung by African-Americans, country and western music had a place on radio prior to the dispute with ASCAP. Network radio carried many Western programs that were especially popular with children. Many of these programs featured singing cowboys. Two of the most popular, Gene Autry and Roy Rogers, had long-running network radio

programs. *The Grand Ole Opry*, a live, Saturday night barn dance style program from Nashville, debuted on WSM in 1925. *The National Barn Dance* on WLS in Chicago became the first such program to be broadcast to a national audience. Both featured a host of new singers on radio.

Postwar Radio

By the end of the 1940s, radio had a powerful new competitor—television. As network radio lost more and more of its audience to the new medium in the early 1950s, it also lost many of its biggest stars, such as Bing Crosby, to network television. Obviously, a new localized programming format was needed if radio was to survive. The answer was "Top 40," a format that first emerged in 1949 at KOHW in Omaha, Nebraska, and at KTIX in New Orleans in 1953 under the guidance of Todd Storz. The fast-paced format was based on repetitious playing of the most popular hit records of the moment, the "Top 40." Gordon McLendon is credited with giving the Top 40 format much of its brash, flashy quality at about the same time at KLIF in Dallas.

The foundation for the Top 40 format had been laid by WNEW in New York. Under the leadership of station manager Bernice Judis, WNEW had eschewed network programming, building its success on local news and the playing of popular records since going on the air in 1934. On one of its programs, *Make Believe Ballroom*, Martin Block created the illusion of a live performance in a dance hall with a "revolving bandstand," as he played records by various groups and singers.

In New Orleans, Storz's original Top 40 format originally was a broad-based, adult-oriented format featuring hits by traditional pop singers such as Perry Como and Patti Page. Gradually, as the 1950s unfolded, the new, energetic, sexually charged music called "rock and roll" began to replace such conventional performers. Soon the growing population of young people who were its natural constituency found a messiah in Elvis Presley. When Presley hit it big in 1956 with "Heartbreak Hotel" and "Don't Be Cruel," the rock and roll landslide soon hit Top 40 radio, which quickly became synonymous with the new music. The denigration of crooning 25 years earlier paled in comparison with the criticism of rock and roll singers. But Storz defended Top 40 radio's right to play rock and roll music in the May 1958 edition of *U.S. Radio*: "Our desire is that our stations shall please the majority of the people the majority of the time. . . . Our format was built on the premise that it is not within our province to dictate by censorship, programming tastes to the American public."

Many changes have occurred in radio programming since the Top 40 format emerged. FM radio grew in acceptance throughout the 1960s and 1970s. It eventually surpassed the popularity of AM radio, greatly increasing the number of stations on the air and encouraging the development of special-

ized music formats such as urban contemporary and alternative rock. But the voices of singers heard on radio, as during the Top 40 era, continue to emanate from popular recordings.

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See also, in addition to individual formats discussed, Crosby, Bing; Formats; Grand Ole Opry; McLendon, Gordon; National Barn Dance; Recordings and the Radio Industry; Smith, Kate; Storz, Todd; Vallee, Rudy; Your Hit Parade

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Situation Comedy

Fibber McGee trying to get something out of his junk-filled hall closet without starting an avalanche; Amos 'n' Andy caught up in the Kingfish's latest scheme; Jack Benny considering his options when confronted by a mugger with the classic question, "Your money or your life"—these are but a few of the vivid memories from the "golden era" of radio situation comedy. With their offbeat personality flaws, idiosyncratic neighbors, and disrespectful domestic help, these characters were not just friends to their millions of listeners—they were "family."

Defining a Format

"Family" is, in fact, the linchpin of radio situation comedy. Unlike its comedy/variety relative, the "sitcom" retained the recurring cast of the dramatic serial. In fact, historians once labeled programs such as *The Goldbergs*, *Henry Aldrich*, and *The Life of Riley*, which we call situation comedies today, as "comedy dramas," thus emphasizing their dramatic story line.

Each character in the situation comedy is often a two-dimensional parody of one or two human foibles. Listen to any classic radio sitcom and you often find the "drunk," the "tightwad," the "know-it-all," the "dumbbell," and many other stereotypes. These exaggerated personality flaws define each "family member," and determine how that character interacts with the rest of the show's family, and how he or she will deal with this week's adventure. Radio sitcoms are very consistent in basic structure, but they do vary in length. Although many radio sitcoms ran for 15 minutes, most eventually settled into the more popular 30-minute length. A few even stretch to 45 or 60 minutes, but these are rare.

In the simplistic world of the radio sitcom, with its recurring characters, settings, and themes, stories focus on the main character's adventures—be they big or small. Although most stories were about the central personality, episodes occasionally spotlighted secondary characters. Unlike the radio drama, though, the situation comedy played story lines for laughs.

The basic structure of a radio situation comedy is very consistent. The show's regular cast of characters is (re)introduced to the audience. At the same time, the "comfortable" environment of their sitcom world is made clear. Then someone or something upsets the routine, adding instability to this self-contained world. The story line takes the characters through a series of dramatic yet comic adventures, each one building until the climax of the show. Along the way the audience is exposed to "running gags" and a comedy of character that transcends the week's episode. The audience also hears commercials, sometimes performed by the characters and "subtly" embedded into the story. Although not a variety show, the radio sitcom would sometimes rely on such variety staples as musical numbers and celebrity guests. At the end of the comedy drama, the adventure is resolved, and the characters are back to where they started. Change is rarely permanent in the radio sitcom world.

The term *family* is used broadly when describing the sitcom cast of characters. It identifies traditional family members but also friends and coworkers. Any group of people that the main character spends significant amounts of time with and cares a great deal for make up his or her sitcom family. Because of this liberal definition of *family*, the situation comedy might be primarily centered on the home but might just as often gravitate to a social gathering place (such as a bar) or a work environment. Any time a small group of characters could gather together, interact, and share adventures, a situation comedy was born. Radio sitcoms have often appeared in the form of soap operas, adventure programs, science fiction, even as variety shows. In fact, among the earliest sitcoms were the fictional adventures of performers such as Jack Benny and Fred Allen as they went about the day-to-day tasks of putting on their variety shows!

An important characteristic of radio comedy was that the home audience had to imagine certain elements. Radio's lack of a visual element created "theater of the mind," allowing listeners to imagine Jack Benny's clunky old Maxwell car (played by veteran voice actor Mel Blanc) and to assume that the many characters in *Amos 'n' Andy* were actually African-American (when in fact they were initially all portrayed by two white actors, Freeman Gosden and Charles Correll). But in its early days, this radio format proved to be a challenge for its stars. Coming primarily from the vaudeville circuit, radio's comedians were accustomed to interacting directly with their audience, and they often relied on visual as well as verbal humor. The former problem was solved by adding an in-studio audience.

Origins

Both radio comedy/variety and situation comedy programs trace their roots to the days of the touring circuses, burlesque shows, medicine shows, musical reviews, and vaudeville companies that thrived from the late 19th century into the early

20th. Troupes of actors, singers, dancers, poets, and comics—plus an almost infinite variety of more esoteric acts (such as sword swallowers, jugglers, and animal acts)—would take their show on the road, playing in various towns and cities on a predetermined "circuit." The makeup of these troupes may have differed, but their basic components tended to be similar. An introduction by a master of ceremonies, emcee, or troupe manager would be followed by a wide variety of acts strung together with interim commentary by the emcee. This would often build up to a grand finish featuring a more extravagant sketch or a featured humorist or singer of the day. And in most of these forms, the salesman hawking his products—an early example of a program "sponsor"—was one of the more important parts of the show.

The typical nine-act vaudeville bill would usually include as its seventh act a full-stage comedy or drama playlet as a preliminary act to the bill's climactic eighth act—often a famous comedian or vocalist. Not every vaudeville house could afford playlets featuring well-known stars. Consequently, another sort of playlet, one that relied more upon action than upon stars, was developed. Most of these were comedies, and the vaudeville comic playlet became a well-recognized model for stage comedy. These comedies of situation structure are the ancestors of the modern sitcom.

When the radio networks were first looking for talent in the late 1920s, they turned to the vaudeville circuits for acts that might make the transition to an "audio-only" medium. Radio variety was born of this siphoning of vaudeville talent for use on radio. The radio programs usually included one or two hosts, whose presence provided a skeletal structure for the program, which would showcase a variety of acts by both new and established performers. Radio adopted many vaudeville program types. The situation comedy, or "comic playlet of situation," was one of the last formats borrowed from vaudeville, possibly because it did not promote star value as other formats did.

Sitcoms in Radio's Golden Era

Situation comedy premiered nationally during the 1929–30 radio season with *Amos 'n' Andy*. Soon, situation comedies such as *Our Miss Brooks*, *Beulah*, *Leave It to Joan*, *My Favorite Husband*, *The Goldbergs*, and *My Friend Irma* filled the airwaves, and a new genre for a new medium was born.

Many of the earliest radio sitcoms were not much more than a showcase for vaudeville and film comedians who cobbled together bits from their existing bag of tricks. The Marx Brothers' situation comedy *Flywheel, Shyster, and Flywheel*—a Monday night installment in the *Standard Oil Five Star Theater* series on the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) in the early 1930s—is a prime example. Ostensibly a sitcom about the mishaps of three "shyster" lawyers, scripts were

mostly a rehash of gags from the brothers' vaudeville and film performances.

Gradually, though, more and more of the comedy in radio sitcoms was based on character, plot, and story line. A large number of shows in the 1930s straddled the fence between sitcom and variety show. Stars such as Jack Benny "played themselves," and stories were set around their fictional adventures with their equally fictional friends, family, and coworkers. ("Real person" and radio sitcom star Fred Allen maintained a fake feud with Benny for years, although the two admired each other very much in real life.) In the work environment, stories often involved putting on the star's radio variety show; thus the situation comedy was able to sneak in many of the conventions of the variety format. Although Jack Benny's fictional variety show was never actually heard during the sitcom, audiences were treated to performances by guest acts during "rehearsals" that Jack and other characters were involved in "at the studio."

As radio and its audience evolved, so did the quantity and quality of its programs. The situation comedy became one of the staples of 1930s and 1940s radio entertainment. But sitcoms about "real people" were supplanted by the adventures of fictional characters. Stories about *Fibber McGee and Molly*, *Blondie*, and *Our Miss Brooks* soon dominated the airwaves. In another indicator of radio's impact, *Lum 'n' Abner* was set in the fictional town of Pine Ridge, Arkansas, and in 1936 the real Arkansas town of Waters changed its name to Pine Ridge in honor of the show.

Demise of the Radio Situation Comedy

As radio had borrowed from vaudeville, so television borrowed from radio—for both talent and program formats. Television's first situation comedies were "inherited" from radio, beginning with *The Goldbergs* and *The Life of Riley* in 1949. Network television turned to successful formats on radio, partly as a quick fix to find programming and partly to save money. Three-quarters of early television station owners were already radio station owners.

The direct ancestry of radio to television allowed radio to contribute format styles and even entire programs to the new medium. Many programs, such as *The Chesterfield Supper Club* (hosted by Perry Como), were simulcast in an effort to save money and provide programs for the new medium. Popular radio shows were not necessarily picked up by their respective networks' fledgling television franchises. The big-three radio networks soon foresaw that their future was in television, and bidding wars erupted for the most popular radio programs. Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) TV "stole" many popular radio shows from rival NBC's radio programs. NBC retaliated, and the American Broadcasting Companies (ABC) participated—but on a smaller scale. Radio networks became a less important part of the national media picture. Most of their

familiar program formats shifted to television, as did advertiser dollars. Radio eventually evolved into a provider of music, talk, and news.

Many established radio stars, such as Jack Benny, Red Skelton, Bob Hope, and Fred Allen, attempted to make the transition to television. Some were successful, but others were not. There were many advantages for the situation comedy in the new medium. Viewers could now see how characters fit in with their surroundings. More important, thanks to the television camera, gestures and mannerisms assumed a role impossible on radio. However, there were quite a few problems to overcome in the transition. George Burns and Gracie Allen had to throw out their scripts and learn to memorize their complex verbal comedy routines, and cameras had to be placed so they did not block the live audience that Burns and Allen and other performers needed. Ironically, performers who, several decades earlier, had had to learn how to entertain through sound alone now had to relearn how to *appear* before an audience's very eyes and still stay in character.

When *The Jack Benny Show* first aired on television, Benny had several things to overcome. At first he could not decide between an hour format or a half hour, so he settled on 45 minutes for his debut program. Future programs settled into the increasingly popular half-hour mold. Sets had to be designed and built to portray what had been left to the imagination on radio. One-time scenes and elaborate sets, such as Benny's famous vault, had to be deleted because of cost or the inability to create them effectively. But now viewers could *see*, not just hear, Benny's slow burn and his look of malaise. Visuals added a wealth of information for the viewer, but producers had to spend a lot on props, costumes, and set pieces to show us all how cheap Jack was.

One of the biggest changes to a transitioning sitcom occurred on the new television version of *Amos 'n' Andy*. Because the entire cast of characters was black, but many of the roles had been played on radio by white series creators Freeman Gosden and Charles Correll, CBS decided to do a four-year talent search for experienced black comedy actors to portray the roles. Only African-American actors Ernestine Wade and Amanda Randolph were retained from the original radio cast. Like its radio ancestor, the television version of *Amos 'n' Andy* relied on many stereotypical sitcom personalities, including ignorant, naive, and conniving characters. During its run and afterward, many groups, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), protested the wildly popular series because of its negative representation of blacks. In spite of these protests, CBS moved the popular radio show to television, and in 1951 *Amos 'n' Andy* became America's first television sitcom with an all-black cast (it ran for two seasons). The radio version continued but evolved into a quasi-variety show called *The Amos 'n' Andy Music Hall*, which ended in 1955.

By the mid-1950s radio sitcoms—like most network radio formats—had migrated almost completely to television. One strange “reverse crossover” was *My Little Margie*, a sitcom about a well-to-do widower and his 21-year-old daughter, who was intent on “protecting him” from various female suitors. The show premiered on CBS television in June 1952 for a three-month run. NBC ran the series for a few months before it resumed broadcast on CBS in January 1953. At about the same time, the series began producing new episodes for CBS network radio. The television series returned to NBC in September 1953 and stayed there until August 1955. The radio version remained on CBS, but it also ended in 1955.

Only three radio sitcoms, *Our Miss Brooks*, *The Great Gildersleeve*, and *Fibber McGee and Molly*, were still broadcast during the 1955–56 season. *Our Miss Brooks* began on CBS radio in 1948, but it began running on television as well in 1952 with almost the same cast. Both versions of the show ended in 1956. *Gildersleeve*, a character on the *Fibber McGee and Molly* show, spun off into his own radio series in 1941. Although it had a 15-year run on radio, *Gildersleeve* was not popular enough to make the transition to television. *Fibber McGee and Molly*—which aired for 22 years—left NBC radio in 1957, permanently closing the door on network radio’s situation comedy closet. The show reappeared on NBC television for a very short 6-month run in 1959. The characters and situations in the McGee household did not transfer well to the new television neighborhood.

Although radio sitcoms ceased to air nationally in the United States in 1957, the format has not entirely disappeared. Occasionally, comedy dramas have been produced for American public radio. Imports from Canada, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), and other international markets have also made their way to American airwaves. One of the more popular of these was a BBC radio sitcom disguised as a science fiction episodic serial, *The Hitchhiker’s Guide to the Galaxy*. It premiered in Great Britain in 1978 and traveled to American public radio in the early 1980s.

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See also, in addition to performers and programs mentioned in this essay, Comedy; Variety Shows; Vaudeville

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Skelton, Red 1913–1997

U.S. Comedian and Actor

An entertainer whose career extended from vaudeville to television, Red Skelton first gained national prominence on U.S. network radio during the late 1930s and 1940s.

Origins

Richard Bernard Skelton was born in Vincennes, Indiana, in 1913, two months after the death of his father. His mother worked as a cleaning woman and elevator operator while raising her four sons. In 1923, at age ten, young Skelton enjoyed his first taste of the entertainment business when he went backstage with actor Ed Wynn following a performance in Vincennes. Five years later, at age 15, he joined a traveling show and began to develop his many trademark characters as a vaudeville and circus clown. He appeared in the famed Haggen and Wallenbach Circus, the same circus his father had joined during the 1890s. Throughout his teens, his varied jobs included newsboy, traveling medicine show pitchman, and showboat entertainer.

While working at a Kansas City theater in 1930 he befriended an usher, Edna Marie Stilwell, and married her the following year. She became his manager and sidekick, writing some of the original material for their acts even after their marriage ended in 1943.

Radio Years

By 1937 Skelton's stage appearances were gaining national attention. Following a Toronto performance that year, he returned to the United States and appeared as a guest comedian on *The Red Foley Show* on WLW radio in Cincinnati, Ohio (his first radio appearance), and later that year on *The Rudy Vallee Show*, where he continued to appear during 1938. In 1939 he was the headline act on *Avalon Time*, a half-hour network variety show, and in October 1941 was given his own program, *The Red Skelton Show*, also known as *Red Skelton's Scrapbook*, on NBC radio.

Sponsored by Raleigh Cigarettes, the Tuesday night show featured comedy skits and musical numbers by Harriet Hilliard, Wonderful Smith, and the Ozzie Nelson Orchestra. Usually at the center of attention was one of Skelton's many zany characters, including Junior the Mean Widdle Kid ("I dood it," Junior's favorite expression, became a popular national catch phrase in the early 1940s), San Fernando Red, Willie Lump Lump, Clem Kadiddlehopper, Bolivar Shagnasty, J. Newton Numbskull, and Sheriff Deadeye, "the fastest gun in the west." By the end of its second year, *The Red Skelton*

Show was a smashing success, rated second among the national radio audience.

During World War II, Skelton performed at several military bases and munitions plants, and in March 1944 was drafted into the U.S. Army, where he served as a private. Following his discharge in December 1945, he resumed his weekly NBC broadcast with a new supporting cast, including vocalist Anita Ellis and the David Forrester Orchestra. (Harriet Hilliard and the Ozzie Nelson Orchestra had their own NBC show by that time.)

Like many popular NBC radio programs following the war, *The Red Skelton Show* attracted the attention of rival CBS chief William Paley, who lured Skelton to his network in 1949 during a talent raid that also included renowned comedians Jack Benny and Edgar Bergen. Skelton's radio variety show continued on CBS until 1952. With the advent of television, he returned to NBC to host a weekly TV variety show. After two seasons he moved to CBS television. For nearly two decades, from 1951 to 1970, *The Red Skelton Show* enjoyed consistently high audience ratings, ranking among the top 15 prime time network television series for 16 of its 19 seasons on the air.

Typical of Skelton's humor were his exaggerated jokes. "My electric toaster broke down," he once said. "So I repaired it with parts from an airplane. Now when the toast pops out it circles the table twice before coming in for a landing." In addition to radio and television, Skelton appeared in over 40 films, many of them MGM comedies in the 1940s and 1950s. They include *A Southern Yankee*, *Watch the Birdie*, *Whistling in Dixie*, *Whistling in the Dark*, and *Whistling in Brooklyn*, in which Skelton pitches in a baseball game against the Brooklyn Dodgers.

In 1986, 15 years after the cancellation of his television variety program (CBS cited "rising production costs" as the reason for canceling), Skelton accepted the Governors Award of the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences at the Emmy Awards show. His lasting distress over his program's cancellation was evident after the audience had given him a standing ovation for his award. "I want to thank you for sitting down," he said. "I thought you were pulling a CBS and walking out on me." Two years later, he was inducted into the Academy's Television Hall of Fame. He also received the Screen Actors' Guild's Golden Globe Award.

An accomplished artist, Skelton made and sold paintings of clown faces after his television career ended, fetching thousands of dollars. He also supported children's charities, including the Shriner's Crippled Children's Hospital. A foundation bearing his name is based in Vincennes, Indiana, and aids children in need.

Following a lengthy illness Skelton died at a hospital in Rancho Mirage, California, on 17 September 1997, at age 84.

DAVID MCCARTNEY

Richard Bernard "Red" Skelton. Born in Vincennes, Indiana, 18 July 1913. Performed in burlesque and vaudeville from age 15; worked in the circus as a clown; made Broadway debut, 1937; debuted on radio, 1937; debuted on film, 1938; made television debut, 1951. Recipient: 3 Emmy Awards; Screen Actors Guild Achievement Award; Governor's Award, Academy of Television Arts and Sciences; Freedom Foundation Award, 1970; National Commanders Award, American Legion, 1970; Golden Globe Award, 1978. Died in Rancho Mirage, California, 17 September 1997.

Radio Series

- 1937 *The Red Foley Show*
 1937-38 *The Rudy Vallee Show*
 1939 *Avalon Time*
 1941-49 *The Raleigh Cigarette Program* aka *The Red Skelton Show* and *Red Skelton's Scrapbook*
 1949-53 *The Red Skelton Show*

Television Series

- 1951-70 *The Red Skelton Show*

Films

Having Wonderful Time, 1938; *Seeing Red*, 1939; *Flight Command*, 1940; *Whistling in the Dark*, 1941; *The People vs. Dr. Kildare*, 1941; *Lady Be Good*, 1941; *Dr. Kildare's Wedding Day*, 1941; *Whistling in Dixie*, 1942; *Ship Ahoy*, 1942; *Panama Hattie*, 1942; *Maisie Gets Her Man*, 1942;

DuBarry was a Lady, 1943; *Thousand Cheers*, 1943; *Whistling in Brooklyn*, 1943; *I Dood It*, 1943; *Radio Bugs*, 1944; *Bathing Beauty*, 1944; *Ziegfeld Follies*, 1946; *The Show-Off*, 1946; *The Luckiest Guy in the World*, 1946; *Merton of the Movies*, 1947; *The Fuller Brush Man*, 1948; *Southern Yankee*, 1948; *Neptune's Daughter*, 1949; *Three Little Words*, 1950; *Duchess of Idaho*, 1950; *Moments in Music*, 1950; *The Yellow Cab Man*, 1950; *The Fuller Brush Girl*, 1950; *Watch the Birdie*, 1951; *Texas Carnival*, 1951; *Excuse My Dust*, 1951; *Lovely To Look At*, 1952; *The Clown*, 1952; *Half a Hero*, 1953; *The Great Diamond Robbery*, 1953; *Susan Slept Here*, 1954; *Hollywood Goes to War*, 1954; *Around the World in Eighty Days*, 1956; *Public Pigeon No. One*, 1957; *Ocean's Eleven*, 1960; *MGM's Big Parade of Comedy*, 1964; *Those Magnificent Men in Their Flying Machines, or How I Flew from London to Paris in 25 Hours 11 minutes*, 1965; *That's Dancing!*, 1985

Stage

Red Skelton in Concert, 1977

Selected Publications

A Red Skeleton in Your Closet, 1965
Red Skelton's Gertrude and Heathcliffe, 1971, also known as *Gertrude and Heathcliffe*, 1974

Futher Reading

Harmon, Jim, *The Great Radio Comedians*, Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1970
 Marx, Arthur, *Red Skelton*, New York: Dutton, 1979
 Wertheim, Arthur Frank, *Radio Comedy*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1979

Sklar, Rick 1930-1992

U.S. Program Innovator

Rick Sklar was an important and widely imitated figure in the development and promotion of Top 40 radio, especially for ABC in New York.

Early Years

Sklar was born in New York and grew up in the Brighton Beach area of Brooklyn. He attended New York University and

while there volunteered as a writer at the city-owned WNYC radio station. After graduation he got his first commercial job at WPAC in Patchogue, on Long Island, where, as was typical with such a post, he undertook everything from writing copy to announcing news. Seeking more income, in 1954 he answered a want ad that read "copy/contact-Radio" and went to work for WINS in New York City. There he worked with legendary disc jockeys Alan Freed, Murray the K, and Al

“Jazzbo” Collins. While at WINS, Sklar wrote station jingles, created original contests and promotions, and was instrumental in the station’s dramatic rise in the ratings.

By 1960 he was at WMGM (soon changed to WHN) as program director, but within a couple of years he departed for WABC, the station that would make him a legend in the industry.

ABC Years

Sklar started at WABC in June 1962 as director of community affairs, although he played a role in most program operations from the start, including the production of promotional announcements for the station. He became the station program director late in 1963, and in a very few years he had moved the station from mediocre to spectacular ratings based on both his program and promotional ideas.

Despite the station’s miniscule promotion budget, Sklar devised brilliant ways to promote the station. His first big promotion required listeners to paint a likeness of the Mona Lisa. Sklar scored a major victory when he got surrealist painter Salvador Dali to serve as the judge. Listeners who painted the best, worst, biggest, and smallest rendition of the Mona Lisa were each awarded \$100. The promotion resulted in the station being overwhelmed with entries, but it significantly raised the public’s awareness of the low-rated outlet. By the early 1970s, nearly 6 million people a week were listening to WABC, which had jumped to the top two or three New York stations in ratings reports.

Ironically, this success got somewhat in the way of further promotional ideas. No longer could the station offer simple call-in contests for fear of wiping out the entire phone system. Taking a different tack, Sklar devised the “\$25,000 button” contest in 1974. Rather than have thousands of calls jamming the New York phone system, button spotters were hired to comb the New York area streets and award prizes to people wearing WABC promotional buttons. Sklar’s last big WABC promotion was “The Big Ticket,” in which local newspapers carried an insert that contained a ticket from WABC with a number on it. Those who heard their number announced over the air won prizes. Naturally such stunts encouraged people to listen in the hope of winning something.

Among Sklar’s many special talents was his ability to create a music playlist that attracted a young audience. Record companies courted Sklar’s imprimatur for their new artists, because exposure on the nation’s flagship Top 40 station meant other pop music outlets around the country would add the artists to their playlists. Many top performers, among them Barbra Streisand, John Lennon, Neil Sedaka, and Stevie Wonder, became admirers of Sklar and sought his support for their own recording efforts. No contemporary music station in the country was

as influential as WABC during its heyday. While at WABC Sklar was also instrumental in the development of the careers of several of the nation’s most popular disc jockeys, most notably Bruce “Cousin Bruce” Morrow, Dan Ingram, Ron Lundy, Herb Oscar Anderson, and Harry Harrison.

In March 1977 Sklar shifted focus from station to network operations when he was promoted to vice president of programming for ABC’s radio division. He helped to further develop the various ABC networks, including developing a talk-radio format. Within a couple years of Sklar’s departure from WABC, the station began a precipitous slide in the ratings, which led it to abandon its music programming in favor of talk.

Later Life

In 1984 Sklar left ABC to start his own consulting firm known as Sklar Communications, and he became a consultant to many stations around the country, including some with which he had once competed. In addition to his consulting, Sklar found great satisfaction in sharing his knowledge with students at New York area colleges. A marathon runner in his spare time, in 1992 Sklar entered the hospital for minor foot surgery to repair a torn tendon in his left ankle. An anesthesia complication took his life on 22 June 1992.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING AND MICHAEL C. KEITH

See also American Broadcasting Company; Contemporary Hit Radio Format/Top 40; Disk Jockeys; Freed, Alan; WABC

Richard Sklar. Born in New York City, 1930. Graduated from New York University. Volunteered as a writer, WNYC, New York. Hired by WPAC in Patchogue, New York; hired by WINS, New York, 1954. Program director for WMGM, New York, 1960–62. Director of community affairs, WABC, New York, 1962–63, and program director, 1963–77. Vice president of programming, ABC’s radio division, 1977–84. Started Sklar Communications and became a radio consultant, 1984–92. Died in New York City, 22 June 1992.

Selected Publications

Rocking America: An Insider’s Story: How the All-Hit Radio Stations Took Over, 1984

Further Reading

Morrow, Cousin Bruce, and Laura Baudo, *Cousin Bruce! My Life in Rock ‘n’ Roll Radio*, New York: Beech Tree Books, 1987

Musicradio WABC Rick Sklar Page, <www.musicradio77.com/Sklar.html>

Smith, Kate 1907–1986

U.S. Radio Singer and Personality

Often referred to as “the First Lady of Radio,” Kate Smith was one of the most popular radio singers and personalities of the 1930s and 1940s. Her radio variety show rivaled that of Rudy Vallee in its popularity and impact; her daily commentary at “high noon” was part of the routine of millions of homemakers; and she set sales records in her marathon radio war-bond drives during World War II. She was known especially for her patriotism; Irving Berlin’s song “God Bless America,” which she debuted on her program in 1938, became her trademark. A generously proportioned woman with a motherly attitude toward her listeners, Smith projected a warm friendliness that suited the intimacy of the radio medium and caused many listeners to identify with her.

According to her birth certificate, Kate Smith was born in Washington, D.C., on 1 May 1907, although she later claimed to have been born in Greenville, Virginia, which more appropriately represented her small-town persona. Her father was a newspaper agent, and both her parents were amateur singers. Kate first sang publicly at a war-bond rally in 1917 at the age of nine. She was a born performer and proved a popular local attraction, winning many amateur vaudeville competitions in the D.C. area. After she graduated from high school, her father insisted that she attend George Washington University’s School of Nursing rather than go on the stage. After nine months, Smith quit and began performing in vaudeville in Washington. *Variety* reviewed her in February 1926, noting that she had “not only a good voice, but one of much volume.” Smith was a contralto and was described most often in early reviews as a “blues singer” or as a “coon-shouter” in the tradition of Sophie Tucker. Her renditions of songs were “straight” rather than jazzy; she sang in a clear, strong voice that reflected the melody and lyrics as written.

Broadway producers soon took note of her, and she appeared in three successful Broadway productions between 1926 and 1931: *Honeymoon Lane*, *Hit the Deck*, and *Flying High*. She also enjoyed several vaudeville successes, including one at the famed Palace Theatre. Smith was unhappy with stage work, however, because she felt that she did not fit in with the Broadway crowd. She neither drank nor smoked, and her weight (topping 200 pounds) often made her the object of ridicule both on stage and off. But a 1930 backstage meeting with Columbia Records talent scout Ted Collins changed her life. Collins was impressed by the power of her voice and persuaded her to make some records with Columbia. Eventually, Collins offered to become her manager, splitting the profits 50-50. Smith agreed, and their relationship, which began on a handshake, became one of the most successful partnerships in

radio history. In addition to managing her career, Collins also served as the announcer on all her programs, carefully framing and protecting her public image.

Collins decided the growing medium of radio would be an appropriate venue for Smith. He arranged a 15-minute music segment on the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) in the spring of 1931, *Kate Smith Sings*, but he switched networks when he was able to arrange a better deal with the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS). *Kate Smith Sings*, as well as a few well-placed appearances on Rudy Vallee’s popular *Fleischmann Hour*, made Kate Smith a radio star by mid-1931. In July 1931, she was crowned “Queen of the Air” by New York mayor Jimmy Walker on the city hall steps. By the fall, her program had found a sponsor in La Palina cigars, and the program *Kate Smith and Her Swanee Music* was a big hit for CBS from 1931 through 1934. Listeners responded so quickly to Smith not only because of her vocal talent but also because she used the radio medium in particularly successful ways. From the beginning of her broadcasts, she used the same theme song, “When the Moon Comes Over the Mountain,” and the same greeting (“Hello everybody”) and closing (“Thanks for listenin’, and good-bye folks”). The repetition of these elements, as well as Smith’s simplicity and uncondescending manner, greatly appealed to her domestic audience.

When the La Palina program ended, Collins decided it was time for Smith to tour America so that her radio fans could see her. The tour, *Kate Smith’s Swanee Revue*, was meant to last several weeks, but it proved so popular that it ran for eight months. Smith also used this time to appear in a couple of films: *The Big Broadcast of 1932*, in which she had a cameo, and *Hello Everybody!* (1933), a feature film for Paramount in which she starred. Although she always liked performing live and enjoyed her tour, she did not like Hollywood and was happy to return to radio. After trying a few different formats, CBS, Collins, and Smith struck gold with *The Kate Smith Hour*, a variety program that ran from 1936 to 1945 (1936–37 as *Kate Smith A&P Bandwagon*). This enormously popular program combined song with comedy sketches, dramatic scenes from movies and Broadway, and a talk segment called “Women of America” in which Smith spotlighted and interviewed women she found noteworthy. This program launched the careers of comedians Henny Youngman and Abbott and Costello, among others, as well as the popular 1940s comedy *The Aldrich Family*.

Smith’s “talk” segments proved so successful that Collins and CBS arranged a second program for her, *Kate Smith Speaks*, a daily 15-minute segment addressed primarily to



The Kate Smith Show, 1932
 Courtesy CBS Photo Archive

housewives. "It's high noon in New York, and time for Kate Smith" began Collins' famous introduction to the series, which ran from 1939 to 1951 and was the number-one daytime program. It began with a news segment by Collins, and then Smith commented informally on various timely topics she thought would interest her readers, from current movies to recipes to social welfare issues. She often "chatted" with guest stars who "dropped by." Smith framed these programs as "heart-to-heart" talks with her listeners and did not present herself as an authority on any subject.

Smith's patriotism and her homey persona made her an especially effective morale builder during World War II, and she devoted herself to this work with uncommon energy. She expanded her broadcast schedule for Armed Forces Radio, sang countless patriotic songs, entertained the troops whenever she could, and conducted the most profitable war-bond drives of the war. She conducted four bond-drive marathons over the radio, in which she promised to stay awake as long as listeners

donated money. The most famous of these drives took place on 21 September 1943; Smith stayed on the air from 8:00 A.M. to 1:00 A.M., raising over \$36 million. The success of this particular broadcast was so remarkable that sociologist Robert Merton of Columbia University's Department of Psychology published an analysis of it in 1946. Merton interviewed several hundred of Smith's listeners and found that people responded to her appeals more than those of other stars because they believed so completely in her sincerity and felt a personal relationship with her.

Smith's popularity declined after the war, although she hosted a fairly successful television variety program early in the 1950s. She remained a popular and respected guest star on television, however, until her health began to fail in the late 1970s. She died in Raleigh, North Carolina, on 17 June 1986.

ALLISON MCCrackEN

See also Singers on Radio

Kate Smith. Born in Washington, D.C., 1 May 1907. Attended George Washington School of Nursing, 1924–25; started singing career as young child; various vaudeville appearances, 1924–26; Broadway debut in *Honeymoon Lane*, 1926; starring role in Broadway shows *Hit the Deck* (revival), 1927, and *Flying High*, 1930; radio debut with *Freddy Rich's Rhythm Kings*, Winter, 1930; notable film appearance in *The Big Broadcast of 1932*; starring film role in *Hello Everybody!* 1933; cross-country vaudeville tour, *Kate Smith and the Swanee Revue*, 1933–34; own radio variety series, *The Kate Smith Hour* (with some variations in title), 1936–51; debuted Irving Berlin's song "God Bless America," 10 November 1938; had own radio commentary series, *Kate Smith Speaks*, 1939–51; set records for selling war bonds during World War II; had own television series, 1950–60; guest roles in numerous radio and television shows. Recipient: Women's International Center Living Legacy Award, 1985. Died in Raleigh, North Carolina, 17 June 1986.

Radio Series

1930–31	<i>Freddy Rich's Rhythm Kings</i>
1931, 1947–49, 1951	<i>Kate Smith Sings</i>
1931–34	<i>Kate Smith and Her Swanee Music</i>
1934–35	<i>The Kate Smith Matinee; The Kate Smith New Star Revue</i>
1936–37	<i>The Kate Smith A&P Bandwagon</i>
1937–45	<i>The Kate Smith Hour</i>
1938	<i>Kate Smith's Column</i>
1938–39	<i>Speaking Her Mind</i>
1939–51	<i>Kate Smith Speaks</i>
1945–47, 1951–52, 1958	<i>The Kate Smith Show</i>

1947	<i>Kate Smith's Serenade</i>
1949–50	<i>Kate Smith Calls</i>

Television Series

The Kate Smith Hour, 1950–54; *The Kate Smith Evening Hour*, 1951–52; *The Kate Smith Show*, 1960

Films

Kate Smith—Songbird of the South (short), 1930; *Newsreel* (1 minute), 1931; *Rambling Round Radio Row #1* (short), 1932; *Paramount Pictorial* (short), 1932; *The Big Broadcast*, 1932; *Hello Everybody!* 1933; *Hollywood on Parade* (short), 1933; *America Sings with Kate Smith* (short), 1942; *This Is the Army* (cameo), 1943

Stage

Honeymoon Lane, 1926–27; *Hit the Deck*, 1927; *Honeymoon Lane*, 1929; *Flying High*, 1930–31; *Kate Smith and the Swanee Revue*, 1933–34

Selected Publications

Living in a Great Big Way, 1938
Kate Smith Stories of Annabelle (with Bill Martin and Bernard Herman Martin), 1951
Upon My Lips a Song, 1960

Further Reading

Hayes, Richard K., *Kate Smith: A Biography, with a Discography, Filmography, and List of Stage Appearances*, Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 1995
Merton, Robert K., *Mass Persuasion: The Social Psychology of a War Bond Drive*, New York: Harper, 1946; Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood, 1971

Smulyan, Jeffrey H. 1947–

U.S. Radio Executive and Entrepreneur

As a young boy, Jeffrey H. Smulyan had three things in mind: sports, radio, and the desire to start a business. A native of Indiana, Smulyan was born in Indianapolis in 1947 and grew up in a family of entrepreneurs, so such a vision came naturally and was in his blood.

He attended the University of Southern California and graduated cum laude in 1969 with a bachelor's degree in history and telecommunications; he went on to receive his J.D.

degree from the USC School of Law in 1972. He experienced his first taste of radio at USC's student radio station and developed leadership skills as senior class president. Smulyan's love of radio was greater than his experience, yet his inborn understanding and leadership abilities served him well. He returned to his native state in 1973 and officially entered broadcasting by taking on the management of WNTS, a small AM station in Indianapolis. Three years later Smulyan became manager of

another small AM station, KCRO in Omaha, Nebraska. In each case, Smulyan's father, Samuel W. Smulyan, purchased the station after his son became its manager. WNTS was acquired in 1974 and KCRO in 1979. Today both are still owned by Samuel Smulyan's estate, but they have no affiliation with Emmis.

By 1979 Smulyan was ready to begin making an impact on radio on a grander scale. He organized and became principal shareholder of the Emmis Broadcasting Corporation (*emmis* means "truth" in the Hebrew language), which purchased a small FM station licensed to Shelbyville, Indiana, located some 25 miles from the center of Indianapolis. Smulyan's intent was to build a tower close to the city and compete in the larger market. This was accomplished, and WENS went on the air on 4 July 1981 as the Emmis flagship station.

With WENS quickly becoming competitive and profitable, Smulyan and Emmis began their expansion. During the next five years, six stations were acquired, and Emmis entered the nation's number-one market, New York, in 1986 with the purchase of WHN. Smulyan renamed it WFAN (the "Fan") and launched the nation's first 24-hour all-sports radio station. He later purchased the National Broadcasting Company (NBC)-owned AM and FM stations in New York, moving WFAN to WNBC's frequency of 660 kilohertz, which provided better coverage of the market.

The all-sports concept rapidly took hold and has been copied in many other cities. Although not achieving high audience ratings at WFAN or anywhere else, it is extremely popular with advertisers, as the prime listeners are young adult males. This factor has helped WFAN become the highest revenue-generating radio station in America for several years running.

By 1989 Emmis was the owner of ten stations, and Smulyan began to diversify his interests by leading a group of investors in purchasing the Seattle Mariners baseball team. However, shortly after the acquisition, the combination of a heavy debt load, a change in bank credit rules, the oncoming national recession, and low baseball revenues forced Smulyan to sell some of Emmis' prized station holdings, most notably WFAN. The team was sold two and a half years later. Just prior to the baseball team purchase, Smulyan had moved the company into the publishing arena, acquiring *Indianapolis Monthly*, the first of several regional magazines Emmis would buy. This action would lead to the eventual name change to Emmis Communications.

After returning the company to a solid financial footing, Smulyan again began to move forward, although more prudently than during the 1980s, on the acquisition front. In 1994 it became a publicly owned company traded on the Nasdaq exchange. In 1998 Smulyan took Emmis into television ownership with the purchase of six medium-market stations. Others have since been added. It became an international company when in 1997 Emmis was awarded a license to operate a new national radio network in Hungary, which was named Slager

Radio. *Slager* is a Hungarian word, adopted from German, that means "hit." This was followed in 1999 by the purchase of FM News and Radio 10 in Buenos Aires, Argentina. The year 1999 also brought a new commitment to Indianapolis—which has been Emmis' corporate home since the company was founded—with the unveiling of a state-of-the-art building for headquarters and for housing its several area radio stations. At the time of completion, the \$35 million structure was considered by some to be the best radio facility in the nation.

Some two decades after its beginnings, the names Jeffrey H. Smulyan and Emmis are still virtually synonymous. Smulyan continues as the driving force behind the organization and has built a corporate environment known for its highly focused commitment to excellence and for its willingness to invest in its people, creating a culture that keeps employees on board for a long time. Many of the Emmis stations are among the best-performing stations, in terms of both audience ratings surveys and advertising revenues, in the radio industry.

To formalize his different approach to traditional business philosophy, some years ago Smulyan created the 11 commandments of Emmis, which are prominently displayed in all facilities. They are: admit your mistakes; be flexible and keep an open mind; be rational and look at all opinions; have fun and don't take this too seriously; never get smug; don't underprice yourself or your medium, and don't attack the industry—build it up; believe in yourself—if you think you can make it happen, you will; never jeopardize your integrity—we win the right way or we don't win at all; be good to your people—get them into the game and give them a piece of the pie; be passionate about what you do and compassionate about how you do it; and take care of your audience and advertisers. Smulyan holds or has held leadership positions within industry organizations such as the National Association of Broadcasters and the Radio Advertising Bureau, as well as with the U.S. Olympic Committee.

By 2003 Emmis owned 27 radio stations, including three FM outlets in New York, two in Los Angeles and one in Chicago, plus four stations in its hometown of Indianapolis. It also owned 16 television stations, with the announced intention of stepping up its acquisition pace by adding several more in the coming years.

MARLIN R. TAYLOR

Jeffrey H. Smulyan. Born in Indianapolis, Indiana, 6 April 1947. Attended University of Southern California, B.A. in History and Telecommunications, 1969; University of Southern California School of Law, J.D., 1972; manager, WNTS-AM, Indianapolis, Indiana, 1973–76; manager, KCRO-AM, Omaha, Nebraska, 1976–79; formed Emmis Communications Corporation, 1979; director, National Association of Broadcasters; member of American, Indiana and Federal Communications bar associations; chairman,

Board of Radio Advertising Bureau; board of trustees, Ball State University, from 1996. Received American Women in Radio and Television's Star Award, 1994; named by White House to lead U.S. delegation to Plenipotentiary Conference of International Telecommunications Union, 1994; Entrepreneur of the Year Award, Ernst and Young, 1995; Entrepreneur of the Year Award, *Indianapolis Business Journal*, 1995; ranked one of 10 most influential radio executives of past two decades, *Radio and Records*, 1995; ranked one of 40 most powerful people in radio, *Radio Ink*, 1998 and 1999; honored by National Association of Broadcasters with its Year 2002 National Radio Award.

Selected Publications

Power to Some People: The FCC's Clear Channel Allocation Policy, 1971

Further Reading

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Peers, Martin, "Emmis Stops Watching Radio Deals from the Sidelines," *Wall Street Journal* (9 November 1999)

Rathbun, Elizabeth A., "Indiana Pacer: Jeff Smulyan Is Building a Media Empire with All Deliberate Speed," *Broadcasting and Cable* (21 June 1999)

Soap Opera

Daytime Radio Drama

Although many critics disagree on when the first soap opera was actually broadcast, most would concede that the earliest prototype for serial drama appeared on Chicago radio in the 1920s: Irna Phillips' *Painted Dreams*, a mosaic of fanciful stories about heroes, villains, and helpless victims. *Painted Dreams* did not fare very well on local radio initially, but Phillips was never discouraged by her perceived failure. She (along with Frank Hummert, an advertising executive, and his wife Anne) was convinced that a successful serial format in newspapers and magazines could translate well into radio. Within a short time, Phillips and both of the Hummerts were proven right; *The Smith Family*, premiering nationally in 1925, became an instant hit. The program was built around two vaudevillians, Jim and Marion Jordan (who later became Fibber McGee and Molly). Later, *The Smith Family* was joined by *Clara*; *Lu 'n Em*; *Vic and Sade*; *Just Plain Bill*; *The Romance of Helen Trent*; *Ma Perkins*; and *Betty and Bob*.

The meteoric rise of daytime serial drama was a phenomenon that had not been foreseen by most programmers, and certainly not by any advertisers. In fact, the networks' first impulse was to reject the notion of any type of series targeted toward women. They thought it foolhardy and unprofitable because of the seemingly unattractive listening population of unpaid workers (housewives—unattractive because of their perceived lack of impact on revenues generated for sponsors) during the afternoon time block, and also because of the questionable cost efficiency of providing serious drama in continuous segments.

Despite these reservations, however, the networks decided to experiment with several 15-minute "episodes," provided at discounted prices, to interested sponsors in the early 1930s. Most advertising support for these daytime dramas came from corporations such as the Colgate Palmolive Peet Company and Procter and Gamble, who sold household products to interested female listeners. Thus, the term *soap opera* was coined to describe the melodramatic plotlines sold by detergent companies.

In retrospect, those who gambled on the success of radio soap operas need not have worried; the format seemed to be a perfect complement to the medium. Relying completely on sound, radio producers spread news, information, musical entertainment, and folktales. In minstrel tradition, narrators could easily set the stage for radio drama, providing descriptions of characters and settings for the stories. Within minutes, listeners (mostly women) were ushered into an imaginary world (guided by the narrator) with friends and enemies they might never encounter otherwise. In short, they became participants in a place more exciting, dramatic, and compelling than the home from which they listened.

Thus, the introduction of daytime drama met with as immediate a success as the evening serial counterpart had enjoyed. Devoted listeners faithfully followed the lives and loves of their favorite soap opera characters. And, much to the networks' surprise, housewives were not an unattractive listening demographic to possess. In fact, programmers soon discovered that homemakers, though not directly in the labor force, often con-

trolled the purse strings of the household economy. By 1939 advertising revenue for the popular serials had exceeded \$26 million. Less than ten years later, Procter and Gamble was spending over \$20 million each year on radio serials. Housewives had indeed found an alluring substitute for previous programming fare (such as hygienic information, recipe readings, and household tips) and were demonstrating their consumer power as well. Network programmers and advertisers had inadvertently stumbled onto an undiscovered gold mine. However, creative programming was not the only reason for the immediate popularity of radio soap operas. To better understand the success of daytime drama in the 1930s, it is important to look at two additional factors: the story formula and its relationship to Depression-era America

Serial Drama and the Cultural Landscape of 1930s America

Irna Phillips was a major contributor to early soap opera formula and content. She concentrated on characterization more than plotline fantasy and later became noted for introducing “working professionals” (doctors and lawyers) to daytime serials. To her, the events were far less important than how they were interpreted or acted upon by her characters. Unlike Phillips, Frank and Anne Hummert believed strongly in plot-driven stories, developing an “assembly-line” or formulaic approach to soap operas that has continued to be successful in today’s media. Together, these radio pioneers created a solid genre for future generations.

The Hummerts originated many of the popular early daytime dramas such as *Just Plain Bill*, *The Romance of Helen Trent*, and *Ma Perkins*. They based most of their stories in the Midwest—an ideal setting for several reasons. First of all, the Hummerts’ ad agency was located in Chicago. Practically speaking, they felt their soap operas should be produced there to cut expenses and to enable them to exert more creative control. Further, since most of the Hummerts’ life experience came from the Midwest, they were more confident having their ideas and plots set there. Finally, the Hummerts felt that the Midwest carried with it an accurate reflection of American values, attitudes, and lifestyles. It seemed to be an ideal part of the country for audiences to associate with the familiar themes of daytime drama, known as the “Hummert formula.”

The Hummerts’ story formula was really quite simple: they combined fantasies of exotic romance, pathos, and suspense with a familiar environment of everyday life in a small-town or rural setting. Combined with an identifiable hero or heroine, this formula produced an overwhelming audience response: people everywhere shared common needs, common values, and common problems.

This broadcast unity of beliefs and attitudes was especially important during the Depression era, when poverty, unemploy-

ment, and general political pessimism threatened the very fiber of American family life. Women, in particular, felt threatened. Although most were not laid off from jobs themselves, they found themselves demoralized as those around them, one by one, lost work. Household incomes declined markedly, and women were forced to feed, clothe, and shelter their families with far fewer resources than before. Amid their discouragement, listeners relied on soap opera characters such as Ma Perkins and *Just Plain Bill* Davidson—common folks who could survive despite overwhelming odds. Their victories over the trials and tribulations of daily living gave many Americans the feeling that they, too, could and would survive.

By 1936 soap operas began to dominate the daytime radio dials. *The Goldbergs* moved from its prime-time perch to afternoons (followed in 1937 by *Myrt and Marge*); several Hummert dramas premiered (including *David Harum*, *Rich Man’s Darling*, *Love Song*, and *John’s Other Wife*); and a soon-to-be-famous soap writer, Elaine Carrington, debuted her first work, *Pepper Young’s Family*. In 1937 more daytime drama appeared, some worthy of note (such as *The Guiding Light*, the longest-running soap opera in radio/television history), and some better forgotten. However, the total impact of radio serials had finally been realized—both negatively and positively—and as such, the serials became open to criticism from women’s groups such as the “Auntie Septics,” who argued that story lines with suggestive sex, faulty marriages, and subsequent divorces threatened the survival of the American family unit; or followers of New York psychiatrist Louis Berg, who argued through his “hypodermic theory” that messages from soap operas, when “injected” into American listeners’ heads, directly precipitated all sorts of psychosomatic traumas, including blood pressure problems, heart arrhythmias, and gastrointestinal disorders. These political action groups were often supported by male doctors who resented the implied superiority of serial female protagonists. The moral proselytizers ultimately faded away, in large part because of network and advertiser resistance as well as public admonishment of people like Berg, who was found to have based his research solely on his *own* blood pressure and pulse. Soap operas had survived not only the effects of the Great Depression, but the potential ruin caused by their detractors as well.

The 1940s: A Golden Age for Radio Soap Operas

As daytime drama entered the 1940s, several characteristics of serial writing emerged. First, characterization was simple, straightforward, and easily recognizable. Since most daytime radio listeners were women, listeners could identify with a woman who led a simple life yet was also a solid citizen and model for others in her mythical community.

Second, characters found themselves in predicaments that were easily identifiable by their listeners, with settings easily

imaginable to those who had never traveled far beyond their home environment. As Rudolf Arnheim discovered in his study “The World of the Daytime Serial,” soap opera characters seemingly preferred commonplace occurrences in their own hometown, as opposed to problems in an unknown environment. And, when circumstances necessitated travel, the new setting invariably was in the United States. Arnheim surmised that soap opera producers refrained from international travel because they felt listeners would not enjoy a foreign setting that would demand that they imagine a place outside their own realm of experience.

Third, most of the action revolved around strong, stable female characters, who were not necessarily professionals, but who were community cornerstones nonetheless. Men were very definitely the weaker sex in soap opera life—a direct reflection on the primary listening audience during the daytime hours.

Finally, daytime drama was often used as a vehicle for moral discussions or a rededication to American beliefs and values. Soap opera heroines often voiced the platitudes of the Golden Rule as well as the rewards that would come to those who could endure the trials and tribulations of living in a troubled society.

After World War II, economic “happy days” returned and soap operas reflected this boom with more career-oriented characters (especially women). But negative postwar elements also emerged, such as postwar mental stress and alcoholism. All these and more were discussed on Ma Perkins’ doorstep—with often easy solutions—keeping the “painted dream” of America alive and well.

Career women became more numerous in the 1940s because of writers like Irna Phillips. Phillips also introduced mental problems and amnesia to daytime drama, to reflect America’s postwar interest in psychology. Usually a central character suffered some type of emotional malady such as memory loss, a nervous breakdown, alcoholism, or shell shock as a result of wartime stress. Also, psychosomatic paralysis was a common affliction of the long-suffering soap opera heroes and heroines.

Toward the end of the 1940s, crime emerged as an important plotline theme, especially in the area of juvenile delinquency. This direction was also reflective of the times, for Americans were becoming increasingly concerned about youth crime. Criminal story lines continued throughout the early 1950s and continue to be an important theme in daytime drama on television (although the situations have been updated considerably).

The 1950s: The Move from Radio to Television

In the early 1950s, most soap operas moved from radio to television, and the resulting change in technology was felt at all levels, including scriptwriting, acting, and production. The

visual medium of television allowed for a wider choice in soap opera settings, because writers were not forced to limit themselves to the experiential world of radio listeners. Rather, they could take their characters anywhere, as long as they visually established the appropriate setting. However, the visual element in television also had distinct limits, for soap writers could no longer rely on “imagination” to set a scene.

Despite many writers’ strong preference for radio, most writers, like Irna Phillips, readjusted themselves to the new medium. Phillips’ way to explore television’s strengths was to use more reality-based themes in established soap operas like *The Guiding Light* (a Phillips creation, moving from radio to television in 1952) as well as to write new soaps, such as *As the World Turns* (with Agnes Nixon), *Another World* (with Bill Bell), *Days of Our Lives*, and *Love Is a Many Splendored Thing*. Phillips’ stories, along with those of other serial writers, such as Roy Winsor (*Search for Tomorrow*, *Love of Life*, and *The Secret Storm*) and Irving Vendig (*Edge of Night*), were lauded by both viewers and critics: ratings skyrocketed and scholars now asserted that daytime TV drama was both entertaining and informative.

In the mid-1950s, some soap operas expanded to 30 minutes, as compared to the 15-minute capsules of the 1930s and 1940s. Because viewers could now see their characters, plotlines became more slowly paced to capitalize on all the advantages of the visual medium such as character reactions and new locales. In fact, a common plotline such as a marriage proposal could last for weeks in a 1950s television soap. After the male character “popped the question” in *Secret Storm*, for example, several days of programming would be spent learning the reactions of both principal and supporting characters for this event: the bride-to-be, her mother, her old boyfriend, his old girlfriend or ex-wife, his secret admirer, her secret admirer, and so on. The possibilities were endless. Thus, one major plotline could sustain itself for weeks longer on television than would be possible on radio despite the added 15 minutes of programming each day. But was it any more effective? Some would argue yes; others would disagree.

The fact remains that many television soap opera plots in the 1980s and 1990s seemed to have changed little since their birth in the late 1920s. Stories still revolve around issues of love, family, health, and security within a cultural context—much like early radio serial drama. And even today, according to author J. Fred MacDonald (in *Don’t Touch That Dial*), TV soap opera characters respond to these issues with the same philosophy as their radio predecessors used, which was best expressed by Kay Fairchild, a central character in a 1940s radio serial called *Stepmother*:

All we can be sure of is that nothing is sure. And that tomorrow won’t be like today. Our lives move in cycles—sometimes that’s a good thing to remember,

sometimes bad. We're in a dark valley that allows us to hope, and to be almost sure that we'll come out after awhile on top of a hill. But, we have to remember, too, that beyond every hill, there's another valley.

One of the greatest frustrations of serial drama is that the storylines are neverending—though the last seven daytime serials left the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) altogether in late 1960. Ironically, this is also one of its greatest attractions. As a result, soap operas are one of most recognized genres of broadcasting today, enjoying consistent audience devotion and popularity in a world where most success is as ephemeral as the last ratings period. And it all began on radio.

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See also The Goldbergs; Hummert, Anne and Frank; Ma Perkins; Phillips, Irna

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Social Class and Radio

Research in social class attempts to explain how and why societies are divided into hierarchies of power, prestige, or wealth. Studies of social class and media examine how mass media reinforce or reproduce this persistent "stratification" of society. Of all the mass media, radio is an especially rich subject area for the study of social class because radio itself has had several definitions over its history. Each of its several incarnations—wireless telegraph, popular hobby, mass medium, and music utility—presents different opportunities for the exploration of social class.

Radio was a conspicuous newcomer in both U.S. and British culture between 1920 and 1950, the subject of constant debate among scholars, journalists, and politicians. During this period, radio's prominence may be likened to the role of television in today's culture. As a result, nearly all in-depth studies of radio take this golden age as their subject. Very few studies

focus on social class in their research; however, from the many cultural, social, and oral histories of radio as well as ethnographic accounts that make up our understanding of radio's audience, it is possible to arrive at some generalizations about radio and social class. Foremost of these is radio's image as an essentially middle-class medium and the creation of a new middle-class culture of consumption and home-centered leisure in the advanced industrial world.

What Is Social Class?

Journalists, critics, and academics often use the concept of class rather casually, referring to the lower, middle, and upper classes, without explaining what they mean by these terms. Typically class is used as a synonym for level of income or wealth. Class is considerably more complex, however, than

this casual use suggests. Most media researchers adopt one of two approaches to class: either the approach in the United States that emerged from a sociological tradition in the 1940s and 1950s, or the British Cultural Studies (BCS) approach that developed out of a Marxist literary studies tradition in the 1960s.

American media studies rarely use social class as an object of study or a unit of analysis. Social critic Benjamin DeMott has criticized U.S. culture and other cultural critics for accepting a “myth of classlessness,” the assumption that nearly everyone in U.S. culture is (or aspires to be) within the bounds of middle-class taste and values. U.S. media, according to DeMott, reinforce this myth (DeMott, *The Imperial Middle: Why Americans Can't Think Straight about Class*, 1990). On the rare occasion that social class is defined in the sociological tradition, it is often considered a product of four factors: occupation, education, income, and/or self-identity. As an example of this approach, Melvin Kohn's 1969 book *Class and Conformity: A Study in Values* uses the factors listed above, coupled with statistical analysis, to arrive at useful insights into the workings of social class within families and society.

BCS has grappled with the meanings and definition of social class in a much more critical manner than has sociological analysis in the United States. Accordingly, there are many interpretations of class within BCS. However, most cultural critics would agree that the BCS conception of class fuses the thinking of three important figures: Karl Marx, Antonio Gramsci, and Pierre Bourdieu.

In Marx's conception of class, the divisions between the “three great classes” (capitalist, bourgeoisie, and proletariat) are essentially economic. The capitalist class uses its wealth and property ownership to dominate and organize society according to its own interests.

Antonio Gramsci, an Italian intellectual writing in the 1920s and 1930s, highlighted the role of conflict and negotiation in social structures. Gramsci's theory of “hegemony” states that maintaining control in a social order requires the upper class to constantly *reinvent* its social dominance. Because the upper classes cannot simply dominate all classes at all times, Gramsci argues, class power must operate through the power to define the nature of “prestige” in a society as well as control of political and military force. Gramsci's ideas are significant in their recognition that power relations between social classes are inherently unstable. He also acknowledges schools, families, and media as important battlegrounds in the ongoing struggle for class hegemony. These ideas opened the door to thinking about social class as more than a product of economics, but also a cultural process.

Pierre Bourdieu, a French sociologist, coined the term “cultural capital” to describe how cultural products (books, media) and cultural knowledge (languages, rituals) serve as markers to reinforce social class as it passes from generation to

generation. Cultural capital not only helps reproduce social class, but can also translate into an economic advantage and thus a better economic class position for individuals. Using Bourdieu's ideas, media researchers are able to link cultural experiences, such as listening to the radio, accessing the internet, or attending “high art” events such as the opera, directly to the formation and reproduction of social stratification.

Social class can be a powerful analytic tool, a way to better understand group or individual behavior and choices within a historical and social context. However, social class is also difficult to define; the stratification it describes is subject to change and multiple interpretations. Social class may be defined as a product of economic position, cultural position, psychology, or values, yet any particular set of class labels—lower class, working class, middle class, upper class, or elite—will always be inadequate, a simplification of a complex reality. Furthermore, the boundaries between classes are often unclear, and individuals may belong to multiple classes.

Radio: The Middle-Class Medium?

The prevailing attitude toward social class and radio in most historical or institutional research can be summed up by a quote from Fred MacDonald's 1979 book *Don't Touch That Dial*: “Seeking to please an audience of millions of relatively free-and-equal, middle-class citizens, radio inevitably reflected the democratic environment which it served.” In other words, radio is widely perceived as a medium successfully catering to all people, serving up a stew of politics, news, sports, music, and drama that represents a perfect mix of the tastes and values of the population as a whole. Some see radio as the beginning of “homogenizing” the culture of the United States. National networks standardized the nation's news and entertainment as it pulled together the first mass audience in history. It ironed out sectional differences and gave the nation a common culture. However, more recent studies have begun to question whether radio is truly a “middle-class medium.”

Radio's association with the middle class began early in its history. In her 1987 book, Susan Douglas describes radio's most prominent inventors and entrepreneurs, most of whom emerged from middle-class or upper-middle-class backgrounds. After the turn of the century, thousands of hobbyists converged on the new technology, building transmitters and receivers to experiment and socialize in “the ether.” This subculture, Douglas says, was “primarily white, middle-class boys and men who built their own stations in their bedrooms, attics, or garages” (see Douglas, 1987). The amateur operator credited with making the first professional broadcasts, Frank Conrad, was a white, middle-class engineer employed by Westinghouse.

The popular press and news media supported the image of resourceful, average, middle-class boys and men mastering this

“new frontier.” However, there were female and working-class radio buffs as well. Michele Hilmes (1997) has countered Douglas’ description of the amateur operator subculture, arguing that the popular press ignored amateurs outside the mainstream of male, middle-class culture. From its beginnings, Hilmes argues, radio was seen as a threat to established social hierarchies such as class, race, and gender—that is, a threat to the hegemony of white, middle-class values. According to Hilmes, the popular press chose to portray white men and boys as icons of wireless because they were less threatening to the social order than women or working-class male operators.

The opposition between “working-class culture” and “middle-class culture” animates many of the inquiries researchers have made into radio’s development as a mass medium. Cultural critics, including Raymond Williams, Jacques Donzelet, and Simon Frith, have noted how radio’s success shifted entertainment into the domestic sphere, away from collective spaces such as taverns, dance halls, or simply the front porch or street. Such a change was related to class because outdoor amusements were associated with the lower classes, the “unruly masses,” while home-based entertainment was considered more genteel and middle-class. In an oral history of early radio, “The Box on the Dresser,” Shaun Moores writes that the radio could only become a fixture in the home if it could be accommodated within an existing structure of family relations, routines, and patterns. The radio schedule was quickly shaped to fit the patterns of middle-class family life, intertwining with mother’s housework, father’s job, and the children’s schoolwork and bedtimes. Radio’s reorganization of leisure time is one example of how radio interacted with large-scale social transformations in the early 20th century, such as industrialization, urbanization, and the rise of consumer culture. If radio seemed to represent the interests of the middle class, it was in part because middle-class interests were beginning to occupy the culture as a whole.

Radio’s threat to established hierarchies extended into its golden age. Hilmes locates class awareness in the advertising men who produced radio’s most popular programs, most of whom were well-educated, upper-middle-class men. As the group responsible for filling the radio schedule, they reinforced existing class, race, and gender distinctions through their programming choices. For example, the dialects heard on *Amos ‘n’ Andy* or *The Goldbergs* and the ethnic stereotypes used by Fred Allen in his “Allen’s Alley” sketches reinforced long-standing social differences. Meanwhile, the stories on dramatic programs and soap operas and ubiquitous home economics programs presented middle-class family life as the social norm.

Economic reasoning lay behind this appeal to the middle class. In the United States, radio programs were built with a powerful imperative: to appeal to an identified market of listening consumers. As Eileen Meehan has written, ratings systems developed to measure this market were deeply influenced

by class. For instance, the first two widely used ratings methods, the Cooperative Analysis of Broadcasting (CAB) and C.E. Hooper’s “Hooperatings,” relied on telephone interviews to gather data. However, the telephone was still a relative luxury in the early 1930s. Thus, CAB and Hooperatings did not measure the listening habits of all homes with radios but rather only the habits of homes with radios *and* telephones—homes that represented what Meehan calls the “thoroughly modern, consumer-oriented middle-class” (see Meehan, 1990). Subsequent ratings systems for radio and television, including the Arbitron ratings, still rely on this conception of the audience, literally defining *audience* as only those people that most appeal to advertisers.

Unlike the American broadcasting model, which served predominantly commercial interests, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) was formed to serve the principle of public service. Perhaps as a result, social class is more prominent in British studies of mass media. By most historical accounts, assumptions about class differences and tensions deeply influenced the BBC’s programming. “Serious” programs, such as classical music and public affairs, targeted the bourgeoisie, while popular “light entertainment,” such as dance music, was included for the working-class audience. In a 1983 article, Simon Frith challenged this interpretation of the BBC’s popular programming. Frith argued that light entertainment on the BBC was a “middlebrow” form that both entertained a mass audience and fulfilled the BBC’s public service charge, but at the cost of producing programs that were wholesome, yet bland and repetitive. David Cardiff revisited Frith’s argument in a 1988 article to suggest that comedy on the BBC was also a middlebrow creation, but in no way bland or repetitive. Rather, by simultaneously addressing a mass audience and representing the culture of the elite through comedy, the programs resolved class tensions by deflating perceived differences with laughter.

The construction of middle-class audiences does not tell the entire story of social class and radio. The power of radio (or any form of media) to reshape the identity of its audience is an open debate. Elizabeth Cohen (1989) has questioned the ability of institutions of mass culture—chain stores, movies, and radio—to erase the differences between classes at the grassroots. In her studies of Chicago’s working class, Cohen has pointed out that broadcasting was an intensely local enterprise through the 1920s and into the Great Depression. It featured talks by local personages, ethnic/nationality hours, labor news, church services, and vaudeville acts familiar to local communities. Furthermore, working-class audiences were likely to build their own radios (avoiding high-priced, mass-produced “parlour sets”) and engaged in communal listening in stores, social clubs, and neighbors’ homes. In other words, rather than blanketing communities with a unified mass culture, early radio promoted affiliations within existing groups through their ethnic, religious, or working-class identities. Similarly, radio had

an appeal to rural populations distinct from its urban, middle-class image. As late as the 1940s, the differences between rural and urban life in the United States were stark. To label these families as representative of either the middle class or the working class would be inaccurate, for rural America was a culture apart in many ways. Nonetheless, as Richard Butsch (2000) describes, radio broadcasts as early as the 1920s began to address the particular needs and tastes of rural audiences. Although radios spread slowly into rural areas because of the prohibitive cost of owning and operating the radio sets, they were among the most coveted and prized possessions for rural families. Like Cohen's working-class audiences, rural families built and maintained their own radios and practiced communal listening well after most urban audiences had retreated into isolated domesticity.

The emergence of talk radio as a potent political force over the last 20 years has raised questions about the potential for radio to represent social classes traditionally cut off from political discourse. For instance, the populist uprising that derailed President Bill Clinton's nomination of Zoe Baird for Attorney General in 1993 has been attributed to a "spontaneous combustion" of working- and lower-class voices. Benjamin Page and Jason Tannenbaum (1996) have described how mainstream media communicators, influenced perhaps by their own class position, initially treated Baird's tax violations as a trivial matter (she failed to pay Social Security taxes for illegal aliens she had employed). However, an intense reaction materialized through the medium of participatory talk radio, influencing members of Congress and the media and leading to the withdrawal of Baird's nomination. The Baird case may be an exception. In other instances, talk radio commentators have been critiqued for the intensity of their political rhetoric and attraction to scandal. Whether talk radio has inspired a kind of "direct democracy" for the working-class, as the Baird example suggests, or simply given voice to the more angry and intolerant voices in society is a matter for debate.

The case of WCFL, the only radio station to be owned and operated by a labor union, presents another example of working-class interest in radio. The Chicago Federation of Labor founded WCFL in 1926 as a platform to broadcast entertainment and information of interest to the labor unions and the working class. WCFL struggled to survive as a listener-supported station, undermined by a hostile business and regulatory environment, high operating costs, and stiff competition from better-financed commercial stations. By the late 1930s, WCFL had adopted the commercial model of broadcasting. However, the station remained a symbol of resistance to corporate-controlled media and continued to provide news from the perspective of organized labor. WCFL's organizers also hoped to preserve working-class culture, including the music, theater, and art of local ethnic groups and pro-union artists, much of which was being replaced by the avalanche of popular culture

coming from Hollywood and New York radio studios. WCFL stayed on the air into the 1970s, although it had lost nearly all pretensions of being the "Voice of Labor." The barriers faced by WCFL are a good illustration of the problems faced by all alternative media. Today only community radio, low-power radio, and, to a lesser extent, public radio provide media outlets for social classes whose art and issues are rarely seen or heard, yet all face perennial problems securing adequate funding and political support, and proving their "relevance" in an industry driven by audience ratings.

Although radio technology and programming have changed dramatically since the 1930s, the economic realities of commercial radio have changed very little. Nonetheless, there are few studies of modern radio that address social class in even a peripheral way. There is some irony here, because the modern radio environment may be more class-inflected than ever. Contemporary radio is marketed to narrow, well-defined niches of the population as ratings companies track the age, gender, ethnicity, and education of audiences in fine detail. Formats are built with a particular audience's tastes, politics, and languages in mind. Meanwhile, the ideal listener is still conceived of in terms of his or her ability to buy advertised products. Understanding how society is organized economically and culturally is central to the task of understanding social class, and radio remains a powerful expression of both economics and culture in the 21st century.

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See also Critics; Educational Radio to 1967; Pacifica Foundation; Playwrights on Radio; Poetry and Radio; Public Radio Since 1967; Public Service Radio; Stereotypes and Radio; WCFL

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Social and Political Movements

Radio has often played a very significant role in social and political movements. Its relative cheapness and portability (especially in the age of transistors), and even its ability to be concealed, have rendered radio particularly suitable for waves of public protest and movements of dissent. The focus here will be not the rendition of social movements by mainstream radio stations, but rather three examples of the direct use of radio by such movements: the anti-colonial revolution in Algeria in the years 1956-62; the role of two "movement" radio stations in the defense of Portugal's democracy following the overthrow of its fascist dictatorship in 1974; and the free radio movement in Italy in the mid-1970s.

Algeria, 1956-62

The Algerians' anti-colonial revolt was a supreme litmus test for France. Defeated militarily in its colony of Vietnam just two years previously, the French elite officially viewed Algeria not as a colony at all, but as "overseas" France. Seemingly confirming this was the presence of a million French settlers, some there for generations. To lose Algeria in battle meant a second, unthinkable humiliation, striking at the heart of the French elite's sense of their nation's world power. Even the French Communist Party sharply distanced itself from the Algerian rebel.

Frantz Fanon, a psychiatrist from Martinique working in Algeria who subsequently joined the rebels, has provided an

extraordinary account of the role of radio in the uprising. Until the revolutionaries began to use radio to communicate their message, radio had been widely seen among ordinary Algerians as a technology to support French cultural domination and the settler colony. For language reasons in part, but also for reasons of cultural propriety, a radio set in the house would have symbolized the welcome of French authority and an alien culture.

However, when the Voice of Fighting Algeria went on the air, there was an almost immediate change in Algerians' attitude to the medium. Receiving sets began to sell in droves. The organizers of the station were members of the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN), a guerilla organization. The station began to broadcast more frequently from 1954 and announced schedules from the end of 1956. It broadcast from Rabat (Morocco), Tunis (Tunisia), Cairo (Egypt), and Damascus (Syria). The broadcasts were made in Arabic, French, and Berber in an attempt to emphasize the unity of all anti-colonial forces in the country.

The French occupation forces' propaganda now had an interlocutor who could challenge such claims as that the rebels were responsible for invading a village, blowing up its houses and massacring its inhabitants. The rebels' radio could also bring news of United Nations votes condemning the French occupation forces, and of support from Egypt and other voices in the Arab world. Not least, it could set out its proposals for the future when colonial rule had been overthrown.

The French authorities' response was to ban the sale of battery chargers (few Arab homes had piped electricity) and to take the presence of a radio set in any house they invaded as direct evidence of support for the rebels, with corresponding violent reprisals. They also jammed the station, forcing it to relocate its signal several times a day. People would spend hours roaming the dial to find the new frequency, but even when they could not, the mere sound of the continued jamming static signified that the struggle was still continuing.

The Algerians' story has global implications. Algeria, Cameroon, Cyprus, Vietnam, and Zimbabwe were among the relatively few colonial territories that fought their colonial masters militarily. They were tremendously important in convincing Britain and France that they could not hold on to their empires forever, and in persuading them to negotiate with independence movements peacefully elsewhere. The role of radio in helping to galvanize the Algerian revolt thus had implications far beyond Algeria's borders.

Radio and the End of Portuguese Fascism and Colonialism

In April 1974, the Portuguese dictatorship (in place since 1926) was overthrown by a group of army captains. They were of different minds, but two desires united them: their determination to be rid of the regime and its brutal secret police, and their resolve to end Portugal's centuries-long but hopelessly costly colonial rule in Africa. There were several attempts to restore the former regime in the 18 months that followed. During this period, two stations, Rádio Renascença and Rádio Clube Português, steadfastly operated in the capital of Lisbon as a forum for the public to unite around the country's new direction.

It is important in evaluating these stations' role to realize that not only Portugal had a stake in the outcome. The new independence of Angola and Mozambique left apartheid South Africa and the white racist regime in former Rhodesia geographically isolated as the last holdouts of European rule on the African continent. Spain, in the last years of dictator Francisco Franco (1939–75), no longer was a haven for fascists as it transitioned to democracy, which in turn was a beacon for many Latin Americans in the 1970s as they struggled with their own military regimes.

Until April 1974, Rádio Renascença had been nominally a Catholic station, but with minimal religious programming. Its political slant was extremely conservative, with its news staff forbidden to mention the reform-oriented social doctrines of the Second Vatican Council. Rádio Clube Português had had owners close to the Franco regime. With the long-suppressed voices of the Portuguese public suddenly unleashed in the streets (in wall-posters and murals and graffiti) and in parts of the press, these two stations opened up the airwaves to the throng of those delirious with the opportunity to be heard at

long last. It was over Rádio Clube's transmitter that the popular song "Grandola" was broadcast, serving as the signal for the army captains' bloodless overthrow of the dictatorship.

Of the two, Renascença was the more free-form and anarchic, Rádio Clube the more recognizable in conventional professional terms. Renascença made its microphones available to virtually every group involved in the movement of change. It also tried to broadcast regular religious services (which its previous management had not done), but ran into a wall of opposition from the Catholic hierarchy, itself deeply compromised with the former regime. Some Rádio Clube newsmen were close to the Communist Party, but they were a small minority. Basically its structure and format, although hospitable to the new political climate, strove to provide balanced news.

Both stations were popular in different ways. When it looked as though Renascença might be closed down because of Vatican and Western governments' pressure, a huge demonstration spontaneously erupted in its support. Rádio Clube always had solid finances because advertisers accepted that its determination to be fair to all sides was popular with its listeners. However, both stations, but particularly Renascença, became international political footballs among the member nations of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), whose elites were terrified that Portugal might become a Soviet neo-colony. Even Pope Paul VI publicly denounced Renascença. The actual prospect of a Soviet takeover was highly implausible, but was energetically touted by other political parties in Portugal who saw this as a means to garner foreign support and funds, as Portugal was the poorest nation in Western Europe at that time.

In November 1995, as a major gesture to the stations' symbolic status for NATO governments, a new government first dynamited Renascença's transmitter and then took over Rádio Clube. It was a sad and messy ending, in the name of democracy, for two stations that had sought to serve the public rather than the prevailing power structure.

Free Radio Explosion in Italy

In 1976, faced with a series of unauthorized broadcasts that challenged the government's airwaves monopoly, the Italian Constitutional Court ruled that local broadcasting need not be under that monopoly. There followed an immediate and dramatic expansion of such stations, such that two years later there were more radio stations listed in Italy (a nation then of about 55 million people) than in the United States. Admittedly, these stations varied tremendously in type. Some were proto-commercial stations (indeed, it was one such, a conservative operation called Radio Parma, that had mounted the main challenge), but others were voices of the revolutionary left, of specific local communities, or simply of a group of teenagers with a pile of discs on the floor and a mini-transmitter.

One important aspect of this sudden transformation of Italy's radio scene was its relationship to the labor and student political movements that roiled Italy from 1969 onward. Unlike the political earthquake in France in May–June 1968, which seemed to subside after a year or two, the turbulence in Italy continued for at least a decade, beginning in 1969. The use of radio by the labor and student political movements was extensive, and the fact that their broadcasts could not be national in scope was not a huge limitation. Such stations were concentrated in cities in northern and central Italy, as southern cities were generally less hospitable to the political upsurge. The distances between many of the northern and central cities were not large, and the local orientation made for an immediacy that might have been difficult to achieve on a national plane.

The stations of the far left varied in style. Some, such as Radio Popolare in Milan, set out from the beginning to be forums for a variety of voices and interests within the general public in a city. These also included the concerns of migrant workers. Others, such as Controradio in Florence, after brief initial periods of 100 percent support for one particular far left group, set their sights on serving a city's youth, who were often overlooked in the bustling tourist and visitor trade. Some stations positioned themselves on the far left, but with no particular affiliation to any political group. And still others adopted the Leninist role of transmitting the official propaganda of the moment for their chosen political sects.

One fairly short-lived radio station in this movement—and more than a few were short-lived—was Radio Alice in Bologna, which was named after the character in Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland*. The programming here was an intense mixture of poetry, far left politics, performance art, innovative music, call-ins (the far left pioneered call-ins on Italian radio) and other dramatic moments. The most dramatic broadcast occurred in March 1977, when the station was the epicenter of a major student revolt at the ancient University of Bologna. At one point, armed city police broke the door down and listeners heard the commotion and the station's young staff shouting, "We have our hands up! Don't shoot!"

Interestingly, many of these stations also had a long-term impact on the musical realm. For all their fiery political questioning and deep involvement in demonstrations and other challenges to the status quo, they also provided a new generation with access to some of the finest international popular music available, some of which was dedicated to challenging injustice and poverty. Thus their work in the zone of the imagination continued long after the demonstrations and the eventual dissolution of the far left movements in the wake of Red Brigades terrorism in the late 1970s. They also served to fuel the 1980s ecological and antinuclear movements in Italy,

attracting some of the most sincere movement activists, who were disillusioned with sectarian politics. And finally, these stations sparked the ensuing free radio movement in France during the late 1970s.

Many other instances of radio's role in social and political movements could be cited. The medium's directness, flexibility, and low cost have made it a favorite instrument of horizontal and interactive communication.

JOHN D.H. DOWNING

See also Developing Nations; Hate Radio; Italy; Pacifica Foundation; Politics and Radio; Propaganda by Radio

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Soft Rock Format

The soft rock format of radio programming features songs containing elements of both rock and roll and pop music. This musical subgenre originated in the early days of rock and roll, developed into a separate radio format on FM in the early 1970s, and eventually evolved into the adult contemporary format of the 1980s and 1990s.

The term *soft rock* refers to that side of rock and roll music characterized by, naturally, a softer, less raucous style than classic rock and roll. Stuessy and Lipscomb (1999), in *Rock and Roll: Its History and Stylistic Development*, trace the beginnings of soft rock as a musical trend back to the 1950s and the sock hops popular in U.S. high schools. Danceable, upbeat music needed a counterpart musical style, one to which teenagers could “slow dance.” Soft rock also filled a need “to balance the harder mainstream rock with a softer, less raucous alternative, while still maintaining some essential elements of the rock style.”

In terms of composition and musical style, Stuessy and Lipscomb describe soft rock songs in general as possessing the following characteristics: slow to moderate beat, a soft backbeat, triple division of the rhythmic pattern, strong emphasis on “beautiful” melodies, harmonies that follow a “major tonic—minor subdominant—major subdominant—dominant” chord progression, chords held for two to eight beats, musically conjunct tunes, love-oriented lyrics, and a lead singer with backup vocals. Regarding the singing found in soft rock music, vocalists might use falsetto, blue notes, and variations of rhythm and blues and gospel style. Specific components aside, the label “soft rock” applies to music that includes either a bass line or a rhythmic pattern derived from rock and roll, or both. Pure pop songs lack these basic rock elements.

Popular artists with soft rock hits during the early days of the genre included “white soft rock” singers Elvis Presley and Pat Boone and “black soft rock” acts such as Frankie Lymon and the Teenagers, the Five Satins, and the Monotones. The songs “Crying in the Chapel” by the Orioles and “Sh-Boom” by the Chords epitomize the softer style of rock music during that era. Other artists whose hit songs exemplified the soft rock style included Paul Anka, Bobby Darin, Frankie Avalon, Johnny Mathis, Connie Francis, and Brenda Lee. Soft rock as a trend continued into the 1960s, with Neil Sedaka, Bobby Vee, Bobby Vinton, and Frankie Valli and the Four Seasons among the more successful teen idols whose songs fit the genre (Stuessy and Lipscomb, 1999).

Although soft rock as a popular music style had already coexisted with harder-edged rock and roll since the 1950s, it became a separate and distinct format during the 1960s, when the radio industry began to experience widespread fragmentation resulting from diversification in the music business itself.

Keith (1997) notes that the wide array of popular artists’ styles, such as those of the Beatles and Glen Campbell, resulted in myriad format variations: “the 1960s saw the advent of the radio formats of Soft Rock and Acid and Psychedelic hard rock.” During this decade of change, there emerged the “chicken rock” stations, those that only “flirted” with rock and roll by airing softer tunes of the popular rock music genre: “While a Chicken Rocker would air ‘Michelle’ and ‘Yesterday’ by the Beatles, it would avoid ‘Strawberry Fields Forever’ and ‘Yellow Submarine’” (Keith, 1987).

The soft rock format truly came into its own during the 1970s, when, as Keith (1987) outlines, chicken rock, which appealed to the younger end of the 24- to 39-year-old adult demographic, evolved into mellow rock, which found its core audience among 18- to 24-year-olds. Mellow rock, an FM specialty, at first featured playlists containing soft rock tunes both popular and somewhat unknown. Eventually the word *mellow*, a throwback to the 1960s drug culture vocabulary, became outdated. With the change in terminology to soft rock came a narrowing of the soft rock playlist, which included more popular hits of the time. By the mid-1970s, soft rock found its target audience—“the young adult who had grown weary of the hard-driving rock sound but who still preferred Elton John over Robert Goulet” (Keith, 1984).

Soft rockers came from a variety of musical backgrounds, including folk, country and western, and soul. Stuessy and Lipscomb (1999) point to the Carpenters, Barry Manilow, Neil Diamond, America, the Osmonds, John Denver, and Roberta Flack as examples of important artists in soft rock music of the 1970s. Gregory (1998) credits the success of the country-rock band The Eagles with the proliferation of “an entire sub-genre of Soft Rock bands,” such as Fleetwood Mac.

As the 1970s came to an end, so, too, did soft rock as a distinct format. Keith (1987, 1997) attributes its demise to the emergence of disco as a station format, the rise in popularity of hit music stations, and the updating of playlists featuring “easy listening” music. Soft rock the format might have disappeared, but its style lived on in the 1980s through the music of groups such as Air Supply, the Alan Parsons Project, the Police (and their number-one hit single “Every Breath You Take”), and Huey Lewis and the News (Stuessy and Lipscomb, 1999).

Soft rock eventually evolved into the adult contemporary format popular during the 1980s and 1990s. In the late 1990s and at the turn of the century, some adult contemporary stations still use the term *soft rock* to describe themselves and the softer rock style of the artists and music they feature.

See also Adult Contemporary Format; Middle of the Road Format

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Sound Effects

As vaudeville faded from popularity and silent films grew, many of the musicians who created music and sound moved to providing accompaniment for silent films. The dexterity required of these musicians, especially the drummers, allowed them to expand their repertoires to include additional sounds that enhanced the movie for viewers. Robert L. Mott, a sound effects artist from the early days of radio, wrote that the earliest actors who moved from live theater and vaudeville to radio brought with them their props, costumes, and gags. These comedians, who relied on the visual gags for laughter, were often lost when they tried to make it in radio. Radio presented a completely new set of opportunities and problems for actors and producers.

The need for people able to produce sound effects to complement radio performances was recognized early. The earliest use of sound effects in a dramatic radio program was, according to Mott (1993), an unknown radio show in the early 1920s in Schenectady, New York. It wasn't until the late 1920s that the CBS network hired sound effects personnel to work with their dramatic programs. Arthur and Ora Nichols, a husband and wife team who were the first sound effects artists in radio, had been musicians for vaudeville acts. The couple perfected their sound effects skills in movie houses, learning additional instruments and ways to perform sounds so the silent films were more realistic to audience members. Arthur Nichols learned to use drums to provide a more diverse range of sounds. Many of the early sound effects artists were drummers, who found the dexterity instilled by their instrument was useful when producing multiple sound effects at one time. These musicians were also experienced in using a variety of contraptions ("traps") to produce different kinds of sounds.

Before the Nicholoses introduced the concept of sound effects to network radio, writers had to script cues that allowed listeners to understand what was happening. The dialogue was often confusing but necessary to let listeners know, for example, that someone was supposed to have knocked on the door. The actors found it as awkward as did the listeners. With the introduction of sound effects, the listening experience was enhanced for the radio audience.

As if by magic, sound effects aided listeners in more fully visualizing the stories they heard on the radio. Mott (1993) writes that sound effects relied on the art of deception. Nisbett (1962) emphasizes that the responsibility of the sound effects artist is not to reproduce sounds exactly as they are but to *suggest* the sound—that to be too realistic may even be detrimental to the desired effect. Most programs had one or two sound effects artists working on any production, though a network record of eight sound effects people were used for CBS Radio's production of *Moby Dick* in 1977.

A sound effects artist needed a variety of skills and talents to be successful. The first requirement, according to Mott, was timing. The second was to be ambidextrous; there were numerous occasions that required independent movement of each hand simultaneously. Additionally, sound effects artists had to be aware of pitch, timbre, harmonics, loudness, attack, sustain, and decay. These nine components, according to Mott, were integral to producing realistic sound effects. Despite the tremendous amount of skill and work involved in producing sound effects, the artists rarely received mention in the credits of a show. Management believed that to acknowledge that the sounds of radio were merely people creating the noises rather than the actual sound would damage the credibility of the programs.

Types of Sound Effects

Sound effects can be categorized into two types: spot (live) effects and those that are pre-recorded. Spot effects are those sounds that are produced live in the studio, whereas recorded effects are produced independently and inserted into the program at the appropriate time. In the earliest days of radio, spot effects were the only type of sound effect used. The technology for recorded effects was developed for sounds that could not be conveniently created within the studio such as cars, airplanes, weather, large crowds, etc.

Sound effects artists frequently needed to create sounds for ordinary sounds and for extraordinary sounds. Ordinary sounds (those we hear all the time) were often the most difficult to create in a realistic fashion. For example, Mott noted that visually-oriented producers were the most difficult to work with, as they often believed that if a telephone bell is to ring, there must be a telephone with the bell to “make it sound like a telephone.” The artists were skeptical because experience had shown them that producers often thought it was a telephone ringer until they saw it wasn’t attached to a telephone, and only then did they insist that the ringing “Just didn’t sound like a real telephone.”

In the early days of radio, sound effects artists were often called on to produce sounds that no one had ever heard before. For example, the early science fiction programs often included an invasion from outer space. The sound effects artists needed to produce sounds of a space ship entering Earth’s orbit for an invasion. The artists relied on imagination, creativity, and the odds and ends that comprised the sound effects prop room to create sounds that would induce an audience to believe a space ship was fast approaching Earth.

Important Sound Effects People

Ora Nichols was one of the first sound effects artists and the first female in the industry. Ora and her husband, Arthur, spent 23 years as musicians for vaudeville acts and for silent films in movie houses before entering radio. They worked several years as freelance artists and then were hired at CBS along with Henry Gauthiere and George O’Donnell. They were the first staff sound effects personnel in the fledging radio industry. Ora Nichols directed the CBS Sound Effects Department for several years until Walt Pierson was hired in 1935 as director. This allowed Nichols to return to her preferred spot as a sound effects artist.

Arthur Nichols brought his skills as a craftsman to create props that were necessary to produce realistic sounds. According to Mott, Nichols spent nine months working on a piece of equipment that could produce a wide variety of sounds, from a small bird chirping to 500 gunshots a minute. Together with

his wife, he created many of the props and tools that were used to create many of the sound effects for radio.

Orval White was the first African American sound effects artist. He started out in 1949 as an equipment man and worked his way up to be a talented and respected sound effects artist. White worked for 22 years on one of best-known programs on CBS, *Gangbusters*. He was, according to Mott, the first and only African American sound effects artist in radio, television, and film.

Jack Amrhein was considered by directors and peers to be one of the best sound effects artists in radio. His creativity and imagination were his strongest assets. Amrhein worked for the CBS radio network in New York as the sound effects artist for many shows, including *Mr. Keene*, *Tracer of Lost Persons*; *The Mysterious Traveler*; *Mr. Chameleon*; *The Fred Allen Show*; *Inner Sanctum*; *The Phillip Morris Playhouse*; and *The Robert Q. Lewis Show*.

With the rapid growth of radio, there was rapid growth among the cadre of artists who performed sound effects. CBS expanded its sound effects department from 8 artists to 40 in the early 1930s, despite the Depression, hiring engineers, music arrangers, film studio personnel, and other people with varied backgrounds who could contribute diverse skills to the growing department.

As the need for more complex sound effects expanded, four unofficial groups emerged: stars, artists, button pushers, and technicians. Though well known among the sound effects artists, this hierarchy was kept unofficial because CBS wanted to be able to randomly assign personnel to shows rather than having to accommodate requests for certain artists. The producers with shows that were rated highly did request certain personnel, but those requests were fulfilled only when the producers threatened to go to the advertisers. Sound effects personnel soon became specialized with different functions.

Lowest in the hierarchy were the technicians. They designed, built, and maintained the props. Occasionally a technician might fill when needed as a button pusher or for some other minimal sound effect production. The button pushers worked on shows with a limited need for sound effects and, according to Mott, literally pushed buttons to produce those sounds. These could be doorbells, buzzers on game shows, phone ringers, or oven timers on the soap operas. Mott noted that many sound effects artists hated the button pusher shows because they found the work boring, even though it was easy, the pay was the same, and the hours were better.

Next in the hierarchy were the sound effects artists, who made up the majority of the sound effects department at any radio network. These artists were used mostly for prime-time shows (both drama and comedy). Producers did not request them, and they were not paid as much as the artists who were considered stars.



Sound effects being created for *March of Time*, 1933
Courtesy CBS Photo Archive

The stars were those personnel at the top of the hierarchy. Mott wrote that these people had an uninhibited approach to performing sound effects. They didn't worry how they looked or what others thought of them. These artists were as successful in eliciting laughs from the studio audience as the comedians. Most often the producers allowed them to improvise, and the more freedom they had in their work, the more they performed for the audience. Some actors accused these sound effects artists of upstaging them, but audiences loved them. The stars demanded and received higher fees, overtime compensation, and a variety of other perks not given to most sound effects personnel.

Techniques for Creating Sound Effects

The tools used to produce sounds and noises varied greatly and often had no apparent connection to the sounds they were used

to emulate. For example, in one program, Mott used a bowl of spaghetti to convince the audience a hungry worm was devouring people in their sleep. Other sound effects artists employed large open drums with BB shot to replicate the sound of waves at sea, a thunder screen to create claps of thunder, or a scratch box, a small wooden box with one side of tin. The tin was punched with nail holes, that, when swept with a wire brush, sounded like a steam engine train pulling out of the station.

A concept that became important to realism was layering. Layering sounds means using multiple sounds and mixing them to create a more realistic sound effect, an effort that requires the use of additional people (or recorded sounds). For example, to create the sound of a dinosaur for some of the early radio programs, sound effects artists mixed the sounds of real animals (a lion's roar, an elephant's trumpeting, and a tiger snarling), which when played at a slower speed became the industry standard for the sound of a dinosaur.

Sound effects personnel often had to make extraordinary efforts to create everyday sounds that sounded “right” on radio. For example, they used flash bulbs dropping into a glass for ice, a cork dipped in turpentine and then rubbed on a bottle to create the screech of a monkey or rat. They could squeeze a box of cornstarch to sound like footsteps in the snow or use their arms and elbows to hit a table to sound like a body falling. Splash tanks were important for sounds that required water, such as washing dishes on a soap opera or for creating storms at sea on the dramas.

Footsteps were the most commonly requested sound effect for radio. Most artists had special shoes, called “walking shoes,” used only for creating the footsteps on air. The artists paid careful attention to the maintenance of the soles and heels of these shoes to be sure they would produce adequate sounds.

A variety of materials and techniques were used to create the illusion of walking on different surfaces. For example, plywood boards were most commonly used for floors and steps inside buildings such as offices or homes. Sound effects artists preferred a piece of plywood to a portable stair because they found the stairs too limiting; instead they perfected a technique of stepping on the board and then rubbing the sole over the end to replicate the sound of someone climbing or descending the stairs. When the script called for someone going up the stairs, they placed the weight of the step on the sole of the shoe, and for descending stairs, the weight was on the heel. To produce the sound of someone walking on a sidewalk, in the street, or indoors on a concrete floor, they used a slab of marble.

A large wooden box that could be filled with gravel, cornstarch (for footsteps in the snow), or other materials was used when needed, as were palm fronds or broom corn to imitate footfalls or movement through a jungle.

Recorded Sound Libraries

As the technology for recording sounds increased, recorded effects of those sounds not easily reproduced in the studio became commonplace. Initially, recording equipment was large and cumbersome, limiting artists’ ability to go into the field and record needed sounds. Manufacturers responded by developing portable equipment that allowed artists the freedom to record realistic sounds to 78 rpm records and to alter the speed

at which the records were played back, changing the nature of the sound. These recordings were used to provide general, background noises whereas the manually produced sounds were for specific actions such as someone walking down stairs.

Although recorded sound effects provided standardized sounds, the artists still had to be skilled to produce the correct volume, quality, and speed. According to Robert Turnbull (1951), sound effects artists had to be adept with the record to cross-arm, double-arm, segue, slip-speed, or spot-cue. By 1950, sound effects artists had access to over 15,000 recorded sounds. The major networks had extensive libraries of commercially recorded sounds for their sound effects artists. These were often complemented by a collection of specially recorded sounds that the artists recorded locally.

Well before the coming of television, most sound effects had been reduced to recordings, and stations as well as networks could stock hundreds of discs with all types of recorded sound carefully catalogued and indexed. These could be inserted or brought in under actors creating a precise and smoothly integrated sound—at a fraction of the cost of an extensive live sound effects operation. Virtually all modern television sound effects are achieved in this fashion.

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See also Production for Radio

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Soundprint

U.S. Documentary Series and Media Center

Soundprint is one of the few ongoing nationally broadcast, noncommercial radio documentary series in America. The series is produced by the Soundprint Media Center, Incorporated (SMCI), a nonprofit media production and training facility based in Laurel, Maryland, near Washington, D.C.

Since 1988 *Soundprint*'s weekly broadcasts have featured documentaries by independent radio producers who explore a wide range of topics in half-hour segments. Most of the shows provide more context than one finds in deadline-driven, time-specific radio news stories. The series also provides an outlet for international voices through its documentary exchange program with producers in England, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Scotland, Hong Kong, the Netherlands, and Ireland.

In addition, *Soundprint*'s parent company, SMCI, embraces cutting-edge media technologies. The center maintains state-of-the-art digital audio production facilities and offers world wide web hosting and other internet services.

Soundprint was created in 1986 by the meeting of the minds of some innovative public radio managers and producers. At the Johns Hopkins University station then known as WJHU in Baltimore, Maryland, station managers David Creagh and Dennis Kita hired William Siemering to be the executive producer of their proposed new national documentary series. Siemering was a visionary leader, having co-created National Public Radio's (NPR) flagship daily evening news program, *All Things Considered*. Also, at WHYY in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Siemering was a major force behind the creation of the station's celebrated daily national interview program *Fresh Air*. And multi-award winning producers Jay Allison and Larry Massett were two of *Soundprint*'s first documentarians.

Although NPR, the largest of America's public radio networks, maintained its own vehicle for documentaries, *Soundprint* enabled producers outside of the NPR system to air programs dealing with extremely personal issues or with broader societal concerns. For example, one award-winning *Soundprint* show, "Mei Mei: A Daughter's Song" by producer Dmae Roberts (1989), provided an intimate view of a woman's difficult relationship with her mother. The Canadian production "Forever Changed" by Kelly Ryan (1999) examined how people from different walks of life in Nova Scotia dealt with the aftermath of the 1998 crash of Swiss Air Flight 111.

From the start, *Soundprint* encouraged producers to engage listeners aurally in such a way as to allow them to "see" a story through creative sound design—often a com-

plex, multi-layered mix of ambient sound, music, narration, and sound bites from event participants. Moreover, *Soundprint* attempts to provide unique perspectives on social, political, cultural, or scientific issues. One of *Soundprint*'s science programs, for example, entitled "A Plague of Plastic Soldiers" produced by Stephen Smith (1996), examined the technological impact of land mines in Southeast Asia— instruments of war that continue to maim and kill long after fighting has ceased. Another program, "Heavy Petting" by Gemma Hooley (1998), humorously chronicled America's infatuation with pets.

The series has always been produced in stereo—technically distinguishing itself from the monaural sound of most radio news programs. And as early as its first broadcast year, *Soundprint* employed the multitrack mixing format used by the music recording industry—enabling the series to better achieve its layered soundscape. In recognition of its technical and contextual daring, the series had won more than 50 major national and international awards through 2002.

Yet for all its success, *Soundprint* has had to wage an ongoing financial battle for survival. Documentary production can be expensive—requiring costly research, travel, sound gathering, editing, and mixing expenses. For the first five years of its life, the series was funded by grants from the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB), the National Endowment for the Arts, and WJHU-FM funds. But as CPB funding (then *Soundprint*'s largest funding source) ended in 1993, WJHU support also dwindled. *Soundprint* executive producer Moira Rankin and technical director Anna Maria de Freitas decided to incorporate the series into a nonprofit company called the Soundprint Media Center, Inc.

The newly formed company landed a major grant from the National Science Foundation (NSF) and rented space at American University's station WAMU-FM in Washington, D.C. But it was clear that the center could not survive on grants alone—especially grants exclusively linked to radio documentary production. So in an attempt to expand its support base, the SMCI began exploring the emerging world of the internet. Through this exploration, the company could also continue to satisfy its desire to utilize new media technology.

In 1994 the SMCI took its documentary series to high school students through the internet and developed some basic webpages for students and teachers. This work led to the center's development of a pioneering mini-network of public broadcasting stations on the internet in 1995. Participating stations included Norfolk, Virginia's WHRO; Athens, Ohio's WOUB; Boston, Massachusetts' WGBH; Minnesota Public

Radio; and the Louisiana Public Broadcasting system. Participants could share programs and compare programming strategies through SMCI's on-line network.

The SMCI later expanded its on-line efforts by providing the technical architecture, securing the funding, and project-managing "ArtsFest '97," one of the first public broadcasting internet arts festivals. Programming from about 15 noncommercial radio and television stations nationwide was featured almost 24 hours a day during a two-week period. Web users could hear arts programs as varied as cowboy poetry from KGNU-FM in Boulder, Colorado; zydeco music from WWOZ-FM in New Orleans, Louisiana; and radio theater from KCRW-FM in Santa Monica, California.

The SMCI is now continuing its internet innovations by offering database management along with website hosting, updating, and content development. In fact, the company's internet projects have brought in substantial funds from the NSF and the United States Department of Education, as well as contractual work with federal agencies and public radio and television research or production organizations.

SMCI's internet operations have financially bolstered the *Soundprint* radio series. Yet *Soundprint* continues to face challenges. During the mid-1990s, some independent producers boycotted the series until program ownership rights and compensation concerns were resolved. And although *Soundprint* can be heard on stations in several of the country's major markets, the series' station carriage numbers have dropped from a previous high of more than 100 stations during the early 1990s to about 50 stations in the year 2002. Since 1995, radio stations have had to pay for the series. It had been free to affiliate stations when *Soundprint* was distributed by the American Public Radio network (now known as Public Radio International) from 1988-93, and by NPR from 1993-95.

Soundprint produces roughly 45 new documentaries along with 53 reruns a year. Each week, two half-hour programs are fed via satellite to participating stations throughout the country. Current or archived programs can be heard at *Soundprint's* website, located at www.soundprint.org.

SONJA WILLIAMS

See also Documentary Programs; Public Radio Since 1967

Hosts

Barbara Bogaev (2000-present), Lisa Simeone (1997-2000), Larry Massett (1988-1997), John Hockenberry (1988)

Creators

William Siemering, David Creagh, Dennis Kita, Larry Massett, Jay Allison

Producers

Moira Rankin, Anna Maria de Freitas

Programming History

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Public Radio International	
National Public Radio	1993-95
Soundprint Media Center, Inc.	1995-Present

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South America

South America consists of 13 countries—ten with cultural roots tied to Spain or (in the case of Brazil) Portugal, and three smaller nations with non-Iberian backgrounds. Radio penetration is high and is an important part of the media environment, as many of the countries are poor and people rely on radio as an inexpensive means of communication, education, and entertainment.

Origins and Development

Radio developed during the 1920s and 1930s following the U.S. commercial model. Most governments allowed private development by large media companies owned by a few wealthy families. This relationship allowed the media companies to benefit from favorable decisions by the government. In addition, there was much influence by foreign media concerns, especially those in the United States. For example, in Argentina the big three U.S. networks—the American Broadcasting Company (ABC), the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), and the National Broadcasting Company (NBC)—were all present by the 1950s and influenced radio's structure and commercial development. Another influence was the political climate. Many countries of South America changed governments frequently, fluctuating between military dictatorships and ineffective democratic rule. Bolivia, the most extreme example, has had 200 governments (one every nine months) since gaining independence in 1825. Today many democratic reforms are influencing the political landscape but the history of repression is still felt, especially in media laws.

International radio broadcasts are used by the governments of South American countries, on shortwave and medium wave signals, to communicate political, economic, social, and cultural information to the world community. Many of these international services offer multilingual programming. For example, Radiodifusion Argentina al Exterior has English, German, Italian, Japanese, Portuguese, and Spanish services. International broadcasts are also popular with the local audiences. Los Medios y Mercados de Latino America, a marketing research company, reports that audiences in 1998 listened to Radio Nacional do Brasil, the Voice of America (VOA), the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), Radio Mexico International, Radiodifusion Argentina al Exterior, Radio France International, Deutsche Welle, and Radiotelevisione Italiana. The listeners to these broadcasts are usually more affluent, better educated, and of higher occupational status (managers and professionals) than average. The competition for these services are internet broadcasts that deliver clear signals across international borders. Of the 9.21 million people who listen to inter- choice and read an announcement such as "Happy Birthday"

national radio broadcasts, 5 percent of them have internet access in their homes.

Despite poor economic conditions in many South American countries, new technology is present, such as cable television and web radio stations. Because of limited computer ownership, however, web access to radio stations in South America remains limited. Zonalatina, a comprehensive website covering Latin America, has links to 750 Latin American radio stations, including some that have live internet broadcasts. Most are from large cities such as São Paulo, and their audiences seem to be from outside the cities of origin, so the broadcasters can appeal to a larger audience over a wide area.

Community radio stations are owned, run, and controlled by the public they serve and provide "alternative" programming to commercial or state-run media. They generally have a very small range and operate on a small staff and budget. Although they are not profit oriented, these stations will sometimes accept advertising to survive. Since the 1950s, community radio has grown rapidly in Latin America and today numbers about 2000 stations. It currently operates in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Columbia, Chile, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay. One goal of the programming is to focus on local interests, rather than national or world interests caused by consolidation and globalization of the media. The World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters (AMARC; L'Association Mondiale des Radiodiffuseurs) helps with this goal. One example of globalization is the influence of international news agencies, primarily from Europe and the United States, on local radio news. To balance this influence, AMARC sponsors a news agency that provides community radio stations in Latin America with information useful for their listeners. Agencia Informativa Pulsar (referred to as Pulsar) began in March 1996 and produces daily bulletins and specialized services. One such service is "Nuqanchik," a daily news service in the Quechua language, which is spoken by almost 10 million people in the Andean region. Headquartered in Ecuador, services are distributed via the internet.

Although advertising and government support form the basis for much of South American radio, other means of funding are necessary for the small stations that operate in many economically poor areas. *Comunicados* (personal messages) are used as a primary means of communication between rural towns, government, businesses, and people. Listeners pay the local station to broadcast personal announcements, often at noontime when listenership is high. The price can be as low as 30 cents (U.S.) for three airings. Another source of income is song dedications, with listeners paying for the privilege. For as low as 20 cents (U.S.), the stations will play a record of one's or "I love you."

Radio may follow formats (usually in urban areas) or block programming (usually in rural areas). The 1998 *Los Medios y Mercados de Latino America* (The Media and Markets in Latin America) listed the most popular radio formats for Spanish-speaking Latin America, grouping them into six general categories (percentages reflect the number surveyed who said they regularly listen to that format): popular music, which includes Spanish-language popular music (31 percent) and rock music (22 percent); information, including news (46 percent) and sports (24 percent); *exotica*, which includes classical music (10 percent) and jazz (4 percent); talk, including commentary (15 percent); relaxation, including tropical music (44 percent) and Spanish-language ballads (38 percent); didactic, which includes religious programs (5 percent); and *radionovelas*, or soap operas (2 percent).

Marketing research is used in larger cities. The results show similarities to other countries in listener preferences. Rock music is popular with males ages 12–29, advice/variety/family programs with older females, and sports with older men. The daypart patterns of listening are also very similar to other parts of the world. Radio listening is heaviest in the morning and lighter in the evenings and on weekends. The heaviest listening is on Monday through Friday from 6:00 A.M. to 10:00 A.M.

Radio in Selected Countries

Argentina

Argentina can claim the oldest radio station in the world. On 27 August 1920, ten weeks before KDKA in Pittsburgh signed on, Sociedad Radio Argentina began regular broadcasts from Buenos Aires. Until 1922, it was the only radio station on the air. It had no government license, as the Argentina government did not begin to issue them until 1923. By 1925, there were 12 stations in Buenos Aires and ten in the interior. Three networks also developed: Radio El Mundo, Radio Splendid, and Radio Belgrano.

Radio programs and music from the United States became popular in the early years of radio in Argentina. One of the most famous Argentine radio broadcasts was of the U.S. boxing match between Jack Dempsey and Argentine Luis Angel Firpo on 24 September 1923; the match increased the sale of radio receivers considerably. In the early years, U.S. dance music such as the fox trot, boogie woogie, and swing competed with the tango in Argentina. In 1934, Carlos Gardel, one of the most famous tango singers in Argentina, broadcast from NBC studios in New York to Buenos Aires. Orson Welles came to Buenos Aires in 1942 as a special guest of Radio El Mundo to talk about the impact of his famous broadcast, "War of the Worlds."

Broadcasting developed in complete freedom until 1943, when stations were seized by the fascist military government

for propaganda purposes. All programs became scripted and no shortwave reception from any Allied power was permitted. Juan Perón, who was appointed head of the National Labor Department, was the first to use radio to communicate effectively to a large population. In 1945 when he was arrested, his wife Evita used Radio Belgrano to incite 200,000 workers to demand his release. (Evita had been working as one of the leading producers of *radionovelas* for Radio El Mundo and Radio Belgrano.) Perón eventually declared all radio licenses expired and passed ownership of them to his friends. When he was deposed in 1955, the number of both government and private stations increased. There was a virtual monopoly by wealthy media conglomerates who relied on advertising from U.S. companies doing business in Argentina. In the 1970s military coups repressed all media and put a former German Nazi radio propagandist in charge of all programming at government stations.

Today, Argentine radio broadcasts mostly music and news, with the Top 100 Hits format ranking among the most popular. Although formats are similar to U.S. programming, tango and tropical music is included. And The University of Buenos Aires broadcasts educational programs for credit over their radio station, UBA XXI.

Bolivia

Bolivia has a large number of radio stations because of the size of the country and its mountainous terrain. La Paz has about 40 stations that broadcast in Spanish and two native languages, Quechua and Aymara. The government operates its own stations and tries to maintain control over private stations, with little success due to the vague rules and regulations for telecommunications.

In Bolivia a small grassroots union movement became an important part of the radio system. Miners' radio began in 1946 as clandestine broadcasting to support the miners in the Siglo Viente mines, where conditions were abysmal. The movement was crushed by the government in 1949, but in 1952 when the mines were nationalized, the miners again began to broadcast. Included were news, folk music, education, information, and union news. Local events such as festivals were covered live. Some stations were supported by miners donating a day's pay every month. By 1956 there were 19 such stations. In 1959, fearing a communist takeover of the mines, the Roman Catholic church started Radio Pio Doce. Its broadcasts reached the entire country and spoke against the miners' movement, and twice the miners dynamited its transmitters. However, the competition improved the miners' broadcasts, and by 1963, when the government again closed the miners' radio stations and slashed their already low wages by 40 percent, the church took the side of the miners and Radio Pio Doce became their voice.

By 1974, after numerous coups in which the miners' stations were closed and reopened, the government distributed 5,000 TV sets in mining communities, attempting to get the miners away from the influence of radio. In 1980, the bloodiest coup of all took place and the miners' stations became the focus of resistance, staying on the air for 19 days following the coup. The Bolivian Air Force bombed at least one station, and no one knows how many miners and their families died during this struggle. In the 1980s Bolivia faced economic difficulties and many mines were closed. By 1993 the miners voted to support just one radio station in each of the three regions. Pio Doce also remains as a strong voice for the miners.

Brazil

Brazil is the largest country in South America and has an extensive communication system. There is a nationwide radio system and almost every household has at least one radio set. Radio is a very localized medium and most stations are independent. In major cities stations are usually affiliated with Radio Globo and Radio Bandeirantes.

Radio began in 1920. Most programming was live in the 1920s and 1930s; it included news, variety, and comedy. To support these early stations, radio clubs were formed, with donations given to the stations by the wealthy members. Often these stations were called "Radio Clube de . . ." or "Radio Sociedade . . ." There was also political influence for media owners who could provide coverage for politicians. One of the major networks was Diarios e Emissoras Associadas, which by 1938 owned 5 radio stations, 12 newspapers and 1 magazine led by Assis Chateaubriand. Other large media conglomerates include Radio Bandeirantes owned by Grupo Carvalho and Radio Globo owned by Roberto Marino. By the 1940s recorded music and soap operas were popular and commercial radio networks had been developed, primarily by newspaper chains. National and provincial governments also established networks, and the stations' main purpose, then as now, was to serve areas not economically viable for commercial interests, especially in the Amazon Basin.

Radio set a pattern in Brazil that television was to follow, which included a dominance of entertainment, advertiser supported stations, the importation of a considerable amount of programming in the early years, and, in later years, the use of much Brazilian material. Colgate was one sponsor of these early programs and used the same type of advertising aired in the United States. Variety shows developed a distinct local characteristic, the *show de auditorio* with a host and a live studio audience. This was one of the few formats in which the traditional Brazilian oral folk culture of story telling and song (including samba music, circus-type talk, and folk music) were brought to commercial media.

Today, radio offers diverse programming, market segmentation, and competition, especially in the large cities. Surveys indicate that radio is rated the most popular source of music, while television and newspapers are preferred for news. Entertainment varies by region, but radio dramas, soap operas, and variety shows are common throughout the country.

AM radio is more widely available; in cities, it focuses on music and formats that appeal to less affluent audiences, such as Brazilian country music, Brazilian popular music, sports, and talk. AM talk shows seem to appeal to a wider audience, especially during commuting hours. FM is primarily urban and plays more imported music as well as a great deal of Brazilian popular music. Large cities have 20 to 30 stations, which increases competition and audience segmentation. Many formats resemble U.S. radio.

Three government-sponsored programs must be carried by all stations. *Avoz do Brasil* is broadcast Monday through Friday at 7:00 P.M. and *Projecto Minerva*, sponsored by the Ministry of Education, is broadcast Monday through Friday from 8:00 to 8:30 P.M. Stations are also required to carry a one-hour evening newscast produced by the government, *Hora do Brazil*.

Chile

Chile is the only Latin American country classified as "developed" by the United Nations (UN). In the early 1920s, the Chilean congress considered setting up a BBC-type public broadcasting monopoly, but later decided to follow the U.S. model of private broadcasting. A solid radio industry was formed, and by the 1960s Chilean universities offered degrees in broadcasting and journalism. In 1971 when Salvador Allende nationalized the country's industry, advertising revenue dried up and many stations failed and were sold, mostly to political groups. During this period, about ten of 156 stations remained politically neutral; the others were owned by socialists (33), Christian democrats (29), and communists (28). Supporters of political agendas harassed the stations representing other viewpoints, by cutting their power lines, among other tactics.

After the coup that overthrew Allende, former staff members of Radio Magallanes moved to Moscow and were given a transmitter for special broadcasts to Chile. Other networks include the government-operated Radio Nacional (National Radio); Radio Chilean, run by the Roman Catholic church; Radio Minería, which takes its name from the mining interests but is a source of reliable news; Radio Agricultura, which focuses on news and programs of interest to Chile's farming community; and Radio Tierra, established in 1983, which claims to be the first all-woman radio station in the Americas.

Colombia

Early on Colombia used radio for education to rural communities. Hundreds of thousands of transistor radios were given away by political groups and religious organizations. The radios were locked onto frequencies that broadcast housing repair, nutrition, health, history, and geography. Radio Sutatenza was a pioneer in educational radio. Begun in a small village in 1948, its purpose was to educate the rural adult campesino. A multimedia approach was used to eliminate illiteracy among the 8 million rural adults. Areas of education included health, reading, arithmetic, economy and work, and spirituality. A newspaper, *El Campesino*, was used to support the lessons. Also developed were rural libraries, extension schools, and institutes for farmers. Radio Sutatenza has served as a model for countries in Asia and Africa, as well as others in South America; however, due to financial difficulties it was sold to the Caracol network in 1990.

Today, government stations still provide this type of programming; private stations broadcast music, sports, and news. The National Institute of Radio and Television (Inravisión) produces programs for the government-affiliated stations, but many are privately owned. Radio is viewed primarily as a source of entertainment or culture, rather than news. It has operated more freely than television and the two largest networks reflect opposing political viewpoints: liberal (Caracol) and conservative Radio Cadena Nacional (RCN). Caracol is the largest AM/FM network, with powerful transmitters that reach the entire country; the next largest network is RCN. Both have a large number of network-owned stations throughout the country that produce local news and information programs but also act as regional news bureaus. By law, they must broadcast some shortwave for Colombians out of the country, and the state imposes some guidelines to ensure equal time for political candidates. Caracol has an affiliate in Miami, Florida, that rebroadcasts from Bogota but also includes local news and information.

Other privately owned networks include Todelar, Super, and the evangelical Colmundo. Univalle Estereodio Station of the University of Valle from Cali broadcasts live on the internet 24 hours a day. Begun in 1995, it is concerned with news and culture and also broadcasts BBC and Radio France International.

Ecuador

Ecuador has over 260 commercial radio stations, including ten cultural and ten religious stations. The Voice of the Andes has operated for more than 50 years as a shortwave, evangelical Christian station, supported largely by contributions from the United States. Begun in 1931, it broadcasts in 16 languages and 22 dialects of the Quechua languages. In 1994, it began *America Latina via Satellite* (ALAS) as a joint project of HCJB

World Radio and Trans World Radio to deliver quality gospel programs to more than 60 affiliate stations in 12 Latin American countries.

Media ownership has remained in the hands of a few large interests. By the late 1980s, all media were privately controlled, except for Radio Nacional which at the turn of the century was still operated by the National Communications Secretariat (SENAC-Secretaria Nacional de Comunicaciones). The government controls the allocation of radio and television frequencies. The Febres Cordero government used the media in an effort to gain support for its free market economic policies and in the process infringed on press freedoms. In late 1984 the government temporarily closed five radio stations after they broadcast criticism of the government.

There is a well-developed infrastructure, so radio is better established and more professional than in some other South American countries. The Roman Catholic church has a large network run by the Franciscans. Programming usually includes Ecuadorian music and reciting of the rosary or inspirational thoughts for the day. The Bahai faith sponsors its only shortwave station here. There also is a trade union station owned and operated by the taxi drivers union in one province.

The largest commercial station, Radio Quito, was begun in 1940 and is owned by the largest newspaper, *El Comercio*. In the beginning, this station was affiliated with CBS and the BBC. In 1941 it carried the Joe Louis and Chilean Arturo Godoy boxing match and used loudspeakers in plazas for those who did not own radios. In 1949 Radio Quito did a takeoff on Orson Welles' "War of the Worlds" that created a riot in the city. The radio and newspaper offices were burned and 20 people died. Today, its programming is mostly news and sports.

Founded as a broadcast station in 1940, Acerca de CRE is now also transmitting on the internet with programs including information and sports events.

Paraguay

Although Paraguay was the first South American country to enjoy telegraph service, later communication systems developed slowly and the military maintained control over the media. In the 1980s, only one Paraguayan in 20 owned a radio. In every category of ownership, Paraguay ranked last in South America, well behind less developed countries such as Bolivia and Guyana. In the late 1980s there were 52 radio stations in Paraguay, only three of which were independent. One of these was Radio Caritas, sponsored by the Roman Catholic church. The most important independent radio station (until its closure in January 1987) was Radio Nanduti, which had a live phone-in program that frequently aired complaints about corruption and lack of democracy. In July 1983 station director Roberto Rubin was arrested several times, and in April and

May of 1986 the station was attacked by Colorado vigilantes. After months of jamming and other harassment, it was finally forced off the air.

Today, commercial and private stations are able to broadcast a range of views, including those of the opposition party. Radio Nanduti is back on the air. Programming includes news/talk, classical, jazz, pop, rock, and retro. A popular retro station, Radio Venus, can be heard on the internet at www.venus.com.py.

A popular form of folk music heard on many radio stations is harp music. Spanish and Guaraní (the native language) are heard over the air. *Radio Oberdira*, located in southern Paraguay, is available on the internet. The station uses block programming, as various music styles are heard 20 hours per day, offering something for everyone.

Peru

Radio began in Peru in 1921, and military rulers maintained strict control over all forms of media. In 1971 a general telecommunications law gave the government a 25 percent ownership interest in all privately owned radio stations. A new telecommunications law in the 1980s, however, gave stations more freedom. In 1992 President Fujimori seized control of all media in the name of national security.

Today, Peru's media has much more freedom under President Alejandro Toledo, elected in 2001. Privately run radio stations are the most popular; state run media have small audiences. While broadcasters have regained some independence, the Fujimori-era scandals (Congress dismissed Fujimori on the grounds of "moral incapacity") have adversely affected public confidence in media.

Radio broadcasts consist mainly of music and news, with 30 percent of total time given to advertising. Regulations require that 65 percent of programming and 100 percent of advertising on radio be of domestic (Peruvian) origin. Small stations in rural areas are often not officially licensed and only broadcast part of the day, as electricity is often only available in the evening. Because of the country's geography, shortwave transmission is used. In the early years of radio, AM was in the cities and could not reach outlying areas. By the 1970s there were many shortwave stations, especially in the smaller towns in the rural north, which is either mountainous or jungle. Rural audiences prefer block programming and a popular folk music, *huayno*.

Many stations fail because competition is strong and costs are high. Stations often use kerosene generators for power, and at times there may not be enough money to buy the kerosene, as a station's income may only be 10 to 20 dollars per day. Due to economic factors, stations may be off the air for days, weeks, or months at a time. Radio Sol Armonia began on 1 January 1984. It is devoted to classical music and educational

programs for the country. Although it is associated with commercial Radio El Sol, sponsors from all over the world provide money and material donations. International radio stations and broadcasting organizations that provide programs include Deutsche Welle, Radio France International, Nederland Radio, Radio Exterior Espana, Radio Canada International, and Swiss Radio. Programs are a mixture of lectures and conferences on cultural themes. The station publishes a monthly bulletin with information on specials and news and is available through the internet. Radio Sol Armonia also produced a cassette dedicated to the German-Peruvian composer Rudolfo Holzmann. In 1998 they released their first CD of Peruvian baroque music. The service has received several awards from Brazil, Chile, and the Peruvian congress for its cultural work. The station is owned by a non-profit organization, Asociacion Cultural Filarmonia.

Uruguay

The Uruguayan Broadcast Corporation has control over all communications media in Uruguay. Radio FEUU was a pirate station started by university students in Montevideo in 1995. They demanded a better budget and free radio stations as alternatives to the commercial system. However, the government eventually shut them down. All parts of the country receive at least one AM radio station, but 25 percent of its radio stations are found in the Montevideo area. Ten of the AM stations also broadcast on shortwave frequencies to reach a larger audience, both at home and abroad. All stations except for one government-owned transmitter are commercial and broadcast in Spanish.

Begun in 1924, Servicio Oficial de Difusion Radiotelevision y Espectaculos (SODRE) is the national government radio station. It primarily sponsors medium wave and FM transmissions. There are some international shortwave broadcasts for Uruguayans abroad. An internet station, Radio El Espectador, offers a mix of news, sports, information, and travel.

Venezuela

Venezuela's broadcast industry is a quasi-monopoly that was influenced during its development by foreign investment and personnel from the United States and Cuba. After the fall of dictator Perez Jimenez in the late 1950s, democratically elected leaders built a relationship with private media that allowed for largely unregulated development of commercial broadcasting. The government retains some control over content of an adult nature. The government operates the *Radio Nacional* network, which informs listeners (especially those in rural areas) about education, agriculture, and civic matters. Most stations are concentrated in Caracas, but transmitters are located throughout the country. There is also an international shortwave service.

There is very little religious broadcasting. Colombian radio can also be heard in western Venezuela.

FM is a relative newcomer. In the early 1950s, the government had a law that limited service to one radio station per 60,000 people, and by the time FM radio stations were developed in the 1970s, there was no room for them. The law made it impossible to operate FM stations except in the urban areas with sufficient populations to meet this requirement. In 1988 the government decided that the law applied only to AM stations, and officials began awarding numerous FM frequencies to political favorites. They also added Class D FM for lowpower FM stations in small towns. Some industry experts feel that the oversaturation of radio is a major crisis in Venezuelan broadcasting.

A unique type of financial support is used by Globo FM. Announcers contract with the station for hours of airtime and then are responsible for finding ads. Listener growth in FM is primarily among younger people. Radio Rumbos (anchor of the largest radio network) runs two AM stations and feeds newscasts to affiliates using a satellite link. Radio Mundal also has satellite uplinks and broadcasts news all over the country.

Other Nations

The non-Latin countries of South America are French Guiana, Guyana (a former British colony), and Suriname (a former Dutch colony). French Guiana operates a national radio broadcast, Radio-Télévision Française d'Outre-Mer (RFO), Radio FM from Cayenna, with several repeater stations throughout the country. Two radio stations are on the internet, one of which is part of a ten-station group of French-language stations providing coverage across three oceans.

In Guyana today, almost all people own a radio set. There is no clear telecommunications policy and the government controls what were once private stations. There are two AM stations and one FM station in the capital and one FM station in Lethem. None are on the internet. The government runs Radio Roraima and the Voice of Guyana.

Suriname has total radio saturation with one radio set per 1.5 persons. Reflecting its unusual past are broadcasts in Hindustani, Javanese, and Dutch. Four stations are available on the internet.

For most of South America, radio remains the most accessible and affordable mass medium. According to Bruce Girard, low production and distribution costs have made it possible for radio to focus on local issues, provide a local perspective on world issues, and to speak in local languages. For example, Quechua is almost absent from the television screens in Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru, but in Peru it is estimated that 180 radio stations regularly offer programs in that language. Radio is also used in agricultural extension programs, education, and the preservation of local language and culture.

However, local and regional radio is threatened by national and international networks. For example, in Peru three satellite networks, broadcasting from the capital via repeater stations throughout the country, have more audience share than the 40 largest provincial stations put together. In Argentina and Brazil, national multi-media empires have built satellite radio networks that have converted hundreds of independent local radio stations into repeater stations that provide programs produced by the nation's capital. Technically superior, these networks have resulted in the loss of choice, local information, and alternative perspectives. Although the internet has the potential to develop a local role like radio's, internet access is very limited and requires an infrastructure that most countries in South America cannot afford. Currently, most radio programming remains local. The future of radio in South America could be one of consolidation and privatization, which will result in ownership and control in fewer hands and the loss of local and alternative voices.

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See also Brazil; Cuba; Developing Nations; Mexico

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South Pacific Islands

Radio in the Pacific presents its own set of unique challenges to radio broadcasting that include remoteness, multiple languages, shortage of skills and resources, irregular transport, awkward low lying coral atolls, high humidity, salt spray, cyclones, electric thunderstorms, and less than certain power supplies. The South Pacific Ocean is home to a number of small island nations affected by the tyranny of distance. Vast oceans exist not only between states but also within them. The 84,000 citizens of Kiribati live on small islands dotted over 2,131,000 square kilometres. The state of Niue has fewer than 2,000 people. Only two countries other than Australia and New Zealand, treated separately, have populations in excess of a half million: Papua New Guinea (4.2 million) and Fiji (900,000). Of the 18 jurisdictions, nine microstates have independent sovereignty (Fiji, Kiribati, Nauru, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, and Vanuatu) and two have an independent association with New Zealand (Niue and Cook Islands). The remainder have some form of legislative arrangement with other countries (principally France, the United States, the United Kingdom, and New Zealand).

Papua New Guinea

Radio began in the South Pacific during the colonial period and continued to play a significant role as the region's states sought and gained independence. An early radio broadcast station was set up by Amalgamated Wireless in Papua New Guinea in October 1935. The station took advertising and provided a two-hour daily schedule except for Sundays when, in deference to the strong Christian traditions in the community, the station was silent. The station was not successful and closed in 1941.

In 1944 the U.S. military requested that Australia, a U.S. wartime ally and Papua New Guinea's neighbor, establish a radio station in Port Moresby for the United States and allied military. Following the war, Australia took administrative responsibility for Papua New Guinea and the Australian Broadcasting Corporation expanded from Port Moresby, developing a nationwide service that by 1963 could be heard over much of the territory. Programs were 40 percent indigenous and 30 percent expatriate; the rest were of general interest. During the 1960s the administration sought to develop a more proactive government broadcasting policy that could act as a barrier to the influence of broadcasts from the less stable Dutch and Indonesian northern neighbors. The Administration Broadcasting Service opened its first station in Rabul in 1961 and by the decade's end had a range of stations in densely populated areas with the aim of increasing awareness and acceptance of what the government was trying to do.

The two services combined following independence (in 1975) when the Papua New Guinea National Broadcasting Commission was established. It is the largest broadcasting organization in the Pacific islands with over 500 employees currently operating 19 provincial stations and three networks: the *Kundu* (provincial), the *Karai* (national), and Hits and Memories, FM100 (commercial) services. In 1994 private radio began in Port Moresby with the launch of Nau FM, a station locally owned but operated by Communications Fiji. A second station, Yumi FM, was added in 1997, broadcasting in local pidgin. Local stations have sprung up, including FM Central in Port Moresby and Lae. In addition a Christian radio network, supported by the Roman Catholic church, is being considered.

Fiji

Fiji, with a much smaller and more compact population, has been well served with radio coverage by the Fiji Broadcasting Commission, which was established with expatriate British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) management playing a key role. In 1999 the Fiji Broadcasting Commission was corporatized, changing its name to the Fiji Broadcasting Corporation (FBC).

The FBC currently offers numerous radio services: two AM networks that reach most of the country's population centers—Radio Fiji One (in Fijian) and Radio Fiji Two (in Hindi)—and several FM stations including Bula 100 (in English), Bula 102 (in Fijian), and Bula 98 (in Hindi) and 2-Day FM.

Fiji was the first Pacific island state to permit private commercial radio broadcasting. Private broadcaster Communications Fiji, established in 1985, operates five networks and stations. Two are English language networks, FM96 broadcasting a contemporary Hit/Pop music format and Legend FM broadcasting a "Gold" format. It also broadcasts Radio Navtarang, a Hindi language network, and Viti FM, a Fijian language network. Both these programs are in an adult contemporary format. They also rebroadcast the World Service program of the BBC. Others include Radio Light, Radio Hope, and FM97, all independent Christian radio stations, as well as Z-FM, a private station operating in Lautoka and Nadi. Currently the radio market in Fiji is very "flexible," with Christian and other private stations coming and going depending on enthusiasm, finance, and opportunity.

Other Nations

Tuvalu also has a broadcasting system developed during colonial times by expatriate staff from the BBC. Local Tuvaluan

staff even went to the United Kingdom for training, as did staff from other colonial broadcasting services. Radio Tuvalu, broadcasting on a medium wave station for about six hours each day, serves this nation of just 10,000 people.

Other small nations also maintain radio services. Niue (population 2,000) has Radio Sunshine, a part-time station providing local and overseas news, notices, advertisements, and light entertainment. Nauru (population 10,000) has Radio Nauru, a state-run service broadcasting 18 hours per day and providing local news coverage as well as rebroadcasts of news from Radio Australia. In Kiribati (84,000) the government-owned Broadcasting and Publications Authority operates Radio Kiribati. It has two transmitters to cover its far-flung atolls, and broadcasts (mainly in the local language) a morning and evening program each day.

The Cook Islands (20,000) has the Cook Islands Broadcasting and Newspaper Corporation (CIBNC), previously state owned but now privately owned and operated by religious broadcaster Elijah Communications. It operates on medium wave and shortwave broadcasts in English and also in Cook Islands Maori. It carries national and regional news bulletins and retransmits news from Radio Australia and Radio New Zealand International. A competing private FM radio station, KC FM, covers the main island of Rarotonga. The Kingdom of Tonga (99,000) has a state broadcasting system, the Tonga Broadcasting Commission, operating a medium wave station and an FM music station. A private Christian radio station, 93FM, also operates in Tonga. Two territories, Pitcairn Island (population 47) and Tokelau Islands (1,900) do not have broadcasting services.

In the Solomon Islands (404,000), the state-owned Solomon Islands Broadcasting Corporation operates the national AM service, Radio Happy Isles, as well as two AM stations on distant islands and a new youth-oriented FM service (Wan FM) broadcasting in both English and pidgin. In 1996 Z100, a locally owned private station, began broadcasting. In 1999 Paoa-FM ("Power FM" in pidgin) began operating nationally. This station is owned by a local newspaper (*The Solomon Star*).

Vanuatu (population 178,000) has a state owned and operated Broadcasting and Television Corporation. This former French and British controlled nation recognizes three official languages: Bislama (local pidgin), French, and English. Radio Vanuatu broadcasts programs in all three. The corporation also operates a commercial FM station in the capital, Port Vila.

Samoa recognized 50 years of continuous radio broadcasting in 1997, as the state-owned radio station 2AP began operations in 1948. Its strong transmitter means that its programs are widely known through the Pacific, with the signal being received as far away as Fiji and the Cook Islands. An FM station began operation in 1992, and both stations operate commercially. Complementing state radio are two private FM

radio stations, the fully commercial Magik FM and Radio Graceland, a Christian broadcasting station.

External Support

Many of the South Pacific island states rely on international aid for development and, in many cases, survival. A number of the region's state broadcasters have also had such support. Australia, New Zealand, and other countries provide financial support to island broadcasting. International organizations such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the Commonwealth Broadcasting Association have funded broadcasting activities in the islands. Two German agencies, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung and Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit, have provided extensive funds to promote the development of broadcasting. Funds have been used to support regional training initiatives (PACBROAD), the establishment and operation of a regional independent news service (PACNEWS), a professional association of news organizations (Pacific Island News Association) and a professional association of broadcasting organizations (Pacific Islands Broadcasting Association). In 2003 the professional association merged with the news association to form one group.

Challenges

Three significant challenges face South Pacific islands radio broadcasting. First, aid support is neither guaranteed nor consistent. Thus organizations that are created and developed using such funds struggle to survive when funding is reduced or ceases altogether. All of the regional organizations mentioned above have had this experience. Second, independent journalism in the Pacific has always had an uncomfortable relationship with the region's conservative and cautious governments. Historically all of the broadcast media and much of the print media have been state controlled or influenced. Some governments object to criticism, reports that reflect badly on authorities, or any form of independent investigative reporting. Offending journalists have been treated harshly in the past, losing their jobs and even facing imprisonment. Pacific island states are slowly adapting to a more critical media environment but many see the form of freedoms and independence enjoyed by Western news media organizations as not appropriate nor in the best interests of their culture and politics.

Finally, and perhaps most significantly, many South Pacific island governments are following recent international trends and reducing expenditures. State media organizations are facing both budget cuts and requirements to provide a revenue stream. There is a move to privatize state media in some countries. Papua New Guinea is currently considering the privatization of several state-owned assets, including broadcasting. The

Cook Islands Broadcasting and Newspaper Corporation was privatized amid controversy in 1997, and others such as Fiji Broadcasting and the Samoa Broadcasting Services have incorporated their broadcasting organizations, requiring them to act as business entities, although they still receive significant state funding.

Commercial operators are a big threat to state broadcasters, which are often steeped in tradition, slow to react to market forces, and not responsive to audience wants. The independents are thus taking large audience shares. Navtarang, FM96, and Viti are in the first-, second-, and third-rated positions in the Fijian market, with nearly 70 percent of all listenership. In Papua New Guinea, Yumi FM and Nau FM are first and second in the market. Paoa FM and Z100 hold similar positions in the Solomon Islands (all 1999 figures). Meanwhile, despite the recent introduction of television (serving urban elites) in many countries, radio remains the only effective national communication system in most South Pacific island countries. But with competition from private radio and television, many national broadcasters have trouble servicing

outer island communities, which thus risk increasing isolation and estrangement. However, as new technology is providing more efficient and cost-effective delivery systems, it is only a matter of time until even the smallest island nation will receive a commercial network feed from one or another of its larger neighbors.

BRIAN T. PAULING

See also Australia; New Zealand

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Soviet Union. *See* Russia/Soviet Union

Sportscasters

Sportscasters are the play-by-play and color announcers of sporting events and the hosts of shows that highlight games and athletic performances. From radio's earliest days, live sporting events have been surefire audience gatherers. Beginning in 1921 with Harold Arlin, announcer of the first professional baseball game over radio station KDKA, and lasting all the way to Bob Costas hosting the National Broadcasting Company's (NBC) 21st century's Olympic Games, sportscasters have been central to the popularity of electronic coverage of games, events, and sports-related celebrations. Indeed, a broadcast network once televised the first half of a National Football League (NFL) football game without any announcing merely to demonstrate to television audiences how crucial the announcers were to their entertainment and understanding of the game. Radio, of course, could not even attempt such a voiceless experiment.

Background

Although nearly all sportscasters began their careers as play-by-play announcers, a few came laterally from careers as players or coaches. Nonetheless, most sportscasters can point to years of routine play-by-play announcing of baseball, basketball, soccer, hockey, and football games, as well as tennis and golf competitions, swimming, wrestling, and track meets, at the local high-school and college levels before their moves into regional or national radio sports announcing of college and professional sports. At the regional and network levels, many began as spotters or statisticians before they were permitted on the air.

Although sportscasting has often been a profession of white men, African-American sportscasters began gaining small network on-air roles during the 1980s; brothers Greg and Bryant

Gumble, for example, moved into sportscasting, Greg permanently. Bryant, during his 15 years as host of *The Today Show* (1982–97), served as the main anchor for the 1988 Olympics. Greg hosted CBS's *The NFL Today*, NBC's *NFL Live*, and the 1994 Lillehammer Olympics, later becoming the host of HBO's *Real Sports*. Former Minnesota Viking Ahmad Rashad anchored the pregame *NBA on NBC*, *NBA Stuff*, and *Sports World* for NBC, while also serving as studio host and/or commentator for several Olympics (1988, 1992, 1996).

Women sportscasters first earned national visibility in the 1990s. Their voices quickly became part of radio as well as television sportscasting. Like their male counterparts, such nationally known sportscasters as Robin Roberts of ESPN, Leslie Visser of Columbia Broadcast System (CBS) and American Broadcasting Company (ABC), and Hannah Storm of NBC earned their network positions after years of local play-by-play announcing. Others, such as Mary Carillo, widely respected for her CBS and Olympic tennis reporting, came to announcing after playing and coaching.

Many luminaries of the television era began their careers in radio, including Jim McKay, Brent Musburger, and Curt Goudy. Moreover, these and such other famous television sportscasting personalities as Howard Cosell, Dick Vitale, Pat Summerall, and John Madden have regularly contributed to radio sports programs, generally as commentators within sports newscasts or sports talk programs. One of the most controversial of present-day sports commentators, Frank DeFord, contributes a weekly on-air essay to National Public Radio (NPR) and appears regularly on Home Box Office's (HBO) *Real Sports*, in addition to writing columns for *Sports Illustrated*.

Generalists and Specialists

Sportscasters come in two varieties: the generalists, who announce and host all kinds of sporting events and contests, and the specialists, who are experts in a single sport. Jim McKay and Bob Costas epitomize the generalists. Each has announced hundreds—if not thousands—of baseball and football games and hosted many Olympics. McKay was also the much respected host of the long-running *Wide World of Sports*, ABC's pioneer sports anthology TV program that covered numerous sporting events from around the world. Costas is especially known for his extraordinarily meticulous preparation before broadcasts, sometimes devoting months to thorough researching and writing before a major event. But in the very early days of radio, all announcers were expected to be able to move from sport to sport, just as newscasters reported on any newsworthy topic. The best generalists often migrate to the network level, and many big-name sportscasters of ABC, CBS, NBC, and Fox still call several different sports.

Announcers hired by teams (or in radio's early years, by advertisers) are usually specialists, either because they must be

seen by fans as home team partisans or because they have special expertise. Specialists range from team baseball or basketball announcers (often doing play-by-play coverage of just one or two college and professional teams in a region) to professional auto racing or horse racing experts who bring a notable depth of knowledge to announcing their chosen sport. Professional football on radio is often the audio portion of the concomitant telecast with little added, but other sports with long moments of inaction (such as baseball and car racing) or very swift action (such as basketball and horse racing) require announcers who speak continually just for radio. These sportscasters need to be able to provide a wealth of background and statistical information for listening fans, who often can be highly critical of misinformation and outright errors.

Television versus Radio

Television has places for both the generalists and specialists, and at the network level it attracts the best of both groups. Each broadcast and cable sports network maintains a stable of on-camera house anchors, hosts, reporters, and commentators. They announce the big games and events on network television, especially all of NFL football, the top ratings generator, and the mega-events in golf and tennis, sports that attract the upscale executives sought by some advertisers. Radio, a more local or regional medium, provides jobs for hundreds of sometimes relatively anonymous announcers who call play-by-play for thousands of near-daily professional baseball and basketball games and college track and field, soccer, tennis, golf, and other sports for local radio over the course of a year. In each market, at least one commercial radio station pegs its image (its brand-name) on its status as the local provider of sports, and its coverage is often supplemented by even smaller college and/or high-school radio stations. As in most media, the large markets get the stars, and the small markets get the beginners.

Beginning in the 1950s and lasting well into the 1970s, sponsors controlled sportscasting to a degree hard to imagine today. Falstaff Beer and Gillette, for example, hired and fired their own announcers, and most commercials were read—and often acted out—by the announcers live on the air, lending whatever credibility they had to the product. The legendary Red Barber, for example, had to wear a gas attendant's cap during one set of commercials and dump Wheaties into a bowl in another. Being able to pour beer so that it made just the right noise for radio or just the right foaming head for television had enormous career implications in the era before audio cartridges and videotape. Big advertisers also intervened to avoid giving competitors even tiny on-air advantages. In one story, Chevrolet's objections led announcers to refer to the Southern Methodist University football team as the "Ponies" for the entire 1967 season, when the team was really the

“Mustangs,” coincidentally the name of Ford’s hot-selling car that targeted the collegiate market.

Recreations and Early Play-By-Play

During the 1920s, outside of Opening Day and the World Series, baseball fans had to follow teams through the local newspapers except in such large cities as Chicago, Boston, and Detroit (but not New York). Many owners were afraid that radio would hurt ticket sales. As late as 1936, only 13 teams in the major leagues consistently broadcast their games. Even then, few away games were broadcast because the team owners saw radio as a means of publicity and used it to raise stadium attendance. Well into the 1950s, outside of the largest markets, much of radio sportscasting consisted of summaries and recreations of regular season games. Recreations were dramatized studio versions of away games demanded by radio stations because announcers did not travel with the teams. The sportscasters usually had only the Western Union ticker from the field or a bad telephone line and had to make up action to account for the truncated facts coming from the field. Some stations wanted summaries of key action, sometimes a day or more after an event (before the invention of audio tape). Such recreations and summaries tended to resemble fantasies rather than the actual games. The announcers had far too little information and told long stories, invented plays, and concocted events in the grandstands to fill the airtime.

Because the audience at home could not see the action for itself, even during live events announced from the field, early sportscasters were free to make up events to keep games interesting or to account for game delays and crowd noise in the stadium. Bill Stern’s reputation was as a premiere storyteller rather than an accurate reporter, for example, and he felt free to stick in lateral passes and fumbles to account for his mistakes about who was carrying the football. Other announcers routinely invented unbelievable catches or fan disputes in the stands to explain roaring crowds. As late as 1951, Gordon McLendon (the Old Scotchman) broadcast recreations as *The Game of the Day* over the Liberty Broadcasting System (LBS). These broadcasts were popular for their variety because, rather than sticking to one team, McLendon chose popular games for recreations from all over the country. Much of the concern for exceptional accuracy in announcing exhibited by Red Barber, for example, came from his distaste for recreations and summaries that had little to do with the reality of the games that were played. Barber was determined to report in detail what actually happened as it happened on the field. And by Barber’s era, announcers had begun getting support from assistants, spotters, and statisticians who kept the facts accurate. In the 1920s and 1930s, radio sportscasters worked without scorecards, press guides, or a history of player or game statistics. A great deal had to be imagined.

While the networks have carried league championship and World Series games live since their inception, regular-season baseball and other sporting events got little or no national airtime, although baseball became a mainstay of local radio during the Depression of the 1930s. But during World War II, the Armed Forces Radio Service relayed shortwave broadcasts of daily baseball to service men overseas, and their immense popularity on wartime radio continued at home after the war ended. It was not until the postwar period that team or network announcers were allowed to travel with the home teams, and all games (at least those involving the most popular teams) began being delivered live to fans on radio. By the 1950s, sports had become a mainstay of the electronic media, with the clashes of football on the air in winter and the mellow sounds of baseball filling summer afternoons around the nation. Fifty years later, the pace of games has become faster, the variety of radio voices is much greater, and the competition from media coverage of other leisure activities splinters the audience. To compete, most radio stations and sports networks maintain interactive websites, and the internet provides up-to-the-minute sports scores, live play-by-play, ESPN’s *SportsCenter*, as well as archived commentary, interactive games, and chat rooms devoted to fans of a sport or a particular team.

All-Sports Radio

One recent change in radio has been the rise of the all-sports format. Sport is especially successful on radio because the public has become so mobile, and radio lets fans stay in touch. In the largest markets, sufficient numbers tune in to successfully support one-format stations; in smaller markets, live sports coverage tends to be combined with syndicated talk and satellite music to keep costs down. Between 1988 and 2000, the number of stations claiming sports formats went from zero to more than 600. Such stations provide both live and taped play-by-play game and event coverage accompanied by constant updates on the day’s game scores and sports news about individuals and the industry. For affiliated stations, part of the programming usually comes from the staffs and commentators of the network television sports divisions; in addition, syndicators, such as Sports ByLine USA, supply sporting events and a range of commentary to hundreds of subscribing stations, including the 400 stations of Armed Forces Radio. ESPN provides an audio feed of its celebrated *SportsCenter* that can fill the overnight time period or portions of daytime radio schedules. Mixing the voices of famous broadcast and cable sportscasters with local voices establishes an aura of credibility and provides a connection to big-time sports that listeners recognize, positively branding even the smallest station. Some stations specialize in an irreverent approach to sports, intended to appeal to younger fans; others take a more traditional, straightforward approach. Sports fans tend to be very loyal

and listen for long periods of time to radio, and because listeners are largely male, stations carrying sports generally have strong appeal to advertisers. The first station to adopt an all-sports format, WFAN (AM) in New York was for years the top-billing radio station in the country. It combined a heavy load of play-by-play with a very local orientation.

Talking Personalities

Another big change from sportscasting's early days lies in the amount of time broadcasters have to talk on the air. With only a few commercials to insert, early sportscasters had to fill the time between innings and plays. They had the leisure to tell stories and discuss events on the field or dugout, in effect creating personalities for themselves and the players that resulted in long-term relationships with listeners. In contrast, present-day announcers can only talk during the action on the field, because commercials and cut-aways to studio announcers fill breaks in games. The upshot is that such beloved personalities as Mel Allen, Harry Caray, and Bill Stern would not be hired today. Management wants swift talkers who stick to a schedule, get in and out of commercials, and keep the games to the point—not storytellers or celebrities who generate controversy.

One current catchphrase is that fans don't tune in to hear broadcasters talk, but they did tune in to hear Red Barber, Mel Allen, Harry Caray, and Lindsey Nelson, as well as others of the great early radio and television sportscasters. For most fans, these much-beloved broadcasters were and are as much a part of the games as the players.

Major Sportscasters

More than a dozen announcers and commentators stand out in the history of sports radio; most of them have been elected to one of the halls of fame (Baseball Hall of Fame, Boxing Hall of Fame, Radio Hall of Fame, National Broadcasting Hall of Fame, etc.). Some of the younger individuals went on to careers in televised sports, but all made important contributions to the development of sports on radio.

Mel Allen (1913–96)

Idolized as “The Voice,” Melvin Allen Israel was the mellifluous announcer for the New York Yankees for 25 years, including the six years in the 1950s when they were the annual World Series champions. He became the Yankee voice just when recreations of away games were dropped in favor of sending key play-by-play and color announcers to all games, and he benefited from this move, which allowed him to announce more games. Considered in his heyday the very best play-by-play man ever, Allen announced 20 World Series, did play-by-play for 24 All-Star Games, and broadcast more than 20 college bowl games. Allen's soft Alabama twang was

instantly recognizable, and his trademark phrases (“How about that!” and “Going, going, gone!”) have become legendary sportscasting calls. He received every award offered to a sportscaster, often many times over, demonstrating his peers' enormous respect and admiration for his sports knowledge, his communication abilities, and his love of baseball and football. Allen was voted the Sportscaster of the Year for an extraordinary 14 years in succession.

Harold Arlin (1895–1986)

Not to be forgotten, Harold Arlin was the first announcer of sports, broadcasting the first professional baseball game over KDKA in 1920, and in the next year, the first tennis match and the first football game (a college game between the University of Pittsburgh and the University of West Virginia). Arlin was not a career sportscaster, and he moved into corporate relations after about six years. But he left a unique legacy for radio sportscasting history.

Red Barber (1908–92)

A tally of sportscasting greats has to include patriarch Walter Lanier “Red” Barber, who was one of the early popularizers of daily radio play-by-play and one of the most respected and influential mentors of baseball announcers. The “Ol' Redhead” had one of the longest careers in broadcasting—about 63 years. He broadcast the Cincinnati Reds from 1934 to 1938, then became the voice of the Brooklyn Dodgers, the team with which he is most associated in sportscasting history, for more than two decades. However, he subsequently announced the New York Yankees and the New York Giants from 1954 to 1966 alongside such greats as Mel Allen, Ernie Harwell, and Vin Scully. Barber announced dozens of World Series, and after the Yankees fired him in 1966 (in part for commenting on the sparse attendance at a September home game), he ended his long career with a decade of Friday morning sports commentary on NPR. He anchored the first televised major league baseball game in 1953—to a minuscule audience. In contrast, the radio audience for the 1942 World Series, announced by Barber and Mel Allen, was estimated at 25 million. Known for his intense pre-game preparation and exceptional memory for and recognition of players' styles, on the air Barber charmed listeners with self-effacing humor and vivid homespun imagery. A fastidious and reserved man, he worked at a style that was precise and detached, reflecting integrity and professionalism. One of his greatest contributions was his quiet acceptance of Jackie Robinson in 1947, the first African-American player in major league baseball. Among many other honors, in 1978 Barber and Mel Allen were the first broadcasters to receive Ford C. Frick awards (Baseball Hall of Fame). Barber was installed in the National Sportscasters and Sportswriters Hall of Fame in 1973, inducted into the American Sportscaster Hall of Fame in 1984, and elected to the Radio Hall of Fame in 1995.

Jack Brickhouse (1916–98)

Before, during, and after World War II, Jack Brickhouse was the first daily announcer of the Chicago Cubs and White Sox, calling play-by-play games in his breezy style and imbedding his characteristic “Hey-Hey!” and “Back, back, back . . . That’s it!” in the hearts of four decades of baseball fans. Atypical for local sportscasting, for 20 years he called the city’s rival baseball teams on WGN radio and television: the White Sox from 1940 to 1967 and the Cubs from 1941 to 1981. Perhaps because his manner was warm and friendly, he was popular with both White Sox and Cubs fans, and like many generalists of the 1940s and 1950s, Brickhouse announced other local events in addition to baseball. He called Chicago Bears games for 24 years, and Chicago Bulls, Zephyrs, and Packers basketball, along with Notre Dame football, boxing, golf, and wrestling. As a national announcer for Mutual for one year in the 1940s, he called New York Giants baseball, and later for NBC he announced four World Series, five All-Star games, 12 NFL All-Star games, and many college bowl games. His style was avuncular and entertaining rather than abrasive or critical, and for 50 years he was a beloved part of Chicago history. Brickhouse died in 1998, just six months after his flamboyant Cubs successor, Harry Caray. He received a Ford C. Frick Award in 1983 (Baseball Hall of Fame), was installed in the National Sportscasters and Sportswriters Hall of Fame in 1983, and inducted into the American Sportscasters Hall of Fame in 1985 and the Radio Hall of Fame in 1996.

Jack Buck (1924–2002)

John Francis “Jack” Buck spent more than four decades broadcasting the St. Louis Cardinals, including the periods in the 1960s and 1980s when the team won pennants and the World Series. Alternating with baseball, Buck also had another career as a network football announcer, calling play-by-play for more Super Bowls than any other sportscaster. Beginning as a minor league baseball announcer after his military service and study at Ohio State University, Buck called the minors on radio for four years before moving to the big leagues at Busch Stadium in St. Louis. He started as a supporting announcer paired with the inimitable Harry Caray in 1954 and later worked with Joe Garagiola. His signature “That’s a winner!” was a phrase beloved of generations of Cardinal baseball fans. After being crowded out at KMOX in 1959, Buck spent a year with ABC Television’s baseball program *Game of the Week* and had the distinction of calling the first American Football League telecast. He returned to St. Louis to a warm welcome from Cardinal fans, and in 1969, when Caray went to Chicago, Buck stepped into the lead position as the Voice of the Cardinals. But Buck had a very different style: whereas Caray exhorted and stirred fans up, Buck was known for his silver voice, his satirical wit, his personal charm, and his low-key storytelling approach to sportscasting. Using no excess words,

in a quietly emotion-laden voice, he called the game action as if it were a series of unfolding stories, causing listeners to hang on until each “story” concluded. Carried on KMOX, a 50-kilowatt station, the Cardinals could be heard all over the Midwest and built an enormous fan base across many states, creating enthusiastic devotees of the long-time St. Louis announcers (Caray and Buck), as well as of the team. In 1975 Buck once again took a stab at network sportscasting, this time as the host of the ill-fated *Grandstand* on NBC. Returning to St. Louis in 1977, Buck continued as the Cardinals’ voice, but also called play-by-play for both baseball and football over CBS Radio, eventually becoming the radio Voice of the National Football League for many years. Buck was also widely recognized for his masterful hosting of ABC’s *Monday Night Football*, and his technique influenced such familiar sports voices as Bob Costas, Tim McCarver, Dan Dierdorf, and his son, Joe Buck. His lasting presence remains a testimony to his greatness as a sportscaster. Buck received the prestigious Ford C. Frick Award in 1987 (Baseball Hall of Fame), and was inducted into the Broadcaster’s Hall of Fame in 1990 and the Radio Hall of Fame in 1995.

Harry Caray (1920–98)

Born Harry Christopher Carabina, Harry Caray became a folk hero who stood larger than life. He was the gravelly-voiced, beer-swiggling, beloved voice for Chicago Cubs fans on WGN for the 16 seasons between 1982 and his death. Much earlier, he was the darling of St. Louis Cardinal fans on KMOX for the 25 seasons between 1945 and 1969 and later for Chicago White Sox fans for the 11 seasons from 1971 to 1981. Caray is cherished in memory for his outspoken personality, his signature “Ho-o-o-ly Cow!,” his home-run call of “It might be . . . It could be . . . It is!,” and such diversions as participatory singing of “Take Me Out to the Ballgame” in the seventh inning stretch. Broadcasting more than 8,000 regular-season games over a long career, Caray made it fun to be a fan, even of a losing team. His raw exuberance and sarcasm over the air, combined with eternal optimism for the home team, set him apart from many of his contemporaries who tended toward the smoother styles of Barber and Allen. A showman with a can of Budweiser beer in one hand and a big wave in the other, Caray was part of the entertainment. He drew fans to the White Sox when the team had no stars, no marketing, and no winning record. He drew fans to Wrigley Field to cheer on the Cubs even when they hadn’t won in decades. Successor to the kinder Jack Brickhouse, Caray loudly criticized the players and the management for plays on the field or decisions in the front office he didn’t like, a practice that occasionally got him fired, while his energy and devotion to baseball got him hired again. Caray was a fan’s fan: he praised, criticized, and rooted for the home team like fans do, and in several surveys, baseball fans chose him as the celebrity with whom they would most like to

share a beer. By the end of his career in Chicago, Caray was a bigger star than the team he announced, and he remains a giant figure among all sportscasters. For seven years in a row, he was named Baseball Announcer of the Year by *The Sporting News* for his work with the Cardinals. He received the Ford Frick Award in 1989 (Baseball Hall of Fame) and was inducted into the American Sportscasters Hall of Fame in that year; he was elected to the Radio Hall of Fame in 1990 and received a National Sportscasters and Sportswriters Hall of Fame award in 1994. When Caray died, he left behind two of the next wave of sportscasters, son Skip Caray and grandson Chip Caray. At Wrigley Field, fans built an oversized statue of him holding a beer can and waving to his audience.

Bob Costas (1965–)

Although best-known to present-day sports fans as the most celebrated of network television sports hosts for the NFL and the Olympics, Bob Costas, like so many other sportscasters, got his start in radio and continues to be heard over that medium. Costas is part of the generation that was able to study broadcasting in college, in his case, at Syracuse University. Relaxed in manner but passionate about baseball, with a seemingly bottomless knowledge of players and games, he attracted the networks when he did play-by-play of professional basketball on KMOX in the late 1970s. After a short time at CBS, he switched to NBC in 1980 and became one of the youngest ever NFL game announcers. Nonetheless, the slower pace and romantic past of baseball remained his passion, and after a stint as a play-by-play voice for NBC's backup game for the *Game of the Week*, he soon advanced to the status of NBC's centerpiece sportscaster. Rapidly recognized for his superb advance preparation, professionalism, and intense commitment, coupled with a wry wit that appeals to fans, Costas hosted NBC's 1992, 1996, and 2000 Olympics and received wide acclaim. He is frequently compared to the legendary Jim McKay, ABC's long-time Olympic host. In addition to superb play-by-play skills, Costas is widely believed to be the best interviewer and the best studio host in broadcasting. Host of a weekly radio show, *Costas Coast to Coast*, and of the late-night television talk show, *Later . . . with Bob Costas* early in his network career, in 2001 he launched a new sports magazine show on HBO, *On the Record*. Although primarily a big-event television announcer and host for NBC, his voice continues to be part of radio sports reporting and commentary. Able to mix anecdotes and history with perfect timing and delivery, Costas is the most recent of sportscasters to become an event within the events he covers. His exceptional vocabulary and wealth of poetic expression reaches across generational boundaries and sets an impossibly high standard for most aspiring broadcasters. He appeals to audiences because his great knowledge of baseball, football, and other sports is accompanied by a comfortable on-air style. Launched toward the peak of a luminous

career as the 21st century commences with an extraordinary 11 Emmy awards, he has already been selected four times as the Sportscaster of the Year by the American Sportscasters Association. The much-respected Costas can most likely look forward to another decade of announcing professional football, baseball, and basketball games in addition to hosting NBC's Olympic coverage. While *Time* writer David Ellis called him "America's Host," *Newsweek's* David Kaplan elevated him further, labeling Bob Costas "Anchor to the World," a fitting title for someone whose commitment to thoroughness and, above all, fairness stands out in the minds of millions of radio listeners and television viewers around the globe.

Dizzy Dean (1911–74)

Raised in rural Arkansas, Jay Hanna "Dizzy" Dean began his sports career as a pitcher for the St. Louis Cardinals in the 1930s, winning an astounding 120 games in his first five full seasons and achieving a career total of 150 games with 30 saves. After an injury and a few years with the Chicago Cubs, he turned to broadcasting the Cardinals and Browns games in 1941, and his distinctive folksy manner attracted enormous audiences on radio in the 1950s. His unique brand of upbeat, humorous color often appeared alongside the famed Mel Allen or paired with former player Pee Wee Reese. Dizzy Dean was a national voice of baseball in the period when baseball dominated the ratings. An eccentric and original with only a fourth-grade education, Dean had a total disregard for standard grammar and pronunciation, mangling the language to such a degree that colleagues used to joke that at least some of his words were English. In 1944 Judge Landis, the commissioner of Major League Baseball, refused to allow Dean to announce the World Series, calling his diction "unfit for a national broadcaster." His garbled syntax assaulted listeners' ears, and his long speeches often rambled on about something unrelated to the game at hand, but his exuberance, warmth, and humor endeared him to radio listeners. During the 1950s, he was one of radio's most widely recognized and most beloved broadcasters. Beginning in 1953, Dean provided color for Falstaff Beer's new *Game of the Week* on ABC, one of the events that helped make ABC a truly competitive national network. Moved to CBS in 1955 along with *Falstaff's Game of the Week*, Dean announced baseball on CBS Television until 1965, followed by three years at NBC (until 1968). In 1973, he had two popular guest appearances on ABC's *Monday Night Baseball*. He was selected for the National Sportscasters and Sportswriters Hall of Fame in 1976 for his decades of dedication to baseball.

Don Dunphy (1908–98)

Best known in the 1940s and 1950s, Don Dunphy announced the Friday night fights over the Mutual Broadcasting System (MBS) at the peak of boxing's popularity over network radio. Getting his start on WINS in New York, he began by inter-

viewing fighters and then moved into event announcing, enduring for 24 years as the best-known voice of boxing. Dunphy was known for his eloquence and his ability to bring the drama and excitement of bouts to radio listeners. At one point, he and a colleague were hired by Gillette to cover the Giants and Yankees games over WINS in New York. During America's participation in World War II, there were no televised games, and radio reached enormous audiences. But Dunphy and his colleague Bill Slater were unsuccessful, with the huge audiences going to the Brooklyn Dodgers instead of the teams they announced. Dunphy stuck with boxing and continued to announce the big fights, including the classic matches of Joe Louis, until the boxing business declined in the 1960s. In 1964 he shifted largely to other sports but handled the national broadcasts of the *Fight of the Month* into the 1980s, and the inimitable Howard Cosell often provided color for him. Dunphy has broadcast track meets, bowling, wrestling, college football bowl games, and even some World Series, but he is remembered most for his clarity, skill, and drama as an announcer of boxing at the Polo Grounds in its heyday on radio. Dunphy was inducted into the American Sportscasters Hall of Fame in 1984 and into the National Sportscasters and Sportswriters Hall of Fame in 1986. He was elected to the Radio Hall of Fame in 1988 and to the International Boxing Hall of Fame in 1998.

Marty Glickman (1917–2001)

One of the first athletes to turn announcer, Marty Glickman popularized college and professional basketball games from Madison Square Garden. While still a college football player at Syracuse University, he began broadcasting and, after graduation in 1939, moved to WHN in New York, where he was one of a team doing pre- and post-game for the Brooklyn Dodgers. After military service during World War II, Glickman returned to WHN as sports director and became the New York Knickerbocker's first radio announcer in 1946. He remained the Knicks' voice for 21 more years, delivering the basketball play-by-play in his characteristic rapid-fire, staccato style. His widely recognized trademark call of "Swish" signaled a "nothing-but-net" Knicks' basket to decades of listeners. Beginning in 1948, Glickman did radio play-by-play of the New York Giants football games for 23 years, at a time when the New York television market was regularly blacked out, thus creating huge radio audiences for professional football. A versatile talent, Glickman also broadcast the Yonkers Raceway for 12 years and the New York Jets for 11 years on radio. In addition, he hosted pre- and post-game shows for the Dodgers and Yankees for 22 years, announced the first National Basketball Association (NBA) game carried on television, as well as many National Hockey League (NHL) games. On radio, he broadcast a plethora of wrestling meets, roller derbies, rodeos, and track and field events. He was also sports director for HBO

Sports in its early years (the beginning of the 1970s) and a consultant for many years thereafter. Later in life, he became an executive of Manhattan Cable TV, which telecast all Madison Square Garden events to subscribers. He was particularly known for the enormous energy conveyed in his restrained voice that communicated excitement to the fans. Glickman provided an enduring model of restraint in early game announcing. For a time late in his 55-year career, he personally trained some of NBC's sports announcers, steering them away from the hyperbole of the first generation and toward concise, crisp, clear descriptions of events on the field. But it was his decades of nearly daily announcing that provided the strongest model for such later luminaries as Bob Costas and Marv Albert. In 1998 the United States Olympic Committee gave Glickman a plaque to make up for, in small measure, an Olympic medal he did not have a chance to win as a college runner. While a student at Syracuse, he had been chosen to run in the 400-meter relay in the now infamous 1936 Berlin Olympics, but the day before the race he and another runner were dropped from the team. Glickman always believed that Jesse Owen won the gold medal in his place. He maintained throughout his lifetime that he and his teammate were dropped because they were Jewish, a reasonable claim in the anti-Semitic climate of 1936. His 1996 autobiography recounts this bitter story, along with tales of many rewarding experiences in his long announcing career. Among his fellow broadcasters, Glickman was also known for his acidic criticism of colleagues' announcing (and decades later, he even had critical comments for Bob Costas after the 2000 Sydney Olympics). His reflexive analysis of the practice of broadcasting had the eventual benefit of improving sports coverage, and Glickman is admired for devising some of the enduring structures of sports documentary and top-quality event coverage. He was inducted into the American Sportscasters Hall of Fame in 1993 and the National Sportscasters and Sportswriters Hall of Fame in 1992. He died in Manhattan on 3 January 2001.

Curt Gowdy (1919–)

Known as the consummate professional to his colleagues and fans, after graduating from the University of Wyoming where he played basketball, Curt Gowdy began by announcing a variety of sports over local radio in Cheyenne during the early 1940s and soon moved to KOMA in Oklahoma City to do college football and basketball. In 1940 he was invited to New York to do radio play-by-play for the Yankees; there he worked under the celebrated Mel Allen until 1950, and also announced some college basketball, track, and boxing. From 1951 until 1965, he was the radio and television voice of the Boston Red Sox, and then became a network announcer for baseball's *Game of the Week*. Gowdy has been widely recognized as exceptionally versatile, equally competent at basketball, baseball, and football announcing, and as host of ABC's *The*

American Sportsman, endearing himself to hunting and fishing fans everywhere for over two decades. Younger football fans may know him best as a top television sportscaster for NFL football on NBC today, but he has also announced 15 All-Star games, 12 World Series, seven Olympics, and from 1966 to 1975, he called virtually all NBC network baseball games. In 1970 Gowdy was the first sportscaster to receive a Peabody Award for the highest achievement in radio and television. In the same year, he was honored as the Sportscaster of the Year for the fifth time. Indubitably the voice of NBC Sports in the 1960s and 1970s, in 1984 he received a Ford C. Frick Award (Baseball Hall of Fame), was included in the National Sportscasters and Sportswriters Hall of Fame in 1981, and was inducted into the American Sportscasters Hall of Fame in 1985.

Ernie Harwell (1918–)

Ernie Harwell is another voice from the earliest days of radio sports. He began announcing play-by-play for the minor league Atlanta Crackers in 1940 and is unique for being the only broadcaster ever traded for a player (Dodger catcher Cliff Dapper, so that Harwell could fill in as Brooklyn Dodger announcer for a hospitalized Red Barber). After working two years with a recovered Barber, Harwell joined Russ Hodges in 1948 with the New York Giants at the Polo Grounds. Beginning in 1954, he announced the Baltimore Orioles for six years, and then in 1969 Harwell went to Detroit as the voice of the Tigers, where he stayed for more than 40 years. Fired in 1991 (to the horror of fans and colleagues nationwide) after acrimonious verbal battles with the then-owner of the Tigers, he was rehired the next year by the new owner—after spending the intervening year with the California Angels. At the time he retired in 2002 at age 84, Harwell was said to be the most famous man in the state of Michigan. His name was synonymous with Motor City baseball. His peers say Harwell's lyrical announcing sounded as much like preaching and poetry as game calling; whatever he did, it was much admired by fans and colleagues. Harwell had two notable firsts in his long career: in 1942 he announced the first national broadcast of golf's Masters for CBS, and later he provided the first coast-to-coast television broadcast of a sporting event, the 1951 MLB playoff game when the Giants beat the Dodgers for the pennant. He has called three World Series, two All-Star games for CBS Radio, and numerous football games. He received the Ford C. Frick award in 1981 (Baseball Hall of Fame), was elected to the National Sportscasters and Sportswriters Hall of Fame in 1989, and was inducted into the American Sportscasters Hall of Fame in 1991 and the Radio Hall of Fame in 1998.

Graham McNamee (1888–1942)

Because he was the first network sportscaster, Graham McNamee virtually invented play-by-play and color commentary and, for many years, was the most prominent voice in

America, enjoying celebrity status and a fan following. In the 1920s he announced the first World Series, the first Rose Bowl, and other major college football games as well as many tennis and boxing matches. Probably owing to his previous musical training as a singer, McNamee spoke with careful diction and used polished phrasing in his descriptions of the scene of a sporting event. Although his style was inventive and delivered in an enthralling voice, McNamee was not necessarily accurate or historically insightful about the players or the game. He was an unabashed generalist with little sports knowledge, convinced that he should broadcast sporting events much as he did news events. Nonetheless, McNamee significantly influenced the generation of sportscasters that followed by attracting many to this new profession and providing a model of how broadcasting a sporting event could be done. McNamee was installed in the National Sportscasters and Sportswriters Hall of Fame in 1964 and inducted into the American Sportscasters Hall of Fame in 1984.

Lindsey Nelson (1919–95)

A mellifluous charmer in the media spotlight and out of it, Lindsey Nelson is best known by fans for his trademark sports jackets—the loudest he could find—and his liquid voice. Near the beginning of his career, he determined that to stand out from crowds of sports journalists he needed some visual signature, so he adopted the practice of wearing the most outrageous plaid sports coats that he could buy (he eventually owned between 350 to 700 at any one time). Long after he was established at the top of the sports media world, he continued wearing such psychedelic jackets, fully understanding that they were truly horrible to behold but enjoying the joke. After army service during World War II, during which he became a war correspondent and friends with such giants as Dwight Eisenhower, Omar Bradley, and William Westmoreland, Nelson wrote for newspapers. Bored by the routines of reporting, he soon turned to baseball game recreations on Gordon McLendon's very successful Liberty radio network. Once in 1950, a very young Nelson served as game spotter for the legendary Bill Stern, but to his surprise, the following year he was asked to produce the NBC radio coverage of the U.S. Open golf tournament, with Stern and Dizzy Dean as his announcers. In 1952 Nelson went to NBC Sports in New York, now sharing office space with Stern, where he remained for the next decade. For many years, he was the all-purpose announcer for NBC, seemingly indefatigable and able to cover any sport with great accuracy, reliability, and humor. He broadcast major league baseball on radio and television from 1957 to 1961, and when the New York Mets were franchised in 1962, Nelson became their first voice. It was his view that many early network generalists burnt out from the travel and the stress of being the perfect announcers for a continuous stream of big events, whereas baseball announcers, employed by a team or sponsor, seemed

to go on forever. At any rate, Nelson went to the Mets and stuck with them through all the crazy up and down years, eventually celebrating their 1969 World Series championship. In 1979, after 17 years, Nelson left the Mets to move to California, where for three seasons he served as the San Francisco Giants announcer. He then retired to teach at his alma mater, the University of Tennessee, and call some college football games for Turner Sports. Altogether, Nelson announced four Rose Bowls, 26 Cotton Bowls, two World Series, 19 years of National League Football, and five years of college basketball, but is best known for his 17 years as the voice of the Mets and 13 years with Notre Dame football. Among his special qualities were his exceptional storytelling ability, his great warmth and wit, and his reporting accuracy. He was elected to the Radio Hall of Fame in 1988 and beginning in 1959, was named the top sportscaster in the nation for four consecutive years by the National Sportscaster and Sportswriter Association; he was inducted into the NSSA's Hall of Fame in 1979 and into the American Sportscasters Hall of Fame in 1986. He received a Ford C. Frick Award in 1988 (Baseball Hall of Fame) and a Life Achievement Emmy Award in 1991.

Vin Scully (1928–)

Born in New York, after serving in the army Vin Scully attended Fordham University and then began his broadcasting career in 1950 with the Washington Senators on WTOP. After three years, he was lured to New York to join the Dodger team. Scully said the best thing that ever happened to him was learning the fine points of baseball announcing under the rigorous training of Red Barber at Ebbets Field. Replacing Ernie Harwell at Barber's side, Scully learned from a perfectionist, and he was later to assert that those paternal lessons were responsible for his own successful career. Succeeding Barber as the Dodger voice in 1954, four years later Scully moved with the Brooklyn Dodgers to California and became a crucial part of the Dodgers' popularity in Los Angeles. He brought with him the team's history and traditions and communicated them to southern California listeners who were establishing their first connection to major league baseball. In the poorly designed Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum, the initial home of the Dodgers, fans in the stadium had to listen to Scully on transistor radios to know what was going on, and that radio custom continues today. Beloved of California baseball fans, Scully was once voted the "most memorable personality" in Dodger history. In addition to carrying baseball tradition to the West Coast, he is known for his warm, resonant voice, his impeccable diction, and his intelligence and quiet erudition. Many of his peers have called Scully the best announcer ever (with the possible exception of Mel Allen), and many top sportscasters today exhibit the same smooth style, particularly Al Michaels and Dick Enberg. Besides announcing the Dodgers, Scully has called play-by-play for NFL football games and

Professional Golf Association (PGA) Tour events on CBS-TV and Radio, and play-by-play baseball for *Game of the Week*, World Series, and All-Star Games on NBC. Altogether, he has announced 25 World Series and 12 All-Star Games. Widely recognized as the premiere baseball sportscaster, Scully's career has entered its sixth decade, and he has continuously broadcast one team longer than any other major league sportscaster. He was selected Outstanding Sportscaster of the Year four times, received a Fred C. Frick award in 1982 (Baseball Hall of Fame), and was inducted into the American Sportscasters Hall of Fame in 1992 and the Radio Hall of Fame in 1995. He has a Peabody Award and received a Lifetime Achievement Emmy Award in 1995.

Bill Stern (1907–71)

A major star of early radio sports talk and game hosting, Bill Stern was famous for his highly dramatic storytelling ability and his only passing concern for accuracy in game announcing. He was part of the first era of radio announcers along with Graham McNamee, sometimes called "the shouters" because they worked so hard to stir up excitement among the scattered listeners to the new medium of radio. He is especially remembered for his spellbinding stories, which got full rein in the sport talk programs he hosted and showed up often in the baseball and football games he called. One story told with affection about Stern is that he covered up his errors in early radio play-by-play by reporting imaginary lateral passes of the football to other players, an invention that has spawned decades of "lateraling" jokes among erring sportscasters. Operating in an era without extended pregame preparation and strong support from experienced assistants and statisticians, few announcers of the 1930s and 1940s managed an entire game without miscalling some action or some player's name. Stern started broadcasting as a teenager in Rochester, New York, and after college and a stint at the Radio City Music Hall, he assisted Graham McNamee with some football games and worked for Gordon McLendon's Liberty network doing recreations—a format at which he excelled. He was invited to become an NBC network sports announcer in 1937, and his rapid and dramatic calling of college football games set the pattern for the subsequent generation of football announcers. He was NBC's announcer for the first network telecast of a sporting event, a college baseball game in 1939. He hosted NBC's *Colgate Sports Newsreel* and other sports programs, and by 1941 was voted the most popular sportscaster in America in several polls. He broadcast for ABC in the mid-1950s, and after recovering from morphine addiction resulting from a gangrenous leg amputation, he resumed announcing for the Mutual network and hosted a television sports series. Like Mel Allen, Stern was wildly controversial and a bigger celebrity than the players he announced. He was selected for the National Sportscasters and Sportswriters Hall of Fame in

1974, inducted into the American Sportscasters Hall of Fame in 1984, and elected to the Radio Hall of Fame in 1988.

These legends of broadcasting inspired and enthralled generations of radio sports fans. There are others who could have been mentioned—one-time sportscaster turned sportswriter Grantland Rice; Tom Manning, Indians' announcer in the 1920s; Byrum Saam, voice of the Philadelphia Phillies for three decades; Russ Hodges of the New York Giants (who shouted "the Giants win the pennant! The Giants win the pennant!" in 1951); Milo Hamilton, voice of the Atlanta Braves and the Houston Astros; and on and on. All these radio sportscasters left their imprints on players and fans, and set the bar high for those who succeeded them.

SUSAN TYLER EASTMAN

See also Allen, Mel; Barber, Red; Crutchfield, Charles; Liberty Broadcasting System; McNamee, Graham; Radio Hall of Fame; Recreations; Rome, Jim; Sports on Radio

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Sports on Radio

Sports have been a constant feature of radio literally since the beginning of the medium. When Guglielmo Marconi visited New York City in 1899 to demonstrate his wireless telegraphy equipment, he relayed the outcome of the America's Cup yacht race through the ether. Radio sports broadcasts provided some of the first mass-audience programming, enticed Americans to buy radio sets, helped national networks and local stations establish themselves as legitimate entities, and spurred technological and cultural innovations in attempts to capitalize on the appeal of sports. Radio broadcasts of sporting events have also been credited with, or occasionally blamed for, helping to create a sense of national identity, particularly during the 1920s and 1930s.

Origins

Sports—especially boxing, college football, and baseball—became common on some stations as early as the 1920s. The first boxing match broadcast, between heavyweight champion Jack Dempsey and challenger Georges Carpentier on 2 July 1921, was orchestrated by the Radio Corporation of America's (RCA) David Sarnoff and Major J. Andrew White. RCA applied

for, and received, a one-day license to broadcast the event using a radio tower borrowed from the Lackawanna Railroad and equipment borrowed from the U.S. Navy. The improvised arrangement, fraught with problems, succeeded in its task. White's narration of Dempsey's victory, which traveled on a signal powerful enough to be received across much of the United States and even in Europe, is credited with sparking a surge in the construction of radio towers and the purchase of receivers. Radio broadcasts of other major bouts, particularly the battles between Dempsey and Gene Tunney in 1926 and 1927 and the Joe Louis–Max Schmeling fights in 1937 and 1938, became mass radio spectacles that attracted audiences of unprecedented size and helped make household names out of broadcasters such as Graham McNamee, Ted Husing, and Bill Stern.

The popularity of college football also grew rapidly in the first two decades of radio. During the 1920s, Notre Dame football became a regional and then a national phenomenon, thanks in part to its prominence on radio, and the annual Army-Navy contest, Ivy League games, and holiday bowl games became nationally recognized events. Bowl games in particular benefited from their appearance on radio: the Rose

Bowl, begun in 1927, was carried from the beginning by the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) and became the first coast-to-coast broadcast conducted by the fledgling network. The Sugar Bowl, Orange Bowl, and similar contests begun in the mid-1930s were hyped so vigorously by stations carrying them that radio can be credited for their continued existence. Ted Husing, who began announcing the Orange Bowl in 1937 for the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) and hyping the game on his weekly regular-season college broadcasts leading up to New Year's Day, almost single-handedly turned the little-known, sparsely attended event into a major spectacle. His success with the Orange Bowl convinced the industry that other bowl games could become similarly profitable.

Baseball, however, is the most remembered and romanticized radio sport. The inaugural baseball broadcast aired on 5 August 1921, when Harold Arlin called the Pittsburgh Pirates' 8-5 victory over the Philadelphia Phillies on KDKA in Pittsburgh; the first World Series broadcast also occurred that year. These early efforts were little publicized, however, and thus were not widely heard. The next year, however, New York station WJZ's broadcast of the 1922 World Series was heavily publicized by Westinghouse, General Electric, and RCA in an attempt to sell receivers, prompting other New York stations to sign off rather than interfere with the signal. The broadcast was a smashing success: it was heard clearly up to 800 miles away, and immense crowds gathered in front of radio stores to hear the game over loudspeakers.

Demand for baseball broadcasts, especially the World Series, also provoked some of the first experiments in networking. Two New York stations, WJZ and WEAJ, were granted broadcast rights to the 1923 World Series; WEAJ, owned by telephone giant American Telephone and Telegraph (AT&T), fed the broadcast to WMAF in Massachusetts and WCAP in Washington, D.C. Telephone lines linked seven stations in the Northeast, from Boston to Washington, to carry the Washington Senators' seven-game triumph over the New York Giants in 1924. The World Series quickly became one of radio's biggest and most popular events, with the distinctive voices of McNamee, Husing, Red Barber, Mel Allen, Jack Brickhouse, Jack Buck, Ernie Harwell, and Vin Scully becoming synonymous with baseball over the years for their work behind the microphone during both the regular season and the World Series.

When more regular schedules and commercial radio became established in the late 1920s and early 1930s, sports became more difficult for stations and networks to categorize. Sports resembled news programming in being live, unscripted, and spontaneous, but sports were rarely considered as weighty as other news items. Their mass appeal gave them nearly limitless profit potential, making them resemble entertainment programming, but their spontaneity, timeliness, and control by other entities (team owners, sports commissioners, universities, etc.) limited access and made them difficult to control—partic-

ularly because overtime or extra innings could disrupt schedules. In addition, the mixed feelings that outside entities had toward radio broadcasts were a particularly strong obstacle the radio industry had to overcome. Some, such as the Chicago Cubs and Chicago White Sox, viewed radio as a way to expand their sport's (or team's) fan base. Others—such as the New York Yankees, Brooklyn Dodgers, and New York Giants, which agreed to ban baseball broadcasts from 1932 through 1938—considered broadcasts that could be received free of charge a detriment to their box-office revenue. Still others, such as minor-league baseball clubs, believed radio undermined their own profitability while benefiting others in their industry (i.e., the major-league baseball clubs).

Developing Patterns in the 1930s

Reluctant to pay for broadcast rights early in the medium's history, stations and networks initially asked for, and often received, the same treatment as print news media in terms of access to sporting events. There was little exclusivity, and stations competed for listeners rather than for broadcast rights: for instance, during the early 1930s as many as five local stations in Chicago were broadcasting Cubs games from Wrigley Field simultaneously. Although most such broadcasts were noncommercial in character, this approach also allowed radio stations and networks to claim that they met federal responsibility/public service requirements by offering programming of substantial community interest. By the early 1930s, however, most stations accepted advertising revenue for sports programming, spending some of the money to obtain exclusive broadcasting rights. Cereal maker General Mills, Mobil Oil, Goodyear tires, and (after the repeal of Prohibition) numerous beer companies quickly became the major sponsors of major- and minor-league baseball, college football, boxing, horse racing, and, to a lesser degree, college basketball and professional football, in an attempt to reach male listeners.

To reduce costs, stations in the 1920s and 1930s rarely sent announcers on road trips with the local team. Instead, they relied on re-creations: broadcasts produced from skeletal Morse code descriptions of the contest relayed by Western Union to announcers in the radio studio. Baseball announcers became especially famous for their evocative accounts—and for their ingenuity when the wires failed, which announcers usually covered by inventing sudden storms, a ruckus in the stands, or innumerable foul balls. Re-creations slowly disappeared as technology became cheaper and the effects of the Depression were alleviated, and virtually none were heard after World War II except on the Armed Forces Radio Network and on Gordon McLendon's Liberty network.

The networks, oddly, eschewed exclusive sponsorship for sports programming longer than local stations did, for reasons best illustrated by examining the World Series. Network World

Series broadcasts from 1926 through 1934 were sustaining fare; NBC and CBS argued that the series was so important to the public that granting exclusive commercial rights to one network would prevent listeners from hearing this sacrosanct event. Because neither network could reach the entire United States through its affiliates, but taken together both could, they contended that nonexclusive rights were imperative. Moreover, the networks contended that commercializing the broadcasts would cheapen the great national pastime. This argument also enabled the networks to justify pre-empting commercial radio programming in order to air the sporting event: because the airtime was not given to another sponsor, an advertising agency that originally paid for the time slot had no basis for complaint.

When the Ford Motor Company acquired exclusive broadcast sponsorship rights to the Series from the commissioner of baseball from 1934 to 1937, the networks feared a backlash from the public, sponsors, and the federal government. Over Ford's objections, NBC and CBS persuaded Baseball Commissioner Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis to make the broadcast available to all networks and unaffiliated stations; this provision was extended to the Mutual radio network in 1935. This allowed the networks to claim that they met the "public interest, convenience, and necessity" clause codified in the Communications Act of 1934, serving the entire nation in a way that no single station could and alleviating Federal Communications Commission (FCC) concerns. The print media and the public responded favorably to Ford's sponsorship. Jilted sponsors were livid about the arrangement, but they grudgingly agreed to accept compensation from the networks when the networks (legitimately) claimed they had not been privy to the deal. And even though Ford was upset at paying \$350,000 for production costs on top of the \$100,000 it had spent for exclusive rights, its sales for 1934 doubled, and the sponsorship was publicly hailed as a success.

The networks were ambivalent about this arrangement; although it served several of their needs, each network wanted exclusive rights to the event so it could turn a profit. CBS and NBC executives discussed forgoing their gentleman's agreement and competing for exclusive rights, but neither was able to obtain rights without a sponsor already lined up—and few sponsors were willing to advance the money without rights having been secured. Further, fears about FCC intervention made the networks reluctant to surrender their "public service" claim, and network executives fretted about how much the exclusive rights to all major sporting events would cost.

The commercial sponsorship model, however, developed quickly. In the wake of Ford's World Series deal, CBS acquired exclusive rights to the 1935 Kentucky Derby, and the major networks began to compete for rights to all major sporting events. College football bowl games, boxing matches, and other major events of national importance were all bought up quickly—except the World Series, the rights to which were already owned

by Ford. After the automaker reneged on the final year of its contract, the series was broadcast on a sustaining basis by all major networks in 1937 and 1938. In 1939 Gillette began its long run of exclusive World Series advertising—and the upstart Mutual network acquired exclusive broadcast rights. The deal not only established Mutual's status as a competitive network rather than third banana to the older networks, but also led to FCC investigations of NBC and CBS when affiliates complained that they were pressured not to opt out of their affiliate contracts to carry Mutual's World Series broadcast.

Affiliates' local sports contracts also threatened to destabilize the networks. Although stations often wanted the high-quality programming, national appeal, and other benefits that network affiliation offered, they also wanted to appeal to a local audience—and many regularly pre-empted network programming to air local sports, particularly baseball. The NBC Blue network was particularly lax in policing its affiliates; after all, the high Crossley ratings earned by local baseball team broadcasts in cities such as Pittsburgh and San Francisco helped offset the lower ratings produced by its highbrow public-affairs programming. Both NBC and CBS used the "public interest" clause of the 1934 Communications Act to justify their affiliates' actions to national sponsors, but sponsors increasingly chafed at losing the exclusive access they paid for—particularly in the West, where broadcasts in prime time on the East Coast were often deferred in favor of sporting events in the late afternoon on the West Coast.

Since Television

The advent and diffusion of television throughout the United States in the 1940s and 1950s caused a slow but steady decline in national audiences for radio sports. Sports on American radio became an almost exclusively local or regional affair from the late 1940s through the late 1980s as radio networks declined in prominence and programming shifted from serial comedies and dramas to music, talk, and local-affairs formats. The primary innovation during these years came in the late 1940s, when networks began to cover several baseball or college football games simultaneously, airing different contests regionally while having a national anchor provide updates of distant contests—a practice since imitated by television. Though national broadcasts of regular-season baseball and professional football and of major events such as the World Series and the Super Bowl remain on network radio today, they have a much lower profile than in their heyday.

Radio sports broadcasts were marked by little change from the 1940s through the 1980s. The deregulation of radio and the proliferation of FM stations in the 1980s, however, siphoned listeners from AM radio, and the search for new, profitable formats resulted in a renewed emphasis on sports. The transformation of New York station WNBC into WFAN

in 1987 marked the beginning of all-sports radio; other than a morning show hosted by Don Imus, the station devotes its entire programming day to sports talk and sports broadcasts. The debut of ESPN Radio in 1992, with 147 affiliates in 43 states carrying up to 16 hours of programming weekly, was another significant event in sports radio. Initially limited to sports news shows, update segments, and occasional features, the network has expanded to include seasonal baseball and football packages as well as talk shows featuring the likes of "The Fabulous Sports Babe" and Tony Kornheiser that can be acquired through affiliation or syndication, facilitating the development of the all-sports format.

Despite typically small audiences, often less than 3 percent of the market, the all-sports format's lucrative 25-to-54-year-old, mostly white, mostly affluent, male demographic has enabled WFAN to become the top-billing radio station in history, breaking the \$50 million mark in 1997. Moreover, because sports talk shows are inexpensive to produce, because syndicated shows can be accepted in barter deals from networks like ESPN and CBS, and because local team broadcasts gain loyal audiences, the format offers a higher profit margin than other formats. The format appears to be proliferating rapidly: though estimates of the number of all-sports stations vary widely, *Broadcasting and Cable* magazine reported that there were more than 600 all-sports stations by 1998, with four dozen stations turning to an all-sports format in 1997 alone.

Many sports teams have also made their teams' radio broadcasts available over the internet, usually for a nominal fee, greatly extending their potential fan base without needing to rely on radio networks. The National Hockey League added access to live radio calls through its website, and the National Basketball Association has capitalized on basketball's popularity by allowing ESPN's website to carry its teams' radio broadcasts. Baseball and the National Football League have been slow to adopt webcasts, though some clubs, such as the Baltimore Orioles and the San Francisco Giants in baseball, have embraced this hybrid computer/radio transmission faster than

others. This fusion, combined with the expansion of sports talk programming and the proven profitability of all-sports formats, may signal substantial future changes for sports radio.

DOUGLAS L. BATTEMA

See also Allen, Mel; Barber, Red; Crutchfield, Charles H.; McNamee, Graham; Rome, Jim; Sportscasters

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Stamberg, Susan 1938–

U.S. Newsmagazine Host

Public radio pioneer Susan Stamberg is probably best known as the first woman to anchor a nightly national news program, but she has had a far wider influence on the sound, style, and achievement of National Public Radio (NPR).

Stamberg came to NPR at its beginning in 1971, as Program Director Bill Siemering was developing NPR's first newsmagazine, *All Things Considered* (ATC). She began as a part-time tape editor and then moved up to reporter; after ten



Susan Stamberg
 Courtesy National Public Radio

months Siemering and producer Jack Mitchell chose her to be the program's cohost. Siemering says he chose Stamberg "because I thought she expressed the most important quality for a host or a reporter—curiosity. I just assumed that the NPR listener was curious." Siemering says the fact that Stamberg was a woman wasn't the first consideration. "She was a bright, engaging person . . . and she had a good sense of radio." It was a revolutionary decision then to have a young woman anchor, report on the day's events, and interview world newsmakers about serious issues. There was opposition from some public radio station managers, who worried that a woman couldn't sound authoritative and wouldn't be taken seriously. Stamberg has said it was characteristic of Siemering's leadership that he didn't mention the station opposition to her until a dozen years later, preferring to let her on-air presence develop without that particular pressure. Noah Adams, who hosted *ATC* with Stamberg, says Siemering's confidence was rewarded: "I can't think of a tougher interviewer in a difficult situation."

Stamberg proved herself when the network was still a precarious operation, making do with scant funds, bad telephone lines, and the resourcefulness of its handful of reporters and cohosts. "In those days," says Adams, "a lot of the decisions about what went on the air were made at the microphone

level." Stamberg's performance helped open doors for many other women in broadcasting. As *ATC* host Robert Siegel told the *Los Angeles Times*, "Once she established her presence on the air, it became unthinkable to have a broadcast with all male voices." Siegel also says the decision to put Stamberg on the air helped break down the barriers against regional accents. "The New Yorkisms in Susan's speech would have disqualified her" from the major networks, but Bill Siemering had pledged to let the American voice be heard in all its accents and dialects.

Stamberg's influence went further than her own example. She kept a "gender watch," urging producers to run stories by and about women and to use female analysts. Her answer to Freud's question "What does a woman want?" she says, is "to hear and see herself on the air."

Stamberg has said that she has mixed feelings about the role of public radio in bringing women into broadcasting, because some of it had to do with salaries that were too low to attract many talented men. As a married woman, it was assumed she could afford to accept less money, as she was only supplementing her husband's salary. She says that talented women came to NPR and put up with the low pay in order to do challenging work.

Stamberg cohosted *All Things Considered* for 14 years, developing an interview style that was fresh and sometimes startlingly down-to-earth. Toward the end of a long interview with orchestra conductor Kurt Masur, she asked whether his arms ever got tired. She brought warmth, curiosity, and a probing intelligence to encounters with Nancy Reagan, Annie Liebowitz, Rosa Parks, Dave Brubeck, James Baldwin, and thousands of others.

Stamberg's work helped to redefine the position of host on a newsmagazine. Robert Siegel says she came to the job with a background in radio, rather than reporting or newscasting. She didn't feel constrained by the old-fashioned stentorian style of radio delivery. She established that hosting was a job in its own right, making both guests and listeners feel at home in the program's world of ideas and experience. In the early years of *ATC*, Stamberg served as a managing editor of the program, suggesting and influencing story choices and decisions.

As a broadcaster, Stamberg sometimes revealed herself in a way that was unprecedented in broadcast journalism, sharing glimpses from her personal life when they touched on universal experiences, such as an essay on her son Josh's first day at kindergarten. In July 1986, Stamberg wept on the air after a farewell to commentator Kim Williams, who died from cancer just two weeks later. Just before conducting the interview, Stamberg had learned that she herself had breast cancer.

Stamberg left *ATC* to seek less stressful work and began planning a new NPR program, *Weekend Edition/Sunday*. The idea was to make a place for interesting radio on Sunday mornings, a traditional dumping ground where many stations

aired the public-affairs programming that used to be required by the Federal Communications Commission. The current *Weekend Edition/Sunday* host, Liane Hansen, says Stamberg recognized that people listen to radio differently on Sunday, just as they look for different things in the Sunday *New York Times*. The result was a program that felt a bit like a Sunday paper, with a big "Arts and Leisure" section and even a puzzle.

Stamberg hosted *Weekend Edition/Sunday* from January 1987 through October 1989 and then became a special correspondent, covering cultural issues for all the NPR programs. Often she has reported on the visual arts. ATC host Robert Siegel says "she has almost a unique talent for describing pictures on the air, not just the images we all have in common, but an ability to convey images you haven't seen. It shows the quality of her writing." Stamberg also serves as a guest host on *Morning Edition*, *Weekend Edition/Saturday*, and *Weekly Edition*.

Stamberg was inducted into the Broadcasting Hall of Fame in 1994 and the Radio Hall of Fame in 1996. She has won almost every major award in broadcasting, including the Armstrong and duPont awards and the Edward R. Murrow Award from the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

People who have worked with Stamberg say the essence of her personality, both on air and off, is her sincerity, curiosity, intelligence, and unrestrained exuberance. Noah Adams remembers that when Stamberg hosted ATC, the question most asked of reporters traveling around the country was "what's Susan Stamberg really like?" . . . and the answer was always "exactly what you hear, not any different."

COREY FLINTOFF

See also *All Things Considered*; Edwards, Bob; *Morning Edition*; National Public Radio; Siemering, William; *Women in Radio*

Susan Stamberg. Born in Newark, New Jersey, 7 September 1938. B.A. in English literature, Barnard College, 1959; editorial assistant, *Daedalus*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1960-62; editorial assistant, *New Republic*, 1962-63; host, producer, manager, program director, WAMU-FM, Washington, D.C., 1963-69; host and first woman to anchor national nightly news program, National Public Radio, *All Things Considered*, 1972-86; host, NPR's *Weekend Edition/Sunday*, 1987-89; NPR Special Correspondent, 1990-; hosted various television series on the Public Broadcasting Service

(PBS), and moderated three Fred Rogers television specials for adults in the early 1980s. Ohio State University Golden Anniversary Director's Award, 1977; Edward R. Murrow Award, Corporation for Public Broadcasting, 1980; honorary doctorates of humane letters from Gettysburg College, 1982 and Dartmouth College, 1984; Woman of the Year, Barnard College, 1984; Armstrong and duPont Awards; Distinguished Broadcaster award, American Women in Radio and Television; Jefferson Fellowship for Journalism, East-West Center in Hawaii; inducted into the Broadcasting Hall of Fame, 1994, and the Radio Hall of Fame, 1996. Serves on the board of the PEN/Faulkner Fiction Award Foundation and Northwestern University's Medill School National Arts Journalism program; Fellow of Silliman College, Yale University.

Radio Series

- 1972-86 *All Things Considered*
 1987-89 *Weekend Edition/Sunday*
 1990- *Morning Edition*, *Weekend Edition*, *Weekly Edition*

Television Series

- Green Means*, 1993

Films

- The Siege*, 1998

Selected Publications

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The Wedding Cake in the Middle of the Road (coedited with George Garrett), 1992
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Stanton, Frank N. 1908–

U.S. Broadcast Executive and Pioneer in Radio Research

President of the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) for nearly three decades, Frank Stanton was an austere manager who, to a considerable degree, gave the network much of its “Tiffany” image. He joined the network as a scholarly audience researcher in the mid 1930s and rose rapidly in the network hierarchy, although he never lost his interest in or reliance upon research findings.

Early Years

Frank Stanton learned statistics and methodology while pursuing a graduate degree in psychology at Ohio State University. He sent a copy of his master’s thesis, “A Critique of Present Methods and a New Plan for Studying Radio Listening Behavior,” to Paul Kesten at CBS; Kesten was duly impressed. It laid the groundwork for his eventually joining CBS in October 1935.

In 1937 the Rockefeller Foundation funded the first large-scale research project on the nature and social effects of radio for the Office of Radio Research at Princeton. Hadley Cantrel and Frank Stanton recruited Paul Lazarsfeld to direct the project. One of its objectives was the study of attitudes and opinions of radio programs. Shortly after the project was completed, Stanton and Lazarsfeld developed media research’s first in-process measure of audience response—the Lazarsfeld-Stanton Program Analyzer. The unit was a simple two-button device. Subjects were recruited to come to a small studio or theater to hear a test program. If a subject heard something that appealed to him or her, that subject pressed the green button—if something unappealing, the red button. The data were recorded on paper tape and summarized. In this fashion audience reaction could be matched with specific program content.

Stanton’s relationships with the leading social scientists of the day were productive and influential. He had professional associations with both the Office of Radio Research at Princeton and Columbia University’s Bureau of Applied Social Research, the two centers that were responsible for introducing and developing the empirical research tradition for mass communication research in the United States. Stanton coedited three volumes on communication research. Lazarsfeld and Stanton’s chief editor for their *Communications Research 1948–1949* was Joseph Klapper, who would later become director of the Center for Social Research at CBS. Stanton and the other researchers of this era concluded that radio and other mass media did not have a direct effect on audience attitudes and behavior. Rather, the media’s impact on attitudes, values, and beliefs was shown to operate among a host of

other factors. Radio was seen as being used by listeners to meet their needs.

CBS Presidency

In 1945 Stanton was promoted to vice president and general manager of CBS to replace the ailing Paul Kesten. His leadership in research and management prompted this promotion to oversight of eight different network departments. Shortly thereafter, when Stanton was 37, he was named president of the network, when William S. Paley became chair of the board of directors. For the next 25 years, these two charted the course by which CBS became one of the most respected news and entertainment networks of its time.

A superb administrator, Stanton took on the day-to-day network management functions that no longer interested Paley. He was interested in technology and supported CBS engineer Peter Goldmark in the late 1940s in developing and promoting the long-playing record, as well as development of a partially mechanical system of color television that briefly enjoyed FCC acceptance as the national standard in the early 1950s (although it was eventually too expensive and unsuccessful). Stanton diversified CBS’s holdings, reorganizing the network to give greater autonomy to the radio network and stations as well as television while decentralizing some decision-making. CBS invested in Broadway shows (most notably the highly successful *My Fair Lady* in 1956), built an impressive headquarters building, and bought the New York Yankees baseball team in addition to acquiring other information and entertainment businesses.

Stanton performed two vital roles for all of broadcasting in the 1950s and 1960s, and these formed his lasting legacy. He was a primary industry spokesperson before Congress and the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), where he evoked considerable respect and attention, even among industry critics. His measured views and words reflected well on CBS and broadcasting as a whole, and he was widely recognized as the thoughtful conscience of the industry. Stanton was also committed to the role and value of news and public affairs programming, although this led, ironically, to some notable clashes with the primary CBS news figure, Edward R. Murrow, as these two strong-minded men held differing views about the commercial role of radio and television journalism. Whereas Stanton held the business priorities of the network uppermost in his mind, Murrow had a more idealistic outlook.

Stanton is generally regarded as the prime force behind the U.S. Congress’ suspension of Section 315 of the Communica-



Frank Stanton
Courtesy Radio Hall of Fame

tions Act in order to televise the Kennedy-Nixon presidential debates in the fall of 1960. Among his favorite stories are those recounting telephone calls from U.S. presidents trying to influence him and his fellow broadcasters to provide favorable coverage of events or complaining about news programs seen as unfair or critical.

On leaving CBS, Stanton accepted a presidential appointment to be the head of the American National Red Cross, serving two three-year terms. At the same time, he headed a panel of experts seeking ways to improve U.S. international information, education, and cultural relations. He served on the boards of directors for Pan American Airways, Atlantic Richfield (the petroleum company), and American Electric Power, among others. He was also elected as a Harvard University overseer for six years—the only non-alumnus to be so honored in the 20th century. He invested in a host of start-up firms in many lines of business, some of which did quite well.

The most noteworthy honors and awards received by Frank Stanton included a 1961 Peabody Award for his efforts

leading to the Kennedy-Nixon presidential debates and a 1972 special Peabody Award for his response to a congressional contempt citation and his defense of “the people’s right to know” that grew out of “The Selling of the Pentagon,” a *CBS Reports* television documentary. The Radio and Television News Directors Association further honored his support of broadcast journalism in 1971 when he was given the Paul White Memorial Award for his advocacy on behalf of journalists’ constitutional rights.

THOMAS A. MCCAIN

See also Columbia Broadcasting System; Kesten, Paul; Lazarsfeld, Paul; Murrow, Edward R.; Office of Radio Research; Paley, William S.; Peabody Awards

Frank Nicholas Stanton. Born in Muskegon, Michigan, 20 March 1908. Attended Ohio Wesleyan University, B.A. in zoology, 1930; M.A., 1932, Ohio State University, Ph.D. in psychology, 1935. Began working for CBS, New York City, 1935; promoted to director of research, 1938; vice president, 1945, president, 1946–71, vice chair, 1972–73, president emeritus, from 1973; founding member and chair, Center for Advanced Study in Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, California, 1953–60, trustee, 1953–71. Received Paul White Memorial Awards, Radio and TV News Director Association, 1957, 1971; George Foster Peabody Awards, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1964, 1972; International Directorate Award, National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences, 1980; named to TV Academy Hall of Fame, 1986.

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Star Wars

Public Radio Drama Series

The 1980 radio drama *Star Wars* was an adaptation of the groundbreaking motion picture of the same name. It can be seen as a radio landmark in several ways. Its production brought to bear the very best stereophonic, multitrack audio technology available. It was a collaboration between a major motion picture production company and a public radio network, with Lucasfilm, Limited supplying elaborate sound effects and music used in the original motion picture plus promotional and marketing practices hitherto thought beyond the scope of public radio. The series used six and a half hours of airtime to tell a story that, in the motion picture, was originally told in less than 30 minutes of dialogue, meaning that the characters could be treated in more depth and the story told in more detail. In addition, the series raised National Public Radio's (NPR) audience ratings spectacularly and brought a new awareness of the high quality of programs broadcast by public radio.

When the motion picture *Star Wars*, written and directed by George Lucas, opened in 1977, it was a great success, lauded for its music, special effects, and rip-roaring approach to telling an adventure story. It immediately became an icon of American culture, so embedded in the popular consciousness that, some time after the motion picture was released, a major shift in the defense policy of the Armed Forces of the United States was titled the Star Wars Strategic Defense Initiative.

A short while after the motion picture opened, Richard Toscan of the University of Southern California (USC) approached George Lucas about making a radio version of the film. This project was to be produced by the university's NPR affiliate, KUSC-FM. A USC alumnus, Lucas was fascinated by the idea of helping out his alma mater in such a novel way. Adaptations of film scripts were not new to radio—such programs as *Lux Radio Theater* were aired on the commercial networks in the 1940s, often with the stars of the motion picture re-creating their roles on radio as a means of advertising major films. But in the late 1970s, it was a given in the entertainment industry that radio drama, except for a few struggling exceptions, such as *Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) Radio Mystery Theater* and NPR's *Earplay* and *Masterpiece Radio Theater*, was dead in the United States. The idea for a radio drama made in cooperation with a film company was communicated to NPR head Frank Mankiewicz, who was intrigued by it.

In July 1978 George Lucas' production company Lucasfilm, KUSC-FM, and NPR held initial meetings to get the project underway. In March 1979 an agreement was reached in which, for the price of \$1, Lucasfilm subsidiary Black Falcon, Limited

turned over to KUSC-FM the rights to write, produce, and broadcast a radio version of *Star Wars*. Lucasfilm also expressed interest in supplying technical help and in assisting to advertise the series. In April 1979 the project was publicly announced as an NPR/KUSC-FM coproduction with the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), in cooperation with Lucasfilm. The BBC was brought in by NPR in an effort to launch a cooperative venture with a well-respected colleague organization, experienced in the production of radio drama. But the BBC was uncomfortable with Lucasfilm's control over the script, which was being written by Brian Daley. Daley, who was not the first choice for writer, was familiar with the *Star Wars* stories, having written three novels based on *Star Wars* characters; however, for this undertaking, his scripts were subject to the approval of Lucasfilm's Carol Titelman. Eventually the BBC backed out of its agreement with NPR.

In May 1980 John Madden, who had directed for the National Theater in London and the BBC, as well as *American Playhouse*, was set as the director of the series. Tom Voegeli, who had worked on NPR's *Earplay* drama series, joined the production staff as sound mixer and supervisor of the postproduction period, the period when music and sound effects are added to the voice tracks already recorded by the actors.

Mark Hamill agreed to repeat his motion picture role as Luke Skywalker because he could not see anyone else in the part. Anthony Daniels, a veteran of British stage and radio, was eager to get back into a radio studio, so he, too, repeated his motion picture role as the robot C3PO. In late June 1980, the actors gathered at Westlake Audio Studios in Los Angeles for 13 weeks of recording. Many of the actors, more familiar with acting for screen than for radio, found the two media to be quite different in their demands. The actors had to learn to put the physicality of motion and facial expression into their lines because, in the recording studio, the voice had to do all the acting. With John Madden's help, actors and writer Brian Daley fine-tuned the scripts for the spoken word. Tom Voegeli engineered the stereophonic recording, using sensitive omnidirectional microphones; setting up a scene in which an actor moved across the room, which gave a sense of real spatial movement to the sound of the lines; and placing Anthony Daniels (C3PO) in a separate booth so that his voice could be processed to add a hollow, robotic sound.

The finished recordings of the actors were then taken to Minnesota, where Voegeli added John Williams' music, performed by the London Philharmonic, and sound effects, including the major characters R2D2 and Chewbacca, created by Ben Burtt, both from the original *Star Wars* motion picture.

A very small amount of dialogue had to be cut to accommodate the prerecorded music, but generally the actor tracks were left as they were originally recorded.

NPR distributed the finished series to its member stations via satellite in stereophonic sound for broadcast in 13 half-hour episodes beginning 2 March 1981. Audience response was overwhelming. In March 1981 NPR's special telephone number for the series received 40,000 calls. The network managed to answer more than 12,000 of the calls, some 7,000 of them from children. During the same period NPR received more than 10,000 letters from *Star Wars* listeners. Many of these people had never listened to public radio before. The network later calculated that its listening audience nearly doubled during the *Star Wars* broadcasts. Lucasfilm had insisted that the release of the radio series be scheduled to coincide with the release of its new motion picture, *The Empire Strikes Back*, and the rerelease of the original *Star Wars*. Perhaps not totally coincidentally, all this occurred during the annual public radio fund-raising drive, which saw an enormous increase in donations for that year. In May 1981 NPR's Frank Mankiewicz wrote to Lucasfilm expressing the positive impact of *Star Wars* on the network in terms of audience awareness, fund raising, and public perception of the quality of NPR's programming.

By June 1981 planning was underway for *The Empire Strikes Back*, the ten-episode radio sequel to *Star Wars*. Recording of the actors' tracks took place over ten days in June 1982, at A and R Studios on Seventh Street in New York City. Many of the *Star Wars* radio actors returned to continue the story. Mark Hamill and Anthony Daniels were joined by Billy Dee Williams, also from the original motion picture cast. Several noted theatrical names were added to the cast list in relatively small parts. *The Empire Strikes Back* was broadcast by NPR beginning 14 February 1982. Subsequently, planning began for a second sequel, *Return of the Jedi*. But all plans had to be laid aside when NPR found itself in a severe financial crisis. Over ten years passed before Highbridge Company, an affiliate of Minnesota Public Radio, managed to raise funds for a six-episode radio production of *Return of the Jedi*, with Tom Voegeli as producer, John Madden as director, and Brian Daley as writer. The actors were recorded in 1996 at Westlake Audio Studios in Los Angeles, and postproduction took place in Minnesota. The finished product was given to NPR, which broadcast it beginning 5 November 1996, bringing to a close the *Star Wars* radio trilogy. The satisfaction gained from this third successful production was tempered by the fact that Brian Daley, the writer of all three of the *Star Wars* radio series, who had become ill and was unable to attend the taping of the actor tracks, had died in February 1996, on the final day of recording.

FREDERICA P. KUSHNER

See also National Public Radio; Science Fiction Programs

Star Wars

Cast

Antilles	David Ackroyd
Fixer	Adam Arkin
Ben Kenobi	Bernard Behrens
Biggs	Kale Brown
Motti	David Clennon
Tion	John Considine
Grand Moff Tarkin	Keene Curtis
C3PO	Anthony Daniels
Prestor	Stephen Elliot
Aunt Beru	Anne Gerety
Luke Skywalker	Mark Hamill
Uncle Owen	Thomas Hill
Han Solo	Perry King
Darth Vader	Brock Peters
Princess Leia Organa	Ann Sachs
Heater	Joel Brooks
Rebel	John Dukakis
Customer #2	Phillip Kellard
Deak	David Paymer
Cammie	Stephanie Steele
Wedge	Don Scardino
Narrator	Ken Hiller
Various Roles	James Blendick, Clyde Burton, Bruce French, David Alan Grier, Jerry Hardin, John Harkins, Meschach Taylor, Marc Vahanlan, John Welsh, Kent Williams

Writer

Brian Daley

Directors

John Madden, Tom Voegeli

Producers

Carol Titelman, Richard Toscan

Programming History

NPR 2 March 1981–25 May 1981

Empire Strikes Back

Cast

Ben Kenobi	Bernard Behrens
Trooper	Brian Daley
C3PO	Anthony Daniels
Beta/Trooper	James Eckhouse
Deck Officer	Ron Frazier

Ozzel	Peter Michael Goetz
General Rieekan	Merwin Goldsmith
Veers	Gordon Gould
Renegade Four/ Second Rebel/Trooper	David Alan Grier
Luke Skywalker	Mark Hamill
Emperor	Paul Hecht
Narrator	Ken Hiller
Two-Onebee	Russell Horton
Needa	Nicholas Kepros
Han Solo	Perry King
P.A. Announcer	Michael Levett
Yoda	John Lithgow
Darth Vader	Brock Peters
Renegade Three/ First Rebel	John Pielmeier
Piett	David Rasche
Boba Fett	Alan Rosenberg
Princess Leia Organa	Ann Sachs
Wedge	Don Scardino
Lando Calrissian	Billy Dee Williams
RenegadeTwo/ CoordinatingDroid/ Zev/Crewman/Second Trooper/ Superintendent/Guard	Jerry Zaks
Dak	Peter Friedman
Controller	James Hurdle
Imperial Pilot	Jay Sanders
Various Roles	Sam McMurray, Steven Markle, Stephen D. Newman, Geoffrey Pierson

Producer

John Bos

Writer

Brian Daley

Directors

John Madden, Mel Sahr, Tom Voegeli

Programming History

NPR 14 February 1982–18 April 1982

Return of the Jedi**Cast**

Jabba the Hutt	Edward Asner
Boba Fett	Ed Begley, Jr.
Anakin Skywalker	David Birney

C3PO	Anthony Daniels
Bib Fortuna	David Dukes
Luke Skywalker	Josh Fardon
General Madine	Peter Michael Goetz
Lando Calrissian	Arye Gross
Emperor Palpatine	Paul Hecht
Han Solo	Perry King
Yoda	John Lithgow
Darth Vader	Brock Peters
Princess Leia Organa	Ann Sachs
Arica	Samantha Bennett
Moff JerJerrod	Peter Dennis
Narrator	Ken Hiller
Barada	Martin Jarvis
Wedge Antilles	Jon Matthews
Mon Mothma	Natalia Nogulich
Admiral Ackbar	Mark Adair Rios
NineDeNine	Yardley Smith
Major Derlin	Tom Virtue
Various Roles	Samantha Bennett, Ian Gomez, Rick Hall, Andrew Hawkes, Sherman Howard, Karl Johnson, John Kapelos, Ron LePaz, Joe Liss, Paul Mercier, Steven Petrarca, Jonathan Penner, Gil Segel, Nia Vardabs, Ron West

Writer

Brian Daley

Producer

John Bos, Julie Hartley, Tom Voegeli

Director

John Madden

Programming History

NPR 5 November 1996–10 December 1996

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Station Rep Firms

Representing Radio Stations to Advertisers

Station representative companies help local radio stations obtain national advertising. They have become known by many names—station reps, rep firms, media reps, sales reps, or simply "reps." Whatever the name, they exist to promote a station and its market and sometimes to assist client stations to improve their advertising appeal with changes in programming. For many years, a station rep firm did not represent competing stations in the same market, but that changed with consolidation of the industry in the late 1990s. From an industry once made up of several hundred companies, the radio station rep business has shrunk to a handful of major players.

Origins

As radio advertising became widespread in the late 1920s, a problem arose that had appeared decades earlier in the newspaper business: how could local stations successfully appeal to advertisers outside their immediate market area? The problem was, in part, a matter of communication, time, and efficiency. The station could not afford to have its own sales representatives in major cities, and advertisers and their agencies could not be troubled to contact dozens or even hundreds of individual stations across the country.

The first—and, as it turned out, temporary—solution was the rise of time brokering. A time broker represented no specific station or advertiser but rather sold (brokered) advertising time from many outlets to advertisers. A time broker might sell time on competing outlets in the same market. For example, around 1930 a broker named Scott Bowen began buying radio time for advertising agencies for a fee and then obtained a commission from the stations when he placed a schedule.

The Katz Agency

Emanuel Katz formed the Katz Agency in 1888 to represent newspapers. In 1931 the company sought to represent radio stations since several of the Katz newspaper clients had acquired radio licenses. Emanuel's son, Eugene Katz, the youngest member of the family and relatively new to the firm,

was assigned the responsibility of selling time for the Oklahoma Publishing Company's new radio station, WKY in Oklahoma City. Hoping to organize a southwestern group of National Broadcasting Company (NBC) Radio affiliates, Eugene succeeded in gaining representation of KPRC in Houston, WFAA in Dallas, and WOAI in San Antonio.

Upon his return to New York, Eugene was told by his father to go back to Texas and call off the deal, because other Katz newspaper clients, including the *Houston Post* and *Dallas News*, had complained vigorously. Eugene was forced to withdraw the contracts and was unable to resume soliciting radio clients until a separate division was established in 1935. By that time Edward Petry, Paul Raymer, and the firm Free, John and Fields (later Peters Griffin Woodward) had all established themselves as radio reps, and Katz re-entered radio representation as a latecomer. The first non-newspaper-related radio clients at Katz were WGST, Atlanta; KRLA, Los Angeles; KRNT, Des Moines; and WMT, Cedar Rapids.

The Katz sales staffs for different media were separated after World War II. When television emerged in 1947, Eugene did not make the same mistake that his father had made with radio and moved quickly into television representation. He contracted with most of the big city television stations in the country. Ironically, other radio representatives were reluctant to enter the new medium, leaving Katz dominant until the major television groups such as Storer and Westinghouse formed their own in-house sales organizations. The Katz newspaper representation business continued its downward trend throughout the late 1960s, and the company ceased representing newspapers in 1973 to concentrate on electronic media.

In 1972 one of James Greenwald's first major steps as president of Katz Radio was to begin selling FM radio audience. Until then, most FM stations, if they were sold to national advertisers at all, were coupled with sister AM stations. Nearly all FM stations, except those that programmed classical music, simulcast programming with their AM counterparts, and Katz Radio was particularly steeped in the history of selling only large AM stations. Greenwald visited with the owners of the major Katz AM stations that also had FM

stations and first convinced them to sell their fledgling FM stations in combination with their AM stations. In many instances the additional audience, which was essentially sold for the same price as the AM-only audience, resulted in higher rates and larger shares of budgets for the AM station. The Katz clients responded favorably.

When the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) in 1965 passed the rule limiting simulcasting to 50 percent of the program day, Greenwald formed an in-house programming consulting unit within the Radio Division that urged the owners of FM stations to program their FM properties independently. Greenwald foresaw a national sales market rapidly developing that was willing to spend large sums to reach the emerging FM audience. By 1976 national sales on Katz-represented FM stations had grown to represent over 20 percent of the company's total volume. By 1980 it had eclipsed 35 percent, and by 1990, 70 percent.

Eugene, the last member of the Katz family to be associated with the firm, helped to organize the company's sale to its employees in 1976 at the time he retired. Two years later, Katz had 450 employees and 17 sales offices, and the company represented 170 radio (and 108 television) stations with national spot billings of about \$250 million. By 1980 the firm had grown to become the largest representative of radio and television stations in the nation. By the company's 100th anniversary in 1988 (two years after Greenwald retired as chairman), Katz had 1,400 employees in 22 offices and represented 1,440 radio (and 193 television) stations with total billings of \$1.5 billion, two-thirds of that in television. By then it was the only rep firm still active in both radio and television.

In 1984 Katz took over the Henry Christal Company (which had specialized in high-power clear channel stations) and spun it off as a division along with RKO Radio Sales, which became the Republic Radio division. Katz took over the John Blair radio business in 1987, and it became the Banner Radio division. Katz also purchased the Jack Masla Company, Eastman Radio, and Metro Radio Sales. Katz set up a Hispanic radio division, and all the Katz divisions competed with one another nationally and in specific markets. By 2000 Katz Radio Group—Katz, Christal, and Clear Channel Radio Sales (set up in 2000, dedicated to the 1,200 stations in 48 states owned by Clear Channel Communications)—represented 2,000 stations in all. Emmanuel Katz died that same year.

Edward Petry

In 1932 Edward Petry established his own radio sales representative company—the first company devoted solely to radio. Petry was the first to develop the notion of “exclusivity,” the idea that a station rep should handle only one station in any given market. He also developed a system of rates and standards to the spot broadcasting business that allowed it to grow

and flourish. He was also the first rep to open a separate television division. Petry (as with several other rep firms) eventually left the radio business to focus on television.

Both Petry and Katz differed from time brokers in that they provided exclusive representation of client stations, never more than one in a given city. In this way the station rep could “sell” a market and the represented station as the best way to serve that market. By 1935 there were 26 such companies, and by 1937 at least 60 different rep firms were vying for radio station business.

The Industry Matures

Station rep firms increasingly competed with the national networks in the 1930s and 1940s, for the national chains usually represented not only their own stations, but also many of their affiliates. The National Association of Radio Station Reps (which became the Station Reps Association in the early 1950s) filed a complaint in 1947 with the FCC about networks representing non-owned-and-operated affiliate stations. After seven days of hearings in 1948–49 concerned with whether this was a violation of the chain broadcasting rules of the FCC, the commission took no action. American Broadcasting Companies (ABC) stopped representing affiliates in 1952. Only in 1959, by then alarmed at the degree to which television networks already dominated the advertising revenues of the relatively new medium, would the FCC ban networks from acting as reps for their affiliate stations.

With the demise of most programming on radio networks in the face of television competition after 1948, however, a new world opened for station reps. Not only did the networks rapidly fade from the competitive picture, but many more stations were going on the air each year, and each needed representation to reach national advertisers.

Following the Katz example, other radio rep firms were entering the television market. Starting in the late 1950s, a few stations (primarily those controlled by group owners) began again to represent themselves, and by the late 1970s these accounted for about a third of national spot billings for radio and television combined. By the 1970s there were some 230 rep firms, most of them regional, and they increasingly focused on radio or television, but not both.

Ralph Guild and Interep

The man who would change the face of the station rep business, Ralph Guild, began his radio career as an advertising salesman at KXOB in Stockton, California, in 1948. He moved to a similar post at a Sacramento station two years later and became manager of KROY in the state capital in 1955. He turned to the station representative business in 1957 when he joined McGavren-Quinn, then a San Francisco-based rep firm

operated by Guild's college classmate Daren McGavren. Later that year, Guild moved to New York to open the company's first East Coast office. He became national sales manager in 1963 and moved up to become a partner of what became McGavren Guild in 1967. The firm was sold to employees in 1975 in an employee stock ownership plan.

In a break with station rep tradition, McGavren Guild began to represent more than one station in a given market. In 1981 Guild formed Interep as a holding company of separately managed and competing station rep firms. Over the next several years, several rep firms came under the Interep umbrella, including Major Market Radio in 1983 and Group W Radio Sales and Torbet Radio in 1987. Interep became the Interep Radio Store in 1988, all the while expanding its research and related services to both ad agencies and stations. By 1990 there were eight separate rep firms within Interep, which had become the largest radio rep organization. Billings rose from \$60 million in sales in 1981 to \$500 million by 1990 (half of the radio advertising in the largest 150 markets) and more than \$1.25 billion a decade later. Through an initial public offering in December 1999, Interep became a publicly traded company.

With the consolidation of radio station ownership in the late 1990s, the rep companies' policy of exclusivity began to break down as stations changed hands. The huge merger between Clear Channel and AMFM in 1999, for example, caught the Katz and Interep firms in the middle. When Clear Channel gobbled up AMFM (which was the corporate parent of Katz), Guild promptly filed a \$56 million lawsuit against Clear Channel for damages arising from Clear Channel's diversion of its business to Katz, and thus its alleged breach of the national sales representation agreement with Interep.

By the late 1990s, thanks in part to considerable ownership consolidation, the relatively small radio station rep firm was rapidly disappearing, unable to compete with the two dominant giant companies (Interep and Katz), each with hundreds of stations on their client list. Fewer than 40 radio station rep

firms survived by 2000, and of those, 15 came under either the Interep or Katz umbrella. The largest independents were Lotus Hispanic Reps, Roslin Radio Sales, Savalli Radio and TV, and Howard C. Weiss Company.

Several smaller companies represented stations in specific parts of the country. Regional Reps, with offices in Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago, and Atlanta, was the largest. Others included Michigan Spot Sales, Midwest Radio, New England Spot Sales, and Western Regional Broadcast Sales. At the same time, radio station representative firms were venturing into internet sales with the rapid growth of internet radio.

GORDON H. HASTINGS, CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING,
AND ED SHANE

See also Clear Channel Communications; Greenwald, James L.; Programming Strategies and Processes

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Stereo

Stereophonic sound, or "stereo" for short, is a system of sound reproduction in which separately placed microphones or loudspeakers enhance the realism of the reproduced sound. The effect of using multiple sound inputs and outputs in separated right and left audio channels is the creation of sound reproduction that is "three-dimensional," since aspects of

right- and left-channel sound can be heard separately by persons with normal hearing.

Stereophonic sound is important to radio for two principal reasons. The popularity of stereophonic frequency modulation (FM) broadcasting in the second half of the 20th century contributed to public acceptance of that mode of radio transmission

and reception. FM stereo gradually became the listening public's preferred medium for receiving music, which makes up the majority of entertainment programming for radio stations in industrialized nations. Second, the controversial method by which the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) authorized amplitude modulation (AM) stereo broadcasting in the United States in the early 1980s is thought by many to have contributed to its relative failure.

History of FM Stereo

Stereophonic radio broadcasting was invented in 1925, when WPAY radio in New Haven, Connecticut, experimented with two-station simulcasting. This early attempt featured the station's broadcast of the right channel of sound on one AM carrier frequency, while a second separate AM signal transmitted the left channel of sound. Despite experiments such as this, the real push for stereophonic broadcasting came in the 1950s, when the United States and British recording industries perfected "high-fidelity" sound reproduction, which included stereophonic recording technologies. The Record Industry Association of America (RIAA) adopted recording industry standards for stereo in January 1959. In the years preceding the adoption of the RIAA standards, interest in stereophonic radio broadcasting also increased. A variation of the technique used in the 1920s by WPAY was used experimentally in 1952 by station WQXR, owned by *The New York Times*. Like the WPAY system, this later variation featured a two-station approach, but with an AM signal for the right channel and an FM frequency for the left. In 1954, station WCRB in Boston began using this type of two-station stereo broadcasting for approximately four hours of programming per week, and for up to 40 hours per week by 1959. Nonetheless, there were problems with this type of stereophonic AM-FM broadcasting, mostly related to the wasted spectrum space of such two-station arrangements and to the fact that listeners needed two radios to get the full stereo effect, while listeners using only one radio receiver received just "half" of the intended sound. Further, the AM channel lacked the frequency response of the FM channel.

Such technical and practical limitations prompted both AM and FM broadcasters to push for the use of single-station, multiple-channel stereo broadcast authorization. Single-station stereo broadcast technology had become a reality with the FCC authorization of FM multiplexing in 1955. Multiplexing refers to the simultaneous transmission of two or more signals over the same radio channel. In FM broadcasting, a "carrier" frequency (the channel's center frequency) and its sidebands transmit the main electronic program information. However, additional electronic information can be transmitted using other frequencies within the station's designated channel, as long as the information generated and modulated on the side-

bands does not interfere with the main carrier-frequency signal. This sideband frequency signal is called a "subcarrier," and the second-channel (right or left channel) audio information for FM stereo is carried in a subcarrier transmission. The technique was originally developed as a means to allow FM stations, which were financially struggling at that time, to pick up additional revenue by using the sidebands of their allocated frequencies to carry business background music or financial data information. The same technology that enabled this use of multiplexing for subsidiary communication authorization (SCA) broadcasts could be adapted so that the multiple portions of the signal would carry separate right and left audio channel information.

Developments in AM stereo broadcasting also moved forward. In 1959 AM stereo was successfully tested by the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) in conjunction with Belar Electronics Laboratory. That same year, Philco developed an AM stereo system that was tested on WABC in New York. Television industry engineers also developed their own adaptations of these stereophonic sound transmission techniques for the audio portion of TV transmission and reception systems.

In 1958 the FCC issued a *Notice of Inquiry* on further uses of FM radio, which included not only stereophonic broadcasting, but also other SCA services such as paging and calling services, traffic light-switching control, radio reading services for visually impaired persons, public utility load management, and specialized foreign language programming. A year later, the FCC separated the question of stereo from the more general SCA inquiry by issuing a *Further Notice of Inquiry*. A new industry testing group was set up in cooperation with the Electronic Industries Association (EIA) in order to sort out the features of the 17 proposed (and mutually incompatible) systems of FM stereo. This engineering test group was called the National Stereophonic Radio Committee (NSRC). Because of antitrust concerns, industry heavyweights RCA and the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) did not participate in the standardization testing process.

Boosters promoted FM stereo as "the one big thing" needed to ensure consumer acceptance of FM. Although several stations kept using the AM-FM two-station experimental procedure, most in the industry awaited permission to adopt single-station stereo. In the end, the FCC authorized *only* FM stereo in April 1961, accepting with modification the recommendations of the NSRC. In October of that year, the FCC denied petitions for AM stereo authorization, claiming that FM was "the ideal medium" for the development of high-quality stereo broadcasting and that the beneficial effects of AM stereo were *de minimis*. The FCC similarly denied two 1962 petitions to reconsider its negative AM stereo decision.

It appears that there were four overlapping reasons for the FCC to allow stereo FM while denying stereo AM radio or stereo television broadcasting. The most often-cited rationale is

that the FCC recognized the need to give struggling FM stations a boost in order to allow them to compete economically with then-dominant AM radio stations. Second, the Commission recognized that FM, with its 200-kilohertz channel (20 times wider than the width of AM carrier frequencies) had the ability to faithfully reproduce a wider range of frequencies without suffering from fading, interference, or static. This made FM a technically superior medium for broadcasting with the use of sideband stereo technologies. Third, the FCC did not feel that it (or the industry) had adequate resources to introduce FM, AM, and TV stereo simultaneously. Finally, regarding stereo television, FCC engineers felt that “stereo sound mated with the small-screen pictures of a typical television set would be distracting and unsatisfying.”

Although FM radio, with its full-frequency stereophonic sound, did gain consumer acceptance over the two decades that followed, the innovation diffusion period for FM stereo broadcasting was relatively protracted. Initially, the cost of stereo transmission equipment (estimated at \$2,000 to \$4,000—no small sum in the early 1960s) was considered prohibitive by many unprofitable FM broadcasters of the day, especially since there were too few stereo receivers in the consumer marketplace to make the investment pay off. Consequently, only about 25 percent of all FM stations in the United States were using stereophonic transmitters by 1965, and fewer than 50 percent were broadcasting in stereo by 1971. However, with the gradual growth of the FM industry in the 1970s, fueled by a turn from strictly upscale programming to more progressive rock music formats, a large majority of FM radio stations in the United States were broadcasting in stereo by 1975. In 1978, FM surpassed AM in terms of U.S. listenership.

Interest in AM Stereo Rekindled

The success of FM broadcasting, boosted in no small part by FM's ability to broadcast in stereo, was accompanied by a commensurate decline in AM listenership. By the late 1970s, once-dominant AM stations in several major markets expressed hope that AM stereo might be developed as part of a package of AM improvements that would enable them to compete more effectively with FM stereo.

A number of AM stereo proponents had continued to work on AM stereophonic transmission and reception throughout the 1960s and 1970s. In the early 1960s, CBS experimented with a modification of the AM stereo system developed by Philco and conducted transmission tests on its New York station, WCBS. AM stereo proponent Leonard Kahn, who in the late 1950s had introduced a “single-sideband” method of AM stereo, also refined his system and conducted stereo tests beginning in 1970 just south of San Diego at the 50,000-watt Tijuana, Mexico, AM station XETRA.

The FCC granted permission for a six-month test of Kahn's system on WFBR, Baltimore, in 1974. In 1975 RCA demonstrated its AM stereo broadcasting system as its “big draw” at the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) convention, and Motorola collaborated with a firm called Modulation Systems Laboratory to begin work on its C-QUAM system of AM stereo, which would eventually become the industry standard. Perhaps the greatest development was the 1975 united sponsorship of a new National AM Stereophonic Radio Committee (NAMSRC) under the auspices of the EIA, the NAB, the National Radio Broadcasters Association, and the Broadcasting Cable and Consumer Electronics Society of the Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers. Stations WGMS and WTOP in Washington, D.C., volunteered their facilities for on-air tests, and Charlotte, North Carolina's WBT was chosen as the site of the skywave tests. Although early proponent Leonard Kahn refused to participate in the joint-testing process, four companies did submit proposals to the NAMSRC in early 1976, and three systems were eventually tested.

The FCC adopted a *Notice of Inquiry* on AM stereo in 1977, but when no standard was announced by 1980, AM broadcasters grew restless. By that time a political and philosophical shift had taken place in Washington, and the consensus among the increasing number of economists at the FCC was to favor a “marketplace” option. Under this untested mechanism, the FCC would not pick one single AM stereo standard but would instead set only minimal technical standards that would enable any compliant system to be put on the air; theoretically, this system would allow the economics of the free marketplace to select its own de facto standard. Meanwhile, the FCC engineers continued to push for the more traditional single-standard outcome.

At first it appeared as if the traditionalists had prevailed when, in April 1980, an AM stereo standard decision favoring the Magnavox Corporation's proposal was announced. However, for a variety of reasons, this decision was reversed by the FCC shortly after it was announced, and in 1982 the commission adopted the “marketplace” option. This experiment was subsequently criticized as “technological Darwinism” and was widely blamed for the ultimate failure of the AM stereo technology to gain public acceptance. Although attractive in theory and certainly politically sensitive to the deregulatory impulse to create a less intrusive FCC, the marketplace experiment ultimately failed. However, it is impossible to sort out the exact reasons for the failure. Many felt that the lack of a single standard proved to be too economically unstable for broadcasters, who were in the position of trying to invest large sums of money in a transmission system that might not be adopted either by competing stations within its market or by portions of its listening audience. Likewise, the marketplace battle was also seen as too confusing for consumers trying to purchase

home and auto receivers, which featured up to five different means of decoding AM stereo signals.

After a decade of uncertainty, during which time no AM stereo system emerged as the clear winner in the resulting innovation diffusion process, Congress stepped in and required the FCC to set an AM stereo standard. In 1993 the commission selected Motorola's C-QUAM system as the national AM stereo standard because, although it had not yet reached the level of acceptance that would make it the de facto standard, it nonetheless had the largest share of the AM stereo broadcast transmitter and receiver markets.

Television stereo, also approved in the 1980s, avoided this marketplace skirmish because the consumer electronics industry, through the formation of the Broadcast Television Systems Committee (BTSC) was able to agree on a preferred TV stereo transmission and reception system. As a result, in 1984 the FCC ruled unanimously that the Zenith-dbx TV stereo system's pilot subcarrier frequency would be "protected," without excluding the use of other competing systems. If other systems were to be used, a station would have to choose a subcarrier frequency different from that outlined in the Zenith-dbx standard. This was an unlikely outcome both because the Zenith system was the *only* system recommended to the FCC by the BTSC after exhaustive testing, and because Zenith had purposely used a stereo pilot subcarrier preferred by the television broadcast industry because of its compatibility with existing transmission systems.

The Future of Stereo Radio

In 1996 a system of high-capacity FM multiplex broadcasting called Data Radio Channel was proposed. This technology allows for additional text and graphics to be broadcast while maintaining compatibility with existing stereo-broadcasting technology by multiplexing digital signals at a higher frequency than the baseband FM stereo signals. The system was field-tested in NHK's Tokyo, Japan, FM station. However, such Radio Broadcast Data System technologies, which will be able to transmit text data such as artist information or station promotional graphics or text, have not yet caught on with consumers, and with only about 10 percent penetration in broad-

cast markets, they are compared to the unpopular AM stereo innovation.

Experiments in the late 1990s investigated the use of lasers as efficient high-speed subcarrier transmitters of stereo multiplexing. Although this method may be far off in the future of radio, digital audio broadcasting using S-band (2.3–2.6 gigahertz) or L-band (1.452–1.492 gigahertz) frequencies are very much on the horizon in the United States as part of the new digital audio radio services. In addition, five- and six-channel music-recording techniques are expected to revolutionize audio electronics and are being referred to as "beyond stereo" options.

MARK BRAUN

See also AM Radio; Dolby Noise Reduction; FM Radio; Radio Data System; Receivers; Recordings and the Radio Industry

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Stereotypes on Radio

As with any other mass medium, early radio broadcasts made use of (some more recent critics might say “suffered”) stereotypes in dramatic and other programming. Often, the use of clichés simplified groups by labeling them as “other” (that is, outside the mainstream of society) and emphasizing differences between outsiders and the core society. Such reductive portraits may not have promoted universal brotherhood, but they aided radio show popularity by relaxing audiences so that they would continue to listen and to buy the sponsor’s products.

The focus here will be primarily on American radio’s “Golden Age” (to about 1948) with its greater variety of programs and stereotypes, with a few comments about radio in the years since that time. That there is less stereotyping today is clearly owing to the stronger sense of political and social correctness now pervasive in society.

Precedents

The minstrel tradition began in the 1840s and produced two enduring stereotypes of African Americans: “Zip Coon” and “Jim Crow.” The Zip Coon character was depicted as an individual who wore loud-colored clothes, used language inappropriately (malapropisms), and exhibited an air of self-importance. The Jim Crow character, on the other hand, was mentally slow and exhibited features that Caucasians associated with African-American field hands: speaking slowly and moving sluggishly, with thoughts that seemed to match both speech and movement. In addition to these two enduring stereotypes, other representations of African Americans included the trusted servant and maid. Thus, from the days of minstrelsy there were also such figures as Uncle Tom or Uncle Remus, Aunt Jemima or Mandy the maid, Preacher Brown and Deacon Jones, Rastus and Sambo and the old Mammy.” These stereotypes persisted throughout the 19th century, became part of vaudeville, and later were transferred to radio.

Most Americans accepted these stereotypes as a real depiction of African Americans; they were, for the most part, unquestioned. Their comical nature became a defining feature of all of such stereotypes. They made Americans laugh and could be easily laughed at. Hence, racial stereotypes of African Americans served the interest of the status quo by articulating how African Americans would interact with white society, primarily as comedians and servants.

Stereotypes in Early Radio

Early radio often used stereotypes of other ethnic groups in addition to its portrayal of African Americans. For example, there were the *Cliquot Club Eskimos* and the *A&P Gypsies*,

both programs featuring orchestras. Moreover, *The Goldbergs* also used heavy dialects and distinct accents, which had been part of the vaudeville and minstrel traditions.

Vaudeville programs that made heavy use of African-American stereotypes were also heard during the early years of radio. For example, the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) network broadcast a show featuring George Moran and Charlie Mack, cast as “The Two Black Crows,” during the network’s *Majestic Theater Hour*. New York radio station WEAJ broadcast the *Gold Dust Twins* on Tuesday nights, another show that featured stereotypes of African Americans (played by two white men, Harvey Hindermyer and Earl Tuckerman) in 1924.

Variety show formats often featured minstrel routines during the 1920s. *Dutch Masters Minstrels*, for example, was first broadcast by the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) in 1929. Moreover, daytime serials also featured caricatured stereotypes of African Americans. For instance, in 1929, NBC broadcast a serial based upon the Aunt Jemima trademark of the Quaker Oats Company, the show’s sponsor. The focus of the program was the Aunt Jemima character and her family. All members of her family spoke with the heavy black dialect often heard in minstrel shows. (Significantly, and as was usual in this period, white actors played the parts of each character in this show.) Not to be outdone, the Cream of Wheat Company sponsored a program based upon its trademark African-American chef, Rastus. It featured musical selections performed by Rastus’ imaginary animal friends and minstrel-type introductions to each song.

Sam ‘n’ Henry, created by Charles Correll and Freeman Gosden, made its radio debut on WGN, Chicago, in 1926. The program was based upon the minstrel tradition. Although this program never made network radio distribution, it served as the basis for *Amos ‘n’ Andy* which made its debut on 19 March 1928 on Chicago’s WMAQ. The program changed stations and name because WGN refused Correll and Gosden a salary increase; as WGN owned the program/character names, a new name had to be chosen. Radio network NBC picked up the *Amos ‘n’ Andy* program a year later. As a network program, it soon became immensely popular—even among blacks—because it drew upon the minstrel tradition, made use of vaudeville ethnic humor, and offered sympathetic characters with whom the audience could identify.

Stereotypes of Foreigners, Women, and Children

Stereotypes of foreigners, women, and children appeared on dramatic, adventure, and comedy programs throughout radio’s Golden Age. Scripts pictured foreigners, women, and children as predictable creatures who would not cause anxiety in listeners.

Foreigners

Historically, the number of immigrants to the United States between 1925 and 1950 barely equaled the number who entered in one important year—1907. Yet on radio, heavy accents and “ethnic” behavior routinely identified a large number of recent arrivals, nearly all of whose characters agreed to play by American rules. Radio boiled down the enormous Russian empire into Bert Gordon, the Mad Russian of *Eddie Cantor*, or Professor Kropotkin of *My Friend Irma*; all of Mexico’s richness was diminished into Pedro, *Judy Canova*’s pal. On *Life with Luigi*, Luigi Basco told his “Mama mia” in Naples about America with the terminal vowels that placed him as one fresh from Ellis Island. Typically, he affirmed the values of his native-born listeners by studying English in night school, avoiding an old-world arranged marriage with Pasquale’s daughter Rosa, and singing the ditty, “A-may-ree-kah, I love-a you, you like a papa to me.” At least two other shows dealt more cautiously with Italian material: *Little Italy* and *The Great Merlini*.

Similarly, Englishmen, supposed masters of snobbishness, were neutered into stuffy blimps (Harry McNaughton, *It Pays to be Ignorant*; Count Benchley Botsford, *Judy Canova*); cool, work-obsessed police officials (*Scotland Yard’s Inspector Burke*; *Hearthstone of the Death Squad*); or valets (*It’s Higgins, Sir*). Even titled gentlemen were domesticated: Lord Bilgewater couldn’t compete with *Al Pearce*, and Lord Henry Brinthrope catered to *Our Gal Sunday*. Untitled Britons such as Nicholas Lacey gratefully fit into *One Man’s Family*.

French characters, too, lost touch with authentic identity. Jack Benny’s violin teacher, Professor Le Blanc, suffered every time Jack produced a tortured “Love in Bloom” from his strings yet stayed because he’d still not been paid. He satisfied some comfortable expectation in the audience about starveling bohemians. *Alan Young* once disguised himself as “Pierre Eclair, decorator” in order to escape the rough treatment a real man might have expected at the hands of his girl’s irked father. The supposed French connection to romance justified the character of Mademoiselle Fifi, the sultry flirt on *Eddie Cantor*. Similarly, a heavily-accented French teacher at Madison High School generated excitement in *Our Miss Brooks*.

The same Americans who slammed their geographic doors to genuine foreigners admitted through radio a surprising number of often vilified groups, especially Asian, Irish, Jewish, and African American. Some Asians on the air had been part of earlier tales in other media: *Fu Manchu*; *Charlie Chan*; Ming the Merciless, dread Emperor of Mongo, enemy of *Flash Gordon*; and *Mr. I. A. Moto*. Many “Easterners” were servants or, at best, sidekicks. *Bobby Benson* had a Chinese cook; so did *Little Orphan Annie* and *Tom Mix*. Ling Wee was a waiter in *Gasoline Alley* and, a little higher on the excitement ladder, Lai Choi San helped Terry against the pirates, Chula

assisted on *Island Venture*, and Botak backed up *Green Lantern*. Asians often had simple two-syllable names such as Kato on *The Green Hornet* and Toku on *The Green Lama*.

Other linguistic clichés set Orientals apart from Caucasians. Gooley Fooley, laundryman on *Fibber McGee*, gibbered in a manic singsong; *Fred Allen*’s bumbling sleuth One Long Pan threatened crooks with his “lewoloweh.” However, radio soothed listeners by implying that the ancient empires were eager to adopt Western ways. From 1938 to 1940, *This Day Is Ours* told how a dead missionary’s daughter carried on his noble religious work, meeting small frustrations with grace because she had so much support from her adoring Chinese proselytes. The VJ episode of *The Charlotte Greenwood Show* (26 August 1945) featured the Chinese refugee Mrs. Lee who spoke, as the stage directions say, “definitely Oxford.”

Irish characters used more recognizable words but expressed equally simplified personalities. Many real-life Irishmen had become police officers, so Mike Clancy aided *Mr. Keen*; Harrington helped *Mr. District Attorney*; Sergeant Velie supported *Ellery Queen*; Mullins abetted *Mr. and Mrs. North*; Sergeant O’Hara facilitated *The Fat Man*; and Happy McMann backed up *Martin Kane, Private Detective*. These Irish helpers loyally appreciated their more nimble-witted superiors. Such public servants softened a second Irish cliché, that of the bibulous blowhard. Best exemplified by Molly McGee’s Uncle Dennis, this stereotype presented the Irish as ever thirsty and gregarious. *Duffy’s Tavern* seemed the logical gathering place for them.

Jewish roles on radio exuded sentimentality. *The Goldbergs* led this saccharine parade, followed by Izzy Finklestein, the helpful foil on *Kaltenmeyer’s Kindergarten*. Some characters, such as Papa David Solomon on *Life Can Be Beautiful*, became earth oracles in the pattern of Molly Berg. Others, such as the Levys of *Abie’s Irish Rose*, radiated warm humor. Similarly, another Finklestein on *Houseboat Hannah* and *The House of Glass* series projected exuberant geniality. Mr. Kitzel, one of *Al Pearce and His Gang*, and his namesake on *Jack Benny*—the one who offered hotdogs having a “pickle in the middle, with the mustard on top”—glowed with the same lower-East-Side conviviality that made Pansy Nussbaum on *Fred Allen* so endearing.

Black characters best demonstrate how small a cookie cutter radio used to extract innocuous material from a complex culture. No George Washington Carvers or Marcus Garveys pushed their way to the front of radio’s bus. The lethargic Lightning could never do more than run errands on *Amos ’n’ Andy*; Molasses ’n’ January (*Maxwell House Show Boat*) could only be minstrels; Cyclone could only be a ludicrous handyman for the equally silly *Hap Hazard*. The most independent, Birdy Lee Coggins, kept house for *The Great Gildersleeve*, and Geranium the maid chatted with *Judy Canova*. Even versatile African-American actresses such as Amanda

and Lillian Randolph could only serve *Pepper Young's Family* and *Kitty Foyle*. Occasionally these characters bossed their bosses: Rochester van Jones twitted Jack Benny, and Beulah revealed a life outside the McGee household. Usually, like other outsiders, the characters portrayed by black actors merely augmented the lives of the characters they served, apparently content to live in the background and never rebel against middle-class expectations.

Women

Female characters on radio were squeezed into some confining aesthetic corsets. On soap operas they endured, suffered, and occasionally triumphed. Some women assisted male heroes on detective programs, either as compliant secretaries such as Effie Perine on *Sam Spade* or tagalong pals such as Margo Lane on *The Shadow*. Ironically, women were perhaps more fully represented on comedy programs. There they could stretch social molds and carry on at least a century's tradition of amusing, ironic, and flamboyant female speakers. Radio controlled the clichés so they would not discomfit audiences or sponsors. Robert J. Landry suggested in 1946 that the comedy programs (usually aired on Sundays and Tuesdays) repeated formulas because "American radio fans seem to be profoundly amused by the troublesomely imaginative adult and the juvenile equivalent, or brat" (in *This Fascinating Radio Business*). His typology can be expanded to include six major categories of funny females:

1. The brat
2. The teenager
3. The single working girl
4. The household servant (usually black)
5. The girlfriend or wife
6. The erratics: older spinsters, meddlers, society ladies, rebels.

Replicating Max und Moritz/Hans and Fritz models, brats relentlessly demanded attention or treats or information. Pipsqueak kids rose above gender so that the 10-year old boy on *Daddy and Rollo* couldn't claim much difference from the girlish Teeny who pestered *Fibber McGee*. Many of these characters incorporated the mannerisms of *Baby Snooks*.

Radio exploited the pre-World War I discovery of teenagers by unleashing a gaggle of adolescents. The females varied more than their dithering male counterparts. Admittedly there were the nonstop talkers, such as Gildersleeve's neighbor: by the time she pauses for breath, he has forgotten his message. (She had been commenting on what a quiet man Gildy was.) She belongs with chatty flirts such as Veronica on *Archie Andrews*.

A subdivision of teenage girls, the almost-mother, include Marjorie Forester, who managed much of the *Great Gildersleeve's* household; Maudie, who kept *Maudie's Diary* with

wry sensitivity; *Corliss Archer*; *My Best Girls*, who ran their widowed father's home near Chicago; Harriet Conklin, the mature daughter of *Our Miss Brooks's* school principal; Babs Riley, who assisted her mom in helping father Chester lead *The Life of Riley*; and Judy Foster, who did more than go out with Ooge Pringle on *A Date With Judy*. All of these buyers into adult responsibility helped to rectify the slur upon young women implied by the twit or coquette images.

The Single Working Girl stereotype offered more memorable characters than their accompanied or married sisters. These plucky females toiled in a world they did not create. Alone but not afraid, they confronted a commercial universe that insisted they were more bother than aid. Most radio singles were eager to remove themselves from the workplace to the sacred space of a kitchen. They lived according to Elizabeth Cushman's maxim, "No girl should remain in business more than five years" ("Office Women and Sex Antagonism," *Harper's Magazine*). *Maisie* pluckily endured low wages and unpromising boyfriends while dreaming of fulfillment.

The U.S. census for 1950 listed more than 1.6 million "stenographers, typists, and secretaries." However, these vital functionaries appeared on radio as airheads. In 1953 Lorelei Schmeerbaum, stalwart member of the club "Girls Who Say No But Mean Yes" and adviser to *My Friend Irma*, announced that Irma had won the money to go to England. Lorelei's group tells Irma to order everything new. She does, and then wastes the money by buying a ticket to *New England*.

Only a few women workers earned some validity as mature individuals. A predecessor of TV's *Moonlighting*, the 1941 *Miss Pinkerton* allowed one woman to enter a man's world. A pretty, bright, principled young woman who inherited a detective agency, she enlisted as her partner a brash, suggestive guy who both attracted and annoyed her. Likewise, *Penny Williamson*, a war widow with two children, coped poignantly with life in 1950 as a single parent by selling real estate in Middletown. Connie Brooks, the unsinkable English teacher at Madison High, and Miss Spaulding, who taught night school for immigrants on *Life with Luigi*, also managed to stay afloat in the workplace.

Household servants were predictable. One need only think of Beulah (*Fibber McGee and Molly's* maid), or Geranium (*Judy Canova*) or Nightingale (*A Date with Judy*) to realize how automatically linked were the concepts of "house servant" and "woman of color." Here there exist traces of the wise woman archetype and a certain respect for people whom society often suppressed. Repeatedly, Birdy on *The Great Gildersleeve* moderated her portly employer's pomposity by reminding him of his own need to diet or to get closer to his ward Leroy.

The Girlfriend or Wife represented the grown-up female (as a group comprising nearly half of the total number of women in comedy). Whether she tried to teach *Slapsy Maxie*

Rosenbloom that there's more to life than boxing, or to soothe neighbors when *Lorenzo Jones's* inventions made noise, or to moderate *Fibber McGee's* bumptiousness, this helper civilized her man. Alice Faye took away Phil Harris' booze; Margaret Anderson sounded as wise as her husband on *Father Knows Best*; Mrs. Blandings altered her husband's schemes to build his dream home; Betty, *Alan Young's* girl, encouraged him; and Judy Garland on *The Hardy Family* preserved Andy from embarrassment.

Erratics include the many censorious Mrs. Uppington/Mrs. Carstairs (*Fibber McGee and Molly*) types who corrected grammar and chastened mischief. Fussbudgets almost drowned out a small group of revolutionaries such as Lucy Arnaz or *Hogan's Daughter* or Jane Ace (*Easy Aces*). *Charlotte Greenwood* managed to be single, moral, and peppy. When Gracie Allen wandered onto other people's programs during 1937, apparently looking for her brother, she flummoxed normally self-possessed performers such as Walter Winchell, Fred Allen, Ben Bernie, and Singing Sam. The transgressions of erratics could be tolerated because everyone understood that it was temporary.

Children

Golden Age radio drew stereotypes of young characters from two deep wells of tradition. In public Americans looked up to the young. Citizens saw them as the lucky receptacles for their elders' accumulated wisdom and wealth; immigrants valued them because they could make a fresh start, learn to speak English well, and ascend socially. With luck and pluck, some admirable youths strove to succeed in adult-approved universes by helping their families like Horatio Alger heroes, or by comforting their elders with fey wisdom like that of *Pollyanna*, or by traveling so they could learn about grown-up activities like the jolly rovers of G. A. Henty and Edward Stratemeyer. Such characters might be called "collaborators."

The reverse of this optimistic view of children involved annoyance, helplessness, and embarrassment. Out of adult reach, past rational understanding, and immune to good advice, children were sometimes thought to have a life quite different from that of adults. This notion recognized that two forces contended in young people: the desire to belong and the bothersome urge to be an individual. Like the Katzenjammer Kids, spunky tykes discomfited adults. This second group of stereotypes may be called "confounders."

Radio judged, no doubt correctly, that abused, hungry, sexual, angry, homeless, or delinquent children would offend listeners. However, a medium that claimed to be immediate and realistic could not remain silent about young people, so it chose to present them nostalgically. Out of 55 programs that gave significant roles to young characters, 33 presented juniors who collaborated with adults. These collaborators worked to

keep families intact. *Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch* managed her modest household (during the Depression and on the wrong side of town) with the dependable aid of her little son Billy. The two Nolan kids, Francie and Neely, helped their similarly poor-but-proud family in *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn*. In 1936 *Wilderness Road* (an early version of TV's *The Waltons*) appeared, reporting how five Midwestern "younguns," the Westons, helped their folks homestead in the 1890s.

Even kids such as the orphans in 1942 Buffalo on *Miss Meade's Children*—who, in some real world, might exhibit anxiety or use unconventional language—merely frisked through one radio day after another. *Little Orphan Annie* defeated kidnappers and despair throughout the 1930s. *Mommie and the Men* had a level-headed mother managing four "children" in 1945: three kids and one infantile husband. They resembled *My Best Girls*, the three daughters of a widower who dealt amusingly with events in 1944 Chicago. Ethyl Barrymore and her daughter and son cooperated to keep the Thompson family intact on *Miss Hattie*.

Perhaps the most palatable form of the sugary category of home-centered helpers was the comedy program. Jack Barry's son and wife compensated for his flakiness on *It's the Barrys*. In *That's My Pop*, Hugh Herbert's son and daughter supported him (in 1945) because his last job had been peddling sunglasses during the eclipse of 1929. Niece Marjorie Forrester helped her aunt manage *The Great Gildersleeve*.

The kids who glued families together blended with a second subset of collaborators acting in non-residential settings. *Dick Cole* took time off from the Farr Military Academy to foil Nazi-type spies; *Jack Armstrong* skipped out of Hudson High to catch gamblers; and *Frank Merriwell*, no nearer shaving in 1946 than he was in the 1890s, found a huge underground reservoir of water that would enable farmers to make a profit.

Other compliant youths moved beyond home and school to work with adult mentors. Sixteen-year-old *Jimmy Allen* scurried about the 1930s-era Kansas City airport in order to teach 1946 listeners that a bright lad can rise if he keeps his eyes open for mechanics who might sabotage planes. Similarly, Jimmy Olsen and Beanie the office boy worked to keep *The Daily Planet* operating while *Superman* was on the road (or in the air). Junior interned with *Dick Tracy* and Pat Patton. Penny and Clipper aided *Sky King* so enthusiastically that audiences knew the maxims he spouted would inspire them to imitate his career as navy pilot, FBI agent, and rancher-detective. Jimmy, the heir of *Tom Mix*, resembled another apprentice, *Howie Wing*, who was learning to fly (as his name suggests) from Captain Harvey in 1938. Even 10-year old Barney Mallory helped his war-hero uncle Spencer Mallory during 1945 on *The Sparrow and the Hawk*.

A final group of collaborators performed noble deeds with little adult supervision, but still in harmony with adult aspirations. At one end of this spectrum of apparently individuated

kids are Isabel and Billy, who hunted under the sea for misplaced toys in *Land of the Lost*. True, they were guided by a talking fish, but still they moved with relative autonomy. 1935's *Billy and Betty* scampered through perils, contacting adults only when they needed a policeman to take away the criminal they had collared. *Chick Carter* learned so much from his adoptive father that he could pursue criminals on his own or with his pal Sue.

In opposition to the goody-goodies, the confounders were an undisciplined parade of scamps who chipped away at adult composure. They were both male and female, with Red Skelton's "mean widdle kid" complementing Fanny Brice's *Baby Snooks*. For each pair of cooperators such as Tank Tinker who supported *Hop Harrigan*, there were opposites such as Archie and Jughead on *Archie Andrews* or Henry Aldrich and Homer Brown on *The Aldrich Family*. For caretaking niece Marjorie on *The Great Gildersleeve*, there was Leroy, the water commissioner's restive nephew; balancing dutiful daughter Babs was Junior, a true son of his fumbling father on *The Life of Riley*. In contrast to the attentive students of adult mentors (such as *Bobby Benson* and Tex Mason or Little Beaver and *Red Ryder*), there was Teeny, the exasperating kid who flummoxed *Fibber McGee*. Dinky added to the problems on *Today at the Duncans*, and teenagers such as those who dithered on *Junior Miss*, *Corliss Archer*, *A Date with Judy*, and *That Brewster Boy* did not exactly rebel, but their enthusiasms often torpedoed parental expectations.

Radio left each confounder's future in amiable doubt: would Harriet Conklin, sensible daughter of the high school principal, eventually marry Walter Denton, nemesis of authority but friend to *Our Miss Brooks*? Radio implied that this class of young people, like foreigners and women, might someday conform to the dictates of middle-class normalcy, but only after amusing tribulations. Darker visions of youth seldom surfaced. A few malevolent children appeared on science-fiction programs, but such characters were not typical in radio programs of the day.

Radio Stereotypes since the Advent of Television

After 1947 the radio industry was forced to change owing to the new competition for audiences from television and the subsequent loss of national advertisers, as well as the movement of radio stars and personalities to television. Of necessity, the kinds and types of radio programming changed.

Despite these changes in the medium, racial stereotypes of African Americans and others did not change quickly; as they had existed prior to radio's Golden Age, they persisted after it ended. In 1948 Joe Scribner developed *Sleepy Joe*, a children's show that used black dialect and "Uncle Tom" stereotypes in its broadcast. *Beulah* made its debut on network radio in 1947. This program made use of the "Mammy" stereotype

with African-American actress Hattie McDaniel (of *Gone with the Wind* film fame) in the role of Beulah, after protests forced the network to replace a white man who had originally played the part. In addition to this program, several other network radio programs featured African-American women in stereotypical roles, often cast as maids and servants with flower names. (For example, Ruby Dandridge was cast as Geranium on the *Judy Canova Show*.)

Although the majority of stereotypes on network radio, even after the Golden Age, continued the negative portrayal of African Americans, other groups were also similarly depicted. Native Americans and immigrant ethnic groups were also stereotyped on network radio after radio's Golden Age. For example, *The Lone Ranger* used the Tonto character to denigrate Native Americans. Significantly, this Native American character referred to the *Lone Ranger* only as "Kemosabe," a word supposedly meaning "wise one" in an otherwise unidentified Indian language.

JAMES A. FREEMAN
("Stereotypes of Foreigners, Women, and Children")

GILBERT A. WILLIAMS
(opening and concluding sections)

See also, in addition to individual shows and people mentioned in this essay, Affirmative Action; African-Americans in Radio; Black Radio Networks; Black-Oriented Radio; Gay and Lesbian Radio; Hispanic Radio; Jewish Radio Programs in the U.S.; Native American Radio

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Stern, Howard 1954-

U.S. Radio Personality

Howard Stern is one of the best known and most controversial "shock jocks" on radio today. Stern's early interest in radio stemmed from his father's work as a radio engineer for WHOM (later WKTU). Stern attended Roosevelt High School in Long Island and went on to the Boston University School of Communication, where he first appeared on radio at the Boston University station. His first professional radio job was as a progressive rock disk jockey at WNTN AM in Boston. During the first 10 years of his professional career, he moved from station to station, working at WCCC, Hartford, Connecticut; DC-101 FM, Washington, D.C.; and WNBC, New York.

In 1985 Stern was fired from WNBC after pressure from upper management at the National Broadcasting Company (NBC). After several suspensions for refusing to follow station guidelines for on-air personnel, he was finally dismissed. Within a month, he was hired to work the afternoon drive shift on WXRK, a New York station owned by Infinity Broadcasting. This was the beginning of what was to be a long and profitable relationship for Stern and Infinity. After success in the afternoon shift, the show was moved to the morning drive slot.

The next year, Stern's show began to simulcast on Infinity's classic rock station in Philadelphia, WYSP. This was to serve as a test of the show's potential for simulcast on other stations around the country. It was also the beginning of problems arising from the content of Stern's program. By this time, Stern's reputation as a "shock jock" was beginning to attract attention from critics. His program combined profanity, sexual references, and an argumentative narrative style with a "nothing is sacred, no holds barred" approach to talk radio.

In 1986 the show became the target of a religious campaign led by the Reverend Donald Wildmon, who proposed that Stern's program be taken off the air because it was "indecent."

Wildmon took his complaints, along with transcripts and tape recordings of Stern's show, to the Federal Communications Commission (FCC). He claimed that the content of the Stern show violated the indecency policy of the FCC.

The FCC had long held that indecency should not be broadcast during times when children were likely to be in the audience. The FCC developed a definition of indecency over time, initially focusing on indecent language or "dirty words." The policy was upheld by the Supreme Court in 1978 in the *Pacifica* case. A New York station challenged the FCC's indecency policy after complaints that it had aired George Carlin's "Seven Dirty Words" monologue during the afternoon hours. The FCC maintained that the station violated the indecency policy by airing the material when children were likely to be in the audience.

The *Pacifica* decision upheld the FCC's policy of channeling questionable content to a "safe harbor," a period of time during which stations could air indecent material. After several appeals, the safe harbor was settled at the period from 10 P.M. to 6 A.M. As of 1992, the FCC definition of indecency was "language or material that, in context, depicts or describes, in terms patently offensive as measured by contemporary community standards for the broadcast medium, sexual or excretory activities or organs."

Howard Stern's morning program on WXRK, New York, and WYSP, Philadelphia, was broadcast during a time that was outside the FCC safe harbor for indecency. So, in late 1986, after reviewing Reverend Wildmon's complaint, the FCC issued a *Notice of Apparent Liability* to Infinity Broadcasting. In it, the commission claimed that Stern's radio program was in violation of the indecency policy. Infinity was warned to bring Howard Stern under control or be fined.



Howard Stern, December 1993
 Courtesy AP/Wide World Photos

In 1987 Stern held a free-speech rally in New York to protest the FCC indecency policy. Several thousand Stern fans showed up to support his right to free speech. Soon after the rally, the FCC broadened its indecency definition to include offensive references beyond the “seven dirty words” cited in the 1978 *Pacifica* case. Infinity and Stern claimed they would fight the FCC indecency policy in court.

In 1988 Stern added WJFK, Washington, D.C., to his program simulcast. In 1990 he signed a five-year contract with Infinity, which included the right to syndicate his show in other cities. Later that year, Infinity was fined \$6,000, and the three

stations carrying the Stern show were fined \$2,000 each. Infinity and its stations refused to pay the fines.

Over the next five years, more FCC fines for indecency were issued. The fines were issued not only to Infinity and its own stations but also to independent stations that carried the Stern show. In 1992 KLSX, Los Angeles, was fined \$105,000 for indecency on the Stern show, the first station not owned by Infinity to be fined. By 1995 FCC fines related to the Howard Stern show had reached a total of \$1.7 million. Finally, the FCC and Infinity reached an agreement in which a “voluntary contribution” of \$1.7 million was made to the U.S. Treasury

by Infinity. It was rumored at the time that Infinity made the payment to clear the way for FCC approval of additional radio station purchases.

In 1996 CBS/Westinghouse purchased Infinity and Stern's radio show. Although the program has been highly rated in the 39 cities where it was sold as of 1997, expansion into other cities has been slow because of concerns about high cost and controversial content. In 1998 Stern took his radio show to television. The syndicated television program, *The Howard Stern Radio Show*, is distributed by Eyemark Entertainment, a division of the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS). The program achieved high ratings initially but has been canceled in some cities because of controversial content. In spite of all the controversy, however, Howard Stern still proclaims himself "The King of All Media."

FREDERIC A. LEIGH

See also Censorship; Federal Communications Commission; Obscenity/ Indecency on Radio; Seven Dirty Words Case; Shock Jocks

Howard Stern. Born in Queens, New York, 12 January 1954. Attended Boston University, B.A., 1976; daytime host, WNTN-AM, Boston; disk jockey, WCCC, Hartford, Connecticut, DC-101FM, Washington, D.C., WWWW-radio, Detroit, Michigan, WNBC, New York City, 1976–1985; hired by Infinity Broadcasting's WXRK, New York City, 1985; simulcast on WYSP, Philadelphia, 1986; cited by the FCC for indecency, 1986; simulcast on WJFK AM/FM, Washington,

D.C., 1988; billed as "radio's most notorious 'shock jock'" by *Time* magazine; first fine by FCC for indecency, 1990; first book, *Private Parts*, 1993; Libertarian candidate for governor of New York State, 1994; the movie, *Private Parts*, premieres, New York City, 1997; television version of *Howard Stern Radio Show* begins syndication, 1998.

Radio Series

1985– *Howard Stern Radio Show*

Television Series

The Howard Stern Interview, 1990–92; *The Howard Stern Show*, 1994; *The Howard Stern Radio Show*, 1998–

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Storer, George 1899–1975

U.S. Broadcast Executive

George B. Storer was one of radio's foremost entrepreneurial pioneers. Having entered radio at its inception in the 1920s, Storer became one of the medium's first important local group owners. From his early successes in radio, Storer went on to create a radio, television, and cable TV empire that was the nation's sixth-largest broadcast enterprise at the time of his death in 1975.

The product of a wealthy family in Toledo, Ohio, and raised and educated in Wyoming and Florida, Storer entered broadcasting by chance after having begun a career in the oil industry. What became Storer Broadcasting started as a

Toledo-based service station chain that Storer, at the age of 25, formed in a partnership with his brother-in-law, J. Harold Ryan. After obtaining a franchise for Speedene gasoline products, Storer arranged advertising on Toledo's lone radio station to promote the Speedene brand. Impressed by the results, Storer then purchased this station in 1927. Originally known as WTAL, its call letters were changed to WSPD (to signify Speedene), and it would remain part of the Storer complex until 1979.

Storer's reputation for creating large value out of relatively small assets was demonstrated almost immediately at WSPD,

initially a weak 50-watt outlet in a midsized city. Just months after the purchase, Storer extended overtures to Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) founder William Paley, which resulted in WSPD's being named as the eighth affiliate of the year-old CBS radio network. By increasing the transmitting power of the facility, Storer transformed WSPD into a 5,000-watt station that attracted listeners and advertisers in many parts of the Midwest. With profits generated by the one Toledo station, Storer was able to launch a second outlet, CKLW in Windsor, Ontario, in 1932 and to purchase a third, WWVA in Wheeling, West Virginia, the following year.

Storer's most ambitious undertaking in radio was his unsuccessful attempt to form a fourth national radio network to compete with CBS and the Red and Blue networks of the National Broadcasting Company (NBC). This plan took shape in March 1934 when Storer acquired radio station WMCA in New York City. After designating this outlet as the key station, Storer formally chartered the network under the name American Broadcasting System. However, by this time, organizers of a competing venture, the Mutual network, had assembled a superior lineup of local affiliates. By 1937 Storer's hopes of entering network radio had collapsed.

It was largely because of his setback with the American Broadcasting System that Storer shifted his primary interests to the coming new medium of television, where his major achievements would unfold. At large premiums, Storer sold the stations in New York, Windsor, and Wheeling and used the proceeds in 1939 to initiate the first 50,000-watt station in Miami, with the call letters WGBS (for George Butler Storer). Then, in 1943, Storer was an indirect beneficiary when the U.S. Justice Department forced NBC to sell its Blue network. The buyer, Edward Noble, paid Storer \$3 million for Storer's "American Broadcasting" moniker to begin the modern American Broadcasting Companies (ABC). This windfall cleared the way for Storer's formidable entry into TV.

Storer's most important accomplishment was licensing and launching three of the 108 prefreeze local television stations that were begun prior to the Federal Communication Commission's (FCC) 1948 "freeze." These stations were WSPD in Toledo, WJBK in Detroit, and WAGA in Atlanta. Shortly thereafter, Storer acquired a fourth station, WJW in Cleveland, and a fifth, KPTV in Portland, Oregon. In 1958, after the Portland station was sold, Storer acquired WITI in Milwaukee. In 1964 and 1965, Storer added two more outlets, WSBK in Boston and KCST in San Diego. Storer's company was the first to own seven television stations, the maximum originally allowed by the FCC. Among broadcasting companies, it trailed only NBC, CBS, ABC, Westinghouse, and Metromedia in annual revenues.

Radio, however, remained an important component of Storer's operations. Storer's entry into Cleveland in 1954 had included the acquisition of WJW radio. It was at this station,

under a Storer-enlisted announcer named Alan Freed, that the rock and roll music craze was born. Storer's Detroit radio station, WJBK, likewise became a trendsetting rock and roll station. In 1960 Storer returned to New York and for \$10 million, the largest amount that had then been paid for a radio station, acquired WINS. This outlet, too, was converted to rock music. Freed was transferred to WINS, and he, along with two other WINS personalities, Murray "The K" Kaufmann and Bruce "Cousin Brucie" Morrow, helped popularize the rock music trend.

Storer was featured in news reports in 1960 when FCC Chairman John Doerfer was forced out of office after accepting airplane flights and a six-day cruise on board the broadcaster's yacht. Congress did not pursue allegations, heard before a House Oversight Subcommittee, that Storer had given favors to Doerfer in order to expedite FCC licensing of a TV station in Miami that Storer had planned. The Miami station was abandoned. Two years earlier, Storer had been brought before the FCC to answer charges that his company was engaged in station "trafficking." These charges had stemmed from Storer's sale of KPTV and immediate purchase of WITI. Storer was cleared of wrongdoing following an FCC investigation.

Storer's business interests were not confined to broadcasting. Through the 1960s Storer owned Standard Tube and Nemir Industries, both plastics firms. He briefly controlled the Boston Gardens sports arena and in 1965 outbid Howard Hughes for the ownership of Northeast Airlines.

In the early 1970s, Storer passed control of his broadcast operations to his two sons, George B. Storer Jr. and Peter Storer. Between 1978 and 1980, the younger Storers sold all of the company's radio properties in order to expand holdings in cable TV. In 1993 the company broke up. Storer Cable, the country's third-largest multisystem operator, was absorbed by TCI, while several of the television stations were purchased by Rupert Murdoch and became cogs in Murdoch's Fox network.

The elder Storer died on 7 November 1975. Earlier that year, he had received broadcasting's top honor, the Distinguished Service Award of the National Association of Broadcasters. He remains the namesake of the Storer Foundation's philanthropic foundation.

CRAIG ALLEN

George B. Storer. Born in Champaign, Illinois, 10 November 1899. Established radio station WTAL (later WSPD), 1927; launched CKLW, Windsor, Ontario, 1932; WWVA, 1933; WGBS, Miami, Florida, 1939; received \$3 million for "American Broadcasting" moniker, 1943; acquired WJW, Cleveland, Ohio, which launched rock and roll disc jockey Alan Freed's career, 1954; acquired WINS, New York City, to expand rock and roll format, 1960; owned seven television stations, 1965; rendered control holdings to sons, 1970s; recipient: Distinguished Service Award of the National

Association of Broadcasters. Died in Miami, Florida, 7 November 1975.

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Storz, Todd 1924–1964

U.S. Station Owner and Music-and-News Innovator

Todd Storz was an entrepreneur who headed a chain of trend-setting AM radio stations in the Midwest and South from 1953 until 1964. He is best known for his role in the development of Top 40, a variant of the music-and-news management philosophy that evolved during the decade following World War II when television spread throughout the United States. The Top 40 formula popularized by Storz included three key elements: limited playlists, “giveaway” promotions requiring audience participation, and sensationalistic newscasts.

Origins

Robert Todd Storz was born into a prominent Nebraska family in 1924. His father, Robert H. Storz, was a wealthy Omaha civic leader who served as vice president of the Storz Brewing Company. Todd Storz was attracted to radio at an early age. He built a crystal set as a child and became a ham operator as a teenager. After an eastern college preparatory education at the Choate School in Wallingford, Connecticut, Storz attended the University of Nebraska in Lincoln for one year, followed by a three-year stint in the U.S. Army Signal Corps, an experience Storz referred to as the completion of his formal education. After his discharge, Storz attended a summer institute in radio sponsored by the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) and Northwestern University. He then worked briefly as a disc jockey and salesman at radio stations in Hutchinson, Kansas, and Omaha, Nebraska. In 1949 Storz and his father formed the Mid-Continent Broadcasting Company, which became the licensee of a marginal (500-watt, daytime-only) station in Omaha, KOWH.

Shortly after taking over KOWH, Storz replaced block programming with music and news throughout the broadcast day. This decision was far from innovative. As television emerged

as the primary medium for expensive, nationally distributed programming, radio managers throughout the nation opted for low-cost schedules of recorded music hosted by local disc jockeys. Storz used the term *Top 40* as early as 1953, the year he acquired WTIK in New Orleans. At that time, disc jockey Bob Howard was using “The Top 20 at 1280” as his slogan at competitor WDSU. Storz and his New Orleans manager, George Armstrong, doubled it to “The Top 40 at 1450.” Both the *Top 20* and *Top 40* terminology was an extension of the popular *Your Hit Parade* concept.

By 1953 music-and-news programming had pushed Storz’s KOWH from the bottom to the top of the Omaha ratings, passing several full-time regional facilities and a 50,000-watt clear channel outlet. Storz began to promote the station aggressively in industry publications. He also began to acquire additional stations. After similar successes with music and news at WTIK in New Orleans and WHB in Kansas City, Storz began to attract both competitors from within his markets and imitators nationwide.

The Limited-Playlist Concept

Perhaps because of his untimely death at age 39, Storz became known in retrospect as “the man who invented Top 40 by watching people select songs on a jukebox.” This legend is today part of radio’s folklore. As the story goes, around 1955 Storz conceived the idea of repeatedly broadcasting only a few popular records after observing customers and waitresses at Omaha restaurants and bars play some records on the jukebox over and over while ignoring others. Most versions of the legend place Storz in the company of his associate, Bill Stewart. Although Storz did not deny that he had observed the jukebox phenomenon, he said he had first noticed it while in the army. Storz also considered the findings of a local research study sug-

gesting that Omaha radio listeners preferred music to other forms of programming.

Regardless of origin, a limited playlist was implemented by Todd Storz and Bill Stewart at KOWH in early 1956 as a reaction to competition from KOIL, a full-time Omaha station that had begun airing a music-and-news format the preceding year. The limited playlist was an attempt to minimize dial switching to KOIL when KOWH played less popular songs.

Limiting all of the music played on a radio station to the most popular records of the week was counterintuitive to the conventional wisdom of programming variety, a vestige of the golden age of radio networks. During the early 1950s, disc jockeys at music-and-news stations selected from a wide array of recordings that included several renditions of particular songs and white “cover” versions of songs recorded by black artists.

After 1956 Storz began to remove much of the discretion his disc jockeys had previously exercised regarding which records were aired. He also began programming only the “best” version of a given song. It is important to note that because this occurred three years prior to the payola investigations, it represents a true programming innovation and not a reaction to the threat of regulatory scrutiny.

Audience-Participation “Giveaways”

In the summer of 1956, the four Storz stations were worth \$2.5 million, and at age 32, Todd Storz was the fastest-rising figure in the radio broadcasting industry. *Time* magazine branded Storz the “giveaway king” and severely criticized his audience-participation promotional activities in Omaha, New Orleans, Kansas City, and Minneapolis–St. Paul. While drawing national attention to the Storz formula, reaction to the article in *Time* also might have influenced the members of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to entertain second thoughts about approving Storz’s application for the license of WQAM in Miami. On 12 July 1956, the Mid-Continent Broadcasting Company received a letter from the FCC announcing that a hearing would be required on the pending WQAM purchase. Among their concerns, the commissioners cited “treasure hunts” in Omaha and Minneapolis/St. Paul, which indicated a “giveaway pattern” on the Storz stations designed to “buy” the listening audience.

One particular Storz giveaway received nationwide publicity. Criticized in the aforementioned *Time* article, the campaign landed a WTIIX disc jockey in jail for stopping late-afternoon traffic in New Orleans. This giveaway was staged on a weekday in the middle of May 1956, during Bob “Robbin” Sticht’s afternoon Top 40 program on WTIIX. The promotion began with about 30 seconds of dead air at 5:05 P.M., after which a breathless announcer gasped, “I don’t know what happened to Bob Robbin. He’s gone. Oh, yes, we’ve just discovered that the

cash box is missing. He apparently has skipped the station with the cash!”

By then, Sticht was atop a three-story building at the corner of Canal and Carondelet streets in downtown New Orleans. He was wearing a long raincoat in which he had stuffed 200 one-dollar bills. At about 5:15 P.M., after dropping a few bills to the street below, Sticht began shouting, “I’ve got this money and I’m going to give away this money. I hate money!” According to detailed instructions, several WTIIX employees stationed at the four corners of Canal and Carondelet started to shout, “It must be Bob Robbin from WTIIX!” People started fighting as he threw the rest of the bills over the side of the building. Some people almost fell through the plate glass window of a street-level clothier as they leaped into the air frantically trying to grab the money.

When the police arrived, Sticht was booked for disturbing the peace and inciting a riot. An announcement was broadcast on WTIIX to the effect that Sticht had been arrested, the banks were closed, and the station did not have enough cash on hand for his bail. Listeners were asked to come to the police station and lend money to WTIIX until the next morning so Sticht could be released. Sticht said that several hundred complied.

This type of “throwaway” promotion had been staged earlier in Omaha, when a Storz employee climbed a tree in a park and periodically tossed out money. Such promotions enabled the first two stations acquired by Storz to dominate their markets, even with limited facilities. For example, in 1956 WTIIX operated full-time with 250 watts at 1450 kilohertz. Its signal barely covered the New Orleans city limits, especially at night. Yet in the April–June Hooperatings for 1956, the WTIIX share of audience from 7 A.M. to 6 P.M. averaged 26.6. The next highest-rated station was 50,000-watt WWL, which averaged only 14.9. Storz later sold daytime-only KOWH in Omaha to William F. Buckley, Jr. and purchased a 5,000-watt regional station, WWEZ in New Orleans, to which he transferred the WTIIX call letters after cleverly donating the original 250-watt facility for noncommercial use.

Storz’s response to the FCC letter was to discontinue these types of giveaways on his stations in return for favorable FCC action on WQAM, which he received. The audience-participation contests later resumed and remained a programming staple throughout the Top 40 era.

Sensationalistic Newscasts

The third element of the Storz formula was designed to maintain the audience for his stations while fulfilling the news commitments of his licenses. This was accomplished by airing short newscasts during peak listening times and longer newscasts at other times. It also involved scheduling newscasts at five minutes before the hour so music could be played on the hour, the time most competitors aired news.

The newscasts on Storz's stations were delivered in a sensationalistic style designed to hook listeners and keep them listening. The procedures generally included program elements such as echo, shouted datelines, stories punctuated by the sound of a telegraph key à la Walter Winchell, and so on.

The Storz Disc Jockey Conventions

In 1958 the Storz organization sponsored "The First Annual Pop Music Disk Jockey Convention and Programming Seminar" in Kansas City. The objective was to improve the general perception of music-and-news stations by transferring an image of "professional" respectability to the Top 40 disc jockey, which was at best a low-prestige occupation.

The following year Storz sponsored a final gathering titled "The Second International Radio Programming Seminar and Pop Music Disk Jockey Convention," held in Miami Beach a few months before the first payola investigations. Both conventions were underwritten by record companies.

Impact

By the late 1950s Storz and his managers had perfected a fast-paced brand of music and news that came to be known as Top 40. The procedures changed slightly from time to time but basically involved airing records from the limited playlist in spaced repetition and sometime in a countdown order, skipping some records during certain time periods. News continued to air at five minutes before the hour, delivered in a sensationalistic manner. The rest of the time was filled with commercials, audience-participation giveaways, and various time, weather, public service, and call letter announcements.

By 1960 the Storz roster included WTIK, New Orleans (acquired in 1953, facility upgraded in 1958); WHB, Kansas City (acquired in 1954); WDGY, Minneapolis (acquired in 1955); WQAM, Miami (acquired in 1956); KOMA, Oklahoma City (acquired in 1958); and KXOK, St. Louis (acquired in 1960). When Todd Storz died less than a month before his 40th birthday, he had built a successful business by doing one thing well: Top 40 on AM. Top 40 would continue to be featured on AM stations until the early 1980s. Storz lived to see the programming formula he pioneered reach from the Midwest and South to all parts of the country, including major-market clear channel stations such as WABC in New York and WLS in Chicago. Within two years of Storz's death, RKO General's KHJ in Los Angeles became the most imitated radio station in North America when programming consultants Bill Drake and Gene Chenault achieved phenomenal ratings with a streamlined version of the basic Storz formula.

It would be inaccurate to infer that Storz's decision to program Top 40 on his stations was grounded in anything other than business interests. Storz said his mission in life was not to

educate radio listeners. He maintained an objective stance regarding the program content of his stations and said he was ready to change if listener preference so warranted.

Moreover, it is doubtful that Storz anticipated the shift in listener preference from AM to FM. When he was acquiring stations, FM licenses were albatrosses. Storz therefore sold each FM station that he acquired in combination with an AM purchase. Although television licenses were hot properties in the early 1950s, Storz said he had no interest in that medium.

After Todd Storz died in 1964, the six Storz stations continued to operate as stand-alone AM facilities under the leadership of George W. Armstrong. By 1982 almost all former Top 40 AM stations had switched either to country or adult contemporary variants of the music-and-news format. Most of the Storz stations adopted country formats, but a news/talk format was eventually implemented at KXOK in St. Louis, a move that suggests adaptability on the part of Storz management to the rapidly changing market environment for AM radio in the early 1980s. Robert H. Storz nevertheless began to sell the stations when the pattern of audience migration to FM appeared irreversible. KOMA, WTIK, and WDGY were sold in 1984; WHB, KXOK, and WQAM were sold the following year. Sales prices averaged between \$2 million and \$3 million per station.

Todd Storz and Gordon McLendon

In many accounts, Todd Storz has been overshadowed by his contemporary, Gordon McLendon, who also made significant contributions to Top 40 and who outlived Storz by more than 20 years. Both Storz and McLendon were sons of the American heartland. They were about the same age, benefited from privileged upbringings, and became business associates of their successful fathers. In ways most directly related to their careers in radio, however, Storz and McLendon were quite different. McLendon possessed far more flair for creative programming (a floating pirate station, the first all-news station, the first beautiful music station, and legendary baseball recreations over his nationwide Liberty network). Storz stuck with Top 40. Perhaps most significant, McLendon and his representatives were more helpful to early scholars of the music-and-news era than were representatives of the Storz organization. As a result, far more has been written about McLendon than Storz.

The viability of commercial radio broadcasting during the early years of television sprang in large part from the efforts of young licensees such as Todd Storz who objectively conformed their management strategies to the changing structures within the radio industry. Storz received the National Association of Broadcasters Hall of Fame Award in 1987 for his contributions to radio broadcasting. In 1989 he entered the Nebraska Broadcasters Association Hall of Fame.

ROBERT M. OGLES

See also Contemporary Hit Radio Format/Top 40; McLendon, Gordon

Robert Todd Storz. Born in Omaha, Nebraska, 8 May 1924. Graduated from Choate School, Wallingford, Connecticut, 1942; attended University of Nebraska (one year); served in U.S. Army Signal Core three years; completed 12-week course on radio sponsored by NBC and Northwestern University; worked briefly as announcer at radio stations in Kansas and Nebraska; formed Mid-Continent Broadcasting Company with father, 1949, later named Storz Broadcasting; developed the "Top 40" format in early 1950s; became known for aggressive "giveaway" promotions; purchased WHB, Kansas City, Missouri, which became first 24 hour Top 40 station; moved company to Florida, 1961. Inducted posthumously into the Nebraska Broadcasters Hall of Fame, 1989. Died following a stroke in Miami Beach, Florida, 13 April 1964.

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Striker, Fran 1903–1962

U.S. Radio Scriptwriter

Fran Striker was a prolific writer of scripts for some of the most popular programs on network radio in the 1930s and 1940s, including *The Lone Ranger*, *The Green Hornet*, and *Sergeant Preston of the Yukon*. The character and adventures of *The Lone Ranger*, especially, have lived on as part of American popular culture, and the Ranger has continued in a wide variety of media forms, including books, comic strips, comic books, television, and film.

Fran Striker was working at WEBR radio in Buffalo, New York, when he was contacted in December 1932 by radio station WXYZ in Detroit, Michigan. The station had severed its relationship with the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) network, and one of the station owners, George W. Trendle, had determined that WXYZ could be more profitable if it developed its own programs to fill the air and attract both audience and advertisers. During an earlier conference, Trendle, James Jewell (a WXYZ dramatic director), and other station personnel had pooled their ideas in outlining the characteristics of a dramatic program that would be designed to appeal primarily to children. It was to feature a sort of modern Robin Hood, a hero who Trendle insisted should somehow symbolize justice. The scripts for the show should portray a character of the West who would right wrongs, who would accept no thanks, and who would be fulfilled simply by doing

his job well. This hero was also to convey an aura of mystery and operate in a realm beyond the constraints imposed upon official lawmen. After trying various locally written scripts and finding them lacking, Trendle turned to Fran Striker.

Striker had attended the University of Buffalo from 1922 to 1925, but he left before graduating, finding work as a transmitter operator, announcer, program producer, and continuity editor, as well as employment in writing for radio. He had successfully scripted *Covered Wagon Days*, a show for WEBR in Buffalo, and *Warner Lester, Manhunter*, which was being aired on a station in Boston. His professional aspiration was to write scripts for programs that he could sell to stations around the country. He hoped this would provide a reasonable standard of living for himself and his family, even during the Depression years.

Striker accepted WXYZ's offer to write for *The Lone Ranger*, and his pilot scripts met with Trendle's approval. The character of the Ranger may have grown partly from Striker's *Covered Wagon Days*, although his initial idea that the Ranger should display a happy-go-lucky attitude and a strong sense of humor was soundly rejected by Trendle. Striker is generally credited with fashioning the character of Tonto, however, and both the use of silver bullets and the Lone Ranger's famous cry, "Hi Yo Silver, away," may also have been Striker's contribution. There is



Fran Striker, creator of *The Lone Ranger*
 Courtesy AP/Wide World Photos

no doubt that his writing fleshed out the style and personality of *The Lone Ranger*, although strong differences of opinion as to exactly who was responsible for the character's initial creation continue today. Trendle consistently maintained that the Ranger was a result of his own conception, and he successfully convinced Striker to sign over all legal claims to having originated the Ranger. Striker gave up all legal rights to the ownership of current and future printed, published, or broadcast versions of the Ranger on 22 May 1934, although some historians believe he may have been inappropriately manipulated into doing so. On more than one occasion, Trendle vigorously defended his view of himself as the sole originator of the Ranger, and he moved quickly to counter references to anyone else as the creator. A modest, unassuming, friendly personality, Fran Striker did little to push for his own personal recognition as the Ranger's creator.

Striker continued to work for Trendle, however, as a paid employee, turning out three half-hour *Lone Ranger* scripts each week and for many years earning only \$4.00 for each. Working in Buffalo, largely at night and sustained by huge quantities of coffee and cigarettes, Striker produced scripts for

a variety of programs aired by more than 50 radio stations around the country, in addition to writing for WXYZ. Conforming to Trendle's demands and constraints, Striker developed a formula for scripting characters, setting, complications, and resolutions for *Lone Ranger* episodes, allowing him to maximize his efforts in turning out scripts for the other programs. He pounded heavily on the keys of his typewriter in order to produce the required eight carbon copies of each page of his scripts. Striker worked 14 hours a day, writing the equivalent in words of four Bibles a year, and found relaxation and inspiration in watching western movies.

WXYZ joined WGN Chicago, WOR New York, and WLW Cincinnati to share programs and sell commercial time in September 1934, offering *The Lone Ranger* as part of the package deal. The expenses and income were to be mutually shared; this agreement resulted in the creation of the Mutual Broadcasting System in 1934. Trendle persuaded Striker to move to Detroit later that year, and although Striker continued to write for other stations as well as for WXYZ, he was instrumental in the development of new shows for the station and network, including *The Green Hornet* and *Sergeant Preston of the Yukon*, serving as script writer for both. When Trendle incorporated *The Lone Ranger* in 1935, Striker was again left out of any actual ownership in the program.

By 1940, in addition to his many radio scriptwriting duties, Striker was writing for *The Lone Ranger* comic strip, children's books, and adult novels. A major challenge for Striker came in 1941, when Earl Graser, the actor who played the Lone Ranger, was killed in an auto accident. At Trendle's direction, Striker wrote scripts for programs in which Tonto nursed a wounded and silent Lone Ranger back to health. When Brace Beemer later replaced Graser in the role of the Ranger, few in the listening audience were aware of any difference in the Rangers.

Late in 1943, following an argument over salary, Trendle refused to increase Striker's pay, and Felix Holt was brought in to replace Striker as head of WXYZ's script department. Holt rejected several of Striker's scripts for *The Lone Ranger*, and Striker became depressed and disillusioned about his career and his future. His life seemed brighter by early 1944, when Trendle reinstated Striker as department head and chief writer for the Ranger. Striker continued in this role and later assisted in the selection of Clayton Moore to play the Ranger for television in 1949. He adapted many of the radio scripts for the television version of the Ranger and continued writing additional scripts for radio and television during the 1950s. In the early 1960s, Striker turned to teaching and was preparing to move his family from Arcade, New York, to Buffalo when he was killed in an auto accident near Buffalo on 4 September 1962.

B.R. SMITH

See also *Green Hornet*; *Lone Ranger*; WXYZ

Francis H. Striker. Born in Buffalo, New York, 19 August 1903. Attended University of Buffalo, 1922–25; started career as announcer, WEBR, Buffalo, New York, 1926; script writer, radio program *Covered Wagon Days*, 1930; moved to Detroit, Michigan, 1933; key script writer for Detroit station WXYZ, companion shows, *Green Hornet* and *Challenge of the Yukon*, which eventually became *Sergeant Preston of the Yukon*; wrote and edited *Lone Ranger* material for novels, comic books, personal appearances and television; script writer, variety of radio and television shows during 1940s and 50s; creative writing teacher, University of Buffalo, 1959–61. Died (car accident) in Buffalo, New York, 4 September 1962.

Radio Series

- 1930s *Covered Wagon Days*; Warner Lester, *Manhunter*; *Dr. Fang*; *Thrills of the Secret Service*
- 1933–54 *The Lone Ranger*
- 1936–52 *The Green Hornet*
- 1938–42 *Ned Jordan, Secret Agent*
- 1942–44 *Challenge of the Yukon*, aka *Sergeant Preston of the Yukon*
- 1946–48 *The Sea Hound*

Television Series

The Lone Ranger, 1949–57

Film

The Lone Ranger, 1939; *The Lone Ranger Rides Again*, 1939

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Studio Equipment. See Recording and Studio Equipment

Subsidiary Communications Authorization

Radio stations, both AM and FM, are permitted to generate programming in addition to their main programs. Subsidiary Communications Authorization (SCA) uses multiplexing techniques and transmits audio or data on a separate channel, but still as part of the modulated carrier. SCA services, called “sub-carriers,” are not receivable with a regular radio. A special receiver or adapter is required.

Origins

The principle of multiplexing (sending separate signals with one transmitter) was first demonstrated by FM system inventor

Edwin Howard Armstrong in the mid 1930s. In 1948 the inventor returned to perfect the multiplex technology and announced it in 1953. Armstrong and his associates saw the system as a way to assist then hard-pressed FM outlets with an additional revenue stream by allowing them the ability to transmit—and sell—a secondary transmission different from the main broadcast signal. This derived from the fact that stations rented or sold the separate receivers needed to pick up the secondary (to the main broadcast channel) transmission, be it music (as most were) or some other format. Early in 1955 the FCC adopted rules for such a service, based in part on the experience from 20 experimental subsidiary multiplex operations

already underway. The first new subsidiary communications authorizations were issued in October 1955 to WPEN-FM in Philadelphia and WWDC-FM in Washington, D.C.

In the years that followed, FM stations made wide use of SCAs. Some 30 subcarriers existed by 1958, and more than 600 by 1967. Most were used for “musicasting” (transmitting background music for stores and offices provided either by the station or a service leasing station facilities—the most common application), special news and information services, weather warnings, educational programming, and (by the 1970s) reading services for blind listeners. In the days before widespread FM listenership in the 1970s, operation of SCAs often made the difference between profit and loss (or prevented a larger loss) for stations.

Operations

SCA services are not allowed to disrupt or degrade the station’s main programming or the programs of other broadcast stations. Permissible SCA uses fall into two categories: the first includes broadcast transmission of programs or data of interest to a limited audience. Examples include paging services, inventory distribution, bus dispatching, background music, traffic control signal switching, point-to-point or multipoint messages, foreign language programming, radio reading services for the blind, radio broadcast data systems (RBDS), storecasting, detailed weather forecasting, real-time stock market reports, utility load management, bilingual television audio, and special time signals. The second category includes transmission of signals that are directly related to the operation of the radio station. Examples include relaying broadcast material to other FM and AM stations, distribution of audio networks, remote cuing and order circuits, and remote control telemetry.

Many of the programming requirements for broadcast stations do not apply to SCA programming, including station identification, delayed recording, program logging, and sponsor identification announcements. For FM stations only, SCA operation may continue when regular FM programming is off the air. However, regular hourly station identification must continue. Noncommercial FM stations, usually located

between 88.1 megahertz and 91.9 megahertz, may generate SCA programming for profit. But such stations are then required to provide another SCA channel for any radio reading services for the blind that may request such a channel. The station is limited to charging the radio reading service only for actual operating costs.

There are several technical restrictions for SCA services. SCA subcarriers must be frequency modulated (FM) and are restricted to the range of 20 to 75 kilohertz, unless the station is also broadcasting stereo, in which case the restriction is 53 to 75 kilohertz. This allows a subcarrier to be modulated at audio frequencies and prevents it from interfering with the main program, as listeners cannot hear modulation above 20 kilohertz. SCA use is secondary to the audio on the main channel and must not interfere with the main broadcast audio channel.

SCA programming is retrieved by a detector in a special receiver, in which a tuned circuit filters out all subcarrier signals except the desired one. A second detector retrieves the information that modulates the selected subcarrier. Generally, tunable subcarrier receivers are prohibited by the FCC.

DAVID SPICELAND

See also Armstrong, Edwin Howard; FM Radio; Licensing

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Suspense

Suspense Thriller

In 1941 there were 16 suspense programs on the radio networks; by the end of the war there were more than 40. The suspense-thriller was the fastest growing genre during the wartime period. The most famous and prestigious of these programs was *Suspense*, which debuted as a series in 1942 after a single episode premiered in the summer of 1940 (this first episode was directed by Alfred Hitchcock, his only direct connection to the show). *Suspense* set the artistic and thematic standard for the programs that followed.

Originally a sustaining program, *Suspense* was promoted as a prestige drama because of the talent of its creative team, its first-rate stars, and the high quality of its original scripts. Producer/director William Spier fine-tuned each episode, coordinating music, actors, and sound to maximum effect and earning himself the nickname of the “Hitchcock of the Air.” Bernard Herrmann (famous for his musical scores for Hitchcock films) composed and conducted music for the series until 1948; his theme for the show was used throughout its 20-year run. *Suspense*’s popularity and effectiveness, however, were also due to its realism. Unlike previous thriller programs such as *Lights Out*, *Suspense* programs did not incorporate the supernatural but rather focused on the psychological and social horrors that could be visited on the lives of everyday people. Radio critics of the time saw the growth of the genre as a testament to the audience’s need for “escape” during the war, but part of the impact of such programs lay in their ability both to capitalize on audience’s wartime fears and to address some of the feelings of trauma the war produced. This is particularly obvious in the many programs that focused on mistrust between husbands and wives, which tapped into both men’s wartime traumas and their fear of women’s independence.

Suspense’s popularity and influence can be traced to one particular episode during its second year, “Sorry, Wrong Number,” which was broadcast on 25 May 1943. This half-hour program, written by *Suspense* regular Lucille Fletcher (Herrmann’s wife) and starring Agnes Moorehead, was a watershed moment in the history of radio drama and became perhaps the most famous original radio play of all time. In “Sorry, Wrong Number,” Moorehead plays an invalid who overhears a conversation on the telephone between two men who are planning to murder a woman in half an hour. Moorehead’s character, known only as “Mrs. Elbert Stevenson,” tries desperately to prevent the murder by calling on various public institutions for help—the police, the phone company, public hospitals—but they do nothing for her, and her frustration increasingly borders on hysteria. In the last few moments,

she realizes that she is the intended victim, that her husband has paid to have her killed. She calls the police but she’s too late, and the play ends with her desperate screams as she is stabbed to death.

The play touched a nerve, and the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) was flooded with calls commending the program’s realism and Moorehead’s performance. The program was repeated within a few months, and then seven more times within the next few years. Audiences identified with a character who ultimately has no control over her fate and whose cries for help are ignored by those in power; the insecurity this created in audiences was enhanced by the fact that the character’s killers go unpunished (an exception to Spier’s usual policy). The success of the play proved the popularity of the suspense genre and encouraged the proliferation of suspense-thriller programs. It also led to more programs with female leads and narrators (Moorehead herself would become *Suspense*’s most frequent star). Finally, it encouraged a focus on domestic tensions in the genre as a whole, in particular making the stalked wife and the killer husband staples of the genre for the next several years. Like film noir of the time, suspense programs seemed to mirror the frustration of many Americans faced with postwar social requirements, particularly the social conformity, suburban ideal, and standards of wealth (husbands frequently killed wives for money) expected of them during the Cold War period.

Although *Suspense* programs developed a stable of talented stars (most notably Nancy Kelly, Cathy Lewis, and Elliot Lewis), producers often called on Hollywood stars to fill the title roles. Frequently, the star’s persona was tweaked to accommodate his or her role as a killer or psychotic, adding to both the thrill and the discomfort the program could cause. Stars enjoyed doing *Suspense* programs, in part because it gave them the opportunity to play against their Hollywood images. Ozzie and Harriet Nelson schemed to kill their elderly relative in “Too Little to Live On” (1947); Frank Sinatra played a murdering psychotic in “To Find Help” (1945); Robert Taylor shot and killed his crazed werewolf-wife in “The House in Cyprus Canyon” (1946); and Orson Welles dug into his own living son’s skull in the gruesome “Donovan’s Brain” (1944). Paul Henreid, Joseph Cotten, Charles Laughton, and Lloyd Nolan all killed their wives or girlfriends on the show, and Eve Arden and Geraldine Fitzgerald killed their husbands or boyfriends.

Female stars could look forward to a particularly wide range of meaty roles, in which they had to use their smarts to outwit stalkers as well as to climb the corporate ladder. Some

of the more memorable of these include Lucille Ball as a gold digger in "A Little Piece of Rope" (1948), Anne Baxter as a struggling career woman in "Always Room at the Top" (1947), and Ida Lupino as a businesswoman coping with her ex-convict husband in "The Bullet" (1949). *Suspense* also helped shape star personas, first casting Vincent Price as a murdering sophisticate in one of Fletcher's best stories, "Fugue in C Minor" (1944); in addition, Jimmy Stewart's turn as a paralyzed veteran who believes he is being stalked by his Japanese torturer in "Mission Completed" (1949) anticipates the actor's work for Hitchcock in the 1950s in films such as *Rear Window*.

In later years, the direction of the program shifted to Anton M. Leader and then to Elliot Lewis, but the high quality and star power of the programs continued until the mid-1950s. Comedians and musical stars continued doing interesting variations on their star personas, with Jack Benny as a bank thief in "Good and Faithful Servant" (1952), Red Skelton haunted by dreams in "The Search for Isabel" (1949), and Danny Kaye as a scapegoat for murder in "I Never Met a Dead Man" (1950). Past shows were frequently repeated using different stars. In 1949 *Suspense* made its television debut, and the two shows ran simultaneously until 1954, when Autolite dropped sponsorship of both. The television show ceased production, but the radio program continued until 1962 under multiple sponsorship, making it one of the longest-running programs in radio history. Fortunately, recordings of well over 900 of the program's 945 episodes are available commercially. Listening to them today, they not only provide thrills and chills but are also an invaluable historical record of their time.

ALLISON MCCRACKEN

Hosts

"The Man in Black" (1942-43), Joseph Kearns or Ted Osborne (1943-47), Robert Montgomery (1948)

Announcers

Truman Bradley, Ken Niles, and Frank Martin (1943-47), Bob Stevenson, Harlow Wilcox (1948-54), Larry Thor and Stu Metz

Actors

Cathy Lewis, Agnes Moorehead, Jeanette Nolan, Hans Conreid, Joseph Kearns, Elliott Lewis, Lurene Tuttle, Mary Jane Croft, Bill Johnstone, William Conrad, Lillian Buyeff, Paul Frees, Irene Tedrow

Producers/Directors

Charles Vanda (1942), William Spier (1942-48, 1949-50), William Robson (1948), Anton M. Leader (1948-49), Elliott Lewis (1950-54), Norman Macdonnell (1954), Antony Ellis (1954-56), William N. Robson (1956-59), Bruno Zirato Jr. (1959-62), Fred Hendrickson (1962)

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CBS 22 July 1940 (single episode); June 1942-September 1962

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Sustaining Programs

Sustaining programs are those not supported by advertising revenue; the cost of airtime is said to be *sustained* by the network or station. Sustaining programs may be of any format but most are usually (especially in recent years) of some public service variety.

Although never formally required by law, sustaining programs have been seen in the past as a key part of radio's responsibilities under the "public interest" portion of federal regulations concerning radio. The original regulatory theory held that only by providing programs on a sustaining basis

could networks or stations offer the diverse points of view and coverage of public affairs that advertisers might not support. Deregulation has swept away most such thinking, and sustaining programs today are few and far between.

Origins

At first, virtually all radio time was provided on a sustaining basis; there was no commercial advertising on the air. Station operators sustained the entire cost of their broadcast activities.

This began to change in the early 1920s as various means of supporting the cost of radio broadcasting were discussed and tried and all proved unworkable—except for the sale of airtime for advertising.

After AT&T's New York City station WEAf first sold time in mid 1922, other stations slowly began to do the same. As the potential for revenue became clearer, more stations began the practice, so that by the end of the decade, time sold to advertisers was widely accepted as the standard for broadcasting.

Well into the 1930s, advertiser-supported time was typical only of the most popular programs on the air; substantial portions of the broadcast day were still sustaining. More than a third of U.S. radio network offerings were sustaining, even on the eve of World War II. Only the lack of print alternatives during paper-short World War II helped to fill most network time slots with paid advertising, reducing sustaining programs to a few public service offerings.

As the most popular (and highly rated) entertainment programs siphoned off advertising, such non-entertainment programs as religion, agriculture, children's shows, public affairs, discussion and talk, and news were offered on a sustaining basis to fill out station and network schedules with the broad program diversity sought by regulators. Many of these were broadcast in daytime hours when fewer people listened to radio. By 1940, "55 out of 59-1/2 daytime hours of sponsored programs per week [carried by the four national networks] were devoted to soap-operas. The broadcasting industry has thus permitted advertisers to destroy over-all program balance by concentrating on one type of program" (Warner, 1948). Similarly, stations in larger markets with more advertiser appeal were carrying fewer sustaining hours.

At the same time, many sustaining programs were providing important radio services. Some experimental drama work appeared, for example, on the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) sustaining program *The Columbia Workshop*, beginning in 1936. Stations in a number of larger markets provided sustaining time for programs concerning public affairs, agriculture, children's interests, and other important issues that usually appealed only to a minority of listeners. Although such programs rarely aired in the prime evening time of greatest interest to advertisers, the important fact is that they were provided and were also touted by broadcasters as evidence of their public service role.

The Public Interest

Government and industry perceptions of just what radio's "public interest" responsibilities were comprised a major factor in the long survival of sustaining programs. Prior to the Radio Act of 1927, there were no formal government-mandated rules for radio programs or advertising on the air. The 1927 law established the phrase "public interest, convenience

or necessity" as the guiding principle for government licensing of radio stations. Regulators from the Federal Radio Commission (1927 to 1934) and the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) have attached various measures of importance to the provision of sustaining programs as a key part of meeting the public interest rubric.

The clearest statement of how the FCC saw sustaining programs as a key part of radio's fulfillment of its public interest responsibility came in its 1946 policy statement informally dubbed *The Blue Book*. In that high-water mark of pro-regulatory thinking—authored in part by former British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) officials who thought only in terms of sustaining time—the commission's staff held that sustaining programs filled five essential functions: (1) to secure for the station or network a means by which, in the overall structure of its program service, it can achieve a balanced interpretation of public needs; (2) to provide programs that, by their very nature, may not be sponsored with propriety; (3) to provide programs for significant minority tastes and interests; (4) to provide programs devoted to the needs and purposes of non-profit organizations; and (5) to provide a field for experimentation in new types of programs, free from the program restrictions dictated by an advertiser's interest in selling goods. Nearly half of the FCC report was devoted to a detailed discussion of these points and of actual industry practice statistics of sustaining programs during the war years (1940 to 1944).

Industry spokespersons responded by strongly arguing that they could fulfill all of their public service requirements without having broadcasters sustain program costs. Advertisers, they said, were more than willing to take up the slack. And industry economic realities—already evident in radio and soon to be so in television—made it impossible for the FCC to sustain its thinking about sustaining programs. As advertiser demand for radio time expanded after the war, stations sought and often found support for formerly sustaining programs.

When the FCC issued a new program policy statement in 1960, it clearly indicated its acceptance of industry arguments that "There is no public interest basis for distinguishing between sustaining and commercially sponsored programs in evaluating station performance. . . . Sponsorship of public affairs, and other similar programs may very well encourage broadcasters to greater efforts in these vital areas." Sustaining time was now merely that which had not been sold, so it no longer held a special interest for regulators.

When in the early 1980s the FCC removed radio license processing guidelines that called for at least minimal amounts of non-entertainment programming and strongly encouraged public service (i.e., sustaining) messages, another support mechanism for sustaining time disappeared. No longer was the commission interested in how much advertising time a station sold—the marketplace would set the standard.

The decline of the FCC Fairness Doctrine in 1987 took away another prop of sustaining program time. The commission no longer required careful station records demonstrating that various sides of public controversies were being aired even when that meant some had to be given sustaining airtime. On the other hand, expression of controversial points of view in paid time—another long-time industry taboo—was quickly accepted when it became clear that there were plenty of people and institutions eager to buy time in order to broadcast their views. The lapse of the Fairness Doctrine made such sales easier for stations, as they were no longer required to use expensive airtime to provide balancing points of view.

Religion

Religious programs offer a useful window of insight into the subsequent decline of sustaining time. As a category, these were once provided free of charge (i.e., on a sustaining basis) to established or mainline religious groups of the Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish faiths. The major networks offered such programs at least weekly, as did many other stations. Some of these programs ran for decades. For many years it was a proud radio industry policy (a boast?) that time was not to be sold for religious programs, as such programs were offered on a sustaining basis as part of radio's public interest responsibility. But some critics—especially those in smaller religious organizations not included in the mainstream programs—argued that the networks and stations were effectively censoring minority religious viewpoints with their refusal to give equal time to programs from other denominations.

Beginning on the fringes, with small stations in local markets in the late 1940s and early 1950s, evangelical and other generally conservative religious figures began to purchase time

from financially-strapped outlets happy to make the sales and unconcerned with broader industry policies. Soon larger market stations were doing the same, while continuing to carry their traditional sustaining mainline religious programs. And gradually the mainline programs disappeared, religion on the air being effectively redefined to mean those denominations willing to pay for their time. Such paid programs often spent much of their time (or so it seemed) seeking donations to help purchase still more airtime.

At the beginning of the 21st century, some stations still provide sustaining time for community or other nonprofit organizations. And stations often provide time for their own special campaigns or public service benefits. But for the past four decades, sustaining time has been seen merely as time not (yet) sold, rather than as a special category in and of itself.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Advertising; Blue Book; Controversial Issues; Fairness Doctrine; Federal Communications Commission; Public Interest, Convenience or Necessity; Religion on Radio

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Swing, Raymond Gram 1887–1968

U.S. Radio News Commentator

With his earnest "Good Evening," Raymond Gram Swing introduced one of the most influential political and foreign affairs commentary programs on network and shortwave radio between 1930 and 1963. Within the United States, he developed a reputation as an uncompromising New Dealer and anti-isolationist, and to the largest international audience ever drawn by a newscaster he was considered a faithful friend to

England, a virulent opponent of world fascism, and the "voice of America."

Swing was born in Cortland, New York, on 25 March 1887. In 1906, after spending only one year at Oberlin College, he launched his news career as a reporter for the *Cleveland Press* and a variety of other Midwestern newspapers. He became a foreign correspondent for the *Chicago Daily News* in

1912 and covered many of the principal events leading to World War I. In 1915 he was an eyewitness to the naval battle for Gallipoli. After the war he continued as a newspaperman, but in the 1920s he became fascinated with radio's ability to reach a vast audience and joined a number of other print journalists (Boake Carter, Edwin C. Hill, and others) who changed professional media.

Swing's first experience with broadcasting came in 1930, when he began a series of commentaries on U.S. affairs for the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). This series was soon followed by reports on the Geneva Disarmament Conference for the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) and on the London Naval Conference and the British election of 1931 for the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS). In 1932 Swing helped make radio history when, from London, he participated in the first two-way transatlantic broadcast, with Cesar Saerchinger in New York.

By the end of 1934, Swing had developed a large following on both sides of the Atlantic. His *Things American* broadcasts were especially popular in England, where an estimated 30 percent of adults regularly tuned in. King George VI (who once requested an autographed photo) and Winston Churchill listened faithfully, and "Swing Clubs" were formed in parliament.

In 1935 Swing began a weekly "Behind the Week's Foreign News" feature for CBS's *American School of the Air*. Network executives were impressed by Swing's carefully measured delivery, precise timing, and meticulous and lengthy pre-broadcast preparation, but they felt his voice was uninspiring and his overall microphone presence pedantic and dry. When CBS Vice President Edward Klauber tried to entice him away from the studio with an offer of a position as European director of talks, Swing left the network (transferring the job to a relatively unknown Edward R. Murrow) and began a long association with the Mutual Broadcasting System (MBS). From 1936 to 1938, Swing broadcast every Friday night over MBS's flagship New York station WOR and occasionally spoke over the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

By the mid-1930s, Swing became increasingly conscious of the dangers of world fascism. In 1935 he published *Forerunners of American Fascism* and used his broadcasts to alert listeners to the demagogic abuses of Huey Long, Father Charles Coughlin, and Dr. Francis Townsend. In 1937 he urged Britain and France to intervene in the Spanish Civil War and defend the republican government against Franco's paramilitary Falange. In March 1938 Swing condemned the *Anschluss* (Germany's annexation of Austria). He reserved his sharpest criticism for the appeasement of Hitler at Munich in October 1938. Swing's firsthand accounts of the Czech situation for Mutual earned him a National Education Conference on Radio citation and an extra weekly slot in the network's broadcast schedule. At the end of the year, a radio editor's poll identified Swing as the third-most-popular commentator on



Raymond Gram Swing, 30 July 1941
Courtesy AP/Wide World Photos

the air. One of the 15 million listeners who now regularly tuned in to him remarked: "Everybody reads the foreign news these days, but very few can fit the myriad events and rumors into a coherent whole. Swing can. With deceptive ease he molds the hodgepodge of reports into a sharply-defined picture of the actual situation at the moment."

The Polish crisis of August 1939 gave Swing another opportunity to distinguish himself. When the Nazis and Soviets signed the non-aggression pact that would seal the fate of Poland, Swing was one of the first newscasters to comment on it. When Poland was invaded in September, Swing illuminated the military situation for listeners three times a day over Mutual's full 110-station network. His most memorable broadcasts were published at the end of the year in *How War Came*. In recognition of his growing appeal, the General Cigar Company offered Swing a contract with complete editorial freedom and limited commercial interruptions.

As the United States moved closer to war in 1940, Swing became an ardent supporter of the Roosevelt administration's interventionist policies. He made no effort, on the air or off, to conceal his anti-isolationist tendencies, and he became a

prominent member of both the pro-war Council for Democracy and the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. In October 1940 he facilitated America's first peacetime draft by producing several broadcast appeals for the Selective Service. His commentaries in favor of Roosevelt's Destroyers for Bases agreement, Lend-Lease, and other measures to aid Britain against Hitler (even at the risk of the United States' own involvement) were delivered with an almost crusading zeal.

Although most of Swing's 1940-41 newscasts focused on the deteriorating European situation, he also supported Roosevelt's effort to halt Japanese expansion in the Far East through diplomatic and economic pressure. Roosevelt valued Swing's favorable treatment and allowed him to use government-owned shortwave facilities to broadcast daily Spanish and Portuguese translations of his analyses to Latin America. When combined with regular BBC relays of his programs to Australia and the British Commonwealth, this gave Swing the largest international audience of any newscaster (37 million).

The rapid pace of diplomatic and military events after the disaster at Pearl Harbor and the United States' official entry into the conflict ensured the need for serious commentators like Swing who could make sense of the daily flow of communiqués, speeches, and reports from distant battlefields. In 1942 Swing left Mutual and began a four-times-a-week program on NBC Blue for Standard Oil's Socony Vacuum. His 12 April 1945 commentary on Roosevelt's death is considered to be his finest. After the destruction of Hiroshima in August 1945, Swing began to devote considerable airtime to pressing the cause of global interdependence. By the end of the war, Swing was heard on 120 stations and enjoyed a Hooper rating of 14.5, a figure twice as high as the average newscaster and comparable to some of the more popular entertainment programs of the day. His wartime broadcasts and work on behalf of world peace earned him DuPont and Peabody awards and six honorary doctorates.

In 1947 Swing switched to the American Broadcasting Companies (ABC), but within a year declining health compelled him to turn over his thrice-weekly program to Elmer Davis and broadcast only on Sunday. He left the air completely in 1949 but returned briefly for WOR the following year when the United States became embroiled in Korea. In May 1951 Swing retired from commercial radio and became the first political commentator for the Voice of America (VOA). His nightly VOA broadcasts were shortwaved around the world in 36 languages. In 1953 he resigned to protest McCarthyism and served as a writer and editor for Edward R. Murrow's *This I Believe* series. He returned to VOA in 1959 and remained

there until his final retirement in 1963. In 1964 he published his autobiography, "*Good Evening*": *A Professional Memoir*. He died of a heart attack in December 1968.

ROBERT J. BROWN

See also American School of the Air; Commentators

Raymond Gram Swing. Born in Cortland, New York, 25 March 1887. Son of Rev. Alfred Temple and Alice Mead Swing; attended Oberlin College, 1905; night reporter for *Cleveland Press*; court reporter for *Cleveland News*; editor of *Courier*, Orville, Ohio; reporter for *Item*, Richmond, Indiana; managing editor of *Indianapolis Sun*, 1906-11; reporter for *Cincinnati Times Star*, 1912; foreign correspondent for *Chicago Daily News*, 1912-17; War Labor Board examiner, 1918; Berlin correspondent for *New York Herald*, 1919-22; director of foreign service for *Wall Street Journal*, 1922-24; foreign correspondent for *Philadelphia Public Ledger* and *New York Evening Post*, 1924-32; member of board of editors of *The Nation*, 1934-36; commentator for various networks, 1930-53; writer for *This I Believe* (CBS). Died in Washington, D.C., 22 December 1968.

Radio Series

- 1934-36 *Things American*
1934-36 *American School of the Air*

Selected Publications

- Forerunners of American Fascism*, 1935
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Syndication

Supplementing Local and Network Sources

Stations have three sources of programming: they can produce programming themselves, receive it from a network, or get it from an outside supplier, called a syndicator. For three decades, syndication provided dramatic series to stations; then, when radio formats changed, syndication provided music-oriented programming. Today, many stations rely on syndication for music and talk programming.

Origins

In the early days of radio, station owners relied on live talent and scratchy-sounding records for programming. The advent of the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) in 1926 and the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) in 1927 meant that stations could have access to the top talent in New York City for the production, writing, directing, and performing of programs. (Network programs were delivered to a permanent hookup of stations across the country, which were expected to broadcast the shows simultaneously as they were fed and which were compensated for carrying the programs and their network advertising.) But not all stations could be affiliated to the networks, and not all affiliates were satisfied with network programs and the compensation they received for carrying them.

To meet this demand, shows were distributed on records. The first syndicated radio program is credited to Freeman Gosden and Charles Correll, the creators of *Amos 'n' Andy*. When their series moved to WMAQ, which was owned by the *Chicago Daily News*, they acquired the right to record their program and sell it to other stations. In 1928 the newspaper mailed out the show to 30 stations.

Opposition

Although the idea of stations sharing programs on records seemed logical enough, problems arose. Stations, advertisers, and listeners were reluctant to accept an alternative to live programming. A major difficulty was that records were inferior in sound quality, partly because of the method of recording and partly because of the station's playback equipment. Development of electrical transcription in 1928 helped solve the problem, and stations slowly adopted the playback equipment.

Another problem was that some powerful organizations in the industry had a vested interest in live programming. The American Federation of Musicians insisted that major stations continue to employ staff musicians, even if recorded programming was used. If stations had to pay the salaries,

they might as well use the employees rather than buying a recorded program. As transcriptions became more popular, the union stepped up its opposition. In 1942 the president of the musicians' union ordered his members to cease making transcriptions for broadcast use. The battle between syndicators and the union continued until television made the issue moot.

The radio networks also felt threatened by transcriptions. If a station could order a good-quality series through the mail, then who needed a network? Transcriptions also cut into the networks' revenue. Advertisers paid networks on the basis of the number of stations that aired or "cleared" their programs. If too many affiliates used transcriptions, then the networks would be hurt financially.

Network Option Time

To minimize the competition, NBC set up compensation rates to its affiliates in such a way that the use of recordings and the acceptance of national spot advertising were discouraged. These practices ended in 1941 after a Federal Communications Commission (FCC) investigation created new rules controlling network practices.

Both CBS and NBC required that their affiliates be willing to carry a certain amount of network programming at set times of the day. This practice of "optioning" portions of a station's schedule made the syndicator's job more difficult. Sponsors usually wanted their programs to run at the times when viewing levels were highest, but those were the hours the networks had claimed for themselves. If a station scheduled a syndicated program during those hours, the networks could demand that their own program replace it. Advertisers on syndicated programs had to settle for hours with fewer listeners or for nonaffiliated stations, which were usually less prestigious and had smaller audiences. The FCC tried to end the networks' optioning of their affiliates' time with its Chain Broadcasting Rules in 1941, but this move raised so much opposition that the Commission settled for reducing the amount of time the networks could stake out.

The failure to end option time was not the only reason syndicators complained about the Commission. The FCC insisted that announcers state after each record that the program had been transcribed. Syndicators claimed that the practice made their properties seem inferior to live programming. The rule had originated when recorded programs had poor quality, but despite improvement in recording techniques, the policy continued in effect until after World War II.

Advantages

Despite all of these problems, the syndication industry survived. By 1931, 20 percent of the stations in the United States could play electrical transcriptions, including many higher-powered stations. Syndicators claimed that their product was superior to network product because the listener received the best possible performance, without the mistakes that could happen in live situations. And stations could profit, because there was no network to keep commercial minutes and revenue for itself.

National, regional, and local advertisers found the use of syndicated transcriptions beneficial at times. The national advertiser could use syndication as a substitute for or a supplement to the networks. With a recorded program, a sponsor could reach and pay for only a certain region of the country, if desired. Or a seasonal product could be sold using different approaches in different parts of the country.

Stations usually charged less than the networks, and so the advertiser could get a bargain. For example, the Beech-Nut Packing Company syndicated *Chandu, the Magician* to 15 stations. Had syndication not been an option, the sponsor would have had to pay the networks for a cross-country lineup of stations that it didn't need. For local and regional advertisers, syndication was even more attractive. They could have big-name talent at local costs.

The Depression

By 1931, 75 commercially sponsored programs were available by syndication, an increase of 175 percent over the previous year. The most common syndicated shows were musical variety shows, dance bands, and programs that re-created news events.

The Lone Ranger was created on WXYZ in Detroit and syndicated to other stations. The program's success led to the founding of the Mutual Broadcasting Company, a cooperative network that began with the idea of stations sharing programs among themselves.

But as the Depression deepened, the industry faltered. (Sometimes syndicators would sign up some advertisers based on an audition disc but then go out of business if not enough sponsors were found.) During this period, smaller stations and regional advertisers were the main users of syndicated programs.

Two other organizations also became prominent in the syndication industry, NBC and CBS. Both networks maintained that live programs were better, but they recognized that recorded shows might be useful in some circumstances. NBC entered the field in 1935 with three services: a collection of musical numbers, series produced for syndication, and

recorded series that had run live on the network. CBS followed in 1940.

Frederic Ziv

Perhaps the leading radio syndicator was Frederic Ziv, who began distributing radio programs in 1937 and later went on to syndicate television programs. He had owned an advertising agency in Cincinnati and wanted to create a product his bakery client could use. Once the program was produced, he started selling it to other stations. This first program was a series aimed at children, *The Freshest Thing in Town*.

World War II brought restrictions on the materials used to make electrical transcriptions, but after the war, radio syndication reached its height of popularity, as more stations went on the air and as the networks concentrated their efforts on television. Two of the more popular syndicated programs were produced by Ziv: *Boston Blackie* and *The Cisco Kid*. Stars such as actor Ronald Colman, singer Bing Crosby, and musician Kenny Baker were available on electrical transcriptions. With the advent of audiotape in the United States, syndicators had a new medium for distribution, and they used it mainly for features and short music programs.

By the mid-1950s, syndicators had to deal with the changes in the radio industry wrought by competition from television. Disc jockeys spinning records had replaced network serial programming. At first, stations desperate to maintain their traditional formats turned to the syndicators to provide the old-fashioned programs, but soon half-hour dramas and adventure shows became rare on radio.

Automated Formats

In the late 1950s, syndicators found another niche. They created hours of recorded music with announcements on audiotape and mailed the reels to stations around the country. Music format syndication offered several advantages to the station. It was cheaper and more reliable than the average live disc jockey. For unpopular time periods, late night and weekends, recorded programming could be the difference between profit and loss for a station. The supply of reels meant that even the smallest town could have an announcer with national appeal and a smoothly produced program aimed at a target audience. The main disadvantage was that the automated programming couldn't be localized. Some stations did use a local announcer during some of the programming in a practice called "live assist."

The FCC provided an impetus to the growth of automated radio by declaring in 1964 that FM and AM stations in the larger markets could no longer simulcast (i.e., carry the same programming at the same time). Because AM radio was the

dominant medium at that time, stations scrambled to find programming to put on their FM channels. Automation was a cheap and easy solution.

Other Formats

Other types of programming were also syndicated. In 1968, 300 stations carried a special featuring mythical boxing matches between the all-time best heavyweights. By the mid-1970s, weekly programs were back in style. Successful formats included weekly musical specials, such as the *King Biscuit Flower Hour*, and musical countdowns hosted by Casey Kasem and Dick Clark. *The National Lampoon Radio Hour* and *Dr. Demento* were examples of successful comedies. These programs were carried mainly on weekends.

The mainstay of the industry remained automated programs. The most popular format was “beautiful music,” standard songs done without lyrics and in lush arrangements, usually replete with strings. Other formats, though, such as rock and roll and country/western, were also syndicated. By 1977 almost 1,500 stations were fully automated, and another 1,000 relied at least some of the time on automation. The major syndicators were also expected to act as consultants, providing advice on technical matters, promotion, and advertising, as well as format.

Modern Syndication

In the 1980s, satellites made the delivery of programming cheaper and allowed the added quality of timeliness. Disc jockeys could comment on the day's events. A satellite could send a signal to a subscribing station's computer, which could be programmed with local news, commercials, and weather. Several channels of programming could be sent and received at the same time with no loss of quality. A station could carry some programming from one supplier and easily switch to another supplier on the satellite.

A new market developed as AM radio started to lose its audience to FM. Talk shows distributed by satellite began to be in demand. Call-in shows, such as those of Larry King and Tom Snyder, were popular late at night. In 1988 Rush Limbaugh's show was put into syndication for the daytime audience and became successful enough to attract imitators such as Howard Stern and Don Imus. Other types of talkers joined in the competition with topics such as sports, psychological advice, and business information.

Syndicators increased their use of satellites as the cost of equipment went down and as compression technology allowed them to squeeze more signals onto one transponder. The difference between them and networks blurred. Syndicators offered simultaneous delivery of signals to affiliates across the country

via satellite, just as networks did, and the type of programming was the same. Traditional networks and syndicators became part of the same companies, as mergers and buyouts led to industry consolidation. Networks didn't always provide compensation, and both industries offered similar formats.

By 2000 the two most successful syndicated radio formats remain the talk show and automated programming delivered by satellite, tape, or disc. With the aid of a computer and the satellite, the syndicator can provide announcing, music, and cues for commercials, local news, and weather. This type of service had existed before but was delivered on tape to the station and was therefore not as versatile. For some markets, the national announcer records local announcements, which can be inserted smoothly into the program. Short features with medical advice, interviews with stars, and David Letterman's top 10 list are also syndicated.

Syndicated programming can be purchased outright, or the sale may involve barter or a combination of the two (cash plus barter). Some form of barter is the most common method: The producer sells some commercial minutes in the program but leaves time for the station to sell others. In other words, the station trades time for a free program or one with a reduced price. If cash is involved, the cost of the program will depend on the size of the market, its competitiveness, and the station's revenues.

Syndication should remain an important part of the industry. Because syndication of music formats is a cost-effective method of delivering programming, station group owners may rely more on it especially for their weaker outlets.

BARBARA MOORE

See also American Federation of Musicians; Amos 'n' Andy; Automation; Dr. Demento; King Biscuit Flower Hour; Limbaugh, Rush; Lone Ranger; Recording and Radio Industries; Simulcasting; Stern, Howard

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T

Taishoff, Sol 1904–1982

U.S. Editor and Publisher

For more than a half century, Sol Taishoff was a leader in radio's trade press as editor and publisher of *Broadcasting*, its most important weekly magazine. Based in Washington, D.C., the trade periodical reported important government (Federal Radio Commission, Federal Communications Commission, Congressional) decisions concerning radio. For 51 years, first as co-founder of the magazine in 1931, and then as the sole owner, Taishoff chronicled radio's spectacular growth. Through the 1940s, Taishoff also began reporting the early development of television and, to the chagrin of some radio station owners, renamed the magazine *Broadcasting-Telecasting* in 1950, before many Americans could even view the new medium. In the 1960s, cable television became part of Taishoff's beat, as did satellite distribution in the 1970s.

Through all of radio's growth and change, Taishoff became as much a part of the industry he covered as the network and station executives who bought and read the weekly *Broadcasting*. He even fit the mold of the typical broadcasting executive: he was personable, could tell a good story, and made friends easily. He walked a fine line: he was both a highly respected journalist and a beloved friend to hundreds in the American broadcasting community. In 1981 more than 1,200 people attended a banquet held to mark *Broadcasting's* 50th anniversary, and then-President Ronald Reagan, a former WHO-AM sportscaster, lauded (via tape) Sol Taishoff's considerable talents and accomplishments.

Origins

Born in Minsk in Czarist Russia in 1904, Sol Taishoff immigrated to the United States when he was three years old. His family settled in Washington, D.C., where Taishoff lived and worked for the rest of his life. He dropped out of the city's Business High School when he was 16 to become a night-shift copy boy for the Associated Press. After leaving the Associated

Press in 1926, Taishoff continued his journalism career by joining the original staff of David Lawrence's *United States Daily* (which became *U.S. News and World Report*).

Although he had occasionally written about radio while with the Associated Press, by the late 1920s radio had become Taishoff's entire beat. At that time, David Lawrence also owned a wire service called the Consolidated Press Association, and for his radio writings Taishoff used the pseudonym "Robert Mack." His predecessor as "Robert Mack" had been Martin Codel, who had moved on to work for a competing news wire. Taishoff and Codel had become friendly during their time with Lawrence and had often spoken of radio's need for a trade publication, its own version of the newspaper industry's *Editor and Publisher*. Taishoff and Codel raised barely enough capital to get their venture off the ground, and in October 1931 the Washington, D.C.-based *Broadcasting* was born as a biweekly publication. The FCC was established in 1934, forming one of Taishoff and Codel's key newsbeats.

Although 1931 was not viewed as an auspicious time to start any new business, Taishoff and Codel persevered and soon established their magazine as the bible of the fledgling industry. At first the battle was to stay afloat, so Taishoff and Codel met with some of their subscribers and advertisers and granted discounts to those who would pay in advance. In 1935 they issued the first *Broadcasting Yearbook*, a substantial directory of stations, networks, and related radio services. It continued to appear annually into the 21st century.

But in time, Taishoff and Codel disagreed about the magazine's direction, and after Codel went on leave in January 1943 to work for the Red Cross as director of information for the African Combat Area, he never returned to the magazine. Taishoff bought him out a year later and thereafter ran the magazine solely and completely. (Codel went on to create a rival publication, *Television Digest*, in 1945.)

So closely did Taishoff come to be associated with *Broadcasting* that network and station executives talked of placing ads in "Sol's magazine." In his many years at the helm of the magazine, Taishoff exhibited an editorial stance fundamentally in favor of free enterprise, opposing any proposal that might interfere with the free workings of the marketplace, including public broadcasting. He strongly advocated First Amendment rights for radio broadcasters, arguing consistently for freedom from government regulation and control.

But Taishoff knew that his magazine's strength lay in covering the Washington political scene, and he kept his subscribers well informed on any issue or proposal that could affect their interests. He made friends with FCC commissioners and politicians of both parties and became an unofficial adviser on communications policy to many of them, including several presidents. He was perhaps closest to Lyndon Johnson, whom he met when Johnson arrived in Washington as a congressional staffer in 1931. In the 1940s, when Johnson himself was in Congress, Lady Bird Johnson came into an inheritance. The story goes that Johnson was considering buying a newspaper, but Taishoff advised them to invest in an Austin, Texas, radio station. The future president protested that the station was not making any money, but Taishoff assured him radio was where large profits lay. He was, of course, right. And in time, the Texas Broadcasting Company, as it came to be known, owned, at least in part, nine radio and television stations and made Lyndon Johnson a multimillionaire (the licenses were always listed in Lady Bird's name).

At the end of his career, the broadcasting industry lauded Taishoff by presenting him with a George Foster Peabody Award and naming him the National Association of Broadcasters "Man of the Year." Though he slowed down during the 1970s, Taishoff never stopped working. Indeed, the last piece of copy to bear his name was written just weeks before his death in 1982.

The magazine lived on, first under Taishoff's son Larry, who sold the publication and its Washington headquarters in 1986 to Times Mirror, which in turn sold *Broadcasting* to Reed International in 1991. The magazine was part of the Cahners Business Information empire (as *Broadcasting and Cable*) and was published in New York, no longer from Washington, as the 21st century began.

DOUGLAS GOMERY AND CHUCK HOWELL

See also Trade Press

Sol Taishoff. Born in Minsk, Russia, 8 October 1904. Youngest of three sons of Rose Orderu and Joseph Taishoff; immigrated to the United States and settled with family in Washington, D.C., 1907; dropped out of business high school to become night-shift copy boy for Associated Press, 1920; joined *United States Daily*, which became *U.S. News and World Report*, 1926; created *Broadcasting* magazine with Martin Codel, 1931; bought out Codel, 1944, and ran magazine until death. Died in Washington, D.C., 15 August 1982.

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Talent Raids

In 1948 Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) Chairman William S. Paley initiated a raid on the National Broadcasting Company's (NBC) top radio talent in order to compete with the better-fortified network. This bold move changed the balance of power in radio and affected key programming strategies in radio and later in television.

Background

Throughout the 1930s and much of the 1940s, NBC reigned as the dominant radio network. NBC had the financial backing of a wealthy corporate parent in the Radio Corporation of America (RCA), boasted a larger number of affiliated stations than

CBS, and had a popular roster of vaudeville-trained comedians. CBS initially tried to even the standings in the mid-1930s by capturing some of NBC's key affiliated stations. Paley also went after some of NBC's talent in 1936, luring such stars as Al Jolson and Major Edward Bowes over to the smaller network. NBC was angered by these maneuvers, particularly because the network thought it had an unwritten agreement with CBS not to participate in such raids. But given CBS's inferior position in the industry, Paley insisted it was the only way he could reasonably compete. NBC battled back heartily, winning back some of its stars and stations.

Thus, after World War II, CBS was still a distant number two. Dissatisfied that his previous coup attempts had failed, Paley began outlining a new strategy. Lew Wasserman and Taft Schreiber of MCA, the mammoth talent agency, ultimately helped lead Paley to a crafty solution in 1948, during a lunch date with CBS President Frank Stanton. MCA represented Freeman Gosden and Charles Correll, the stars of *Amos 'n' Andy*, and Wasserman offered the popular NBC actors to Paley along with a unique financial arrangement. Stars certainly earned a high salary at NBC (Jack Benny reportedly earned \$12,000 a week), but this placed them within a very high income-tax bracket, and they were taxed at a rate as high as 77 percent. Wasserman and Paley thus devised a scheme wherein Gosden and Correll would incorporate, with CBS purchasing the resulting company and its assets, namely the characters and scripts for the shows. The money that CBS subsequently paid out to Gosden and Correll could thus be considered a capital gain, taxed at the considerably lower rate of 25 percent. Moreover, because CBS would now own the properties and names themselves, NBC would not be able to lure its talent back as easily as it did after Paley's first talent raids in the late 1930s.

The Raids

With Gosden and Correll signed, Paley next set his sights on Jack Benny, with Wasserman again brokering the deal. But because Benny and other NBC comedians went by their own names, rather than playing characters as did Gosden and Correll, it was initially unclear if they could legally incorporate their names for CBS to purchase. As a result, when Paley cemented a deal with Benny, the Internal Revenue Service challenged it in federal court. Though the Supreme Court did declare the maneuver legal in 1949, a more immediate obstacle came from Benny's sponsor, the American Tobacco Company, and his corresponding advertising agency, Batton, Barton, Durstine, and Osborn (BBD&O). Benny had a long-term contract with these companies, and they initially objected to the move to CBS, expecting a decline in Benny's ratings, if only because CBS had fewer affiliated stations. BBD&O thus vigorously complained to NBC about the decision to let go of Benny. NBC responded with a major counteroffer to Benny,

totaling twice the value of CBS's offer. However, Lew Wasserman again intervened, obtained the NBC contract, changed every mention of NBC to CBS, and reoffered the deal to Benny, who then signed it. Reportedly, the personal attention given to Benny by CBS executives was enough to provide the deciding factor—Benny was continually insulted by the impersonal atmosphere of NBC and had reportedly never even met David Sarnoff, the head of the network's parent firm, RCA.

To counteract the sponsor's concerns about NBC's greater number of affiliates, Paley went to the unprecedented length of offering American Tobacco \$3,000 for every rating point that Benny fell below his usual NBC total. Such a drastic move proved that CBS was not planning to merely buy out NBC's talent, but hoped to surpass NBC's success with this same talent. The deal was finally cemented in November 1948, despite the legal uncertainties at that point, and CBS bought Benny's company, Amusement Enterprises, for \$2.26 million. Benny's CBS ratings were initially stellar, and despite a ratings decline shortly thereafter, Paley was pleased that he finally had a strategy in place to battle NBC. Bing Crosby, Red Skelton, Edgar Bergen, and George Burns and Gracie Allen were the next NBC stars to head to CBS.

Surprisingly, NBC and Sarnoff had little reaction to this continued upheaval. Some historians simply credit Sarnoff's arrogance for ignoring CBS's moves, and others highlight Sarnoff's belief that paying a performer so much money would set a dangerous precedent, resulting in a system that would give performers too much power over their network bosses. Whatever the reason for NBC's lack of a countermove, these events had the potential to devastate the network's industry standing. Indeed, by the end of 1949, CBS would tout 12 of the top 15 radio shows. But the emergence of television altered the playing field once again, and now both networks had to try out new strategies for the developing visual medium.

The success of its new talent did give CBS a profit infusion that helped launch the company into television. Lacking the benefit of a deep-pocketed corporate parent like RCA, CBS desperately needed such capital for its first steps into television. Additionally, CBS not only captured the radio ratings lead in 1949, but held onto that lead right into television and for the next 25 years. Finally, the talent raids related to a crucial industry strategy of developing and scheduling network-owned programming. Such direct connections with talent gave the network more control over their program decisions, rather than sponsors and advertising agencies making these decisions. This would prove to be a key difference between television and radio programming structures. In the end, an initial investment of less than \$6 million brought huge benefits—the talent raid nearly eradicated NBC's top line-up of stars, brought CBS to equal status with NBC, and foretold of both networks' coming supremacy in television.

CHRISTINE BECKER

See also Amos 'n' Andy; Benny, Jack; Burns and Allen; Columbia Broadcasting System; Crosby, Bing; Edgar Bergen and Charlie McCarthy; Paley, William S.; Skelton, Red

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Talent Shows

American radio in its earliest days was similar to an amateur hour, in that early performers were all volunteers, many of whom had great enthusiasm but minimal talent. As radio matured during the 1920s, more selective criteria for getting on the air were established, and that usually meant passing an audition. Local radio shows made a contest out of it—so-called *opportunity nights*, when those who envisioned themselves as tomorrow's radio stars could perform, and listeners voted by sending in postcards. Prizes were not very big, but the thrill of winning seemed to suffice.

Popular network talent shows had higher standards since performers would be heard by a national audience. The biggest shows held several rounds of auditions. To appear on *Roxy and His Gang*, would-be talent first auditioned for “Roxy” himself (Samuel Rothafel); he decided which amateurs would compete on the show. Some network programs also involved sponsors or advertising agencies in the decision-making process; because the money was coming from them, it seemed prudent to consider their input.

A successful show could be quite lucrative for its stars: in 1936, for example, Eddie Cantor was paid \$10,000 a week by his sponsor, Texaco gasoline. George Burns and Gracie Allen made the same amount from their sponsor, Grape-Nuts Cereal. And topping the list was the \$25,000 a week paid by Chrysler Motor Corporation to Major Edward Bowes. It is no wonder, with the media writing about these big salaries, that the average person dreamed of winning a talent show and becoming a network celebrity.

Radio talent shows became a national craze during the 1930s; with so many people out of work because of the Depression, the idea of striking it rich in radio was especially compelling. One network show that capitalized on this hope was *National Amateur Night*, which ran on the Columbia

Broadcasting System (CBS) from December 1934 to December 1936. But thanks to its popular master of ceremonies, it was *Major Bowes' Original Amateur Hour* that would capture the largest audience. Major Edward Bowes (he had earned the rank of major in an obscure Reserve unit during World War I) had started out as a master of ceremonies for *Roxy and His Gang* at the Capitol Theatre in the mid-1920s. A few years later, while he was manager of New York radio station WHN, Bowes and two producers developed a new concept for a talent show: broadcast historian John Dunning (1998) explains that, unlike other shows, in which the master of ceremonies made fun of the contestants, “Bowes saw the amateur hour in terms of a prize fight. The amateurs were the combatants. . . . The bell between rounds [would be] utilized . . . to dismiss an amateur who wasn't making it. The gong was like sudden death, like the hook in the rough-and-tumble days of amateur nights in vaudeville. . . . its presence . . . add[ed] another element of suspense.”

Major Bowes' Original Amateur Hour debuted on the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) radio network in late March of 1935, sponsored by Chase and Sanborn coffee. The show was an immediate sensation, both in its ratings and in the number of would-be participants. At its highest point, it was receiving more than 10,000 applications a week for the 20 available slots on the program. The show's opening lines—“the wheel of fortune goes round and round, and where she stops, nobody knows”—became an American catchphrase. But *Major Bowes' Original Amateur Hour* also attracted controversy, with critics questioning how honest the voting process was (people called in to vote for their favorite amateur, leading to charges that a sponsor or any amateur with a lot of friends could easily manipulate the totals) and whether Bowes decided on the winners in advance. And although the show did get

huge ratings for a while, it resulted in the discovery of very few major stars—opera star Beverly Sills and crooner Frank Sinatra were the best known of the winners. (Some critics have also suggested that the idea for Major Bowes' program really came from comedian Fred Allen, who did a forerunner of the amateur hour in 1934 as a segment of his NBC show *Town Hall Tonight*.)

Another show that gave amateurs a chance at fame and fortune was *Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts*, which started in early July 1946 on CBS Radio and went on TV in 1948. Godfrey, who was also the master of ceremonies of a successful variety show, *Arthur Godfrey Time*, had a special reason for creating *Talent Scouts*. Unlike other talent shows, Godfrey did not give winners cash prizes or gong losers off the stage. Rather, he gave contestants the chance to graduate from *Talent Scouts* and become regular performers on *Arthur Godfrey Time*, a top-rated radio show that would be equally successful on television. Several *Talent Scouts* winners not only joined the "Little Godfreys" on *Arthur Godfrey Time*, but later had their own hit records on radio. Two of the best examples were the McGuire Sisters, whose song "Sincerely" went to number one on the U.S. pop charts in 1955, and the Chordettes, who had

three top five songs during the mid-1950s. On the other hand, sometimes Godfrey got it wrong; among those who failed his audition was Elvis Presley.

One other network talent show with appeal was bandleader Horace Heidt's *Youth Opportunity Program*, heard on Sunday nights from 1947 to 1951. But by the early 1950s, most radio talent shows had moved to TV (where a few can still be found). And although the odds of becoming the next big celebrity are very small, the thrill of competing and the chance to get on the air still motivate people to come to auditions, hoping that this time the wheel of fortune will stop for them.

DONNA L. HALPER

See also Godfrey, Arthur

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Talk of the Nation

Public Radio Call-In Program

Talk of the Nation is a two-hour radio show combining the news experience of National Public Radio (NPR) and the participation of call-in listeners from across the country. For the first four days of the week, the *Talk of the Nation* host (Neal Conan beginning late 2001) discusses a variety of national issues, while on Friday Ira Flatow hosts *Talk of the Nation Science Friday*. As stated by former host Ray Suarez, NPR designed the show to be "a news program that would bring in a caller who really wanted to understand better all the hanging questions out there." Although the show premiered in only nine markets, the midday voice of NPR News and NPR Talk, airing 2 P.M. eastern standard time (EST), boasted more than 2 million listeners from over 150 markets nationwide by 2001. The show has won several honors including the 1993 Corporation for Public Broadcasting Silver Award.

U.S. President Bill Clinton's presidential pardons in early 2001, U.S. international policies, environmental issues, school privatization, the economics of baseball, and international slavery are examples of the topics broached on *Talk of the*

Nation. Jesse Jackson, Stephen King, Ralph Nader, Christopher Darden, Walter Mondale, and Yogi Berra all have graced *Talk of the Nation* as guests. As described by Suarez, "It's not a prissy, pointy-headed intellectual show, but we do give the audience a great deal of credit for being intelligent and literate, and they never let us down."

Originally hosted by John Hockenberry, *Talk of the Nation* began as a series of special call-in shows during the 1990–91 Gulf War and the Soviet coup. These shows received enough interest that they became a permanent addition to NPR on 4 November 1991. After approximately nine months with the show, Hockenberry departed to become an ABC news correspondent, and although Robert Siegel took over as interim host, it was Brooklyn-born Ray Suarez who took the torch from Hockenberry. Suarez remained the host for the next seven years and received two awards for journalistic excellence while watching the program's audience double. Specifically, during Suarez's tenure the program won the prestigious Alfred I. duPont-Columbia Silver Baton Award in 1994–95 for "The

Changing of the Guard: The Republican Revolution” and for NPR’s coverage of the first 100 days of the 104th Congress; the program also won the 1993–94 duPont-Columbia Silver Baton Award for part of NPR’s coverage of the South African elections. Suarez has been described by the Copley News Service as a highly intelligent navigator with “the compelling magic of intimacy spun from intense conversations while maintaining his professional distance.” Suarez won honors from the *Los Angeles Times*, which listed him as one of “100 People to watch 1996.”

By 2000 Suarez followed the path of the host he replaced when he too left *Talk of the Nation* for *The Newshour with Jim Lehrer*. At the end of February 2000, Emmy-award winning writer and reporter Juan Williams replaced Suarez. Williams, who has described radio as “the temperature of our times,” and executive producer Greg Allen, took *Talk of the Nation* on the road as part of the continuing series “The Changing Face of America.” The series, which debuted in February 2000 in Austin, Texas, travels cross-country on the final Thursday of every month and puts forth a nationally broadcast live town hall meeting. As described by the host, the goal is rather straightforward: “to paint a picture of America at the turn of the century.” For example, this format took *Talk of the Nation* to Indiana to look at small-town life and to Los Angeles to look at spirituality. The attitude of the show and its host was described quite eloquently by Williams:

Talk radio has been boiled down to the point where people tune in to have their prejudices confirmed. . . . The host drives the show by being intentionally provocative and taking very strong views intended to polarize the audience. You tune in to try to see what [outrageous thing] this guy is going to say today, or you tune in to hear him say what you believe but have never articulated. . . . I want people to tune in to *Talk of the Nation* because they want to know what’s going on and want to have a full understanding of the arguments that people are making around the country and the different perspectives. . . . Hearing other people talk about the way they see American life today—that’s energizing to me. And if I work as the host of the show, it will be energizing to the audience as well (*Minneapolis Star Tribune*, 1 March 2000).

Talk of the Nation has been described by one newspaper as “talk radio at its zenith, a rare quasar of civility and intelligence in the usually rabid world of boom box shriek and shout” (South Florida *Sun-Sentinel*), and the San Diego *Union-Tribune* stated, “In the argumentative archipelago of talk radio, *Talk of the Nation* is an island of civility”; however, the executive producer Allen may have said it best: “The main thing is we want a good talk show. . . . That’s what we’re there for.”

JASON T. SIEGEL

See also National Public Radio; Talk Radio

Executive Producer

Leith Bishop

Hosts

John Hockenberry, November 1991–July 1992

Robert Siegel (interim host)

Ray Suarez, April 1993–February 2000

Juan Williams, February 2000–August 2001

Neal Conan, September 2001–present

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Talk Radio

Talk radio (sometimes referred to as All Talk) is a general term covering many closely related types of radio programs that do not focus on music or narrative comedy or drama. Most common are interview and call-in programs. Nearly all rely on a host, often a highly opinionated one. Some of the earliest talk programs in the 1920s and 1930s got station licenses in trouble for being one-sided. By the 1990s such polemical radio was common and widely popular. Talk programs today range from serious and balanced discussion of public affairs to scandal-studded rhetoric offering far more heat than light.

By the early 21st century, talk radio had become one of the most popular formats. More than 700 of the 12,000-plus radio stations in the United States identified their program format as talk. An additional 525 were in the hybrid category news/talk. Talk Radio tends to be found mostly on commercial AM stations, but it is starting to expand to FM outlets as well. The talk format is generally a mix of interviews and call-in programs frequently hosted by one or more personalities. Content ranges from information to politics to “shock” radio characterized by sexual innuendo and the flouting of social conventions. Many talk show hosts are as famous for the audiences they offend as for those they entertain and attract. News-talk became the generic radio industry term for all stations that carry both news and talk programming. The phrase *talk radio* includes the news-talk format as well as formats that rely on all-conversation programming.

Origins

Legendary Boston talk host Jerry Williams claimed he invented talk radio in 1950 when he worked at an obscure station in Camden, New Jersey, hosting a show called *What's on Your Mind?*

Actually, the form was developed—not as a radio format, but as individual programs—two decades before Williams' arrival. His may have been the first radio show to take calls, but he was hardly the first talker. As early as the 1930s, columnist Walter Winchell and Father Charles Coughlin were sowing the seeds of what would become talk radio. During the following decade, Arthur Godfrey mixed interviews and chat with his musical guests on *Arthur Godfrey Time*, and Don McNeill introduced regular talk segments on his *Breakfast Club* broadcasts from Chicago in the early 1950s.

Talk shows (including Williams' show in Camden) became familiar to listeners in the 1950s as music stations devoted time to discussion of local issues. Most were interview programs, although some stations devoted hours during evenings or overnight to call-in shows. Technology did not allow the protection of a delay system to delete objectionable phone

calls. Many station operators avoided airing calls live, and often the host would repeat or paraphrase what a caller said. The motivation behind most early talk programming was to satisfy public affairs requirements as specified in licenses granted by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC).

KLIQ in Portland, Oregon, debuted a format described as All Talk in 1959. *Broadcasting* magazine headlined the story with the words “Talk, Talk, Talk” and called it “Top 30” because the station used 30 different announcers. The new format was a mix of news and talk. Twenty-five minutes of every hour were devoted to a “topic of the day” that listeners called in to discuss. Under special agreement, reporter-announcers read items from 15 national magazines from two to ten days prior to their publication. Taped interviews by British Broadcasting Corporation correspondents in England and Europe were sent daily by plane and aired in three-minute segments.

The term *talk station* came into being when KABC in Los Angeles discarded its music format in 1960 and filled its 24-hour day with talk shows. The station was originally promoted as “The Conversation Station.” A four-hour news and conversation program was instituted from 5:00 A.M. until 9:00 A.M. using the title *News-Talk*. Not long afterward, KABC's sister station, KGO in San Francisco, adopted the phrase *News-Talk* as a positioning slogan because it carried news blocks in morning and afternoon drive-time periods with talk shows in between.

Listeners searching for something other than music could tune in Jean Shepherd and other hosts on WOR in the New York area. *Sponsor* magazine trumpeted the advertising and audience successes of WOR's talk radio formula early in 1964. With ratings among the highest in the New York metropolitan area, WOR was grossing \$7 million annually. *Sponsor* cited WOR's success as reasons for shifts to talk by WNA Boston, KABC Los Angeles, KMOX St. Louis, and WNBC New York to WOR's success.

The success of early talk formats led to increased industry interest. In May 1965 the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) featured talk radio at a Chicago programming clinic for program and management executives. The 125 slots quickly filled, and 75 broadcasters who wished to attend were turned away.

Pioneering Talk Hosts

One of the first stars of the new talk radio medium was Joe Pyne, who first appeared on another Los Angeles station that abandoned its music format in the early 1960s—KLAC. Pyne's reputation was built on his style of verbal bombast against almost everyone, guest and caller alike, leading pundits to call his brand of talk “insult radio” because his callers risked verbal

skewering (“Look lady, every time you open your mouth to speak, nothing but garbage falls out!”). Pyne’s listeners were generally delighted. Pyne had no philosophical leaning except to the contrary. He established the habit of hanging up the phone on callers he disagreed with, a habit later adopted by talk hosts seeking to create the reputation of firebrand.

Pyne achieved some national notoriety, primarily through a short-lived television show. His radio work was not syndicated because technology at that time was too expensive to link stations not already affiliated with one of the three major networks. During a stint at KABC, Pyne took controversy to new heights as a rabid and vocal hater of President John Kennedy. When the president was assassinated in 1963, Pyne was pulled off the air. His exile created opportunity for another KABC host, Bob Grant, who was assigned Pyne’s slot during the hiatus.

In 1970 Grant moved to New York and created a name for himself by creating his own brand of controversy. Grant said what he felt, and his comments were often explicitly racist. He held forth for many years at WABC, New York, generally defended by station management as “misunderstood.” When black activists picketed WABC after race-baiting by Grant, a WABC spokesman said, “He is extremely angry with rioters and criminals, period. If critics want to say that means blacks, that’s their problem.”

When the Walt Disney Company acquired WABC with the rest of the ABC Network properties, the tone of management changed. Grant’s remarks after the death of Commerce Secretary Ron Brown in a plane crash proved too much for Disney, who yielded to public outcry and pulled Grant off the air. His absence was short-lived, since New York’s WOR hastily made a place for Grant on their schedule and on their WOR Network.

Jerry Williams moved to Boston in 1957 where he sought out topics controversial enough to create talk about him and his show. He was one of very few media people to interview Malcolm X, and Williams took pride in announcing that the Boston TV stations and newspapers did not offer coverage to the black leader. For a brief period in the mid 1960s, Williams moved his show to Chicago and WBBM, where he would pit blacks against whites on the air to, in his words, “start a dialog.” The result was often more of a fight. He returned to Boston in 1972, where he became a talk radio fixture until his death in 2003.

New York’s Barry Gray was the longest running talk host on radio. He began as a celebrity interviewer in the mid-1940s and was still going strong when he died in 1996. For most of his career Gray was at WMCA in the overnight slot.

Evolution of the Host

Early talk radio was compared to broadcast journalism, but with the added pressures of live radio. As talk radio programmer Bruce Marr wrote:

Management has to acknowledge that the members of the on-the-air team have their own biases and leave them free to express their stands on the issues being discussed. . . . This philosophy has grown slowly from the understanding that it is fruitless to ask on-air personalities to be unbiased. They are often investigators, sometimes advocates, and biases are doubtless part of their stock-in-trade.

There is structure in the talk show, but there is also enough fluidity for a host to change subjects and reflect the mood and interest of the audience. When an issue or news event is significant enough to capture the attention and interest of the listeners, the talk station changes subjects to respond. Thus a school shooting, a political scandal, or other “hot button” topics could prompt a talk station to abandon a pre-set list of guests or topics and take free-wheeling conversation about the topic at hand.

The most memorable talk hosts have been those whose political leanings are hardly the stuff of balanced journalism. By and large, talk radio is politically conservative. Those attempts at presenting liberal or left-leaning programming have been able to attract only a fraction of the audience that more conservative hosts can attract. The most notable experiment with a liberal bias on a talk station was at KFSO in San Francisco. The programming was dropped after a few months in favor of a lineup that included conservatives Pat Buchanan and Michael Reagan.

Former Texas Agriculture Commissioner Jim Hightower, a talk host syndicated at one time by ABC Radio, explains talk radio’s conservatism this way:

What happened is the progressive side forgot radio. My generation looked to television and mass demonstrations and other ways of communicating, whereas the conservatives—Ronald Reagan, Paul Harvey—hung in there and continued to build an audience. Now it’s just follow the leader. People look across the street and say, “If that sucker is doing well with a conservative, that’s what I need, too.”

The rise of talk radio has been accompanied by an equally dramatic rise in harsh rhetoric under the guise of political opinion. The combination is often a breeding ground for what Peter Laufer called “hate, scapegoating and stereotyping” in his book, *Inside Talk Radio*. “The talk show demagogues are adept at manipulating anger and turning righteous resentment into fearful hatred of the oppressed,” Laufer writes.

In *Hot Air*, Howard Kurtz says that the way to get attention in talk radio is “to shout, to polarize, to ridicule, to condemn, to corral the most outrageous or vilified guests.” Kurtz points out that when White House chief of staff Leon Panetta wanted

to attack House Speaker Newt Gingrich, he accused Gingrich of acting like “an out-of-control radio talk show host.”

Scrappy and Intimate

In an era of blow-dried TV anchors, homogenized sitcoms and cookie-cutter Hollywood sequels, talk radio stands out as unpredictable. It is less politically correct than mass television. “It’s more scrappy,” said John Mainelli, the programmer who built WABC into a 1990s talk powerhouse. “It’s also more intimate because it’s radio,” he said. That intimacy allowed Boston talk host David Brudnoy the permission to let his audience know that he was gay and that he had AIDS. There was a tremendous outpouring of affection from long time WBZ listeners who heard Brudnoy’s late night program in 38 states. A number of listeners told Brudnoy that his confession had moved them to tell their own families that they, too, had the AIDS virus. As Brudnoy explained it, “Talk Radio is the last neighborhood in town. People know their talk hosts better than they know the person who lives next to them.”

Technology and New Networks

In its early days, talk radio was expensive to produce. In addition to a skilled host, the station had to pay a producer, programmer, and engineer. A researcher was also a necessity. Much of talk radio consisted of interviews, easy enough to do over telephone lines, but long-distance charges could be substantial. To make talk radio a success, the stations needed the vast audience provided by large, urban areas. In the 1960s and 1970s it was nearly impossible to make talk a successful format in anything but a large market. It took technological innovation to make talk radio financially feasible.

Chief among the technical factors underlying talk radio as a mass format was the growing commercial success and expansion of FM radio in the 1970s. By 1977, a generation had grown up with their radios tuned as much to FM as to AM. Broadcasters who owned AM stations developed a strategy of counter-programming to retain audience. Some shifted their programming from music to the spoken word, as KABC and KGO had done a decade and a half earlier. The counter to music programming on FM gave rise to information programming.

Satellite technology gave syndicators the type of access to local stations that only networks had enjoyed previously. Initially, syndicated programs were sent via telephone lines at great expense. By the late 1970s geosynchronous satellites made it possible to distribute radio shows nationwide at a relatively reasonable cost, giving the radio program a national audience of simultaneous listeners. That gave rise to ABC Talkradio, featuring hosts from various ABC-owned talk stations. Host Michael Jackson’s mellow Australian accent was networked from ABC’s KABC in Los Angeles, as was Ira Fis-

tell’s daily program. From San Francisco’s KGO came Dr. Dean Edell’s medical advice and a general interest talk show with Ronn Owens.

The importance of the telephone caller led to improvements in on-air telephone systems. Nationally syndicated talk shows today use phone systems that handle more than 30 incoming lines. Special automatic gain-control devices compensate for the different levels and sound qualities of the callers’ telephones. Specially designed computer software allows the producer and the show host to communicate with one another. Sitting in different rooms, the producer and host can both see on screen the caller’s name and location and the topic of interest he or she called to discuss. More advanced versions can create a caller database that can include telephone number, address, regular topic of interest, occupation, birthday, and zip code. The information is available for the host the next time the listener calls. It can also be used for the radio station’s marketing purposes.

Technology also fueled NBC’s Talknet, where Bruce Williams answered financial and legal questions in an understanding, fatherly manner. If Williams was father, Sally Jesse Raphael was mother, offering personal advice and relationship counseling. New York personality Bernard Meltzer sounded like a loving grandfather presenting general interest topics. The family doctor was Harvey Rubin, who conducted a daily health program.

New York’s WOR Radio, long a leader in talk programming in its own city, used satellite technology to deliver its talk shows to a national audience. Former libertarian candidate Gene Burns, money advisers Ken and Daria Dolan, psychologist Dr. Joy Brown, and others talked about issues that transcended New York. When WOR moved conservative host Bob Grant from rival WABC, he was added to the daily syndication schedule. Comedienne Joan Rivers joined the WOR Network in 1997.

Westwood One Radio Networks inherited the original talk programming of Mutual Radio in a series of mergers that ultimately put Westwood in the CBS family. Once the home of Larry King’s overnight talk show, Westwood moved King to afternoons in order to increase his audience. Replacing King overnight was Jim Bohannon, who was the usual replacement when King was on vacation. King’s move to afternoons proved unsuccessful, but Bohannon’s installation in the overnight chair was a long-term proposition.

Westwood also carried the *Tom Leykis Show* from Los Angeles, the *G. Gordon Liddy Show* from Washington, and *Imus in the Morning* with long-time New York funnyman and curmudgeon Don Imus. Westwood’s parent company, Infinity Broadcasting, a division of Viacom after its merger with CBS, also syndicated “shock jock” Howard Stern.

Stern is not a talk host per se, but his program abandoned music in favor of free-wheeling conversation often centered on

Stern and his private parts. Stern's program was seldom heard on talk stations; his affiliates were primarily rock music outlets. As one station manager described it, "Stern says what The Who used to sing." That statement reinforces the rock context of Stern's unpredictable broadcasts. In Los Angeles, Stern's program appeared on KSLX, one of a few talk stations on the FM band. In presenting Stern's and other hosts' shows to advertisers, however, KSLX account executives compared them to personalities on rock stations, not to traditional talk personalities such as Rush Limbaugh.

Other syndicators found success as consolidated radio companies attempted to cut expenses. A fledgling network called American View presented host Ken Hamblin. Known as "the Black Avenger," Hamblin was one of only two nationally known black conservative talk hosts in the late 1990s (the other was 2000 presidential candidate Alan Keyes). Cox Radio, owner of several news and talk stations, syndicated hosts Neal Boortz and Clark Howard from WSB in Atlanta for their own stations and others outside the Cox fold. Former WABC host Mike Gallagher created his own network and fed *The Mike Gallagher Show* to more than 200 stations. Jones Radio Networks, best known for long-form music programming, entered the talk field with several programs.

Exponential Growth

Talk radio's growth through the 1990s was fueled by Rush Limbaugh and the network built around the host by entrepreneur Edward F. McLaughlin. A former ABC Radio executive who had been Vice President and General Manager of KGO, McLaughlin rose to the presidency of the ABC Radio Networks in 1972, a position he held through 1986. In 1987, McLaughlin retired from the network and packaged Limbaugh, then a local Sacramento personality, and KGO's Edell into a fledgling syndication company. Officially called EFM Media (for McLaughlin's initials) the network was known publicly as the "EIB Network" because of Limbaugh's boastful catch phrase, "Excellence in Broadcasting." In 1997, EFM's assets, including *The Rush Limbaugh Show*, *The Dr. Dean Edell Show*, and the monthly publication *The Limbaugh Letter*, were sold to Jacor Communications and its Premiere Radio Networks. Both Jacor and Premiere were ultimately acquired by Clear Channel Communications.

Premiere began as a syndicator of short-form programming for music stations and developed through mergers and acquisitions into the leading provider of talk radio programming based on sheer numbers of shows. Premiere would ultimately be home to Limbaugh, Dr. Laura Schlessinger, UFO-chaser and expert in the paranormal Art Bell, sports personality Jim Rome, Michael Reagan, Edell, internet publisher Matt Drudge, and Los Angeles satirist Phil Hendrie. Because Premiere was acquired in 1999 by Clear Channel, that company was able to

leverage key Premiere talents onto Clear Channel-owned news and talk stations.

Deregulation

If technology was one parent of talk radio, deregulation was the other. For 42 years, radio and television were ruled by the Fairness Doctrine, which required stations to broadcast opposing views on public issues. The Fairness Doctrine was born in 1949 in response to a court case involving the owner of powerful radio stations in Los Angeles, Detroit, and Cleveland, and an early organization of professional newspeople. The newspeople charged the licensee with slanting news on his radio stations.

The doctrine ordered stations to work in the public interest and guarantee equal time for disparate viewpoints. The FCC decided that, contrary to its stated purpose, the Fairness Doctrine failed to encourage the discussion of more controversial issues. There were also concerns that it was in violation of the free speech principles of the First Amendment. The FCC abolished the rule in 1987, leaving talk hosts unrestrained.

Congress tried to reinstate the Fairness Doctrine as law that same year, but President Ronald Reagan vetoed it. Later attempts failed even to pass Congress. Those failures have led many to believe that it will take an act of Congress to bring back the doctrine. In fact, however, the FCC has the power as an independent regulatory agency to re-impose the Fairness Doctrine without either congressional or executive action.

Talk radio as it developed through the 1990s could not exist in the Fairness Doctrine era. In 1987, the year the doctrine was discarded, there were 125 news-talk stations nationwide. By early 2003, there were a total of 1,785 news, talk, and information stations. In 1986, news, talk, and information stations captured 8.7 percent of the national listening audience, good enough for fifth place overall among all radio formats. The Fall 2002 Arbitron Format Trend Report showed news, talk, and information radio as the leading radio format, capturing 16.5 percent of the national radio audience.

Power Shift

The power of talk radio had been felt on a local level since the format's inception. Local stations traditionally staged debates and allowed unprecedented access to politicians. Deregulation merged journalism and populism. The public asked questions that had previously been the domain of reporters and gossip columnists.

Boston's Jerry Williams and listeners who heard his show on WRKO were credited with overturning Massachusetts' seat belt law in 1988. Williams and other show hosts claimed credit for public opposition to a congressional pay raise and for a boycott against Exxon in the wake of the Alaska oil spill.

At an organizational meeting of the National Association of Radio Talk Show Hosts (NARTSH) in 1989, Williams called talk radio “the greatest forum in history . . . the last bastion of freedom of speech for plain ordinary folks.” The organization attempted to set a political agenda: “It’s our government and we’re going to take it back from those aristocrats,” said Mike Siegel of Seattle’s KING Radio on a broadcast from the NARTSH meeting. Siegel later had a short run in syndication on the Premiere Radio Network.

Talk radio created a new dynamic during the 1992 Presidential campaign. Most candidates, prompted by exposure given to independent Ross Perot, appeared on both radio and television talk shows to disseminate their views and corral support. The notable exception was incumbent President George H. Bush, who lost to a regular talk show guest, Bill Clinton. The proliferation of appearances by candidates on both television and radio talk shows prompted *Washington Post* television critic Tom Shales to label the 1992 election “the talk show campaign.”

Aides in the Clinton campaign believed their candidate reversed his fortunes in New York with an early morning appearance with Don Imus, morning man on Sports station WFAN heard on a national network. As president, Clinton hosted talk personalities at the White House. California’s Jerry Brown surprised political pundits by winning Connecticut’s Democratic primary in 1992. Some observers felt his key move was an appearance on Michael Harrison’s program then heard on WTIC in Hartford. Brown later hosted his own talk show.

Brown was not the only personality to join the talk host ranks from outside radio. G. Gordon Liddy, of Watergate infamy, had the highest profile because of his national network program. Conservative presidential candidate Pat Buchanan tried his hand for a short while at talk radio. On the local level, former Los Angeles police chief Daryl Gates, former New York Mayor Ed Koch, and former San Diego Mayor Roger Hedgecock gained new careers in their hometowns. Hedgecock became Rush Limbaugh’s primary substitute host in 2002.

Audiences and Impact

For a while in the 1990s, talk radio and its effect on politics dominated media discussion. An entire issue of *CQ Researcher* in 1994 was focused on the question “Are call-in programs good for the political system?” A *Newsweek* cover story was headlined “The Power of Talk Radio.” Other publications also expressed concern in articles entitled “Tower of Babble,” “How to Keep Talk Radio from Deepening America’s Divide” and “Talk Radio Lacking Real Dialogue.” FCC Chairman Reed Hundt, speaking to members of the NAB, asked if talk radio created “such skepticism and disbelief that as a country we just can’t get anything done?” The *New York Times* suggested that “modern politicians have become slaves

to public opinion” in the “electronic din” of talk radio. Following the Oklahoma City bombing, there were suggestions that the rhetoric of talk radio might have fueled the bombers’ discontent. *World Press Review*, in an article titled “A Bitter, Self-Doubting Nation,” suggested that talk radio hosts who were cynical about the federal government and public officials more accurately represented the disillusionment of the U.S. voter than the mainstream press. Editorials and commentators pointed to talk radio’s influence on the increasing incivility in U.S. society. Howard Stern continued to draw attention for his sexist and racist talk. Over the airwaves he regularly made fun of women, minorities, and disabled people. Toilet jokes and sex jokes continued to be regular fare on the Stern show in the 21st century.

Scholars began to study talk radio and its effects. In 1995 the Times Mirror Center for People and the Press challenged the view that talk radio listeners were ignorant and ill-informed. The research concluded that talk radio listeners paid close attention to the news and knew what was going on in the world. They were more likely to vote than the average American and were better educated, made more money, and were more focused on the issues than those who did not listen to talk radio. As an indication of its power, some supporters pointed to a three-way political race in Minnesota, where former wrestler turned radio talk host Jesse “The Body” Ventura was elected governor.

Randall Bloomquist, former news/talk editor of *Radio and Records* and a regular observer of the talk radio phenomenon, argues that its ability to influence political developments is heavily dependent on support from mainstream media. Talk show fans do not tune in to get their opinions changed. They listen to the hosts who affirm their personal and political beliefs. Bloomquist suggests that talk radio’s power is not in its influence on its own listeners, but in its ability to trigger national media coverage of an issue. That national coverage is what truly affects issues.

Radio market research indicates that the average listener tunes in to talk radio for an hour or less at a time. In 1998, according to the Radio Advertising Bureau, 42 percent of listeners were doing so in their automobiles, 37 percent listened at home, and 21 percent tuned in at work. Most listened to radios while doing something else. In large metropolitan areas, more and more people are commuting greater and greater distances. Those commuters are the perfect captive audience for talk radio. In 1999 national research conducted for *Talkers* magazine, an industry trade journal, indicated that 52 percent of the audience was male, 72 percent had some college education, and nearly 60 percent had an annual household income higher than \$50,000.

By the early 2000s, politics and “heavy” national issues were no longer the main focus of talk radio. Instead of the traditional older listener, radio stations were hustling to get

younger (18 to 44) listeners. Sports, sex, and lifestyle were the "in" topics, and the goal was entertainment. Howard Stern imitators were as evident as Limbaugh clones. Hot talk ("rock and roll without the music," as one radio insider put it) was shouldering political talk out of the way. The new version of talk, "sports talk/guy talk," targets younger listeners with cruder, ruder talk.

Listeners were also discovering the internet, and their computers allowed access to stations too far away to tune in on radio. A number of websites provide listings of radio stations by format. Although some are web versions of broadcast stations, others are internet-only stations. Choices range from traditional talk show hosts to a variety of information and entertainment targeted at specific audiences such as computer technology specialists, lawyers, and entrepreneurs.

SANDRA L. ELLIS AND ED SHANE

See also All News Radio; All Night Radio; Canadian Talk Radio; Coughlin, Father Charles; Fairness Doctrine; Fresh Air; Godfrey, Arthur; Internet Radio; Jepko, Herb; King, Larry; Limbaugh, Rush; McNeill, Don; Pyne, Joe; Shepherd, Jean; Shock Jocks; Stern, Howard; Topless Radio; Williams, Jerry; Winchell, Walter; WOR

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Taylor, Deems 1885–1966

U.S. Radio Commentator, Author, and Critic

Deems Taylor is perhaps best remembered as the narrator of Walt Disney's 1940 film *Fantasia*, the goal of which was to bring classical music to life by pairing it with animation to make it more accessible to the audience. When viewed in this light, Taylor was the perfect choice for the project. An unabashed populist, he was the composer of the first truly successful American opera; he was also a highly regarded radio commentator, author, and critic. Well known for his intermission talks during broadcasts of *The New York Philharmonic* on CBS, he was second only to Walter Damrosch as an advocate of music for all, not just an intellectual or economic elite.

Making a Name

A native of New York City, Taylor was born in 1885. Musically, he was largely self-taught, writing his first composition (a waltz) at the age of 10. He attended the Ethical Culture School of New York and went on to New York University (NYU), from which he graduated in 1906. While at NYU, Taylor honed his skills as a composer by writing Grand Opera parodies, as well as the music to four campus shows. The first of his works to garner serious attention was the prize-winning symphonic poem *The Siren Song* in 1913. *Witch Woman*, his first published work, appeared the following year.

True musical success being some years ahead, Taylor pursued an editorial career. A series of positions, including a stint with *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, led to his appointment as the Sunday Editor of *The New York Herald Tribune*. In 1916 he went overseas as a war correspondent for the paper, returning to the U.S. the following year. He later served as editor of *Musical America*, and was music critic of *The New York World*, *The New York American*, and *McCall's* magazine.

The war led, at least indirectly, to Taylor's first major success. Trying to transfer his wartime experiences into music, he proposed writing a series of "War Sketches." Finding the events still too fresh "to interpret into music," he turned his thoughts to a subject as far removed from the grim realities of war as possible. The result was a suite based on the works of a favorite author since childhood, Lewis Carroll. *Through the Looking Glass* is the most frequently performed of Taylor's works.

On the strength of this success, Taylor was approached by the Metropolitan Opera to compose a "successful American Opera." After convincing poet Edna St. Vincent Millay to write the libretto, Taylor set to work. The result was *The King's Henchman*, which opened at the Met in 1927 and played for the next three years—then a record for an American work.

Radio

It was the popularity of this opera that launched Taylor's radio career. *The King's Henchman* was chosen for the inaugural evening's broadcast on 18 September 1927 of what was then called the Columbia Phonograph Broadcasting System (later CBS). Taylor provided the narration and commentary.

His second opera for the Met, *Peter Ibbetson*, debuted in 1931. An even larger success than his first, it brought him to the attention of the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), who engaged him to do commentary on its broadcasts of the Metropolitan Opera. His efforts were not well received, however. Still a radio neophyte, Taylor made the mistake of delivering his observations over the music. A storm of protest from opera purists led to his rapid ouster. He rebounded with his own program (briefly), and soon secured a spot on the popular *Kraft Music Hall*, then featuring Paul Whiteman and his Orchestra. Eventually a long-term assignment doing commentary for broadcasts of the New York Philharmonic on CBS brought him back to the classical arena. This time, he did not talk over the music.

In retrospect, the time was right for someone like Taylor. Both CBS and NBC's commitment to music was strong, and classical and light classical fare was an important part of the mix. The networks had their own symphony orchestras for most of the radio era, and big band, swing, sweet music, and jazz were all well represented on the dial. Taylor was an established composer with a strong journalism background, an acknowledged expert on things musical. He was articulate and possessed a dry wit. He looked the part of a musical scholar, and more importantly for radio, he sounded the part as well.

As a result, Taylor was in fairly constant demand throughout the peak years of network radio. He was a regular on many programs and a frequent guest on others. An inveterate replacement panelist on the erudite quiz show *Information, Please*, he appeared more than 40 times on the program during the 1940s. He even turned up on the comedy *Duffy's Tavern*, showing his willingness to poke fun at his "longhair" image in the process.

Taylor was the author or editor of a number of books, including three works of musical musings based largely upon his radio commentaries; *Of Men and Music*, *The Well Tempered Listener*, and *Music to My Ears*. Despite his accomplishments as an author and radio personality, however, he remained at heart a composer, viewing his other activities as merely a means to an end. "For many years," he said towards



Deems Taylor hosting a music program
Courtesy CBS Photo Archive

the end of his life, "I, the composer, have been supported by me, doing other things." He eventually wrote over 50 musical compositions.

A member of the Institute of Arts and Letters, Taylor was also a long-time Board member of the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers, serving as President from 1942–48. Each year since 1967, ASCAP has presented the "ASCAP-Deems Taylor Awards," honoring the best in print, broadcast, and now internet coverage of music. Deems Taylor died in 1966, at the age of 80.

CHUCK HOWELL AND DOUGLAS GOMERY

Joseph Deems Taylor. Born in New York City, 22 December 1885. Bachelor of Arts degree, New York University, 1906. Staff member, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1907; his symphonic composition, *Siren Song*, won prize, National Federation of Music Clubs, 1913; first published work, *Witch Woman*, appeared in 1914; assistant editor, *New York Tribune Sunday*

Magazine, 1916; war correspondent, *New York Tribune*, 1916–17; music critic, *New York World*, 1921–25; wrote music for Broadway, 1922–24; *Through the Looking Glass Suite* debut, 1922; commissioned by Metropolitan Opera to write a "successful American Opera," 1925; editor, *Musical America*, 1927–29; the opera, *The King's Henchman*, opened at the Metropolitan Opera, 1927; critic, *New York American*, 1931–32; made radio debut as commentator, 1931; noted for having more Metropolitan Opera performances than any other American composer; member, Board of Directors of ASCAP, 1933–66; narrator and musical advisor for the Walt Disney film *Fantasia*, 1940; president, American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers (ASCAP), 1942–48; honored by ASCAP with the establishment of the ASCAP-Deems Taylor Award for meritorious writing about music and musicians, 1967. Recipient: honorary doctorates, New York University, 1927; University of Rochester, 1939; Dartmouth College, 1939; Cincinnati Conservatory, 1941; Syracuse University, 1944. Died in New York City, 3 July 1966.

Radio Series

- 1931-32 *The Metropolitan Opera*
 1933-35 *The Kraft Music Hall*
 1934-35 *The Opera Guild*
 1935-36 *Studio Party*
 1936-43 *The New York Philharmonic Orchestra*
 1937-39 *Paul Whiteman Band Remote*
 1938-48 *Information Please*
 1940-41 *Musical Americana*
 1941-42 *America Preferred*
 1941-44 *The Prudential Family Hour*
 1943-46 *The Radio Hall of Fame*

Selected Operas

The King's Henchman, 1927; *Peter Ibbetson*, 1931

Selected Publications

Of Men and Music, 1937

Walt Disney's Fantasia, 1940

The Well Tempered Listener, 1940

Music to My Ears, 1949

Some Enchanted Evenings: The Story of Rodgers and Hammerstein, 1953

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Taylor, Marlin R. 1935-

U.S. Music Programmer

Marlin Taylor once said, "My personal and professional goal was always to bring joy to others through what I could provide them in the way of musical entertainment." Taylor pioneered the "Good Music" format that was later popularized as "Beautiful Music."

At radio station WDVR in Philadelphia, Taylor built his Good Music format on his judgment of what songs and arrangements the station would play. Taylor said then, "The music selection is very much mine. No one really influences what I program." WDVR quickly began to achieve higher ratings and notice by the industry at large.

The sound was string-orchestra based and selections ranged from light classical melodies to the "Banjo Barrons Play Hawaiian Melodies." Taylor introduced heavy use of instrumental recordings of the most popular songs of the day, with artists such as Percy Faith, Mantovani, Bert Kaempfert, and Billy Vaughn. Very few vocals were incorporated into the music mix; only groups such as the Norman Luboff Choir and the Ray Conniff Singers were chosen. The concept of playing instrumental versions of popular songs was unique to the Taylor format and would be incorporated by programmers following him, including Jim Schulke. Taylor gives great credit to the

use of instrumental records of popular songs for the format's ratings success, particularly among women.

The success of WDVR led Taylor to the Boston radio market, and in 1967 he was named program director of the Kaiser-owned station WJIB. At WJIB Taylor established a relationship with Bob Richer and Jim Schulke, who had formed a sales representative firm called Quality Media Inc. (QMI). The singular purpose of the company was to market Good Music stations to national advertisers. Schulke requested Taylor's help in setting the parameters for a new syndicated music service that QMI was establishing. Phil Stout, who later became the programmer for Schulke Radio Productions Beautiful Music format, was first hired by Taylor at WDVR and was recommended to Schulke and Richer as their programmer.

In 1969 Bonneville Broadcasting hired Taylor as the general manager of WRFM in New York City. In the summer of 1969 Taylor began programming music "bonus hours," which later became "total music hours." No public reference was ever made that the hours were commercial-free for fear of alienating advertisers. This concept was expanded to the Christmas season with the Christmas Festival of Music consisting of 36

hours of continuous holiday music on Christmas Eve and Christmas day.

Both in terms of ratings and profits, WRFM became a huge success. Because it was located in the nation's advertising capital, the station had an enormous pioneering impact on advertiser awareness of the success of the format. WRFM played a major role in overcoming a perception that Beautiful Music stations were playing "elevator" music that was not an attractive advertiser investment.

By the end of 1970, Bonneville recognized that Taylor could develop a company that could syndicate the WRFM format nationally. Bonneville Programming Services was formed, with its first client Bonneville-owned WCLR in Skokie (outside of Chicago), Illinois. The initial success of Beautiful Music led the company into several other formats, including Adult Contemporary and Bonneville Rock.

Bonneville Programming Services offered a unique twist to its Beautiful Music format, which was another Marlin Taylor innovation. The format was offered to broadcasters in two forms. The first was the traditional matched flow format, in which each quarter hour segment was packaged. A second option offered stations was a "random select" format based on single cuts that could be customized to individual markets and times of day. With the development of more sophisticated station automated systems, the random select service became much sought after, particularly in the most competitive markets. This concept was utilized by nearly all syndicated contemporary formats.

Bonneville Programming Services grew to serve stations in over 150 markets, and in the 1970s and 1980s was the chief head-to-head competitor with Schulke Radio Productions. Bonneville later bought Schulke Radio Productions from Cox Broadcasting. Taylor expanded Bonneville Programming Services to include marketing, research, and management consulting to its client stations.

After 18 years, Taylor left Bonneville at the end of 1987. He subsequently worked on a number of programs, wrote articles for industry publications, and packaged and distributed recordings of Beautiful Music under the Surry House Music label. In 2000, Taylor returned to the industry full time as a Program Director for XM Satellite Radio.

GORDON H. HASTINGS

See also Easy Listening/Beautiful Music Format

Marlin R. Taylor. Born in Abington, Pennsylvania, 26 August 1935. Worked at Armed Forces Radio in Thule, Greenland, June 1959–April 1960. Attended Army Information School, Ft. Slocum, New York, 1960. Developed Good Music (Beautiful Music) format at WDVR, Philadelphia; moved to WJIB, Boston, 1967; moved to WRFM, New York, 1969; began association with Bonneville Programming Services, 1970–87; Program Director for XM Satellite Radio, beginning in 2000.

Technical Organizations

Organizing Radio's Engineers

Four types of technical organizations have emerged during radio's development in the U.S. The first were professional organizations for engineers. The second helped to assemble amateur radio operators and were organized in the early years of radio. The third were company-specific employee organizations begun to counter independent unionization by their radio employees. And the fourth were independent labor unions for radio's engineers and related technicians.

Professional Organizations

Perhaps the most important organizations were those started by leading scientists, electrical engineers, and business leaders

to advance the scientific study of radio. These have gone through several iterations but have consistently included the key figures and provided the most important publications.

American Institute of Electrical Engineers

On 13 May 1884, a group of scientists, inventors, and electrical engineers, which included Thomas Alva Edison, Alexander Graham Bell, and Norvin Green, president of the Western Union Telegraph Company, organized the American Institute of Electrical Engineers (AIEE). Spurred in part by an International Electrical Exhibition in 1884, the new AIEE included inventors, entrepreneurs, telegraph operators, and company

managers. Technical publications (eventually *Electrical Engineering*), an annual meeting, and even a museum were contemplated. The AIEE changed as the industry became dominated by large manufacturing and service companies that employed “electricians.” Creation of research laboratories added more members. AIEE also became centrally involved in the development of technical standards, allowing one company’s device to work with another’s. And it helped to promote professional standards. But the AIEE became increasingly focused on power engineering, leaving an opening for a new group focused on wireless and radio.

Society of Wireless Telegraph Engineers

The Society of Wireless Telegraph Engineers (SWTE) was started in 1907 by the head of the Stone Wireless Telegraph Company, John Stone Stone [sic]. In the first years, Stone limited membership in the SWTE to only the employees in his small Boston-based company, although he later permitted the rolls to be opened to the employees of Reginald Fessenden’s National Electrical Signaling Company (NESCO) and other companies.

The Wireless Institute

The Wireless Institute (WI), a rival organization to the SWTE, began in 1909 when Robert Marriott organized about 100 wireless U.S. devotees in the United States. Three years later, however, WI membership dropped to 27 members and was teetering on collapse.

Institute of Radio Engineers

The SWTE and Marriott’s WI merged on 5 April 1912 and agreed to name the new organization the Institute of Radio Engineers (IRE). The new organization became more international in scope, thus excluding the word “American” in its name. The IRE focused on extending the use of radio to protect and save lives at sea. Because of its ubiquitous nature, radio soon became a tool of war and many IRE members joined the effort as military needs meshed with rapid technical development. By 1916 there were 83 members in the IRE from 11 other countries besides the United States.

In addition to its prestigious monthly, *Proceedings of the IRE*, the IRE focused on improving technical standards as the international radio industry grew into a new economic sector. During the 1920s, the IRE synchronized its scientific and electronic research work with the National Electrical Manufacturers Association and the Radio Manufacturers Association. The IRE also assumed a leadership role as a trade representative for its members of U.S. radio manufacturers and broadcasters such as the Radio Corporation of America

(RCA), American Telephone & Telegraph (ATT), and General Electric (GE).

Working for scientific progress and technological insight, the IRE lobbied for a major role in deciding how U.S. radio broadcasting would be regulated. The IRE was invited to participate in a series of National Radio Conferences between 1922 and 1925 that were organized by Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover to develop policies concerning station licensing and technology. These four meetings eventually led to Congress passing the Radio Act of 1927.

After World War II, the IRE focused on the developing technologies of television, FM radio, audio recording, and developing standards of excellence in engineering practice. The society delineated its membership along two specialties of interest: broadcast engineers and audio. With the rise of electronic technologies being used by the U.S. military during World War II, the IRE broadened its interest groups with radar, computers, television, solid-state electronics, and space exploration. By 1947, there were nearly 18,000 IRE members.

Institute of Electrical and Electronic Engineers

In January 1963, the AIEE and the IRE merged and formed the Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers (IEEE). As of the early 2000s, the IEEE remained the largest professional society in the world with more than a quarter of a million members.

The IEEE quickly expanded to include virtually all arms of electronics as shown by its steadily growing number of specialized technical journals, plus the general appeal *IEEE Spectrum*. Building on the IRE model, the IEEE developed dozens of professional divisions—called societies—each of which held their own meetings and issued their own publications. Among those of particular interest are the societies concerning broadcast technology, consumer electronics, and the society on social implications of technology. A history center was created in 1980.

Society of Broadcast Engineers

Not everyone was pleased with the AIEE-IRE merger, and the Society of Broadcast Engineers (SBE) was one dissident spin-off created at the same time to allow a focus on broadcasting. The SBE’s international membership soon covered a broad scope of industry employees: studio and transmitter operators and technicians, supervisors, announcer-technicians, chief engineers of commercial and educational stations, engineering vice presidents, consultants, field and sales engineers, broadcast engineers from recording studios, schools, closed-circuit systems, cable TV, production houses, corporate audio-visual departments, and other facilities. The SBE began in 1977 to certify broadcast engineers in several categories, including the

Certified Broadcast Radio Engineer (CBRE) and Certified Senior Radio Engineer (CSRE). These certifications are renewed every five years. More than 100 local chapters meet regularly. As with other technical bodies, the SBE holds an annual meeting, issues publications, and holds training courses and workshops.

Amateur Radio Groups

To further the developing “ham” hobby, amateur radio clubs began to proliferate early in the 20th century.

The Wireless Club of America

The Wireless Club of America was begun in 1910 by Hugo Gernsback, a Luxembourg immigrant to the U.S. Sometimes referred to as the father of science fiction, Gernsback was an early wireless enthusiast who saw the potential in marketing wireless units to the general public while creating a market for the new technology of amateur radio. By 1912, the *New York Times* reported that there were some 12,000 amateur radio operators in the U.S. and some 122 radio clubs. Most of the meetings for these clubs took place over the air. Message handling, where one operator or groups of operators would relay messages and information to others, became a central feature of amateur wireless clubs. While these exchanges were most often for fun and fraternal reasons, they were sometimes needed to protect or inform others in public emergencies.

American Radio Relay League

In 1914, Hiram Percy Maxim, a Boston radio enthusiast, contacted others through his Hartford Radio Club and offered to set up a network of relay stations comprised of amateur radio operators. Calling the new network the American Radio Relay League (ARRL), Maxim tapped into the unrealized dreams of many in the field at the time. Within some four months, the League boasted 200 relay stations in the U.S. alone. The ARRL asked the Commerce Department to establish a special license for stations in order to make up a national relay network of stations. Maxim, the ARRL’s visionary leader and an MIT graduate, set up a sophisticated system that would serve the nation in the event of war. When the U.S. entered World War I in 1917, amateur radio stations were ordered to close down. At the same time, the military began a full-blown recruitment effort to attract some 6,700 radio operators (many of whom began as amateurs) to the U.S. navy. Instead of being outside of the mainstream, amateur wireless operators became part of the system. After the war, the amateurs were intent upon getting back to where they left off when the war started. By 1921, the

Commerce Department listed some 11,000 amateur radio operators in the U.S.

Amateurs were forced off the air again during World War II (1941–45), making ARRL an important means of keeping the hobby alive for what became strong postwar growth. Today ARRL thrives with meetings, the monthly *QST*, the annual amateur operators’ handbook, and a host of other publications. In addition to the ARRL, more regional groups developed. Among them was the Radio Club of America (RCA—*not* to be confused with the former manufacturing company), a New York area group that enjoyed the participation of such key radio figures as Edwin Howard Armstrong, among others.

Technical Unions

The first attempts to organize radio technicians and engineers (often called the “below-the-line” employees to distinguish them from the “above-the-line” creative personnel) occurred in the 1920s. By the 1940s two national labor unions, one devoted to broadcasting, had between them organized most of radio’s technical workers. They sought to overcome the relatively low pay and sometimes poor working conditions of workers. Broadcast employees often had to work split shifts, with no pay or time off for holidays, and no overtime pay. The typical wage was about \$20.00 per week—\$40.00 was big money in the 1930s. The same two unions—The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the Association of Technical Employees—dominate the radio scene today.

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers

The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) was formed in 1891 out of several earlier attempts to organize those involved with electrical wiring and manufacturing. IBEW was behind what was probably the first labor strike in radio, in late 1925 at KMOX in St. Louis, Missouri. Concerned with wages and working conditions—the universal labor issues—the strike led to the union’s recognition as the bargaining agent for KMOX technicians. In 1931, KMOX became a CBS owned-and-operated station that spread the IBEW idea to others at the network. IBEW also organized stations in Chicago and in Birmingham, Alabama. In 1939, the union hit the big-time when it successfully organized the technical employees at CBS. As it made plans to create more broadcast-centered locals on a national basis, however, IBEW increasingly came up against the National Association of Broadcast Engineers and Technicians (see below) in jurisdictional disagreements. In 1951 IBEW organized its broadcasting and recording members into a separate department, though they continued to represent but a tiny part of the larger union.

Association of Technical Employees

In 1933 some 300 employees at NBC formed the Association of Technical Employees (ATE) to represent themselves with the network. A year later they signed their first contract with NBC. This contract set a wage scale of \$175.00 per month, rising to \$260.00 after nine years' service. The work week was determined to be 48 hours. ATE was the first organization created exclusively to represent radio employees. By 1937 the ATE contract spelled out their jurisdiction, and the first independent (non-network) station joined the unit. A union shop clause came two years later.

National Association of Broadcast Engineers and Technicians

ATE became the National Association of Broadcast Engineers and Technicians (NABET) in 1940. Contracts negotiated the next year set the first eight-hour day. Some 23 small stations were also under NABET contracts. When NBC-Blue split off in 1943 (becoming ABC in 1945), NABET contracts carried over, giving the union two of the major radio networks. Seeking some organizational strength and thus organizing clout, NABET affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) in 1951, and changed its name to National Association of Broadcast *Employees* and Technicians, thus retaining the same acronym.

Recent Union Trends

The coming of television in the late 1940s, and later cable television, dramatically increased employment in the electronic media industries—and thus organizing opportunities as well as jurisdictional battles among the unions involved. One union, the International Alliance of Theatrical and State Employees (IATSE), never organized radio workers, building from its 1893 theater and later film bases to expand into television. But both the IBEW and NABET also grew into television, thus precipitating a host of jurisdictional disputes in the 1950s and 1960s, some resolved with strikes and others with arbitration.

The degree of unionization in radio varies greatly by market and region of the country. Union agreements are far more likely at the network level, in large markets, and in the Northeast and West Coast, as well as major Midwest cities. Smaller markets and stations tend not to be subject to union agreements. Recent mergers in the radio business, with huge numbers of stations coming under common control (including multiple stations in the same market) have not thus far had union implications. On the other hand, greater use of automation has trimmed employment ranks as has such FCC deregulation

as no longer requiring licensed engineers to supervise radio transmitter operations.

In the constant search for new members and bargaining units, each union emphasizes what it has gained for its rank and file. NABET, for example, listed its accomplishments by the 1990s as the wide-spread acceptance of the union shop, a seven-hour day and 35-hour week, paid vacation and statutory holidays, lay-off and rehiring on a seniority basis, differential pay for night work, discharge only for just and sufficient cause, established grievance procedures (including arbitration), contract provisions covering increased automation, and pension plans. IBEW could make similar claims.

In 1993, NABET sought organizational support with the Communication Workers of America (CWA), heretofore a union of telephone workers, although it had also organized many cable television workers. After a one-year test run in 1993, the two merged into what became the NABET-CWA.

DENNIS W. MAZZOCCO AND CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also American Federation of Musicians; American Federation of Television and Radio Artists; Ham Radio; KMOX; Trade Associations; WCFL

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Telecommunications Act of 1996

Changing Radio's Licensing and Ownership Rules

In February 1996 President Bill Clinton signed the Telecommunications Act into law, the result of two decades of industry and congressional effort to update government regulation of the industry. Cast as amendments to the benchmark Communications Act of 1934, the complex 1996 law wrought important changes in the radio industry as a fairly small part of a law primarily addressed to substantial policy change in the telephone business. Provisions of the law contributed to substantial consolidation of station ownership while at the same time furthering the aims of deregulation.

Origins

The 1934 Communications Act has often been amended in the decades since its passage. Important revisions were enacted every few years as regulated industries changed and expanded. Attempts to replace the law (especially a series of draft "rewrite" proposals from 1976 to 1981) failed to pass, however, because they tried to do too much at one time. The more focused public broadcasting act of 1967 and the cable acts of 1984 and 1992 are examples of more industry-specific legislation that did successfully amend the 1934 law.

Development of what became the 1996 amendments took several years. The issues involved were complex as Congress considered substantial deregulation of and other changes in traditional regulatory approaches to the telephone and electronic media industries. Growing digital convergence among all electronic communications services forced a rethinking of long-accepted regulatory assumptions. At the same time, largely defensive industry positions amidst rapid technical change were deeply entrenched, making compromise difficult (it is nearly always easier to stop legislative progress than to maintain its momentum). Moreover, a continuing trend toward less governmental and more marketplace control was

changing the way Congress perceived the telecommunications sector.

For broadcast deregulation was not new. The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) had begun cautious moves in this direction in the mid-1970s, and they accelerated during the Reagan administration in the 1980s. To deregulate radio broadcasting, for example, the FCC lifted a number of "behavioral" regulations (such as guidelines encouraging at least minimal non-entertainment programming) in the early 1980s. Over the next decade, the commission also loosened its "structural" regulation by slowly increasing the number of radio stations any single entity could own from seven AM and seven FM stations (the longtime national limit) to 12 of each type in 1985, raised to 18 in 1992, and 20 by 1994. In an even more basic change, in 1992 the FCC removed a longtime restriction by allowing any entity to own more than one AM or FM station in the same market.

The first potential bills were considered by Congress, then under Democratic control, in the early 1990s, although none of them progressed far. Dramatic changes in telephone industry policy were at the core of each bill; electronic media provisions were relatively minor parts of the proposed legislation. Republican takeover of both houses of Congress in the 1994 elections delayed progress briefly as the longtime opposition party learned how to run things and trained a new cadre of staffers and members in the intricacies of the telecommunications field.

Finally, in the fall of 1995, both houses passed substantial telecommunications deregulation bills, albeit with the differences usually found in the legislative process in which each house acts independently of the other. A conference committee worked for many weeks and early in 1996 produced the compromise bill passed by both houses on the first day of February 1996. The president signed the bill a week later.

Radio Licenses

The new legislation had four important effects on the radio business, two concerning station ownership, and two focused on licensing. Reasoning that with nearly 13,000 radio stations on the air old restrictions (established when less than 10 percent of that number existed) could now be eliminated, Congress opted to free the marketplace. Provisions in the 1996 law (a) dropped limits on the number of radio stations that could be owned nationally; (b) increased the local market stations that could be owned by a single entity; (c) lengthened station licenses; and (d) eliminated competitive applications at license renewal time.

The license term change was relatively minor: Section 307 (c) of the 1934 law was changed to extend radio licenses from seven to eight years (until 1981 licenses for radio or television had run for only three years). But the end of potential competitive applications may have more far-reaching impact. Acting on a long-existing industry desire for license “renewal expectancy,” the 1996 law added a new subsection (k) to Section 309 of the Communications Act to make clear that existing station licenses will be renewed unless the FCC finds important and continuing transgressions of its rules and regulations to have occurred. Even in such a situation, the commission retains the discretion to renew or deny a license. But the law also forbids the FCC from considering a rival application during a license renewal proceeding—until and unless it has first decided that the existing license must be terminated. Given the FCC’s track record over seven decades of license renewals, such terminations are very unlikely. While only a tiny fraction of one percent of all stations were denied renewals under the old rules, the new law makes license renewal virtually automatic in the future.

Station Ownership

Statutory changes governing radio station ownership were more dramatic, as the initial years of station trading after passage of the 1996 law have shown. Stations may now be bought and sold or traded much as with any other business, although the FCC retains the right to approve each new licensee. The 1996 law directed the FCC to eliminate its national cap on radio station ownership (then standing at no more than 20 AM and 20 FM). Any company could now own as many stations as money would allow. Within a month of the law’s passage, two radio station groups were approaching 50 stations each—by the end of the year the first group exceeded 100 stations. From there the pace of station buying and selling increased and station prices soared. By early in the 21st century, the largest radio group owner controlled more than 1,200 outlets, by which time 40 percent of all radio stations had changed ownership since 1996.

The market-level situation was more complex. The 1996 law allows a single owner to control up to eight stations in any of the largest markets (more than the *national* cap before 1985) as long as no one owner controls more than half the stations in a given market. The table provides the specific new limits, and the law allows for even these to be exceeded if such an action “will result in an increase in the number of radio broadcast stations in operation,” although just how that might work in practice is not yet clear.

To further complicate matters, in August 1996 the U.S. Department of Justice’s Antitrust Division announced that no single market radio owner would be allowed to control more than half of that market’s radio advertising revenue. A few group owners had to divest themselves of one or more stations to comply.

<i>In a market with this many radio stations:</i>	<i>A single entity can control up to this many commercial stations:</i>
45 or more	Up to 8, no more than 5 in the same service (AM or FM)
30-44	Up to 7, no more than 4 in the same service
15-29	Up to 6, no more than 4 in the same service
14 or fewer	Up to 5, no more than 3 in the same service

Impact on Radio

Although many policymakers have cited its positive effects, such as eliminating outdated rules, encouraging innovation and development of new technology, and encouraging a more competitive environment, the 1996 law has had negative implications as well. For example, in some smaller markets, only two companies may end up owning all the available stations. The overall number of different radio station owners in the country declined by 30 percent in seven years, from the passage of the act to early 2003.

The Telecommunications Act has also allowed owners of multiple stations to operate multiple outlets with the same personnel (often with voice tracking technology), programming, and administration. Critics argue that such practices can also lead to more music homogenization and fewer different “voices” (points of view) being heard over the air. Major group owners now significantly control multiple local radio markets and can largely dictate the terms of advertising. CBS, for example, quickly expanded to control 40 percent of all radio revenue in Boston, Chicago, New York, and Philadelphia. At the same time, station ownership by ethnic minorities

declined as radio station prices rose and groups expanded. Among FM stations, for example, minority-owned stations declined from 127 to 100 in just the first year after the 1996 law was passed.

When Congress passed the 1996 law, many proponents hailed it as an opportunity to create a pro-competitive, deregulatory national framework, as well as more industry employment. Then FCC Chairman William Kennard predicted that the 1996 Act would hasten "the transition to a competitive communications marketplace." Commissioner Susan Ness concluded that the main goals of the 1996 amendments were to promote competition, reduce regulation, and encourage rapid deployment of new telecommunication technologies.

On the other hand, commissioner Gloria Tristani later pointed out the dramatic and potentially negative impacts on radio station ownership and operations programming since passage of the Telecommunications Act. Tristani noted that group ownership reduces the number of different and competing voices and opinions heard on local radio stations. More recently, commissioner Michael Copps expressed concern that local radio markets had become oligopolies where programming originated outside the local station "far from listeners and their communities." Even FCC Chairman Michael Powell agreed that the consolidation of radio station ownership "concerned" him. The growing number of group-owned radio stations, of course, mirrors a similar trend in chain-ownership of newspapers, television stations, and cable systems. Many of the conglomerates buying radio stations also own other media.

Although proponents of the Telecommunications Act of 1996 still trumpet its successes, the law was subject to years of substantial litigation and has yet to achieve all of its goals. As with other deregulatory legislation, the 1996 amendments have tended to place business interests ahead of those of the listening public. A growing number of critics (some of them in

Congress, others in the radio business) have argued that consolidation allowed by the 1996 law is at the heart of radio's declining audience appeal as more stations sound increasingly alike.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Clear Channel Communications; Communications Act of 1934; Deregulation of Radio; Federal Communications Commission; Licensing; Ownership, Mergers, and Acquisitions; U.S. Congress and Radio

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Television Depictions of Radio

Fictional Portrayals in American Series

Television's eclipse of radio as the dominant mass medium of entertainment in the decade following World War II was propelled in large measure by the transformation of radio shows into video versions. More than 200 radio programs moved to television, including *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*, *Truth or Consequences*, *The Lone Ranger*, *Your Hit Parade*, *Suspense*, *Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts*, and *Studio One*.

Several comedians who had achieved enormous popularity on radio, such as Jack Benny, George Burns and Gracie Allen, Red Skelton, and Bob Hope, found similar success with their television series.

By the late 1950s, both the radio industry and American life had been profoundly altered by the rise of television. Big-budget network radio shows that appealed to the whole family

had given way to cheaply produced local disc jockey programs catering to specialized audiences. Teenagers were an especially attractive market segment as the sale of transistor radios boomed and the age of rock and roll arrived.

The nostalgia many older Americans felt for the glory days of network radio in the 1930s and 1940s was inspiration for a March 1961 episode of *The Twilight Zone* entitled "Static." An elderly bachelor living in a boardinghouse retrieves his elegant radio console, circa 1935, from the basement. When he's alone in his room, he hears programs from the past. Fearing for his sanity, his former fiancée gives the radio to a junk dealer. Infuriated by her meddling, he gets the radio back and is relieved to find that it still works. When he calls the disbelieving woman to his room to hear for herself, she appears as she did in 1940 as his young sweetheart. He too has become a young man. The radio, a magic machine, sent them back in time and gave the couple a second chance.

But there was no return for the radio industry to its earlier splendor. It adapted to the modern era and itself became grist for TV's storytelling mill. Since the late 1960s a number of television series have had main characters who work in radio stations. *Good Morning, World*, for instance, was a 1967 Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) situation comedy about a team of early-morning drive-time disc jockeys, Lewis and Clarke, who worked for an overbearing boss at a small station in Los Angeles.

WKRP in Cincinnati

A thoroughly realistic depiction of any occupation or workplace on television is limited by the narrative conventions of drama and comedy. But the spirit and flavor of a profession can be vividly conveyed. The series *WKRP in Cincinnati*, which ran on CBS for four seasons beginning in September 1978, was a show that earned high marks among radio industry insiders for its authentic ambience. *WKRP* creator, executive producer, and head writer Hugh Wilson received many letters complimenting the show's realism.

The show was, in fact, based on a real station—Atlanta's WQXI, a successful AM/FM combination with a rock format. In the early 1970s, Hugh Wilson, who was working in advertising in Georgia's capital city, met WQXI salesman Clark Brown at Harrison's, a bar that catered to the media crowd. Through Brown, Wilson was introduced to a number of people who worked in Atlanta radio. In 1977 these friendships proved valuable as a source of inspiration when the vice president for comedy development at CBS gave Wilson the go-ahead to write a pilot for a situation comedy about a radio station.

The premise of *WKRP in Cincinnati* was that the station, a ratings loser with an "elevator music" format, would change to rock and roll. A new young program director, Andy Travis, was brought on board to implement the switch, which alien-

ated some longtime sponsors, such as Barry's Fashions for the Short and Portly.

The other employees of Arthur Carlson, the inept station manager whose mother owned WKRP, were Jennifer Marlowe, a brainy bombshell receptionist; Les Nessman, the naive, conspiracy theorist news director; Herb Tarlek, a salesman with a penchant for wearing white shoes and white belts; Bailey Quarters, Andy's shy assistant; and two disc jockeys—the burned-out hip cat, Dr. Johnny Fever, and the jive-talking sartorial sensation, Venus Flytrap.

Although the focus of *WKRP in Cincinnati* was character development, not the illumination of issues in the radio industry, viewers were introduced to the tribulations that came with the competitive territory. The show's theme song alluded to the uncertain lives of on-air talent and radio managers with a reference to "packing and unpacking up and down the dial." Throughout the 90 episodes, the WKRP staff was faced with many legal, ethical, and business matters that reflected the reality of local radio, including the dwindling length of playlists, the anxiety over the arrival of Arbitron ratings books, the use of programming consultants, the emergence of computer-operated radio stations, and the protests of disaffected listeners.

TV's Talk Radio

Another series of the late 1970s having a radio theme was *Hello, Larry*, a major disappointment for the National Broadcasting Company (NBC). It was hoped that the star power of McLean Stevenson, who had played Lt. Col. Henry Blake in *M*A*S*H* for three seasons, would ensure the success of the show. But viewers did not warm to the series about radio talk show host Larry Alder, who moved from Los Angeles to Portland, Oregon, after a divorce in which he gained custody of two teenaged daughters. Working with him on his phone-in show at KLOW were a female producer and an obese engineer. Even a crossover stunt with the popular lead-in series *Diff'rent Strokes*, in which Larry's old Army buddy Phillip Drummond buys the radio station, couldn't generate audience interest.

By the late 1980s, talk radio had become a growth format, and the hour-long dramatic series *Midnight Caller*, which debuted on NBC in October 1988, tapped into the trend. The lead character, Jack Killian, was a San Francisco police detective who had quit the force in despair after he accidentally killed his partner in a shoot-out. His new career as "The Nighthawk," host of an all-night call-in show, allowed him not only to offer advice, but also to become involved in the investigation of crimes and corruption.

The title character of the Fox comedy series *Martin*, which began in 1992, was also a talk show host. He worked for Detroit radio station WZUP until the end of the second season, when the station was sold to a large radio group, the format was changed to country, and Martin was fired by the new

owner. Whether they realized it or not, viewers were getting a feel for the fruits of radio's deregulation.

Frasier

In September 1993, *Frasier*, an NBC spin-off of *Cheers*, introduced a radio-related character who would become one of the most popular in television history. Dr. Frasier Crane left his psychiatric practice in Boston, divorced his neurotic wife Lilith, and moved back to his hometown of Seattle, where his new job was hosting a radio advice show.

Unlike *WKRP in Cincinnati*, *Frasier* was not set principally in the workplace. Frasier's home—an ultramodern luxury apartment with a breathtaking view of the Seattle skyline—was just as often the scene of the action. But Frasier revels in his radio celebrity, and troubles at the station often overflow into his personal life. The heartless economics of radio in the 1990s created many complications for Frasier and his colleagues. Changes in management and a slavish adherence to the bottom line in station decision making are the only permanent features of their careers.

In a 1997 seminar at the Museum of Television and Radio, the executive producer of *Frasier*, Christopher Lloyd, acknowledged that faithful realism to the world of radio was not a consideration in the show's production: "We have people that we consult with that kind of help keep us in check as far as how legitimate things are that we do—you know, the buttons that they push and the carts they throw in and out are sort of like what would happen at a radio station. But beyond that, we don't hem ourselves in too much."

One memorable episode of *Frasier* that was based on an actual radio personality, however, took a swipe at Dr. Laura Schlessinger, whose syndicated daily talk show had become a phenomenon by the late 1990s. In the story, Dr. Nora joins the staff of KACL and begins to dispense harsh criticism and questionable advice to her troubled callers, such as calling a bisexual woman an equal-opportunity slut. But despite her rigidly moralistic approach, Dr. Nora in fact has a tarnished past—including two divorces, an affair with a married man, and estrangement from her mother—that renders her righteousness hollow.

Another 1999 episode of *Frasier* parodied the proliferation of crude shock jocks. KACL's new morning team, Carlos and the Chicken, sponsor a contest with a \$1,000 prize to the listener who sends in "the best picture of Frasier Crane's humongous ass for our website." Though Frasier laments the success of "so-called humorists who rely on cruel pranks and scatological references," he's warned by his friends and family not to confront the duo or he'll continue to be fodder for their gags. As it turns out, Carlos and the Chicken become victims of their own pettiness and thin skins when an argument over who is the funnier of the two breaks up the team.

Alternate Formats

In 1995 two comedy series with a radio backdrop appeared in prime time. *The George Wendt Show* on CBS was based on a popular program on National Public Radio, *Car Talk*, hosted by brothers Tom and Ray Magliozzi. In the short-lived TV series, unmarried brothers George and Dan Coleman cohosted the radio call-in show *Points and Plugs* from the office of their auto repair shop in Madison, Wisconsin. The more successful entry was NBC's *NewsRadio*, which was set at WNYX, an all-news station in New York City. The domineering and abrupt station owner, Jimmy James, hires yet another in a long succession of news directors. The latest news director (played by Dave Foley), young and energetic, leaves Wisconsin for his big break in a big market. In over his head, he also has to contend with the idiosyncratic personalities of his staff, especially the huge ego of on-air anchor Bill McNeal (played by Phil Hartman).

The cable network American Movie Classics presented an original comedy series, *Remember WENN*, beginning in 1996. The show, set in Pittsburgh during the early years of World War II, soon developed a fanatically loyal audience. In each episode the cast and crew of station WENN struggled to create hours of ambitious daily programming on a shoestring budget—and as a result, viewers were well-schooled not only in the vintage art of sound effects and the logistics of microphone performance, but also in the radio genres of the era.

The heroine of *Remember WENN* is Betty Roberts, who came to the station as the winner of a writing contest with the prize of an unpaid internship. When the station's sole writer is overcome by alcoholism, Betty steps into his job and rises gloriously to the task. The show is evocative of the screwball comedies of the 1930s and 1940s but also weaves in elements of engrossing drama. The overarching theme of *Remember WENN*'s four seasons is the sheer romance and unbridled excitement of the medium at its zenith.

Other series that revolved around the radio industry include *The Lucie Arnaz Show* (CBS, 1985); *Knight and Day* (NBC, 1989); *FM* (NBC, 1989); *Rhythm and Blues* (NBC, 1992); *Katie Joplin* (WB, 1999); and *Talk to Me* (ABC, 2000). Several made-for-television movies also depicted historical events and personalities in American radio, such as *The Night That Panicked America*, the story of the 1938 *War of the Worlds* broadcast, and biographies of Edward R. Murrow and Walter Winchell.

Radio in the Lives of Characters

In addition to television's bounty of direct portrayals of the radio industry, a vast amount of fictional TV programming has embedded in it a sense of the importance radio has always held in the daily lives of American listeners. Throughout the nine seasons of *The Waltons*, for instance, the family radio in the

living room was part and parcel of their existence and even served as a key plot element in several episodes. In "The Inferno," aspiring journalist John-Boy travels to Lakehurst, New Jersey, in May 1937 to cover the landing of the German zeppelin *Hindenburg*, the world's largest airship. When he returns to Walton's Mountain after the traumatic incident, there's no need to explain why he's mired in depression. "We heard about it on the Blue Network," says his younger brother Jason. The next day, his little sister Elizabeth makes reference to announcer Herbert Morrison's famous eyewitness account. The night of the disaster, NBC had broken its rigid rules against the broadcast of recordings and aired the dramatic on-the-scene transcription. "Sure sounded gruesome on the radio," says Elizabeth. "The announcer was crying."

As the Depression years gave way to the war years, the Walton's tabletop radio continued to connect them with the world. In the episode "Day of Infamy," Christmastime 1941 is approaching. Oldest daughter Mary Ellen is planning to go to Hawaii to join her husband Curt, a doctor drafted into the U.S. Medical Corps, when, like millions of other stunned Americans, she learns from the radio that the Japanese had bombed Pearl Harbor.

Brooklyn Bridge, a 1991 series set in 1956, presents radio as an essential element in postwar popular culture. The lead character, 14-year-old Alan Silver, and his 9-year-old brother Nate follow the Dodgers baseball games on the radio with religious devotion. In a 1963 episode of *Leave It to Beaver*, Wally explains to his mother June the redeeming social value of the transistor radio. After every ten records they give a news report. "Heck," says Wally, "that's how Lumpy found out about Cuba."

Whatever changes technology will impose on the production and delivery of television programming in the decades ahead, stories of the American experience will continue to include radio as a key player and a rich source of plots and conflicts. In a world seemingly dominated by images, radio remains the most resilient and ubiquitous mass medium. Radio's pervasiveness in modern life cannot be overlooked by storytellers hoping to create characters and situations that, even if impressionistic, ring true.

MARY ANN WATSON

See also Film Depictions of Radio; Situation Comedy

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Ten-Watt Stations

Educational FM Outlets

Ten-watt (Class D) FM stations were created in 1948 as an inexpensive way for noncommercial organizations to operate their own outlets and, at the same time, increase listener traffic on the slow-to-develop FM band. Although educational radio efforts had begun as early as 1930 with the formation of the National Committee on Education by Radio, early operations were limited to a few programs broadcast from commercial AM facilities. By 1936, however, more than three dozen stations licensed to educational entities had managed to get on the air and remain there. Even though these outlets

were not operating on frequencies especially reserved for their use, they did provide a service to limited areas of the country and kept the dream of educational radio alive. Consequently, when the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) authorized full-scale FM broadcasting to begin in 1941, five of the original 40 channels (42–50 megahertz) were reserved for the use of noncommercial educational institutions. Seven school systems and universities were granted FM noncommercial licenses before wartime priorities brought most FM activity to a halt in early 1942.

At the war's end the FCC moved the FM band to a higher (88–108 megahertz) and larger band of 100 channels. The first 20 of these (88.1–91.9 megahertz) were again specifically reserved for noncommercial broadcasters. Educators moved quickly to take advantage of this greatly expanded allocation. Their sense of urgency was heightened by the realization that the commercial networks were abandoning their sustaining (unsponsored and often educational or cultural) programming in search of postwar profits.

The cost of building an FM station, however, remained an insurmountable barrier to many educational institutions. In 1948, at the urging of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters, the FCC approved a new low-power category of FM station. These Class D outlets could broadcast at an effective radiated power of just ten watts and were under less stringent operational and licensing requirements than were larger stations. The policy aim was to create a participatory broadcasting entity with low construction and operating costs that would make it affordable to educational institutions of all sizes.

Ten-watt stations were all to be allotted to the first and lowest channel (88.1 megahertz) on the FM band. Because the audio portion of television channel 6 ends at 88 megahertz, this meant that, by using the fine tuner on their new TV sets, consumers could pull in the signal from their neighborhood Class D radio stations without having to invest in FM radio receivers. If 88.1 had already been spoken for in its locale, a ten-watt applicant was free to request any higher available frequency within the educational band. Although Class D signals seldom carried more than four or five miles unless a more expensive high-gain antenna was deployed, school superintendents and college administrators saw these new audio vehicles as valuable community relations tools.

A typical example was WNAS in New Albany, Indiana, which went on the air in 1949. As chronicled in the high-school oriented *Senior Scholastic* magazine two years later, "Superintendent Henry Davidson wanted a 'voice' for his schools. He couldn't see a way to finance the only kind of station then possible—a high-power station costing from \$50,000 to \$100,000. He waited until the low-power FM station became a possibility for schools. Then he went into action. He found that a 10-watt FM station would cost about \$3,000 to build and equip. (Actual final cost \$3,500.)" Taking the air on 28 May 1949, WNAS was one of the pioneering Class Ds. But honors as the first such facility were claimed by De Pauw University's WGRE, which had fired up its Greencastle, Indiana, transmitter 33 days earlier.

At the time, the FCC required that stations in other classes have full-time first-class licensed engineers on site to perform required technical functions. In contrast, Class D stations were allowed to use non-technical third-class license holders to turn the transmitter on and off and operate the station. Technical

servicing for a ten-watt outlet could be performed by a second-class operator available on call rather than an on-site first-class holder. Class Ds could also go on and off the air at will, a privilege denied higher power stations and one that meshed well with school and university calendars.

In the ensuing years, scores of Class D stations were built. Although the majority were constructed on college and university campuses, some of the most public-spirited were the licensees of independent school districts. The 20 such stations on the air in 1965 programmed a mix of in-school instructional lessons, general enrichment offerings (such as classical music and drama), and community-oriented services (ranging from school basketball games to school board meetings). The formats of college stations, on the other hand, often were more student-programmed and popular-music focused.

By the end of the 1960s, new realities began to threaten the Class D stations' continued existence. FM was now becoming widely popular—especially with younger listeners. As it rose to prominence, the medium's educational channels became increasingly occupied by high-power facilities whose professional staffs viewed ten-watt operations as inefficient amateurs clogging scarce spectrum space. That many of these now full-power outlets had originated as Class Ds was seldom mentioned. The raucous and undisciplined material aired by some under-supervised college-licensed Class Ds was used to indict all ten-watt outlets and undermine the case for their continued existence. The passage of the 1967 Public Broadcasting Act and its creation of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) also worked against low-power stations. Expanded and more centralized government funding favored support for wide-coverage-area and professionally staffed public broadcast facilities, rather than limited-range student stations or volunteer-heavy ten-watt operations that were impractical to network and incapable of contributing quality programs for national or regional distribution. When National Public Radio (NPR) was founded in 1971, it brought further structure and substance to national noncommercial radio service, but it marginalized Class D stations even more.

In the early 1970s the public radio establishment introduced via NPR a series of gradually increasing facility, schedule, and personnel requirements for stations to remain NPR members. At the same time, CPB and other federal funding sources dovetailed their requirements for fiscal support with the standards for NPR membership. Although these moves made public radio much stronger, they walled off Class D and other small stations from most external funding. This happened despite the fact that by 1978, 426 outlets (almost half of U.S. noncommercial radio stations) were low-power operations. That same year, the FCC decreed that ten-watt facilities must make plans either to increase output to 100 watts or to assume secondary and preemptable status (meaning that a higher-power station could take their frequency or push them

out of business from an adjoining one). Most Class Ds chose to increase power, although spectrum limitations forced some to relocate. By 1980, the ten-watt noncommercial station was functionally extinct.

Ironically, in 1999 the FCC proposed a new class of "micro radio" low-power FM outlets designed to better serve neighborhood needs and to advance the cause of minority ownership. These "secondary" stations could be commercial, and were projected to operate with outputs of as little as ten watts.

PETER B. ORLIK

See also College Radio; Community Radio; Corporation for Public Broadcasting; Educational Radio to 1967; Licensing;

Low-Power Radio/Microradio; National Public Radio; Public Radio Since 1967

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Terkel, Louis "Studs" 1912–

U.S. Disc Jockey, Commentator, Interviewer, and Author

As a self-proclaimed "oral historian," interviewer Louis "Studs" Terkel practiced his craft on Chicago radio station WFMT-FM. During his career, which spanned 45 years, Studs interviewed the rich and famous as well as the average citizen and, in so doing, created a "bottom up" audio history of 20th-century America.

Origins

Louis Terkel was born to Russian-Jewish parents in New York City in 1912. In his youth, his family moved to Chicago, where his father was a tailor. During the 1920s, his family resided in a men's hotel in which transient workers of the day took up temporary residence and practiced their craft until they moved on to the next job in another city. It is there that young Louis spent hours in the main lobby listening to people's stories. In the 1920s, various political movements, such as the Communist and Socialist Workers' Parties, were rising in popularity in America, and many of the workers who lived in the hotel espoused those beliefs. Their stories not only helped to form Terkel's political views but also helped him to develop his unique style of interviewing.

After high school, Terkel attended the University of Chicago and graduated in 1932. He went on to study law at the same institution and received his law degree in 1934. It was in law school that he received his nickname "Studs." Louis was fond of the James T. Farrell *Studs Lonigan* novels. Since Terkel

was often seen carrying those books around, the nickname "Studs" stuck.

After law school, Terkel found work producing radio shows in Chicago as part of the Federal Works Program. He also became involved with the Chicago Repertory Theater, acting as a producer and performer. At the outbreak of World War II, Terkel attempted to join the U.S. Army but was rejected because of a perforated eardrum. He joined the Red Cross, but was again unable to serve overseas. Later he learned that it was actually his left-wing political views that kept him from serving overseas in either capacity.

Terkel on Radio

During the 1940s, Studs Terkel became a familiar voice in Chicago radio as a news commentator and disc jockey. In 1949, he tried his hand at television interviewing when he was given the host's spot on *Studs' Place*, a series on the NBC station in Chicago. After one year, NBC canceled the program. Many believed that the cancellation of *Studs' Place* stemmed from an investigation of Terkel by Senator Joseph McCarthy and the House Un-American Activities Committee. For many years the impact of the investigation made it difficult for Terkel to work in broadcasting, but he found employment with the Chicago *Sunday Times* as a jazz columnist and working in plays around Chicago. Not until the mid-1950s was he offered a daily one-hour program on WFMT called *The Studs Terkel Show*. He

stayed with the program for more than four decades until his last regularly scheduled show on 1 January 1998.

Toward the end of his radio career, Terkel began to flourish as an “oral historian.” He had become famous for getting guests to open up about themselves. Even though he interviewed the famous, he found the average American to be his best subject. He had a reputation for being fair as an interviewer—eschewing the sensational or bombastic and always showing proper respect for his guests.

Perhaps his greatest asset was his unique interviewing style. While Terkel was known worldwide for talking about any subject, his listening skills made him such a good “oral historian.” His subjects were allowed to think out their answers. While this often resulted in moments of “dead air,” Terkel worked with the silence, allowing a person to think through a question and answer at his/her own pace.

Terkel’s work evolved into many best-selling books and oral histories of the 20th century. More than 7,000 hours of interviews have been compiled by Terkel and WFMT and are housed at the Chicago Historical Society.

TIM POLLARD

Studs Terkel. Born Louis Terkel in New York City, 16 May 1912. Graduated from the University of Chicago, 1932, and the University of Chicago law school, 1934. Served in the American Red Cross, World War II. Employed in various radio

producing jobs during the 1930s and 1940s. Moved to on-air disc jockey and commentator. Host of *Studs’ Place* on WMAQ television, 1949–50. Jazz columnist for the *Chicago Sunday Times*. Host of *The Studs Terkel Show* on WFMT-FM Chicago, 1958–98.

Radio Series

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Tesla, Nikola 1856–1943

U.S. (Croatian-Born) Inventor and Radio Pioneer

Nikola Tesla, the man who made possible the control of electricity using alternating current (AC), also pioneered the wireless transmission of energy, the fundamental principle of radio. In 1943 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that Tesla’s radio patent for “System of Transmission of Electrical Energy,” granted in 1900, in large part anticipated that of Guglielmo Marconi.

Early Years

Born of Serbian parents in 1856 in Smiljan, Croatia, Tesla demonstrated a phenomenal memory and performed brilliantly in school. He attended the Austrian Polytechnic School, but never completed a degree. Reportedly, Tesla then attended the University of Prague. He eventually found work in Budap-

est as a draftsman for the Hungarian government’s newly established Central Telephone Exchange.

In 1884 Tesla immigrated to New York, where he worked briefly for Thomas Edison, the leading proponent of providing electricity by direct current (DC). As an independent inventor, Tesla developed the AC motor and eventually made the legendary decision to sell all of his 40 AC patents to George Westinghouse. Though his inventions could have made him a millionaire many times over, Tesla “had no business sense nor any real interest in commercializing his work” (Johnston, editor, *My Inventions*, by Tesla, 1982). Tesla received U.S. citizenship in 1891, an honor he cherished above all others.

Tesla’s sensational experimentation and demonstrations with electricity made him a public celebrity and media attrac-

tion. Regardless of his showman persona, “Tesla’s command of high frequency currents placed him at the forefront of late-nineteenth century research into x-rays, diathermy, discharge lighting, robotics, and wireless—his lectures on these and other subjects were stunning successes” (Johnston, 1982). Between 1886 and 1928, Tesla was awarded more than 100 U.S. patents.

Radio Years

Beginning in 1900, the visionary Tesla aimed to create a “World-System” of wireless transmission; the system would use a central transmitter to distribute virtually all forms of information, including voice, music, written communications, and photographs. In essence, it would be a universal wireless radio, fax, and telephone system, but financial difficulties prevented its realization. Tesla had already demonstrated his practical achievements in wireless in 1893 before the National Electric Light Association in St. Louis (Wagner, 1995), and in 1899, when he operated a radio-controlled boat in Chicago. Notably, Tesla’s work influenced Lee de Forest, inventor of the Audion, which made wireless voice transmission possible: “*I aim at Tesla . . . if I reach that I am a long way ahead,*” de Forest claimed (cited in Lewis, 1991).

Tesla’s basic radio application, “System of Transmission of Electrical Energy,” filed on 2 September 1887, was granted 20 March 1900 as patent number 645,576; a subsequent patent, number 649,621, “Apparatus for Transmission of Electrical Energy,” was granted on 15 May 1900. Marconi filed for his first U.S. radio patent on 10 November 1900, but during the next three years, even after his historic transatlantic transmission, the U.S. Patent Office denied Marconi’s patent because of the priority of Tesla, Sir Oliver Lodge, and German inventor Carl F. Braun.

In 1904 the U.S. Patent Office “suddenly and surprisingly” reversed its prior decisions and granted Marconi his patent for radio: “The reasons for this have never been fully explained, but there is little doubt that the decision was influenced by the powerful financial backing for Marconi in the United States” (Cheney and Uth, 1999). The editor of Tesla’s autobiography, Ben Johnston, notes that Tesla “kept a toehold in wireless until World War I by licensing his potentially lucrative wireless patents, but his lack of either financing or corporate ties prevented his litigating the patents effectively” (Johnston, 1982).

Vindication

In 1943 the U.S. Supreme Court finally heard and decided a suit filed by Marconi against the U.S. government for its “infringement” during World War I, when the military took control of all U.S. wireless technology without paying patent royalties. As part of its decision in *Marconi Wireless Telegraph*

Company of America v United States, the Court reviewed the radio patents of Tesla, Lodge, and John Stone. Specifically, it examined Marconi’s patent concerning “the use of two high frequency circuits in the transmitter and two in the receiver, all four so adjusted as to be resonant to the same frequency or multiples of it.”

Chief Justice Harlan F. Stone, in writing the Court’s opinion, pointed out that Tesla’s patent 645,576 “disclosed a four-circuit system, having two circuits each at transmitter and receiver and recommended that all four circuits be tuned to the same frequency.” Although “devised primarily for the transmission of energy,” Tesla also recognized that his apparatus “could, without change, be used for wireless communication, which is dependent upon the transmission of electrical energy.” This included the transmission of an “intelligible message to great distances.”

Regarding the specifications of Tesla’s radio apparatus, Stone wrote that Tesla “anticipated the four circuit tuned combination of Marconi,” save for one feature, the use of a “variable inductance as a means of adjusting the tuning [of] the antenna circuit of transmitter and receiver,” which in actuality “was developed by Lodge after Tesla’s patent but before the Marconi patent in suit.” Based on its review of the patents in question, the Court concluded that “Marconi’s patent involved no invention over Lodge, Tesla, and Stone.” The events of World War II overshadowed the significance of the ruling; its impact diminished even further in that all the patentees and patents involved had expired.

Tesla died, bankrupt and alone, at age 86 in his New York hotel room on 7 January 1943, six months before the Supreme Court essentially rendered Marconi’s patent invalid. More than half a century after his death, Tesla experts and advocates seek to rectify what they see as a historical bias against the unorthodox inventor, whose groundbreaking work in electricity and radio serves as the foundation for many of the devices modern society takes for granted.

ERIKA ENGSTROM

See also De Forest, Lee; German Wireless Pioneers; Lodge, Oliver; Marconi, Guglielmo

Nikola Tesla. Born in Smiljan, Lika, Croatia, 9 or 10 July 1856. Attended Austrian Polytechnic School and University of Prague; worked as draftsman at Central Telephone Exchange, Budapest, Hungary; Continental Edison Company, Paris, France, 1882; arrived in United States, 1884; worked for Thomas Edison briefly; sold patent rights to his system of alternating-current dynamos, transformers, and motors to George Westinghouse, 1885; became independent inventor, 1887; invented Tesla coil, 1891; U.S. citizenship granted 30 July 1891. Granted total of 112 U.S. patents between 1886

and 1928, including radio patents nos. 645,576 and 649,621 granted in 1900. Died in New York City, 7 January 1943.

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Theater Guild on the Air

Radio Drama Program

After World War II, the executive officers and board members of the U.S. Steel Corporation became willing converts to anthology drama showcasing company voice advertising. Their program *Theater Guild on the Air* (the *United States Steel Hour* after 1952) helped promote the corporation's public and government relations during reconversion, the postwar period that saw the lifting of price and wage controls and intertwined negotiation of agreements with the Truman administration and the United Steel Workers of America. *Theater Guild on the Air* featured distinct entertainment and educational components. By arrangement with New York's Theater Guild, the program presented adaptations of plays that had little bearing upon corporation "messages" (intermission talks) and messages with little connection to the plays. The separation of the program's dramatic and editorial control extended to U.S. Steel executives' admirable defense of their program in an era of rampant blacklisting, while the show simultaneously provided one of radio's last examples of corporate voice advertising read by corporation officers themselves.

Among large radio sponsors using the anthology format for institutional promotion, U.S. Steel was unique in contracting for program production and, effectively, dramatic control outside of its advertising agency, Batten, Barton, Durstine, and Osborn (BBD&O). Program production responsibility fell to the Theater Guild. Founded in 1918, the Guild aspired to the production of plays not then found in the commercial theater. The Guild championed the work of Bernard Shaw, Eugene O'Neill, Maxwell Anderson, Elmer Rice, Sidney Howard, Wil-

liam Saroyan, George Gershwin, Richard Rogers, and Lorenz Hart. By 1945 a back catalog of some 200 Guild productions provided a ready source of adaptable material for the *Theater Guild on the Air*. Under contract to U.S. Steel, the Guild supplied plays and casts, retaining artistic control under managing director Lawrence Langner, whose long career as a patent attorney representing inventor Charles F. Kettering and others enabled his easy circulation in the world of corporate affairs. The broadcasts were produced by BBD&O's George Kondolf, the former director of New York's Federal Theater Project, and directed by Homer Fickett, formerly the director of radio's *March of Time* and the *Cavalcade of America*.

The autonomy enjoyed by the Guild in the selection and casting of plays, and the confinement of corporation messages to two intermissions, conformed to the broad goals of public relations education and entertainment desired by the corporation. In addition to the *Theater Guild on the Air*'s "commercial aspects," explained U.S. Steel public relations director J. Carlisle MacDonald, the program's "two main objectives were (1) To create a better understanding of the affairs of United States Steel through a series of weekly, informative messages explaining the corporation's policies and describing its widespread activities; (2) To provide the nation's vast listening audience with the finest in dramatic entertainment by bringing into millions of homes every Sunday evening the greatest plays in the legitimate theater." Exemplifying the rewards of such thinking, the first season's plays ("building bigger and bigger audiences for U.S. Steel") included *I*

Remember Mama, *On Borrowed Time*, and *The Front Page* and featured Lynne Fontaine and Alfred Lunt, Walter Huston, Katherine Hepburn, Ray Milland, Helen Hayes, Frederick March, Pat O'Brien, and Walter Pidgeon.

The hour-long *Theater Guild on the Air* featured two intermission talks prepared by BBD&O and read by announcer George Hicks, the "Voice of United States Steel." An American Broadcasting Companies (ABC) radio newsman who had broadcast the 1944 D-Day invasion in Normandy, Hicks brought his dispassionate reportorial style to the delivery of each week's talks. The first described the policies and objectives of the umbrella corporation, and the second described the activities of a subsidiary of "United States Steel—the industrial family that serves the nation." At intermission time, announcer Hicks served up veritable chestnuts of institutional promotion: paeans to the widespread ownership of U.S. Steel corporation stock among all classes of individuals and hospitals, schools, and charitable organizations; to the re-employment of veterans; and to the upgrading and training of personnel. An anthology of plays, including two intermission talks, published in 1947 suggests the program's aspiration to low-pressure salesmanship. A talk inserted between the acts of Sidney Howard's *They Knew What They Wanted*, for example, described the latent consequences of U.S. Steel's vast scale of production, namely, the employment of men and the movement of raw materials. Striving to convey the personal meaning of it all, the text concluded, "So, next time you use any product of steel from a can opener to an automobile, remember—you are benefitting from the skills and energies of literally millions of men who have helped to transfer the raw materials from the earth into the steel out of which come many things to make our lives more comfortable."

Again and again, the U.S. Steel board of directors expressed satisfaction with their radio program, renewing it on an annual basis from 1946 through the 1952 broadcast season. Chairman of the Board Irving S. Olds and President Benjamin F. Fairless remained sold on the bifurcated production arrangement, owing in part to the corporation's prestigious association with the Theater Guild and in part to the public platform that the program provided for Fairless, who personally took to the air to explain the corporation's position during the steel strike of 1949. Anticipating U.S. Steel's move to television, and with it the improved prospect of an agency-produced show, broadcast producer BBD&O successfully lobbied to change the program's title to the *United States Steel Hour* beginning

with the fall 1952 broadcast season. The program's final radio season commenced with Joshua Logan's *Wisteria Trees*, starring Helen Hayes and Joseph Cotten, and concluded with Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, starring Maurice Evans and Basil Rathbone.

WILLIAM L. BIRD, JR.

Hosts

Lawrence Langer
Roger Pryor
Elliott Reid

Announcers

Norman Brokenshire; George Hicks

Programming History

CBS 6 December 1943–29 February 1944
ABC 9 September 1945–5 June 1949
NBC 11 September 1949–7 June 1953 (from 1952 as
United States Steel Hour)

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Nadel, Norman, *A Pictorial History of the Theatre Guild*, New York: Crown, 1969
O'Malley, Thomas, "Every Important Work of Art Has a Message," *Television Magazine* (11 October 1954)
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Theatre Guild, *The Theatre Guild Anthology*, New York: Random House, 1936
"Theatre Guild Show," *Tide* (15 October 1945)

This American Life

Public Radio Program

This American Life is an hour-long, weekly public radio program that stretches the boundaries of magazine-style entertainment radio with a poignant honesty and flair rivaling, and even exceeding, the journalistic efforts of groundbreaking programs such as *Morning Edition* and *All Things Considered*.

This American Life's website describes the show as follows: "It's a weekly show. It's an hour. Its mission is to document everyday life in this country. We sometimes think of it as a documentary show for people who normally hate documentaries. A public radio show for people who don't necessarily care for public radio."

The brainchild of former National Public Radio (NPR) reporter Ira Glass, *This American Life* is largely a collection of stories that endeavor to examine America from the inside out. Not unlike Charles Kuralt's video essays gathered "on the road," *This American Life* examines America by examining the lives and challenges faced by individual Americans. It does so with a writing style that is highly conversational and uses an "audio vérité" feel, with the frequent use of natural sound (ambient background sounds) and interview segments that are sometimes raw and unpolished.

Although a team of producers, regular contributors, and guests all provide pieces for the show, the soul of *This American Life* comes from host and producer Ira Glass. A Baltimore native who resisted his parents' idea of a medical career to pursue a career in media, Glass originally sold jokes to radio hosts and eventually found a job editing promotional spots for NPR as an intern at age 19.

During his internship at NPR, Glass immersed himself in all areas of news production and reporting, also filling in as a host on NPR programs *Talk of the Nation* and *Weekend All Things Considered*. As a reporter in NPR's Chicago bureau for six years, Glass emerged as an award-winning education reporter, receiving accolades from the National Education Association, Education Writers Association, and the Harvard Graduate School of Education. His best-known work was a longitudinal profile of several Chicago Public Schools students and the successes and failures of the changes imposed on their respective schools by education reforms.

Each hour-long program of *This American Life* is divided into acts—usually three—which communicate a general theme. Each segment is accompanied by a piece of music that supports the theme—either through its title or through the lyrics.

Among the segment titles *This American Life* aired in 2000 were: "Twenty-Four Hours at the Golden Apple" (a Chicago diner, where poignant stories are told by customers

who wander in and out), "Election" (dealing with a high school class election, the production of negative presidential campaign ads, and the genealogy of then candidate George W. Bush, who, the piece claims, may be related to half of Americans), and "Immigration" (which studies the impact of immigration laws on individuals, including a deported legal alien whose country would not take him back). Contributors range from independent producers whose work is heard on other public radio programs to quirky characters such as "Dishwasher Pete," who share their wisdom and stories of real life.

Distributed by Public Radio International, *This American Life* is produced by WBEZ in Chicago, where it is mixed live each Friday evening for distribution to 370 public radio stations around the country. Glass introduces each segment in his matter-of-fact style, never afraid of a lengthy pause or unconventional voice inflections. While his delivery appears somewhat unpolished, the sound of the program is anything but. He and his producers spend a great deal of time editing pieces and copy to create the "relaxed" style of the program.

Glass is responsible for many of the stories told on *This American Life*. *Chicago Magazine* said this about his work: "Glass does stories that are casual and intimate in feeling, that seem almost to start in the middle of the story and are told in unfolding scenes. Sort of like a hipster version of Garrison Keillor." Marc Fisher, writing in the *American Journalism Review*, says that, "Glass is the boy wonder, a rumpiled genius in the minuscule world of radio documentaries, a quizzical character who hides behind trademark oversized black plastic eyeglass frames and takes radio journalism to places it has not traveled before."

This American Life is a program with a clearly humanist slant, which is expressed through compelling stories and amusing send-ups. Its innovative approach and broad appeal helped land a \$350,000, three-year production grant from the Corporation for Public Broadcasting's Program Development Fund in 1997.

As one of the most listened-to public radio programs, it also helps generate significant revenue for stations that carry it during pledge drives. Glass is among the most dedicated of public radio program producers in helping stations with their fundraising, producing a number of highly effective fundraising spots for station use and creating gimmicks such as a "decoder" ring as an incentive for listeners to contribute.

This American Life joins *All Things Considered*, *Morning Edition*, *A Prairie Home Companion*, *Michael Feldman's Whad'Ya Know?*, and *Car Talk* as one of the leaders in public

radio's stable of national programs. The show was honored with a Peabody Award in 1996.

PETER WALLACE

See also National Public Radio

Host/Producer

Ira Glass

Production Staff

Senior Producer Julie Snyder
 Producers Alex Blumberg, Diane Cook,
 Wendy Dorr, and Starlee Kine
 Contributing Editors Jack Hitt, Margy Rochlin, Alix Spiegel,
 Paul Tough, Nancy Updike, and
 Sarah Vowell
 Writers/Contributors David Sedaris, Joe Richman,
 Scott Carrier, Gay Talese, Tobias Wolff

Programming History

PRI 17 November 1995– (remained in production as
 of September 2003)

Further Reading

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 Snyder, Rachel Louise, "Lunch with Ira Glass," <www.salon.com/people/lunch/1999/07/16/glass/index.html>
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 Verhulst, Kari Jo, "Fearless Curiosity: The Irreverent Offerings of *This American Life*," *Sojourners Magazine* 28, no. 5 (September–October 1999)
 Wimsatt, William Upski, "Ira Glass: A Cure for the Common Radio," *Horizon Magazine* (1 September 1999)

Thomas, Lowell 1892–1981

U.S. Radio Newscaster and Author

Lowell Thomas was one of radio's best-known newsmen from 1930 into the 1970s, but he was also known as the voice of many movie newsreels, the author of more than 50 popular books, and a world traveler and lecturer. He is important in radio history as one of the first national radio newscasters. His evening network news program ran for 46 years.

Early Career

Thomas was born in 1892 in Ohio but spent his formative years growing up in the gold-mining towns of Cripple Creek and Victor, Colorado, where his father was a mining-town surgeon. In the second decade of the 20th century, he focused on developing a career in newspaper journalism while seeking an education, eventually earning several degrees from different schools.

He was sent by the federal government's Committee on Public Information (the Creel Committee) to Europe in 1917

with photographer Harry Chase to report on World War I battlefields in Italy and then in the Middle East. Many of the costs of the trip were underwritten by a number of Chicago businesses. During this period, Thomas met and reported on the activities of T.E. Lawrence, whom other reporters had generally ignored. Thomas helped to make him famous as Lawrence of Arabia with a series of highly popular illustrated lectures in Europe and the United States entitled "With Lawrence in Arabia and Allenby in Palestine." This highly romanticized version of the war in the Middle East played before some 6 million people over six months, helping to make Thomas and Lawrence household names. His 1924 book *With Lawrence in Arabia*, based on his experiences and the lectures, became a best seller.

Thomas spent the 1920s in travel, book writing, and promotion of air travel. He made two trips to the Arctic and a steady income as a popular lecturer, drawing on his extensive travels and adventures in remote areas of the world.

Radio Newscaster

Thomas' first radio broadcast was aired on Pittsburgh's KDKA in March 1925. He talked for an hour about the 1924 around-the-world flight sponsored by the U.S. Army in which he played a small part, about which he'd written a book and on which he was then lecturing. He continued his lucrative travel lectures for another five years. He was then approached by Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) president William Paley (who had heard him speak in London) to consider anchoring (as we would term it today—the word was not used as such then) a news program on that radio network.

After several auditions, Thomas aired his first 15-minute newscast on CBS on 29 September 1930. In a unique arrangement, CBS carried *Lowell Thomas and the News* in the western United States and the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) carried it in the eastern states for the first year. In 1931 Sun Oil became the program's sponsor and NBC its home network. Over the next several years, Thomas became known for broadcasting from many places—not just a radio studio. He broadcast from an airplane circling above New York in 1930, from a coal mine in West Virginia shortly thereafter, and later from a submarine, a ship at sea, and (after World War II) a helicopter.

He quickly developed an audience who liked his conversational approach to news and his frequent use of anecdotes and human interest stories—perhaps a dozen stories in each newscast. He would make occasional personal asides or comments but avoided any on-air position or political commentary. Thomas wrote and edited his newscasts with the help of Prosper Buranelli (a feature writer for *New York World* and an editor at Simon and Schuster) and Louis Sherwin (a respected drama critic and columnist). His popularity with listeners and advertisers allowed him to negotiate with NBC for permission to broadcast from many remote sites as he continued to travel. He also frequently broadcast from a studio on his estate near Pawling, New York.

By 1936 Thomas' entertaining approach to news reached up to 20 million listeners each weeknight. By 1940, his audience had dropped to perhaps half that size, as many other newscasts had become available, and declined to about 8 million by 1947 when Procter and Gamble brought his weeknight news program back to CBS. In mid 1939 his radio news program was simulcast on W2XBS, the CBS experimental television station in New York, with Sun Oil as sponsor (this is said to have been the first regularly scheduled TV news broadcast). Thomas undertook regular television newscasts in 1943 and 1944, but always preferred radio, which allowed him to broadcast from a variety of places. His weeknight program ran 15 minutes for years, but by the 1970s, with the demise of most network programming, it had been reduced to six minutes.

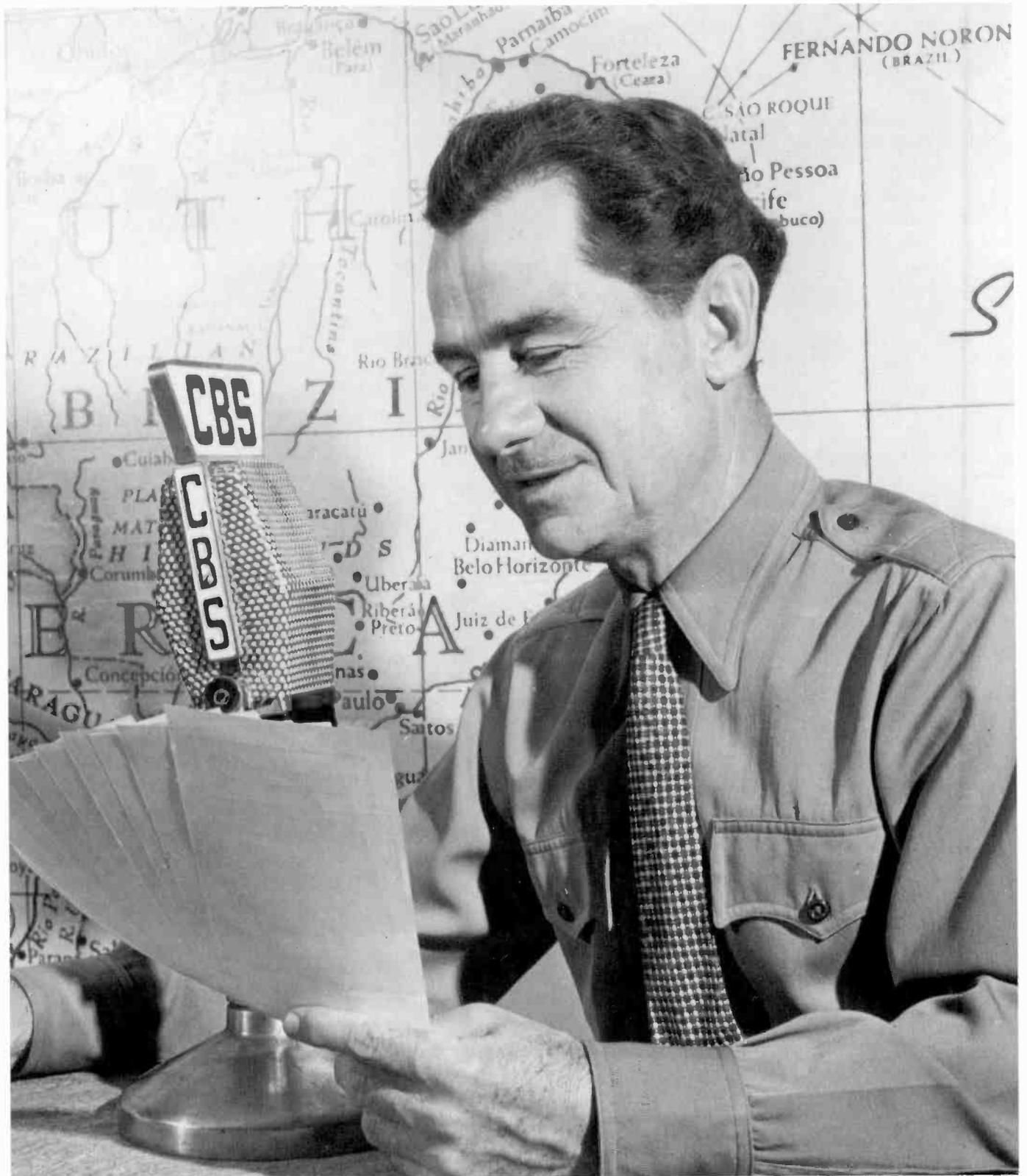
Thomas helped cover the national political conventions of 1952, 1956, and 1960 for CBS. He retired with a final broadcast on 14 May 1976 at age 84 but continued to travel and write until his death five years later. Unique at the start of his career, he was outclassed and bypassed by a younger generation of war-trained radio correspondents during World War II. Still, he retained his popularity virtually to the end of his long radio (and television) career.

The prestigious personal Peabody Award given to Thomas in 1973 noted in its citation:

To Lowell Thomas, twentieth century Marco Polo, a special, personal George Foster Peabody Award in recognition of his incredible 43 years of continuous daily broadcasts on CBS, often originating from every corner of the globe. During this record-setting series which has become the longest continuous run in network history, Lowell Thomas' voice has been heard by an estimated 70 billion persons. During his brilliant career, he has received 25 degrees from universities and colleges. For his authoritative voice and his friendly 'So Long . . .' he has become beloved by listeners of every age in every place. To Lowell Thomas, a Peabody Award in recognition.

Unfortunately, and somewhat strangely, Thomas' two-volume autobiography (*Good Evening, Everybody*, 1976; *So Long Until Tomorrow*, 1977) says little about his broadcasting career. Thomas was never a radio news heavyweight, providing a light touch in his newscasts rather than serious commentary. Although he traveled extensively, he was not a foreign correspondent as those are thought of today—his travels were reflected in his early lecture tours and his books, although not in his broadcasts, which focused on the events at hand. Only in a short-lived series (*High Adventure with Lowell Thomas*) on CBS television in the late 1950s did his programs focus on his travels.

In addition to his broadcast work, Thomas had narrated a host of motion pictures over the years, chiefly acting as the voice for the *Movietone News* series produced by the Fox Studios. In the 1950s, he also provided the voice (very well recognized by then) for early feature films shot in the wide-screen Cinerama process. Convinced that the new format was an important breakthrough, he was an investor and officer in one of the companies making the new movies. Thus he was able to film his commentary for *This Is Cinerama* (1952) in a specially built office (also used for his daily broadcasts) on his estate in Quaker Hill, New York. He also voiced *Cinerama Holiday* (1953) and several later titles, most of which paralleled his own adventurous traveling life.



Lowell Thomas
Courtesy CBS Photo Archive

Lowell Jackson Thomas. Born in Woodington, Ohio, 6 April 1892, first child of Harriet Wagner and Harry George Thomas, both teachers; his father later studied medicine and became a mining-town surgeon. Spent early years (1900–1907) in Cripple Creek and Victor, Colorado, gold-mining camps. Attended University of Northern Indiana (now Valparaiso) and graduated in two years (1911). Reporter, *Cripple Creek Times*; editor, *Victor Daily Record*. Earned second bachelor's degree and a master's degree from University of Denver while working on Denver newspapers. Reporter for *Chicago Journal* while attending Kent College of Law, 1912–14. Master's degree, Princeton University, 1916. World War I correspondent, 1917–1918. Travel and lectures, 1918–1930. CBS news division, 1930; NBC news division, 1931–47; CBS news division, 1947–76. Retired from radio, 1976. Received 30 honorary doctorates and innumerable awards, including the Peabody (1973) and the Medal of Freedom (1976). Died in Pawling, New York, 29 August 1981.

Selected Media Highlights

Radio

Lowell Thomas and the News (exact title varied), CBS and NBC, 1930; NBC, 1931–47; CBS, 1947–76 (weeknights)

Television

High Adventure with Lowell Thomas, CBS Television, 1957–59; rebroadcast June–September 1964

Motion Pictures

"Movietone News" (newsreels), Fox Studios, narrator, 1933–50
Cinerama films, narrator, 1951–55

Selected Publications

With Lawrence in Arabia, 1924
The First World Flight, 1925
European Skyways: The Story of a Tour of Europe by Airplane, 1927
Raiders of the Deep, 1928
The Untold Story of Exploration, 1935
Magic Dials: The Story of Radio and Television, 1939
History as You Heard It, 1957
Good Evening, Everybody: From Cripple Creek to Samarkand, 1976
So Long Until Tomorrow: From Quaker Hill to Kathmandu, 1977

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Levine, Brian H., *Lowell Thomas's Victor: The Man and the Town*, Colorado Springs, Colorado: Century One Press, 1982
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Wecter, D., "Hearing Is Believing," *Atlantic Monthly* (July 1945)

Thomas, Rufus 1917–2001

U.S. Radio Personality

Rufus Thomas was one of the most colorful radio personalities and entertainers of the 20th century. Thomas' training on the American stage in the 1930s and 1940s as a dancer, singer, and comedian catapulted him into broadcasting in the early 1950s. By the turn of the 21st century he had become a highly respected broadcaster and legendary recording artist admired by fans on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean.

Thomas was born to Rachel and Rufus Thomas Sr. on 26 March 1917 in rural Cayce, Mississippi. Two years later the

elder Thomas moved his family to Memphis and worked several jobs to support his wife and four children. At age six Thomas was inspired to pursue a career in show business after he danced on a Beale Street theater stage in the role of a jumping frog for his elementary school play. That experience led Thomas to tap dancing, and he set his goal of becoming the world's best. Later, many of his teachers at Booker T. Washington High School attempted to dissuade him, but Nat D. Williams, his history teacher and a Beale Street emcee, encouraged Thomas.

Williams became Thomas' mentor, but it was Thomas who taught Williams how to tap-dance.

In 1936, after graduating from high school and enduring one economically depressing academic term at Tennessee State University in Nashville, Thomas joined the famous Rabbit Foot Minstrels. He spent three seasons touring with the acclaimed troupe and danced with Johnny Dowdy as part of "Rufus and Johnny." Upon leaving the Minstrels around 1939, he returned to Memphis and began to forge a career on Beale Street. However, as the audience for tap dancing had begun to diminish, Thomas refocused his efforts to writing blues songs for nightclub singers. Thomas commenced his own singing career on Beale Street when a female blues singer did not appear for her show at the Elks Club. He filled in for her on the program and performed "Mr. Jelly Roll," a Lonnie Johnson tune: "She said, Mr. Jelly Roll baker let me be your slave. Be your good jelly I'll rise from my grave." The audience's enthusiasm surprised Thomas; spectators applauded and tossed coins, and Thomas was presented on stage with a \$5 tip coupled with a kiss from a female patron.

By the early 1940s Thomas had made singing a permanent part of his repertoire. He performed with the Bill Ford Band, and worked with the Al Jackson Sr. Band on Beale Street. During the 1940s he rose through the ranks to become a complete entertainer. Always a natural comic, he expanded his skills by forming the comedy team of "Rufus and Bones" with Robert Couch. Under the influence of his mentor, Nat D. Williams, who hosted *Amateur Night from the Palace* on Wednesdays, Thomas perfected his own emceeing skills.

In 1951, three years after Nat D. Williams became a radio disc jockey and helped rescue WDIA from financial ruin, the station hired Thomas. Initially, he imitated a more stoic or "white announcers" style that did not project his personality. He was close to being terminated, but David James Mattis, WDIA's white program director, encouraged him to relax, have fun, and showcase his entertainment background and skills. Thomas credited Mattis with helping him to eschew the anger and hatred that had accrued in response to white-imposed segregation practices and enjoy the new WDIA environment. "After that," Thomas recalled, "I took off like a late freight!"

A relaxed Thomas unleashed his entertainment personality to combine rhythm and blues music with classic Beale Street patois: "I'm loose as a goose and full of juice, so what's the use?" His comedy, up-tempo pace, and rhyming style helped secure WDIA's historical significance as the nation's oldest full-time African-American-oriented broadcasting operation. Equally legendary is the teamwork Rufus Thomas and Nat D. Williams displayed Saturday afternoons on *Cool Train*. Williams hosted the first hour solo, followed by Thomas' own one-hour show. In the third hour they teamed up for pure original vaudeville jokes, laughter, and music (Cantor, 1992).

Thomas made his recording debut in 1943 with "I'll Be a Good Boy and I'm Worried" for Texas-based Star Talent Records, but sales were unimpressive. A decade later, at age 35, his recording of a Sam Phillips song, "Bear Cat," empowered the newly established Sun Records by hitting number 3 on *Billboard's* Rhythm and Blues chart. His national acclaim quickly attenuated after rhythm and blues writers Jerry Lieber and Mike Stoller successfully sued Phillips for copyright infringement on their original "Hound Dog" composition. Thomas' second release on Sun was unsuccessful. Phillips released him, along with other black artists such as Little Milton and Junior Parker, and began recording whites, such as Elvis Presley, who sounded black. Thomas continued to work at WDIA and perform with his band on Beale Street and throughout the mid-South.

In 1959 Thomas wrote "Cause I Love You" and recorded it as a duet with his teenage daughter, Carla, for another newly established company, Satellite Records. The recording became a Southern hit, earned the nascent Memphis label a national distribution contract with Atlantic Records, and helped transform the company into the legendary Stax Records. Then, in 1962, while singing with his band, Thomas experienced a musical epiphany. He noticed a sexy female dancer engrossed in the spirit of a new dance called "The Dog" and performing directly in front of him on the floor-level bandstand. In mid-performance he made a segue into free style rap, ad-libbed, and wrote the song "The Dog" on the spot.

By January 1963, Rufus Thomas' composition and recording of "The Dog" reached number 22 on the *Billboard* chart. His derivative mantra, "Walking the Dog" rose to number 5 on the *Billboard* chart in the fall of 1963. Thomas, then 46 years old, finally retired from his full-time day job as a boiler attendant at American Finishing Company, but not from WDIA. Between 1963 and 1971 he ran off a string of hits that included "(Do the) Push and Pull, Part 1," which went to number 1, and "Breakdown, Part 1," which rested at number 2. Overall, the popular Memphis disc jockey achieved 12 *Billboard* hits between 1953 and 1971.

By the mid-1970s, serious events had shaken Memphis and WDIA such as the civil rights movement, the James Meredith march and shooting, Martin Luther King Jr.'s assassination, and integration's impact on rhythm and blues music. Thomas was affected, too. New WDIA ownership and management did not fully appreciate him or the environment that Mattis had fostered at the station. Mattis left, and Thomas was eased off WDIA as an air personality and assigned to conducting tape delayed interviews. He took a position at cross-town rival WLOK radio for a brief period and then retired to concentrate on music and entertainment. His heart remained at WDIA.

In 1986 WDIA invited Thomas back to the station to make a Saturday morning guest appearance on the *All Blues Show*, in conjunction with the station's 38th anniversary celebration.

Original disc jockeys from the 1940s and 1950s were to be paired with WDIA's current on-air staff. Thomas was teamed with Jay Michael Davis, who had never heard Thomas on the air. Davis found himself brilliantly playing the straight man against Thomas' legendary personality and quick wit. The two men bonded instantly, and Davis asked Thomas back the next week and repeated the invitation until Thomas returned each week as de facto cohost. Thomas worked each Saturday morning call-in music show for a solid year without compensation. Said Thomas, "WDIA is more than a radio station, it is an institution!"

The Rufus and Jay Michaels combo went to number 1 in the market among 35 stations in Memphis, and Thomas was hired a second time by WDIA. The *All Blues Show* remained number 1 on Saturdays for nearly 15 years. At age 82, Thomas was still broadcasting with Davis, even from remote sites when he traveled around the world to perform as a famous recording artist.

In the mid 1990s, Porretta, Italy expanded Rufus Thomas Park and named it Rufus Thomas Camp in honor of his enormously successful annual appearances. In June of 1997 a star-studded gala with blues and rhythm and blues artists such as B.B. King and Millie Jackson saluted him in thanks and praise. The City of Memphis named a street in his honor, and The American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers

(ASCAP) Foundation honored Thomas with its Lifetime Achievement Award.

Thomas died in December 2001. People lined the street and applauded as the hearse slowly carried his remains down Beale Street.

LAWRENCE N. REDD

Rufus Thomas. Born in Cayce, Mississippi, 26 March 1917; moved with his family to Memphis, Tennessee, 1919. Began performing at age six. Attended Booker T. Washington High School; graduated 1936. Performed as dancer, singer, and song-writer on Beale Street, from 1936. Began working at WDIA, Memphis, 1951; remained at WDIA off and on for the rest of his life. Helped found Stax Records, early 1960s. Died in Memphis, 15 December 2001.

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"Tokyo Rose" (Ikuku Toguri D'Aquino) 1916–

Japanese (U.S.-Born) Wartime Radio Propagandist

No one person specifically identified as "Tokyo Rose" broadcast Japanese World War II propaganda. But after the war, one of several female propaganda broadcasters, U.S.-born Ikuku Toguri, was identified and achieved notoriety as *the* "Tokyo Rose." From 1943 to 1945, she had broadcast messages directed toward U.S. troops fighting Japan in the South Pacific for Radio Tokyo. The term *Tokyo Rose*, however, appears to have been a creation of those troops, as several studies found no trace of the name being used in the actual broadcasts.

Origins

Toguri was born in Los Angeles on the Fourth of July 1916. Her father had come to the United States from Japan in 1899 and married in 1907. His wife immigrated to the United States

in 1913 and the family moved to Los Angeles. Toguri used the first name of "Iva" during her school years in Calexico and San Diego (where her father tried farming). She attended high school and junior college in Los Angeles, where her father had become a successful importer. Toguri then received a zoology degree from UCLA in January 1940 and continued with graduate work in pre-med for another six months.

On 5 July 1941, Toguri sailed for Japan from San Pedro, California; she later gave two reasons for her trip: to visit a sick aunt and to study medicine. That September she appeared before the U.S. vice consul in Japan to obtain a U.S. passport (she had only a birth certificate), stating that she wished to return to the United States for permanent residence there. Because she lacked a passport, her application was forwarded to Washington for consideration, but war intervened before the passport could be issued.

After the December 1941 Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Toguri applied for repatriation to the United States through the Swiss legation in Japan but later withdrew the application, indicating that she would voluntarily remain in Japan for the war's duration. Meanwhile she had enrolled in a Japanese language and culture school (having grown up in America, she spoke English far better than Japanese, which she barely understood). For about 15 months beginning in mid 1942, Toguri worked as a typist for the Domei News Agency in Tokyo. In August 1943 she obtained a second typing position with Radio Tokyo. This latter position led to the role for which she became famous.

“Tokyo Rose”

In November 1943, Toguri began her brief career (which would eventually result in her conviction for treason in the United States) as a broadcaster for Radio Tokyo. There were several on-air hostesses for the program known as the *Zero Hour* that became part of Japanese psychological warfare designed to lower the morale of U.S. soldiers in the Pacific theater. *Zero Hour* was broadcast daily (except Sundays), from 6:00 to 7:15 P.M. Tokyo time. Toguri was variously introduced as Orphan Ann, Orphan Annie, “Your favorite enemy Ann,” or “Your favorite playmate and enemy, Ann,” but never as Tokyo Rose. (She apparently adopted the “Ann” name from the abbreviation for “announcer” which appeared on her scripts.)

A typical program in October 1944 began, “Hello, boneheads. This is your favorite enemy, Ann. How are all you orphans of the Pacific? Are you enjoying yourselves while your wives and sweethearts are running around with the 4F's in the States? How do you feel now when all your ships have been sunk by the Japanese Navy? How will you get home? Here's another record to remind you of home.” And with that, the band music that had begun the program (and which made it so popular with its soldier listeners) resumed. Toguri was on the air for about 20 minutes of each program, during which she made comments similar to those noted above and introduced popular records of the day. The rest of the program consisted of news items from the United States and general news commentaries by other members of the broadcasting staff.

It was not until early 1944 that Toguri became aware that U.S. troops had given her—and the other Japanese women broadcasting over Radio Tokyo—the “Tokyo Rose” title. She was the only U.S. citizen given that nickname; as far as is known, the others were all Japanese citizens (and thus were never tried after the war). Reportedly, Toguri was proud of the nickname. On 19 April 1945, she married Felipe D'Aquino, a Portuguese citizen of Japanese-Portuguese descent; their marriage was registered with the Portuguese

consulate in Tokyo. The new Mrs. D'Aquino did not renounce her U.S. citizenship, nor did she discontinue her *Zero Hour* broadcasts despite apparent repeated warnings by her husband. (They were separated in the postwar confusion, though they remained in touch by letter, not divorcing until 1980.)

Postwar Trials

After Japan's surrender in August 1945, the U.S. Army arrested D'Aquino as a security risk, and she was held in various Japanese prisons until her release later that year. After further research, some ill-advised admissions by her to the press about her wartime role, and inflammatory stories by columnist Walter Winchell and others, she was again arrested in September 1948. She was then brought to the United States to stand trial for treason, “for adhering to, and giving aid and comfort to” Japan during the war.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) took several years to probe D'Aquino's activities. Hundreds of former members of the U.S. military who had served in the South Pacific during World War II were interviewed; forgotten Japanese documents were unearthed; and six recordings of D'Aquino's broadcasts believed to have been destroyed were discovered. D'Aquino's trial began in San Francisco on 5 July 1949, ending 61 days later on 29 September, when the bitterly divided jury brought in a verdict of guilty on one of the counts against her, after four days of debate. The trial was said to have cost the federal government about a half million dollars and the transcript of the proceedings ran to more than a million words. Of the 46 government witnesses, 16 were brought from Japan, where they had been interviewed originally by the FBI; 26 witnesses appeared for the defense. On 6 October 1949, D'Aquino was sentenced to ten years of imprisonment, fined \$10,000 for treason, and stripped of her U.S. citizenship. She had become only the seventh person in U.S. history to be convicted of treason.

On 28 January 1956, D'Aquino was released from the Federal Reformatory for Women (Alderson, West Virginia), where she had served six years and two months of her sentence. She successfully fought several government efforts to deport her and went to work for her father's store in the Chicago area. She later operated an oriental gift shop there. In 1971 a U.S. district judge held that she still had to pay the remaining \$5,255 of her fine. In November 1976, D'Aquino filed a third petition seeking a presidential pardon (she had previously applied unsuccessfully in 1954 and 1968). This time, one of her supporters was the foreman of the jury that had convicted her in 1949. On 19 January 1977, President Gerald Ford issued her a full pardon.

See also Axis Sally; Lord Haw Haw; Propaganda by Radio; World War II and U.S. Radio.

Tokyo Rose (Ikuku Toguri D'Aquino). Born in Los Angeles, California, 4 July 1916. First of four children of Jun Toguri, an immigrant farmer and later successful importer, and Fumi Jimuro; grade school and high school in California; attended University of California, Los Angeles, 1936–40, graduated with zoology degree; six months of pre-med graduate work, UCLA, 1940; traveled to Japan, July 1941; employed as typist by Domei News Agency and Radio Tokyo, 1942–43; one of several hostesses of *Zero Hour* propaganda broadcasts on Radio Tokyo, 1943–45; married Felipe D'Aquino, 1945; arrested 1945, but freed; rearrested 1948 and tried for treason in San Francisco, California, 1949; convicted and imprisoned,

1950–56; employed as store clerk, Chicago, Illinois, 1956–1980s; granted presidential pardon, 1977.

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Top 40. See Contemporary Hit Radio Format/Top 40

Topless Radio

Multiple sexual partners, methods of self-gratification and the pleasuring of others, odd sexual proclivities: though these may sound like some of the recurring topics of shock jocks like Howard Stern, they are actually examples of the hot topics discussed three decades ago on radio. The format of such programs became known as "topless radio."

Similar to much of today's "adult talk" radio and TV, topless radio was a format in which audience members called in to discuss graphically sexual issues with hosts who tried to titillate the audience by teasing every explicit detail out of a caller. Although a predecessor, and perhaps an ancestor, of today's "adult" radio, topless radio initially began as quite a different format and was certainly targeting an entirely different audience.

Origins

Topless radio's humble beginnings in the United States date back to the late 1960s, when some AM talk programs began to experiment with light, humorous discussions about relationships with female callers—aimed at younger female listeners.

FM radio stations, with their higher-quality stereo signal, had begun replacing AM stations as the place of choice to listen to popular music. As traditional talk radio began to fill up the AM airwaves, female listeners tuned out. The new format was an attempt to bring younger female listeners to a format (talk) that attracted predominantly older listeners. Program hosts would ask female listeners to call in to have a candid discussion about "relationship issues." Up until then, radio had carefully avoided direct reference to sex—and innuendo was often dealt with swiftly by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) with "cease and desist" orders. The medium, and the FCC's oversight of it, lagged behind television, print, and film of the era in terms of dealing with explicit subject matter.

The first topless radio programs required callers to phone the station the night before a program aired. Hosts would discuss topics with callers off the air and edit together a program for later broadcast. Compared to books, film, and even television of the time, the resulting programs were considered to be quite tame. Despite that, the format was considered somewhat risqué by the extremely conservative radio standards of the day. More important, producers felt the shows sounded

“canned” and dry. So in 1971, KCBS in Los Angeles began experimenting with live discussions of sex by women callers that were aimed at female listeners. A male all-night disc jockey for the station, Bill Ballance, hosted the midday show, *Feminine Forum*.

Topless radio was an instant success and quickly spread across the nation. By 1973 there were 50 to 60 stations that allowed only women to call in and talk about the predetermined topic of the day. As the format became more popular and spread to other stations, the content became more explicit. Truly talented hosts were able to draw extremely detailed and explicit answers from their callers. Naturally, listenership grew dramatically.

Complaints to the FCC were also on the rise. As a result, the commission announced that it did not consider topless radio to be in the public interest, as prescribed by the Communications Act of 1934, and the FCC threatened to take action if the industry did not police itself. FCC Chairman Dean Burch considered the format “prurient trash” and did not feel that the format was broadcasting in the public interest, convenience, or necessity. Further, he did not feel that the First Amendment protected broadcasting discussions of this sort in such an easily accessible medium—a medium particularly available to children. Despite these warnings, topless radio programming did not change.

In 1973 the FCC announced its intention to fine WGLD-FM in Oak Park, Illinois, \$2,000 based on two individual excerpts from a show called *Femme Forum*. This was the stiffest penalty then available under the Communications Act of 1934. The declaration did not go without dissent. Two organizations, the Illinois Citizens Committee for Broadcasting and the Illinois Division of the American Civil Liberties Union, along with one FCC member, complained that the ruling was outside the purview of the FCC and went against the organization’s goal to maintain broadcasting in the public interest. They stated that the ruling would have a chilling effect on the discussion of important public issues and that, taken as a whole, the content of topless radio programming (specifically *Femme Forum*) was *not* patently offensive by community standards.

Hoping that this would be a test case of the FCC’s ability to fine stations based on the commission’s perceptions of the obscenity or indecency of the programming, the agency invited WGLD’s parent company, Sonderling Broadcasting, to take the case to court. However, Sonderling, stating that they could not afford the cost of testing such broad constitutional issues in the legal arena, paid the fine instead, and the FCC was denied a judicial declaration of its ability to police radio decency. Despite the lack of a court ruling, the FCC achieved its goal. Not only did Sonderling pay the fine, they also canceled their sex-talk show. Indeed, such shows nationwide were canceled or drastically restructured after this event.

Topless radio was quickly banished. Thanks to the Sonderling fine and similar cases over the ensuing years—particularly the “Seven Dirty Words” case in 1978—the FCC managed to keep references to sex on radio primarily limited to risqué jokes and somewhat suggestive song lyrics. However, the FCC was not able to keep this format off the air for long. Not only did sex talk on the radio return, it evolved into a variety of forms, showed up in a number of parts of the day, and sought out multiple audiences. Particularly important were shifts in the regulatory focus of the FCC from behavioral regulation to allowing marketplace competition to “police” the actions of stations. In 1980, Dr. Ruth Westheimer began her serious but frank discussion of sex on local New York radio. In the early 21st century, Dr. Laura Schlessinger’s nationally syndicated program dealt with moral and ethical discussions of relationships, sometimes resulting in discussions of sexual behavior and choices.

Another offshoot of topless radio is exemplified by Howard Stern—the self-proclaimed “King of All Media.” In the mid-1980s, Stern and several other national and regional hosts stretched the limits of “patently offensive” to the breaking point—dealing with religion, politics, race, and naturally sex in a manner many consider particularly juvenile. Unlike earlier programming, shock radio sought out the lucrative male 18-to-49 demographic. These programs caught and held the attention of their audiences with guests from the porn industry, celebrity feuds, off-color phone pranks, stripping on the air, outlandish phone-in contests, and alternative dating games. Surprisingly, corporations backing this type of radio have managed to forestall significant FCC censure—in many cases simply paying massive fines after stalling the organization for a number of years. As the format cannot advance much further than it has, it appears to have simply spread into other parts of the day. Not only is this format aired at night, it has actually become most popular in evening and morning drive times.

Although the antics in this format have escalated since the early 1970s, topless radio may have helped usher in the new era of explicit radio discussions of sex.

PHILIP J. AUTER

See also Censorship; Controversial Issues; Federal Communications Commission; Licensing; Obscenity/Indecency on Radio; Seven Dirty Words Case; Shock Jocks; Stern Howard

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Totenberg, Nina 1944–

U.S. Reporter and Legal Affairs Correspondent

Most of Nina Totenberg's radio reporting career has been focused on the Supreme Court and the other highest levels of America's legal system, including the investigations that have shaken presidents and the role of Congress in legal affairs. She may be best known for breaking stories that helped derail or disrupt the confirmations of Supreme Court nominees. In the process, Totenberg has made powerful enemies and won most of the top awards in broadcasting.

Born in New York City and reared in nearby Scarsdale, New York, Totenberg is the eldest of three daughters of concert violinist and music educator Roman Totenberg. She attended Boston University but left in 1965 to take various newspaper jobs until 1968, when she moved to Washington, D.C., and landed a job on the now-defunct *National Observer*.

While at the *Observer*, Totenberg wrote a profile of J. Edgar Hoover that so enraged the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) director that he tried to have her fired. She recalls it as "the first time a credible news organization wrote a profile of Hoover that was neither a fan letter nor a hatchet job." At the *Observer*, Totenberg began to develop her interest in legal affairs, especially in the background of decisions at the Supreme Court.

In 1973 Totenberg moved on to *New Times*, an irreverent and short-lived national journal, where she created a stir on Capitol Hill with an article called "The Ten Dumbest Members of Congress." One of the men profiled, Senator William Scott of Virginia, compounded the publicity by holding a news conference in which he denied that he was the dumbest.

Totenberg went to work for National Public Radio (NPR) in 1974, learning the basics of radio production from colleagues as she perfected her legal research skills. Her persistent and aggressive reporting style won the admiration of many Washington news people but the ill will of those who were used to thinking of reporting from the Capital as an all-male club. "When I started," Totenberg recalls, "I was pretty much the only girl, and I thought the way to succeed was to be tough as nails. Over the years I've mellowed, but I'm also not the only girl anymore."

Linda Wertheimer, cohost of NPR's *All Things Considered*, ascribes Totenberg's success to hard work and persistence: "She'd do a tremendous amount of research on the whole Supreme Court docket before each session, so she'd go into all those cases knowing a lot about them." Wertheimer, who shared office space with Totenberg in the early years, also recalls that Totenberg was "dogged and tenacious when it came to following up leads. She just wouldn't take no for an answer."

Iran-Contra Special Prosecutor Lawrence Walsh says Totenberg has cultivated a wide network of sources over the years because of "her absolute honesty and trustworthiness" and because she is always imaginative in seeking out people to question.

Her imagination and persistence paid off in 1987, when Totenberg broke the story that Supreme Court nominee Douglas H. Ginsburg had openly smoked marijuana in the 1970s when he taught at Harvard Law School. Totenberg interviewed people who knew Ginsburg at the time, including former students and colleagues. "I was there before the FBI was," she recalls, "and I'm not sure they would have asked." The disclosure embarrassed the Reagan administration, which had promoted the federal appeals judge as a strict upholder of the law. Shortly after Totenberg's report, Ginsburg withdrew his name from consideration.

Totenberg's national fame stems from scoops such as the Ginsburg case and an even bigger one: uncovering sexual harassment allegations against Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas in 1991. Thomas' supporters were furious that the allegation had leaked. Senator Alan Simpson of Wyoming attacked Totenberg's integrity when the two appeared together on American Broadcasting Company's (ABC) *Nightline*, and the two had an angry exchange outside the studio that was widely reported. The *Wall Street Journal* ran an editorial accusing Totenberg of being fired from the *National Observer* for plagiarism 19 years earlier. In interviews with *Vanity Fair* and other journals, Totenberg has said that she did copy quotes for a story, calling it "a stupid mistake," but she main-

tains that she left the *Observer* because of sexual harassment from a supervisor. In the end, the Senate narrowly confirmed Thomas' nomination. Totenberg and Timothy Phelps were questioned by the Senate's general counsel but refused to reveal their sources, and Senate leaders declined to pursue contempt citations against them.

Although the more sensational stories have brought her fame, Totenberg has spent most of her career navigating the tamer twists and turns of Supreme Court arguments and congressional investigations. NPR editor Barbara Campbell says Totenberg's forte is summarizing the arguments in Supreme Court cases. "Her paraphrase can often tell you what's going on more succinctly than the speakers themselves, and she gives you the real flavor of the argument." Totenberg often recites portions of the dialogue among the justices and lawyers to show their thinking as it evolves. As she puts it, "The best thing I do is the everyday explanatory work of covering the law and making it interesting and understandable to people who might not otherwise listen, and at the same time, have lawyers say 'she got it right.'"

COREY FLINTOFF

See also All Things Considered; Morning Edition; National Public Radio; Wertheimer, Linda; Women in Radio

Nina Totenberg. Born in New York City, 14 January 1944, one of three daughters of violinist Roman Totenberg and Melanie (Shroder). Student at Boston University; reporter, *Boston Record American*, 1965, *Peabody Times*, 1967,

National Observer, 1968–71, *New Times*, 1973; National Public Radio, 1974–present, *Inside Washington*, 1992, and American Broadcasting Company's (ABC) *Nightline*, 1993–present; covered Watergate Trials, Supreme Court nominations of G. Harrold Carswell, Douglas Ginsburg, Robert Bork, and Clarence Thomas, Iran-Contra and Whitewater investigations, and impeachment of President Clinton. Alfred I. duPont Award from Columbia University, George Foster Peabody Award, George Polk Award, American Judicature Society Tony House Award for outstanding legal coverage (first recipient), National Press Foundation Award for outstanding broadcast journalist of 1999, Joan Barone Award, Silver Gavel Award, Woman of Courage Award from American Women in Film, and Athena Award.

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Tracht, Doug "GreaseMan" 1950–

U.S. Radio Personality

Doug Tracht's alter ego, The GreaseMan, is rude, crude, and politically incorrect. He is also one of the funniest and most creative air personalities on the radio. Rooted in a boss jock routine based on the music-driven radio style of the 1960s, the persona of The GreaseMan led Tracht into the new shock jock arena, using humor that is often sexist and offensive to many groups. The GreaseMan character attracted a loyal fan base by telling elaborate stories and jokes with himself as the central character. He opines about people and events in the news, frequently taking his humor to rude, crude, and violent extremes. To avoid trouble with the Federal Communications Commis-

sion (FCC) and to go over children's heads, he created code words for body parts and bodily functions.

Origins

Doug Tracht was born and raised in the Bronx, New York, where he lived until graduating from DeWitt Clinton High School in 1968. Tracht, a tall, skinny kid, wanted to be macho, and he realized his ambition on radio. At Ithaca College, he worked at the student radio station, vomiting the first time he went on air. Noting that while other announcers "cooked," he

told listeners he cooked with grease. Tracht began developing his unique style, preparing the macho character Nino "Grease-man" Mannelli. After graduating from Ithaca College in 1972 with a broadcasting degree, Tracht developed his Greaseman persona at a string of stations. He worked in New York in 1972 for both WTKO-AM 1470 in Ithaca and WENE-AM 1430 in Endicott. He worked at WAXC-AM 1460 in Rochester, New York, from 1972 to 1974 before moving to WPOP-AM 1410 in Hartford, Connecticut, where he worked from 1974 to 1975.

Washington, D.C.'s WRC-AM 980 hired Tracht to work evenings in 1975–76. Station management was not amused and asked Tracht to drop the Greaseman or leave. He chose to go to Jacksonville, Florida, where Greaseman hit his stride, rising to infamous heights at the Big Ape, WAPE-AM 690, from 1976–81. Tracht developed Greaseman into a "God-fearing, truck-driving redneck." Greaseman became known for his bits, parodies, running gags, ad libs, and his ability to play off of phone callers. For his shows, Tracht does no advance preparation, getting ideas from callers or newspapers while on the air. Tracht's characters include the Lawman, a career he would have chosen had he not found radio. In Jacksonville, Tracht worked as a reserve police officer at night, often doing his morning drive program in full uniform complete with a .44 Magnum pistol. He later volunteered as a deputy sheriff in Falls Church, Virginia.

After leaving WAPE, Tracht returned to Washington, D.C., and WWDC-FM 101.1, replacing Howard Stern in the morning drive slot after Stern's firing. Greaseman maintained Stern's number-one rating and increased the size of the audience. Stern's show, syndicated by Infinity Broadcasting, competed with Greaseman until Tracht joined the same company.

Greaseman prospered at WWDC from August 1982 until 22 January 1993, commanding more than 10 percent of Washington's morning drive listeners. He employed numerous publicity stunts, including a mock presidential run in 1984. In 1993 he turned down a \$6.5 million renewal offer from WWDC to move to Los Angeles, where Infinity Broadcasting nationally syndicated *The Greaseman Show* until 1996.

In 1997 Tracht published *And They Ask Me Why I Drink?* a collection of Greaseman stories and anecdotes presented entirely "in character," with Tracht's real name mentioned only as the copyright holder. Greaseman joined Washington's WARW-FM 94.7 in May 1997, taking over the morning drive time. Tracht was suspended and subsequently fired on 24 February 1999, after playing an excerpt from a song by African-American Lauryn Hill and having "Greaseman" say, "No wonder people drag them behind trucks." His comment referred to the recent dragging death of a black man in Texas. Tracht appeared on TV and radio, including ABC's *Nightline*, BET's *Tonight with Tavis Smiley*, and MS-NBC's *Equal Time* to apologize. Although Tracht does not have a personal repu-

tation as a racist or bigot, he had made a similar comment about Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday when it was made a national holiday in 1986. Greaseman suggested "killing four more and getting the rest of the week off." He was suspended but not fired after offering an apology over Washington's WRC-TV.

Tracht has moonlighted as an actor in TV movies and appeared in the play *The Last Session* in Los Angeles during the summer of 1996. Tracht portrayed a sleazy lawyer in a 7 December 1999 installment of *The FBI Files*, a Discovery Channel docudrama series. After being fired in Washington, Tracht hosted *Matchmaker.com*, a cable television dating show using the internet to make love matches. He also did some standup comedy at clubs in Washington, D.C., and Maryland.

The Greaseman returned to the airwaves via syndication on 5 March 2001, working from a studio at "The Grease Palace" (his name for his home). On 10 July 2002, Washington, D.C.'s WGOP-AM became the flagship station for *The Grease Show*, which is syndicated on stations in Maryland, New York, Pennsylvania, and Florida.

W.A. KELLY HUFF

Doug Tracht. Born in the Bronx, New York, 1 August 1950. Attended Ithaca College, New York, 1968–72, majored in broadcasting; worked in radio at WTKO-AM, Ithaca, New York, 1972; WENE-AM, Endicott, New York, 1972; WAXC-AM, Rochester, New York, 1972–74; WPOP-AM, Hartford, Connecticut, 1974–75; WRC-AM, Washington, D.C., 1975–76; WAPE-AM, Jacksonville, Florida, 1976–81; WWDC-FM, Washington, D.C., 1982–93; hosted nationally syndicated *Greaseman Show*, Los Angeles, 1993–96; worked at WARW-FM, Washington, D.C., 1997–99, and fired for racial comment; host of the syndicated *The Grease Show*, from 2001.

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Trade Associations

The American radio business has organized a variety of trade associations to both lobby government and promote radio to the general public. While the largest and longest-lasting such group has been the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB), many others have focused on more specific concerns or groups, some of them lasting only a few years. This entry details a few such groups (many others, such as NAB, have their own entry) to illustrate the variety of their concerns.

Clear Channel Broadcasting Service

Organized in 1941, the Clear Channel Broadcasting Service (CCBS) was an association of a relative handful of large AM radio station owners whose goal was to operate maximum-powered (50,000 watt) AM radio stations on “clear channels” without being subject to co-channel skywave interference from other stations, which might reduce their nighttime coverage. Although its stated mission was to conduct “an educational and promotional campaign to acquaint Congress and the members of the public with the need for clear channel stations,” the CCBS—the first special-interest trade organization in the broadcast industry—sought to use every political and legal means available to protect the frequencies its members occupied.

By 1934 numerous smaller stations were already asking the FCC for permission to operate on one of the 40 clear channel frequencies. To fight for the preservation of clear channels and repel this potential incursion, and to lobby for *superpower* license grants similar to the 1934–39 experimental permit obtained by WLW, Cincinnati, Ohio, Edwin Craig of WSM in Nashville, Tennessee, organized 13 independently owned (non-network) clear channel stations into the Clear Channel Group. (Stations owned by the National Broadcasting Company [NBC] and Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS] networks were not welcome to join, because it was felt that the networks had their own agendas and were not passionate about, or necessarily even in favor of, the clear channel movement.)

The CCBS was established on 4 February 1941 and eventually became a replacement for the predecessor Clear Channel Group, because the membership was essentially the same and Edwin Craig was the singular driving force behind both orga-

nizations. The CCBS, however, took a more aggressive stance than the Clear Channel Group had and, with the support of member station contributions, opened a Washington, D.C., office and employed Vic Sholis, a former public information official for the U.S. Department of Commerce, to lead the cause.

Following World War II, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) launched a plan to break down a number of the clear channels (by letting other stations use them) in a proceeding labeled as Docket 6741. To fight the plan, the CCBS concentrated on building alliances with farm groups and others living in rural America who would support their claims that protecting the clear channel stations was vital to providing satisfactory service to these vast areas.

Although the CCBS was able to delay action, it was not able to stop the FCC from issuing its decision. This occurred on 13 September 1961, concluding that 13 of the clear channels would be duplicated, with the assignment of one fulltime Class II (regional) station to each, with the Commission designating in what area each could be located. CCBS spent the balance of the 1960s seeking congressional reversal of the FCC action while allowing superpower status for several stations. Although it received a degree of support, no bills passed into law. By the 1970s, members' interest in the issue was waning and the organization largely abandoned further legislative battles. The climax of the fight to retain major protected status for clear channel stations came on 20 June 1980, when the FCC released its decision in Docket 20642, declaring that the nation's population would be better served by allowing even more stations to operate on clear channel frequencies than had been permitted under the 1961 decision. Thus, all remaining clear channel stations were now subject to multiple Class II stations, which could operate on what had once been “cleared” channels.

The CCBS, which represented only a limited group of radio stations, was unique as it continued to champion that cause for nearly 50 years. Although CCBS became inactive after the 1980 decision, all of the AM frequencies established as “clear channels” in 1928 are still so designated, and stations originally licensed as Class I still receive a measure of interference protection over and above all other stations on the AM band.

National Association of Farm Broadcasters

By the 1930s, as farm-related broadcasters began meeting informally at various agricultural and broadcast industry gatherings, the need for an organization that focused on their specific needs became evident. On 4 May 1944 the National Association of Radio Farm Directors was officially formed to promote more and better programming directed to American farmers. As TV stations began operating (and, with them, farm-oriented TV reports), the group became the National Association of Television and Radio Farm Directors, adding more than 100 new members, for a total membership of approximately 500. The name was later shortened to the National Association of Farm Broadcasters (NAFB).

Members became aware that to survive, farm programming needed to produce revenue for stations. New emphasis was placed on sales and the acceptance of commercials. By the 1960s the NAFB had made good progress in becoming a business-oriented organization. They set out to tell about producing results for advertisers and proving there was an audience for farm programs.

Early in 1989 the NAFB employed its first fulltime executive director, Roger Olson, who served until 1996 and was followed by Steve Pierson. Under these two men, major focus has been placed on research and obtaining both qualitative and quantitative information about the farm market. By 1998 the NAFB had produced a farm broadcasting presentation on CD-ROM for use by media sales representatives in telling the story of how radio and television continue to provide the vital information needed by farmers as they labor to feed the nation.

The National Farm Broadcast Service was created in 1992 for the delivery of information via satellite, which also made possible the exchange of news stories and interviews by members.

Radio-Television News Directors Association

The Radio-Television News Directors Association (RTNDA) was founded in March 1946 under the name National Association of Radio News Editors for the purposes of setting standards for newsgathering and reporting, exchanging ideas, and “convinc[ing] news sources that broadcast reporters were legitimate members of the journalistic profession.” Later that year the name was changed to the National Association of Radio News Directors. With the onset of TV news programming, the present name (including the word “Television”) was put into place in 1952. Over the years, RTNDA focused on developing both ethical and operational standards for both radio and television news departments.

RTNDA is now a worldwide organization devoted to electronic journalism in all its formats. Thus it represents station and network news executives in radio, television, cable television, and other electronic media in more than 30 countries. By

the turn of the century, membership in the RTNDA totaled more than 3,000 news directors, news reporters and editors, educators, and students.

RTNDA offers professional development programs as well as programs for students of journalism and young professionals, including scholarships and short-term paid Capitol Hill internships. RTNDA also produces an extensive lineup of publications and resources to support the work of electronic journalists, including the *Communicator*, a monthly magazine devoted to reporting on new technological advances, developments in reporting and newsroom management techniques, and topics vital to news facility managers.

Many attend the Association’s annual international conference and exposition held in a different city each year. An independent affiliate of the RTNDA is the Radio and Television News Directors Foundation, which promotes “excellence in electronic journalism” through research, education, and training for news professionals and students.

National Association of College Broadcasters

The National Association of College Broadcasters (NACB) is a nonprofit trade organization for student-operated radio stations. NACB is fairly young, having been founded in 1988 by students at Brown University. In their efforts to establish a student TV station at the Providence, Rhode Island-based school, the Brown students realized the need for an entity that could assist student-operated radio and TV stations in their startup efforts and provide a conduit for exchanging programming, operational, and legal information with other student outlets.

NACB exists to provide students a ready resource for advice and information and a venue for exchanging ideas and innovative concepts. Through such events as its annual National Conference, the NACB functions as a link between the academic and professional worlds of the radio/TV industry. It presents an annual awards program, where individuals and station members from the United States and other countries honor the best work in student electronic media. In addition, the NACB devotes itself to encouraging and supporting student stations and individuals in reaching for and attaining high standards so as to enhance the communities they serve, to provide opportunities for individuals with an interest in media and communications, and to argue their position on pending laws or regulations that might affect student media.

Radio Music License Committee

The Radio Music License Committee has a very specific function. Made up of broadcasters who volunteer to represent their industry’s interests, the committee negotiates with the two largest musical performing rights organizations, American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers (ASCAP) and

Broadcast Music Incorporated (BMI), to establish acceptable fees and terms for the performance of music by commercial radio stations in the United States.

Originally known as the All-Industry Music Committee, the committee took over this function from the NAB in the early 1940s. The NAB itself had been formed (in 1923) by a group of broadcasters who found ASCAP's fee requests to be unacceptable. In 1970 it was agreed that radio and television's performance of music raised different negotiating concerns requiring different approaches. Hence, the organization divided itself into two separate entities, and the Radio Music License Committee was born. It is an independent body, having no affiliation with the NAB.

Officially, the Committee negotiates on behalf of its member stations—those who voluntarily fund it—yet, for all practical purposes, it represents most of the radio industry, because the blanket and per-performance license fee structure agreed upon applies to all stations and producers. When unable to reach agreement with either ASCAP or BMI, the Committee more than once has commenced litigation under the federally imposed consent decrees, which require both music licensing organizations to set reasonable fees and terms for radio station licenses. Generally, agreements are renewed with the two entities for a four- or five-year term.

Broadcast Measurement Bureau

The Broadcast Measurement Bureau (BMB) was a brief experiment by the National Association of Broadcasters to provide a service comparable to that of the Audit Bureau of Circulation (ABC).

Beville (1988) describes the ABC as “a nonprofit, tripartite, self-regulatory, voluntary organization established in 1914 and supported by the entire print media and advertising industry.” The ABC provides independent audits of circulation figures of newspapers, magazines, journals, and internet media. In its own words, “by creating an independent currency for measuring its value, the ABC makes the sale and purchase of print, exhibition, and internet media both easier and efficient.” In the audits, individuals whom the various media assert are in the audiences of a publication or exhibition are independently contacted to assure that they are indeed readers, participants, or viewers as claimed. The governing board of ABC includes representatives of national and regional advertisers, newspapers, and other organizations. Advertisers, agencies, and publications pay an annual fee to receive publications reporting the independent audits.

In 1945—in an attempt to parallel ABC methods for radio—the broadcast industry organized the BMB to conduct radio station coverage surveys. Their method involved a survey form mailed to listeners, who would verify the stations they received and listened to. A private research firm that had con-

ducted some methodological work along these lines was engaged to conduct a national survey. Broadcaster subscriptions supported this study.

Following the apparent success of an initial survey, a second was launched three years later. It did not meet its expenses because of a lack of subscriptions by radio stations. It appeared that some stations, pleased with the results of the first study, did not wish to risk less impressive results in a second survey, while other stations, dissatisfied with the first survey, saw no reason to support a survey likely to deliver bad news a second time.

Faced with this lack of support, BMB collapsed. The NAB paid \$100,000 to the researchers so that the few broadcasters who had subscribed would receive complete reports. Beville theorizes that BMB was doomed to failure, if the objective was to impress advertisers. In his view broadcaster-supported research would always seem tainted to advertisers and their agencies.

International Radio and Television Society Foundation

The International Radio and Television Society (IRTS) Foundation is a New York City-based service organization whose goal is to “bring together the wisdom of yesterday's founders, the power of today's leaders, and the promise of tomorrow's young industry professionals.” The emphasis here is more on education than lobbying.

The IRTS evolved from an organization founded in 1939 when a group of radio executives began meeting informally to discuss mutual interests. Because electronic media face continual change at every level, there is a constant need for development of training and information. IRTS seeks to provide education and on-going dialogue about important communication issues.

IRTS membership includes professionals across a variety of disciplines encompassing all modes of electronic content distribution, including radio, broadcast television, cable television, computer, direct broadcast satellite, and telephony.

Each year, IRTS presents approximately 45 programs, including monthly luncheons with a newsmaker as the guest speaker, seminars, and dinners, which help fund the organization's electronic media educational programs. These include a faculty/industry seminar, where university professors meet with industry leaders in New York for five days of intense sessions; the preparation of case studies to assist communications and business school professors in their teaching of media-related topics; minority career workshops; and an annual nine-week summer fellowship program.

Many other radio organizations have appeared and faded away over the years, including those representing radio DJs, sales personnel, financial managers, promotional personnel, stations interested in providing on-air editorials, and classical music stations.

MARLIN R. TAYLOR AND JAMES E. FLETCHER

See also American Federation of Musicians; American Federation of Television and Radio Artists; American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers; American Women in Radio and Television; Broadcast Music Inc.; Clear Channel Stations; Farm/Agricultural Radio; FM Trade Associations; Intercollegiate Broadcasting System; National Association of Broadcasters; National Association of Educational Broadcasters; National Federation of Community Broadcasters; National Religious Broadcasters; Promax; RADAR; Radio Advertising Bureau; Technical Organizations

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Trade Press

Reporting Radio's Business

The radio or broadcast trade press consists primarily of weekly magazines and newsletters (some now available via internet delivery) that serve an audience of people working within the radio industry—including broadcasters, engineers, managers, program personnel, manufacturers, investors, and others. These publications report what is happening in the radio business and related fields, technological developments and trends, regulatory actions and decisions, and information about people in the industry. They often take a strongly pro-business editorial stance. Some trade periodicals are published as a function of professional organizations, others are published by manufacturing companies, but most are advertiser-supported commercial ventures. Most focus on the American scene, but some deal with comparative or international activities as well.

The trade press excludes publications directed at the general public, including fan magazines, hobby publications, scholarly journals, radio program guides, and the like. A selection of radio-specific titles (most of them American) are highlighted here. Some lasted for only a short time and either disappeared or merged with other periodicals, but others have continued on for decades.

Origins (to 1940)

The earliest related trade periodicals served the electrical and telegraph and telephone industries in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Journals such as *The Electrical Engineer* (1882–99, weekly) and *Journal of the Telegraph* (1867–1914,

monthly) included early reports on wireless telegraphy experiments and applications. The venerable show business papers *Billboard* (1894–present, weekly) and *Variety* (1905–present, weekly) created models of the entertainment trade paper genre that would blossom in the decades to come, and both regularly covered broadcasting from its inception. For a few years from the late 1930s into the early 1940s, *Variety* published an annual *Variety Radio Directory*.

Trade publications focusing on radio broadcasting emerged as regular broadcasting began in the 1920s. Some of these early publications included information of interest to amateurs, broadcasters, manufacturers, and even audience members, but they became more focused as the industry itself began to settle into a pattern. *Radio Broadcast* (1922–30, monthly) was the most important of these early titles, combining feature articles that at first appealed to both listeners and broadcasters. Technical information concerned building and operating receivers as well as station equipment, and the magazine carried more advertising than any of the other early radio journals. The monthly provided its readers with a broad cultural understanding of radio at first, but it became more technical and aimed at industry figures later in the decade, when the masthead noted that it was published “for the radio industry.”

Focusing on the equipment side, as many early trade papers did, *The Radio Dealer* (1922–28, monthly) was a pioneer aimed at retailers of radio receivers. *Radio Retailing* (1925–39, monthly) took similar aim and was also supported by manufacturer advertising. Its editor, Orestes Caldwell, eventually served as a member of the Federal Radio Commission (most early edi-

tors were radio enthusiasts, and several others emerged as key figures in the development of the radio industry).

Perhaps the most influential of radio industry trade magazines is *Broadcasting* (1931–41, biweekly; 1941–present, weekly). The creation of Sol Taishoff and Martin Codel, this was primarily a newsmagazine from the start, and it built close relationships with the Washington industry and policy community. Taishoff and Codel's combination of journalistic experience with a wide network of contacts rapidly built the magazine into an industry staple, which added an annual year-book directory number in 1935 (which is still published). Its advertising featured major stations, network and syndicated programs, and broadcast equipment.

As the industry grew in size and complexity, weekly publication was insufficient to follow all the developments and issues. This fact gave birth to *Radio Daily* (1936–50), which began to focus more on television and became *Radio Daily–Television Daily* (1950–62), and finally *Radio-Television Daily* (1962–66), “the national daily newspaper of commercial radio and television.” The daily grew in size—from four pages in the 1940s to eight pages in tabloid format with photos. (It published a long-running *Radio Annual* beginning in 1938.) No publication devoted to radio has appeared on a daily basis since, though many broader publications (e.g., *Communications Daily*, which began in 1981) include radio issues and trends.

Radio Faces Television (1940–80)

The rise of a more complex broadcast industry during and after World War II gave rise to more specialized periodicals. *FM* (1940–48, monthly) underwent several title changes as it broadened its coverage to deal with shortwave and television in addition to frequency modulation broadcasting. *Frequency Modulation Business* (1946–48, monthly) was even more focused on management issues, perhaps explaining its shorter life, given FM's quick initial postwar peak and slow demise at the end of the 1940s. Because of wartime production shortages, *Radio Retailing Today* (1942–44, monthly) had a short life. *Radio Showmanship* (began monthly publication in 1939) offered stories and features for advertisers and station executives on program ideas and promotions for different types of products.

As radio began to face fierce competition from television, previously radio-only publications expanded their coverage. *Broadcasting*, for example, became *Broadcasting Telecasting* from 1949 to 1957, devoting increasing space to television beyond that point, and *Radio Daily* focused more and more on the visual medium. *Sponsor* (1946–68, monthly) increasingly focused on television, having begun with a devotion to radio advertising. On the other hand, a growing number of specialized radio-only publications began to appear. *Inside Radio*

(1976–present, weekly) is a newsletter aimed at radio executives, programmers, and syndicators that is filled with competitive tips in a no-advertising format.

Development of a host of competitive radio management and programming journals demonstrated radio's post-television comeback and the growing competition among both FM and AM stations. *Radio and Records* (1973–present, weekly), touting itself as “the industry's newspaper,” built on the symbiotic relationship between recorded music and broadcasting, including widely used music playlists. Claude Hall's *The International Radio Report* (1978–present, weekly) plays a somewhat similar role, claiming “the most accurate [music popularity] charts in the world.” *Radio Only* (1978–present, monthly) calls itself “the management tool” and deals with all aspects of radio management, sales, and programming. *Inside Radio* (1976–present, weekly) is “the confidential newsweekly for radio executives, programmers, and syndicators,” focusing on hot news, sales tips, and ratings news. With the dramatic post-1996 ownership changes in the radio business, *Inside Radio* began to issue *Who Owns What* (weekly), a newsletter listing the merger and acquisition activity of major radio group owners.

Company Publications. Several manufacturers published their own trade journals, which sometimes rose above being mere advertising vehicles. Perhaps the first was a product of the Marconi Company, which began publishing the monthly *Wireless Age* in 1913, well before broadcasting began, and continued it until 1925. *RCA Review* (1936–85, quarterly) and *Broadcast News* (1941–68, monthly), both published by the Radio Corporation of America (RCA), largely touted company products and applications but also provided useful information on studios and broadcast equipment. The *Review* offered research papers by RCA engineers. Archival copies remain a useful way to trace station technical development and design. Philips, General Electric, and several other firms issued house organs as well, many of which focused on radio technology.

Association Publications. Issued for members of organizations, such as engineers or broadcast journalists, or for broader trade associations, these often focused on radio. Over the years, for example, the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) issued many (usually monthly) periodicals concerning radio, including *FMphasis* in the 1960s as the FM industry began to grow again, and *Radio Active*, a monthly, which became *Radio Week* (1988–present, weekly). All of these focused on Washington policy concerns, general industry trends, and NAB activities—and took a strongly pro-industry point of view. The monthly *RTNDA Bulletin* (1952–70) and *Communicator* (1971–88) helped to tie the nation's news directors together with reviews of common problems, though from the beginning the focus was on television rather than radio. With a focus on stations devoted to Christian programs

and music, *Religious Broadcasting* (1969–present, monthly) is a publication of the National Religious Broadcasters.

Technical Journals. Engineering association publications are technical in nature or focus on radio production techniques. *The Proceedings of the Institute of Radio Engineers* (1913–62, monthly) was the vehicle for many important technical announcements, including Edwin Armstrong's pioneering FM paper in 1936. Aimed at electrical engineers, its contents were wholly technical, with advertising to match. It has been superseded by a host of publications from the Institute of Electrical and Electronic Engineers. *Audio* (1954–present, monthly) has long dealt with "The World of Sound." It began as *Pacific Radio News* (1917–21), then became *Radio* (1921–47), and later became *Audio Engineering* (1947–54). The *Journal of the Audio Engineering Society* (1953–present, quarterly, monthly, then semimonthly) began as the *Broadcast Equipment Exchange*, a tabloid newspaper dealing with both new and used station equipment. It took on its present title in 1980 and broadened its coverage to station engineering management as well as new technology. *Mix* (1977–present, monthly) is one of the recording industry journals that blur the line dividing radio and sound studio work. First a quarterly and then a monthly, *Mix* offers information on both new technology and its applications.

Non-U.S. Publications. Naturally, a thriving broadcast trade press exists in several other nations as well. There is space here to cite only a few English language titles. *Broadcast* (1973–present, weekly) began in 1959 as *Television Mail* and has become the key trade periodical for British broadcasting, covering all aspects of radio and television, including the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and commercial services. *Broadcaster* (1942–present, monthly) does the same thing for all aspects of Canadian radio and television broadcasting. It provides directory issues listing stations and systems plus related firms and associations twice a year. *Asian Broadcasting* is a Hong Kong–based bimonthly reporting on programming and business aspects of radio and television; it also issues a technical overview covering the region from Egypt to Japan. *The Asian Broadcasting Technical Review* (1969–present, bimonthly) reports on technical developments and equipment trends among Asian nations.

Modern Era (Since 1980)

By the 1980s, specialized radio publications broadened their comeback, encouraged by the continued growth of the industry. *Radio Ink: Radio's Premier Management and Marketing Magazine* (1985–present, monthly) deals with all aspects of commercial radio operation, especially programming. *Digital Radio News* (1990–present, bimonthly) is a newsletter that first appeared just as serious thinking about digital radio began. Although regular digital audio broadcasting has been

delayed in the United States, this publication has reported on related terrestrial and satellite developments.

On-Line Publications

The rise of the internet as a means of effective business communication is very evident in the radio trade press. Indeed, in time, the internet will probably totally transform the whole trade press business. Many radio magazines, including *Billboard*, *Broadcasting & Cable*, *M Street*, *Radio Business Report*, *Radio Ink*, and *Radio & Records*, offer extensive on-line versions of their print publications, some available only to subscribers, others to all comers. *Streaming: The Business of Internet Media* (formerly *eRadio*, it is published by Eric Rhodes, who also issues *Radio Ink*) first appeared as a monthly in May 2000 and offers (fittingly) on-line features. *Radio World* offers readers an email updating service. *FMQB (Friday Morning Quarterback)* began in 1968 and is now a 50-plus page glossy weekly, covering programming, management, music, promotion, marketing, imaging, and airplay for various rock and rhythm crossover formats—with an extensive internet presence as well. On-line versions of these titles often closely parallel the print editions, even to layout. But on-line editions often provide more stories and greater depth than the print version can.

Others, such as the *Radio and Internet Newsletter* (founded in 1999), are primarily on-line publications. Such "publication," of course, is vastly less expensive in that printing and distribution costs are non-existent. Further, on-line publication allows regular updating, even new daily releases. How many of the internet-only publications can survive without a strong advertising or subscriber base, however, remains to be seen.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Columnists; Critics; Fan Magazines; Taishoff, Sol

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Transistor Radios

When the first transistor radio was introduced to the American market during the November 1954 holiday season, no one recognized it as the precursor to a technological revolution. Apart from electronics buffs, consumers appeared to greet the miniature radios with a collective yawn.

The initial development of transistors in the late 1930s was conducted by physicists working for Bell Laboratories, the research division of American Telephone and Telegraph (AT&T). They were trying to create an electronic device that could replace vacuum tubes, something much smaller that would consume significantly less electricity and generate less heat. World War II interrupted those efforts. In 1948 Bell Labs announced the development of the transistor. William Shockley, John Bardeen, and Walter H. Brattain would share the 1956 Nobel Prize for Physics for its invention.

Texas Instruments (TI) was a small seismic-survey company that built its own survey equipment. During World War II, there was little demand for oil exploration, so the company used its electronics capability to build systems for anti-submarine warfare. In 1952 TI was one of 20 companies that paid Western Electric (the manufacturing division of AT&T) \$25,000 for the right to produce transistors.

In 1954 TI constructed a transistorized pocket radio. Concerned that it was introducing an unknown in the consumer electronics market, TI took its six-transistor design to radio manufacturers. The reception, according to marketing director S.T. Harris, was unimpressive. His phone calls, letters, and telegrams to every major radio manufacturer in the United States produced no response.

Finally, in June 1954 a small Indiana company, the Industrial Development Engineers Association (IDEA), agreed that its Regency division would produce and market the 12-ounce, 3-inch by 5-inch radio. Production began in October just in time for Christmas sales in November. The TR-1 sold for \$49.95, and the accompanying brochure extolled its pleasures: "in pocket or purse anytime, anywhere, you can be sure to hear that favorite program . . . be sure not to miss that vital

installment of soap or horse or space opera . . . check scores, weather results, news . . . have music wherever you go at those times when music adds so much . . . and the Regency Radio can play for you alone without disturbing others around you or the whole group can share" (White, 1994).

Initially, consumers were slow to adopt transistor radios. After World War II, Americans wanted products that left behind the austerity of the war years. Automobiles and appliances were bigger and flashier. A tiny radio with an earphone resembling a hearing aid did not fit the American shopper's self-image as a prosperous trendsetter—and the relatively high price was an obstacle as well.

It was not until the end of the 1950s that the tiny portable radio would find its niche, but it would take the rock and roll revolution to fuel the increased demand for pint-size radios that teenagers could carry with them wherever they went. In 1955 Bill Haley and the Comets were the first to have a rock and roll record reach number one on the Billboard chart. "Rock Around the Clock" stayed in the number-one slot for eight weeks. A number of music historians mark the occasion as the birth of the rock and roll era.

Radio stations quickly realized that teenagers were a large part of the audience—and that they were clamoring to hear more Elvis, Paul Anka, the Everly Brothers, and others. Stations across the country quickly adopted the new Top 40 format. Parents were less than thrilled with rock music. "Turn that thing down," was the common refrain. Earplugs allowed teenagers to listen to transistor radios without antagonizing adults. The small size also permitted surreptitious listening while huddled under the covers at night after lights out. One of the inventors of the transistor is reported to have joked that he might have reconsidered the invention had he known it would allow kids across the United States ready access to rock and roll.

The head of International Business Machines (IBM), Thomas J. Watson, Jr., was another who recognized the importance of transistors. After reluctant engineers made little effort



The first commercial transistor radio, the Regency TR-1
 Copyright 1998 John V. Terrey. Reprinted with permission of *Antique Radio Classified*

to incorporate transistor technology in computers they were designing, Watson bought several hundred Regency TR-1 radios. He ordered that no more computers be built using vacuum tubes after 1 June 1958. To those engineers who complained, he gave a TR-1 to make his point. Soon IBM was building computers using transistors from TI, \$200 million worth by 1960.

American radio manufacturers started building transistor radios in the mid-1950s, with nearly 5 million radios produced by Admiral, Arvin, Emerson, General Electric, Raytheon, Radio Corporation of America (RCA), Westinghouse, and Zenith by 1957. That same year, the first Japanese transistor radio was sold in the United States. It was manufactured by

Tokyo Telecommunications Engineering Company, a new corporation created immediately following World War II. Soon its name would be changed to something catchier for the international market: Sony. Other Japanese companies quickly followed Sony's lead. By 1959, 6 million radios were coming into the United States from Japan, a highly successful launch into the world market of consumer microelectronics.

In 1960 almost 10 million transistor radios were sold in the United States. That number would increase to 27 million radios in 1969. No longer were they owned exclusively by young people. Americans of all ages had discovered the convenience of a tiny radio that could go anywhere. The transistor radio had become ubiquitous in American life. Baseball fans kept up with the World Series; American soldiers in Vietnam listened to Armed Forces Radio broadcasts.

In the 1960s, innovators realized the transistor radio apparatus fit nicely into a variety of small cases. Model cars, soft drink bottles, and wristwatches were among the many novelty radios that needed only a company's name and message to make it a successful advertising tool. Novelty radios continue to be popular today, coming in every shape imaginable from a radio in a stuffed teddy bear to a fish containing a water-resistant shower radio.

SANDRA L. ELLIS

See also Bell Telephone Laboratories; Emerson Radio; General Electric; Radio Corporation of America; Receivers; Rock and Roll; Walkman; Westinghouse; Zenith

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Tremayne, Les 1913–

U.S. Radio and Film Actor

With a long acting career marked by his first film role in 1917 as a child actor, initial radio role in 1931, an appearance on television in 1939, and re-entry into films in 1951, Les Tremayne was a frequently heard and seen actor in a variety of media. His role as a radio actor on soap operas and mysteries included *Adventures of the Thin Man* and *The First Nighter Program*.

Born in London, Tremayne moved with his family to America in 1930 while in his early teens. He was educated in classical Greek drama at Northwestern University, and later took courses in anthropology at both Columbia University and the University of California, Los Angeles. Tremayne first went on the stage in the early 1930s, where his distinguished approach and full deep voice served him well in a variety of roles.

He began his long radio career playing a suitor in *The Romance of Helen Trent* (1933), the first of what would become thousands of golden age broadcasts, notably as the star of the long-running anthology *The First Nighter Program*, where he played a variety of usually romantic leads (1936–43). At almost the same time he played regularly on the drama *Grand Hotel* (1934–40) and (more occasionally) the role of Bob Drake on *Betty and Bob* (1935–39). After the war he played the lead role of Nick Charles in *Adventures of the Thin Man* (1945–50) and Michael Waring in *The Falcon* (1946–49). He found time to star in a Broadway production in 1948–49. In 1949 he and his wife appeared on a noontime interview and chat program on New York's WOR.

With the decline of network radio acting opportunities, beginning in 1951 Tremayne turned primarily to playing roles as a film actor. His initial roles were as fairly serious characters (often military officers or scientists) in otherwise somewhat fantastic science fiction films, some of them distinctly "B" movies. In addition Tremayne showed up in several non-genre efforts, usually in small but substantial roles such as the auctioneer in Alfred Hitchcock's thriller *North by Northwest*.

Still later Tremayne became busy with television roles, including those as a commercial spokesman and voice-over artist. He appeared in, among other series, the prime-time TV version of radio's *One Man's Family* (1951); as Inspector Richard Queen in the reincarnation of the early 1950s *Ellery Queen* series (1958–59); and as the character Mentor on the Saturday morning weekly cartoon *Shazam!* (1974–77). He

played various voice roles in a host of other animated television and film productions.

Tremayne was voted the best radio actor in 1938 and one of the three most distinctive voices in the United States in 1940. He was elected to the Radio Hall of Fame in 1995.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

Lester (Les) Tremayne. Born 16 April 1913, in London to Walter Carl Christian and Dorothy Alice Gwilliam. Moved from England to the United States in 1930. Educated in Greek drama at Northwestern University (1937–39), and in anthropology at both Columbia (1949–50) and UCLA (1951–52), but no degrees earned. Many roles in radio dramas, 1933–49.

Major Radio Credits

1933	<i>The Romance of Helen Trent</i>
1934–40	<i>Grand Hotel</i>
1935–39	<i>Betty and Bob</i>
1936–43	<i>The First Nighter Program</i>
1945–50	<i>Adventures of the Thin Man</i>
1946–49	<i>The Falcon</i>
1949	<i>The Tremaynes</i>

Films

I Love Melvin, 1953; *The War of the Worlds*, 1953; *Susan Slept Here*, 1954; *A Man Called Peter*, 1955; *The Monolith Monsters*, 1957; *The Monster of Piedras Blancas*, 1958; *The Angry Red Planet*, 1959; *The Story of Ruth*, 1960; *The Slime People*, 1962; *The Fortune Cookie*, 1966; *The Phantom Tollbooth* (voice only), 1969; *Fangs*, 1973

Theater

Detective Story (Broadway, 1948–49)

Television

One Man's Family, 1951; *Ellery Queen*, 1958–59; *Shazam!* 1974–77

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Trout, Robert 1908–2000

U.S. Broadcast Journalist and Radio Commentator

In a long and varied career, Robert Trout brought a professionalism and legitimacy to the fledgling news operations of commercial radio. Beginning with his work as announcer on President Franklin Roosevelt's "fireside chats," Trout also established himself as radio's premier commentator on the political process.

Born in 1909 in North Carolina, Trout became obsessed with radio, building a crystal set when still an adolescent. Like many young boys, he was amazed at tuning in to all parts of the country, and a wanderlust was also sparked that would define his adult personality. Wanting to become a novelist, he got into the radio business by accident. In 1931 he applied for a job for which he had no skills at WJSV, a small station in Mount Vernon Hills, Virginia, and was given an unpaid position of all-round handyman. When one announcer failed to show up, Trout was asked to substitute, and his deep, resonant voice impressed the station manager. Seeing himself as a "very poor man's Will Rogers," Trout performed a variety of tasks on the air: reporting local events; playing country records; giving folksy advice; and parodying the Ku Klux Klan, which he quickly learned was financially involved with the station.

In 1932 WJSV moved to Washington, D.C., and became affiliated with the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) network, changing its call letters to WTOP. Trout became a remote reporter for the network, covering such events as President Herbert Hoover's Christmas tree lighting and the 1932 election. With the inauguration of Franklin Roosevelt (FDR), Trout was appointed presidential announcer and was responsible for introducing FDR's radio broadcasts, which became known as "fireside chats." For the first talk he prepared two introductions: a formal one, underlining the dignity of the office, and a more familiar, folksier one. Roosevelt chose the informal opening, and this rapport with Trout helped to define the president's intimate style of communication and the importance of radio in his administration.

In 1935 Paul White, director of CBS's news and public-affairs unit, transferred Trout to the network's flagship station in New York. Trout joined a small staff that included Edward R. Murrow, who was head of talks. Trout's coverage of both 1936 political conventions underlined his facility with improvising under any circumstance and orchestrating complex proceedings. Reporting on lengthy, breaking events with an indefatigable stamina and verbal grace became Trout's forte, leading to his sobriquet, "the iron man of radio." In 1937 Trout accompanied Paul White to London and reported on the installation of George VI as king of England, the first broadcaster to cover a live coronation. The dapper Trout also made

his first television appearance, as guest commentator on the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC).

By the late 1930s, Trout had hosted several conventional public-affairs series, including *History Behind the Headlines* and *Headlines and Bylines*. But the developing European war in the late 1930s demanded a new form of news. On 13 March 1938, following the *Anschluss*, Trout anchored the first news roundup, with reports by Murrow and his team from the major overseas capitals. American radio now participated in the larger world, with Trout's sureness and expertise giving the new broadcast a credibility and urgency. As historian Susan Douglas notes, Trout used "language that helped listeners see and even hear what [the war] had been like, and related events to those that Americans might remember or have participated in."

Even as Nazism was on the rise in Germany, Trout continued to report on such domestic affairs as the opening of the 1939 World's Fair and the havoc wrought by Mississippi River floods. In October 1941 Trout replaced Murrow as the European news chief and began his coverage of the Blitz of London. He hosted a series, *Trans-Atlantic Call*, in which he interviewed ordinary Englishmen about their struggles.

Trout reported many of the most significant events of World War II. For more than seven consecutive hours on D-Day, he read the latest news bulletins about the Allied invasion of Normandy from a New York studio. *Broadcasting* cited his anchoring of these breaking reports, 35 times in a 24-hour stretch, as "a masterful orchestration of maintaining a running report of 'the greatest story ever told.'" Trout hosted the memorial service for President Roosevelt in April 1945, ad-libbing for almost 30 minutes with memories of the former leader. He covered the celebrations on V-E and V-J days, and the end of fighting inspired one of Trout's succinct wrap-ups: "This, ladies and gentlemen, is the end of the Second World War."

After the war, as CBS news experimented with television, Trout remained the reassuring voice of accuracy on radio. Managing a team of 22 correspondents, he anchored a weekday daily news broadcast, *The News Till Now*. After he was replaced by Murrow in 1948, Trout joined the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) and hosted two television series: *Who Said That?* a quiz show that took advantage of Trout's unflappability, and *Presidential Timber*, which featured talks with candidates for the White House. In 1952 Trout, the dean of political reporters, was wooed back to CBS to once again cover the conventions; "the iron man" proved his mettle, anchoring one convention broadcast on the radio for 15 consecutive hours. In retrospect, Trout considered his return to CBS a mistake because he was overshadowed by so many



Robert Trout
Courtesy CBS Photo Archive

younger personalities who were being groomed for television, including Walter Cronkite, Eric Sevareid, and Charles Collingwood. Throughout the 1950s, Trout continued to host convention coverage on radio and lent his voice to several television documentaries produced by Fred Friendly.

In 1964 Friendly, who had been promoted to president of CBS News, decided that television news was badly trailing the NBC team of Chet Huntley and David Brinkley, especially in ratings of convention coverage. For the Democratic National Convention, Friendly, in consultation with chairman William Paley, paired the elegant veteran Robert Trout with the up-and-comer Roger Mudd. This marked the first time that Trout anchored a convention on television, having reported on radio on every nominating gathering since 1936. As always, Trout received impressive reviews from the critics; Jack Gould of the *New York Times* cited two qualities that were forever associated with Trout—his “smooth and unruffled administration of the anchor desk” and his “effortless ad libs in periods of emergency.” Unfortunately, the ratings did not improve dramatically, and Trout decided to go into semi-retirement in Spain while also serving as a roving reporter in Europe.

In 1974 Trout joined American Broadcasting Company (ABC) News and began his “third career.” For ABC Radio he remained a fixture at all conventions, and for both the radio and television networks he reported on his new specialty, European culture. In 1982 he narrated a three-hour documentary on the centennial of Franklin Delano Roosevelt; for many, his rich voice evoked the entire era of the New Deal. He participated in the 50th anniversary of D day in 1994 with a series of reports from France, seeing firsthand the beaches of Normandy about which he had read news wires from his New York studio during the 1944 invasion. In the mid-1990s, he semi-retired again from the news profession that he had helped to shape beginning in the early 1930s. He sustained a long career with his ability to persevere at any cost and to ad-lib gracefully whenever the occasion arose. The essence of civility and objectivity, Trout helped to define the role of the anchorman in broadcasting.

RON SIMON

See also Commentators; Election Coverage; Friendly, Fred W.; Murrow, Edward R.; News; Politics and Radio; White, Paul; World War II and U.S. Radio

Robert Trout. Born Robert Albert Blondheim in Lake County, North Carolina, 15 October 1908. Son of Louis and Juliette (Mabee) Blondheim; graduated from Central High School, Washington, D.C.; worked at various odd jobs, including taxicab driver and bill collector; hired as handyman at WJSV, Mount Vernon Hills, Virginia, 1931; changed name to Robert Trout, 1932; wrote various pieces for station and promoted to announcer late in 1931; WJSV joined CBS network becoming WTOP and Trout became news reporter; selected as presidential announcer, 1933; transferred to CBS flagship station WABC, 1935; covered first conventions, which became his specialty, 1936; covered coronation of George VI, 1937; anchored premiere broadcast of *European News Roundup*, 1938; replaced Edward R. Murrow in London as European news chief; returned to United States and continued to anchor nightly news broadcast, 1943; joined NBC and served as moderator of television quiz show *Who Said That?* 1948; returned to CBS to cover political conventions for radio, 1952; anchored first television convention, 1964; became roving European correspondent for CBS, 1965; joined ABC News, 1974; commentary for National Public Radio, 1998. Died in New York City, 14 November 2000.

Radio Series

- | | |
|---------|-------------------------------------|
| 1937 | <i>History Behind the Headlines</i> |
| 1937–38 | <i>Headlines and Bylines</i> |
| 1938 | <i>European News Roundup</i> |
| 1946–47 | <i>News Till Now</i> |

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U

Underground Radio

Alternative and Free-Form Programming

The 1960s gave rise to one of radio's most unique programming genres. During its short existence (1966–72), this format became known variously as progressive, alternative, free-form, psychedelic, and acid and was ultimately dubbed underground radio because of its unorthodox and eclectic mix of music and features and disc jockeys who broke from the traditional delivery style embraced by other youth-oriented stations of the day.

Origin

FM provided the fertile soil from which commercial underground radio would grow. It was where experimentation was permitted, because there was so little to lose at the time. Until the mid-1960s, FM moved along in low gear. A nearly negligible listenership provided FM with little status and currency among the general public and industry. It was perceived by many as the province of the so-called eggheads and the terminally unhip—the place to tune for Mahler and fine-arts programming. Tuning to FM for most people was like choosing to attend a foreign film with subtitles when there was a new action-packed Audrey Murphy movie just around the corner. Most 20-year-olds had never tuned between 88 and 108 megahertz, because the “in” music and “cool” disc jockeys were spinning the hits on AM.

Many social and cultural factors contributed to the rise of commercial underground stations. The repressive behavior and social conformity of the postwar years led to the volcanic eruption of the 1960s, particularly among youth. Political assassinations, racial upheaval, and an undeclared war in Asia, along with the growing use of mind-altering drugs by young people, contributed to the blossoming of what came to be called the counterculture.

Rock music began to more astutely and candidly reflect the troubles in American culture by incorporating thoughtful and challenging themes and more provocative and innovative

scores and arrangements. The increasing popularity of rock albums among youth helped encourage FM stations to abandon their conventional fare and launched them on a quest for disenfranchised and disenfranchised radio users—those who had rejected the 45 rpm–driven pop chart outlets. Also enhancing the enthusiasm for FM was its ability to broadcast in stereo—a process that recording companies had embraced for their best-selling groups and a feature that AM lacked.

Breaking the Mold

Several young programmers of the early 1960s had grown weary with the conventional sound of youth-oriented radio. Its frantic disc jockeys and two-and-a-half-minute doowop records left them wanting something more. The repetition and banality of Top 40 stations provided a primary impetus for movement in a very different direction. The pioneers of commercial underground radio, among them Tom Donahue, Larry Miller, Scott Muni, Thom O'Hair, Murray the K, Rosco, and Tom Gamache, took their lead from a couple of early 1960s noncommercial broadcasters and from a handful of innovators on the AM band in the 1950s, all of whom offered listeners a sound antithetical to the highly formulaic formats offered by mainstream stations.

Many stations claim to have debuted the new program genre, but two make the top of the list: WOR-FM in New York and KMPX-FM in San Francisco. The former went on the air in 1966 but changed format within a few months, and the latter was launched in 1967 and marked the beginning of a period in which the underground sound was sustained for several years. Within a year, KMPX lost its on-air staff during a strike to KSAN-FM, which grew to considerable prominence and won a special place in the underground firmament.

Although these stations are traditionally accorded landmark status, development of the underground format was

foreshadowed by other stations as early as the 1950s. For example, WJR-AM in Detroit featured the “Buck Matthews Show,” which mixed all kinds of music together in a fairly unrestricted, free-form way. Matthews employed a conversational, laid-back announcer style as well, which was atypical for disc jockeys of that day.

Other precursors to FM underground radio could be found on the AM band. For instance, Chicago’s WCFL-AM offered a free-form mix of rock music in the 1960s. Soon Newton, Massachusetts, had progressive rock over WNTN-AM. Other low-power AM stations experimented with the “open” technique to music programming, despite the fact that the format was nearly the exclusive domain of FM.

A number of noncommercial stations also presaged the arrival of commercial underground radio. Perhaps most significant among them were WBAI-FM and WFMU-FM. At the former, young disc jockey Bob Fass worked the overnight slot airing a program called *Radio Unnamable*. Across the river in New Jersey, college station WFMU-FM’s Larry Yurdin was doing much the same thing by offering a creative and innovative mix of sounds. Undoubtedly, like those mentioned above, others helped set the stage for the surfacing of commercial underground radio, which got under way at about the same time on both coasts.

Most radio historians point to WOR-FM in New York as the first commercial outlet to break from the “primary” or single-format approach to music programming. However, the station’s free-form experiment lasted only a few months, and it was on to other things by the time KMPX-FM in San Francisco introduced Tom Donahue’s version of the format in spring 1967. A few months after assuming the programming duties at KMPX-FM, Donahue took on its sister station, KPPC-FM in southern California, simultaneously working his format magic at both.

The underground radio programming genre, the “nonformat” format, as it has been described, was soon emulated by stations around the country. By 1968 dozens of stations around the United States were offering listeners their own brand of underground radio. Most large metropolitan areas (including Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago, and St. Louis) boasted what many were calling “flower power” stations. This was no longer an avant-garde form of radio restricted to the enclaves of the East and West Coasts.

By late 1968 there were over 60 commercial underground radio stations in operation around the country. By the summer of 1969, San Francisco alone could claim a half dozen, whereas New York had only three. One company (Metromedia) owned the two stations that *Billboard* magazine ranked the top underground stations in the country—KSAN (San Francisco) and WNEW (New York).

At this early stage in underground radio’s evolution, these two stations were frequently held up as models of the genre.

Both attracted listeners and advertisers. Though often compared, the stations had forged their own distinct personas, mainly by creating unique and distinctive sounds that reflected not only the times and the areas in which they broadcast but also the philosophies of their programmers.

The “Nonformat” Format

Programmer Tom (“Big Daddy”) Donahue considered the underground radio sound the antidote to Top 40, and by declaring this, he wanted to make it amply clear to everyone that things were being done quite differently at his station. In fact, he even rejected the notion of the term *format*, believing it had little to do with his new brand of radio. In his eyes, underground radio, if anything, was the antithesis of standard format programming because it embraced the best of rock, folk, traditional and city blues, electronic music, reggae, jazz, and even classical selections as opposed to any single type of music. This musical ecumenism was evident at underground stations around the country.

Indeed, the way in which songs were presented by undergrounders was unlike that of any other contemporary radio station at the time. Interestingly, if not ironically, these new outlets did reflect an older adult format, which had been responsible for bringing the FM band to a larger audience in the 1960s. Its name was beautiful music or, as many called it, “elevator” music. It was the Muzak format of the radio world. The common ground between the two seemingly disparate forms of radio programming was the way in which they structured music into sweeps—that is, uninterrupted segments or blocks—typically of a quarter hour’s duration. Evolving from the sweep approach was the idea of music sets, wherein a series of album cuts would establish a particular theme or motif.

Just as the approach to music programming in underground was antithetical to conventional AM radio, particularly Top 40, announcing styles were no less contrary to the long-standing norm. Since the medium’s inception in the early 1920s, announcing techniques had undergone relatively subtle changes, never wandering too far from the affected “radioese” presentation style. The old-line announcing manner, characterized by its air of formality and self-consciousness, remained prevalent well into the second coming of the radio medium after the arrival of television.

The “stilts,” as they have been called, found their way into the FM band as well, migrating to the beautiful music format and others. This announcing style was emphatically rejected by underground stations, which militated against its disingenuous affectations and mannerisms—the hype and histrionics. However, sounding “hip” was considered acceptable and even preferable, but not hip like the “screamers” on Top 40. Underground disc jockeys were intent on projecting a natural, friendly, and mild-mannered “grooviness” when they were on

the air. In fact, the “stoned” announcer persona was often an integral part of this radio genre’s repertoire. The idea was to be at one with the audience in every way possible. Staying “loose” was the underground disc jockey’s mantra.

As with all formats, there are other programming ingredients besides the music and announcing that contribute to a station’s general appeal, identity, and overall listenability. News and information broadcasts represent one of those elements. Despite the underground radio’s dominant emphasis on album music designed for an under-30 crowd, it differed from other youth-oriented music outlets in that news and public-affairs features were frequently regarded as an integral part of what many of these stations sought to convey to their public. That is, they wished to be perceived as members of the caring and socially conscious community and not simply as record machine operators.

The Fate of the Nonformat Format

As the counterculture movement of the 1960s and early 1970s faded, so did commercial underground radio. Many members of the movement were embracing more mainstream and traditional goals and aspirations, if not values, while the anger and altruism inherent in rock music for nearly a decade bowed to the insipid patter and rhythms of disco and new-wave or “corporate” rock. Underground radio became a thing of the past as the baby boomers sought a less uncertain and chaotic future, taking refuge in that once unsavory realm known as the material world. A survey of published perspectives and conventional wisdom on the 1960s and 1970s and on the

underground radio phenomenon itself reveals that numerous factors came into play that ultimately contributed to the non-format’s rather swift departure from the airwaves.

In addition to the changing cultural mores and attitudes, which diminished the relevance and appeal of the underground sound, the growing profitability of FM radio inspired a shift away from the nonformat programming approach to something with more advertiser appeal. Station owners sought greater control over program content to maximize bottom-line figures and profits. The role of disc jockeys in shaping the air product returned to the executive suit. FM was corporatized in the 1970s, and by the middle of the decade, commercial underground radio had been reconstituted in the form of album-oriented rock—a highly structured and formulaic offshoot of the former free-form sound.

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United Fruit Company

Early Wireless System Operator

Spurred by its need to communicate with its many banana plantations and with its shipping fleet, the United Fruit Company became a pioneer wireless operator in the early 20th century. Company operators developed many early radio techniques and helped to pioneer networking of stations and the use of crystal detector receivers in high-humidity conditions.

Origins

Through the merger of the Boston Fruit Company and other companies involved with the production of bananas in the

Caribbean, the United Fruit Company was formed in 1899. The largest banana company in the world, the United Fruit Company was also the first transnational, corporate giant in the Americas. During the 20th century, the United Fruit Company would have a significant impact, both positive and negative, on many Central American nations, including Guatemala, Honduras, and Costa Rica. The company’s influence in these countries was pervasive, extending into the political, transportation, and communication systems.

At its formation, the United Fruit Company owned banana plantations in seven countries throughout the Caribbean area.

The need for efficient means to harvest and transport the perishable banana product was of paramount concern, as errors in the timing of banana deliveries to United States markets often resulted in spoiled cargoes. As a result, the United Fruit Company took an aggressive role in developing railroad links to deliver the bananas to coastal ports for shipping. Because timely communications was essential to coordinate the harvesting and delivery of the bananas, the company also built and maintained telegraph and telephone lines between farms, local company headquarters, and Caribbean ports. Difficult terrain made the construction of land lines impractical in some areas, however, and the tropical weather conditions and political instabilities often rendered them unreliable when they were built. In addition, communication from shore to ship and from ship to ship required the use of radio. Faced with these obstacles, the United Fruit Company became one of the first companies, and the only major American company, to invest major capital and manpower into developing and adopting the new telecommunications mode of radio.

Implementing Wireless

During the summer of 1903, United Fruit Company employee and electrical engineer Mack Musgrave began investigating the possibilities of using radio for company business in Central America. United Fruit bought its first radio equipment from the American De Forest Wireless Company in 1904 and established its first two stations approximately 150 miles apart at Bocas del Toro, Panama, and Puerto Limon, Costa Rica. In 1906 two more stations were built at Bluefields and Rama, Nicaragua. The expenditures for these and future facilities were great, but the costs were deemed a necessity for company development. United Fruit faced many obstacles in its efforts to establish a radio communications network. One important obstacle was the comparative youth of the radio industry and the experimental nature of its equipment. Unlike the case today, transmission distances were relatively short and required the construction of relay stations throughout the Caribbean. Static, common to the tropics, interrupted transmissions and often made the point-to-point radio links unreliable. In addition, hurricanes destroyed island relay stations with alarming frequency.

By 1908 the United Fruit Company had built six more shore stations and had installed radio equipment on all of its ships. Later known as "The Great White Fleet," these ships delivered bananas but also transported passengers between the United States and the Caribbean. In addition to serving the company's needs in transporting its product, the radio network became an essential tool for ensuring the safety and convenience of the fleet's passengers. Recognizing the further commercial value of the network, United Fruit also made its

communications system available to paying customers along the Caribbean coast and thus became Latin America's major commercial alternative to the European owned and operated radio systems of Marconi and Telefunken.

Now an independent provider of radio communications services, United Fruit purchased a controlling interest in the Wireless Specialty Apparatus Company in 1912. This acquisition provided United Fruit with ownership to important radio technology patents and thus the means to develop and manufacture advanced equipment. United Fruit would continue to operate the Wireless Specialty Apparatus Company until 1921 when, through a complicated process of corporate patent pooling, the newly formed Radio Corporation of America became owner of the patent rights.

In 1913 the United Fruit Company radio department was formally incorporated as a wholly owned subsidiary named the Tropical Radio Telegraph Company. The Tropical Radio Telegraph Company took over all company ship stations and most of the land stations. By 1920, the United Fruit Company had invested nearly \$4 million in radio. The Tropical Radio Telegraph Company had established an extensive radio network including a radio-telephone communication system serving the general public and the banana trade and connecting many of the principal population centers of the Caribbean to the United States.

The United Fruit Company's remarkable adoption of the fledgling radio technology and its development of a large, privately owned radio communications system in Latin America is a success story. Other companies, including the U.S. Rubber Company subsidiary Amazon Wireless Telephone and Telegraph established in 1901, failed where United Fruit had succeeded. Numerous factors supporting the United Fruit Company's ultimate success in developing its radio system include the dominating U.S. influence in Central America, which assured minimal or no opposition to United Fruit's expansions; the demand for radio communication by passengers on the company ships and by shore customers complementing the banana business communication needs; and the fact that the United Fruit Company's product, bananas, was an economically stable product.

DOUGLAS K. PENISTEN

See also *Crystal Receivers; Early Wireless*

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United Nations Radio

United Nations Radio is a news and information service that has been provided by the United Nations Department of Public Information since 1946. Programs address United Nations (UN) initiatives and are produced in Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian, and Spanish, the official UN languages; many are also available in Bengali, Dutch, Papiamentu, French Creole, Hindi, Indonesian, Kiswahili, Portuguese, and Urdu. The people of nearly every country are now within range of a UN Radio broadcast.

A primary method of broadcasting has been shortwave radio, although much UN Radio programming is distributed by mail, telephone, and the internet. Timely short-form programs are accessible around the clock through the UN Radio Information System by touch-tone telephone. Regular audio feeds from UN Headquarters (in New York City) include daily briefings, press conferences, news concerning peace-keeping missions, breaking news from UN member countries, and coverage of the activities of the Secretary-General, as well as open meetings of the General Assembly and the Security Council. Audio and written transcripts of long-form programs and archival material are provided to broadcasters by request. UN Radio facilitates access to historical recordings from the United Nations' audiovisual library as a service to media organizations, government agencies, and researchers. The library includes *UN-TV*, film documentaries, a photograph collection, and extensive archives.

Members of the UN Radio production staff in New York work with field reporters throughout the world and a production facility at the United Nations in Geneva to provide daily updates, weekly magazine shows, regional news briefs, and "round-ups" on a number of topics. These include events and issues of interest in the areas of health, human rights, drug trafficking, women's issues, solar energy, poverty, education, sustainable development, the rights of children, global treaties, the environment, refugees, natural disasters, and reports on the progress of the UN's humanitarian assistance.

UN Radio does not own or operate any broadcast facility, relying on other organizations and institutions to disseminate

its programs. The internet has facilitated broad availability of its programming to anyone with computer access to the worldwide web. In its early years, France, Switzerland, the United States, and Britain were among the countries that leased transmission facilities to UN Radio. Its first worldwide broadcast, via the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in 1946, proclaimed, "This is the United Nations Calling the People of the World," then soundly provided the entire proceedings of the United Nations Security Council.

The United Nations has never been a broadcast operation, per se. Debate on this issue ensued from 1946 to 1953, resulting in leasing agreements with shortwave and standard radio licensees throughout the world—including private, commercial, and state-run broadcasters—to transmit daily UN Radio programs. During the 1960s and 1970s, UN Radio expanded its coverage in Africa, Southeast Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America. By the mid 1980s (with program production growing rapidly and a lessening reliance on leasing shortwave facilities), UN Radio added Egypt, India, and China to the growing list of countries with radio operations that agreed to carry its programs.

From 1953 to 1985, the Voice of America broadcast UN Radio programs consistently throughout Asia and Africa. The 1990s saw more programs concentrating on Asia and the Caribbean, as well as an increase in distribution by tape mailings and telephony. The start of the 21st century marked an increased reliance on digital distribution methods and cable. In 2000, a daily live multilingual news program was developed, anchored at UN Headquarters in New York and featuring a mix of news, news analysis, and feature segments.

Issues related to population, water, indigenous peoples, health, and human rights are among the priorities for much of UN Radio's program content. Programs are available as event coverage, daily news feeds, radio documentaries, special reports, and regional sound recordings at virtually no cost to broadcasters. The primary production facility in New York is staffed by numerous editors and producers, providing thousands of hours of programming each year to broadcasters

interested in advocating UN positions and providing quality world news coverage to their audiences. In addition, UN Radio is a mechanism by which the United Nations can inform the world population of its mission and garner public support.

JOSEPH R. PIASEK

See also BBC World Service; International Radio Broadcasting; Shortwave Radio; Voice of America

Further Reading

United Nations Radio, <www.un.org/av/radio/>

United States

This essay surveys highlights in American radio broadcasting's development, from the experimental era before 1920 to the rapidly changing industry eight decades later. That history is described using a series of specific periods that help to characterize key developments. Many of the topics touched on here are treated more extensively in their own entries; the reader should use the table of contents as well as the index for more in-depth discussions of specific topics.

Before 1920

Prior to the end of World War I, there was little sustained radio broadcasting, except for occasional experimental and amateur transmissions. This era was characterized by rapid wireless technical innovation over a three-decade period that made broadcasting possible.

After the theoretical foundations of wireless transmission of information were established by James Clerk Maxwell in the 1860s, and the theory was proven with Heinrich Hertz's experiments in the late 1880s, the stage was set for the key innovator, Guglielmo Marconi. Beginning in the mid-1890s he developed and improved the key elements for wireless telegraphy (code) transmission—transmitter, antenna, and receiver. By the end of the 19th century, Marconi was the head of a thriving British company introducing wireless transmission to merchant and navy ships and, with high-powered shore stations, long-distance competition to undersea telegraph cables. Other companies developed in France, Germany, Russia, and the United States, and all shared a common goal—perfecting point-to-point wireless telegraphy as the most lucrative future for wireless. Broadcasting was barely a glint in anyone's eye.

A few early wireless experimenters did stumble onto the key elements of radio broadcasting, beginning with Reginald Fessenden. On Christmas Eve of 1906 he transmitted voice and music in what many consider the first broadcast in the world. Another important inventor-innovator, Lee de Forest, offered occasional broadcasts in 1907 and 1908. Beginning the next

year, Charles Herrold initiated a regular radio broadcast service in San Jose, California, as an adjunct to his radio school. He remained on the air (typically for a few hours per week) until World War I. Amateur experimenters in other cities also offered sporadic broadcasts for fellow amateurs to tune in, but these were seen largely as exceptions to the point-to-point focus of most people in the fledgling wireless business.

Recognizing the need for some order among the slowly increasing number of transmitters needing frequencies, Congress passed legislation in 1910 and again in 1912 to regulate the use of wireless at sea. These were followed by the more important Radio Act of 1912, which was to stand for 15 years as the basis for any government regulation of wireless transmission. Following industry advice and expectations, the Radio Act was predicated on wireless as a point-to-point means of communication. It made no mention of nor provision for radio broadcasting.

What grabbed the public's imagination early in the 20th century was the role of wireless in some spectacular maritime disasters. In 1909 the White Star liner *Republic* was rammed in the fog by an incoming vessel a few hours outside of New York. Wireless operator Jack Binns called for help (the other ship lacked wireless), and virtually everyone—some 1,500 people—was saved. Radio could not save as many in the horrific *Titanic* disaster of April 1912, when another White Star liner, on her glittering maiden voyage, hit an iceberg and sank, this time taking 1,500 lives with her. But Marconi operators Jack Phillips and Harold Bride stayed at their posts (Phillips died after the vessel sank) and, transmitting both the old "CQD" and newer "SOS" emergency signals, brought a rescue vessel to pick up the 700 survivors, who told the tale that fascinates people still.

Radio played a lesser role in World War I. Demands of reliability and secrecy and the relative immobility of trench warfare made telephone and telegraph service more common than wireless. But military and naval needs and orders helped increase the pace of technical development, and wireless manu-

facturers rapidly improved both transmitters and receivers. The U.S. Navy took over high-powered transmitting stations from private operators (most other transmitters, including those operated by amateurs, were closed down for the duration of the war) and trained thousands of radio operators to run them. Demand for the best equipment saw development of a Navy-sponsored pooling of patents of different companies to allow the latest developments to more rapidly reach battle fronts.

With the end of the war, Congress briefly considered making permanent the wartime system of government operation of both wired and wireless telecommunications (as was then the rule in most other countries). But despite urging by the Navy, Congress ordered that transmitters be returned to civilian control in 1919–20. The radio industry made plans to expand production and operations in peacetime with the thousands of trained radio technicians and amateurs. Some of them expressed interest in broadcast experiments.

1920–26

The initial period of regular radio broadcasting was one characterized by growth and excitement, little effective regulation, program experimentation, a lack of permanent networks, only limited advertiser interest, and almost no knowledge of its audience.

Among the pioneering American stations taking to the air in 1919–20 (others began at about the same time in Canada and in Europe) were WHA in Madison, Wisconsin (which had begun as a University of Wisconsin physics department transmitter 9XM, sending wireless telegraphy market reports to Wisconsin farmers before World War I); Charles Herrold's station, which became KQW in San Francisco; KDKA in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (which had begun as amateur 8XK station in 1916); and Detroit's WWJ, which grew out of amateur operation 8MK.

Each began under a different owner with a different purpose in mind. The University of Wisconsin's WHA, the first educational station on the air, was interested in spreading the university's courses and research to the boundaries of the state. KQW at first continued Herrold's interest in operating his radio school, but it soon passed into the hands of a local church and later a national network interested in commercial operations. KDKA was developed by Westinghouse, which in 1920 was interested in keeping its assembly lines of highly trained personnel together despite the loss of huge government contracts with the end of the war. By providing a radio music and talk service, the company figured it might attract people to buy receivers. Over the next two years, Westinghouse added other stations in different cities. General Electric and the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) entered the radio station business at about the same time. WWJ was the first of many sta-

tions to be owned by a local newspaper. Initially seen as another community service, operating a radio station would become a common means of hedging bets as to which medium would survive. Other stations went on the air as auxiliaries to the owner's primary business—a retailer or service firm.

The radio station business began slowly in 1920–21, but it exploded in 1922, when more than 600 stations went on the air. Many went off again in a matter of weeks or months, unable to find a means of supporting operations. Early stations were primitive operations, the studios of which were often merely hotel or office building rooms, with walls covered in burlap to deaden sound and equipped with a microphone and the near-ubiquitous piano. Transmitters were largely hand built, and many radiated with less power than a reading lamp. A few stations experimented with temporary hookups, using telephone lines to allow two or more stations to carry the same program at the same time (and perhaps share in its costs)—the germ of networking. But multiple station linkups were largely limited to special sports or political events, such as presidential speeches.

Strictly speaking, there was no “programming” at first—merely different times given over to talk, music, or comedy, and this was usually in an unplanned fashion. The paramount idea was to fill airtime, even for the very few hours that most stations were initially on the air. Ironically in light of more modern experience, few stations made use of phonograph records. Although records would have been an obvious and easy means of filling time, they were then of low acoustical quality, and their use was considered a poor application of radio's potential. As radio had no ready means of making money, stations could offer no payment to singers and performers, which further limited program options. It was a brief but golden age for amateurs of all types and ages, who would gladly come into the studio just for the chance to have an audience—even an unseen and unheard one. It sounded much like the vaudeville circuit from whence came many early radio stars.

More formal, preplanned schedules of programs, with clear formats, beginnings, and endings, developed only by the mid-1920s, and then first in the largest markets. One vaudeville pattern that carried over to radio was the “song and patter” team—usually two men with comedy and musical experience—who could easily expand or shorten their act as broadcast time permitted. About the only role for women in early radio was as singers. There was little or no drama or situation comedy, little play-by-play sports, and no regular newscasts or weather reports—all these would come later in the decade or in the 1930s.

Radio was a novelty for its audience as well—indeed, it became a huge fad, which many observers figured would not last, especially as multiple-station interference grew in the mid-1920s, raising listener frustration. But the excitement of

hearing disembodied voices and music, often from a considerable distance, was enough to persuade more and more people to build or buy the available crude receivers, which required a fair bit of manual dexterity even to tune in to a nearby station. That ready-made receivers cost a lot was indicated in early radio programs, which included a substantial amount of classical music, aimed at discriminating (i.e., wealthy) ears. Countless radio books and magazines appeared to cater to the growing audience. There was no audience research in this initial period—stations determined who was listening merely by audience mail or requests for cards confirming programs (a spin-off on ham radio “QSL” cards).

Despite this audience interest, the biggest problem broadcasters faced in the 1920s was how to pay for their operations. Although advertising may now seem to have been preordained, there were then many strong arguments against allowing radio to sell airtime. Some observers suggested a tax to pay for programming, others called for voluntary contributions, and still others promoted an annual tax on receivers, a method adopted by many other countries. And a few states or cities operated stations as government services.

Interestingly, it was the American Telephone and Telegraph Company (AT&T) that brought advertising to radio, when their New York station WEAf first offered to sell airtime much as the company did for long-distance telephone calls, dubbing radio’s version “toll broadcasting.” A 15-minute real estate ad in August 1922 was probably the first radio commercial. Others slowly followed suit, encouraged by initial sales results. Yet these early ads almost never mentioned price—instead they promoted a kind of institutional or image advertising common on today’s public radio. Another way advertisers made themselves known was to add their name to the program title or stars—thus the *Lucky Strike Hour* or the *A&P Gypsies*. But many in and out of broadcasting still resisted the notion of bringing business into the home (forgetting perhaps that newspapers and magazines had long done just that). The rapid expansion of advertising came only after 1926, when AT&T sold its stations and ended industry debates over whether the telephone company could force stations to pay a fee for the right to sell advertising.

That radio was developing as more of a business became increasingly evident in the industry’s call for firm government licensing policies and related regulations. Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover called together four national radio conferences from 1922 to 1925, each of them larger and more strident in calling on Congress to reduce the interference resulting from trying to administer a growing broadcasting system under provisions of the 1912 legislation, which had not foreseen broadcasting. Acting largely on his own, Hoover did succeed in expanding the number of frequencies available for broadcasting from one (833 kilohertz) in 1920 to three in mid-1922 and to the beginnings of a “band” of frequencies in May

1923. More frequencies allowed more stations without the need to share time—but only if broadcasters cooperated, because the government had no enforcement power. Court decisions in 1926 took away what little authority Hoover had exercised and increased pressure on Congress to act.

1927–33

The 1927–33 period is one of the most important in the history of broadcasting. By the late 1920s American radio began to take on most of the characteristics of the system still recognizable today—definite program patterns, advertising support, reliable audience research, and far more effective regulation. The latter came with Congressional action early in 1927.

The Radio Act of 1927, though in force for only seven years, would set broadcast patterns that persist to the present. Stations were to be licensed for up to three years, on a specific frequency and with specified power that could only be changed on application to the new Federal Radio Commission (FRC), which had the legal power to enforce its decisions. No longer could stations shift frequency, increase power, or literally move their transmitters overnight, as had become common just before the act became law. The driving impetus of the new FRC and its rules and regulations (first codified in 1932) was to reduce interference on the air so that people could hear stations clearly. A key part of that process was to expand on Hoover’s beginnings by allocating most of the modern AM radio “band” of frequencies and by classifying stations by power. A few stations were restricted to daytime-only transmission to reduce evening interference even further. The FRC often had to defend its expanding role in court. A series of four landmark cases in 1928–30 concerning program controls helped confirm the agency’s authority and the constitutionality of its licensing decisions. Now subject to federal legislation and rules, it seemed clear radio was here to stay.

The other fundamental change in the business took place at nearly the same time—the development of permanent national networks. The National Broadcasting Company (NBC) was the first, built around the informal network of stations that WEAf had initially developed. After purchase of that station from AT&T late in 1926, RCA formed NBC as a subsidiary that in November 1926 began to operate a continuing network of entertainment and cultural programs.

In fact, NBC began—and would operate until 1943—as two networks, the Red and the Blue. The former was based on WEAf and its connected stations, and the Blue was built around RCA station WJZ (also in New York) and a parallel chain of affiliated stations. From the start, the Red network had the stronger stations, greater audience reach, and greater advertiser appeal. NBC’s chief competitor, the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), had a far more complex birth and only became a stable competitor in 1928. Together, the two

New York-based networks soon contributed hugely to radio's expanding audience popularity and advertiser appeal.

Advertising became more widely accepted in this period—at least by the industry, if not by all of its listeners. Based on initial success stories, advertisers and ad agencies had begun to recognize the medium's potential, encouraged by the inception of regular audience research, which had been brought about by the new networks. The first books on radio advertising appeared in 1927. After 1929 the Depression pushed more direct or "hard sell" approaches to radio advertising, first at local stations and more slowly at the network level. Indeed, by 1931–32, major ad agencies had taken on the role of programmers for many networks and a few large station programs, providing casts and even finished productions. The first station representative (rep) firm, Edward Petry, was formed in 1932 to ease the buying of radio spot advertisements in markets across the country. That all of this was successful is indicated in radio's proportion of all advertising, which grew from only 2 percent in 1928 to nearly 11 percent just four years later. By 1932 an FRC survey found that 36 percent of all radio time had commercial sponsorship, meaning that for 64 percent, networks and stations sustained the costs of production.

With half or more of all broadcast time, music remained the most important kind of program on both networks and local stations, with variety (still drawn heavily from vaudeville) a close second.

Virtually all of these programs were broadcast live, because recorded programming was looked down upon by major broadcasters. Drama and comedy developed more slowly as writers and actors overcame the problem of an audience that could not see the action taking place. Though certainly racist by modern standards, *Amos 'n' Andy* became the first network comedy hit in 1929. The first westerns and thriller dramas began in 1929 and 1930, including such long-lasting hits as *The Shadow*.

Evening network news programs began with Lowell Thomas' weeknight 15-minute program on NBC in 1930. That even in its fledgling state, radio represented a threat to the press became increasingly obvious, and a short-lived press-radio "war" began in 1933, with newspaper and major news associations attempting—unsuccessfully as it would soon turn out—to limit the amount of news reports made available to radio. As it had since 1920, radio continued to cover national political conventions and election nights with the latest voter tallies and analysis.

Radio's audience continued to expand, thanks in part to better and easier-to-tune radio receivers. By 1928 plug-in receivers began rapidly replacing cumbersome battery-powered sets. Speakers improved, and users could tune radios using a single control rather than the former two or three. Radios also became fancier, virtually furniture in their own right, made by dozens of manufacturers. That more people

were listening became obvious after 1929 and the inception of regular audience research. Archibald Crossley created the Cooperative Analysis of Broadcasting (CAB) to develop program ratings—how many people were tuning to CBS and NBC programs. The CAB relied on random telephone calls to households for its listening information.

1934–41

Viewed in retrospect, the golden age of network radio programming during the later Depression years saw a flowering of radio creativity in the last peacetime era that had no competition from television. More than 200 stations went on the air, including the first stations to serve many smaller communities. The growing number of stations forced many to utilize directional antennae to avoid interference with other outlets—fully a quarter of all stations used such antennae by 1941. Still, about a third of the nation's listeners got their only reliable evening radio service from one of 52 "clear channel" stations, all located in major cities.

The period's beginning is marked by the FRC's replacement in mid-1934 with the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), which had expanded regulatory responsibilities for wired as well as radio communications. Key provisions of the 1927 act, including most of those concerning radio, simply carried over into the new law.

By this time, success in broadcast station operation meant having an affiliation agreement with CBS or NBC Red or Blue—or, after mid-1934, with the Mutual Broadcasting System—and being able to carry their popular programs. A number of outlets also joined such regional chains as the Colonial or Yankee networks in New England, the Texas network, or the Don Lee network on the West Coast. The networks' efficient provision of programs and advertising truly dominated radio by the late 1930s. Networks also dominated their affiliates with one-sided contracts that bound the station for up to five years but bound the network for only one year at a time. This led to an FCC investigation of network operations from 1938 to 1941, which concluded that network control was too strong and that many practices needed change, chief among them the ending of NBC's operation of dual networks.

Most urban and some rural stations programmed 12 hours a day, some for as many as 18. An FCC survey of program patterns in 1938 found that 64 percent of programs were broadcast live (roughly half network and half local), with the remainder being some kind of recording. More than half of all programming was music; talks and dialogues accounted for 11 percent (including President Roosevelt's fireside chats); and 9 percent each were devoted to drama, variety programs, and news. Three new types of program soon dominated this period. Daytime hours were soon saturated with dozens of "soap operas," 15-minute domestic serial dramas, broadcast

one after the other. By 1940 the national networks devoted no less than 75 hours a week to such programs, some of which would last into the late 1950s. Quiz and audience participation programs also became hugely popular. On the more serious side, news and news commentary programs greatly expanded with the rising world political crisis in Europe and the Far East and the beginning of World War II in 1939. From about 850 hours annually in 1937, network news and commentary programs grew to fill nearly 3,500 hours by 1941.

Perhaps the single most famous radio program, Orson Welles' dramatization of *The War of the Worlds*, was broadcast in October 1938. Realistic in its use of reporters breaking into music programs (as listeners had just heard during the Munich crisis a month before), the hour-long drama panicked millions and demonstrated both how radio had grown in importance in American life and how much it was trusted by its listeners to tell the truth. More than 90 percent of urban households owned a radio, as did 70 percent of rural homes, and half the country's homes now had at least two radios.

All the earlier talk about radio's educational potential (some 200 noncommercial stations took to the air in the 1920s) had dwindled to the activities of about 35 stations by 1941. These survivors, many licensed to universities, provided in-school enrichment and adult cultural and educational programs to small but loyal audiences. Several national organizations promoted conflicting notions of how radio might best serve educational needs, one urging cooperation with the commercial networks and stations, the other insisting on separation to promote purity of mission.

Another, the National Association of Educational Broadcasters, lasted from 1934 into the early 1980s. Frustrations of educators with an increasingly commercial system led to pressure on the FCC to set aside some channels specifically for noncommercial operations, which resulted in the first such set-aside when FM was approved for regular operation in 1941.

1941-45

In part because of wartime paper rationing, which limited newspaper reporting, radio journalism came of age in the war years, supported by high advertising income and popular entertainment programs. But the industry itself grew only a little during the war because of construction and material limitations. Full wartime restrictions remained in force until August 1945.

The proportion of stations affiliated with a network rose from 60 to 95 percent of all stations. Some stations in smaller markets held agreements with more than one network. The FCC's *Report on Chain Broadcasting* (1941) caused a huge controversy, in large part because it called for an end to NBC's operation of two networks, but also because it sought many other changes in the relationship between networks and their

affiliate stations. Two years later the NBC Blue network was sold, becoming the basis for the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) in 1945. Radio prospered during the war as advertising spending rose sharply (in part so businesses could avoid simply paying profits out in federal taxes). Whereas a third of all stations reported financial losses in 1939, only 6 percent did by 1945.

Radio reporters became famous during the war, led by long-time newsman H.V. Kaltenborn on NBC and the CBS team that included Edward R. Murrow in London and William L. Shirer in Berlin. Covering cities under attack and forces fighting in Europe and the Pacific, radio brought the war to listeners at home while also providing propaganda broadcasts by enemy and Allied countries alike.

1945-52

Radio both expanded and contracted in this period—the number of stations more than tripled, but radio networks all but disappeared in the face of television competition. Most of radio's growth took place in smaller markets. What had been a largely AM-centered small industry grew in complexity to include FM and television outlets and networks. One measure of radio's declining glory was the release in March 1946 of the FCC *Blue Book*, which traced wartime profits and compared them unfavorably with radio's heavily commercial programming.

This weakening is most evident in the rapid decline of radio networks, which had dominated the business in 1945 but had all but disappeared by 1952. By then networks provided only a memory of their former service, with daytime soaps, some sustaining dramas, newscasts, and special events—including political year broadcasts. At the same time, their share of radio advertising dropped from nearly half in 1945 to just over a quarter by 1952. Large parts of the broadcast day once programmed by networks were now returned to stations to fill as best they could. One new network—the Liberty Broadcasting System—briefly thrived in 1949-52 based largely on Gordon McClendon's skillful recreations of professional baseball games based only on wire service reports and sound effects.

But radio's chief role in this brief but important period of transition was to provide the revenues that supported expansion of television service. Radio revenue increased each year, though it had to be divided among a vastly larger number of stations, which meant that many radio outlets operated in the red. Noncommercial radio expanded as well, thanks to reserved FM channels.

The most popular dramatic and comedy programs either began to "simulcast" on radio and television, or they moved over to television entirely. The networks began to offer cheaper music and quiz shows, of which *Stop the Music* was one example, to attract listeners by offering a chance at big-money

prizes. ABC, the newest and smallest network, broke the long-lasting national taboo on recorded programs by using prerecorded transcriptions of many of its programs. Local stations paralleled that practice with “musical clock” programs that provided a local disc jockey with records, weather, news, occasional features—and constant time checks. Affiliates were soon providing more local than network programming—a throwback to the 1930s.

1952–80

This was an era of competition—with radio playing a distinct second fiddle to the country’s fascination with television—and of creativity, as radio developed the many music formats that would give the medium a renewed lease on life. At the same time, the coming of stereo recording and then stereo FM gave that medium a huge boost.

The number of stations continued to expand—by about 100 AM outlets each year, and after 1958 by a revived FM business as well. The rising station population led to problems—where a third of AM stations operated only in the daytime in 1952, fully half were required to do so by 1960 in a continuing FCC attempt to reduce nighttime interference. More stations used directional antennae to reduce daytime and evening interference. Indeed, for much of the 1962–73 period, the FCC froze AM applications and tried—largely successfully—to steer radio growth to the FM band. The commission’s decision to ban simulcasting by co-owned AM and FM stations in the late 1960s speeded the expansion of FM, which for the first time had a separate identity for most listeners.

Radio networks still demonstrated some program originality in the 1950s. NBC’s *Monitor* created a weekend magazine program beginning in 1955, and the same network offered science fiction with *X-Minus-One*; CBS created *Gunsmoke* for radio before transferring the show to television. *Amos ‘n’ Andy* became a variety program. The last bastion of advertiser-supported network radio was the daytime soap opera, which only finally disappeared in 1960. The networks reverted to “news on the hour” for affiliates.

Freed of their network ties, most local stations at first stuck with middle-of-the-road (MOR) formats, trying to offer a bit of everything to everyone, including music, talk, variety, and features. Of more fundamental importance to radio’s future was the slow mid-1950s development of formula or “Top 40” formats, which were dependent on the personality of a local disc jockey and on tightly formatted music and advertising. Tod Storz and Gordon McClendon are both credited with creating the program approach first used by about 20 stations in 1955 and by hundreds by 1960. Top 40 aimed primarily at teens with what became known as rock and roll music, which was based closely on African American rhythm and blues. The arrival of Elvis Presley in 1956 as the

first rock superstar helped cement the new radio trend, though Congressional investigations of payola late in the decade cast doubts, certainly in adults’ minds, about the wholesomeness of the format.

Educational radio received a huge boost with the establishment of National Public Radio (NPR) in 1968, the first national network for noncommercial stations. Though excluding hundreds of smaller FM outlets, the 300 to 400 large-market FM outlets that served as NPR “members” brought listeners the highly popular programs *All Things Considered* and *Morning Edition*, among others.

Since 1980

In one sense, the story of radio since 1980 is turned upside down from its history before that date, because beginning in 1979, radio was increasingly dominated by FM listening. By the late 1980s, FM stations attracted three-quarters of the national audience—and by 1995 nearly 60 percent of the stations. All radio outlets specialized in programming in their attempt to gain and hold a tiny sliver of the audience divided by the early 21st century across more than 13,000 stations.

Two technical developments with AM radio were failures. The first was an FCC attempt to narrow AM channels to 9 kilohertz (parallel to practice in most of the rest of the world) down from the 10-kilohertz channels standard since the 1920s. But industry opposition (based on fears of an influx of new competitors) stopped the idea cold in the early 1980s. The second attempted development, offering stereo on AM outlets, was seen by some as one means of slowing AM’s decline. Competitors developed a half-dozen mutually incompatible means of delivering stereo in AM’s narrow band. Though in 1980 the FCC selected one (by Magnavox) as it had done with prior new technologies, industry ridicule of the decision and the very close parameters of the competing systems led the commission to revisit the matter and in 1982 to allow any stereo system. This experiment in marketplace economics failed because nobody could agree on which system to select (or how best to make such a choice), and thus most stations ignored all of them. That most AM programs by then were talk and news formats less susceptible to the benefits of stereo contributed to the stillborn technology. Extension of the AM band up to 1705 kilohertz by 1990, the first change since 1952, allowed the FCC to reassign a number of stations to the new frequencies to reduce interference lower in the band.

A popular new format appearing by the late 1980s was nostalgia—“golden oldies”—stations, which allow former teens to relive their childhoods with the music of the 1950s through the 1970s. Another was religious stations. Although such outlets had existed from the early days of radio, by the 1980s hundreds of conservative and evangelical religious broadcasters were becoming a force in the business. By 2000 both AM and

FM radio were continuing to grow, with both high expectations and fears being expressed about the inception of digital audio broadcasting (DAB) in the new century. Further, many radio stations had expanded operations to the internet by means of audio streaming, thus greatly expanding their reach beyond their home markets.

Passage of the Telecommunications Act of 1996 along with related FCC rule changes triggered a wave of consolidation in radio station ownership lasting into the early 21st century. More than 40 percent of all stations changed hands and group owners with more than 100 stations became common; the largest owner controlled more than 1,200 outlets. Additionally, it became possible to own up to eight stations in the largest markets. Critics argued that this consolidation contributed strongly to programming that offered broad appeal but little specialization or inventiveness. One response was the launch of two satellite-delivered subscription digital radio services in the early 2000s, both of them providing 100 channels (with about 60 music and 40 talk formats), many without any advertising.

The FCC approved technical standards for digital terrestrial stations that over time would totally replace analog AM and FM outlets. Many stations offered their service over the internet (indeed, there were a growing number of internet-only audio services), although copyright controversies threatened their future.

In its ninth decade, radio in America was truly ubiquitous, ever-present yet often heard only in the background against a growing din of media services. The coming transition to an all-digital service promised finer-quality sound, though less change in program content.

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United States Congress and Radio

Broadcasting of House and Senate Proceedings

Congress and radio broadcasting have been closely linked for more than 90 years. By virtue of the U.S. Constitution's "commerce clause," Congress has created and amended basic legislation to regulate the industry. It has also funded regulatory agencies and approved appointments to them. But only after years of debate was regular broadcast coverage of Congressional committee and floor activity finally allowed, thereby joining the long-time use of broadcasting media by individual members seeking reelection.

Legislative interest in radio began with the 1910 Wireless Ship Act that regulated maritime use of radio. The Radio Act of 1912 was the first comprehensive radio statute, but it was not designed to regulate radio broadcasting, which did not then exist. During and after World War I, Congress heard testimony from the military and from the Post Office urging federal control and operation of radio broadcasting. Turning away from that option, Congress was perplexed over what to do to regulate early radio broadcasting, and it did not pass the first law designed to regulate broadcasting until the Radio Act of 1927. The new law laid the regulatory foundation of U.S. broadcasting, and most of it is still in effect today. In mid-1934, acting on recommendations from President Roosevelt and its own extensive investigation of communication companies, Congress passed the comprehensive Communications Act of 1934, which is still in force in amended form nearly seven decades later. In the years since, Congress has regularly tinkered with the law, considering and sometimes adopting amendments (of which the Telecommunications Act of 1996 was by far the most extensive). When not actually legislating, Congress plays three other regulatory roles with radio: it provides annual budgets for operation of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) and related agencies; the Senate approves (nearly always) presidential nominations of FCC commissioners; and commerce committees in both houses regularly conduct "oversight" hearings into industry and FCC activities and decisions.

Seeking to Broadcast Congress

From the inception of radio, some members of Congress perceived the new medium as the perfect way to carry the people's business to those unable to travel to Washington to visit the House and Senate in person. And such coverage would provide radio with just the kind of content that would help popularize the medium.

Efforts to initiate some form of congressional radio began with a resolution introduced by Representative Vincent Bren-

nan (R-Michigan) in 1922 that was intended to allow for the "installation and operation of radiotelephone transmitting apparatus for the purpose of transmitting the proceedings and debates of the Senate and the House of Representatives." Though the Brennan resolution failed, its intent remained alive when Senator Robert Howell (R-Nebraska) introduced a resolution two years later directing that radio experts from the War and Navy Departments be appointed to study the feasibility of "broadcasting by radio of the proceedings of the Senate and the House of Representatives throughout the country, utilizing the radio stations of the War and Navy Departments." As the Senate discussed the Howell resolution, several arguments were made for and against broadcasting from the congressional chambers that would be repeated in years to come. On the one hand, listeners to congressional debate could hear their elected officials engage in the country's business—and in the process, that debate would be improved in order to give listeners a good impression of Congress. On the other hand, listeners' impressions might be detrimental to congressional members whose speaking skills were not up to radio standards or who were absent during chamber debate.

The report prepared by the War and Navy Departments finally materialized in 1927; the report concluded that broadcasting from the House and Senate chambers would be not only too costly, but also technically infeasible. This effectively ended any substantive efforts to implement congressional radio. Nonetheless, the idea remained alive. In fact, it was invigorated by radio's coverage of President Calvin Coolidge's 4 March 1925 inaugural address. Excitement over the president's radio remarks led the editor of *Radio Broadcast* to "hope that soon Congress will be forced to broadcast its activities." The editor's remark ironically draws attention to another argument that would be used in years to come by congressional broadcasting advocates: that of the imbalance in power that the president's effective use of radio caused with regard to clashes between presidential policy initiatives and congressional policy initiatives.

Efforts to persuade their congressional colleagues to allow broadcasting of Senate and House proceedings were continued by members of both bodies, most notably by Senators Clarence Dill (D-Washington) and Gerald Nye (R-North Dakota), into the 1940s. Meanwhile, parliamentary bodies in other countries experimented with broadcasting deliberative activities during the late 1920s. Germany and Japan were two countries where the idea seemed to be catching hold. The British House of Commons considered but rejected the idea of broadcasting its parliamentary sessions in 1926.

Congressional broadcasting of a very limited and decidedly clandestine nature did occur in December 1932, when the U.S. House voted on the repeal of the 18th Amendment. Radio network representatives had requested permission from House Speaker John Nance Garner (D-Texas) to cover debate on the matter from the House chamber. Undeterred by Speaker Garner's refusal to grant permission, the networks positioned microphones in the doorway of a library adjoining the House chamber and boosted the microphones' volume high enough to pick up the proceedings. Radio listeners had the rare privilege of hearing the repeal vote as it occurred. Afterwards, the *New York Times* took note of the event, saying that "broadcasters have taken a new hope that before long radio will invade Congress just as it has almost every other realm where people speak or sing."

Interest in congressional broadcasting emanated from other directions during the 1940s. For instance, a number of organizations, including the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the Writers War Board, and others, advocated allowing radio coverage of congressional proceedings. World War II certainly stimulated interest in the matter, but more important were the shortcomings of newspapers during the period in properly informing the public about congressional consideration and discussion of important wartime issues. A 1946 poll showed that the general public favored the idea of congressional broadcasting, and a poll of radio executives taken at roughly the same time showed that an overwhelming 70 percent of them also favored such broadcasts.

The first serious consideration of congressional broadcasting occurred during hearings conducted by the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress in 1945. The committee, cochaired by Senator Robert M. LaFollette, Jr. (Progressive-Wisconsin) and Representative Mike Monroney (D-Oklahoma), was charged with exploring methods to improve the legislative process. Witnesses at hearings addressed many of the issues about congressional broadcasting that had been raised before. The issues dealt with both style (public reaction to poor or verbose speakers, to the Senate filibuster, or to the absent speaker) and substance (equal treatment of important issues during floor debate and the manner by which chamber proceedings from the House as well as the Senate might be broadcast simultaneously). Advocates for congressional broadcasting failed to win a great following, and in the end the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 that evolved from the work of the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress ignored broadcasting.

Initial Efforts

Interest in congressional broadcasting changed direction by the late 1940s after television forced radio into a secondary role. Members of Congress had grown more at ease with broadcast-

ing in general and thus were willing if not eager to allow television cameras to cover congressional hearings. Rules devised by each congressional committee soon emerged to regulate such coverage; these rules placed television and radio on an equal footing. Committee members had final approval as to whether television and radio could cover committee proceedings, but television and radio networks and stations that controlled the cameras and microphones determined how much of the proceedings would be broadcast. Several famous Senate investigations were televised in the 1950s, including the Kefauver crime hearings in 1951 and the Army-McCarthy hearings in 1954. Radio networks and local stations rarely chose to carry more than short excerpts from committee proceedings during newscasts. Only during the 1970s did National Public Radio (NPR) break tradition by airing some of the more notable congressional hearings virtually gavel to gavel, such as a hearing on a new Panama Canal treaty.

Efforts to regularly broadcast House and Senate chamber proceedings were reignited in the early 1970s, possibly owing to successful broadcasts of committee proceedings. The matter received special attention by the Joint Committee on Congressional Operations in 1973. The favorable view taken by the committee—that broadcasting from the House and Senate chambers could help Congress better communicate with the public—led directly to a decision by the House of Representatives to open itself to television cameras and radio microphones in March 1979. The Senate was slower to act but finally opened its own chamber to television and radio in June 1986.

Regular Live Coverage

Ironically, the Senate actually preceded the House in allowing live broadcast coverage to originate from the Senate chamber. A resolution introduced by Senator Robert Byrd (D-West Virginia) in 1977 called for the Senate to allow broadcast coverage of debate over ratification of the controversial Panama Canal Treaty, approval of which would return control of the Panama Canal from the United States to Panama. Senator Byrd's resolution would have allowed both television and radio coverage of the debate, which began on 8 February 1978, but unresolved technical questions forced the Senate to drop plans for television and to allow exclusive coverage to radio. The Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) and the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) aired portions of the debate, and NPR aired the entire debate, with only brief interruptions to identify speakers.

Not to be outdone by the Senate, House Speaker Thomas "Tip" O'Neill (D-Massachusetts) announced that beginning on 12 June 1978, radio networks, stations, and news organizations would be able to pick up feeds from the House audio system for broadcast. The decision came in response to a request

by Associated Press (AP) Radio. As it happened, AP Radio elected to carry only five minutes of live House debate on the day that radio was finally given a green light to cover chamber proceedings. This brief coverage, however, outdid other radio networks, which carried only brief taped excerpts of House debate during regular newscasts.

Just as rules exist for broadcast of congressional committee proceedings, so do similar rules exist for broadcast coverage of House and Senate floor debate. The Speaker of the House has final authority over all broadcast activity from that body, but House rules also stipulate that coverage of chamber proceedings must be unedited and must not be used for political purposes or commercial advertisements. The Senate Rules and Administration Committee has ultimate authority over the Senate broadcasting system, but the Senate sergeant at arms is authorized to act in the committee's behalf. The same rules on editing and on the political and commercial use of chamber broadcasts that exist in the House also govern the Senate.

Anything that emanates from the microphones in the House and Senate chambers may be broadcast by any radio network or station. As is the case with committee proceedings, neither networks nor stations generally choose to air more than brief excerpts of floor debate. A departure from that practice occurred during the House impeachment and Senate trial of President Bill Clinton. Radio coverage of these two events during late 1998 and early 1999 was extensive, and in the case of NPR the coverage was gavel to gavel.

Radio and Individual Members of Congress

The unsuccessful efforts to ignite interest in broadcasting chamber debates during the 1920s and 1930s might have stemmed from radio network policies that allowed U.S. senators and representatives free airtime. Records show, in fact, that between 1928 and 1940, CBS allowed some 700 U.S. senators and some 500 House members to speak on the network.

Possibly spurred by the interest shown in congressional radio during the 1945 Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, in 1948 Robert Coor created a commercial operation known as the Joint Radio Information Facility, which provided a recording studio for individual members of Congress to record speeches and interviews for use by radio networks or local radio stations. Congress brought recording under its own control as part of the Legislative Appropriations Act in 1956, creating separate House and Senate recording studios. Studio operating costs were covered by charges to those members of Congress who actually used them. In later years, both the House and the Senate studios were upgraded for television and for live links with news-gathering organizations via satellite. And besides the congressional studios, individual senators and representatives by the 1990s had access to recording facilities operated by the Democratic and Republican parties.

Radio used purely as a campaign tool—a practice nearly as old as broadcasting itself—stands apart from the other uses of radio already noted. The first known use of radio for campaigning occurred in 1922, when Senator Harry S. New (R-Indiana) used the U.S. Navy's radio station in Washington, D.C., to address his constituents at home. The *New York Times* took note of the occasion, saying that "campaigning by radio soon might leave the field of novelty and become a practical everyday proposition during political fights." The small first step into campaign radio became a rush by 1924.

Radio was readily regarded as a valuable campaign tool, but fears arose over the possibility that those who owned radio stations might create unfair advantages by allowing candidates whom they supported easy access to the airwaves while refusing to allow use of their radio facilities to candidates whom they opposed. The issue was thoroughly discussed during the Washington Radio Conferences, with the resulting recommendation that Congress include some provision in the Radio Act of 1927 that would ensure not only that there would be equal opportunities for use of radio facilities by candidates for public office, but also that the content of any campaign message via radio would not be censored. The recommendation was approved by Congress and fashioned into Section 18 of the Radio Act, which was transferred intact as Section 315 of the Communications Act of 1934. Section 315 required that equal opportunities be extended to political candidates after their opponents had been granted use of a broadcasting facility. Broadcasters were still free to decide whether to extend initial use of their facilities for campaign purposes. That changed somewhat in 1971, when Congress amended the Communications Act to include language in Section 312 that required broadcasters to provide time for legally qualified candidates for federal elective office.

Radio and the Contemporary Congress

Radio has not only held its own as an important congressional medium, but its importance may be expanding. The "niche" medium that radio has become—meaning that radio stations now fine-tune their formats to reach specific demographic groups of listeners—means that members of Congress can design specific messages and utilize carefully chosen radio stations in their home states or districts to reach precisely the intended audience. This makes radio an especially valuable tool for campaigning. "Talk radio," one of the most popular formats in the 1990s, requires a steady flow of guests willing and able to discuss a range of issues, and the need of members of the U.S. Senate and House to have access to constituent listeners has created a near-perfect symbiosis between radio and members of Congress.

See also Communications Act of 1934; Dill, Clarence; Equal Time Rule; Politics and Radio; Telecommunications Act of 1996; Wireless Acts of 1910 and 1912/Radio Acts of 1912 and 1927; White, Wallace

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United States Influences on British Radio

Commercial Thinking and Public Service Systems

United States radio broadcasting has had varied impacts, both positive and negative, on British and European domestic radio systems over the years. Only relatively recently have most foreign radio systems begun to substantially parallel U.S. program and commercial approaches.

The attitudes of British radio broadcasters, managers, and listeners toward American radio have ranged from contempt, hostility, and condescension to craven admiration and imitation. The British system of a monopoly public-service broadcaster, largely financed by a compulsory license fee on radio receivers (which lasted for more than 50 years) was in part due to a reaction against the commercial U.S. system.

To World War II

In the 1920s and 1930s, the British establishment was appalled that advertisers might influence as well as finance programs on the new and powerful medium—as they were clearly doing in the U.S. The view of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC)—personified by its severe and highly religious first director-general, John Reith—was that radio should be used primarily as a means of educating and informing the public, ensuring that the highest and most sophisticated cultural forms are available to the humblest citizen. There was concern that

British culture would be corrupted by "American-style" programming, and not just in "high culture." There was a belief among the British elites that U.S. popular music and comedy were inherently inferior and less intellectually demanding than the U.K. forms. United States radio, it was argued, was merely serving the "lowest common denominator," and any adoption of its forms and values would diminish and even corrupt the potential of the medium and the audience that it served. Many in the BBC and other parts of the establishment were especially dismissive of the production of drama in the United States in strict 30- or 60-minute slots, unlike the longer and often untidily timed dramas on the BBC (which of course did not have to worry about a matrix of programming to comply with numerous network/local "junctions"). British critics also inveighed against the preponderance of "soap operas" and thrillers, which were regarded as evidence of an intellectually limited use of the medium.

The idea that radio should have an entertainment and populist aim was the antithesis of Reith's driving philosophy; so long as the public did not have a choice of listening to alternative, lighter fare, then the "improving" nature of British radio would continue unchallenged. To Reith's dismay, however, in the early 1930s entrepreneurs aware of U.S. commercial stations realized there was a potentially lucrative gap in the market. Several

commercial radio stations sprang up on the European continent (naturally outside the jurisdiction of British law), targeting British listeners with a diet of popular dance band music, comedy programs, and other forms of light entertainment. This was especially true on Sundays, which Reith insisted on dedicating to serious-minded programs, including religious services. These stations—with Radio Normandy and Radio Luxembourg having the greatest impact—copied many of the forms and financing of U.S. commercial radio of the time, including sponsored programs. The continental stations achieved audiences in the tens of millions and easily outstripped those tuned to the BBC services on Sundays and in the early-morning periods.

World War II and After

The European commercial stations closed down when Nazi Germany occupied most of Europe. More controversy was created in July 1943 when the American Forces Network (AFN) established a radio service carrying many American network programs for U.S. troops stationed in the United Kingdom using the BBC's emergency facilities. This was the only time in the half century from the inception of the BBC in 1922 to the introduction of authorized commercial radio in 1973 when the BBC's monopoly of British radio broadcasting was officially broken. There was much nervousness and even antagonism from many in the British establishment that listeners might find AFN's more informal and populist programming very attractive and demand something similar when the war ended. Indeed, many British servicemen heard AFN services in other parts of the globe and enjoyed the programming, in some cases more than their own Forces' Programme.

After World War II, the BBC made some concessions to popular fare by establishing the Light Programme, which shared its transmissions with the postwar Forces' Programme. However, for the most part, the BBC remained impervious to American style radio, and the policy of succeeding governments was to continue the BBC's radio monopoly—even after commercial television was introduced in 1955. Once again British listeners had to tune to Radio Luxembourg for a taste of U.S. style diet of record request programs and quiz shows.

It was the arrival of rock and roll, the attendant development of a distinctive youth culture, and television's growing domination of evening hours that presented the greatest challenge to the BBC's policies. The BBC seemed content to allow the slow death of radio as a mass medium. In particular its managers were appalled by rock and roll and only reluctantly allowed a few hours a week of such music even on the Light Programme. Only pirate stations and Radio Luxembourg provided an American-style alternative for British listeners.

Although the U.K. government forced most of the pirates off the air through an Act of Parliament that made it illegal for a U.K. citizen to supply or be employed by such a station, the

BBC was ordered to produce a replacement, called Radio 1. Now the U.S. Top 40 station jingles were recycled yet again—"Wonderful Radio London" became "Wonderful Radio One," and the BBC employed many of the best-known pirate broadcasters—especially those from Radio London.

British Commercial Radio

Nevertheless, pressure for legalized commercial radio continued to grow, and in 1972 the Conservative government introduced an Act of Parliament that led to the establishment of a chain of independently owned commercial services. However, the Act specifically proscribed continuous music channels on the U.S. model: the U.K. stations were to be based on the public service model and to be "full service," including high levels of current affairs output and even drama and comedy programs, although many of these were modeled more on those common on U.S. network commercial radio in the 1930s and 1940s than on the BBC's output. Many U.K. broadcasters and managers who had hoped for something equivalent to the U.S. system were very disappointed by the strictures of the U.K. system. Some did their best to get around the regulations and produce as close a format to the U.S. stations as they could get away with. Piccadilly Radio in Manchester was perhaps the most notable example of this, which is not surprising, as its managing director, Philip Birch, had also been managing director of pirate Radio London. Several stations—including Radio Trent in Nottingham, Metro Radio in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and Beacon Radio in Wolverhampton—imported U.S. jingles, although these had to be partly rerecorded in the United Kingdom to comply with Musicians' Union rules.

Nor were the attempts at imitation of U.S. radio confined to the Top 40 format. Many in the U.K. industry recognized that by the time commercial radio was legalized in the mid-1970s, this format, based on the sales of the 45-rpm single, was past its peak, with record sales now dominated by the 33 1/3-rpm album. Some managers and broadcasters also felt that the early vitality of Top 40 radio had now been dissipated and was now perceived as embarrassingly unsophisticated and "uncool." Consequently, stations such as Capital Radio in London (at least in its early days) and Beacon Radio opted for a U.S.-style FM format. Beacon in particular, which had an American managing director and a Canadian program director, attempted a U.S. West Coast FM-style format for its main daytime hours. This style was also much favored by Radio 1 disc jockey Johnnie Walker (formerly of Radio Caroline and Radio England) who, in ill-concealed protest at the "pap" he was forced to play, left Britain at the height of his popularity in 1976 to go to the United States, where he worked for a time at San Francisco's "free-form" FM station, KSAN.

A number of British stations continued to demonstrate a fascination with U.S. chart music: Beacon, for example, had a

four-hour program on Sunday nights of the *Billboard American Hot 100*, and Casey Kasem's legendary *Countdown* program was transmitted on several U.K. stations in the 1980s and 1990s. BBC Radio 1—and later Radio 2—also featured a weekly U.S. chart countdown.

As the price of transatlantic air fares dropped in the 1970s, many British disc jockeys and programmers traveled to America for the first time. Although many had heard tapes of U.S. stations, the impact of hearing U.S. stations at first hand—in particular, the tightly defined format of most stations, their relative lack of public service elements, more aggressive presentation styles, and less reverential attitudes toward authority figures—greatly impressed some of the Britishers. Many returned from such vacations determined to radically alter their approach, sometimes with startling results. The use of U.S. topical humor services also became vogue among British disc jockeys. Contests, promotions, production techniques, technical innovations such as compression, the use of computer programs for music selection backed by intensive audience research, and, not least, the style of U.S. commercial copy provided much material for British stations.

Specialization

Nor was it only music radio formats that impressed U.K. station managers, investors, and broadcasters. The only commercial all-news service, LBC in London, was largely modeled on New York's WINS, and the informality of news presenters at WINS and their willingness to mix news with comment were enthusiastically adopted by the station. Some of this imitation in turn fed through to the BBC services nationally and locally.

Many local full-service commercial services included a late-night controversial phone-in show, some of which were clear imitations of the U.S. "shock jock" phenomenon—albeit considerably toned down in recognition of the different regulatory requirements, the absence in the United Kingdom of an equivalent to the U.S. Constitution's guarantee of free speech, and the necessity to maintain political balance and to conform to much stricter libel laws. But on both music and talk programs, the attitude of British presenters became noticeably less polite and deferential, especially toward figures in government and the royal family—although not all of this can be directly linked to U.S. radio's influence.

The imitation of the U.S. shock jock form reached its peak in the mid-1990s, when the last of the analogue national commercial stations, Talk Radio, adopted an all-phone-in format. However, the station produced disappointing audience figures, and after several changes of management and ownership, it changed format and name in January 2000 to Talk Sport.

In the meantime, there was continued political pressure for a more U.S.-based commercial model of licensing and regulation, which found favor under Conservative governments in the

1980s and 1990s. Most significantly, following the Broadcasting Act of 1990, there was a rapid end to the full-service or mixed British programming model—the middle-of-the-road format that had already been dropped by U.S. stations by the mid-1950s. Instead there was a trend toward a single format, usually either contemporary hit radio on FM or "Gold" on AM (most stations at that time were on both AM and FM; the ending of simulcasting was some 25 years behind the United States). Further, the large-scale switch to automation, networking, and conglomeration of radio companies in the United States has to some extent been replicated in the United Kingdom.

The manifest influence by the United States on British radio, however, seemed to be diminishing by the end of the 1990s. Radio 1 had restyled itself as a noncommercial, adventurous, youth-oriented station, less concerned with audience ratings than it had been in the past—in many ways the antithesis of most U.S. radio. Meanwhile, the commercial sector, now attaining at least 50 percent of all listening and with rapidly growing revenues, appeared to be less impressed by U.S. forms, and some managers even proclaimed that now the United States had more to learn from the United Kingdom than the other way around. The United Kingdom's adoption of the "European" digital radio standard (rather than the IBOC system developed in the United States), was another indication of a deliberate distinction between the two countries' radio services.

Nevertheless, much of the criticism of U.S. commercial radio—that it has become overcautious and that it increasingly lacks creativity and diversity—are also now leveled at radio in the United Kingdom. Some in the industry, along with many observers, believe that the swing from the peculiarly British, highly regulated public service commercial radio model to the laissez-faire United States style system has been too great. Some concede that Reith's belief that commercial broadcasting must inevitably lead to crass and undemanding broadcasting aimed at the "lowest common denominator" has been vindicated.

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See also British Broadcasting Corporation *and associated BBC essays*; British Commercial Radio; Capital Radio; London Broadcasting Company; Public Service Radio; Radio Authority

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United States Navy and Radio

During the first two decades of the 20th century, the U.S. Navy served as a principal force in the development of radio communications in the United States. From the introduction of practical radio systems at the turn of the century to the beginning of U.S. radio broadcasting in the early 1920s, the Navy's influence on American radio was powerful and multifaceted. These significant influences included the application and expansion of radio for military and diplomatic purposes, the control of radio communications, technological developments, and the fostering of development in the radio industry.

Origins

At the beginning of the 20th century, electrical communication by telegraph and telephone provided Navy officials with rapid communications between most ports and naval stations worldwide. At sea, the situation was radically different. When a ship left port and disappeared over the horizon, it was isolated from shore communications. Free of new directives from Washington, the captain and fleet could act with complete autonomy.

The invention of radio communications and its application to maritime use brought both benefits and difficulties to the Navy. Some naval officials recognized very early the strategic and tactical benefits of being able to communicate between distant ships and from ship to shore, but the adoption and widespread use of radio on shore and ship installations was slow in coming. The early resistance to radio in the Navy can be attributed to several factors, including the traditional bound bureaucracy and the strong desire of many naval officers to preserve the independence a captain traditionally exercised at sea. To many naval officers, radio was viewed as the ultimate centralizing force from Washington. The Japanese Navy's success in

using radio during the 1904-05 Russo-Japanese War aided in diminishing this resistance.

The Navy first tested radio apparatus in 1899, but serious attention and further testing did not occur again until 1901. Over the next decade, the navy tested and purchased various types of wireless equipment from both U.S. and foreign countries, often resulting in stations with unfavorable composite equipment. The Navy was an early and important potential client for new radio companies; it exerted a positive force in developing the U.S. radio industry, but it was also a force to be reckoned with. Inventors eager to gain valuable Navy contracts regularly found themselves frustrated by the Navy's hardball business tactics and lack of respect for patent rights. The Navy simply acquired equipment as needed and from whom they wanted, regularly ignoring patent restrictions. Complicating the Navy's relationship with U.S. radio equipment suppliers was the perception that the Navy often gave preference to foreign companies. A clear exception to this was its negative attitude toward the British Marconi Company.

The Navy's strong aversion to the Marconi Company and its equipment can be traced to concerns about British domination of the world cable system. Navy fears that the Marconi Company would grow to dominate radio communications, and therefore establish a British hegemony over worldwide communications, were very strong. As a result, Marconi equipment was rejected and the Navy began a two-decade-long effort to establish U.S. control of its own radio communications. Radio waves do not recognize national borders, and the need to dominate and so control the ether was a compelling security issue for Navy officials.

Beginning with the 1903 international radio conference in Berlin, the Navy took on the leadership role of representing U.S. radio interests worldwide. This leadership role had great

influence over two decades of shaping the evolving international radio regulations. The Navy's influence in directing self-serving lobbying efforts was also ever-present on the Washington political scene. Congress recognized the importance of radio for the Navy and the national interest, placing the Navy in an influential and dominant position, especially for federal funding. Despite the Navy's efforts to support legislation that would wrest control of radio from commercial and amateur interests, however, access to the airwaves by non-military operators and interests prevailed.

World War I

U.S. entry into World War I on 6 April 1917 changed the entire radio communications scene. The following day, with the exception of army-operated transmitters, the Navy took control of all radio stations in the United States, acquiring 53 commercial stations and closing another 28 transmitters. In addition, all amateur radio stations were shut down "for the duration" of the war. In one swift move the Navy had taken control of the entire radio communications system in the United States, along with its existing international ship and port radio system.

Because of the sudden increase in radio communication traffic, Navy orders for equipment from private manufacturers increased dramatically. The Navy's centralized control over the equipping of ship and shore stations produced many improvements in equipment quality and, importantly, standardization in equipment design. The Navy also conducted significant wartime research and development in radio technology, greatly improving the consistency and quality of long-distance radio communications.

With the complete takeover of radio communications by the Navy, the question arose as to what would happen at the war's end. After the armistice on 11 November 1918, Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels began a strong lobbying effort for legislation that would leave radio permanently under Navy control. His efforts ultimately failed—Congress was in no mood to continue an activist federal establishment—and government control of the wartime-seized radio stations was eventually relinquished. On 11 July 1919 President Wilson ordered that all commercial stations be returned to their original owners by 1 March 1920. In addition, amateur radio stations were allowed to resume operation on 1 October 1919.

Radio Corporation of America

The Navy's postwar loss of the control of radio communications was a blow to its geopolitical aspirations, but its influence and power were still very significant. The drive to assure the U.S. a major role in global radio communications and to prevent the British Marconi Company from obtaining too

strong a foothold in the U.S. communications market resulted in the Navy initiating and facilitating the formation of the Radio Corporation of America (RCA).

The specific technological innovation driving the navy's concern was the Alexanderson alternator, then the only effective means of achieving long-range radio communication. Developed from designs of Reginald Fessenden and greatly improved by General Electric (GE) engineer Ernst F.W. Alexanderson, rights to the device were controlled by GE. But GE was not interested in getting into the service side of radio; the company defined its role as a manufacturer and sought to sell the devices to recoup its extensive investment. Beginning during the war (1915), the most likely purchaser appeared to be Britain's Marconi Company which, however, sought full and exclusive rights to the alternator. GE was tempted at what would be a lucrative agreement. Navy officials, including assistant secretary Franklin Roosevelt, however, expressed strong concern about such an important device passing into the hands of even a friendly (but still foreign) country. Navy officials pressed GE to seek a domestic means of selling the alternator.

GE's concern paralleled another: the wartime pooling of radio patents so that manufacturers could perfect the best possible radio equipment for army and navy procurement contracts. The end of the war also ended the patent pools, and companies faced the need to develop a peacetime pool if radio was to continue its development. These related needs—GE's for the alternator, and the industry at large to develop a peacetime patent pool—led to the rise of RCA.

Through a series of complex company buyouts and new patent pooling agreements, General Electric established the Radio Corporation of America as a subsidiary in October 1919, and important technological patents (the alternator among them) were eventually pooled under RCA's corporate umbrella, thus preventing any possibility of British radio communications hegemony within the United States. Ownership in RCA was later spun off and it became the single most important firm in early radio broadcasting development.

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See also Alexanderson, E.F.W.; Early Wireless; Fessenden, Reginald; General Electric; Marconi, Guglielmo; Radio Corporation of America; United States Congress and Radio

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United States Presidency and Radio

On 21 June 1923, when President Warren Harding stepped to the microphone to deliver a speech on the World Court from St. Louis as part of his tour of the western United States, he spoke not just to the citizens of St. Louis, but to those in Washington, D.C., and New York as well. This was the first time that a chain or network of radio stations had been assembled to carry a presidential message simultaneously to several parts of the nation. The speech was heard in St. Louis over KSA and in New York and Washington over American Telephone and Telegraph (AT&T) stations WEAJ and WCAP, respectively. Perhaps 1 million Americans heard Harding speak, more than any president had reached before. No longer was a president bound by the flatness of daily newspaper coverage or the geographical limitations of single-station radio coverage; he now had the potential to speak to the entire electorate at once, a power that would enlarge the "bully pulpit" beyond any expectation of the day. With a single flip of the switch, broadcasters could help a president rise above his adversaries in Congress and go directly to the people.

A strong national broadcasting system contributed to a strong presidency. A politician whose voice commanded attention in every corner of the land simultaneously could build a strong national constituency. Conversely, a strong presidency contributed to a strong national broadcasting system. Presidential speeches created a demand and provided one of the few programs that could unite American interests. The American people were eager to hear their national leader over the fascinating new medium of radio, and broadcasters were pleased to be the purveyors.

Early Experiments in Networking

After the success of his first attempt at chain broadcasting in St. Louis, President Harding tried another major speech in Kansas City and had scheduled still another big speech on 31 July 1923. For the occasion, AT&T assembled its first coast-

to-coast linkup stretching from San Francisco to New York. Radio had become such an important part of President Harding's western tour that he installed a powerful radio transmitter in his railroad car to give him a mobile broadcasting studio.

Harding died while on his western trip, and within a few days of his death the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) was proposing to the new president, Calvin Coolidge, that he substitute radio addresses for public appearances to conserve his health and reach a wider audience. By the end of 1923, as the 1924 campaign approached, President Coolidge heeded the advice and took to the airwaves regularly. When Coolidge spoke to Congress at the end of the year, AT&T assembled a chain of seven stations to carry the speech. The president followed that speech with five additional nationally broadcast addresses. The 1924 party conventions reached an estimated 25 million listeners, and the subsequent campaign provided abundant opportunities for chain broadcasting.

A small group of broadcasters questioned whether politicians should be turned loose on radio. At the NAB's first convention in October 1923, John Shepard, III, of WNAC proposed that a political party applying for airtime be required to give comparable time to a speaker from the opposing party. The NAB accepted the measure and followed these "equal time" ground rules during the 1924 campaign. Presidential speeches, however, were not considered "political" except during campaigns and were not subjected to any "right of reply" mechanism until the campaign actually started. Still, voices were raised early to warn of the dangers of a one-sided political dialogue in which the party and congressional opposition had no standing.

By 1924 proponents of chain broadcasting had realized that politics was the perfect bait to lure America into a permanent national system of broadcasting. The presidential election campaign that year provided ample opportunities for demonstrating the virtues of chain broadcasting. AT&T was poised to erect a permanent network of stations and believed

that political speeches were an excellent way to ensure frequent use of a system that could reach 78 percent of the nation's purchasing power through the top 24 markets.

The closer the fledgling broadcasting industry could bring itself to the presidency, the higher the status it could bring on itself. Thus, initially there was little concern for the newsworthiness of presidential addresses. Broadcasters saw presidential broadcasting as a means of providing a public service and basking in the prestige of the presidency. Given the open-ended invitation extended early on to presidents by broadcasters, it is no wonder that presidents ever since have regarded their access as a right of the office.

The *New York Times* reported in 1924, "It is a source of wonder to many listeners how a speaker can sit in the White House or stand before Congress and have his voice simultaneously enter the ether over Washington, New York and Providence." The inauguration of Calvin Coolidge on 4 March 1925 showed how far chain broadcasting had come in less than two years. On that day, President Coolidge reached at least 15 million Americans over a hookup of 21 stations from coast to coast. The transmission was so clear that people could hear rustling paper as the new president turned the pages of his text. The inaugural coverage was so successful that talk circulated about broadcasting sessions of Congress. Meanwhile, "Silent Cal" began speaking an average of 9,000 words a month over radio. Although his speeches lacked persuasive content, he was credited with being a strong and effective radio performer.

By the time Herbert Hoover took his presidential oath in 1929, two powerful broadcasting companies supporting three national networks were flourishing. President Hoover spoke on radio 10 times during 1929 and 27 times the following year. By the end of 1930, he had equaled the number of talks Coolidge gave during his entire administration. President Hoover's cabinet reinforced the administration's line by giving even more radio talks. In 1929 the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) devoted from 5 to 25 hours per week to presidential speeches, reports on national events, and addresses by public figures. By 1930 the government was using 450 hours of broadcasting time on NBC alone.

Despite his unmatched experience on the air, President Hoover was a reluctant and not particularly gifted participant in the broadcasting arena. Aides pushed him into making radio speeches. The president also had the unenviable task of selling an economic program that the American public did not want to hear in the depths of the Depression. Hoover's speeches progressively brought diminishing returns. Soon, everyone realized broadcasting was a two-edged sword; it could not only help elevate presidents but help bury them as well. Broadcasting worked its magic best when the potential for persuasion and good feeling were at a peak, a fact not lost on Hoover's successor.

A Radio Star Is Born

Until Franklin Roosevelt (FDR) became president, the networks were more captivated by the presidency than by any particular occupant of the office. The networks clung tightly to FDR's rising star and used his engaging personality on the airwaves to enhance their own status. Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) commentator Frederic William Wile was one of the first at the networks to realize how high a priority Roosevelt placed on broadcasting. Wile emerged from a talk with the president-elect predicting that the new president would be "highly radio-minded," which would cause Washington to become more "radio conscious" and the American people to become more conscious of Washington.

Following his success in using radio to push a recalcitrant New York Legislature into action, Roosevelt told Wile that he expected to request time frequently. The new president's fascination with radio was surpassed only by the networks' fascination with him. Merlin Aylesworth, president of NBC, not wanting to miss a piece of presidential action, approached Roosevelt before he was inaugurated to offer him airtime on a regular basis. Although FDR was tempted by the alluring network offer, he feared overexposure and preferred to use the airwaves according to his own timing and his own priorities.

Starting with his first inaugural address, in which he told Americans the only thing they had to fear was "fear itself," the new president proved himself to be an exceptional communicator. The networks quickly realized that Roosevelt had different motivations for using radio than had his predecessors. To him, the medium was no longer a novelty for sending ceremonial greetings; it was a vital tool for persuasion. President Roosevelt used all the intimacy and directness radio could offer to rally support for his policies. Just eight days after being sworn in, FDR put radio to the test. Eschewing his fiery and strained campaign oratory, Roosevelt crafted a subdued, conversational style exclusively for radio. He spoke calmly, intimately, and above all, persuasively in what immediately became known as "Fireside Chats."

As more Fireside Chats poured out of the White House, the American people responded favorably. FDR became a friend and a neighbor who could captivate a nation and develop a truly national constituency. When FDR came to office, one employee could handle all the White House mail. By March 1933, a half-million letters sent the White House scrambling to hire additional staff.

Franklin Roosevelt presented only 28 Fireside Chats during his three terms (and a few months of his fourth), but they had an extraordinary impact on a nation seeking desperately to pull itself out of depression and to win a world war. He boosted his radio speeches' appeal by making them during the "prime" of prime time (between 9:00 P.M. and 11:00 P.M. EST) on weekdays when families were home together.

Roosevelt's political adviser Jim Farley said that radio could wash away the most harmful effects once "the reassuring voice of the President of the United States started coming through the ether into the living room."

FDR took advantage of his platform to persuade voters to support him and his programs. Later in the century, broadcasting executives would chafe at a president's using the airwaves solely to persuade voters or Congress to support a particular program, but there was no such resentment of Roosevelt. On the contrary, broadcasting executives delighted in the drama and excitement Roosevelt created. Merlin Aylesworth of NBC effusively wrote President Roosevelt that "I can honestly say that I have never known a public official to use the radio with such intelligence."

Behaviors were locked in during World War II that would greatly influence the way politicians communicated in the coming television age. Americans became even more dependent on the president as a national leader—accustomed to hearing the man who led them through the crisis of the Great Depression, they were prepared to hear him lead them confidently through another. More important, they expected direct communication from the commander in chief. Radio was no longer a novelty; it was a necessity. During the war, Roosevelt always had access to all four networks—CBS, Mutual Broadcasting System, and NBC Red and Blue—simultaneously. When Franklin Roosevelt spoke to the nation two days after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, he achieved the highest ratings of all time; 83 percent of American households that owned radios were listening to the president.

By the end of the Roosevelt administration, presidents had gained a *de facto* right of access to all radio networks simultaneously, creating a captive audience of millions. Perhaps most important, the president could enjoy this radio access without worrying about a direct rebuttal by the opposition party.

President Versus Candidate

President Roosevelt was a master at inching his presidential addresses closer and closer to election periods to avoid purchasing time from broadcasters. This tactic not only increased his exposure when the voters were starting to focus on the elections but also allowed him to speak without fear of opposition reply. Section 315 of the Communications Act of 1934 required broadcasters to offer "equal time" to opposing candidates during "candidate" uses of airtime. Roosevelt insisted that he was speaking as a "president" rather than as a "candidate" and that his speeches were not subject to the reply rule.

When the president held a Fireside Chat on 6 September 1936 about drought and unemployment, the Republicans charged (to no avail) that the speech was political. Roosevelt used the same successful strategy in the 1940 campaign to

make as many free "presidential" rather than paid "candidate" speeches as possible. Roosevelt was particularly adamant about securing free network time for "fireside chats" because toward the end of the campaign, the Democrats were almost out of money. Earlier that year, the NAB had boosted the president's case by ruling that rival political candidates had to prove that FDR's speeches were political, something difficult for an opponent to do. The question of whether addresses were "presidential" or "political" continued into the Truman administration. The Republicans were outraged on 5 April 1947 when NBC, the American Broadcasting Company (ABC), and Mutual carried President Truman's Jefferson Day speech at a \$100-per-plate Democratic fund-raising dinner. GOP National Chairman Carroll Reece said the networks' giving airtime constituted an illegal corporate campaign contribution. Reece also charged that "free radio time is a royal prerogative, something to be given without question whenever requested and without regard for the purpose to which it may be devoted."

When television ascended to preeminence in the early 1950s, radio was forgotten as a tool of presidential communication. During the Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson administrations, radio found no place in the presidential arsenal—this despite the fact that Vice President Nixon had "won" the first "Great Debate" of the 1960 campaign on radio where people could not see his exhaustion. The televised presidential speech, broadcast simultaneously on all three major networks, had become the oratorical weapon of choice. Radio became a low-key form of communication that President Nixon used in 1973 to downplay the strident debate over highly controversial budget initiatives, choosing to deliver his State of the Union addresses as a series of radio speeches rather than making a formal, more visible presentation before Congress and a nationwide television audience.

Reagan on Radio

It wasn't until 1982 that the presidential radio speech made a comeback with the arrival of Ronald Reagan in the White House. The administration approached the networks about a series of radio speeches that would be broadcast each Saturday morning from the Oval Office. The Reagan administration saw radio as an opportunity to take its case directly to the people on a sustained basis in a way that would allow the White House total control of the broadcasts. At a time when the president's popularity was sagging, the radio addresses also presented an attractive complement to a broad multimedia offensive. Because the addresses would be broadcast on a traditionally "slow news" day, the White House expected abundant residual media exposure on Saturday network radio and television newscasts and Sunday newspapers. Finally, the White House staff realized how effective "the

great communicator” could be on a medium with which he felt so confident.

With the radio speeches, the White House could achieve access in an entirely controlled way. There would be no editing of material, no filtering through reporters’ minds, no distracting or nagging questions by the press. It would be a perfect opportunity to “let Reagan be Reagan.” Even in the residual coverage, when reporters could edit as they wished, White House aides believed the Reagan momentum would still be present.

On Saturday, 4 April 1982, President Reagan began his radio initiative in the Oval Office with the first of ten five-minute speeches. The president said he was making the speeches to overcome “all the confusion and all the conflicting things that come out of Washington” by bringing “the facts to the people as simply as I can in five minutes.” Aides said the speeches’ brevity was an effort to prevent having Reagan’s message “truncated” or “filtered” by the news media.

The White House staff said that Reagan wrote most of the first ten speeches himself, often rejecting drafts and writing the script in longhand shortly before airtime. Reagan set a folksy, conversational tone in the first address by beginning, “I’ll be back every Saturday at this same time, same station, live. I hope you’ll tune in.” The president’s personal input sometimes startled aides.

When President Reagan settled into his radio routine, it was obvious his targets were the Democrats in Congress. The president used six of his first ten speeches to defend his economic programs and to attack the Democrat-controlled House for not supporting him. Not surprisingly, these speeches gained the greatest press coverage: the *Washington Post* carried news about all six of them on the front page, and the broadcasting networks gave them prominent placement on the evening news. Although it is not difficult for the president to make news, it can be difficult for him to make news that he controls. Therefore, extensive regular coverage in Sunday newspapers and on Saturday network news about subjects that he initiated was a positive sign. Not surprisingly, when President Reagan signed off for the last of his ten speeches, he said, “I’ll be back before too long.”

After an 11-week hiatus, President Reagan continued his radio speeches on a regular basis. By the end of his term, they had become the longest-running regularly scheduled broadcast initiative ever taken by an American president, establishing Ronald Reagan as the person who resurrected radio as a persuasive tool of the presidency. These speeches also reinforced the value of radio as a campaign tool in non-election years. They brought the president a sustained, controlled forum for his views and significant residual media coverage. The fact that the Republican National Committee continued the radio speeches as paid political broadcasts gave clues to both their purpose and their effectiveness.

Opposition Response

Unlike televised speeches, in which the opposition got to reply on a hit-or-miss basis regulated by the networks, with radio speeches the Democrats in Congress were guaranteed automatic access. The automatic replies to President Reagan’s radio speeches gave 28 senators, 41 congressmen, and 4 non-congressional Democrats an opportunity to go head-to-head with the president. Speaker Tip O’Neill and Senate Minority Leader Robert Byrd chose the spokesmen who wrote their own speeches, with guidance being made available from the leadership.

The opportunity to reply to one of President Reagan’s radio speeches was sought by several rank-and-file members, especially younger, less visible congressmen. It was considered an honor and sign of approval to be asked by the Speaker to make the reply. Many members were more interested in the local audience in their districts rather than the nationwide audience. Some media-conscious congressmen heavily promoted the speeches in advance, advising their constituents to listen on Saturday.

The lure of a radio reply was not as appealing to senators and senior House members. The Saturday afternoon time posed an obstacle to recruiting the best and brightest of the party. Many senior members had important weekend commitments that they were not willing to change. Some senators resented the double standards the networks imposed on the Congress. The broadcasters followed President Reagan anywhere in the world for his Saturday speeches but made congressmen and senators come to a studio in downtown Washington, D.C. This gave President Reagan great flexibility—he gave less than one-third of his speeches from the White House—but posed a logistical problem for the Democrats in Congress. Furthermore, listening to the president, drafting a relevant reply, rehearsing it, and presenting it all in one hour did not strike some legislators as the most relaxing way to spend a Saturday afternoon. By the time President Reagan announced his bid for reelection in January 1984, the Democratic leadership and its members seemed ready to give up the Saturday replies. Still, the opportunity for “the loyal opposition” to have automatic, direct access to the president of the United States had been unprecedented, and the Democrats took full advantage of the opportunity.

President Reagan’s success with getting residual print and broadcast exposure through his radio addresses caused his successors to carry on the tradition. Although few Americans listen to the Saturday radio speeches live, many see the aftermath of the speeches in the Sunday newspapers, on daily news broadcasts, or Sunday talk shows. The radio addresses have become a significant agenda-setting vehicle for television-age presidents. Despite the burden of having to make the addresses 52 Saturdays per year, Presidents George H.W. Bush, Bill Clin-

ton, and George W. Bush embraced the radio speech format and found it to be beneficial to their presidencies. It is likely that the radio tradition resurrected by Reagan will continue.

JOE S. FOOTE

See also Election Coverage; Equal Time Rule; Fireside Chats; Politics and Radio

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United States Supreme Court and Radio

The United States Supreme Court has played an important role in defining the relationship between government regulation and radio broadcasters, as well as what is permissible behavior by the broadcasters themselves. Numerous cases decided over six decades help to underpin and sometimes explain current regulatory practices.

Operation and Membership

Mandated by Article III of the U.S. Constitution, the Supreme Court stands at the apex of the judicial branch of the federal government. As its name implies, it is the final arbiter of legal issues involving the Constitution and governmental actions. It acts as an appellate court, meaning that it reviews decisions appealed from lower federal courts and from state supreme courts when cases involve questions of federal law—such as

the First Amendment, a common ingredient in many media cases. Cases appealed from different states concerning the same federal issue may also end up in the Supreme Court. To be considered, the losing side in the lower court files a petition for *certiorari* or review, along with supporting documents in an attempt to persuade the High Court of the importance of the case and of the wrong done to the litigant.

Unlike federal appeals courts, the Supreme Court need not accept all cases appealed to it. Indeed, the court selects a small portion (about 200 achieve the needed four votes for consideration) of the thousands of cases appealed to it annually. Most are denied (*certiorari* or *cert. denied*) without any reason being given, leaving the lower court decision in place. Once a case is accepted, attorneys for each side file briefs (formal written arguments) and the court schedules an oral argument to highlight the key issues and give justices a chance to question

counsel. A decision often appears months later, usually with an opinion representing the majority, and often with concurring or dissenting opinions as well.

Though its membership and operations have varied over time, for more than 100 years the court has operated with nine members, one of them designated by the president as Chief Justice of the United States. Appointments to the court, made by the president and subject to Senate approval, are for life-long terms. Vacancies, owing to retirement, death, or resignation (the latter is not common), thus occur at irregular times. President Johnson named the court's first minority justice, Thurgood Marshall (served 1967–1991), while President Reagan named the first woman, Sandra Day O'Connor (served 1981–present). The chief justice is usually a newly appointed justice; only three times in history (most recently in 1986 with William Rehnquist) has a sitting associate justice been so elevated.

Radio Rulings

On numerous occasions since the early 1930s, the court has issued decisions involving radio broadcasting. These have ranged from appeals of FCC decisions to specific sections of the Communications Act or other legislation. Most have concerned procedure and jurisdiction, while others have focused on permissible content. The majority of decisions have upheld commission actions.

The first important Supreme Court case to concern broadcasting was *Federal Radio Commission v Nelson Brothers Bond and Mortgage Company* (289 US 266, 1933), in which the court upheld the public interest statement in the 1934 Communications Act as being constitutional and not too vague for proper enforcement. The court also found that the commission had substantial discretion in applying the public interest standard to specific situations. Seven years later, in *Federal Communications Commission v Sanders Brothers Radio Station* (309 US 470, 1940), the court tackled the difficult question of how much the FCC had to be concerned with economic pressure on licensees caused by allowing additional stations on the air. In a decision that provided rhetorical meat for proponents of both sides of the question, the court determined that “economic injury to an existing station is not a separate and independent element to be taken into consideration by the Commission in determining whether it shall grant or withhold a license.” Taken together, these first two court decisions served to strengthen the authority of the FCC to read the Communications Act with some discretion.

In *National Broadcasting Company v United States* (319 US 190, 1943), the court issued a landmark decision that further strengthened the FCC's discretionary power. Upholding the commission's network rules that, among other things, forced NBC to sell one of its two national radio networks (it became ABC in 1945), the court determined that the commis-

sion could regulate the business relationships between networks and their affiliates. A decision still widely cited in the legal literature, it included the key rationale for government's control of radio: “Freedom of utterance is abridged to many who wish to use the limited facilities of radio. Unlike other modes of expression, it is subject to governmental regulation. Because it cannot be used by all, some who wish to use it must be denied.” The *NBC* case remains one of the most important media decisions of the Supreme Court.

On rare occasions, the FCC comes out on the short end of a Supreme Court decision. In *American Broadcasting Co. v Federal Communications Commission* (347 US 296, 1953), the court focused on commission procedures. The radio networks broadcast a variety of quiz programs in the late 1940s, and the commission determined that at least some of them violated the Criminal Code provision banning the broadcasting of lottery information. The Code and existing cases only partially defined what a lottery was, and the FCC had therefore issued a rule further defining what was illegal on the air. It was overturned in the lower court, and the Supreme Court agreed, holding that “the Commission has overstepped the boundaries of interpretation and hence has exceeded its rulemaking power.”

More directly focused on program content was *Red Lion Broadcasting Co. v Federal Communications Commission* (395 US 367, 1969). A conservative religious radio station licensee in Red Lion, Pennsylvania had refused to allow free time to a man who had been attacked on the air during a syndicated religious program. After the station refused FCC orders to comply with its personal attack rules, the case went to court. At the same time, the Radio Television News Director's Association (RTNDA) appealed aspects of the FCC's “Fairness Doctrine.” Lower courts found for the FCC in the Red Lion case and against the commission in the RTNDA case. Because they dealt with similar aspects of the law, they were combined when appealed to the Supreme Court. The court's ruling upheld the Fairness Doctrine, again justifying its decision because of the limited spectrum available for broadcasting that provided the groundwork for government regulation of the service. In its widely quoted line, the court concluded “It is the right of the viewers and listeners, not the right of the broadcasters, which is paramount.”

Another radio content case came nearly a decade later in *Federal Communications Commission v Pacifica Foundation* (438 US 726, 1978) which effectively defined that which was indecent, and thus could be broadcast within certain conditions, as opposed to something obscene, which lacks First Amendment protection and may not be broadcast at all. Citing the “uniquely pervasive presence” of broadcasting (in this case a New York City noncommercial FM station) in the home as rationale for some limits on what could be broadcast, the court held (by a narrow 5-4 margin) that the FCC had been right to fine the station for broadcasting material (a satire on dirty words) in the

early afternoon that might be permissible late at night when, presumably, children were not present in the radio audience.

In most matters dealing with media content, the Court has held in favor of the First Amendment and thus against government meddling or interference with media decisions. After a decade of legal wrangling, *Federal Communications Commission v WNCN Listeners Guild* (1981) resolved once and for all who would determine station formats—a government agency or the marketplace. After 1970, the Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit, in a series of cases, had held that the FCC did have to determine whether station format changes were in the public interest. In response, the FCC in 1977 issued a policy statement citing the *Sanders* case (that competition should “permit a licensee . . . to survive or succumb according to his ability to make his programs attractive to the public”) and determining that the agency did *not* have to make public-interest determinations concerning format changes. An appeals court decision in 1979 once again held against the FCC position, and the agency appealed to the High Court.

In a 7-2 decision, the Supreme Court held that the lower court had made an “unreasonable interpretation of the act’s public-interest standard” and reversed it, agreeing with the FCC finding in favor of marketplace determinations of station formats. The court determined that the FCC policy statement was both reasonable and consistent with the legislative history of the Act. Kahn notes of this decision that “[t]his document is a restatement of the notion that reviewing courts are to grant substantial deference to the discretion of the expert administrative agency Congress established to determine what serves the public interest in broadcasting” (Kahn, 1984).

In sum, the Supreme Court has been called on to determine whether FCC decisions meet Constitutional tests as to their substance or procedure, and in most cases (where lower court decisions have been accepted for review) has supported the federal agency. The court’s rationale for upholding federal authority over radio has varied over time, but such rationale usually includes spectrum scarcity and thus the need to select among those who would broadcast, and the pervasive presence of the medium in the home. Combined, these considerations have led to a more limited First Amendment right for radio broadcasting compared to print media.

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See also Censorship; Deregulation of Radio; First Amendment and Radio; Network Monopoly Probe; Obscenity/Indecency on Radio; Red Lion Case; Regulation; Seven Dirty Words Case

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Urban Contemporary Format

Following the arrival of television, radio's new program specialization approach (formats for targeted audiences) provided a previously unavailable venue for a number of music genres, among them rhythm and blues, the "mother" of the urban contemporary radio format. Rhythm and blues, jazz, and black gospel music were developed from the lifestyles and experiences of African-American musicians and artists. Rhythm and blues provided the optimum entertainment and storytelling experiences about life, love, and pain in the African-American community. Artists such as Little Richard, LaVerne Baker, Ruth Brown, Jerry Butler, Jackie Wilson, James Brown, The Platters, The Coasters, The Drifters, Fats Domino, Ray Charles, Chuck Berry, The Spaniels, Faye Adams, Little Anthony and the Imperials, The Moonglows, The Flamingos, The Five Satins, Oscar Brown, Buster Brown, Frankie Lymon and the Teenagers, Big Jay McNeely, and a host of others sang, wrote, and performed their music with a unique flair that captivated listeners throughout the world. These artists provided an excellent source of radio programming material for the development of the rhythm and blues radio format.

In 1946 WDIA-AM, Memphis, Tennessee, became the first radio station to air a complete rhythm and blues radio format. Its 50,000-watt signal introduced new African-American musicians and disk jockeys to the airwaves, including B.B. King and Rufus Thomas, who would go on to legendary careers in the music industry. The powerful AM signal provided coverage throughout the Southeastern and Midwestern states. The station was so successful with the rhythm and blues format that its owners proclaimed that there was "gold in the cotton fields of the South." WDIA became the "Mother Radio Station" of the rhythm and blues format, thus laying the historic foundation for this broadcast style and its future offspring, urban contemporary.

Rhythm and blues radio stations grew in number during the 1950s to include such stations as WOOK, Washington, D.C.; WERD, WAOK, Atlanta, Georgia; WRAP, Norfolk, Virginia; WEBB, Baltimore, Maryland; WANN, Annapolis, Maryland; WDAS, WHAT, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; WLIB, WWRL, New York, New York; KNOLL, San Francisco, California; KGFJ, Los Angeles, California; WVON, Chicago, Illinois; WYLD, New Orleans, Louisiana; WCHB, Detroit, Michigan; WSRC, Durham, North Carolina; WANT, Richmond, Virginia; WILD, Boston, Massachusetts; WJMO, Cleveland, Ohio; KATZ, St. Louis, Missouri; and WAAA, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

Broadcast groups such as Rollins, Rousanville, Sonderling, Speidel, and United Broadcasting established rhythm and blues stations in large and medium markets throughout the country. Rollins was important because it operated stations in major

markets, including WNJR, New York, New York/Newark, New Jersey; WBEE, Chicago, Illinois; KDAY, Los Angeles, California; WGEE, Indianapolis, Indiana; and WRAP, Norfolk, Virginia. The Sonderling group laid the original foundation for the "new" sound of rhythm and blues radio, soon to be called urban contemporary. Jerry Boulding, program director of WWRL, New York, during the 1960s, was the architect of this new sound of rhythm and blues radio. This air sound, which was very smooth, became the sound of soul on WOL, Washington, D.C.; WWRL, New York; WDIA, Memphis; WBMX, Chicago; and KDIA, San Francisco/Oakland.

The major change that transformed rhythm and blues radio into urban contemporary was the shift of the format from AM stations to FM outlets in the early 1970s. Four radio stations, WBLS-FM, New York; WDAS-FM, Philadelphia; and WHUR-FM, WKYS-FM, Washington, D.C., were major players in this transformation. WBLS-FM in New York received programming directions from veteran disc jockey Frankie Crocker. His efforts transformed WBLS-FM into the number one station with an urban contemporary format in New York City. This success also was responsible for the early ratings erosion of the then-number-one-rated Top 40, 50,000-watt WABC-AM. The format of WBLS-FM was a mix of rhythm and blues, jazz, Latin, and gospel. WDAS-FM, Philadelphia, with disc jockey personality Hy Lit and Doctor Perri Johnson, also pioneered in urban contemporary radio. This format was a mix of jazz, blues, rhythm and blues, reggae, Latin, and urban rhythms. The format soon moved the station to high ratings.

Howard University's WHUR-FM in Washington, D.C., first aired in December 1971 with an urban contemporary format. The format was quite similar to the WBLS-FM urban sound, but with an added emphasis of news, educational features, and community programs. Just about every urban contemporary radio station in the United States has adopted one of its programs, *The Quiet Storm*. This program, which features love ballads and slow tunes, was originally aired under the *Quiet Storm* title at WHUR-FM and has become an integral part of the urban contemporary format.

WKYS-FM played a major role in giving the urban contemporary format a mainstream audience and the popular nickname "Kiss." In July 1975 the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) station switched from "beautiful music" to a disco format, a variation of urban contemporary. This helped the station move from a number 17 Arbitron rating to number three in Washington, D.C.

WKYS-FM, Washington, D.C., made format adjustments and moved urban contemporary radio to new programming heights. Veteran radio programmers Donnie Simpson, Bill Bailey, Eddie Edwards, Melvin Lindsay, Ed McGee, Rick

Wright, and Jack Harris laid the original foundation. In 2000 WKYS-FM was owned by Radio One, the largest African-American-owned radio broadcasting company in the world.

Urban contemporary is a radio format designed to attract an urban but demographically diverse audience. The overall air sound is that of music performed mainly by African-American artists, with the announcers presenting material such as commercials, features, public service announcements, station breaks, announcements, jingles, and news in various styles ranging from smooth and mellow to wild and zany to authoritative and informational.

Urban contemporary radio stations have become major electronic media entertainment, informational, promotional, and marketing tools. In Washington, D.C., the top three stations, WHUR-FM, WPGC-FM, and WKYS-FM, are all urban contemporary, but syndication, technological innovations, and station competition have brought major changes to urban contemporary radio. Most stations have decreased the use of local disc jockeys and moved toward the use of nationally syndicated programs.

One major syndicated urban contemporary service is "The Touch," which is delivered by satellite and downlinked to station affiliates. This service allows staff on-air announcer Tim Garrison to air his *Love Zone* show, with its mellow urban sounds, to audiences at night throughout the world.

The highly popular Tom "Flyjock" Joyner and the Doug Banks Show are two other examples of successful syndicated morning drive-time urban radio programs heard on many stations. The American Broadcasting Company (ABC) radio networks both syndicate radio shows and program a mix of music, news, comedy, contests, political information, features, and interviews with celebrities and people in the news. Both

originate from studios in Dallas but also broadcast from various locations around the country, thereby attempting to localize the programming content and focus while still reaching a national audience.

The sound characteristics of urban contemporary have changed from its rhythm and blues roots. This change has been caused by competition from other contemporary formats, such as contemporary hit radio and its variation, called CHURBAN. The latter combines trendy popular musical hits from Top 40 and urban charts and presents it in a tight, fast-paced manner.

To maintain its popularity, urban contemporary radio must seek a balance between the hot, hip-hop, contemporary music choices and the basic staples of radio programming. These staples include the use of local disk jockey personalities, on-going musical experimentation, creative use of technology, news programs, and programming research for discovery of new audience demographics and format designs.

The power of urban contemporary radio is best defined and reflected in its rich history of strong community service (fund-raising efforts, crime-fighting campaigns, and drug-awareness programs foremost among them) and the solid presentation of news, education, and entertainment.

ROOSEVELT "RICK" WRIGHT, JR.

See also Blues Format

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V

Vallee, Rudy 1901–1986

U.S. Radio and Film Star

Radio personality Rudy Vallee is associated with many radio landmarks: he was the first national network star created by radio; he was the first crooning idol, predating both Bing Crosby and Frank Sinatra; and he inaugurated the most influential radio variety show in the history of the medium. Vallee was a product of both the traditional middle-class culture of his New England youth and the sophisticated urban values of 1920s New York City. An emotional, even volatile performer credited with giving the radio voice sex appeal, he was also an exceptionally hard worker who strove for and demanded the highest standards of performance and who took pride in his responsiveness to fans.

Hubert Prior Vallee was born in Island Pont, Vermont, on 28 July 1901, to middle-class parents with French and Irish roots. His family moved to Westbrook, Maine, when he was very young, and he prided himself on his New England heritage. His father was a pharmacist, and it was expected that Vallee would follow in his father's footsteps. Instead, young Vallee developed an early interest in music and participated in amateur bands in high school as a singer and drummer. After graduation, he became passionately devoted to the saxophone (a relatively unknown instrument at the time) and began a correspondence and friendship with Rudy Wiedoeft, a saxophonist whose talent so impressed Vallee that he changed his first name to Rudy.

Vallee became one of the most famous collegians to emerge on the national scene in the 1920s, a time when the college culture had an unprecedented influence on popular culture. A student first at the University of Maine and then at Yale, where he transferred in 1922, Vallee was at the center of this new youth culture because of his work as a "sweet" jazz musician. By this time, Vallee was not only playing the saxophone but was also singing through a makeshift megaphone, a necessary tool of amplification that would become his trademark.

After taking his degree at Yale in 1927 (he took time off to perform in London in 1924–25), Vallee worked with several bands in the New York and Boston areas, most prominently Vincent Lopez's orchestra. He was soon given the opportunity to form and lead his own band; in December 1927, Vallee and his Yale Collegians (soon to be renamed the Connecticut Yankees) opened a posh new nightclub in New York called "The Heigh-Ho Club," with Vallee as leader, saxophonist, and singer. It was while at the Heigh-Ho that Vallee became famous, largely because some of his performances were broadcast over WABC. Vallee proved so immensely and immediately popular with radio listeners that other stations signed him up within days of his first broadcast. Within a year, the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) signed Vallee to an exclusive contract and began broadcasting his band nationally. In October 1929, just two days after the stock market crash, Vallee debuted his own weekly program, sponsored by Fleischmann's Yeast. The program consisted of Vallee announcing, singing, and playing music with his band for an hour, with interruptions for commercial announcements. The show was a huge hit, generating thousands of fan letters daily.

In many ways, Vallee's approach to his music made him ideally suited to radio broadcasting. He made several innovations in the way he presented music that allowed radio audiences to become easily involved in the program and that kept them from switching the dial. Because he wanted his music to be accessible to people, Vallee typically cut out the verses of a song and played only the chorus. Where other musicians focused on the music and treated the singer's voice as just another instrument, Vallee emphasized a song's lyrics in order to encourage listener identification and emotional involvement, and he employed more vocal solos than any other bandleader. Although Vallee played a variety of music, he also understood the value of repetition in fostering audience



Rudy Vallee

Courtesy Rudy Vallee Collection, American Library of Radio and Television, Thousand Oaks Library

familiarity and anticipation, and he developed several “signature” tunes that clearly identified him to listeners. He was also the first bandleader to do his own announcing; his friendly, conversational speaking style (marked by his famous greeting “Heigh-Ho Everybody”) and the anecdotes he told about each number endeared him to his audience and created an identity that made him seem like a familiar friend to his listeners.

Most important, Vallee gave the radio voice sex appeal. He was the first radio performer to take full advantage of the intimate singing that radio microphones and amplification made possible, a style of singing that soon became widely known as “crooning.” During his early years on radio, Vallee sang his love songs in a soft, yearning voice that made him the idol of millions of female fans. By romancing women within their homes, Vallee broke down established boundaries between public and private and helped to inaugurate an era of unprecedented mass media availability in domestic space. Vallee’s popularity proved both radio’s potential as a starmaker and the power of its domestic audience, resulting in airwaves full of crooners by the early 1930s.

Crooning’s popularity did not come without controversy. Because male crooners amplified their voices and sang so emotionally, critics and moral watchdogs complained that they were effeminate and worried about their tremendous influence on popular culture. Vallee was singled out for criticism, and his handlers at NBC worked hard to change his “slushy” image. The network and the sponsor, J. Walter Thompson, restructured Vallee’s program in 1932–33 to focus more on variety, bringing in more guest stars to balance Vallee’s singing. They also reworked Vallee’s persona into more of a “master of ceremonies” than a star performer.

This format proved to be enormously successful, and *The Rudy Vallee Hour*, which aired from 1929 to 1939, became one of the most influential early radio programs and is considered by many to be the best variety program in the history of radio. Based in New York, Vallee was able to take full advantage of access to Broadway and vaudeville stars, as well as visiting international performers. The hour-long show combined musical pieces with dramatic and comic sketches from recent shows, films, and vaudeville acts. Many already famous performers were given their first radio exposure on Vallee’s program, among them Fred and Adele Astaire, George Burns and Gracie Allen, and Fannie Brice; the show also launched the careers of many others, such as Alice Faye, Edgar Bergen and Charlie McCarthy, Bob Hope, Frances Langford, Red Skelton, and Milton Berle.

Vallee’s later attempts at radio were never as successful as his first show, but he became quite popular as the quintessential “stuffed shirt” figure in films of the 1940s, most notably those of director Preston Sturges. He also had a career-reviving turn in the Broadway show *How to Succeed in Business with-*

out Really Trying in 1961. Although today Vallee is best known for his film roles, his groundbreaking broadcasting work as both a crooner and a showman remains his most significant legacy to American entertainment. Vallee died at his home in Beverly Hills on 3 July 1986.

ALLISON MCCRACKEN

See also Singers on Radio; Variety Shows

Rudy Vallee. Born Hubert Prior Vallee in Island Pond, Vermont, 28 July 1901. Attended Yale University, degree in philosophy, 1927; tried to serve in U.S. Navy during World War I, 1917, but was underage; United States Coast Guard, lieutenant second grade, bandmaster, 1942–45; became saxophonist and bandleader, various bands, 1922–27; leader of Yale Collegians, which eventually became Connecticut Yankees, 1927–39; radio debut, WABC, New York, 1928; own radio series, NBC, 1936–39; debuted Edgar Bergen and Charlie McCarthy; first film appearance, *Rudy Vallee and His Connecticut Yankees* (short), 1929; discovered Victor Borge, 1940s; noted for appearances in *How to Succeed in Business without Really Trying* on Broadway, 1961–64, and in film, 1967. Received New York Critics Award, 1962. Died in Beverly Hills, California, 3 July 1986.

Radio Series

1928, 1940–43, 1946–47,	<i>The Rudy Vallee Show</i>
1950–51, 1955	
1929–36	<i>The Fleischmann Hour</i> (aka <i>The Rudy Vallee Hour</i>)
1936–39	<i>The Royal Gelatin Hour</i> (aka <i>The Rudy Vallee Hour</i>)
1944–46	<i>Villa Vallee</i>
1950–52	<i>The Big Show</i>

Television Series

On Broadway Tonight, 1964; *Preston Sturges Portrait eines Hollywood Regisseurs*, 1970; *The Perfect Woman*, 1978

Films

Rudy Vallee and His Connecticut Yankees (short), 1929; *Radio Rhythm* (short), 1929; *The Vagabond Lover*, 1929; *Glorifying the American Girl*, 1929; *Campus Sweethearts*, 1929; *The Stein Song* (animated short), 1930; *Betty Co-Ed* (animated short), 1931; *Kitty from Kansas City* (animated short), 1931; *Musical Justice* (short), 1931; *Knowmore College* (short), 1932; *Musical Doctor* (short), 1932; *Rudy Vallee Melodies* (short), 1932; *International House*, 1933; *A Trip thru a Hollywood Studio*, 1934; *George White’s Scandals*, 1934; *Sweet Music*, 1935; *Golddiggers in Paris*, 1938; *Second Fiddle*, 1939; *Time Out for Rhythm*, 1941; *Too Many Blondes*, 1941;

Hedda Hopper's Hollywood No. 6, 1942; *The Palm Beach Story*, 1942; *Happy Go Lucky*, 1943; *Rudy Vallee and His Coast Guard Band*, 1944; *It's in the Bag*, 1945; *Man Alive*, 1945; *People Are Funny*, 1946; *The Fabulous Suzanne*, 1946; *The Sin of Harold Diddlebock*, 1947 aka *Mad Wednesday*, 1950; *The Bachelor and the Bobby Soxer*, 1947; *I Remember Mama*, 1948; *So This Is New York*, 1948; *Unfaithfully Yours*, 1948; *My Dear Secretary*, 1948; *Mother Is a Freshman*, 1949; *The Beautiful Blonde from Bashful Bend*, 1949; *Father Was a Fullback*, 1949; *The Admiral Was a Lady*, 1950; *Ricochet Romance*, 1954; *Gentlemen Marry Brunettes*, 1955; *The Helen Morgan Story*, 1957; *How to Succeed in Business without Really Trying*, 1967; *Live a Little, Love a Little*, 1968; *The Night They Raided Minskys*, 1968; *The Phynx*, 1970; *Sunburst* aka *Slashed Dreams*, 1974; *Won Ton Ton, the Dog Who Saved Hollywood*, 1976

Stage

The George White Scandals, 1931–32, 1933–34; *How to Succeed in Business Without Really Trying*, 1961–64

Publications

Vagabond Dreams Come True, 1930
My Time Is Your Time (with Gil McKean), 1962
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Variety Shows

Music and Comedy Formats

Inspired by live stage vaudeville, variety programs on network radio through the 1930s and 1940s—whether oriented to music or comedy—offered significant examples of core network radio programming. Variety programs on network radio proved a powerful lure, but except for the popularity of Arthur Godfrey, they declined and disappeared as radio programming changed in the 1950s.

Origins

Vaudeville started in the late 19th century, and by the early years of the 20th century, it was a staple of mass entertainment in U.S. cities. Jugglers, comics, singers, tumblers, and indeed any talent that could operate in 10- to 20-minute units toured the United States, honing their acts in front of live audiences. This infrastructure of well-practiced talent was in place when radio appeared as a mass medium starting in the 1920s.

Just as radio began to make individual vaudeville stars famous, the new medium slowed and then killed the live vaudeville circuit. Along with the Great Depression, the coming of radio and the arrival of movie sound in the late 1920s

ended live stage vaudeville, because live shows could not amortize their costs over huge audiences as did radio and the movies. Thus, vaudeville talent either went west to Hollywood or shifted to radio, particularly the comics and singers whose voices represented the core of vaudeville's appeal.

The National Broadcasting Company (NBC) and the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) sought what they called "variety talent" to host shows in prime time. Some long-time vaudeville stars such as Eddie Cantor and Ed Wynn had grown up on the boards and made a successful transition to radio. Others, such as Buster Keaton and Harry Lauder, did not. Indeed, most did not, but Jack Benny and the Marx Brothers smoothly moved to radio (and the movies), bringing their considerable talents to listeners across the United States. Even ventriloquists such as Edgar Bergen thrived in radio, where the skill of throwing one's voice was not necessary, but Bergen's comedy overwhelmed any consideration of the radio inappropriateness of his act.

And the radio variety shows with guest stars thrived. Comics such as Eddie Cantor on Sunday night drew audiences measured in the millions and inspired millions more to purchase

radio sets. Others from vaudeville adapted to radio. Will Rogers, for example, who talked on stage as he did his rope tricks, gave up the rope to just tell stories on radio. There was a constant need for new talent, and so amateur hour programs began in 1934 with the introduction of *Major Bowes' Original Amateur Hour*. Scouts roamed the United States looking for skilled entertainers who might win the big prize and then make the next step into radio variety show stardom. According to one report, at the height of his popularity in the late 1930s, Major Bowes received more than 10,000 applications per week, and when local Hoboken, New Jersey, singer Frank Sinatra won, the legend of discovery became firmly established as part of radio's myth.

These radio variety shows seemed safe, because they booked stars who appealed to those in what surveys determined was a group and/or family listening demographic. As was the practice of the day, advertising agencies developed most such programs on behalf of their sponsor clients. Rudy Vallee, for example, was an employee of the J. Walter Thompson advertising agency as a client for Standard Brands. He was not employed by NBC, his network, although most fans surely thought so. But this practice would change as the star system—adapted from the movies and live stage vaudeville—developed and soon dominated.

By the early 1940s, radio stopped inheriting stars from other sources, such as the live vaudeville stage or Hollywood. Instead, radio began to make its own stars. Both Kate Smith and Arthur Godfrey started in radio and then moved to other media to exploit their radio fame.

The Variety Show Schedule

From the beginning—as early as January 1927—listings of network schedules included numerous prime-time variety radio programs. Through the late 1920s, dozens of network prime-time radio variety shows aired on NBC Blue and Red, and later also on CBS. Most programs from this early stage were either music or comedy oriented. Musical variety shows made up a third of all prime-time radio at that early point. These shows were headlined by bands or groups of musicians whose very names incorporated references to their sponsors' products: A&P Gypsies, Goodrich Zippers, the Cliquot Club Eskimos, and the Hires (Rootbeer) Harvesters. These were mostly 30-minute shows, with few running an hour.

With the rise of CBS in 1928 came a doubling of variety programming, and although sponsorship still dominated, a new trend arose, because CBS chairman William S. Paley immediately embraced the star system. The first such star was probably *Roxy and His Gang* on NBC Blue, hosted by the noted movie theater impresario, and Roxy's name—not the sponsor's—was above the title. But gradually CBS was to lead the way in exploiting the star system. Such stars would come

to equal sponsorship, as Hollywood and then radio itself created the larger-than-life figures the public sought out in their daily listening.

In the early 1930s, with dozens of variety shows on the air, most still featured the names of their sponsors—with new attractions including the Atwater Kent (a radio set manufacturer) Dance Orchestra, the Happy Wonder Bakers, and the Palmolive Hour. But as the 1930s progressed, the stars began to headline in a variation of the star system that Hollywood, and vaudeville before that, had used since the late 19th century. There were variety shows with such names as *The Ben Bernie Orchestra*, *The Guy Lombardo Orchestra*, and *The Paul Whiteman Orchestra*.

Many combinations of variety talent were tried as NBC and CBS tried to win the ratings war and thus to be able to charge more for their increasingly precious airtime. The search was intense for new stars. Some still came over from the New York stage, none more successfully as a variety host and talent than Eddie Cantor, who gained initial stardom as a member of the annual Follies of Florence Ziegfeld. Cantor adapted his talents neatly to radio, and from 1931 through 1949 his NBC variety show was a highly rated network fixture. Jimmy Durante was surely Cantor's biggest rival, but radio-made comic talent such as Bob Hope would take over this subgenre of the variety program.

For example, Fred Waring headed a relatively unknown big band in the 1920s. When he started his radio variety show in 1933 on CBS, he quickly rose to stardom. He moved to NBC in 1939 with a show that was titled *Chesterfield Time* until 1945, when he had become such a big star that his name went into the title. The show became *The Fred Waring Show* and lasted until 1950, spanning the whole of the variety show era.

Rudy Vallee was a nightclub and vaudeville star when he came to radio on NBC in 1929, first in *The Fleischmann Hour*, and then under his own name, with Vallee telling jokes and singing but also delivering guest talent. Vallee first introduced Eddie Cantor, Noel Coward, Beatrice Lillie, Alice Faye, Edgar Bergen, and Red Skelton to radio fans—all of whom would go on to host or star on radio through the 1930s and 1940s. But it was Vallee's name that carried this radio variety show.

Ed Sullivan would become a television variety show legend, but he never claimed that he did any more than simply to offer New York-centric entertainment gossip and to bring as guests the top music, comic, and other talent. Supposedly, comic Fred Allen once remarked that Sullivan would last as long as someone else had talent that radio could showcase.

Some radio-made stars came through the ranks of local stations. For example, bandleader Guy Lombardo and his newly minted Royal Canadians made their radio debut on Chicago's WBBM-AM in 1927, and within a couple of years Lombardo

was appearing on the CBS network, of which WBBM was a long-time affiliate.

Robert Ripley proved that stardom could be transferred to a radio variety show—even if it seemed improbable. Ripley had first introduced his *Believe It or Not* newspaper cartoons in 1918; then, using vivid descriptions and sounds, he was able to develop a variety act for NBC, CBS, and the Mutual Broadcasting System. He was a good host as well and invited his guests to share in his glory.

By 1940 the movies and radio were inexorably linked. Long-retired silent film star Mary Pickford—with third husband, bandleader Buddy Rogers—hosted her own variety shows, first titled simply *Mary Pickford and Buddy Rogers* and later titled *Parties at Pickfair*, referring to their posh and noted Hollywood estate. Here was a star play pure and simple. And once performers such as Bob Hope or Bing Crosby became big in radio, they could also go to Hollywood and then smoothly back to radio. Indeed, both CBS and NBC set up major studios in Los Angeles in the late 1930s to take advantage of this growing Hollywood-radio connection.

Program Strategies

Variety shows almost always revolved around music and/or comedy, because the dancing, acrobatics, magic tricks, and other staples of the vaudeville stage had no appeal on radio. There were general variety shows, music-oriented variety shows, and comedy-oriented variety shows. Subgenres included the amateur hours, ethnic music comics (such as Jewish comics who had crafted their comedy on the Catskills circuit), and subcategories of music (such as the barn dance programs, which would later evolve into the country music format radio).

The distinction between programs was in how much of a story was told. *The Jack Benny Show* offered a variety of musical acts with Jack and his gang of comics, but the show was more the story of the Benny group. On the other hand, Al Jolson's various radio variety shows featured the singing of Jolson, with only an occasional sketch and comic guest star.

Sometimes the appeal for radio made little sense. Ben Bernie was a vaudeville star as the genre was dying, killed by the movies. He started on a local New York City radio station in 1923, and thanks to a long-running feud with gossip columnist Walter Winchell, he became famous and was a radio fixture from 1931 until his death in 1943. Like many famous variety talents, he had one strength—in his case, music—but could offer enough talent in comedy, simple patter, and an ability to play master of ceremonies that he could become a star in variety.

Stars were often made by first appearing on a variety show and then moving to their own programs. For example, Dinah Shore was discovered in the late 1930s and early 1940s by

Ben Bernie and Eddie Cantor, and by 1940 she was voted top new star in a Scripps Howard newspaper chain national radio poll. A year later, NBC had her on its schedule with her own show.

By the late 1930s, variety, whether categorized as comedy driven, music driven, or general, offered the most common program type on network radio. Musical comedy always trailed musical variety, but sometimes it was hard to tell the difference. Indeed, Harrison Summers categorized the *Al Jolson Program* on CBS during the 1937–38 season as “comedy variety.” Even programs centered on individual stars frequently filled out their 60-minute time slots with guest stars and so should be thought of as variety shows, such as, for example, *The Edgar Bergen and Charlie McCarthy Program*.

Orchestras dominated, because this was the big band era. There were Horace Heidt, Morton Gould, Russ Morgan, Sammy Kaye, Benny Goodman, and Tommy Dorsey, as well as the long-running Paul Whiteman, Wayne King, and Rudy Vallee.

In the 1940s, bands made their singers into individual stars in their own right. Doris Day, Bing Crosby, and Frank Sinatra could be backed by any band. The fans wanted to hear them as singers, not as appendages of notable big bands. Radio indeed sparked the sales of phonograph records, as stars introduced their new tunes and stylings via radio and then fans flocked to purchase copies of the discs of their favorites.

But there were other forms of music than big bands, notably hillbilly, which was later called country music. On Saturday nights, NBC broadcast both the *National Barn Dance* and the *Grand Ole Opry*, complete with singers, dancers, and comics. But these variety shows borrowed from another, alternative musical tradition and aimed exclusively at a rural audience. Variety shows most often were fed by the New York City-based Tin Pan Alley tradition and then later melded this with the music and comedy coming from Hollywood.

When in 1943 NBC spun off what became the American Broadcasting Company (ABC), the new company began with the *Alan Young Show*, the *Mary Small Revue*, the *Paul Whiteman Radio Hall of Fame*, and the *Woody Herman Band Show*. This is a partial listing, but surely ABC embraced all the strategies and scheduling opportunities that NBC and CBS had pioneered. ABC hit an apex in 1946 when Bing Crosby moved to the network for reasons of convenience and technical change. During the summer of 1946, Crosby left NBC after fulfilling his obligation with long-time sponsor Kraft and signed with Philco (maker of radio and later television sets) for a weekly salary of \$7,500. Philco and ABC would permit Crosby to pre-record his *Philco Radio Time* on newly developed audiotape. He did not need to be in the studio when his show debuted (on 16 October 1946), nor as it ran on ABC until 1 June 1949. With the transcription ban broken, Bing Crosby then took advantage of the talent raids by CBS and so switched to a new

sponsor—Chesterfield cigarettes—and to a new network—CBS—on which *The Bing Crosby Show* debuted 21 September 1949 and ran until the end of the 1951–52 radio season.

CBS and NBC built studios in both New York and Los Angeles to house these variety productions. Sometimes they simply adapted old vaudeville or movie palaces, but more often through the late 1930s and before building restrictions imposed by World War II, they built original, art deco-style studio spaces made for radio. The early 1930s NBC studio at Rockefeller Center—Radio City—best represented these sizable commitments to variety show's popularity.

Demise

The war years were the final hurrah for the radio variety show. National defense bond rallies often functioned as all-star radio variety shows, meant to outdo all other radio extravaganzas. Programs such as *Music for Millions*, *Treasury Star Parade*, and *Millions for Defense* not only drew needed bond sales, but also were beamed across the ocean or recorded for later playback for the troops fighting in Europe and the Pacific. The stars of radio—led by Bob Hope and Bing Crosby—toured for the United Service Organizations (USO) and went abroad to entertain the soldiers near the fronts. Indeed, radio star and big band leader Glenn Miller was killed in a plane crash while traveling from one show to another.

In the 1940s there was no more popular genre of radio program than variety. But late in the decade, both CBS and NBC shifted their variety stars to their television networks. Music for radio started with the combination of one of network radio's subgenres—hillbilly turned into country music—and another that never appeared on network radio—rhythm and blues. This amalgamation became rock and roll, and television maintained the Tin Pan Alley variety format through the 1950s and 1960s until rock proved so powerful that the variety tradition all but disappeared from television, as it had from radio two decades earlier.

But radio did have a last hurrah during the late 1940s, when CBS's William S. Paley—in alliance with Hollywood agent Lew Wasserman—incorporated stars such as Jack Benny, Red Skelton, Bing Crosby, Groucho Marx, and Edgar Bergen and then had their corporations sell their shows to the networks and sponsors. This incorporation meant vast savings in income taxes for the stars, but it led to the creation of a stable of CBS-housed talent that then transferred—by the middle 1950s—to the dominant CBS television network. By 1949 CBS was winning the radio rating wars with all but four of the top 20 radio shows; a decade later, the ratio would be about the same for CBS television in its battle with NBC.

It was not that participants in the radio variety show tradition gave up easily. There were sizable institutions that had a vested interest in keeping the live variety show going. First,

there were the performing music societies: the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers (ASCAP) and the new Broadcast Music Incorporated (BMI). Even more concerned was the union of musicians, the American Federation of Musicians, who tried to slow the innovative recording techniques—tape and discs—that union leaders and members correctly felt would lessen the demand for their live services.

NBC tried to keep the radio variety show alive with *The Big Show* on Sunday nights in 1951, but even this splashy revue could not keep the variety format from switching over to TV. A better symbol of the change was Paul Whiteman, who had hosted many golden age radio variety shows but who in 1947 became an early disc jockey on ABC, symbolizing the transformation to a new form of musical presentation on radio.

One man did keep radio variety alive until 1960 by doing variety in both media—Arthur Godfrey. His morning show was in the variety tradition, and his prime-time hit *Talent Scouts* was able to continue the form through the 1950s, with simulcast over radio until 1956. Godfrey's gift for gab was so popular on radio that he could book whomever he wanted, and fans tuned in. But with the cancellation of first *Talent Scouts* and later his morning show, variety on radio reverted to pure and simple nostalgia. These shows—more than any other form—offer in their preserved form a record of the top variety talent of the first two-thirds of the 20th century.

DOUGLAS GOMERY

See also Benny, Jack; Cantor, Eddie; Crosby, Bing; Durante, Jimmy; Godfrey, Arthur; Hollywood and Radio; National Barn Dance; Singers on Radio; Talent Raids; Vaudeville and Radio; Your Hit Parade; Wynn, Ed

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Vatican Radio

The Vatican's need for an effective means of communicating with the outside world can be traced back at least to 1870, when Pope Pius IX was restricted to Vatican City by the Italian Army. Only after the Lateran Pact of 1929—four decades and five popes later—was Vatican City recognized as a sovereign and independent state. But as tensions began to grow between Pius XI and Italy's fascist dictator, Benito Mussolini, the implicit threat of isolation lingered.

Cardinal Eugenio Pacelli (then Vatican secretary of state) was determined to avoid any possibility of future papal isolation. He suggested that the Holy See integrate a new medium—radio—into religious dissemination, thereby making geographic and political borders virtually meaningless when challenged by the “airwaves” of broadcast technology. After gaining papal support, Pacelli began negotiations with inventor Guglielmo Marconi to create a powerful shortwave radio system as well as an efficient telephone operation for Vatican use. Within months, Marconi's plans became a reality, and on 12 February 1931 Pope Pius XI sent his first message via “Vatican Radio” to the world.

During its first seven years of operation, Vatican Radio, under Jesuit management, became a significant force in the propagation of church views, programming portions of its content to diverse audiences in seven languages. In 1938 Pius XI increased his use of the medium by instituting a “Catholic Information Service,” created solely to attack the atheistic propaganda coming from Germany, Italy, Japan, and Russia. With added broadcast power (now transmitting in ten languages on both shortwave and medium wave), radio had now become the primary medium for the Pontiff's anticommunist message. This “new” propaganda campaign continued through the last days of Pius XI's life, as well as during the reign of his successor, Cardinal Pacelli, as Pope Pius XII.

Pius XII quickly confirmed the importance of radio as a message disseminator to vast territories: he reached far greater numbers of people within a shorter period of time than any of

his predecessors. Further, he realized that radio often communicated more emotionally, dramatically, and persuasively than other informational sources—a characteristic that figured prominently when open aggression became more severe and global battle seemed to be inevitable.

Against this backdrop, personnel at Vatican Radio were asked to do many things, involving covert activities as well as humanitarian assistance. Some of the most courageous broadcasts aired by the transnational service at this time were those that unveiled the horrors of the Nazi Holocaust. News reports featured stories on concentration camps, torture, and the ghettos, based on eye-witness testimony. From 1940 to 1946, Vatican Radio also ran an Information Office, transmitting almost 1.25 million shortwave messages to locate prisoners of war and other missing persons. Later the radio system combined its information services with the International Refugee Organization, forming a team “Tracing Service” to reunite war-torn families and friends.

After World War II, Vatican Radio returned to its prewar programming schedule, broadcasting in 19 languages throughout the world and competing for transnational listenership with such networks as the Voice of America, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), Radio Moscow, and Radio Peking. However, the onset of the Cold War (and Stalin's growing number of “godless communism” messages) renewed Vatican Radio's commitment to boost the church's religious message.

In 1950 Vatican Radio officials asked for contributions from the faithful to expand the transnational system's facilities. With this money, Pius XII proposed to use Vatican Radio vigilantly, broadcasting 24 hours each day, in at least 28 languages. The “free world” responded to this announcement enthusiastically, contributing almost \$2.5 million to the cause. The new facilities took almost six years to build, but in 1957, Radio Vaticana introduced its newly finished, high-powered station to the world. The renovated system now sent its signal via two new 10-kilowatt shortwave transmitters (to add to the



Pope John XXIII records radio and TV speech from the Vatican, 11 September 1962
Courtesy AP/Wide World Photos

shortwave transmission power of its 100-kw transmitter), one 250-kw medium wave transmitter (augmenting the earlier 100-kw medium wave transmitter), a 328-foot multidirectional antenna for medium wave broadcasts to Southern, Central, and Eastern Europe, and 21 additional antennas. In addition, the new transmission power of Vatican Radio reached new areas in North and South America and much of Asia. Coupled with the establishment of a Pontifical Commission for Cinematography, Radio, and Television, the Holy See clearly established its commitment to transnational media propagation of the faith.

In 1958 Vatican Radio had the unhappy task of broadcasting the last days of Pius XII's life. The next pope, John XXIII, was modern, liberal, and extremely media-literate. Immedi-

ately after his election, the new Pontiff proclaimed plans for a Second Vatican Council; much of the progress of the council was conveyed through Vatican Radio.

On 12 February 1961, the Pope celebrated Vatican Radio's 30th anniversary by imparting his apostolic blessing to use radio "to overcome the barriers of nationality, of race, [and] of social class." By 1962 the world's oldest transnational broadcast system communicated in 30 languages, 17 of which were specifically intended for nations behind the Iron Curtain. The Pope used the airwaves in an attempt to mediate the Soviet-American standoff over missiles found in Cuba, broadcasting pleas to both Khrushchev and Kennedy in 1962.

After John XXIII's death in 1963, however, Pope Paul VI was not as supportive of Vatican Radio as his predecessor had

been. Some analysts attribute the new Pontiff's indifference to his general mistrust of the secular media. Whatever the reason, station personnel suffered from low morale through the 1960s and 1970s. Their program schedule was singularly noncreative, filling valuable broadcast time with organ recitals, sacred choral presentations, and detailed announcements of minor papal appointments. Fortunately, however, the dark era at the Catholic station was temporary and would later be reversed by an increase in professional station management and creative programmatic direction, as well as by a more media-wise pope.

In 1995 Vatican Radio began broadcasts on its new satellite network. Combined with newly developed cooperative programming efforts on AM and FM stations throughout the world and an internet homepage, one of the oldest transnational broadcast services continues its work as a major voice of the Roman Catholic church.

In 1998 the Italian government issued stringent restrictions on radio emissions (to make them three times lower than most other European countries), and thus began a long struggle with Vatican Radio over the amount of power used by the international service. Some people living near the antennas (on Vatican land and thus not directly under Italian jurisdiction) claimed various health hazards from the power emissions. Early in 2001, things went so far as to witness the environmental minister threatening to cut off the electricity used to power the antennas, an action overridden by the prime minister. Instead Vatican Radio officials agreed to begin to limit the amount of transmitter power used.

Vatican Radio in 2002 programmed a 24-hour news day, using more than 200 correspondents from 61 countries. The content included classical, jazz, and popular music, as well as news/commentary programs and daily church services. Much of this programming was being relayed to millions of Catholics in 40 languages, by a staff of more than 425 employees.

MARILYN J. MATELSKI

See also Italy; Marconi, Guglielmo; Propaganda by Radio; Religion on Radio

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Vaudeville

In a world where vaudeville is all but forgotten, it is difficult to imagine what a great impact this art form had on people's lives. For some immigrants who had talent, it was a way out of poverty. It gave others comfort and cheer when they were lonely. It was catharsis. It was amusement. In some ways, it was remarkably egalitarian. To truly understand the development of radio, one has to understand the vaudeville circuit that nurtured most of radio's early stars and provided the model for many early radio programs.

Origins

The origin of the word "vaudeville" is uncertain; some reference books say it comes from the French drinking songs called "chansons du Val de Vire." Others say it comes from the

phrase "voix de ville," meaning "voice of the city" (or "voice of the people"). In Europe the term came to mean comic entertainment, comprised of farce and satire, often in song or skit. In America vaudeville developed gradually, emerging from the burlesque shows performed in frontier towns and mining camps. As America became more urban, a growing middle class wanted entertainment, and that potential audience included women and children. Vaudeville historian Frank Cullen credits Tony Pastor with giving this form of entertainment some much-needed refinement. Pastor, Cullen writes, used a variety format that would become the standard for vaudeville: his first performances featured "a concert singer, a popular balladeer, a lady who played a [number of] instruments, an Irish act . . . and a comedian who did only clean material."

Vaudeville theaters multiplied; by 1910, there were 2000 of them across the United States. In a world where radio broadcasting did not yet exist, movies were silent, and phonograph records were still fairly new, an enjoyable way to pass the time was to take the family to a vaudeville performance, where there was something for everyone. Some of the comedians used old jokes that the audience knew, and the fans would say the punchline along with the performer. People also sang along if they knew a song, and requests were sometimes taken. Song pluggers, with no radio to promote their potential hits, would persuade performers to do a certain song and then hire people to stand up and request it again or to cheer loudly at the end; the pluggers would then stand outside the theater to sell the song on record or sheet music. On the other hand, if spectators did not like a performance or found a routine boring, they might express their disapproval in a chorus of boos. The vaudeville stage was no place for a person with a fragile ego.

The lives of vaudeville performers must have seemed exciting and glamorous to the audience, but the reality of being a performer was endless touring, sometimes playing several theaters a night, staying in cheap hotels, and sharing cramped dressing rooms with others on the same bill. Many impresarios—such as E.F. Albee, Samuel Rothafel, the Shuberts, and Florence Ziegfeld—booked the major theaters and acts, though they were not always the kindest people with whom to deal. There was also a hierarchy of vaudeville theaters: the unknowns played in smaller houses and rural towns, while the biggest and the best got booked for New York City's Palace Theatre.

Until an entertainer developed a following and became a star, there was not much luxury, and sometimes there wasn't much money. But having to pay some dues did not dissuade the hopefuls: for those who dreamed of being famous, vaudeville was their best chance. In that era before talking pictures and broadcasting, there was a constant need for new and interesting live performers at the many vaudeville houses; some theaters had nine or ten acts on the bill, and performers tried their hardest to be memorable, or at least unique in some way. A few performers who were moderately successful hired their own press agents to get them even more visibility, and, they hoped, better bookings. Nellie Revell, one of the few women press agents, not only worked with vaudeville stars and for several theaters, but also wrote about vaudeville for such publications as *Variety*.

Vaudeville helped the sons and daughters of immigrants become successful in America. Al Jolson and Eddie Cantor are two examples of young men from impoverished immigrant backgrounds whose careers took off thanks to their time on the vaudeville stage. In the North talented black performers often performed as well. (In the South, there was a separate circuit for blacks only.) In New York the legendary black comedian Bert Williams offered his amazing routines consist-

ing of song and dance interfused with comedy; Williams became one of the highest paid black performers of his day and earned the respect of his white colleagues. Earning respect was not easy for a minority performer, especially when vaudeville reinforced every stereotypic representation in society—the greedy Jew, the cheap Scotsman, the drunken Irishman, the unintelligent black man. Williams was able to bring dignity to even those skits where he was supposed to play a bewildered Negro. There was no “political correctness” on the stage—immigrants who could not speak proper English, the nouveau riche who did not know how to behave—any foibles of any group could become the butt of jokes. At the same time, numerous foreign language theaters featured performers who poked fun at life in mainstream America.

Vaudeville on Radio

When radio developed, many of the performers who had made a name for themselves on the stage ignored the new medium. *Variety*, the “bible” of show business, said radio was a fad that would not last, and besides, most stations had no money to pay the big name stars from Broadway. But by 1922 it was obvious that radio was winning new friends every day. Some of the vaudevillians decided that making an appearance on radio might be useful after all. At first, most performers and all of the impresarios had been opposed to going on the air; a 3 March 1922 cover story in *Variety* headlined, “Vaudeville and musicians declare against Radiophone,” with several major impresarios expressing the belief that radio would only encourage people to stay home and not come to the theater anymore. But the novelty and the chance for publicity had already attracted a few entertainers, and more would follow.

One of the first big vaudeville names to do so was comedian Ed Wynn. In February of 1922, he performed the first live play, “The Perfect Fool,” on WJZ in Newark, New Jersey. The legend is that Wynn, ill at ease about performing in a silent studio with only an engineer to watch him, gathered up whoever was still in the building, including the cleaning crew and even a few people on the street, and invited them to watch his routine, thus creating the first studio audience. Their natural reactions to his humor greatly aided his timing. Radio made most vaudevillians uncomfortable because in the early days, studios were usually located in factories or on top of a roof, and there was no audience with which to interact. But Ed Wynn's innovation soon changed that, and as stations began building nicer studios (or moving into hotels that had ballrooms) it became acceptable to allow the public to watch performances.

Paying the big names was still a problem, but several of the impresarios decided to expand their use of radio and began putting their stars and theater acts on the air. Samuel Rothafel (better known as “Roxy”) and Charles Carrell were two who did very well with this initiative. Roxy broadcast from the

Capitol Theater over WEAJ in New York City as early as 1923; he would be heard on the NBC network starting in 1927. Carrell, who ran numerous theaters in the Midwest in the mid 1920s, had a novel way of attracting attention to his vaudeville shows: he brought a "portable" station into towns where people had few opportunities to see a performance. His traveling companies then put on a show and the entire event was broadcast on his own station, which often encouraged listeners to make a trip to Chicago (where one of his theaters was located) to see a show in person. Of course, once the networks began operations, the problem of paying talent was solved. Early advertisers hired and paid the most famous stars.

Most of radio's best loved early entertainers got their start in vaudeville: Eddie Cantor, Al Jolson, Ed Wynn, comedienne Fanny Brice, singer Ruth Etting, comedians Jack Benny, George Burns and Gracie Allen, singer Sophie Tucker (who billed herself as the "Last of the Red Hot Mamas"), and many more. Nellie Revell (whose clients had included Jolson) ended up offering her show business gossip column over the air on NBC, under the name "Neighbor Nell." She also invited the stars to her show for interviews.

The variety show on radio operated somewhat as the vaudeville show had—a number of acts in which each performer's job was to win over the audience both in the studio and listening at home. The mid 1930s talent show craze (characterized by Major Bowes' program) also harkened back to vaudeville days when managers offered an "opportunity night" for new performers to try out. If the public liked them,

they might win a small prize (Eddie Cantor won \$5); the real prize was the chance to come back and perform again, and ultimately to be hired.

Some critics later accused radio of killing vaudeville, but the truth is that the genre had begun to decline before the radio craze really took hold. Perhaps radio hastened its demise, but then, vaudeville really didn't die: it became a part of radio, and later a part of television. Thanks to vaudeville, a generation of entertainers perfected their craft and brought it to the airwaves, where a national audience could appreciate it all over again.

DONNA L. HALPER

See also Allen, Fred; Benny, Jack; Brice, Fanny; Cantor, Eddie; Comedy; George Burns and Gracie Allen Show; Jewish Radio Programs in the United States; Stereotypes on Radio; Talent Shows; Variety Shows; Wynn, Ed

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Vic and Sade

U.S. Radio Comedy Serial

For 13 years, from 1932 until 1945, devoted radio listeners tuned in daily to "smile again with radio's home folks," Vic and Sade Gook. Over the course of more than 3,500 scripts, writer and creator Paul Rhymer produced an intimate, idyllic, and eccentric portrait of small-town life in Depression-era America.

Neither its serial format (*Vic and Sade* appeared alongside dozens of daytime soap operas) nor its subject matter (*The Aldrich Family* and *One Man's Family* also featured accounts of white, middle-class American life) made *Vic and Sade* unique. What distinguished Rhymer's radio tales of life in "the small house half-way up on the next block" were its odd place-

ment on the network schedule, the inimitable perspective of its creator, and its creative use of the aural medium. James Thurber (1948) wrote that amidst the tears and tragedy of daytime soap operas, *Vic and Sade* "brought comedy to the humorless daytime air." Indeed, *Vic and Sade* was one of the earliest and most enduring radio comedies about middle-class families in the American Midwest. Because of its unwavering focus on the humor of domestic life and its large fan following, *Vic and Sade* influenced the shape and form of situation comedies on both radio and television. Using only three (and later four) voices, a microphone, and a vivid imagination, Paul Rhymer collected everyday conversations, trivial events, and



Bernardine Flynn as "Sade" and Art Van Harvey as "Vic"
Courtesy CBS Photo Archive

mundane details and wove them into fantastic vignettes of small-town life. Few other radio programs capitalized so successfully on the intimacy and imaginative potential of radio as did *Vic and Sade*.

Rhymer wrote all the scripts during the serial's run. His experiences as a young boy growing up in Bloomington, Illinois, served as a model for the Midwestern town life chronicled in *Vic and Sade*. After attending Illinois Wesleyan University, he was hired by the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) in Chicago to write continuity for music programs. As a special assignment, Rhymer was asked by NBC's program director, Clarence Menser, to develop a skit for an up-and-coming client, Procter and Gamble. Although Procter and Gamble did not recognize the early promise of this serial, Menser put the program on the air on a sustaining basis on 29 June 1932. (It was briefly sponsored in 1933 by Jelke and Ironized Yeast.) But not until November 1934 did Procter and Gamble realize its mistake; for the remainder of its run, *Vic and Sade* was sponsored by Procter and Gamble's Crisco. Paul Rhymer quit his position at NBC and devoted himself full-time to writing the serial. Although Rhymer was once fired as a journalist for writing stories about people he had not yet interviewed, his talent for creating stories about eccentric townsfolk was rewarded on radio.

Many contemporaries sought to distinguish *Vic and Sade* from the serials surrounding it on the network schedule. In addition to sharing the format of daytime soap operas (running five times a week), *Vic and Sade* also shared the serials' focus on family life and interpersonal relationships. *Vic and Sade* was set in the Gook household on Virginia Street in Crooper, Illinois. The serial focused on Victor Rodney Gook (Art Van Harvey), a bookkeeper for Plant No. 14 of the Consolidated Kitchenware Company; his wife, Sade (Bernardine Flynn), a not-so-brilliant housewife who talked in mixed metaphors and malapropisms; their adopted son, Rush (Billy Idelson); and absent-minded Uncle Fletcher (Clarence Hartzell). Each episode focused on the conversations of the Gook family about household events and the daily happenings of their small town—Rush's stomachache; Vic's failure to notice that Sade has cut her hair; or Sade's fight with her best friend, Ruthie Stembottom. As Fred E.H. Schroeder (1978) observed, there is never a scene in *Vic and Sade* "that goes farther than the front porch, attic, or cellar." What distinguished *Vic and Sade* from other daytime serials were its noncontinuous story lines and quirky account of life in Crooper, Illinois. Unlike most radio serials, each episode of *Vic and Sade* was self-contained; the conflict introduced in each episode was often resolved by the end of the 15-minute program.

Through references and conversations of the main characters, a whole town came to life on the air. Listeners knew that Sade was a member of the ladies' Thimble Club, loyally attended the washrag sale at Yamilton's Department Store with

Ruthie Stembottom, and specialized in making "beef punkle" ice cream for her family. Vic, the Exalted Big Dipper of his lodge, the Sacred Stars of the Milky Way (Drowsy Venus Chapter), was both antagonized by and devoted to his family. Young Rush often went to the Bijou theater with his friends Smelly Clark, Bluetooth Johnson, and Freeman Scuder to catch a feature film such as *You Are My Moonlit Dream of Love* or *Apprentice Able-Bodied Seaman McFish* when he wasn't playing rummy with Vic and Uncle Fletcher. Listeners knew the places in Crooper, Illinois, visited by Vic and Sade—the Butler House; the Bright Kentucky Hotel; and the Tiny Petite Pheasant Feather Tea Shoppe, which served scalded cucumbers and rutabaga shortcake—and the friends and neighbors who inhabited Vic and Sade's world—Reverend Kidney Slide; Chuck and Dottie Brainfeeble; Jake Gumpox; Rishigan Fishigan of Shishigan, Michigan (who married Jane Bayne from Paine, Maine); and Robert and Slobert Hink, who had brothers named Bertie and Dirtie and sisters named Bessie and Messie. When the eccentric Uncle Fletcher became a permanent character in 1940, the absurdity of the serial reached new heights. Uncle Fletcher entertained audiences with his rambling tales about Vetha Joiner, who went daffy after reading dime novels, or Ollie Hasher, whose friend painted his table every day so he wouldn't have to dust it.

Vic and Sade soon became one of the most popular serials on radio. In fact, in early 1935 *Radio Stars* reported that business in one South Dakota town literally halted each day so people could listen to the program. That same year, the Women's National Radio Committee named *Vic and Sade* one of the few daytime programs worth listening to. Just four short years after the program's introduction, a promotional offer featured on the show prompted an extraordinary 700,000 requests. By 1938 nearly 7 million listeners tuned in daily. Over 600 radio editors polled named *Vic and Sade* the best radio serial. *Vic and Sade* was also admired by contemporary writers and humorists, including Jean Shepard, James Thurber, John O'Hara, Sherwood Anderson, Edgar Lee Masters, Ogden Nash, and Ray Bradbury, for its whimsical and humorous look at small-town America.

In its focus on three or four central characters, *Vic and Sade* remained largely unchanged until the last years of the serial. Art Van Harvey (Vic) was temporarily written out of the show while recuperating from a heart attack, as was Billy Idelson's character (Rush) when the actor enlisted in the navy during World War II. In this period, many of the characters previously only described by the Gooks (such as Orville Wheeney and Mayor Geetcham) were given voice as supporting characters in the serial. Although the program ended its continuous run in 1944, it was briefly revived by the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) in mid-1945 as a variety show and in 1946 by the Mutual network as a 30-minute sitcom. Two unsuccessful attempts were made to bring the program to television—to

NBC's *Colgate Theater* in 1949 and to a local station, Chicago's WNBQ, in 1957. But the aural magic and the serial's peculiarity did not translate easily to a new visual medium (it was not perhaps until the debut of the *Andy Griffith Show* that eccentric small-town life successfully appeared on television). Although lack of storage space led Procter and Gamble to destroy original recordings of more than 3,000 episodes of the show, some remaining scripts were preserved in two edited volumes and in the archives at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Fan clubs such as the Vic and Sadeists and the Friends of Vic and Sade and websites such as "Stephen M. Lawson's *Vic and Sade Fan Page*" and "Rick's Old-Time Radio *Vic and Sade Page*" have emerged since the serial's demise to share information, scripts, and the few recordings of the program that remain.

JENNIFER HYLAND WANG

Cast

Victor Gook	Art Van Harvey
Sade Gook	Bernardine Flynn
Rush Meadows	Billy Idelson, Johnny Coons, Sid Koss
Uncle Fletcher	Clarence Hartzell (1940-46), Merrill Mael (briefly in 1943)

Announcers

Mel Allen, Charles Irving, Bob Brown, Roger Krupp, Ralph Edwards, Vincent Pelletier, Jack Fuller, Glenn Riggs, Clarence Hartzell, Ed Roberts, and Ed Herlihy

Creator/Writer

Paul Rhymer

Directors

Caldwell Cline, Clarence Menser, Earl Ebi, Paul Rhymer, Homer Heck, Charles Rinehardt, Ted MacMurray, and Roy Winsor

Programming History

NBC Blue/NBC Red/NBC	1932-44
CBS	May 1938–November 1938; 1941-43; August 1945– December 1945
Mutual	March 1941–September 1941; June 1946–September 1946

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Violence and Radio

Among the issues associated with any medium is a concern about violent and antisocial content. Many of the concerns about television and violence in contemporary society have antecedents in the history of radio. Violence, for the purposes of this essay, is defined as physical aggression toward humans by other humans, or the threat of such aggression. Radio has been associated with both "real" and fictional violence since its inception.

War and Radio's Beginnings

Radio has been related to violence since its inception in the late 19th century. Indeed, radio's applications for purposes of war and defense nurtured its early development. Guglielmo Marconi persuaded Great Britain to utilize his invention for mili-

tary and commercial ships before the turn of the century. Radios were installed in military ships to enable communication between the sea and the shore, radically changing the nature of sea warfare. The ability to communicate with shore and with other ships greatly enhanced the ship as a weapon.

In the years between 1907 and 1912 in the United States, amateur radio grew steadily, to the agitation of the military. The U.S. Navy became concerned when official messages were undeliverable because of East Coast amateur chatter. President Taft signed the first general radio licensing law in 1912 in part as a response to military concerns. A clause of this law stated that "in time of war or public peril or disaster," the President might seize or shut down any radio station (Public Law No. 264, 62nd Congress, Sec. 2). In 1915 the Navy, acting on a tip from an amateur monitor, took control of a Telefunken-owned

station on Long Island, New York, that had been transmitting radio messages regarding movements of neutral ships, presumably to German submarines. On 6 April 1917, as the United States declared war on Germany, all amateur radio operations in the United States were ordered to be shut down. On 7 April all commercial wireless stations were taken over by the Navy. Amateur radio enthusiasts protested the new regulatory atmosphere, but to no avail.

Radio coverage of violence and warfare during World War II ensured radio's place at the pinnacle of journalism. Live reports from Europe enabled audiences to learn about the aggression of Hitler's Germany. Radio contributed to the United States' move out of isolation and into World War II. Journalists such as Edward R. Murrow had broadcast vivid reports of the European conflict that helped convince the populace of the United States that it would be in the best interest of the nation to enter the war. After the bombing of Pearl Harbor, radio brought news of war from both Europe and the Pacific. The American public became adjusted to radio's providing details of violence during the worst war of human history.

Contemporary War and Radio

Radio has played important roles in contemporary violent conflicts. Among the unique uses of radio in wartime occurred during the Gulf War in 1990–91. Israelis tuned in to radio stations for warnings of incoming SCUD missile attacks from Iraq. The Israeli Broadcasting Authority and the radio station of the Israel Defense Forces unified to form the Joint Channel in an effort to keep the Israeli populace informed. The Joint Channel became immensely important to Israeli civilians. An interesting variation was the Quiet Channel. Reacting to audience suggestions, the Joint Channel broadcast silence on one frequency with the exception of missile warning alarms. This permitted Israelis unable to sleep with music or other radio programs an innovative alternative that allowed them to receive missile alarms.

Christine L. Kellow and H. Leslie Steeves (1998) documented the role of radio in the Rwandan genocide of 1994. The government-controlled Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines (RTLM) served as the propaganda mouthpiece of the Hutu government. Messages intended to incite violence by Hutus against Tutsis were broadcast over Radio Rwanda, the official government station, immediately following the mysterious downing of a plane carrying the presidents of Rwanda and Burundi. With radio as the prominent source of information, RTLM was able to have a greater impact on the Rwandan populaces, both Tutsi and Hutu, in terms of both attitude and behavior. The Hutu-controlled RTLM used reversal techniques, emphasizing Tutsi hatred of the Hutus in order to encourage Hutu hatred of the Tutsis. In this fashion, Rwandan radio audiences were manipulated by messages of violence.

Terrorism

Terrorism has a particular and controversial relationship to media, including radio. To be successful, terrorism relies upon the public reporting of violence. A violent act itself gains nothing without public knowledge of the event. Thus, terrorism is inherently linked to the propaganda value of violence enacted. Terrorist acts are often consciously planned to gain media attention, making media's role even more controversial. The ethics of reporting terrorism are complex. Media organizations face the difficult task of determining what are newsworthy events without encouraging terrorism. At times, radio has inadvertently served the needs of terrorists by reporting police and military activity around the event, placing victims in more danger. Also of concern is violence directed against radio personnel or stations. Dozens of journalists, some working in radio, are killed every year. Government radio stations are often initial targets in military coups.

Violence and Children

Much of the controversy in recent years concerning television's violent content parallels charges raised against radio in the 1930s and 1940s. Concern over violent programming may be seen in the production process undergone in the making of *Jack Armstrong, the All-American Boy*, broadcast on several radio networks from 1933–51. This serial cliff-hanger adventure series featured Jack, a high school athlete, who had many adventures, each and every one of which was examined by child psychologist Martin Reymert before production to ensure that the program was not excessively violent. Still, complaints were heard from critics and some listeners, largely because the program targeted younger, more impressionable listeners.

Mrs. George Ernst of Scarsdale, New York, organized a 1933 campaign against the "Ether Bogeyman" of radio, whose characters were said to be causing nightmares among children. Her group analyzed 40 popular children's radio programs and found 35 unacceptable, including *Little Orphan Annie* and *Betty Boop*, both for violent and suspenseful content. In a 1934 symposium held in New York City, members of the Ethical Cultural Society, the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), the Child Study Association of America, and other groups recommended the formation of a clearinghouse to offer a mechanism by which advertisers, the public, and broadcasters might make more informed decisions concerning the content of radio programs, especially those aimed largely at children.

Few studies examined psychological effects of radio listening on children during this period; most focused instead on what children wanted to hear. Paul Dennis (1998) characterized the experts who examined the psychological effects of

radio listening during this time as falling into two camps. The dominant view held that dramatic and violent programming was cathartic for children, providing an outlet for tendencies of aggression. A smaller number of researchers argued that violent dramatic content promoted violent behavior, delinquency, and negative emotions.

Proponents of the dominant cathartic model relied on the idea that radio's programming functioned as pragmatic fantasy. In 1924, well before the children's programming boom, Mansel Keith claimed that a 41 percent reduction in juvenile court cases was attributable to radio's provision of adventure and romance for youth audiences. Jersild stated in 1938 that the vicarious enjoyment of excitement was a right of children, for "a cold, intellectual diet does not fill all of their needs." Ricciuti's comprehensive 1951 study found there was no scientific evidence that thriller programs contributed to fears or daydreaming in child audiences. Comparative studies frequently found no difference between audiences of violent radio content and nonlisteners.

Those arguing for scrutiny of violent radio content claimed negative impacts of exposure. The early 1940s witnessed a rise in juvenile delinquency, which was frequently attributed to violence in radio programming and comic books. Herzog (1941) found that 72 percent of fourth to sixth graders who dreamed about radio said their dreams were unpleasant. Several other researchers claimed to have found evidence that dramatic radio program content had a significant influence on children's reality expectations.

Dramatic radio programming sometimes had very tangible and obvious effects. An understanding of both the penetration and the potential impact of radio in terms of perception of violence may be gleaned from an examination of audience reactions to CBS's Halloween broadcast of a dramatic adaptation of H.G. Wells' *War of the Worlds*, on 30 October 1938. The program simulated a news program, with announcers interrupting seemingly standard-formatted programming for reports of aliens invading New Jersey. The American Institute of Public Opinion poll estimated that 1.7 million people believed the program was a newscast, and that 1.2 million people were at least excited by the news, approximately one-sixth of the total audience. Hundreds of people left their homes in fear. Such a mass reaction to dramatized violence in a radio program indicated the potential impact of radio and of American reliance upon the medium as a primary source of information at that time.

By the 1960s social learning theory had gained credence and was used as a foil for the cathartic model. Most of the research community turned away from the cathartic theory for lack of any evidence that such a positive impact existed. Many researchers in the 1960s, generally examining television and not radio, used social learning theory to explain how and why violent content leads to aggressive behavior in audience members.

Research findings concerning violent content of radio remain inconclusive. Many studies indicate that violent content is a cause of social violence, whereas many other studies conclude that violent content is not a cause of social violence. Many social scientists agree that violent media content can be a contributing factor to social violence, but there is disagreement concerning the magnitude of this relationship and the role and extent of other factors.

In 1929 the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) established self-regulatory practices for program content and advertising. These codes of practices were non-binding. Often revised, by 1967 the NAB Radio Code reflected the nation's concern for violent material and responsibility toward children. Specifically, the 1967 code stated: "They (radio programs) should present such subjects as violence and sex without undue emphasis and only as required by plot development or character delineation. Crime should not be presented as attractive or as a solution to human problems, and the inevitable retribution should be made clear." While modified slightly from year to year, the Code wording did not have much impact on radio programming at any time. The Code was eliminated in the early 1980s.

Radio Music and Violence

The violent content in the lyrics of some popular songs broadcast over radio has caused controversy for years. There has been concern about lyrics of music since the first broadcasts of rock and roll records, especially with regard to lyrics dealing with sex, drugs, and violence. In the 1980s and 1990s, the wording of heavy metal, rap, and alternative songs was scrutinized by and became targets of advocacy groups and congressional inquiries. The Parents' Music Resource Center was founded in 1985 by Tipper Gore and Susan Baker, wives of powerful political figures in Washington, to advocate labeling music that dealt with violence, drug usage, suicide, sexuality, or the occult. In 1985 the Recording Industry Association of America agreed to use a uniform warning phrase, "Parental Advisory Explicit Lyrics," for such content.

In 1990, 8.5 percent of all music sold in the United States was classified as rap music, with lyrics often thematically linked to urban lifestyles and hip-hop culture. What became known as "gangsta rap" used themes of crime, violence, anti-police sentiments, and gang activities. Some of the notable figures affiliated with gangsta rap as it became popular in the late 1980s and early 1990s were Ice-T, Easy-E, Dr. Dre, Tupac Shakur, Biggie Smalls, and Ice Cube. Radio was a vital link in the distribution of such music, since after hearing songs on the air listeners then sought out their own copies.

Several politicians and public figures, including Senator Joseph Lieberman (D-Connecticut), Senator Sam Nunn (D-Georgia), and former Education Secretary William Bennett,

held a series of news conferences in 1995 to protest lyrics in the music industry that were considered pro-drug, degrading to women, or advocating violence against the police. Senator Bob Dole (R-Kansas) praised the effort, calling for an outright ban on gangsta rap during his presidential campaign of 1996. The advocacy group targeted Time Warner because of its 50 percent ownership of Interscope Records, which served as distributor for such artists as Dr. Dre and the band Nine Inch Nails. The group accused Interscope of distributing music of artists who promoted drug use as well as the rape, torture, and murder of women. Time Warner sold its stake in Interscope records later in 1995, insisting the sale was not precipitated by pressure from the senators' advocacy group.

There have been several efforts by the radio industry to self-censor violent lyrical content. In 1993 WBLS (FM) of New York and KACE (FM) of Los Angeles publicly pledged not to give air-time to the most offensive and violent rap songs. In December 1993 Inner City Broadcasting Corporation, one of the largest African-American-owned broadcasting firms in the United States, announced it had banned lyrics it considered derogatory, sexually explicit, or violent. Entercom Communications, owner of many radio stations around the country, announced in July 1999 that it had adopted a policy to reject any music or advertising with violent content or that condoned violence.

The historical controversies concerning radio's violent dramatic programming and potential impacts on its audience reflect current debates concerning violent content of television. The controversy of the 1980s and 1990s concerning violent

song lyrics; the contemporary concern with hate groups' use of radio; and the penetration of radio in developing nations, greatly exceeding that of other mass media, ensure that the topic of violence and radio will have great importance into the 21st century.

D'ARCY JOHN OAKS AND THOMAS A. MCCAIN

See also Obscenity/Indecency on Radio

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Virtual Radio

Though a trademarked phrase, Virtual Radio has become a generic term in the radio industry for the practice of using voice tracks to produce a radio station's programming, usually at a location other than at the station. At the most basic level, voice tracking is the integration of prerecorded tracks into music programming, with the intention of giving small market stations access to air talent that only larger markets could afford.

Origin

The true origins of Virtual Radio were tape syndication companies that began to provide services to stations in the 1960s. First was International Good Music, or IGM, which pre-

recorded classical music with announcer tracks and distributed the programming on tape to automated stations.

In the 1970s, the firm Drake Chenault did the same with Top 40 programming based on the "Boss Radio" concept founder Bill Drake had pioneered at KHJ in Los Angeles. TM Productions—later known as TM Century after a merger—became the largest supplier of syndicated programming for automated radio. Satellite radio formats were never classified as Virtual Radio because they were delivered in real time and not in disassembled form to be reassembled by the radio station.

As a generic name, Virtual Radio is also applied to internet audio streaming services, which deliver radio-like content without transmitters. Some of the content was produced for

internet entities, and some was originated by terrestrial radio and repackaged for internet use.

Further Definition

The phrase was given specific definition in 1997 by The Research Group, a Seattle-based consumer research firm serving the radio industry. As the company expanded beyond audience research studies, it added voice tracking as a service for their client radio stations using announcers from the Seattle area. The new service was termed Virtual Radio, and The Research Group sought trademark registration.

The concept was both praised and derided in the industry—praised by station operators who saw voice tracking from distant studios as a way to reduce costs and increase efficiencies, and derided by local disc jockeys displaced by the systems. Internet chat rooms were filled with postings from air talents complaining about “corporate radio” and the lack of localism that resulted from most virtual radio operations. “How does someone in Seattle know what’s going on in Fayetteville, Arkansas?” asked a typical posting on broadcast.net. The answer to that question was in the original plan for voice tracking systems: the local station was expected to provide content information to the voice-tracked disc jockeys so their performances could contain references to events, landmarks and personalities in the town.

Writing in the *BP Newsletter*, Klem Daniels of Broadcast Programming, Inc., stressed that voice tracking “is not an exercise in mediocrity, but a chance to achieve perfection.” Daniels said, “Many feel that this is a blow to the creativity that has made great jocks and entertaining radio for years. Actually, only the most talented and creative personalities can make voice tracking a success.”

Broadcast Programming (later known as Jones Radio Networks) provided a voice tracking service called Total Radio, and its accompanying *Total Radio Users Guide* asked local stations to provide the following information on a long questionnaire:

Call letters, dial position and station name (i.e.,

“Mix 96”).

A list of personalities and disc jockeys on the station.

What sets your city apart from other area cities? Manufacturers, football teams, universities, landmarks?

Names of dignitaries and famous residents.

The target audience: Married? Kids? Income level?

Hobbies?

A Boon to Cash Flow

The efficiencies and cost savings of Virtual Radio were so lucrative that Capstar Broadcasting Partners built its business plan around computer and internet links among its stations.

The first of the links was the Austin, Texas-based Star System, which was first used in Capstar’s Gulf Star division, made up of Capstar stations in Texas, Louisiana, and the Southwest. In a 1998 analysis of Capstar’s business by Credit Suisse/First Boston financial group, technology, including the Star System, prompted a “buy” rating for shares of Capstar stock:

Using T-1 lines and other Intranet like systems, Capstar is able to have a DJ in Austin doing a live show in Waco or Tyler. Morning shows are primarily kept local, but other dayparts are done remotely. If the need arises, a local manager can tell a remote DJ what is happening in town over a computer screen, and the DJ can then report. So, if there is a large police chase in Tyler, a DJ in Austin can report on it as if he or she is actually there.

By linking all of its stations to a central location in each “Star” region, interviews of large celebrities can be made to sound local. News and weather are localized, yet music playlists are selected for the individual markets. Thus, local listeners get the researched programming they demand, and Capstar is able to save money on talent by getting more productivity out of each member of its on-air staff.

Credit Suisse/First Boston pointed to Capstar’s Baton Rouge stations as good examples of the results of using the Star System: in 1997 revenues were up 18 percent and broadcast cash flow was up 45 percent because of the savings on talent. The Star System digital voice-tracking network became part of AMFM, Inc., in a merger with Capstar. AMFM added a second voice track studio location in Fort Lauderdale, Florida. At its height, Star System fed 400 shows a day from the two operations, employing about 50 full-time air talents in each city.

After yet another merger that absorbed AMFM, Inc., into Clear Channel Communications, Clear Channel elected to close the Star System operations in 2001 in favor of its “hub and spoke” voice tracking concept. Hub and spoke is also virtual radio with voice tracks recorded at major market stations (the hub) and fed to nearby smaller markets in the same region (the spokes). Thus, a Clear Channel station in Columbus, Ohio, would feed voice tracks to sister stations in nearby Ohio towns. At about the same time Clear Channel closed the Star System, Jones Radio ended their marketing efforts for Total Radio because client demand for the service had dwindled to half a dozen stations. The Research Group had folded Virtual Radio in 1999 when Jacor Communications acquired the company before Jacor’s merger with Clear Channel.

Local Input

Virtual Radio remained as a local operation, either in the hub-and-spoke style of Clear Channel or with individual station

clusters using in-house talent to feed multiple stations in the same market. It would not be unusual to hear the same voice using one name on a Top 40 station and then later that same day using another name on the co-owned Country station. In some situations, voice-tracked disc jockeys even competed with themselves in the same time slot.

The advantage of voice tracking within the local station or cluster is the effective use of time and talent. Instead of waiting for songs to end before performing, disc jockeys and other air talent can spend time producing commercials, making local appearances, or selling advertising. Also, by keeping the talents

local, it is less likely that they will mispronounce an important local celebrity's name or miss a reference to a local event.

ED SHANE

See also Audio Streaming; Automation; Clear Channel Communications; Drake, Bill; Internet Radio

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Voice of America

International Radio Service

The legacy of the Voice of America (VOA), which has offered nearly six decades of broadcasting in multiple languages, began on 11 February 1942 with this opening for the first broadcast to Germany:

OPENING MUSIC: The Battle Hymn of the Republic

ROLAND WINTER: Attention! This is the Voice of America!

WILLIAM HARLAN HALE: The Voice of America at War.

PETER KAPPEL: Our voices come to you from New York across the Atlantic Ocean.

STEFAN SCHNABEL: America is today in its sixty-sixth day of the war.

HALE: Today and every day from now on we shall be speaking to you about America and the War. Here in America we receive news from all over the world. This news may be favorable or unfavorable. Every day we shall bring you this news THE TRUTH.

Later, Fred Waring's orchestral rendition of *The Battle Hymn of the Republic* was replaced with *Yankee Doodle* when it was discovered that the German marching song *Laura, Laura* had the same tune.

Origins

From that first broadcast during World War II to the present, the VOA grew to be a dominant presence in international

broadcasting. Reaching the world through shortwave radio, the service was initiated to counter propaganda broadcasts from Germany and Japan. When Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson warned that Germany was undermining the American institution of free speech, Robert E. Sherwood, a noted playwright and President Franklin Roosevelt's speechwriter, observed the national reaction to the president's Fireside Chats and responded with a plan. With presidential authorization, Sherwood created the Foreign Information Service (FIS) in 1941.

After the FIS became the Overseas Branch of War Information (OWI) under Executive Order 9182, President Roosevelt authorized the VOA to become part of OWI in December 1942. Sherwood persuaded John Houseman to serve as VOA's first director. According to Houseman, Sherwood instructed him to consider all VOA transmissions as continuations of Roosevelt's speeches.

Houseman had an extensive background in radio, which included being the producer of the 1938 "War of the Worlds" broadcast for the *Mercury Theatre of the Air*. Drawing on his training in drama, Houseman decided to avoid the single-voice format used by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). Houseman gave credit to Norman Corwin's radio styling for the idea of using several voices to maximize variety and energy. Moreover, he also hoped to counteract jamming with the diversity of pitch and rhythm.

Once launched, the VOA was praised for becoming a credible source of news for the rest of the world. In his book *Front and Center*, Houseman quoted a letter from Cannes, France, showing VOA's impact on the Resistance in France:

You in America cannot imagine how even a few minutes of news from America, heard by a Frenchman, is spread around. An hour after it is heard hundreds, thousands know the truth. (Houseman, 1979)

Since the goal was to reach as many people worldwide as possible, VOA transmitted via shortwave, which allows low-powered, high-frequency transmissions to be received thousands of miles from the point of origin. VOA also deemed it an advantage that shortwave transmission was not considered an effective delivery system by the commercial American radio industry. Moreover, though this type of transmission posed no threat to commercial broadcasters in the United States, all the other major foreign powers were sending international communications via shortwave. Through VOA, the United States joined the international broadcasting ranks—especially when all American shortwave transmitters were placed under government control eight months after the bombing of Pearl Harbor.

Postwar Change

The postwar period brought many changes for the VOA. In late August 1945, President Harry Truman abolished the OWI. The VOA remained on the air, and the State Department took over operations under the Interim International Information Service. Archibald MacLeish, assistant secretary of state for public and cultural affairs, coordinated VOA until he was replaced by William B. Benton, who cut expenditures to the bone, trimmed VOA programming, and terminated many members of the staff. Soon Congress decreased appropriations. VOA was in danger of ceasing operations until Truman and Secretary of State George C. Marshall intervened with the advent of the Cold War in 1948.

The threatening aspects of the Berlin Blockade heightened feelings that an American radio voice was important. In January 1948 Congress passed the Smith-Mundt Act, which authorized the VOA to continue its service to “disseminate abroad information about the United States, its people and policies promulgated by the Congress, the President, the Secretary of State and other responsible officials of government having to do with matters affecting foreign affairs.”

However, in 1953 Senator Joseph McCarthy attacked VOA’s programming practices and its propaganda implications with charges of subversive activity. Although never proved, widespread dismissals and resignations, and a sharp drop in agency morale, followed.

Just as the administration of VOA was changing, so also was the radio format for newscasts. Speculating on this new style of reporting, Shulman comments:

The shift from multiple-voice plays to single-voice news stories that were based on outside sources emphasized

the reliability and objectivity. . . . The Voice of America spoke in terms that were increasingly concrete and factual. In an atmosphere in which “propaganda” . . . was discredited both abroad and at home, precise information sounded neutral. . . . News stories replete with official quotations and a remote authorial voice established distance and command. Increasingly, Voice writers used the passive voice or impersonal form to indicate a weighty authority. These overall changes . . . emerged from discussions. . . . Was it artistic, dramatic radio, or was it clear informational journalism? (Shulman, 1990)

This movement to increase the prestige of the Voice was reflected both in VOA’s move to Washington, D.C., in 1954, and in President Gerald Ford’s signing of the VOA Charter (Public Law 94-350, FY 1977 Foreign Relations Authorization Act) on 12 July 1976. The Charter’s purpose was to protect the integrity of VOA programming and define the organization’s mission:

The long-range interests of the United States are served by communicating with the peoples of the world by radio. To be effective, the Voice of America (the broadcasting service of the United States) must win the attention and respect of listeners. These principles will therefore govern Voice of America (VOA) Broadcasts.

1. VOA will serve as a consistently reliable and authoritative source of news. VOA news will be accurate, objective and comprehensive.
2. VOA will represent America, not any single segment of American society, and will therefore present a balanced and comprehensive projection of significant American thought and institutions.
3. VOA will present the policies of the United States clearly and effectively, and will also present responsible discussion and opinion on these policies.

VOA kept the world informed about developments in the United States. For example, in 1969 when Neil Armstrong took those steps for mankind on the moon, nearly 800 million people were tuned to VOA or to one of the hundreds of stations around the world that were relaying VOA’s live coverage. Outpacing its counterparts throughout the world, in 1977 VOA became the first international broadcast service to use a full-time satellite circuit to deliver programming from its own studios to an overseas relay station, which was located on the Greek island of Rhodes. Because of its commitment to present factual information to the world, VOA dramatically enhanced its credibility through its candid reporting of two events that traumatized the nation—the 1965–72 war in Vietnam and the 1972–74 Watergate scandal.

Challenges Since 1980

The 1980s began with promise. In 1983 VOA launched a \$1.3 billion program to rebuild and modernize programming facilities. In 1985 Radio Martí, which was affiliated with VOA, began daily broadcasts to Cuba. In 1988 Congress enlarged the VOA Charter to include WORLDNET Film and Television Service. VOA Mandarin and Cantonese broadcasts were increased in 1989.

On 30 April 1994, President Bill Clinton signed the International Broadcasting Act of 1994 (Public Law 103-236), establishing the International Broadcasting Bureau (IBB) within the United States Information Agency (USIA), which consolidated all civilian U.S. government broadcasting, including VOA, WORLDNET, and Radio and TV Martí, under a Broadcasting Board of Governors (BBG), and funding a new surrogate Asian Democracy Radio Service (later called Radio Free Asia [RFA]). This extended the BBG's oversight to government grantee organizations Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) and to RFA. The bipartisan Board includes the Director of the USIA (ex officio) and eight other members who are appointed by the president and confirmed by the Senate. The first Board of Governors was sworn in on 11 August 1995.

The Board oversees the operation of VOA, WORLDNET Television Service, and Radio and TV Martí to Cuba, as well as two other international broadcast services—RFE/RL and RFA, which were shifted to its jurisdiction under the 1994 legislation. VOA, WORLDNET, and Radio and TV Martí are part of the USIA and are U.S. government entities; RFE/RL and RFA were nonprofit, grantee organizations that received annual grants of congressionally appropriated funds from the BBG.

In 1994 VOA began distributing its newswire and selected newscast and program audio files in 19 languages, VOA frequency and satellite information, and other general material, via the internet. The Office of Business Development was established in 1994 to investigate the possible privatization of VOA language services, procurement of corporate underwriting for broadcasts, coproductions with major broadcast networks, and fund raising from various foundations. From 1994 through 1996, the office raised \$4 million. VOA became the first international broadcast service to launch a webpage on the internet in May 1996.

On 25 October 1996, VOA broadcast its first simulcast radio and TV program—an hour-long Farsi broadcast—from a new TV studio at VOA's Washington, D.C., headquarters. Programs in Arabic, English, Mandarin, Russian, Serbian, and Spanish followed.

In 1997, an agreement was signed between the IBB and the Asia Satellite Telecommunications Company (AsiaSat) giving VOA, WORLDNET Film and Television Service, RFA, and RFE/RL access to AsiaSat 2 with a footprint reaching more than 60 percent of the world's population.

In October 1998, President Clinton signed the Foreign Affairs Reform and Restructuring Act. This abolished the USIA effective 1 October 1999 and integrated all the agency's elements, except the IBB, into the Department of State.

For 60 years, the VOA has earned the reputation of providing current, accurate, and balanced news, features, and music to its international audience. VOA continues to attempt to reach its announced goal of providing listeners from every walk of life, race, and religion with reliable, comprehensive news of events from around the world. Occasionally, VOA also offers practical information about how to maintain new democracies and free-market economies.

Fourteen relay stations worldwide transmit VOA's programs 24 hours a day to international audiences via satellite, shortwave, and medium wave. Most "affiliates" now receive their programming via one of the 37 satellite circuits that deliver VOA broadcasts to virtually every corner of the globe. According to VOA figures, the service is successfully competing with nearly 125 similar broadcast services worldwide and remains one of the top international broadcasters in today's vast global media market. Each week 86 million listeners around the world tune in to VOA programs broadcast in 53 languages via direct medium wave (AM) and shortwave broadcasts. Millions more listen to VOA programs placed on local AM and FM stations around the world and give VOA a vast global reach that is unequaled by any of the other international broadcasting services.

VOA credits its extensive programming to the more than 80 writers/editors in its newsroom and to the 40 correspondents at 22 news bureaus in the United States and throughout the world. These broadcast journalists write and report an average of 200 news stories each day. VOA's original programming totals almost 700 hours each week.

MARY KAY SWITZER

See also Board for International Broadcasting; Broadcasting Board of Governors; Cold War Radio; International Radio Broadcasting; Jamming; Office of War Information; Radio Martí; Radio Sawa/Middle East Radio Network; Shortwave Radio

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Voice of the Listener and Viewer

British Audience Pressure Group

The Voice of the Listener and Viewer (VLV) has become an influential audience pressure group, describing itself as the “citizens’ voice in broadcasting in Britain.” It was founded by a group of mainly professional and middle class radio listening enthusiasts who had heard of proposed changes to one of the British Broadcasting Company’s (BBC) national radio networks.

Origins

In 1982, during the war in the South Atlantic between British and Argentinean forces for control of the Falkland Islands, the BBC had used its Radio 4 network to carry live news of the conflict. Radio 4, although it carried more news than any of the BBC’s other networks, was a mixed service, and it included regular radio drama, a daily “soap” (*The Archers*), culture and arts, religious, and magazine programs, documentaries, and much else. But the news coverage of the war was deemed a success, and some senior BBC executives thought that the network could in future become a mainly news network, equipped to carry breaking news, as well as analysis, background, and comment.

The protestors, all very keen Radio 4 listeners, saw the possible disappearance, or at best the serious downgrading, of many of the programs they most enjoyed. Although the BBC is a publicly owned corporation, they felt powerless to make the

broadcast planners listen. As license payers, they believed that the BBC had an obligation to listen to them. They met with Geoffrey Cannon, the media correspondent of the *Sunday Times*. Cannon wrote about their concerns in his paper, and many more people added their support. They wanted to create a voice for the listener, and hence the name of the new group was born. In late 1983 the Voice of the Listener and Viewer came into existence at a public meeting in London. By this time the BBC plan to change Radio 4 had been shelved, but the momentum for a consumer group for radio (and later for television) was unstoppable.

It is significant that changes to public radio rather than television had stimulated the formation of the group. In Britain and elsewhere, radio stations and networks often evoke greater feelings of ownership and consumer concern than television stations and networks. Listeners often develop stronger attachments to radio than they do to television.

The VLV is widely recognized as a significant and important consumer voice in British broadcasting policy making. It makes representations to the government, to the BBC and commercial broadcasters, and to the broadcasting regulatory authorities. It holds regular meetings on current topics, arranges visits to broadcasting stations, and issues a quarterly newsletter. Through its charitable arm, the Voice of the Listener Trust, it also promotes public education about all aspects

of broadcasting. Finally, the VLV makes annual awards to programs and broadcasters, both in radio and television that, unlike most others, are chosen by its members: ordinary listeners and viewers.

The main thrust of the organization's efforts is in support of quality in broadcasting. As the deregulation of both radio and television in Britain has progressed, concerns have been expressed by many at what they see as reduction in the number of high-quality programs being made, as public and private networks compete for audiences. It makes a strong defense of the principle of public funding for the BBC through the compulsory license fee for all television set owners, unless and until an alternative, non-commercial means of funding can be found. It says that the license fee gives it the freedom to concentrate on delivering quality programs to audiences, while their commercial competitors have to deliver audiences to the advertisers who fund them. The VLV thus sees the BBC as the standard setter of British broadcasting.

Another major concern of the VLV has been to maintain and even increase the quality and range of programs for children. And in the increasingly commercial world of broadcasting in the U.K., it seeks to ensure that older listeners and viewers are not neglected as a result of being of less interest to commercial sponsors and advertisers.

The VLV has developed links with similar bodies in other parts of the world, especially those with related origins and

philosophies, such as the Friends of New Zealand Radio, the Friends of the ABC in Australia, and the Friends of Canadian Broadcasting. It has organized several successful international conferences on wider global issues. At its third international conference in 1996, it joined with other groups in Europe to form the European Alliance of Listeners' and Viewers' Associations (EURALVA). This group seeks to represent the interests of listeners and viewers of broadcasting services in Europe and maintain the principle of public service in broadcasting. The member groups come from Denmark, Finland, France, Portugal, Spain, and the U.K.

The VLV has its critics, who often say it represents a middle class, well-educated, and privileged minority who has dominated the style and content of British radio broadcasting for too long. But it has gained respect and support from many in the industry, and some well-known broadcasting names are to be found among its membership.

GRAHAM MYTTON

See also British Broadcasting Corporation; British Commercial Radio; British Radio Journalism; Public Service Broadcasting

Further Reading

Voice of the Listener and Viewer website, <www.vlv.org.uk/>

Vox Pop

Radio Interview Program

The radio program *Vox Pop* (from the Latin for "voice of the people"), one of the first "man on the street" interview shows, was also one of the earliest quiz programs. Later it became a popular human-interest program and one of the biggest home-front morale boosters of World War II. It was also probably the best-traveled program in broadcasting history.

Origins

The show began in 1932 at station KTRH in Houston, Texas. Someone had the idea of dangling a microphone on a very long cord out the window of the hotel from which KTRH broadcast so that passersby could be interviewed. Station ad man Parks Johnson and station manager Jerry Belcher took on the task of

talking to the man or woman on the street. They started out by asking about current events, then segued into lighter topics. The results were alternately fascinating and hilarious.

Once in those early days, after a large storm had swept through Houston, the hosts found themselves facing an empty street. They had no one to interview. Necessity being the mother of invention, Johnson quickly relieved the program's crew of all their money, emptied his pockets as well, and had it all changed into dollar bills. He collared an usher from a nearby theater and proceeded to ask him questions, giving him a dollar for every correct answer. Soon the street was mobbed, and the "quiz show" was born.

This device worked very well during the depths of the Depression, and it began to alter the focus of the show. The

opinions of the people, their voices, were downplayed as the quiz element gained in popularity. Current events questions were used as a warm-up to the *real* questions, the ones worth a dollar. Johnson often asked questions that originated from everyday life and was known for carrying a notebook with him and jotting down new topics for questions. Participants were asked questions that tested their knowledge of the Bible (“What did Pharaoh’s daughter find?”) or their vocabulary (“Can you ad-lib?”) or questions meant to elicit a humorous response (“Why can’t a cat be called ‘Fido’ or ‘Rover?’”). Questions regarding the so-called war between the sexes were practically a regular feature. Such queries as “What makes a person fall in love?” and “What is a woman’s place?” were sure to trip up the guest.

Network Popularity

Vox Pop was almost totally unrehearsed, and this spontaneity proved to be a hit with listeners. The show was broadcast from the streets of Houston for more than two years, but it also attracted attention outside of Texas. On 7 July 1935, *Vox Pop* began appearing on the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), broadcasting from the sidewalk at New York’s Columbus Circle. The following week, the show took its microphones to the waiting room of Grand Central Station, moving the show around New York City for the rest of the summer. Brief interviews with contestants before the quizzing began became part of the proceedings, and soon *Vox Pop* was dropping in on events as varied as a Hollywood movie premiere and the “Days of ’76” celebration in Deadwood, South Dakota.

Into early 1940, the program was still giving away dollar bills at a furious pace, but as the nation edged closer to war, the focus of *Vox Pop* began to change once again. Johnson, a World War I veteran, threw the program wholeheartedly into the war effort at least 17 months before the bombing of Pearl Harbor. The quiz show structure was phased out, and the program changed to a focus on human interest, going into a community or attending an event and deciding beforehand which guests to interview.

The show traveled up to 1,000 miles per week throughout the United States, visiting military bases, military schools, and factories and showcasing different communities that were helping on the home front. Themes such as “Lumber at War,” “Food at War,” and “Dogs for Defense” were typical of this period; later in the war years, the show’s visits included military hospitals. The show broadcast from 45 states as well as to Canada, Mexico, Puerto Rico, and Cuba. At this time, Parks Johnson’s wife Louise began helping the show by buying gifts for the interviewed guests. “Mrs. Santa Claus,” as she became known, eventually had a budget of \$1,000 per week and was quite adept at locating hard-to-find items during the war years.

These were halcyon days for *Vox Pop*. The show seems to have connected with the country in a very real way, and its ratings climbed steadily during this period, reaching a respectable 15.3 during the last two years of the war.

Parks Johnson was the guiding force throughout the life of the radio program. Jerry Belcher left the show in 1936 and was replaced by Wally Butterworth, a well-known radio announcer. Butterworth hosted the show with Johnson from 1936 until 1941. Neil O’Malley filled in briefly but was replaced by Warren Hull in 1942. Hull, an actor and announcer who had played the Green Hornet in the movies and was later master of ceremonies for the popular TV program *Strike It Rich*, stayed with the program until *Vox Pop* left the air in 1948.

Advertising Squabble

The show had several sponsors through the years. Deals with Kentucky Club Tobacco and Bromo-Seltzer lasted longest, but it was the sponsor *Vox Pop* had for the least amount of time that made the biggest impact. Lipton Tea sponsored the show in a Tuesday night slot starting in 1946, but the relationship between program and sponsor quickly soured. T.J. Lipton, Inc. thought its products did not get enough attention on the program and insisted that each guest (as many as six per show) be presented with a box of Lipton products before receiving his or her personalized gift. These presentations were in fact commercials, commercials that “must do a hard selling job,” according to a memo from Lipton.

Johnson, as sole owner of the show, did not like the new requirement, and after negotiations failed, he took the unusual step of firing his sponsor. Many a sponsor had canceled a program for low ratings, but never had a performer canceled a sponsor! Newspapers around the country picked up the story. Johnson was hailed as a “radio knight,” a man of high moral principles who refused to compromise. This favorable publicity meant that *Vox Pop* had little trouble finding a new sponsor, and the show continued until 1948 for American Express. By this time, however, radio was changing, and Johnson was weary of traveling. The last show aired on 19 May 1948, and Johnson retired to his ranch in Wimberly, Texas, where after a second career of civic boosterism he died in 1970.

CHUCK HOWELL

Hosts

Parks Johnson, Jerry Belcher, Wally Butterworth, Neil O’Malley, Warren Hull

Announcers

Graham McNamee, Ford Bond, Milton Cross, Ben Grauer, Ernest Chappell, Dick Joy, Tony Marvin, and Roger Krupp

Producers/Directors

Arthur Struck, John Becker, Rogers Brackett, Thomas Ahrens,
Don Archer, and Glenn Wilson

Programming History

KTRH (Houston)	1932-35
NBC	1935-39
CBS	1939-47
ABC	1947-48

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WABC

New York City Station

One of the most powerful New York City stations (in terms of both transmission and ratings strength), WABC has been successful first as a Top 40 station and more recently as a talk-radio outlet. The flagship station of Disney/American Broadcasting Companies (ABC), WABC traces its history back to 1921. (It should not be confused with another WABC, also in New York City, that served as the flagship for the CBS network and became WCBS in 1946.)

Origins

WABC began broadcasting in 1921 in Newark, New Jersey, with the call letters WJZ, a 3,000-watt station owned by the Westinghouse Broadcasting Company transmitting at 833 kilohertz. Two years later it moved into New York City and was purchased by the Radio Corporation of America (RCA), which in 1926 created the National Broadcasting Company (NBC). NBC, in turn, established its Blue network with WJZ as the flagship station. The station increased its power to 50,000 watts in 1935 and changed its frequency several times, finally settling on 770 kilohertz in 1941.

In 1943 the Blue network and WJZ were sold to Edward J. Noble and Associates, which in 1945 changed its licensee name to the American Broadcasting Companies. Station call letters were altered to WABC in 1953 to reflect the transition. The ABC networks and WABC were taken over by United Paramount Theaters in 1953. Decades later the station and network were sold (1996) to the Disney Corporation.

Programs and Promotion

In the late 1950s WABC was lagging behind New York's leading popular music stations, WMCA and WINS, and was struggling to find its own niche in the highly competitive market. By 1964 WABC was not only the top station in New York, it was

also the most-listened-to radio station in America. With weekly audiences of between 5 and 6 million from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s, WABC could be heard in 38 states and Canada. Its Saturday night *Dance Party* with Bruce Morrow (universally known as "Cousin Brucie") reached 25 percent of the total radio audience in the New York metropolitan area.

The phenomenal change in WABC's fortunes is largely credited to the vision of Rick Sklar, station program director from 1963 to 1977. Sklar helped WABC stand out from its competition with a number of approaches. He limited the music playlist while at the same time trying to bridge the generation gap of rock and non-rock listeners. Sklar held weekly music meetings with his staff, assiduously choosing appropriate selections for diverse groups and tapping into the rapidly changing music of the era. The repeated airing of music by the Beatles (and on-air interviews with the members of the group) led to the hyping of the station as "W A Beatle C."

WABC's on-air lineup was built to create recognizable personalities, among them radio legends Harry Harrison, Dan Ingram, and Ron Lundy, as well as one of the best-known disc jockeys in the country, "Cousin Brucie" Morrow. These men had mellifluous voices, but more important, they established a rapport with their devoted listeners and hosted programs that were fun to listen to.

To establish loyalty and to garner attention, the station conducted unusual and ultimately enormously effective promotions. One such gimmick allowed people to vote for the School Principal of the Year. Listeners of all ages could vote as often as they wanted; the idea was to get entire families and school faculties tuned to the station. By the second year of the promotion in 1963, the program was so successful that the station received 176 million ballots—many of them from well beyond the tristate (New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut) standard audience area.

In 1964 WABC sponsored a contest honoring the best and the worst copy of the *Mona Lisa*, which was being flown from Paris to New York for exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. With Nat King Cole singing the promotional jingle and surrealist painter Salvador Dali serving as the judge, WABC received more than 30,000 entries.

Jingles and slogans were a key aspect of the station and were broadcast constantly. There were special jingles promoting the station's place on the dial, its news and sports reports, its disc jockeys and their time slots, and—above all—its ranking of songs and attention to music. The station's sounds became so distinct that even listeners tuning in during advertisements knew they were hearing WABC.

News and Talk Radio

The demise of all-music WABC came on 10 May 1982—dubbed by some as “the day the music died”—when “MusicRadio 77” gave way to “NewsTalk Radio 77.” A range of factors contributed to the need for the switch, among them the development of FM radio with its superior sound quality and the transfer of most music formats (and their audiences) to FM. AM stations like WABC needed to develop viable talk-based formats where sound quality was less crucial. By switching to an all-talk format, WABC was following the trend of many AM stations across the country.

By 2000 WABC was a powerhouse in personality-driven talk radio. As in years past, its promotions emphasize the station's approach: “If you're talkin' about it, we're talkin' about it.” The station's two daytime hosts, Dr. Laura Schlessinger (9:00–11:45 A.M.) and Rush Limbaugh (12:00–3:00 P.M.) were

the two top-rated hosts in the county; Limbaugh's Excellence in Broadcasting production operation shares studio space in the same building as WABC. Others in WABC's program lineup include the locally based conservative host Sean Hannity, liberal Lynn Samuels, former New York mayor Rudolph Giuliani, and former Guardian Angel Curtis Sliwa.

The station is also the broadcast home of the New York Yankees and New York Jets, and scheduled programs are pre-empted to broadcast the baseball and football games live. The only indication that WABC was once the premier music station in the nation is a three-hour program on Saturday nights devoted to Frank Sinatra.

RUTH BAYARD SMITH

See also American Broadcasting Company; Limbaugh, Rush; Morrow, Cousin Brucie; Promotion on Radió; Sklar, Rick

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Walkman

Portable Audio

Begun in 1979 as a risky consumer electronics experiment by Sony and soon after almost a generic term (it was added to the Oxford English Dictionary in 1986), the Walkman was the first personal stereo, a tiny portable cassette tape playback device with a lightweight headset. Perhaps the most important consumer audio product since the development of the transistor radio in the mid 1950s and of stereo FM in 1961, the Walkman and its many imitators became one of the biggest world-wide consumer successes of the 1980s and 1990s. Begun as a tape-playing device, the Walkman changed over the years

to add recording capability, radio reception, and eventually digital formats including CDs. The trade name became almost synonymous with any portable radio or disc player.

Origins

The Walkman began with an earnest request from engineer (and Sony co-founder) Masaru Ibuka, (1908–97) in late 1978 for a device on which he could listen to music while on long international flights from Japan. The first prototype was devel-

oped in Sony's tape recorder division in just a few days early in 1979, based on the existing "Pressman," a tape recorder designed for reporters. Given the short time for development, the new device made use of a tape transport and stereo circuits from existing Sony products.

As it was not a sophisticated piece of electronics that provided something technically new, many Sony engineers and some managers were not interested in the device. But Sony co-founder Akio Morita (1921–99), with his strong sense of product appeal and marketing, soon became a strong proponent of the innovation he saw as a potential best-seller. At his urging, engineers added dual headphone connections (the "his and hers" option) to make the device less off-putting, and an orange button mute to reduce volume so that the listener could hear outside sounds without having to remove the headphones (the "hotline function").

Perhaps the most important part of the package was the new lightweight headphones. Sony would emphasize the stylish nature of the tiny headphones in comparison to what people then used—large earmuff-size devices. This attempt to create a headphone culture was risky in a society with a phobia about deafness or other physical impairment. Also risky was the potential market value of a machine that could play cassette tapes but could not record. Batteries could operate the tiny machine for up to eight hours (two decades later batteries could last for 60 hours). Finally, the machine offered quality sound reproduction despite its tiny size—a key selling point.

Sensing an untapped market, Morita wanted to focus sales efforts on youngsters during the summer of 1979. There was no advance market testing, in part for lack of time. A relatively low sales price (projected to be about \$125) would mean thousands would have to be sold to break even. Morita suggested an initial batch of 30,000—easily twice what their most popular tape recorder sold in a year—and again horrified his colleagues. The first product announcement and demonstration took place in June. Reporters were invited to an outdoor park in Tokyo to demonstrate the many ways the "Walkman," as it was now named, could be used while performing other activities.

Phenomenon

The first Walkmans went on the Japanese market 17 July 1979 (for \$200), three weeks later than Morita had hoped. The delay made Sony even more concerned when initial sales were very slow, especially given its huge stock of the devices. By mid-August, however, word of mouth began to propel the Walkman to widespread popularity and sales took off. The first 30,000 were sold in a month, largely to the teenage buyers Morita had projected would be most interested. Sony had to constantly increase production to keep up with demand. Indeed, the first foreign sales had to be postponed for

months—despite already running advertising campaigns—just to keep up with burgeoning Japanese demand.

The Walkman device was first sold as the "Soundabout" in the U.S. and Europe only in February 1980. Initially the plan was to sell the device under various names, depending on the country's language, but Sony quickly decided to stick with the Walkman label everywhere, which made advertising campaigns easier and helped the product build a global image.

Some later models added radio reception and by the 1990s were increasingly digital, built around CDs (as the "Discman"). Walkman had become a generic (though still trademarked) term for all the many small, portable CD or tape players and recorders as well as small radios. A variety of Sony models were made available—by 1990 more than 80 different models; by 1999, 180 in Japan alone and more than 600 worldwide. More than 250 million had been sold worldwide by late 1998 at prices ranging from as little as \$25 up to \$500. By the mid-1990s, the "portable audio product" category of consumer electronics devices was selling more than 25 million units a year. The Walkman principal was extended to television, with the eventual development of the Watchman (tiny portable TVs).

Perhaps the major social impact of the Walkman was to create a "personal sound" space for its users. Now one could listen to a recording or broadcast in a crowd—as in public transportation or even an elevator—without invading others' space. The very unobtrusiveness of the light, tiny device allowed users to carry sound with them almost everywhere—even on strenuous workouts or hikes. The Walkman represented ultimate portability even two decades after its introduction.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Receivers

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War of the Worlds

Radio Drama

Broadcast as part of the *Mercury Theater of the Air* in October 1938, the style and format of *War of the Worlds*, an hour-long live drama, coming just a month after radio's news bulletins about Europe's Munich crisis, pushed some of the U.S. listening audience into a panic—and clearly demonstrated the growing trust in and power of radio broadcasting.

The Script

In 1898 English author and social thinker H.G. Wells (1866–1946) published *War of the Worlds*, a novella concerning an attack on Earth by creatures from Mars. Drawing on fears of a rearming Germany and concerns about the impact of such modern technologies as the telegraph and improved modes of transport, Wells' invasion story took place in England at the end of the 19th century.

Four decades later, in July 1938, the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) radio network began to offer weekly radio adaptations of literary works on the *Mercury Theater of the Air* on Monday evenings at 9:00 P.M. (changing to Sunday in September). The program featured the cast and producers of Broadway's successful and creative Mercury Theater troupe, headed up by the 22-year-old *wunderkind* Orson Welles (1915–85) and his producer John Houseman (1902–88). For each weekly broadcast, the cast would have only a few days to develop, rehearse, and finally broadcast each script. Several weeks into the radio season, Welles came upon H.G. Wells' story, which he felt would be perfect for the Halloween eve broadcast of his series.

By this point, Howard Koch (1901–95), undertaking his first professional scriptwriting job, had joined Houseman (who had written all program scripts to that point). In what became his third script for the series, Koch modified the original Wells story to take place in the present time and in tiny Grovers Mill, New Jersey (picked at random), not far from Princeton. Most important, in light of what would happen, Koch applied Welles' idea of a radio news bulletin approach (rather than straight narration) for the first portion of the drama. Listeners would hear what appeared to be news bulletins breaking into ongoing network musical programming. But Koch had to create a modern radio script from the 40-year-old story in less than a week.

He wrote the 60-page script over four days, with about 20 pages at a time being turned over to the producers for their comments and changes. With Houseman's aid, the script was finally finished on Wednesday so that the cast (save Welles, who was committed to Broadway activities) could rehearse on

Thursday. The recorded results, however, sounded stilted and dull to all involved, and the script was revised again. Houseman and Koch added bits and pieces to enhance the eyewitness sound of the story with real places and some realistic government voices at key moments. When CBS received a copy on Friday, the network censor also asked for numerous script changes to make the story's fictional basis more obvious. This usually involved the changing of place names or organizations. Whereas the network seemed concerned that listeners might think the story too realistic, Mercury people feared listeners would not stay tuned in or would find the story too fantastic.

Busy with Broadway commitments, Orson Welles did not even see the script until Sunday morning, 30 October—mere hours before it would be broadcast live. At that point he took charge, making further script changes at the opening of the drama to increase the reality of the news bulletins breaking into other programs.

The Broadcast

Sunday evening network radio listening was dominated by Edgar Bergen and Charlie McCarthy on National Broadcasting Company (NBC) Red, the only commercial program in the time slot. On NBC Blue, listeners heard *Out of the West*, narrated dance music from San Francisco presented on a sustaining (noncommercial) basis, while Mutual stations were carrying the WOR symphony orchestra, though many carried a speech by Father Charles Coughlin, as it was sponsored (paid) time. Not all CBS stations carried the Mercury broadcasts—the Boston outlet, for example, was carrying a local program.

At 8 P.M. in CBS Studio 1 on the 20th floor of CBS headquarters at 485 Madison Avenue in New York, the cast and sound effects people were in place. Besides Welles playing Professor Richard Pierson, Dan Seymour played the New York studio announcer, Kenneth Delmar played several roles (he became famous several years later on the Fred Allen show), and Ray Collins also performed several different roles. The music background was by Bernard Hermann.

Relatively few listeners heard the program opening—a fairly standard announcement of what was to come followed by Welles setting the stage for the actual inception of the story. Some simply tuned in late, but many were listening to Bergen and McCarthy on NBC and would tune over to CBS after the play had begun. These patterns were a critical factor in the panic created by the program, for when listeners tuned in they



Orson Welles broadcasts H.G. Wells' *War of the Worlds*, 30 October 1938
Courtesy AP/Wide World Photos

heard what seemed like a normal weather forecast and then a cut-away to a hotel orchestra in downtown New York. The music was announced and was just getting under way when an announcer cut in with the first bulletin—about “reports observing several explosions of incandescent gas, occurring at regular intervals on the planet Mars.” More music, then another bulletin, followed by a brief interview with a Princeton astronomer played by Welles. Then a bit of piano music, and still another news bulletin about those Mars explosions, but this time adding that “a huge, flaming object, believed to be a meteorite” had fallen on a farm “in the neighborhood of Grovers Mill, New Jersey.” After about 20 seconds of a hotel swing band, another announcer broke in—and indeed, the next half hour was a series of increasingly exciting live on-the-scene reports from different reporters at various points in New Jersey. After the hostile nature of the “invasion” became clearer, about 25 minutes into the program, an announcer said,

Ladies and gentlemen, I have a grave announcement to make. Incredible as it may seem, both the observations of science and the evidence of our eyes lead to the inescapable assumption that those strange beings who landed in the Jersey farmlands tonight are the vanguard of an invading army from the planet Mars.

This was followed by several more reports—from an army detachment and then a bombing aircraft—all of them giving way to the seeming invincibility of the invaders. By 8:40 P.M., clouds of poisonous gas were reported to have covered Manhattan, and a lone radio operator elsewhere was heard calling out with no response.

At about this point, a CBS announcer made a brief station break, noting that the program in progress was a drama, and then the final portion of the program began. Little remembered today, this consisted of Welles playing the Princeton astronomer, Richard Pierson, fearing he may be the last person on earth. He puts down his thoughts in a diary; then he runs across another survivor and, at the end of the hour, the remains of the invading Martians, killed by earthly organisms and bacteria. This segment ran 20 minutes.

At the end, and “out of character” as he put it, Welles spoke briefly to “assure you that the *War of the Worlds* has no further significance than as the holiday offering it was intended to be.” A network announcer wrapped up with a hint of next week’s broadcast and a Bulova Watch advertisement for the 9:00 P.M. hour.

The Effect

The first the program’s cast knew of the commotion being caused came as the broadcast ended and police entered the studio, confiscating copies of the script and questioning actors on

how much they knew about what was going on outside. Network telephone lines were flooded with calls of concern. Three more times during the evening, CBS announcers made clear the broadcast had been merely a drama and not a real news event. More than half of the stations that carried the play also made their own announcements.

But these cautionary announcements came too late for many listeners. Thousands of them, especially those in the seeming New Jersey and New York “target” zone of the Martian attack, had heard more than enough well before the program was over and were trying to flee the scene. If they heard one of the characters note that people were fleeing, they would, as later reported to researchers, look out the window. If streets were busy, they would assume people were fleeing. If streets were empty, the conclusion often reached was that others had already fled. Amazingly, few of those who panicked thought to tune another radio station to check or even to look at newspaper listings of programs to see what CBS was supposed to be broadcasting at that time. Few even telephoned others. If radio said we were being invaded, then it must be true.

Hundreds of calls were placed to newspapers (the *New York Times* alone received more than 800), radio stations, and police. The Associated Press put out a bulletin to its member papers explaining what had happened. Only slowly on the evening of the broadcast was widespread panic reduced. Though there were many accidents on crowded roadways, luckily no one was killed.

Over the next several days, there were widespread press reports about what had happened. Ironically, the program’s impact that night helped it to gain commercial sponsorship, and it became the *Campbell Playhouse* in December and lasted in modified form until mid-1941.

Fascinated by the reaction to the program, the newly formed Office of Radio Research at Princeton University undertook a research study, under sociologist Hadley Cantril, to determine why so many had been driven to panic. The results, published as a book two years later, were largely based on interviews with 135 listeners. Researchers learned that people had grown accustomed to radio breaking in with important news during the Munich crisis of a month before and that such bulletins were assumed to be true. Of the roughly 6 million who tuned in, 1.7 million reportedly believed what they heard.

The Aftermath

A number of lawsuits were filed against CBS, all of which were eventually settled out of court. The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) launched a brief investigation out of which came an industry ban on program interruptions for fake news bulletins.

Rebroadcasts or sequels appeared on the anniversary of the original broadcast. In one case, a 1949 Spanish language sequel in Quito, Ecuador, led to enraged listeners' burning down the station, with several lives being lost. The story became a popular 1953 movie, with the setting shifted to Los Angeles. The first commercial recording of the original broadcast was issued in 1955 by Audio Rarities. "The Night America Trembled," presented on CBS's *Studio One* in September 1957, provided television viewers with a dramatic portrayal of the radio program. Buffalo station WKBS offered an updated version on the 30th anniversary of the original broadcast (30 October 1968), with radio in a Top 40 format style using station disc jockeys and newscasters. It was replayed a year later. Scriptwriter Koch provided a brief 1970 book with his own version of what had happened. For the 50th anniversary (30 October 1988), National Public Radio (NPR) offered a program based on a modified script by Howard Koch. A long documentary of the whole story appeared on the Discovery Channel in October 1998.

No other single radio program has had such a long-lasting impact as *War of the Worlds*. Both as a highlight of creative radio writing, and as an inadvertent measure of radio's growing place in society, the 1938 drama stands alone.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Hoaxes on Radio; Mercury Theatre of the Air

Programming History

CBS Mercury Theater of the Air, Sunday, 30 October 1938, 8–9 P.M.

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WBAI

New York City Station

From its inception, WBAI (99.5 FM) has broadcast alternative and often controversial programming to the greater New York City metropolitan area. WBAI has become one of the largest stations in the community radio network, with an operating budget of about \$3 million per year.

Origins and Free Speech Heritage

The station became the third in the educational and noncommercial Pacifica network when then-owner and philanthropist Louis Schweitzer donated it to the Pacifica Foundation in the midst of a contentious city newspaper strike in 1959 because he believed that media should be used for the public interest.

WBAI has had a rich and sometimes combative broadcast history and is renowned for programs raising issues related to

the First Amendment. In 1968 WBAI incited controversy in a widely publicized incident when a guest on writer Julius Lester's program read an anti-Semitic poem written by one of his students. The airing of the poem, "Anti-Semitism," which vividly described the African-American teenager's views toward the largely Jewish population of schoolteachers, again raised issues of what could and could not be broadcast. Although the United Federation of Teachers union filed a complaint with the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), that agency ruled in favor of the station, asserting that it allowed for "reasonable opportunity for the presentation of conflicting viewpoints."

The most prominent case involved the 1973 broadcast of "Seven Words You Can't Say on Television" by comedian George Carlin. The FCC cited WBAI's owner, Pacifica, for

indecenty for airing the 12-minute monologue in the early afternoon when children might be in the audience. The case eventually reached the Supreme Court, which ruled in 1978 that the government could regulate “indecent” broadcast speech from the airwaves but could not ban it.

In 1987 WBAL addressed free speech concerns again when it sent the FCC a list of questionable words and phrases without acknowledging that they were from James Joyce’s *Ulysses*. Though originally the FCC responded that it could not judge the material until it was broadcast, the agency later ruled that context was critical and allowed the text to be aired as part of a program on Bloomsbury writers.

Programs

WBAL is best known for its extensive, thorough, and often subjective reporting. Beginning in the 1960s the station sent reporters into the South to report on the civil rights movement, including coverage of the murders of three young volunteer workers (James Cheney, Mickey Schwerner, and Andrew Goodman) in 1962. In 1965, WBAL participated with the other two Pacifica stations in holding Vietnam Day “teach-ins,” providing nontraditional discussion-type broadcasts.

WBAL pushed the limits even further that same year when program director Chris Koch traveled to North Vietnam to report on the war. His reports were attacked by supporters of the Vietnam War and even by many on the Pacifica Board who were conflicted about the coverage. After attempts were made to have Koch delete parts of his reports, he and five others resigned. Nearly one-third of station member subscribers also canceled their subscriptions in protest.

WBAL’s exhaustive foreign coverage has continued through the years, and long after the mainstream media have left the scene, WBAL has reported from battlefronts in countries such as Iraq, Haiti, and East Timor. Over the years the station has applied the same scrutiny to domestic conditions, examining the practices of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), federal and state prisons, and city homeless shelters, in addition to other problems.

While news is clearly a mainstay of WBAL’s orientation, just as significant are its music and innovative programming. The station is known for introducing free form radio, specifically in *Radio Unnameable*, a program developed in 1963 by WBAL’s Bob Fass, which still runs today. The broadcasts—precursors of much subsequent radio—feature a blending of sounds from many different sources. Musicians who would later become popular entertainers appeared regularly on *Radio Unnameable*, among them Judy Collins, Bob Dylan, Jose Feliciano, and Arlo Guthrie (who debuted “Alice’s Restaurant” on the show).

It continues its hard-hitting news reporting and also broadcasts an eclectic range of programming, including shows on

alternative lifestyles, health, labor, technology—and, of course, music. In the noncommercial “free radio” tradition, WBAL continues to inform, provoke, and rankle its listeners. It has also been honored for its coverage: in 1999 Amy Goodman, the morning co-host of *Wake Up Call*, a local call-in show, won a George M. Polk reporting award for a piece about two unarmed environmentalists who were killed in Nigeria as a result of the Chevron Corporation’s involvement with the military there. More recently, the station won a Rodger N. Baldwin Award for outstanding contributions to the cause of civil liberty. As the plaque read, “From the armies converging on Iraq to the march for women’s lives in Washington, from the killing fields of East Timor to the mean streets of Manhattan’s homeless, WBAL covers the local, national and international scene with a depth and integrity not even conceived of by commercial broadcasting.”

Staff Protests

WBAL has regularly been subject to various protests within its own staff. As an operation making heavy use of volunteers, and catering to a broad range of political opinion, heated disagreements are not surprising.

In 1977 a bitter strike over issues of race, staff authority, and finances kept the station silent for seven weeks and still remains one of the most contentious episodes in New York radio history. The strike came about because the staff protested management’s reorganization of the station, which they perceived as taking away their power and softening the station programming. Very little was resolved as a result of the strike; it ended when the staff voted (by a narrow margin) to obey a court order requiring them to leave the transmitter room they had taken over.

An even longer and fiercer battle broke out in 1999. Pacifica Foundation management moved to make WBAL sound more professional and mainstream in its programming as they sought larger audiences and additional sources of funding. The move immediately ran into opposition from staffers wedded to their own sometimes controversial programs, often with strong listener support. Many staffers saw the move as an attempt to muzzle unpopular points of view. The host of *Democracy Now!* got into a battle with station management over the direction of her program. By late 2000 a 20-year veteran (including a decade as station manager) had been fired and the staff was in an uproar, talking to newspapers and filing various legal grievances. Soon some staffers were being locked out of the station (somewhat ironically housed on Wall Street) by foundation management. The battle—which had even featured street protests by listeners and disaffected staff—was finally settled in December 2001. WBAL retained the right to work with its own board of direc-

tors, only loosely controlled by the foundation in California. After a six-month search, a new station manager was appointed late in 2002.

RUTH BAYARD SMITH

See also Community Radio; Educational Radio to 1967; Free Form Format; Pacifica Foundation; Public Radio Since 1967; "Seven Dirty Words" Case

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WBAP

Fort Worth, Texas Station

Clear channel WBAP in Fort Worth, Texas, has been a dominant force in Texas and Southwest broadcasting since the very dawn of the radio-television era.

Like many infant stations in the early 1920s, WBAP was an extension of a powerful newspaper, the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, published by Amon G. Carter Sr. and Carter Publications. *Star-Telegram* circulation manager Harold Hough convinced a skeptical Carter to put WBAP on the air. Carter grudgingly approved the expenditure of \$300 to put the 10-watt station on the air on 2 May 1922. "But when that \$300 is gone, we're out of the radio business," Carter admonished Hough. Of course, it soon became obvious that radio was more than a \$300 experiment. Hough became WBAP's most popular on-the-air personality in the early days, going by the moniker "The Hired Hand."

Dual Channels

For more than 40 years, WBAP shared airspace with WFAA, owned by the *Dallas Morning News*, first on a single frequency, and later, uniquely, on two separate frequencies. It is the only known case of stations sharing more than one frequency.

WFAA had been saddled with a frequency-sharing deal not to its liking with KRLD, owned by the *Morning News*' bitter rival, the *Dallas Times Herald*. The stations were assigned to share 1040 kilohertz, also a clear channel. *Dallas Morning News* publisher George B. Dealey apparently preferred to cooperate with Carter's station, across 30 miles of then open prairie, rather than with the station of his intra-city rival. WBAP had been paired with KTHS in Hot Springs, Arkansas. The station found the awkwardness of sharing airtime with such a distant station untenable. So WBAP and WFAA peti-

tioned the Federal Radio Commission (FRC) to allow them to share the 800 kilohertz channel (820 kilohertz beginning in 1941), and the FRC granted the change effective 1 May 1929. At the same time, the FRC authorized WBAP and WFAA to broadcast at 50,000 watts on 800 kilohertz, an increase of 100-fold from their previous wattage.

In 1935 the resourceful Carter acquired KGKO in Wichita Falls, Texas, broadcasting on 570 kilohertz, setting the stage for the unique dual-channel time-sharing arrangement. Carter had the station's license transferred to Fort Worth, and WBAP began broadcasting on KGKO's channel in 1938. Soon WFAA bought into KGKO, and in 1940 the two stations began sharing time on two separate frequencies.

Don Harris enjoyed a career of 33 years on the air at WBAP starting in 1965, in the final years of the dual-frequency days. "There was a 10-second changeover [for each station to sign off and the other to sign on]," Harris recalls. "Sometimes, those WFAA guys would cheat us a couple of seconds, and we would have two or three seconds of dead air [as WBAP waited for WFAA to complete its sign-off]." Harris admitted that sometimes it happened the other way around.

Fort Worth is also known as "Cowtown," and WBAP became famous for a cowbell station identification. The cowbell was almost certainly the innovation of the ubiquitous Hough, the station's most identifiable air personality in the 1920s and 1930s. WBAP claimed that its cowbell jangle was U.S. broadcasting's first "memory signal." The cowbell would be heard when WBAP identified itself before and after exchanging frequencies with WFAA.

WBAP prided itself (then and now) on its farm and ranch programming. A brief 1947 history of the station commented, "The station had a definite field to serve—the vast area of Texas (and West Texas in particular), where distance is most

unusual, and which was, and is, a ranching and farming area.” Until radio came to Texas, farmers and ranchers relied only on their limited powers of observation to prepare for rough weather. “More than once, ranchers were saved millions of dollars in livestock losses by WBAP’s warning of approaching blizzards and storms. National recognition has been given the station for that service,” a 1949 *Star-Telegram* article reported.

In the 1940s WBAP broadcast a night-time program from the state prison in Huntsville called *Thirty Minutes behind the Walls*, which was written, performed, and produced by prisoners. WBAP claimed in 1943 that the program received nearly 200,000 fan letters in one month from 45 states, Canada, and Mexico.

As television emerged in the 1950s, the WBAP and WFAA formats gradually evolved toward middle-of-the-road music. The decision by WBAP to hire the legendary Bill Mack to play country music on 820 kilohertz from midnight to 7:30 A.M. in 1969 marked the first clear break between the two stations. Harris credits general manager James A. Byron, who had been the station’s news director, for having the foresight to make the change to country music.

In April 1970 the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) approved the sale of the Belo Corp’s share of the 820 channel to Carter Publications for \$3.5 million. Belo and WFAA received WBAP’s interest in the 570 channel facilities. The end of the partnership came on 1 May 1970, when WFAA went to 570 kilohertz full-time and WBAP took over 820 kilohertz. It was the 41st anniversary of the time-sharing agreement. WFAA radio left the air in 1983.

After the split, WBAP initiated a country music format full-time. Other stations were playing country music, but Harris

says WBAP immediately shot right past them and everyone else. “Six months after the change, we were number 1 in the market,” he said, “It was an overnight success, just phenomenal.”

In 1973 Capital Cities Communications bought WBAP and WBAP-FM (now KSCS) from Carter Publications for \$80 million. In 1996 WBAP and KSCS became part of the merger of Capital Cities/American Broadcasting Companies (ABC) and the Walt Disney Company. In 1993 WBAP switched from country music to news/talk.

J. M. DEMPSEY

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WBBM

Chicago, Illinois Station

This AM radio station, the long-time Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) affiliate in Chicago, has been linked to the history of CBS as a radio (and later television) network. Chicago has long been famous as a pioneer in radio, but WBBM-AM never set in motion any significant shows. It simply aired what CBS sent along, and for radio in the late 1940s and network television through the 1970s, this usually meant the top-rated shows being broadcast. There is only one sense in which WBBM was a pioneer, and that was as an early FM station, beginning its broadcasts on 7 December 1941.

With WBBM standing for “World’s Best Broadcast Medium,” WBBM went on the air on 14 November 1923. WBBM has spent three-quarters of a century on Chicago’s AM dial, beginning its life in the basement of the Atlass family home, then moving to the Broadmore Hotel, and then to its long-time home in the Wrigley Building on Chicago’s north side. Within three years of its debut, the station bragged that it had aired the first dance music and the first church service, carried regular remote broadcasts, and acquired the leading number of local advertisers.

In 1933 CBS purchased WBBM, and station cofounder H. Leslie Atlas was made its general manager on a lifetime basis as part of the sale. By the late 1930s WBBM transmitted with 50,000 watts, and in 1936, the station often ranked number one in Chicago with a significant set of locally produced shows, such as *Piano from Warehouse 39*, *Sunday Night Party*, *One Quarter of an Hour of Romance*, *Dugout Dope*, *Women in the Headlines*, *Radio Gossip Club*, *Man on the Street*, and *Sports Huddle*. But none of these—unlike many other Chicago-based programs—ever made a national splash. From its 410 North Michigan Avenue studio, the station could air from the WBBM Air Theatre, which seated 300 persons. Through most of the 1930s and 1940s, it was a clear channel powerhouse at 780 kilohertz, able to be picked up throughout the upper Midwest and beyond. This meant that WBBM broadcast CBS news into Chicago and served as the Midwest base for the Columbia News Service set up in 1933.

WBBM-FM went on the air on 7 December 1941, but the FM station long merely duplicated the AM broadcast. In recent years, as FM has ascended in popularity, it has tried a number of different music formats. In 2000, WBBM-FM (96.3 FM) had the format of “dance hits,” but the station had the same studio as WBBM-AM at 630 North McClurg Court. It was not until well into the 1960s that WBBM-FM did more than duplicate WBBM-AM.

With the rise of television, WBBM-AM needed to reinvent itself. The new format grew out of CBS chairman William S. Paley’s desire to come up with a format that was on one hand

prestigious (and not simply another rock variation) while also making money. WBBM found this with all-news radio in 1968, and the network reinvented itself as the link among the CBS all-news radio stations. WBBM-AM has provided all-news radio broadcasting in the nation’s second city for more than a third of a century, with classic drive-time formatting. WBBM-FM has not been so lucky and has tried a number of formats that might work—with “dance hits” the format by 2000. Both AM and FM remained at studios at 630 North McClurg Court, though there was talk in 1999 of moving to another part of downtown. WBBM’s AM antenna is located on the west side of the region, in Elk Grove Village, and the FM antenna is located atop the landmark John Hancock Building.

DOUGLAS GOMERY

See also All News Format; Columbia Broadcasting System

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WBT

Charlotte, North Carolina Station

Dubbed the “Colossus of the Carolinas,” WBT was the first commercially licensed station in North Carolina and, with WSB in Atlanta, was one of the first two such licensees in the southeastern region of the United States. From its debut in 1922, the station has also been one of the region’s most powerful. In 1929 William S. Paley purchased WBT, establishing it as a key link in the distribution of the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) programming.

WBT’s roots stretch back to 1920, when Fred M. Laxton (a former General Electric employee), Fred Bunker, and Earle Gluck began transmitting experimental station 4XD from Laxton’s home in Charlotte. Laxton and his friends had con-

structed the transmitter in a chicken coop behind Laxton’s house; they broadcast music from phonograph records to the few people who owned receivers at the time. On 10 April 1922, Laxton, Bunker, and Gluck—operating as the Southern Radio Corporation—received a license from the federal government to broadcast with 100 watts of power as WBT. Initially, the station aired from 10:00 to 11:45 in the mornings and from 7:30 to 9:45 in the evenings.

Southern Radio Corporation sold WBT in 1926 to C.C. Coddington, a local Buick automobile dealer, and over the following three years, the station grew to be a regional power. During the years following Coddington’s purchase of WBT, the

station acquired permission to broadcast at 5,000 watts and affiliated with the National Broadcasting Company (NBC).

In the late 1920s William S. Paley of CBS, in fierce competition with NBC to garner affiliates, had begun purchasing established stations in key regions to ensure the expansion of the CBS network. In late 1928 the broadcasting titan bought WABC (later WCBS) in New York, and in 1929, he added to his collection WCCO in Minneapolis, Minnesota, and, with an eye toward reaching the southeastern United States, WBT.

Soon after acquiring WBT, CBS persuaded the Federal Radio Commission to allow the station to broadcast with 25,000 watts of power. Four years later, in 1933, the station's power rose to 50,000 watts. Listeners from Maine to Florida could clearly receive WBT's signal.

WBT would be a CBS-owned-and-operated station until 1945, when the Federal Communications Commission's (FCC) network rulings forced CBS to divest itself of certain high-power stations. Reluctantly, CBS sold its gold mine in the Southeast to Jefferson Standard Life Insurance Company, the enterprise (known today as Jefferson Pilot) that currently owns the station. WBT would maintain its CBS affiliation and continue to be a powerful outlet for the network's programs.

Just as WBT proved to be an important cog in the distribution of CBS network programming, by the late 1920s the station had also become an important source of local news, information, and entertainment for listeners in the Charlotte region. Led by program director (and later station manager) Charles H. Crutchfield and personalities such as Grady Cole and Kurt Webster, the station broadcast tobacco auctions, professional baseball games, old Confederate veterans reeling off their "rebel yells," country music performances, and other events of local flavor. Many of WBT's local productions were picked up by the CBS network for national and regional distribution.

Numerous entertainers would receive valuable exposure via their appearances on WBT productions. Before achieving fame as *Amos 'n' Andy* over the NBC network, Freeman Gosden and Charles Correll performed on the station in the

1920s. In addition, saxophonist Hal Kemp, who would become a well-known big band leader, had performed over WBT in the 1930s, as had bandleader Kay Kyser. Country music performers, such as the Briarhoppers and Arthur Smith and the Crackerjacks, watched their reputations grow on regularly scheduled WBT programs such as the *Carolina Hayride*, a weekly barn dance program picked up by the CBS network in the 1940s. Perhaps the best-known of the traditional music performers who emerged from WBT were the Johnson Family Singers, a gospel-singing sextet who, as a result of their success on WBT in the 1940s, broadcast regularly over the CBS network and attracted recording contracts from Columbia and, later, Radio Corporation of America (RCA) Victor. WBT also claimed a role in grooming newsmen for CBS: Charles Kuralt and Nelson Benton worked at the station before going on to the network.

WBT helped pioneer radio broadcasting in the Southeast and became a widely disseminated source of regional news, information, and entertainment. The station would also spawn North Carolinian entertainers and news personalities who would go on to national fame in broadcasting. WBT will be most remembered for its role in building the CBS network.

MICHAEL STREISSGUTH

See also Columbia Broadcasting System

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WBZ

Boston, Massachusetts Station

One of the Westinghouse group of stations, WBZ Radio went on the air on 19 September 1921, with studios at the Westinghouse Electric plant in East Springfield, Massachusetts, approximately 85 miles west of Boston. WBZ's first broadcast

was a remote from the Eastern States Exposition, a large New England county fair; among the speakers helping to dedicate the station were the governors of Connecticut and Massachusetts. WBZ operated on a frequency of 800 kilohertz, with a

power of 100 watts. Within several years, the station would move to 900 kilohertz, and by 1928 it was placed at 990 kilohertz by the Federal Radio Commission.

By early 1922, WBZ had moved its studio to Springfield's Hotel Kimball. Station programming was typical of radio in those pioneering days: an occasional star but mostly eager amateurs willing to perform free. By early 1924, it was already becoming difficult to get good free talent, as more stations competed for performers. WBZ decided to open a Boston studio in conjunction with the *Boston Herald* and *Boston Traveler* newspapers, from which they got their news at that time; the new station was known as WBZA. The studios were first in Boston's Hotel Brunswick; they moved to the Statler Hotel in 1927 and to the Bradford in 1931. Meanwhile, the Boston station grew in importance, and its ability to attract major talent was a big plus for Westinghouse. WBZ was the first Boston station to broadcast Boston Bruins hockey games (featuring *Herald* sportswriter Frank Ryan doing play-by-play reports), and when not doing sports, the station provided a regular schedule of dance bands, well-known singers, political talks, a storyteller for kids, and a staff of announcers who became very popular in their own right. By March of 1931, it was decided that the WBZ call letters should belong to Boston and the WBZA letters should go to the Springfield station.

In 1926 WBZ began broadcasts of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, and in 1927, the station became one of five original affiliates of the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) Blue radio network. (As time went on, many of the WBZ announcers would be hired by the network.) When WBZ had its tenth anniversary celebration in September 1931, the NBC Blue network carried it. But in April 1932 WBZ got a rather dubious bit of publicity, which showed the perils of live radio. A supposedly trained circus lion (he was trained to roar on cue) was brought to the studio, and for some reason, he broke away and went rampaging through the studios, destroying equipment, terrifying spectators, and injuring seven people before the police arrived and had to shoot him.

By the mid-1930s, WBZ was using 50,000 watts; in 1941, the station was moved to 1030 kilohertz, a dial position it still has today. WBZ began doing a morning show featuring country vocalist Bradley Kincaid during the late 1930s. In 1942 Carl DeSuzé joined the station; he would go on to a long career as the morning show host. The programming in the 1930s and 1940s included a daily women's show (radio homemakers were very popular, and WBZ had Mildred Carlson and later Marjorie Mills), as well as an increasing emphasis on news. The WBZ news staff included some of the best-known reporters, many of whom would later go on to join WBZ-TV.

Experiments with FM were taking place in the late 1930s and early 1940s; WBZ used its FM station (W1XK) to broadcast the Boston Symphony Orchestra in 1941, which was probably the first time the orchestra had been heard via the

new FM technology. In June 1948 WBZ radio was joined by WBZ-TV, channel 4, and the stations moved into their own new facility, which had been specially designed for both radio and TV.

In the mid-1950s, WBZ moved away from its previously "middle-of-the-road" programming, dropping NBC and abandoning big bands for a more popular, hit-oriented sound. The station hired five well-known announcers and called them "The Live Five" to let the audience know that WBZ was now locally programmed. By the 1960s, WBZ had moved to a soft Top 40 format (detractors called it "chicken rock"—rock without any loud songs), but it still offered a nightly talk show and a heavy news commitment. WBZ's disc jockeys were personalities, and the younger audience found them very entertaining. Disc jockeys such as Bruce Bradley, Dick Summer, and Dave Maynard did more than just play the hits—they also interacted with their fans at numerous remote broadcasts and events: it was the era of the "record hop," and WBZ announcers were masters of ceremonies at dances all over Massachusetts.

By the 1970s, WBZ was moving away from Top 40 to a more Adult Contemporary sound and increasing its news. The station had long been known for public service, raising money for worthy charities; this activity was also increased, such that by the 1980s music was gradually being phased out in favor of longer news blocks, more sports, and more talk shows. By December 1985, WBZ had an all-news and information format during afternoon drive time, and by September 1992 the station completed the transition to being an all-news station.

Ironically, the city where it all began for WBZ—Springfield—was no longer a part of the WBZ game plan after 1962. WBZA was shut down by the parent company in order to buy another station in a larger market. But as a tribute to the station's beginnings, when WBZ celebrated its 50th anniversary in 1971, festivities were held both in Boston and at the Eastern States Exposition in Springfield.

WBZ is one of the few stations that still has its original set of call letters, and it has experienced minimal staff turnover on air: for example, several current members of the sports department have worked there since the 1960s, the news staff includes men and women with 10 to 15 years of service, and announcers such as Carl DeSuzé and Dave Maynard retired after more than 40 years on air. This is a tribute to WBZ's stability: although it is no longer called a Westinghouse station (Westinghouse purchased the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) in 1995, and by the end of 1996 the parent company became known as CBS rather than Westinghouse), it is still known for news, public service, sports, and night-time talk shows. The annual telethon/radiothon for Children's Hospital consistently brings in large sums of money; in fact, WBZ Radio has won numerous awards for public service and excellence in broadcasting, including the National Association of Broadcasters' Crystal Award and the Marconi Award. WBZ

has consistently earned number one ratings in Boston since the station changed over to an all-news format. And with a signal that can reach 38 states at night, WBZ continues to be among the most respected and most listened-to AM radio stations.

DONNA L. HALPER

See also Columbia Broadcasting System; Group W; Westinghouse

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WCBS

New York City Station

The flagship station of the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) radio network, WCBS traces its lineage back to WAHG, which first aired in 1924. It was long the radio home of Jack Sterling and other local radio figures before becoming an all-news outlet in 1967.

Origins

WCBS got its start as part of a radio manufacturer's business. Alfred H. Grebe began to make radio receivers in 1922, and two years later he placed WAHG ("Wait and Hear Grebe") on the air on 24 October 1924 at 920 kilohertz with 500 watts of power. As was common at the time, WAHG soon shifted frequencies to 950 kilohertz and had to share time with another New York City station. By 1926 power had been increased tenfold. That same year, Grebe organized the Atlantic Broadcasting Company and changed the call letters to WABC, moving the studios from Queens into Manhattan.

Grebe had plans to develop a network, following the example set by the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) beginning in 1926. His outlet became one of two New York stations for the new CBS network, because as stations commonly shared time, more than one was necessary for the new network to provide a full week's coverage. Instead, late in 1928 Grebe sold his station to William S. Paley, head of CBS.

Network Station

CBS moved the new flagship station and its network headquarters into 485 Madison Avenue, where both would remain for several decades. The station moved to 860 kilohertz and by late 1929 was up to 50,000 watts of power. The final shift, to the present 880 kilohertz, came in 1941, part of the readjustment of American stations because of the North American Regional Broadcasting Agreement treaty.

WABC carried virtually all of the developing network's programming, plus some New York-only shows. With the creation of the new American Broadcasting Companies (ABC) in 1945, however, CBS was broadcasting from a station with a competitor's initials, and in November 1946, WABC became WCBS (after involved negotiations, as the new call letters had been used by a small station in Illinois since 1927). At the same time, it began to offer *This Is New York*, a combination of interviews and features on the city that would run for 17 years, first in the morning and finally as an evening program. Another long-lasting program was *Music Til Dawn*, which began in 1953 and lasted until 1970 as an inexpensive way of filling the late night and early morning hours, sponsored by American Airlines (then still headquartered in New York).

With the demise of evening network daytime programs in the early 1950s, WCBS tried a variety of programs with a "middle of the road" approach. Among them was *The Jack Sterling Show*, a morning music DJ show beginning in 1948 that ran for years. Not finding success, WCBS converted to an all-news format (for most of its schedule) in August 1967. Ironically, the premier of the new service was delayed when an airplane hit the station's transmitter tower. But, as often happens in such disasters, WCBS was able to use other station facilities while getting its own back on the air full-time. In the early 1970s the remaining non-news programming was terminated, making the station all news, all the time.

In recent years advertised as "WCBS 880," the station is formally owned and operated by Infinity Broadcasting Corporation, a publicly traded subsidiary of CBS Corporation. Offices and studios are located in the CBS Broadcast Center on West 57th Street in Manhattan.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Columbia Broadcasting System; Infinity Broadcasting; North American Regional Broadcasting Agreement

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WCCO

Minneapolis, Minnesota Station

The Twin Cities' "Good Neighbor to the Northwest," a 50,000-watt, clear channel AM station, is said to have dominated local audience ratings like no other station in the country. Legend has it that radio executives from across the United States would travel to Minnesota and sit in their hotel rooms listening to WCCO in order to "research" its format. They could only shake their heads in wonder. What they heard was a homespun blend of often insipid comedy featuring Scandinavian humor; remote-location broadcasts of amateur glee clubs and ethnic musicians; a schedule heavy on local news, farm markets, and weather; and ubiquitous live chats with political figures such as Hubert Humphrey. It was a sound that could not be duplicated elsewhere, called "Just Folks Radio" by *The Wall Street Journal*. At the height of its popularity, surveys showed WCCO to be the favorite among listeners in 128 counties by a 19-to-1 margin. WCCO was as much a part of the fabric of the Northwest as were snow days in January.

The station's predecessor, WLAG, went on the air in 1922 as a marketing tool for a Minneapolis radio manufacturer. In September 1924 the failed station was resurrected when a promoter convinced executives of the Washburn Crosby Company to buy it (hence the call letters "WCCO"). The company, known today as General Mills, used its new "Gold Medal Station" to promote its many brands of flour and cereal products. The first day's log boasts two home service programs performed by "Betty Crocker," and on Christmas Eve 1926, WCCO aired radio's first singing commercial, "Have you tried Wheaties?"

The station was one of 21 original affiliates of the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) Red Network, but within two years it switched to the fledgling Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS). In 1929 CBS chief William Paley bought one-third of WCCO for \$150,000, with an option to buy the rest in three years for \$300,000. The station's first general manager, Henry Bellows, was a University of Minnesota rhetoric professor who later served on the Federal Radio Commission and is said to have helped WCCO gain its favorable 50,000-watt clear channel designation in the early 1930s. Bellows and his

successor at WCCO, Earl Gammons, eventually became CBS vice presidents. Although CBS network programming came to fill about three-quarters of WCCO's broadcast day, Gammons built an immensely loyal audience for local programming in the 1930s. Gammons' trademark was hiring air personalities with a warm, neighborly style of delivery that contrasted with the more sophisticated sound of most New York-based network entertainers. The sound was called "personality radio."

In 1934 the resonant voice of Cedric Adams took over the WCCO evening news, and, bolstered by a nighttime signal that spanned half the country, WCCO and Adams together became a U.S. radio phenomenon. He was perhaps the most widely known and highest paid local radio personality for over a quarter of a century. At the height of his popularity, he did a daily five-minute program on CBS and occasionally substituted for network star Arthur Godfrey. WCCO took *Cedric Adams' Open House* on the road, annually logging over 15,000 miles with 49 weekend road trips. At one time his weekend traveling troupe consisted of an accordion player, a magician, three singing sisters, a comedy act, two baton twirlers, an eight-year-old girl who yodeled, and the Minneapolis Aquatennial Queen. CBS executives in New York may have snickered at the hokey lineup, but they never failed to notice the bottom line. Cedric Adams' 12:30 P.M. newscast had the largest Hooper rating of any non-network radio show in the country.

In 1938 the station moved from its cramped studios in the Nicollet Hotel to a spacious headquarters in the Minneapolis Elks Club building. The new location had the high ceilings favored by CBS architects and was quickly transformed into an art deco landmark with cream-and-Columbia-blue interiors. It was remodeled in the classic CBS design that had been used in other network projects in Boston, Saint Louis, and Chicago, featuring "floating studios"—in which the floors, walls, and ceilings were separated from the main building structure. Best of all, the new location had a fourth-floor auditorium that seated 700 people. Although unpretentious, with its tiny stage and its stage right main-floor engineering booth, the room

became the source throughout the 1940s for some of the country's best live radio. At its peak, the WCCO auditorium was home to seven consecutive individually sponsored live-audience programs on Friday evenings.

The growth of television caused a change in WCCO ownership in the 1950s. Because CBS could own only a minority interest in a Twin Cities television station (it already owned five television stations in other markets), CBS merged WCCO with Mid-Continent Radio and Television in 1952. The firm became Midwest Radio-Television. The Ridder and the Murphy newspaper families held a 53 percent majority, and CBS owned the remaining 47 percent. Two years later Federal Communications Commission (FCC) rules (requiring that minority interests be counted) forced CBS to sell its minority share of the company. The *Minneapolis Star and Tribune* bought this minority interest for \$4 million. Under the reorganization, WCCO Radio was set up as an independent entity within the company, controlled by neither the parent company's television nor the newspaper's interests, which now included both the *St. Paul Dispatch-Pioneer Press* and the *Minneapolis Star and Tribune*. This independence probably helped WCCO Radio compete and even thrive in the post-television era and to maintain its market dominance well into the decades that followed. The "variety" programming of the 1960s and 1970s gave way to a more uniform "news-talk" format in the 1980s and 1990s. As late as the mid-1980s, Arbitron showed that WCCO-AM was still the number one

rated major-market station in the entire country, although this unusual market dominance was later moderated by local FM competition.

In 1992, 40 years after WCCO was sold to local owners, CBS reacquired the stations, purchasing the assets of Midwest Communications in a deal worth over \$200 million. In addition to WCCO Radio and WCCO-TV, the acquisition included WLTE-FM, Minneapolis (formerly WCCO-FM); three smaller television stations in Wisconsin and Minnesota; and the MSC regional sports cable TV channel.

MARK BRAUN

See also Columbia Broadcasting System

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WCFL

Chicago, Illinois Station

The Chicago Federation of Labor's (CFL) 1926 plan to open its own radio station initiated one of the most notorious controversies in early broadcasting. As planned by the CFL, the proposal would create the only radio station in the country specifically devoted to the interests of organized labor. The CFL planned to call its new station WCFL and decided to use the same frequency as KGW in Portland, Oregon, and WEA, the popular American Telephone and Telegraph (AT&T) station in New York City. These plans were drawn without first consulting the U.S. Department of Commerce, which was then charged with station licensing.

When the Commerce Department was approached for a license, the CFL was told that none would be forthcoming. Acting Secretary of Commerce Stephen Davis explained that

there was no room in the overcrowded broadcast frequency spectrum to accommodate the station. In response, the CFL declared on 17 May 1926 that the organization fully intended to broadcast with or without a license. The CFL intended to transmit primarily educational programming, including labor-related information, public affairs, and discussions of economic issues, in addition to entertainment features.

CFL secretary Edward N. Nockels protested the commerce department's preferential treatment of corporate giant AT&T. Nockels expressed shock that no room could be found on the airwaves for WCFL, while AT&T's WEA was able to occupy a clear channel frequency. Nockels wrote Davis asking if it might be possible for WCFL's signal to occupy half of the territory reached by WEA.

The Department of Commerce intimated that if the CFL would broadcast illegally, the department would bring the matter before a federal court to test the legality of the Radio Act of 1912. Nockels said in reply that the CFL was willing to allow the courts to settle the matter. He expressed confidence that the courts would support the CFL's plans. The CFL began construction of its new station, WCFL, without official approval.

Ultimately the CFL was able to secure an inspection for the station from the Department of Commerce, and WCFL received its license. After a week of experimental transmissions, the station officially opened on 22 July 1926 with a special two-hour inaugural broadcast from 6:00 to 8:00 P.M. on 491.5 meters, "just a shade away" from WEAf. WCFL broadcast from transmitter facilities on Chicago's Municipal (Navy) Pier, which was linked to studios elsewhere in the city. WCFL was supported by the contributions of labor unions and quickly established itself as "the Voice of Labor."

The station quickly became the target of attacks because of its hindrance of long-distance ("DX") reception of AT&T's WEAf in New York. *Radio Broadcast*, for example, suggested that WCFL had chosen its frequency as a direct attack on AT&T, out of indignation that WEAf could control an exclusive frequency. *Radio Broadcast* engaged in something of a crusade against WCFL, at one point putting the CFL in the same class as the Ku Klux Klan, since both were special-interest broadcasters.

By October 1926, the station was on the air from 6:00 P.M. until midnight six days a week. The 6:00 to 7:00 slot each evening was devoted to labor issues discussed in a program called *CFL Talks and Bulletins*. The program's length was quickly cut in half, however, because of a lack of material. WCFL filled the remainder of the evening with entertainment features, predominantly music. The station later also offered educational lessons, farm market reports, weather reports, and religious services.

Throughout the history of the CFL's involvement in the station, most WCFL programming was not directly union-oriented, a fact that occasionally generated complaints from union officials but that did not stop the Federal Radio Commission (FRC) from labeling WCFL a "propaganda station." To some extent, WCFL became a victim of General Order 40, issued by the commission in 1928. Severe limitations were placed on the station's activities. WCFL was made to share its frequency, and its power was drastically reduced before the commission finally insisted that the station could not operate in the evening, so as not to interfere with other stations.

After the CFL found that the FRC's stance could not be shifted, the organization sought support for the station from Congress. As a result of congressional pressure, the FRC moved WCFL in 1929 to a new frequency, on which the station could again operate on a full-time basis. When Nockels

found that reception of the station was poor on that frequency, the commission allowed the station to return to 970 kilohertz and to broadcast for an additional four hours in the evening. By 1932 WCFL and the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) had entered into an agreement whereby WCFL would broadcast at 970 kilohertz full-time and at increased power (5,000 watts), despite the NBC station KJR in Seattle, which shared the frequency. The proposal quickly found approval with the FRC.

WCFL faced financial woes in its early days, which were to some extent alleviated by the acceptance of advertising, a practice that began in 1927. The station ushered in a lucrative rock and roll format in 1965 and subsequently became known as the home of some of radio's legendary disc jockeys, including Dick Biondi and Larry Lujack. The station's format change, however, prompted controversy among the membership of organized labor, with AFL-CIO president George Meany asking at one point what rock and roll had to do with the labor movement. By the early 1970s, WCFL had become Chicago's leading rock station.

Emphasis on entertainment, coupled with the competitive pressures of the Chicago commercial radio market, resulted in WCFL's abandoning an ever-increasing portion of its remaining public service programming. In spite of criticisms that the station was no longer significantly engaged in public service, WCFL survived challenges to its 1975 license renewal. Because the station eventually lost its ability to compete adequately in the Top 40 market, however, WCFL switched to an easy listening format in 1976. The station increasingly became a burden on the CFL without financial reward, until WCFL was finally sold for \$12 million to the Mutual Broadcasting System in 1979.

Unable to make the station financially viable as an all-news operation (which would have cost twice the then \$4 million annual operating budget), Mutual attempted by 1980 to turn WCFL into an adult contemporary music station. However, that failed as well, because most music listening by then was to FM, and AM outlets focused more on talk. Three years later, Mutual sold the station to Statewide Broadcasting, which turned WCFL into a religious music operation. Consistently last in city-wide ratings, WCFL was finally merged with Heftel Broadcasting's WLUP-FM, and in April 1987 the long-time voice of labor became WLUP-AM, an adult rock station.

STEVEN PHIPPS

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WDIA

Memphis, Tennessee Station

Known as the "Mother Station of the Negroes," WDIA in 1949 became the first black-oriented radio station in the United States. Radio had featured black talent and black-appeal programs since the 1920s, but never before had a station directed its entire broadcast schedule to the black audience. This novel and long-overdue development in radio programming that WDIA pioneered spawned dramatic growth in the number of radio stations tailored exclusively for the black market.

The station, whose original studios were at 2074 Union Avenue in Memphis, had signed on the air in June 1947 with a white-oriented format that featured country and western music; classical music; and a smattering of news, sports, religion, and children's programs. This format garnered pale ratings, so in the fall of 1948 WDIA's founders, John Pepper and Bert Ferguson, began to experiment with black-appeal programming. It proved to be a profitable decision for the white owners and one that would open opportunities in broadcasting to black men and women. Initially, WDIA featured only a handful of black-oriented programs, but by 1949 the station had made a complete conversion.

To spearhead the new format, Pepper and Ferguson hired Nat D. Williams, a leader, educator, and impresario in the black community of Memphis. Williams's established popularity and ebullient on-air style virtually guaranteed the success of the programs he hosted; he and his shows became the core around which WDIA built the remainder of its black-appeal format.

In establishing the first black-appeal radio station in the United States, Pepper and Ferguson capitalized on the large black population in the Memphis area and its growing postwar prosperity. The ratings and revenue improvements for WDIA were startling and almost immediate. Among the tens of thousands of black Memphians, WDIA was number one. Soon the station was reporting that it attracted 33 percent more daytime listeners on weekdays than any other Memphis station did. Naturally, with more listeners came more advertisers, and although many advertisers, fearing racist backlash, avoided

WDIA, they soon shed their fears and latched on to the very real earning potential that the station offered. Ford, Kellogg's, Sealtest, Lipton's Tea, and other companies with deep advertising budgets became regular sponsors of WDIA programs. Confirming that their venture into black-oriented programming had succeeded, Pepper and Ferguson reported in 1951 that their local and national advertising sales had increased 75.4 percent and 80 percent, respectively, in 1950 over 1949.

In 1954, over protest from radio station WMPS in Memphis, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) granted WDIA the authority to operate with 50,000 watts daytime and with 5,000 watts nighttime with different antenna patterns both day and night. As a result, the station expanded its influence well beyond Memphis into parts of Mississippi, Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, and Illinois. WDIA claimed to have access to 1,466,618 blacks, or ten percent of the black population in the United States. By 1957 WDIA had the highest ratings and advertising income among radio stations in the mid-South.

Fueled by the example WDIA set and by the general decline in radio audiences, other radio stations sought to bolster their bottom line by becoming exclusively black-oriented. In WDIA's wake followed WMRY in New Orleans, WEFC in Miami, WCIN in Cincinnati, WJNR in Newark, and others.

WDIA employed various tactics to build loyalty among the black population it reached. Noting the success in 1948 of Nat D. Williams—first on his afternoon *Tan Town Jamboree* and then on his morning *Tan Town Coffee Club*—management quickly set about hiring more black talent until virtually the entire on-air staff was black. (Despite this groundbreaking opportunity for black on-air talent, it is important to note that Jim Crow still hovered about WDIA in the 1940s and 1950s: blacks were barred from sales, management, and engineering positions.) Joining Nat D. Williams were disc jockeys Martha Jean Steinberg, Maurice "Hot Rod" Hulbert, B.B. King, and Rufus Thomas, all of whom featured blues, rhythm and blues, and other popular music of the day. (B.B. King and Rufus Thomas would achieve fame as blues and rhythm and blues performers.) Ford Nelson, Theo "Bless My Bones" Wade, and

Rev. Arnold Dwight "Gatemouth" Moore presented gospel music programs, and the popular Willa Monroe hosted the *Tan Town Homemaker's Show*, which was geared to women in the radio audience. Blacks who listened to WDIA heard their own voices, which nurtured loyalty to the station as well as pride in the status that blacks had achieved on Memphis radio.

WDIA also built and maintained its listenership with comprehensive community relations efforts. The station's public service pervaded the black community: it traced missing persons, pleaded for blood donors, sponsored baseball teams, and collected food and clothing for needy Memphians. The centerpieces of the station's community focus were its roundtable broadcasts, which often dealt with racism, and the *Goodwill Revue* and the *Starlite Revue*, live concerts that raised money for a school for handicapped black children. Throughout the 1960s, WDIA's programs played an important role in the civil rights movement in Memphis, appealing for black equality and for calm when violence threatened to erupt.

A price was put on WDIA's success when, in 1957, John Pepper and Bert Ferguson sold their station to the Sonderling Broadcast Corporation of Chicago for \$1 million. Although Bert Ferguson stayed on as executive vice president and general manager until 1970, many complained that absentee ownership resulted in WDIA's losing its local focus. The entertainment conglomerate Viacom took control of the station in 1980.

In 1983 Ragan Henry of Philadelphia added WDIA to his chain of stations and became the station's first black owner. Henry's ownership capped a period of growing black influence

on the station's operations and management. Since the 1960s, blacks had been working in all facets of the station, and in 1972, WDIA welcomed its first black general manager, Chuck Scruggs. In 1996 Ragan Henry sold WDIA to Clear Channel Communications, the company that currently owns and operates the station.

MICHAEL STREISSGUTH

See also Black-Oriented Radio; Blues Format; Gospel Music Format; Williams, Nat D.

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WEAF

New York City Station

WEAF is significant in radio history as the first station to broadcast a paid commercial and as the originating point for American Telephone and Telegraph's (AT&T) pioneering network experiments. AT&T owned the station for only four years, after which it became the flagship of the developing National Broadcasting Company (NBC) network, becoming WNBC after World War II.

Origins

During the 1920s, AT&T was actively involved in the development of radio. The corporation was a member of the radio patent pool (along with the Radio Corporation of America

[RCA], Westinghouse, and other companies), owned radio stations, and experimented with networking. It also owned the highest-quality intercity connection circuits in the United States and so was crucial to the efforts of other radio broadcasters to interconnect stations. WEAF actually began as short-lived radio station WBAY. Construction of its antenna was begun in March 1922, and it broadcast its first program on 25 July 1922. WBAY was a technological failure, its signal barely audible. After reconfiguration and location elsewhere in the city, WBAY gave way to WEAF on 16 August.

WEAF was the first station in the United States to broadcast a paid commercial, engaging in what AT&T called "toll broadcasting" at the time. AT&T saw the possibilities for

treating radio the same way it treated its long-distance telephone service: it would provide the facilities, and others would provide the content. It would lease its facilities to those who had a message to deliver to the public, just as it provided long-distance service to customers who paid for the time they used its lines. At the same time, it saw toll broadcasting as a means of destroying its most significant rival in the provision of long-distance services, RCA. Although RCA did not own long-distance telephone lines, it had been established in 1919 to provide point-to-point wireless communication services, thus making it a potential rival to AT&T. RCA was also involved in radio broadcasting but planned to provide radio services on a public service model, subsidizing program production and broadcasting through the profits from the sale of radio receivers. AT&T, whose long-distance services provided massive profits, saw the potential of toll broadcasting to accomplish the same thing, which would give it an unassailable financial base from which to battle RCA.

WEAF broadcast its first commercial on 28 August 1922 at 5:00 P.M. It was a commercial for the Queensboro Corporation that lasted ten minutes and promoted the sale of apartments in Jackson Heights, New York City. The cost was \$50. Queensboro Corporation quickly became a repeat customer, leasing time from WEA F on five additional occasions over the ensuing few weeks. Its initial broadcast was shortly followed by others for Atwater Kent (a radio receiver manufacturer), Tidewater Oil, and the American Express company.

WEAF did not permit these early advertisements to make direct pitches to the public. It was concerned to preserve the dignity of broadcasting—and of advertising—so it did not allow prices to be mentioned, and the advertisements provided little in the way of graphic descriptions of products. Queensboro's initial advertisement, for instance, told the audience that its apartments had been named to honor Nathaniel Hawthorne, "the greatest of the American fictionists," and invited people to visit the development "right at the boundaries of God's great outdoors." The commercial claimed that just this sort of residential environment had influenced Hawthorne, and it "enjoined" the listeners to "get away from the solid masses of brick" with meager access to the sun. But even this indirect sort of appeal was enough to change the philosophy of broadcasting in America.

WEAF's second significant impact on American radio stemmed from its role as the central point for AT&T's network experiments. The first networked broadcast in the United States occurred on 4 January 1923, when WEA F was connected with WNAC in Boston, although the broadcast lasted only five minutes. In June of that year, WEA F was networked with WGY (Schenectady, New York); KDKA (Pittsburgh); and KYW (Chicago) for a single program broadcast, and the following month WEA F and WMAF (Portsmouth, New Hampshire) were permanently networked, allowing WMAF to take a

three- to four-hour-a-day feed from WEA F. By the middle of 1925 WEA F had become the flagship of the AT&T radio network, which connected 20 stations. All of these early experiments consisted of other stations' carrying programming that originated at WEA F.

National Broadcasting Company Flagship

On 15 November 1926, the true era of network radio arrived when a permanent arrangement was concluded whereby programming could originate at multiple points and be carried by multiple stations. On that date, WEA F originated remote programming from the Waldorf Astoria Hotel ballroom in New York City, and stations in both Chicago and Kansas City originated programs as well. These programs were carried on 21 network affiliate stations and 4 other stations. This broadcast was the result of complicated industry negotiations.

By the mid-1920s the cross-licensing agreement that formed the basis of the radio patent pool was in jeopardy. RCA and AT&T were part of arbitration hearings that began in early 1924, but before the final report was issued, the legal basis for the cross-licensing agreement itself was called into question, and the arbitrator's report, released in November, essentially affirmed RCA's position, which, among other assertions, denied AT&T's claim that it had an exclusive right to toll broadcasting. On 11 May 1926, AT&T announced that it was forming a separate company to conduct its broadcasting business, and on 7 July the final agreement between AT&T and RCA gave RCA an option to purchase AT&T's broadcasting interests, including WEA F—an option that RCA exercised on 21 July. On 1 November RCA paid the telephone company \$1 million for WEA F, which became the flagship station of NBC's "Red" network.

A year later, NBC moved the station's transmitter from downtown Manhattan out to Bellmore, Long Island, increasing its power tenfold, to 50,000 watts. Studios moved from what had been AT&T space to a new headquarters at 711 Fifth Avenue, expanding from several rooms to five full floors of operating space. In 1933 the station shifted once more, this time to the new Radio City complex of Rockefeller Center in midtown Manhattan. Nearly 30 studios fed signals to the NBC Red and Blue networks, as well as providing resources for WEA F.

The station's programs were effectively those of the NBC Red network. Only relatively late in its history (during and after World War II) did the outlet develop a local sound for part of the day, adding morning and other talk shows appealing specifically to New Yorkers. In late 1946 the WEA F call letters were dropped, as the station became WNBC.

See also American Telephone and Telegraph; National Broadcasting Company; Radio City; WNBC

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Weaver, Sylvester (Pat) 1908-2002

U.S. Broadcast Network Producer and Executive

Sylvester (Pat) Weaver is remembered as one of television's most innovative and farsighted executives. Although the changes he instituted as president of the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) were responsible for the network's assuming control of its television programming, his tenure at the network during the 1950s lasted less than seven years. For 20 years before, Weaver's programming philosophy had been shaped through his work as a radio producer for local stations and advertisers. During his years as a radio executive, Weaver conceived many of his revolutionary ideas about broadcasting, including the magazine concept of advertising and the educational potential of the electronic media.

Early Radio Work

After graduating *magna cum laude* from Dartmouth College with a degree in philosophy and the classics, Weaver worked as a direct mail advertiser and in 1932 joined Don Lee's regional network of eight West Coast radio stations. Because the country was not yet entirely hooked up for coast-to-coast transmission, Lee's stations, although affiliated with the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) network, developed their own programming. Weaver began at the Los Angeles station KHJJ as a comedy writer on *The Merrymakers*, a variety show starring Raymond Paige and his orchestra. Weaver used his marketing expertise and began to create specific programs targeted to potential sponsors. For example, for the Western Auto Supply Company, which wanted to underwrite an uplifting show during the Depression, Weaver concocted the first of his many educational series, *America Victorious*, which dramatized examples of the country overcoming severe obstacles.

In 1934 Weaver was put in charge of news, sales, and programming at Lee's San Francisco station KFRC. Weaver supervised a weekly two-hour extravaganza, *The Blue Monday*

Jamboree, which featured the music of Meredith Wilson, who would later create *The Music Man*. Believing from the beginning that "comedy will always be the key ingredient of successful programming," he also produced a daily humor show, *Happy Go Lucky*, spotlighting the antics of Morey Amsterdam, who would star in Weaver's first television hit, *Broadway Open House*. Weaver's successes gained attention, and he was hired in New York to create and package musical and variety series for Bourjois Toiletries (*Evening in Paris Roof*) and for United-Whelen stores (*Evening Serenade*).

Realizing the importance of advertising agencies in producing network radio shows, Weaver joined Young and Rubicam in 1935. He was put in charge of one of radio's most popular shows, *Town Hall Tonight*, starring the acerbic comedian Fred Allen. Two years later, Weaver was managing all of Young and Rubicam's radio shows, and he was still intrigued by how radio could market ideas and products during this so-called golden age of the medium. Using his extensive knowledge as producer and executive, Weaver balanced the needs of sponsors with those of Young and Rubicam talent, whose roster included Jack Benny, Kate Smith, and George Burns and Gracie Allen.

In 1938 a sponsor, the American Tobacco Company, impressed with Weaver's accomplishments, recruited him to reposition its flagging Lucky Strike brand. He worked for the legendary champion of the hard sell, George Washington Hill, who made LSMFT ("Lucky Strike Means Fine Tobacco") his incessant advertising mantra. Weaver found an affluent, educated audience for the cigarette by sponsoring the popular quiz series *Information Please*; he also lured the Jack Benny program from the General Foods account at Young and Rubicam to secure mainstream exposure for Lucky Strike. Weaver's judicious placement of advertising money, actually using fewer dollars than had been allocated when he arrived, reinvigorated

the brand, and Lucky Strike became the best-selling cigarette again.

During World War II, Weaver took a leave of absence from the tobacco battles and organized antifascist broadcasts to South America as part of the Office of the Coordination of Inter-American Affairs. He also joined the navy and produced the popular radio series *Command Performance* for the armed forces overseas.

Despite his success in and out of the corporate world, Weaver was passed over for a senior management position at American Tobacco after Hill's death in 1946. Thoroughly embarrassed, he not only returned to Young and Rubicam as vice president in charge of radio, television, and movies, but also went cold turkey on his own four-packs-a-day smoking habit. Instead of creating programs, Weaver began to advertise on such radio series as *Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts* and *My Favorite Husband*, which were owned by the networks. The advertising industry was in flux, grappling with a whole new environment: a peacetime economy and the advent of the most potent selling tool in history, television. Weaver was convinced that the old system would not remain the same for the new medium: the cost of television production would be too prohibitive for any one agency to create and own the programs.

NBC Years

To implement his vision for the new technology, Weaver joined NBC as vice president in charge of television. He maintained complete control over the network's schedule and refashioned its production philosophy, inviting multiple sponsors to invest in new series and specials. With his structural changes, Weaver shifted the power of production and scheduling from the advertising agencies to the networks. In the process, he also envisioned programming concepts that had not been tried in agency-controlled radio: early and late-night programs (*Today* and *The Tonight Show*), big-budget spectacles (*Peter Pan* and *Amahl and the Night Visitors*), and ambitious public-affairs and cultural series (*Wisdom* and *Wide Wide World*).

Weaver was renowned as "thinker-in-chief" of NBC, inspiring his company to create "an aristocracy of the people . . . to make the average man the uncommon man." He was appointed president of the NBC network in 1953 and chairman two years later. Weaver talked and wrote extensively about the new role of radio, no longer "the dominant element in American leisure time activities." He conceived of building programs for both radio and television simultaneously; radio could replay in a variety of formats the best of *Today* or *Tonight* with new introductions. In addition to radio programs for a mass audience, Weaver foresaw a specialized use for the medium. He dreamed of shows for special interest groups, notably the business community and the book-reading public. These new concepts were planned to get leaders and opinion

makers involved in radio as both listeners and advertisers, opening up NBC to greater influence on the national stage. In 1955 Weaver introduced his defining radio project, *Monitor*, a 48-hour weekend radio spectacular of news and special events.

By the mid-1950s, David Sarnoff, chairman of NBC, found most of Pat Weaver's ideas financially extravagant. Weaver's vision of an uplifting medium of live programming had given television an artistic legitimacy earlier in the decade, but now NBC's task was to make the business economically viable with a predictable schedule of mostly film programs. Sarnoff gave the reins of NBC power to his son Robert, and Weaver left the company in September 1956. After that, Weaver kept his eye on the future of telecommunications. In the early 1960s, he ran the first major pay television operation. He later became a consultant to cable and videocassette ventures. Throughout his career, Pat Weaver was among the more unorthodox of broadcasting executives, trying to keep a simultaneous focus on both the bottom line and the big picture.

RON SIMON

See also Monitor; National Broadcasting System

Pat Weaver. Born Sylvester Laflin Weaver, Jr., in Los Angeles, California, 21 December 1908. Educated at Dartmouth College, B.A. magna cum laude and Phi Beta Kappa, 1930. Writer and salesman for Young and MacCallister Print Company; writer, producer, announcer, director, and salesman, KHJ, Los Angeles, 1932; program manager, KFRC, San Francisco, 1934; produced radio programs for United Cigar Stores and Whelan Drug Stores, 1935; joined Young & Rubicam advertising agency, 1935; supervisor of programs, Young & Rubicam's radio division, 1937; advertising manager, American Tobacco Company, 1938-46; associate director of communications, Office of the Coordination of Inter-American Affairs, 1941; served in the U.S. Navy, 1942-45; vice president in charge of radio, television, and motion pictures for Young & Rubicam, 1947-49; vice president, vice chairman, president, then chairman, NBC, 1949-56; chairman, McCann, Erickson, 1958-63; president, Subscription TV, Los Angeles, 1963-66; member, board of directors, Muscular Dystrophy Association, from 1967. Recipient of Peabody Award, 1956, Emmy Award, 1967; named to Television Hall of Fame, 1985. Died in Santa Barbara, California, 15 March 2002.

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Wertheimer, Linda 1943–

U.S. Commentator and Host

The distinctively elegant voice of Linda Wertheimer has been heard on National Public Radio's (NPR) afternoon newsmagazine, *All Things Considered*, since 1971. Wertheimer remains today one of the best-known figures on National Public Radio.

Linda Cozby was born in Carlsbad, New Mexico, on 19 March 1943, the first of two daughters of Miller and June Cozby. After graduating from Carlsbad High School in 1961, Cozby received a scholarship to Wellesley College in Massachusetts, where in 1965 she earned a Bachelor of Arts degree in English literature. Her childhood heroine was Pauline Frederick, a pioneer female radio and later television reporter for National Broadcasting Company (NBC) News.

Cozby began her broadcasting career as an intern at the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in London, serving as a production secretary responsible for writing radio copy and audio production. Two years later, in 1967, she accepted a job as a researcher at the all-news radio station WCBS in New York. Lou Adler, a well-known journalist at WCBS, worked closely with Cozby to help her polish her skills as a writer. The mentoring proved fruitful, and she was eventually allowed to produce features and write radio copy. During this time she was the only woman in the building who was not a secretary, aside from the vice president of advertising. In 1969 Cozby married Fred Wertheimer.

From 1969 to 1971, Wertheimer took time off from her broadcasting career until she heard about a new radio network that was being created as a result of the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967. The first NPR broadcast of *All Things Considered* was on 3 May 1971, and Wertheimer worked as a director of the afternoon program that broadcast in-depth news reports and offbeat features. Wertheimer states, "I have never forgotten the terror of directing the early programs . . . I remember mistakes, dead air, missing tapes, and moments of

panic." Before 1971 concluded, her dream of becoming an on-air reporter came to fruition when she became NPR's congressional correspondent. By 1976 she was promoted to political correspondent. In 1989, Wertheimer was promoted to cohost of the afternoon program with Bob Siegel and Noah Adams. Wertheimer became part of a collaborative team that decided what would be aired during the two-hour program; the job included writing news copy, introducing reports, and conducting interviews.

Wertheimer has covered a number of significant news events, ranging from Watergate to Iran-Contra to all presidential campaigns since 1976. Moreover, she has reported on every major congressional news story since Watergate as well as major elections and national politics. Wertheimer anchored NPR's coverage of the Iran-Contra hearings in 1987 and provided summaries of each day's testimony. She covered the 1976, 1980, 1984, and 1988 presidential campaigns full-time. She hosted *All Things Considered* after that and only traveled part-time during the 1992, 1996, and 2000 presidential campaigns. While covering the presidential campaigns, she followed major candidates as they campaigned across the country during both state primaries and national conventions. Wertheimer has also anchored NPR's live coverage of nominating conventions and presidential debates.

Wertheimer's tenure at NPR has afforded her the opportunity and knowledge to edit a book titled *Listening to America*, the purpose of which was to mark the 25th anniversary of National Public Radio. It included NPR's coverage of major stories as well as features from each of the years NPR had been on the air. Wertheimer placed the NPR features in historical context.

Wertheimer has become one of America's most experienced and highly regarded broadcast journalists as host of NPR's *All*

Things Considered, with a radio audience of 15 million listeners. She also appears as a contributor on Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) Television's *Face the Nation* and as a political analyst on Cable News Network (CNN). She has paved the way for women to enter the broadcasting industry as on-air talent or broadcast journalists, as opposed to starting out as researchers and working their way into broadcast journalist positions.

JOHN ALLEN HENDRICKS

Linda Wertheimer. Born Linda Cozby in Carlsbad, New Mexico, 19 March 1943. B.A. in English literature, Wellesley College, Massachusetts, 1965; intern at the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), London, 1965–67; researcher, news writer, and producer for WCBS, New York, 1967–69; married Fred Wertheimer, 1969; director, congressional correspondent, political correspondent, and host of *All Things Considered*, National Public Radio (NPR), Washington, D.C., 1971–present. American Women in Radio/

TV award for "Illegal Abortion," 1992; Corporation for Public Broadcasting award for "The Iran-Contra Affair: A Special Report," 1988; Alfred I. duPont-Columbia University Award, 1978; Distinguished Alumnae Achievement Award from Wellesley College, 1985; honorary degrees from Colby College in Maine (1990), Wheaton College in Massachusetts (1992), and an honorary doctor of humane letters degree for her lifetime achievements in journalism from Wesleyan University in Illinois (1999).

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Westerns

Radio Drama Format

"Hi-yo, Silver, away!" "You betchum, Red Ryder!" and "Happy trails to you" are just a few of the expressions that have entered America's lexicon from the majestic Old West as presented on network programming during the golden age of radio. From the 1930s through the 1950s, westerns entertained millions of listeners—and sold lots of sponsors' products. While westerns varied in their narrative styles and tone, they shared the customary motifs that defined the genre: six-guns and horses, heroes and villains, cowboys and Indians, dusty trails and mountain passes. Radio westerns constitute four overlapping sub-genres: anthology series, singing cowboy shows, juvenile adventures, and so-called adult westerns.

Origins

One of the earliest western series was *Death Valley Days*, broadcast on NBC-Blue from 1930 to 1941 and on CBS from 1941 to 1945. As an anthology series, *Death Valley Days* featured new characters each week, although all stories were set in 19th-century California. Stories were reportedly based on

fact as collected and dramatized by producer Ruth Cornwall Smith, one of the few women radio producers of the era.

Anthology series not specifically dedicated to the western genre sometimes featured western dramas as well. For example, *Lux Radio Theatre*, which presented weekly radio versions of famous movies, occasionally broadcast western stories such as *The Plainsman* (1937). Similarly, anthology programs featuring original radio dramas, such as *Suspense*, broadcast western radio stories from time to time.

Most radio westerns, however, were episodic series or serials with recurring characters, many of which cultivated fanatically loyal audiences—particularly among children. As such, these programs were a boon to advertisers whose products were carefully associated with the values embodied in and verbalized by mythic, straight-shooting, clean-cut cowboys.

Song-filled programs with a western flavor and recurrent characters included *Grapevine Rancho* (CBS, 1943), *The Hollywood Barn Dance* (CBS, 1943–47), *The National Barn Dance* (various networks, 1924–1950), and *The Grand Ole Opry*, which began in 1925 and continues to this day. While

these musical programs lack some of the generic qualities of the classic western—shootouts, for example—their emphasis on country music and folksy dialog delved heavily into romanticized imagery of the mythic West. In contrast, *Hawk Larabee* (CBS, 1946–47) also featured songs but leaned in the opposite direction; its primary emphasis was on adventures of the series' protagonist, and songs linked narrative segments.

Children's Series

Juvenile adventure westerns were more ubiquitous than their musical counterparts. The most famous was *The Lone Ranger*, which was developed at Detroit station WXYZ in 1933. The story of the famous western hero quickly became a local sensation. Soon, it functioned as the programming glue that connected stations in the fledgling Mutual radio network. In 1942, the series moved to NBC-Blue (later ABC) where it remained until 1955. Throughout its production, the series featured voices of a well-honed stock company who also were heard in other WXYZ programs including *The Green Hornet* (various networks, 1938–52) and *Sergeant Preston of the Yukon* (ABC, 1947–50; Mutual, 1950–55)—the former a Lone Ranger spin-off set in contemporary America (the Green Hornet was the Lone Ranger's great-nephew) and the latter a Canadian Mountie, aided by his famous dog, Yukon King.

The Lone Ranger was warmly received, not only by avid young listeners, but also by the national press as a successful and laudable role model. This was particularly true during World War II when *The Lone Ranger* was peppered with patriotic dialog intended to boost the domestic war effort and overseas troop morale. Also, despite its simplistic story lines and two-dimensional characters, the Lone Ranger was a highly polished program penned by a one-man script mill, Fran Striker, who reportedly wrote some 60,000 words of radio dialog per week. The program soon was spun off into highly profitable movie series, a comic strip, and numerous toys.

The tremendous success of *The Lone Ranger* led to many copycat series for young listeners, especially boys. The Lone Ranger's major ratings competitor was *Red Ryder*, heard on various networks from 1942 until the 1950s. Other western heroes were featured in series such as *Hopalong Cassidy* (Mutual, 1950; CBS, 1950–52) and *Wild Bill Hickok* (Mutual, 1951–56). *Tom Mix* (various networks, 1933–50), *Bobby Benson* (various networks, 1932–55), and *Sky King* (various networks, 1946–54) were similar programs set in the modern West.

Among these series' most memorable features was their unrelenting push for sponsors' products, often transforming young listeners into a potent sales force. For instance, in 1939, *The Lone Ranger* mixed hero worship with salesmanship by offering a Lone Ranger badge to listeners who convinced three of their neighbors to buy the sponsor's product. A reported 2

million such badges were distributed within the first year of the campaign.

Like the singing cowboy programs, juvenile adventure westerns were highly formulaic, once a successful pattern had been established. *The Lone Ranger* episodes, for instance, were formed around recurring narrative elements, beginning with a character and his/her seemingly hopeless problem and moving through the Ranger's appearance and involvement, a trap set for the Ranger, the Ranger's overcoming the trap, his solution of the problem, and resolution of the narrative. Fistfights, gunplay, and chases on horseback were predictable narrative devices. Despite the fact that these programs were intended for young audiences, bloodshed and death were dolled out on a regular basis. In one episode of *The Lone Ranger* from 1939, for example, no less than twelve people were killed within the first three minutes of the program.

Western series with a strong emphasis on cowboy songs and campfire chat included *Gene Autry's Melody Ranch*, which ran on CBS from 1940 to 1956, sponsored by Wrigley's Gum. Episodes of this series consisted of jokes and stories told by Autry and his pals, dramatized tales, and plenty of songs, including the classic closing theme "Back in the Saddle Again." Gene Autry's major ratings competitor was *The Roy Rogers Show*, a program with a similar format that ran from 1937 to 1955. Stars of both series were also featured in popular films of the era.

Contrary to their musical counterparts, heroes of juvenile adventure series tended to live outside the bounds of their communities, even while working to preserve and help expand white society throughout the West. They roamed the frontier looking for adventure and people in need of help, but they never tarried long. (An exception was Red Ryder, who lived with his aunt.) Radio cowboy heroes' combination of placelessness and service to strangers is typical of the western mythos prevalent in other forms of popular culture, such as dime novels and western films, with roots reaching back to James Fennimore Cooper's *Leatherstocking Tales*.

Indeed, the western outsider/hero motif has a deep cultural resonance, and given their immense popularity, juvenile western adventures are worth considering as important cultural artifacts. For example, while heroes such as the Lone Ranger deliberately exemplified values such as honesty and fair play, closer reading also suggests that these programs served to affirm white and male forms of cultural dominance and westward expansion. The Lone Ranger, for instance, may be indebted to Tonto for certain "native" skills such as tracking and healing; nevertheless, power in the relationship is clearly skewed toward the Ranger, as Tonto acts as intermediary between settlers and "hostile" Indians, always under the Ranger's guidance. Similarly, Red Ryder was aided by his Indian protegee, Little Beaver. Other sidekicks who helped their white friends tame the West included a Latino character named

“Pablo” on *Dr. Sixgun* (NBC, 1954–55) and the Asian Heyboy of *Have Gun, Will Travel* (CBS, 1958–60). A variant of this pattern was *Straight Arrow* (Mutual, 1949–51), whose white hero, Steve Adams, had been raised by Comanches. (One exception to the pattern was *The Cisco Kid*, which was broadcast in the 1940s; in this series, Cisco was a vaguely Latino adventurer who had a humorous sidekick named Pancho.)

Similarly, in juvenile western adventures, female characters tend to be victims in need of heroic rescue, rather than strong, independent forces in their own right. The mythic West of juvenile western adventures, in other words, was rhetorically constructed as a domain to be settled and supervised by white men. While this was never explicitly spelled out as such, recurring rhetorical tropes in thousands of episodes heard on a regular basis (in combination with accompanying costumes, decoder rings, and other accessories) endowed juvenile western adventures with a ritualized aura, reaffirming dominant values of their era.

Adult Westerns

While juvenile westerns ran well into the 1950s, by 1953 a new breed of western drama appeared. These “adult westerns” were grittier, more realistic, and clearly intended for an older audience. Adult westerns were less the descendants of their juvenile predecessors than they were cousins of western films such as *Shane* and *High Noon*, which were produced at about the same time. These postwar western films (as well as detective movies—with their own radio counterparts) reflected national feelings of postwar disillusion as the U.S. plunged into the Cold War and communists were thought to infiltrate all aspects of American society. In both film and radio, good and evil were far more difficult to distinguish than in juvenile fare. Both heroes and villains were finely shaded, unstable mixes of virtue and vice, suggesting a re-working and reinterpretation of dominant ideological assumptions.

The most notable reluctant hero of the adult radio westerns was Matt Dillon in *Gunsmoke*, played on CBS by gravelly-voiced radio veteran William Conrad from 1952–61. Matt Dillon was the Marshall of Dodge City, a frontier town that attracted the worst sorts of outlaw scum ever heard on radio. Dillon’s sidekick was his dimwitted deputy Chester Proudfoot, played by Parley Baer. Georgia Ellis played Kitty, and Howard McNear played Doc. While Kitty’s job was never spelled out, *Gunsmoke* creator Norman McDonnell described her as “just someone Matt has to visit every once in a while. . . . We never say it, but Kitty is a prostitute, plain and simple.”

Kitty, in fact, represents a complete revolution in portrayals of women in radio westerns; a shrewd, outspoken professional, Kitty is a far cry from the innocent school marm and rancher’s daughter common among juvenile western programs. Whereas women on other western programs personified domi-

nant values of white America (specifically values regarding family, religion, and education), Kitty simultaneously represents challenges to the moral status quo and the gutsy determination of independent women.

McDonnell’s relish in describing Kitty’s profession exemplified the realistic presentation of the West that *Gunsmoke* strove to create. Matt Dillon clearly hates his job, and his decisions are never easy or clear-cut. *Gunsmoke* is also notable for its intense emphasis on sound effects, ranging from the clinking of spurs to ever-present background sounds such as twittering birds and far-off barking dogs. Having established himself as a force in adult radio westerns, McDonnell went on to produce *Fort Laramie*, a series about a Wyoming cavalry outpost broadcast on CBS in 1956.

Other adult westerns of note included *Frontier Gentleman* (CBS, 1958), a well-written, highly polished drama concerning an English newspaper reporter who wandered the Old West. And *Luke Slaughter of Tombstone* (CBS, 1958) was set amidst cattle drives in 19th-century Arizona.

The shift to adult fare among radio westerns can partly be explained by the Cold War milieu within which they were produced. The Red Scare hit the radio industry hard, as many top performers and other creative personnel were blacklisted, while many more were silenced by intimidation. Westerns were removed in time and place from the reality of urban America. As such, they could be arenas in which writers expressed dangerous political concepts and dramatized social issues such as racism, albeit couched in the past and far from contemporary society. (Similarly, adult science fiction—notably *X Minus One* [NBC, 1955–58]—played upon the same themes, but was set in the future instead.)

Beyond sociopolitical conditions of the times, the development of adult westerns can also be explained by analysis of the economic state of radio in the 1950s. The popular and trade presses had long since announced the death knell of radio drama’s golden age, correctly emphasizing television’s immediate and immense popularity. As audiences moved toward the newer medium, radio broadcasters needed fresh, new products to hold onto their advertising base. Also, network affiliates were going independent, having discovered that local programs were more lucrative than network fare. Networks, in turn, scrambled to cancel most of their long-running daytime series and develop evening and weekend programming with ambitious new concepts in order to retain their rapidly dwindling number of affiliates. *Gunsmoke* was clearly such a product. Other new series featuring major film stars were created to keep dwindling audiences tuned to radio. These programs included *Tales of the Texas Rangers* (NBC, 1950), a modern-day western starring Joel McCrea, and *The Six Shooter* (NBC, 1953), starring Jimmy Stewart as a well-meaning, though intensely lethal, gunfighter. Both series were high-quality productions, although of the two, *The Six*

Shooter was more in the adult-western mold, given its finely nuanced protagonist, compelling stories, and close attention to historical detail.

Third, the development of adult westerns resulted from changes in the producer/network/sponsor relationship in radio. Prior to the popularity of television, most radio programs were produced by advertising agencies on behalf of sponsors. Censorship was strict, because neither agencies nor sponsors wanted their programs or products associated with controversy. As sponsors moved into television, radio dramas were increasingly produced by networks in hopes of selling commercial time. If left unsponsored, these "sustaining" programs provided a public-service function for networks. Sustaining programs were touted as experimental venues whereby the networks gave something back to the people for the use of public airwaves. Nevertheless, commercial time on series such as *Gunsmoke* would be sold when possible. Norman McDonnell noted the dilemma of sponsorship versus sustaining programming, quipping "I'd feel great if someone did buy it, but there would be problems. We'd have to clean the show up. Kitty would have to be living with her parents on a sweet little ranch." Whether sponsored or sustaining, network-produced radio dramas, including westerns, were less burdened by direct censorship from the advertising industry.

Decline

Despite the effort put into their development, westerns eventually met the same fate as other forms of network radio theater. The final network radio western was *Have Gun, Will Travel*, last heard on CBS in 1960. *Have Gun, Will Travel* was something of an oddity in radio drama. Whereas most radio westerns, such as *The Lone Ranger* and *Gunsmoke*, moved to television after (or even during the time) they were on radio, *Have Gun, Will Travel* began on television and then was developed for a dual radio/TV presence. As such, the series exemplified not only the end of radio westerns, but also the undeniable ascendancy of television.

Reruns of original western radio dramas, now often termed "old-time" radio, are still heard on some stations, where they have a loyal following. Also, westerns from radio's golden age are readily available on cassette tapes. Radio Spirits of Schiller Park, Illinois, for example, markets *The Lone Ranger*, *Gun-*

smoke, *Frontier Gentleman*, and other series. The Smithsonian Institution, in association with Radio Spirits, similarly offers a package of classic western series for sale on cassette and compact disk. These series are marketed not just as nostalgia but also as first-rate forms of entertainment, which, given their fairly high costs, suggests that many radio westerns retain their vitality decades after their original production.

Although new radio westerns are rarely produced apart from a handful of special-event programs, a descendent of the radio western can be found in books on tape which feature a variety of western novels read by famous actors. Also, a well-produced series of dramas based on the novels of Louis L'Amour is available, often for sale in interstate highway gas stations—strongly appealing, no doubt, to truck drivers and other lonesome travelers eager to pass the time on long hauls under western skies.

WARREN BAREISS

See also Autry, Gene; Country Music Format; Grand Ole Opry; *Gunsmoke*; *Lone Ranger*

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Westinghouse

Electrical and Radio Manufacturer

The Westinghouse Electric Company was founded in 1886 and became well known for both industrial and consumer products, such as washing machines and refrigerators, as well as many consumer electronic products. For many years its widely known advertising slogan was "You can be sure if it's Westinghouse."

Origins

American engineer George Westinghouse (1846–1914) would eventually receive more than 360 patents including the invaluable one in 1869 for the air brake used by railroads. Although he formed nearly 60 companies, the largest and longest lasting, Westinghouse Electric, was created in 1886, with headquarters in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Westinghouse received numerous honors in the U.S. and abroad. Perhaps his finest tribute came from inventor Nikola Tesla, whose patents for one system of alternating current and the induction motor were acquired by Westinghouse in 1888 and gave the company its early leadership in electric power developments. Westinghouse used Tesla's system to light the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893.

By the turn of the 20th century, Westinghouse had become one of the two or three largest electrical manufacturers in America, employing more than 50,000 workers. The company was active in electric power generation, electric traction (trolleys) and railway equipment, and various industrial applications of electricity. A research department was formed in 1904, becoming a division two years later.

In the financial panic of 1907, Westinghouse lost control of the several companies he had founded and then still headed. In 1910, he founded his last firm to exploit the invention of a compressed air spring for absorbing the shock of riding in automobiles. By 1911, however, he had severed all ties with his former companies. He had shown signs of a heart ailment by 1913 and was ordered to rest by doctors. Not long after deteriorating health confined him to a wheelchair, Westinghouse died in March 1914. His last patent was granted four years later.

As with some other electrical companies, Westinghouse Electric began to investigate the manufacturing potential of wireless. During World War I, Westinghouse held huge government contracts to manufacture wireless equipment for the army and navy. Those contracts were canceled with the end of the war in November 1918, leaving the company with a trained cadre of workers and a considerable investment in production equipment but not enough work to keep them busy.

Radio Receivers

To better its manufacturing position for a possible civilian radio market, in 1920 Westinghouse purchased the International Radio Telegraph Co. to obtain important Fessenden heterodyne circuit patents. A few months later, seeking to head off developing competition from the new Radio Corporation of America (RCA), Westinghouse also purchased Edwin Armstrong's regeneration and superheterodyne tuning circuit patents.

At about the same time, a chance event helped pull all the pieces together. Westinghouse engineer Frank Conrad had been experimenting with wireless since 1912. In 1919–20 he operated amateur ("ham") station 8XK, playing recorded music one or two nights a week for the amusement of fellow hams. While hobbyists preferred to build their own equipment, others wanted to tune in as well. A September 1920 newspaper advertisement by a Pittsburgh department store seeking to sell receivers to those who wanted to hear Conrad's broadcasts caught the eye of Harry Phillips Davis, a Westinghouse vice president in charge of radio work. Davis perceived that making receivers for the public to receive a possible new radio broadcasting service could be the answer to Westinghouse's canceled-contract predicament.

Within a year or so, a very basic Westinghouse crystal receiver marketed as the "Aeriola Jr." could be purchased for about \$25 in department stores. A more sophisticated tube set, sold as the "Aeriola Sr.," offered better reception and cost about \$60. Westinghouse was soon turning out thousands of radios from its factories, primarily those in Springfield, Massachusetts. Unlike many other set makers, Westinghouse had the advantage of owning several radio stations, which were useful as a means of promoting company products. In addition to radio receivers, Westinghouse also built transmitters for its own and some other stations. The company made increasingly powerful transmitters throughout the 1920s: whereas a typical station of that time transmitted with 100 watts, in the mid-1920s Westinghouse station KDKA was broadcasting with 10,000 watts.

Westinghouse's control of the Fessenden, and especially the Armstrong patents, gave the company the clout it needed to enter into agreements with its main competitors, General Electric (GE), RCA, and the Western Electric manufacturing arm of American Telephone and Telegraph. The "patent pool" allowed each company to license the patents of the others, and established a division of the equipment market. The pool had a flaw, however, for it concerned only the international or "point-to-point" radio market, not broadcasting which was

then still small and seemingly insignificant. According to the company's version of the story, Westinghouse saw this alliance as a way to get into the international market, but media historians have suggested that Westinghouse felt it could not remain independent and still succeed in outselling the others, especially RCA, which was already solidifying its power and could easily have shut out any meaningful competition. Since Westinghouse couldn't beat its competitors, it decided to join them.

After 1922—and until an anti-trust case was filed against RCA in 1930—Westinghouse radios were sold under the RCA trade label, usually as “Radiola” receivers. The patent pool agreement reserved 40 percent of the business for Westinghouse while the larger General Electric took 60 percent.

Expanding Consumer Electronics

Westinghouse began to expand its consumer electronics business early on. Television pioneer Vladimir Zworykin undertook his early development work for the television camera tube (dubbed the iconoscope) at Westinghouse before transferring to RCA in 1930. Nearly four decades later, a Westinghouse television camera accompanied the first men to land on the moon.

In 1945, and again fattened by large wartime government contracts (including many for radar, which remained a company specialty), what had long been Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company reverted to an older and simpler name, becoming known simply as the Westinghouse Electric Corporation.

Postwar Westinghouse products included a full range of radios and phonographs, and soon, television sets. In 1954 Westinghouse formed a Westinghouse Credit Corporation subsidiary that assisted consumers in making major appliances over time. The 1950s were a boom period for the company, whose public face was the ubiquitous spokesperson Betty Furness, who touted refrigerators and other Westinghouse appliances on prime-time television.

But as was true for all American manufacturers of consumer electronics, competition was fierce, and by the late 1950s inexpensive foreign imports began to cut into sales of radios and related products. Soon Westinghouse-labeled models were being manufactured overseas and American plants were closing down.

Demise

Westinghouse's manufacturing divisions began to show some signs of financial trouble and seemed to lose their way. By the 1970s the firm was beginning to sell off some of its units—including the once-lucrative major appliances division in 1974. The electric lighting business was sold in 1983. On the other hand, Westinghouse also got into the cable business, paying

\$646 million to acquire the Teleprompter Corporation (renamed Group W Cable) in 1981. When it proved extremely expensive to upgrade the cable systems, they were sold at a profit in 1985. Throughout this period, Westinghouse made some bad real estate loans and made a number of risky acquisitions—all in an attempt to diversify the industrial firm more into the services sector. One important part of the company's service continued to be the broadcast station-owning subsidiary, known as Group W. The East Pittsburgh operations, once the birthplace of commercial radio broadcasting, were closed in 1987. The power transmission and distribution unit was sold two years later.

Major change continued into the 1990s for what had once been one of the country's most stable manufacturing concerns. Layoffs were widespread as a series of restructurings took place. The motor manufacturing divisions were spun off in 1995 to become an independent firm. A new chairman and chief executive officer, Michael Jordan (who had formerly been at PepsiCo), was brought in to redirect Westinghouse.

In 1994 Jordan allied the Group W broadcast stations with CBS in a joint venture. Just a year later came a more dramatic move as Westinghouse agreed to purchase CBS for \$5.4 billion. After the Telecommunications Act of 1996 lifted limits on radio station ownership, Westinghouse acquired a much larger group of radio stations, Infinity Broadcasting. Defense electronics manufacturing was sold off in 1996.

But what was supposed to make a hero of Jordan and save Westinghouse had ironic results. Infinity's chairman, Mel Karmazin, became the largest shareholder in Westinghouse, and as financial columnist Steve Massey (1998) observed, he “had no sentimental attachment to the old Westinghouse.” He also did not get along with Jordan. The plan had been for Westinghouse Electric to survive and for Jordan to be in charge. In the end, Jordan was forced out (early retirement, the story went), Karmazin took over, and the Westinghouse name officially vanished from the broadcasting division in December 1997 as the huge entity became known as CBS/Infinity. The nuclear power manufacturing parts of the company were sold in 1999, and with them the Westinghouse Electric Company name, and became a part of the Nuclear Utilities Business Group of British Nuclear Fuels.

DONNA L. HALPER AND CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Armstrong, Edwin Howard; Columbia Broadcasting System; Fessenden, Reginald; General Electric; Group W; Infinity Broadcasting; Karmazin, Mel; Radio Corporation of America; Receivers; Tesla, Nikola

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Westwood One

Radio Program Service

Westwood One is one of the largest radio service companies in the United States, producing and distributing entertainment, news, sports, talk, and traffic programming to more than 7,500 stations. It runs the nation's largest radio network, which includes National Broadcasting Company (NBC), Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), Cable News Network (CNN) and Fox radio programs, and maintains an international radio programming service called Westwood One International. It owns local programming subsidiaries Shadow Broadcast Services and Metro Networks, which dominate the industry in localized traffic reports; and it has an ownership stake in an internet radio company called WebRadio.com. With its emphasis on music, personalities, and large-scale events, Westwood One has made a significant contribution to the return of entertainment to network radio.

Origins

Westwood One was founded by Norman J. Pattiz in 1974 after he lost his job as a sales manager at KCOP-TV in Los Angeles. Pattiz had heard a weekend-long Motown music program on local rhythm and blues radio station KGFJ and had the idea of producing such programs for national syndication, as was common in the television industry. Although he had no radio production experience, Pattiz convinced the KGFJ station manager to let him put together another Motown show for national distribution. After nine months of production and lining up advertisers, *The Sound of Motown* aired on about 250 stations and grossed several hundred thousand dollars. The program was provided to the stations at no cost. Local stations were allowed to sell local ad time while Pattiz and KGFJ collected the revenue from national advertisers.

From there Pattiz went on to produce more programs and incorporated his own company, Westwood One, late in 1974. Its name is derived from the Westwood neighborhood of Los Angeles where Pattiz started his new company in a one-room office. In the next nine years, Westwood One would continue to produce programs for syndication and to package the programs with national advertisers, eventually offering 52-week vehicles for those advertisers.

In 1984 Westwood One became a public company. The infusion of capital allowed the company to change quickly from a small syndicator wholly dependent on the success of each program to a national radio network with multiple resources. In 1985 Westwood One acquired the struggling and aged Mutual Broadcasting System from Amway for \$39 million. Pattiz consolidated operations and reprogrammed the network, turning the debt-ridden Mutual into a profit source. Mutual, like other traditional radio networks, had become primarily a distributor rather than a producer of radio programming, although it still retained its news division. By acquiring Mutual, Westwood One was able to offer and market sports, news, and talk radio, as well as its original entertainment programming, becoming a more full-service network. Two years later Westwood One bought the NBC Radio Network from General Electric for \$50 million, and in 1989 it launched the Westwood One News and Entertainment Network.

Sharpening the Focus

After several years of expansion, Westwood One found that its debt burden was becoming a problem. NBC Radio was losing \$11 million a year when it was purchased by Westwood, but

unlike Mutual, its employees were heavily unionized, making cost-cutting more difficult. To make matters worse the radio industry went into a recession shortly after the purchase and advertising revenue declined by nearly 15 percent. In 1988 the company made a secondary stock offering, but after posting continued losses, its stock plummeted. By the early 1990s it became clear that cutbacks had to be made. Pattiz sold off his three radio stations and his trade publication *Radio and Records*. He also consolidated news operations, merged four networks into three, and reduced compensation payments to stations.

By 1994 the company had reduced its debt significantly and could concentrate on its programming. That same year, in an effort to secure station contracts and expand its network capacity, Westwood One made another very significant move. It traded 25 percent of its ownership to Infinity Broadcasting, the largest owner of radio stations in the United States, in exchange for Infinity's Unistar networks. Infinity was hired to take over management and Pattiz gave up the position of CEO while retaining his position as chairman and executive producer of all programming. (He also remained a major stockholder.) Mel Karmazin, then CEO of Infinity, became the new CEO of Westwood One. After merging with Unistar, the company formed two new divisions: Westwood One Radio Networks and Westwood One Entertainment. The networks division managed the six networks, news, and 24-hour formats, and the entertainment division produced programming and live concerts.

In order to tap into the local advertising revenue stream, Westwood One purchased Shadow Broadcast Services in 1996. Shadow provided localized traffic reports as well as local news, sports, weather, and entertainment. Three years later, Westwood bought the number one traffic news service, Metro Networks, in a \$900 million stock deal and merged it with Shadow Broadcast Services. In 2000 it added SmartRoute Systems to this lineup, providing wireless and internet services as well. By providing localized products in exchange for ad time, these services account for a substantial percentage of Westwood's revenue.

Shortly after Westwood picked up Shadow Broadcast Services, Karmazin attempted to buy CBS's owned-and-operated radio stations. When CBS CEO Michael H. Jordan declined, Karmazin offered to sell Infinity to CBS in return for allowing Karmazin to run the radio group. Jordan accepted the offer and in December 1996, CBS bought Infinity for \$4.9 billion in stock. By the following March, management of the CBS Radio Networks division was spun off to Westwood One. The deal provided that Westwood One would represent CBS Radio Networks, managing its sales, marketing, and promotion, and that CBS would continue to produce and control the programming. CBS, by virtue of owning Infinity Broadcasting, now owned a stake in Westwood One.

After becoming president of CBS in 1998, Karmazin decided to move out of the CEO position at Westwood One, making way for a new full-time president and CEO, Joel Hollander, formerly head of New York station WFAN. Hollander led the company through the Metro acquisition and continued to secure deals for college and professional sports programs, new entertainment venues, and web-based radio programming. In 1999 Westwood made the decision to shut down its Mutual News division, ending the network's 65-year broadcasting legacy. The following year, Westwood bought a six percent stake in WebRadio.com, an internet broadcasting company, and secured an equity stake in Fanball.com, a sports-fantasy multimedia company. In May 2000 Viacom merged with CBS, making Viacom the new parent company of Westwood One. Karmazin became president and chief operating officer of Viacom at that time.

Programs and Operations

Westwood One made a name for itself by focusing on entertainment programming for radio and particularly on large-scale entertainment events. Its advertising slogan became "Westwood One, for the biggest events in radio." In the 1970s, when Westwood first started, traditional radio networks provided mostly news, sports, and talk, and very little (if any) musical or dramatic entertainment. Starting with *The Sound of Motown*, Westwood went on to produce dozens of radio specials. In the early 1980s, it produced a live broadcast of the US Festival, a four-day rock concert in Riverside, California. Although individual stations such as KRLA had sponsored concerts in the 1960s, no radio network or syndicator had ever produced such a large event for live broadcasting. At that time Westwood also decided to hire its own sound crew and build a state-of-the-art mobile recording studio for concert production. It then produced the first live stereo radio broadcast from Japan with its concert "Asia from Japan."

When Westwood One began to acquire traditional networks, its youth-oriented entertainment emphasis clashed with the staid culture of the older networks. Although these networks were brought in specifically to provide a wider variety of programming, Pattiz set about to restructure and reprogram them to reflect the energetic style of Westwood One. When Karmazin came on board with the purchase by Infinity Broadcasting, he pushed for expansion into new markets such as traffic and satellite formats. However, as executive producer of programming, Pattiz continued to pursue the exclusive superstar concert broadcasts for which Westwood was known, such as the Rolling Stones, the Eagles, and Barbra Streisand.

Westwood One's network division currently provides programming in several categories. In news it carries Fox News Radio, CNN Radio, NBC Radio Network, CBS Radio News and CBS MarketWatch.com. Both CNN Radio and CBS

MarketWatch.com air 24-hour services. The Associated Press (AP) is the primary provider of news content to Westwood's syndicated and network programs. In sports Westwood features broadcasts for the National Football League, the National Hockey League, the National Collegiate Athletics Association, the Olympics, championship boxing, and professional golf. Westwood's talk personalities include Jim Bohannon, Larry King, G. Gordon Liddy, and Tom Leykis. Dozens of music formats are available, including a number of full-time and international services.

Shadow Broadcasting Services and Metro Networks provide local traffic reports, localized news, weather, and sports to hundreds of local radio markets across the country. Each program is customized for the individual station and made to sound as though it is being delivered by local talent. Traffic reports make up the bulk of affiliate contracts, but the other areas, particularly news, are growing with increased demand. The Shadow division has added short-form entertainment and health news reports to its lineup of services. SmartRoute Systems provides traffic, news, sports, and weather information to wireless and web services.

Westwood One also provides prep services such as the MTV Morning Facts and The CBS Morning Resource, which

supply stations with interviews, celebrity and entertainment industry facts, sound bites, news, and gossip. Program directors integrate this material into their local programming, using local talent.

CHRISTINA S. DRALE

See also Columbia Broadcasting System; Infinity Broadcasting; Karmazin, Mel; Mutual Broadcasting System; National Broadcasting Company

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WEVD

New York City Station

WEVD-AM was established in 1927 as a memorial to socialist leader Eugene Victor Debs. A famous unionist and five-time presidential candidate on the Socialist ticket, Debs died in 1926, and the Socialist Party was moved to erect a monument in his honor. The Party raised enough money to buy Long Island radio station WSOM in 1927 and subsequently changed the station's call letters to WEVD. The station signed on at a frequency of 1220 kilohertz on 20 October 1927, the anniversary of Debs' death, and immediately became an electronic voice for the ideas and causes that Debs had championed.

On a typical day, WEVD would broadcast a mixture of poetry, music, and speeches reflecting the ideals of labor and socialism. The station presented shows for New York's minority population, including a *Jewish Hour*, a *Negro Art Group* program, and shows on African-American literature, music, and history. Debates on topics ranging from foreign policy in Nicaragua to general labor conditions were common. It was

station policy to provide free access to labor unions, including, among others, the Teacher's Union, the Union of Technical Men, the Office Workers, the Garment Workers, and the Neckwear Workers. WEVD's fiscal health was dependent on donations from these and other unions. Consequently, the station was plagued with financial difficulties from the start, and plans to increase power and form a network were suspended.

The first task confronting the Federal Radio Commission (FRC) in 1927 was to resolve the problem of congestion on the airwaves. The commission concluded that the solution was to eliminate at least 100 radio stations. Toward that end, the FRC issued its famous General Order Number 32, which asked 164 stations, including WEVD, to show cause why their licenses should not be revoked.

The commission held hearings for two weeks in July 1928 in Washington, D.C., and the WEVD case was the first to be heard. The burden was placed on WEVD and 163 other sta-

tions to demonstrate why license renewal would be in the public interest. The FRC insisted that WEVD was placed on the list because of complaints of interference and technical violations. Station officials believed WEVD was singled out because of the unpopular and controversial doctrines expressed in its programming. Station officials invoked the First Amendment, arguing for the right of dissident minorities to free speech and arguing that labor, socialist, and other forms of unpopular rhetoric are in the public interest.

Approximately one month after the hearing, WEVD's license was renewed. Of the 164 radio stations called before the commission, only 81 (including WEVD) escaped adverse action by the FRC. In 1929 WEVD moved to 1300 AM, a frequency it would share with three other stations. By 1930 continued financial problems, the Great Depression, and the weakening of the Socialist Party would bring WEVD into a second confrontation with the FRC. The commission accused WEVD of several operational violations, but station officials again suspected they were being singled out for their unpopular programming.

WEVD's license was renewed in early 1931, but in a highly unusual decision, the FRC changed its mind three days later and revoked the license. The revocation was apparently prompted by a competing applicant, the Paramount Broadcasting Corporation of New York, which vowed to provide better public service. WEVD officials pledged to continue operating the station in defiance of the commission's decision. The FRC decided to grant temporary license extensions to WEVD, during which time the commission would conduct hearings on WEVD's renewal application. One hearing before the commission in 1931 lasted an entire week, which was the longest hearing before the FRC to that time.

In a narrow decision, the FRC finally renewed the license of WEVD in October 1931. However, the delays had involved WEVD in a long and costly battle, and the station's financial problems became acute. The *Jewish Daily Forward* rescued WEVD with a commitment of \$250,000, but this and later contributions from the daily newspaper gave that organization effective decision-making power. Within a year, the station's

staff was reorganized, and the studios moved to the Times Square area. The Debs Memorial Radio Fund later merged with the Forward Association to run WEVD as a commercial outlet. Six years later the station moved again, to occupy its own building on West 46th Street.

Throughout this period, WEVD shared the broadcast day with other New York stations. Gradually those other operations either sold out, moved, or were taken over by WEVD, which was on the air nearly 90 hours a week by 1938. In the 1980s, the station underwent a host of ownership and frequency changes, selling the AM outlet in 1981 and operating only with FM for much of the decade. In a complex exchange, WEVD sold the now-valuable FM station for \$30 million in 1988, and as part of the deal it took over the 1050 kilohertz AM frequency that had been WSKQ. By the mid-1990s, the 50,000-watt station specialized in syndicated talk shows and news programming.

PAUL F. GULLIFOR

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WGI

Boston, Massachusetts Station

Although WGI never had expensive studios, it did have a woman engineer/announcer, a morning exercise program, on-air college courses, and the best-known children's show in town. Furthermore, it may have been the first station to run paid commercials, and several well-known performers got their start in those not very opulent studios. Yet today, few people know that the Boston station ever existed.

Origins

Harold J. Power fell in love with “wireless” when he was nine years old, and by the time he attended Tufts College, at Medford Hillside (about five miles from Boston), he was already an experienced ham radio operator who enjoyed building his own receiving equipment. After graduating in 1914, he and several fellow hams decided to start their own station, along with a company to manufacture receivers. They named this new venture the American Radio and Research Company; most people knew it as AMRAD. As for the new station, because radio broadcasting was still considered experimental by the Department of Commerce, it received the call letters 1XE. But even six years later, when the station was assigned the commercial call letters “WGI,” listeners still thought of it as either “the AMRAD station” or “the Medford Hillside station.”

Harold Power became the president of AMRAD, and he soon began to air wireless concerts of phonograph records to promote the new company. In early 1916 this was so unusual that the *Boston Globe* wrote an article about the amazing music programs being heard by the ships at sea. At first, AMRAD targeted the ham radio audience (since there was no commercial broadcasting yet), but at some point in 1920, everything began to change.

We may never know who was really first to broadcast commercially. Scholars have debated endlessly whether KDKA, WWJ, or any of several other stations were the first, but there is evidence that 1XE was in the elite group of stations on the air in the fall of 1920. Unfortunately, most of AMRAD's and 1XE/WGI's files were long ago destroyed in a fire, but based on the radio columns of several Boston newspaper reporters of the early 1920s and an interesting interview from the manager of a competing Boston radio station, the consensus is that 1XE was on the air at around the same time as the much better known KDKA.

By the spring of 1921, 1XE was on the air every day with a regular schedule. The station's air staff included a popular woman announcer, Eunice Randall. She read the nightly police reports, gave children their bedtime story several nights a

week, sang when a guest didn't show up, and worked as one of the station's engineers—all highly unusual for a woman in those days. Randall also had a show that may have been sponsored—although as with many such arrangements in the early days, it may have been a barter arrangement. Randall's bedtime stories were presented by *Little Folks Magazine*, which may have provided free copies as prizes rather than paying for sponsorship.

The need for revenue was a constant problem for small stations of the early 1920s. Stations owned by individuals or small companies like AMRAD ran into financial trouble when lightning struck their towers or when equipment broke and was expensive to repair. At first, entertainers performed free because radio was a novelty, but eventually the bigger names wanted compensation; small stations had to depend on eager volunteers or up-and-coming performers who would still work in exchange for exposure.

AMRAD had originally been backed by financier J.P. Morgan's son Jack, who had known Harold Power ever since Power worked for him while still in high school. Morgan had been persuaded by Power's dreams of success in the radio business and was a silent partner in AMRAD for its first few years. But although Power had big dreams and good intentions, running a company was problematic for him. AMRAD became famous for good concepts but poor implementation: equipment was often delivered to suppliers late, and AMRAD was slow to react to new trends. Morgan gradually phased out his support of AMRAD, leaving the company to deal with its own financial problems by 1923.

Decline

In spite of financial and technical problems, 1XE gained fans all over the eastern United States (the station's 100-watt signal was even heard in England one night). Guest speakers, from politicians to professors, and even the famous economist Roger Babson, gave talks from Medford Hillside. By late 1921, WBZ was on the air (although it did not yet put a good signal into Boston), but musicians and celebrities continued to appear at the AMRAD station, because it was so close to the theaters and clubs of Boston, whereas WBZ was 80 miles away in Springfield. 1XE became WGI in February 1922: Power later said that he never saw a good reason to get a commercial license until then; he believed his experimental license was sufficient. By March of that year, it was airing Boston's first radio newscasts, courtesy of the *Boston Traveler* newspaper. WGI consistently provided good entertainment throughout the early

1920s: musicians such as *Hum and Strum* and Joe Rines went on to successful careers on the networks and on records; the popular children's show the *Big Brother Club* enjoyed a 45-year run on radio and then TV; and the famous poet Amy Lowell and the African-American actor Charles Gilpin were heard first over WGI, as was Harry Levi, the "Radio Rabbi."

Harold Power's attempt to bring in some revenue at WGI got the station in trouble with the Department of Commerce in the spring of 1922. In early April, Power had accepted money from a car dealer and an advertising agency to air some commercial announcements. Evidently, somebody notified the department (direct advertising was frowned upon, and Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover wanted to keep it that way). A series of "cease and desist" letters were sent by Radio Inspector Charles Kolster, beginning on 18 April and continuing into May. His correspondence to the station suggests that WGI aired commercials in April (well before WEAFF's first commercial in August) and that the department had to warn WGI management several times before these commercials stopped.

By the fall of 1922, a new station, WNAC, was on the air, owned by the Shepard Department Stores. With substantial financial backing, it paid its talent and soon enjoyed handsome studios as well. In the meantime, AMRAD's financial worries increased, and some of WGI's best performers (and several announcers) accepted jobs at WNAC. Over the next two years, WGI continued to win praise from listeners, magazine editors, and radio columnists, but as more Boston stations came on the air—all with more powerful signals, better equipment, and money to pay the performers—it was only a matter of time before WGI could no longer compete. AMRAD went into bankruptcy in late April 1925, and as a result one of America's pioneer stations came to an end. When a buyer was not found, WGI left the air.

DONNA L. HALPER

See also WEAFF

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WGN

Chicago, Illinois Station

Named for the "World's Greatest Newspaper," this Chicago radio (and later TV) station was not actually started by its long-time owner, the Tribune Company, but was purchased by the newspaper giant soon after it went on the air in June 1924.

Origins

By no means the first Chicago broadcaster (which was KYW), the *Chicago Tribune* entered radio by providing that pioneering outlet with news and market reports. At least four other stations soon followed KYW on the air. The first station located in the handsome Tribune Tower building was WDAP, which aired from May 1922 until a July tornado destroyed its antenna. The station moved and continued operating with a single (very busy) employee, one Ralph Shugart. When station mail piled up, the second employee, Myrtle Stahl (who would stay in radio until 1960) joined him. In 1923, the Chicago Board of Trade purchased WDAP. By March 1924, however, the *Tribune* had purchased enough air time to take control of the station, and changed its call letters to WGN. Full page ads in the newspaper announced the "new" station on 28 March

1924, and WGN's inaugural broadcast came the next evening from studios in the Edgewater Beach Hotel.

WGN pioneered a significant number of radio firsts. Probably the best-known special news radio broadcast of the middle 1920s was WGN's broadcasts from the Scopes "monkey" trial from Dayton, Tennessee, which cost the station \$1,000 a day in personal expenses and in telephone lines to send the signals back to Chicago. Freeman F. Gosden and Charles J. Correll, who started together in vaudeville, created *Sam 'n' Henry* for WGN, but in 1929 they were tempted by the National Broadcasting Company's (NBC) greater offer; they then moved to WMAQ and came up with a new form of the same act, *Amos 'n' Andy*, national radio's first great hit. Soap opera pioneer Irna Phillips created *Painted Dreams* on WGN as one of the early soap operas.

Tribune executives tried to take early advantage of radio and newspaper common ownership. In the immediate wake of the Saint Valentine's Day Massacre in 1929, at company expense, WGN installed radio receivers in all 40 of the light blue touring cars driven by members of the Chicago Police Detective Squad. Detectives were instructed to listen to

WGN—and only WGN—throughout their shifts. When word of a crime, either in progress or recently completed, reached police headquarters, a dispatcher was instructed to telephone WGN and pass along whatever details were available to the announcer on duty, who interrupted programming and broadcast the information in the form of a bulletin. The nearest squad car would hear the bulletin and rush to the crime scene (but so might others who heard the same bulletin). WGN and the *Tribune* boasted that this experiment was a success, but it lasted only a few years, proving how difficult what would be labeled “synergy” two generations later was to accomplish.

Robert McCormick, long-time *Tribune* editor and publisher, saw radio as an ally, not as an adversary. His most important innovation in radio was to assist in forming the Mutual radio network in 1934. From its studios at 435 North Michigan Avenue, WGN aired Mutual with its 50,000 watts and poured the network’s offerings into homes all across the upper Midwest.

Through the 1930s and 1940s, WGN functioned as Chicago’s link to the Mutual radio network. As a founding station of Mutual—along with WOR (New York), WXYZ (Detroit), and WLW (Cincinnati)—through this period WGN and WOR functioned as the only clear channel stations not affiliated with either NBC or the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS). On 1 March 1941, W59C (later WGNB) aired as the first WGN-owned FM radio outlet. Just a year before WGN had initiated 24-hour operation, a fairly rare service at the time.

Decline of Mutual

In reaction to TV’s growing popularity after 1948, WGN-AM had to lessen its dependence on the Mutual radio network. WGNB, WGN’s FM sister, was donated to Chicago Educational TV (WTTW) in the early 1950s and became WFMT. Receiving fewer network programs as Mutual declined, WGN had to resort to developing its own programming. Station manager Ward Quaal developed local talk stars as many of the radio studios were converted for use by WGN television. In October 1956 Quaal hired Wally Phillips away from another

powerhouse clear channel station, WLW in Cincinnati. Along with Bob Bell, who later became WGN-TV’s Bozo the Clown, the duo did comedy and talk to entertain Chicago’s growing mass of daily commuters. Phillips proved so popular that he also appeared on WGN-TV in *Midnight Ticker*, but it was his solo drive-time show, which debuted in 1959, that lasted until 1986.

In 1961 WGN radio and television moved to a new building on Chicago’s north side. At the time the radio station adopted a new slogan: First in sound, first in service, first in sports. By the turn of the century, WGN had long operated as a high-class major market talk station. Its broadcast day started at 5:00 A.M. with *The Bob Collins Show*, then switched at 9:00 A.M. to *The Kathy and Judy Show*, followed by 20 minutes of news starting at 11:55 A.M., and then offered talk with John Williams and Spike O’Dell all afternoon. The evening was allocated mostly to sports broadcasting, and the station, at 720 kilohertz, broadcast the baseball games of the Chicago Cubs, which was owned by the Tribune Company.

DOUGLAS GOMERY

See also Mutual Broadcasting System; Quaal, Ward

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WHA and Wisconsin Public Radio

WHA (originally 9XM) is significant for three reasons: (1) it has a disputed claim to the title “oldest station in the nation”; (2) it has a strong, and less disputed, claim to having provided educational radio in the U.S. with its guiding philosophy and

operating model; (3) it undisputedly pioneered the nation’s first statewide FM network, which was later complemented by a second statewide network and the concept of dual program services. Today that network, Wisconsin Public Radio, remains

the country's largest institutionally based public radio operation and a significant provider of national programming.

"The Oldest Station in the Nation"

A historical marker on the University of Wisconsin campus proclaims 9XM/WHA to be "the oldest station in the nation." Other stations dispute that claim, of course, but if nothing else, the early history of WHA demonstrates the importance of land grant universities in the early development of radio, particularly in the period before anyone recognized the commercial potential of the medium. The University of Wisconsin's story is emblematic of similar, if smaller-scale, efforts at more than 200 colleges and universities in the second and third decades of the 20th century.

Physicists and engineers began the University of Wisconsin's activities in radio. First Professor Edward Bennet (Engineering) and then Professor Earl Terry (Physics) experimented with radio apparatus in the first two decades of the 20th century. The Commerce Department issued a license for experimental wireless telegraphy station 9XM to Professor Bennet in 1912. The license later was transferred to the Regents of the University, who have been licensed to use radio since 1916, perhaps Wisconsin's strongest claim to the title of "oldest."

In December 1916, 9XM joined stations at the University of North Dakota, the University of Nebraska, and Nebraska Wesleyan University in regularly scheduled daily noontime wireless telegraphy broadcasts of weather and agricultural markets in cooperation with the U.S. Department of Agriculture. With these reports, the four institutions began "broadcasting" in the sense that they sought to serve a dispersed audience on a regular basis. Of course, only those familiar with Morse code could understand the broadcasts, severely limiting the effectiveness of the service. For the most part, local offices in scattered communities received the messages and posted the information for farmers and other citizens to read. By early 1917, however, Wisconsin had added voice to the telegraphic broadcasts, making them accessible to the few ordinary listeners who built or owned receivers. Hence, the historical marker cites 1917 as the beginning of "broadcasting" on station 9XM.

Wisconsin's claim to "oldest" status draws on its exemption from the government order closing down all private radio apparatus during World War I. Rather than cease operations, 9XM formed a partnership with the U.S. Navy to help in developing a cadre of radio operators at the Great Lakes Naval Training Station. That wartime activity allowed the proponents of WHA to trace its continuous operation back to 1916–17, even though the "broadcasts" during the war years could not be heard legally by anyone outside the U.S. Navy.

Broadcasting to the public resumed on a regular basis in 1919, the second date cited on the historical marker as the

beginning of continuous regularly scheduled broadcasting. That continuity was not unbroken, however. 9XM stopped broadcasting for six months in late 1920 in order to build a new, larger transmitter. During those six months of silence, KDKA in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, broadcast its famous coverage of the November 1920 election results, an event often cited as the beginning of radio broadcasting. When it returned to the air on 3 January 1921, two months after KDKA's "birth of broadcasting" event, 9XM could no longer be dismissed as an engineering experiment. It had a program director, speech professor William Lighty. It published its program listings in the local paper. It broadcast voice and music. The call letters changed from experimental 9XM to WHA a year later in 1922.

The Wisconsin Idea

The debate over who broadcast *first* obscures the true significance of WHA. More than any other educational station, WHA enunciated a clear mission of public service and implemented it on a scale far beyond any other. WHA developed as a unique broadcasting institution at a unique time. The combination of a progressive state government working closely with a service-oriented university became known as "The Wisconsin Idea," and out of that idea came a unique commitment to serve the state with radio from the campus in Madison, combining education with broader public-service goals.

In its educational role, WHA's programming initially emphasized the practical, particularly agricultural information and "home economics." In this, the radio station complemented the work of the university's network of county agents who assisted farmers and their families throughout the state. The station offered, in addition, music-appreciation series and talks and dramatizations written in conjunction with faculty members on a wide range of historical, literary, and contemporary topics. In 1932 the charismatic director of WHA for almost 40 years, H.B. (Mac) McCarty, and his meticulous and diplomatic deputy, Harold Engel, gave the umbrella title "College of the Air" to these diverse offerings, which they said would make a college experience available to those whose circumstances had denied them the opportunity. When portable tape recorders liberated radio from the studio in the 1940s, the College of the Air literally moved into the lecture halls of the University of Wisconsin. At its height, lectures from university courses filled three hours each day on the WHA schedule. Faculty lecturers became statewide celebrities.

A year earlier, in 1931, McCarty and Engel had begun a separate series of programs called "School of the Air" for rural "one room school houses," of which Wisconsin still had many. *Let's Draw*, *Let's Sing*, and *Ranger Mac* provided the art, music, and science lessons otherwise unavailable in small schools without specialist teachers. More than anything else, the School of the Air justified continued state investments in

educational radio, particularly in the lean Depression years, and introduced hundreds of thousands of children and their families to the state radio service.

Narrowly defined education constituted only part of the programming mix, however. Variety shows, radio drama, folk, and popular music found their way to the airwaves. The station also pioneered in covering public issues. Radio provided a means for people to learn about issues and to consider alternative directions. In 1931, for example, WHA offered advocates of different farm policies the opportunity to present their views. This led, in turn, to offers of free airtime to all candidates for statewide office, including those of the minor parties, in the 1932 elections and in every subsequent election for the next 40 years. The 1932 "Political Education Forum" marked the first time any American radio station had used its facilities as a forum for public debate. *The New York Times* praised this initiative, and Professor Bennet made it his theme when he testified before Congress in an unsuccessful effort to reserve 25 percent of radio frequencies for noncommercial stations in the Communications Act of 1934.

The State Radio Network

The dramatic boom in commercial radio in the late 1920s and early 1930s forced most educational radio stations off the air, their frequencies taken over by commercial stations, either through purchase or reassignment by the Federal Radio Commission. The handful of educational stations that survived found themselves relegated to inferior "regional" channels and usually only during daytime hours. Whereas in its earlier years WHA transmitted broadly outside Wisconsin, it ended up with a daytime regional frequency in Madison that covered only a portion of the state by day and none of the state by night, when most people listened to the radio. The addition of a second regional daytime station (WLBL) in the central part of the state helped, but it still left WHA with inadequate facilities.

To solve its coverage problems, in the early 1940s WHA proposed to take over the frequency of the National Broadcasting Company (NBC)'s Chicago station, WMAQ, arguing that Chicago had five clear channel stations and Wisconsin had none. Not surprisingly, NBC was able to beat the challenge, as did Atlanta's WSB when WHA proposed to share its clear channel. Thwarted in two attempts to improve its AM facility, Wisconsin looked to the new technology of FM, which had been authorized by the FCC in 1941 but had remained mostly undeveloped in the war years. In 1944, the Wisconsin Legislature created a State Radio Council separate from the university to develop a network of FM stations to carry WHA programming throughout the state. Although legally separate from the University of Wisconsin, the State Radio Council effectively operated as an adjunct to the university broadcasting operation. McCarty headed broadcasting for both the university and

the State Radio Council, and WHA was the sole source of programming for the network. In March 1947 the State Radio Council activated WHA-FM in Madison, the first of nine FM stations that would go on the air at the rate of one per year until the network achieved statewide coverage in the mid-1950s. Because McCarty and Engel saw the role of these stations as broader than narrowly defined education, they named the system the Wisconsin State Radio Network or the State Stations rather than the university network or the educational network. Already the oldest and largest educational broadcaster in the country, the Wisconsin operation soared past any potential rival with the state's commitment to build and operate those nine FM stations. On the eve of the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967, the budget of the Wisconsin State Stations tripled that of any other educational radio operation.

Wisconsin Public Radio

McCarty and Engel chose 1967 to retire, just as Congress enacted the Public Broadcasting Act, which gave a new name and a somewhat different concept to "educational" broadcasting. In a sense, the national legislation vindicated Wisconsin's vision of radio as a public service broader than university-level education. Indeed, the principle author of the vision for the new enterprise that would be called National Public Radio (NPR) was Bill Siemering, a former WHA staff member who often acknowledged his debt to McCarty and the Wisconsin Idea.

Without McCarty to hold his creation together, the university and the Educational Communications Board (successor to the State Radio Council) struggled for control of the state stations. At first, the advocates of a narrow view of educational radio seemed to prevail. Indeed, the Educational Communications Board changed the call letters of WHA-FM to WERN, for Wisconsin Educational Radio Network, its new designation for the State Radio Network. That name, however, ran directly counter to what was happening to the stations. School of the Air programming essentially moved over to television, and programming from NPR replaced some of the College of the Air programming. The State Network was becoming less "educational" at precisely the time it added "educational" to its name.

In 1978 the university and the Educational Communications Board accepted this reality and agreed to designate their joint enterprise "Wisconsin Public Radio." They appointed Jack Mitchell, formerly of NPR, as director of radio for both organizations. They put in place a long-range strategy to provide two formatted services in most parts of the state. One of the services—headed by WERN (the former WHA-FM)—would build a format around music and arts. The other service—headed by WHA (AM)—would feature news and information. The music and news division became a common pattern among public

radio organizations that controlled two stations in one community. In 1989 WERN's music and arts service evolved into the "NPR News and Classical Music Network," while WHA's information service narrowed its focus to emphasize unique Wisconsin talk programming, particularly statewide call-in shows on a range of informational, educational, and public-affairs topics. As residents across the state talked with academics, authors, officials, advocates, and one another, this service echoed the traditional educational and public-service purposes of the Wisconsin Idea, as did the name of the new service, "The Ideas Network of Wisconsin Public Radio."

As the "Ideas Network" focused inward on the state, Wisconsin Public Radio exported several programs nationally. For a decade in the late 1970s and early 1980s, WHA served as home to public radio's national drama project *Earplay*, under the direction of Karl Schmidt. Although *Earplay* won critical acclaim, it fell victim to the budget cuts of the Reagan administration. Since 1985 WHA has been the home of Michael Feldman's *Whad'Ya Know?*—a comedy quiz program carried by more than 200 public radio stations to a weekly audience of more than 1 million people. The station also distributes two national advice programs and *To the Best of Our Knowledge*, a weekly two-hour interview magazine covering the world of ideas. Often considered the "brainiest" program on public radio, *To the Best of Our Knowledge* is a fitting product of the radio station that gave America the concept of educational radio.

JACK MITCHELL

See also Educational Radio to 1967; Farm/Agricultural Radio; Minnesota Public Radio; National Public Radio; Public Radio Since 1967; Siemerling, William

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WHER

Memphis, Tennessee Station

When WHER-AM 1430 broadcast for the first time on 29 October 1955, it was staffed almost entirely by women, a phenomenon never before seen in U.S. radio. An experiment in novelty during a period of declining radio audiences and revenues, WHER would demonstrate and confirm women's competencies in the radio industry and inspire women to pursue careers in the industry.

The brainchild of Memphis record producer Sam Phillips (who first recorded Elvis Presley, Johnny Cash, and other

important figures in American music on his Sun Records label), WHER came to life with a \$25,000 investment from Kemmons Wilson, the founder of the Holiday Inn hotel chain. Together, Phillips and Wilson formed Tri-State Broadcasting Service, Inc. It was a difficult time for radio in 1955 when the station began operations; television was stealing radio listeners and gobbling up advertising dollars. To remain profitable, station owners sought new ways to reach audiences and looked to audiences that radio had traditionally ignored.

After hiring station manager Dotty Abbott, a veteran radio manager from Phoenix, Phillips selected seven other women (Teresa Kilgore, Marion Keisker, Dot Fisher, Pat McGee, Denise Howard, Barbara Gurley, and Laura Yeargain) to run the station. Phillips' wife Becky, a prominent on-air personality in Southern radio, also joined the team. WHER set up its first studios in several rooms provided by Wilson at the Memphis Holiday Inn (only the third Holiday Inn in existence at the time). Painted in pink and purple pastels, the radio studio featured distinctively feminine decor, somewhat resembling a dollhouse.

Despite skepticism and shock when Keisker's first broadcast aired in Memphis with little warning on the morning of 29 October 1955, the station was an immediate success. Audiences enjoyed tuning in to hear female voices and perspectives on radio. The "girls" lived up to their slogan, "A smile on your face puts a smile in your voice." Their broadcasts were energetic and fun, and they were not afraid to laugh at themselves and their mistakes. Initially the station catered primarily to female homemakers and featured love ballads, jazz, and light content. But as the station evolved, the format matured and diversified. The station fielded competent news and sports staffs, and by the 1960s it programmed one of Memphis' early call-in talk shows, *Open Mike*, hosted by Marge Thrasher. *Open Mike* and the station's other news programs addressed issues of importance in Memphis, such as the city's festering racial tensions that led to the 1968 sanitation workers' strike, the backdrop of Martin Luther King Jr.'s assassination.

Memphis radio had already seen such experimentation in 1949 when radio station WDIA began offering an all-black format, and although WHER's format was never strictly all-female-oriented, the station's all-female staff did represent the lengths radio entrepreneurs were going to in order to distinguish themselves in the ever-tightening radio market.

Although Sam Phillips and Kemmons Wilson's endeavor bordered on outright gimmickry, the station remained viable for almost 20 years and became a landmark in the history of women's broadcasting. During a period when female reporters were still banned from the National Press Club in Washington, D.C. and most radio stations rarely hired more than one female air personality, WHER boasted a staff of forty women who held positions ranging from general manager to program director to disc jockey. (Among the few stations that adopted WHER's all-girl approach was WSDM, Chicago, which

employed "Hush Puppy" Linda Smith, later known as Linda Ellerbee.)

The social upheaval that accompanied the late 1960s would ultimately contribute to WHER's demise. The notion of an "all-girl" radio station that traded on stereotypical feminine qualities seemed out of step with the resurging women's rights movement (hosts of music programs were known as "jockettes," and one of WHER's taglines was "One thousand beautiful watts"). As a result, the station added more men to its staff and sought to broaden its appeal. In 1971 (after 16 years on the air) WHER was changed to WWEE, a talk radio station that later became a gospel station. In 1988, Phillips and Wilson sold the station first known as WHER. Currently a WHER broadcasts from Hattiesburg, Mississippi, but the outlet has no connection to the original WHER.

In October 1999, to commemorate WHER's inception, Davia Nelson and Nikki Silva produced a documentary highlighting the history of WHER for National Public Radio's "Lost and Found Sound" series on *All Things Considered*. Also featured on local and national news programs, the women were brought together by Sam Phillips in New York for a reunion.

WHER's female orientation represented radio's general effort to find stable ground in the burgeoning television age of the 1950s, but the station will be best remembered as having played an important role in the development of opportunities for female radio professionals in all areas of radio operations. Many women working in radio today owe a tremendous debt to Sam Phillips and the more than 50 women who worked at WHER from 1955 to 1971.

MICHAEL STREISSGUTH AND
ALEXANDRA HENDRIKS

See also *Women in Radio*

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White, Paul 1902–1956

U.S. Executive, Editor, Creator of CBS News

Because Paul White built one of the first network news operations and then led it through its glory days of covering World War II, he can be said to have established precedents for broadcast journalism that are still followed and principles that are still admired.

Early Years

The son of Paul W. White, a stone contractor, and Anna Pickard, White was born in Pittsburg, Kansas, in 1902. His interest in journalism began early. In high school, he reported for the *Pittsburg Headlight*. After he graduated, rather than go to business school as his parents intended, White ran away from home and became a reporter for the *Salina*, Kansas, newspaper.

He majored in journalism at the University of Kansas for a year in 1920 while working as telegraph editor at the *Kansas City Journal*. He then earned a bachelor's degree in literature at Columbia University in New York City and in 1924 a master's degree from Columbia's School of Journalism. During his years at Columbia, White contributed articles to the *New York Evening Bulletin* and the *New York Sunday World*. After graduation he was hired as a reporter for the United Press in 1924 and later was promoted to features editor.

Developing CBS News

White came to the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) in 1930 with the title of news editor, but he was in the publicity department. Under him were only three people—an assistant, a secretary, and an announcer—and their main job was to cover special events rather than to gather news. CBS's journalism at that time consisted of weekly news commentaries and occasional bulletins.

Like other broadcasters, CBS depended on wire services as the major source of information, but the newspapers controlled them and felt that broadcasting was becoming too strong a competitor. When the wire services cut off the flow of information to radio, CBS was forced to go out and collect its own stories. The Columbia News Service was organized by White with news bureaus in major U.S. cities and stringers from around the world.

The results were so successful that the print industry applied more pressure by threatening to charge for the listing of radio programs and by refusing to do publicity on sponsors of radio news. Broadcasters signed the "Biltmore" agreement (much to White's dismay), severely limiting their ability to

gather and report the news. They had to dismantle their news-gathering efforts (including the Columbia News Service) and be satisfied with short bulletins provided by the wire services. In 1935, though, the more independent wire services resumed supplying broadcasters with the news, and the agreement was ignored by everyone soon. The result of this intermedia conflict was that the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) and CBS were forced to hire more news people and expand their news-gathering process.

Radio journalism entered its maturity with the coming of war in Europe. At first, White was reluctant to allow his special-events employees, Edward R. Murrow and William Shirer, to go beyond their assigned duties of arranging talks by European leaders, but Germany's 1938 takeover of Austria led to a temporary change in CBS's policy. For a while, news became the norm rather than a special event.

To cover the crisis, White developed the first *CBS News Roundup*, which allowed the audience to hear live reports via shortwave from each of the trouble spots in Europe with an anchor to provide continuity—much the pattern for today's nightly TV newscasts.

Then, when Germany threatened to invade Czechoslovakia in 1938, the network made a full commitment to international coverage under White's leadership. His team covered the crisis with hours of live newscasts. When World War II broke out a year later, CBS became the leader in news both because of the quality of its correspondents on the scene, headed up by Murrow in London, and because of White's leadership. At the end of the war, the network received the Peabody award for its outstanding coverage.

White was an actively involved news director. He talked frequently via shortwave from his desk to correspondents around the world. It is no surprise that he and his crew of broadcast journalists sometimes clashed. The main cause of conflict was the CBS policy stipulating that reporters and commentators analyze the news without offering their own opinions. His staff maintained that pure objectivity was difficult to achieve and did not serve the audience.

After the war, Murrow returned to New York City and was promoted to network vice president for news and public affairs. White resigned soon afterward in 1946.

Later Years

From 1939 to 1946, White also taught at his alma mater, Columbia University. His textbook on the practices and techniques of broadcast journalism was published in 1947 and



Paul White
Courtesy CBS Photo Archive

became a standard for many years. He also taught at the University of Iowa for a short time.

The Associated Press in 1947 hired White as a consultant to improve the radio wire service. In 1948 he became associate editor of the *San Diego Journal*. When it went out of business in 1951, White became executive news director of KFMB AM and TV in San Diego, where his main duty was delivering editorials. (He explained that he had changed his mind and now thought under some circumstances, opinions *should* be allowed on the air.) He also helped the American Broadcasting Companies (ABC) with its coverage of the 1952 Republican and Democratic national conventions. White died in 1955.

BARBARA MOORE

See also Columbia Broadcasting System; Murrow, Edward R.; News; Press-Radio War; World War II and U.S. Radio

Paul White. Born in Pittsburg, Kansas, 9 June 1902. Son of Paul W. White and Anna Pickard. Reporter for the *Pittsburg*

Sunlight (Kansas), 1918, and for the *Salina Journal* (Kansas), 1919; telegraph editor, *Kansas City Journal*, 1920. Attended Columbia University, New York City, B.Litt., 1923, M.S., 1924. Reporter for United Press, 1924–30; news editor, vice president, and general manager of the Columbia News Service, and director of public affairs for CBS, 1930–46; journalism faculty member, Columbia University, 1939–46; author of the textbook *News on the Air*, 1947; associate editor, *San Diego Journal*, 1948–51; executive news editor, KFMB AM-TV, San Diego, California, 1951–55. Died in San Diego, 9 July 1955.

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White, Wallace H. 1887–1952

U.S. Legislator of Radio

Wallace H. White Jr. was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives from 1917 to 1931 and the Republican senator from Maine from 1931 to 1949. He was the radio authority in Congress—no one knew more about radio legislation than White. He was a major influence in drafting the Radio Act of 1927 and the Communications Act of 1934. As the radio act wound its way through Congress, it was known as the White Radio Bill. After the passage of the 1927 Radio Act, it was White who, without the flair of oratory, acquired the support of Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover and the signature of President Coolidge. He had at first proposed control of radio within the Department of Commerce, but by 1928 he was an outspoken proponent of the Federal Radio Commission and an ardent supporter of the “public interest” provisions of the law.

It was White’s work in the Merchant Marines and Fisheries Committee and the Committee on Commerce that placed him in early association with Secretary of Commerce Hoover and the challenge of radio legislation. White’s first attempt at radio legislation was in 1919. The bill, H.R. 10831, directed control of radio to the president of the United States and the secretary

of the navy. Authored by White, it was referred directly to the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee. The bill and its predecessor, H.R. 11779, introduced 15 January 1920, were written “only to fill the gap until a general [radio] bill [could] be gotten into shape.” H.R. 10831 was the first to designate control of radio with the secretary of commerce (White Papers). The exigency of World War I and the rapidly growing technical complexities of radio deflected the interest of legislation, and control at the time was turned over to the navy for the duration of the war.

Following the war, when the navy relinquished control of radio, White again began work at drafting legislation for the new industry. After Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover called the First Radio Conference, 27 February 1922, Representative White proceeded to draft proposed legislation from the recommendations of the conferees. The first radio bills fell on an uninterested House of Representatives, but White hammered away at passage until 1927. During each of the Radio Conferences called by Hoover, White provided leadership and created legislative action. By the late 1920s, he was known in the House for his “perennial radio bills” (Archer,



Wallace H. White
 Courtesy AP/Wide World Photos

1938). During the Third Radio Conference, White participated in the Coordinating Committee, which Hoover chaired, and White chaired the Committee on Problems with Marine Communication. During the Fourth Radio Conference, he chaired the Committee on Copyright Relations to Broadcasting. White's perennial bills fell upon deaf ears, but each succeeding bill grew with the refinements and complexities of the technology.

Most historians associate the White Radio Bills with placing licensing control in the hands of the secretary of commerce. However, it was White's work that specified the concept of public service as the foundation of radio legislation. He was an outspoken advocate of the public's rights in electronic media. In a speech before the National Association of Broadcasters on

26 October 1931, White extolled the public-interest virtues of the law. It was the public-interest provision that, according to White, "gave it [the law] the virtue of flexibility" for a growing and dynamic new industry (White Papers).

White was born in Lewiston, Maine, on 6 August 1877. He graduated from Bowdoin College in Brunswick, Maine, in 1899 and studied law at Columbia University. He was admitted to the bar in the District of Columbia in 1902 and began his career in Lewiston in 1903 at his father's firm, White and Carter. He was first elected to the House of Representatives in 1916, as Maine's second district congressman. His first service was in the extra session called by President Woodrow Wilson in April 1917. White was one of the few men in Congress who served through World War I. Many of his colleagues, including

his radio colleague, Washington's Representative Clarence C. Dill, had their careers cut short because of their votes against U.S. entry into World War I.

The State of Maine's coastal interests in fishing and marine industries dictated White's initial legislative agendas. As the grandson of the former Senator William P. Fry of Maine, White had served for a time as his grandfather's personal secretary while Fry was chair of the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries and the Committee on Commerce. This experience turned out to be an important foundation, as White later occupied his grandfather's positions.

White's career was not marked with spectacular notoriety, but he was nevertheless an effective legislator. He was not a press hound or even a legislative debater. In his legislative exchanges with his colleagues, his voice could barely be heard in the audience galleries. *Newsweek* described him as "short, slight and sad-eyed; amiable, but reticent" ("GOP: Top Ten," 13 January 1947). White was earnest, knowledgeable, and persuasive. *U.S. News* reported that he was "gentle and uncontentious, soft spoken and retiring. Mr. White was more valuable . . . as a quiet backstage negotiator rather than as a debater" ("Republicans Who Take Over Leadership . . .," 3 January 1947).

White's achievements were found in the services he rendered. Primarily known for his work on radio, White nonetheless devoted the bulk of his work to marine and fishery issues. He was the author of 550 bills, resolutions, and amendments; 216 congressional reports; and 385 addresses. He was a trusted confidant of both Presidents Coolidge and Hoover, serving under both Republican presidents. According to the *Marine Journal*, his crowning achievement was the passage of the Jones-White Shipping Bill, which was passed into law as the Merchant Marine Act of 1928. During the last years of his tenure, he was described by *Newsweek* as one of the top ten senators in the nation. White served for 30 years—an outspoken proponent of people's rights to enjoy radio as means of communication and of his state's interest in maritime law. He was a practical politician with a humanistic approach to the issue of public concern.

DONALD G. GODFREY

See also Communications Act of 1934; Dill, Clarence C.; Federal Radio Commission; Hoover, Herbert; Wireless Acts of 1910 and 1912/Radio Acts of 1912 and 1927; United States Congress and Radio

Wallace Humphrey White. Born in Lewiston, Maine, 6 August 1877. Attended public schools in Lewiston, graduated from Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine, 1899. Assisted his grandfather, William Pierce Frye, chair of the Committee on Commerce, 1899–1903; admitted to the bar in 1902 and began his legal practice. Served in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1917–31 and the Senate, 1931–49; work included appointments as chairman to the Department of Justice's Committee on Expenditures, Committee on Woman Suffrage, Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, and Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. Minority leader in the Senate, 1944–47, and majority leader, 1947–49. Retired from politics in 1949. Died in Auburn, Maine, 31 March 1952.

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Williams, Bruce 1932–

U.S. Radio Talk Show Host

Bruce Williams began dispensing financial advice on the air in 1975, when he first hosted *At Your Service* on WCTC, a small New Brunswick, New Jersey, station. At the beginning of the 21st century, he was broadcasting for three hours every week-night on about 400 stations nationwide, offering the same homespun philosophies and common-sense wisdom to a radio audience of about 8 million.

Origins

Born in 1932, Williams sees himself first and foremost as a “regular guy” who has been an entrepreneur since his junior high school days in East Orange, New Jersey. At the age of 11 he took advantage of the toy shortage during World War II by melting down lead pipes in the coal furnace of his basement, casting toy soldiers, and selling them to friends, thus establishing the first of his many enterprises. Over the years his ventures have included floral concessions in hospitals, barbershops, insurance agencies, preschools, nightclubs, and radio stations in several cities.

Before entering the world of broadcasting, Williams served in the U.S. Air Force during the Korean War and attended Newark State College—now Kean College—in New Jersey. In the 1960s he was a city councilman in Franklin Township, New Jersey, where he later served as deputy mayor and then mayor.

Radio Career

After his defeat in a race for the state’s General Assembly, by his own account Williams bombarded New Brunswick station WCTC with letters and phone calls. Several years later he moved to WMCA in New York, where he hosted a finance show six days a week. In 1981 the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) network put together a nightly package of advice-oriented talk shows, pairing Bruce Williams with former WMCA colleague Sally Jessy Raphael. The format for *Talk-Net* placed Williams’ focus on finance and Raphael’s on sex and relationships; *Talk-Net* is now part of the Westwood One Radio network.

What sets Williams apart from other broadcasters is his avuncular approach. With a decidedly folksy style, Williams can be both soothing and blunt in his broadcasts from his suburban home in New Port Richey, Florida, just north of Tampa. During his program—which generally runs from 7:00 to 10:00 P.M. Eastern time—he shares his own life experiences, setting

the stage for others to do the same. Williams talks to callers about their lives and their dreams for the future. Although his advice is centered mostly on financially oriented issues of credit, investments, and decision making, he sprinkles in old-fashioned bits of philosophy on tenacity, common sense, and the importance of maintaining good physical and emotional health. He establishes a rapport with his listeners, referring to the women as “honey” or “sweetheart” and ending calls with his trademark, “I wish you well, my friend.”

Each year Williams is cited by *TALKERS Magazine: The Bible of Talk Radio and the New Talk Media* as one of the 100 most important radio talk show hosts in America; the magazine describes him as a “solid nighttime advisor for everyday business situations.” In 1994 he was honored as the host of the year by the National Association of Radio Talk Show Hosts.

Although Williams’ broadcasts are not outwardly political, he is quick to attack certain business practices that he perceives as unfair to consumers. He also encourages his listeners and readers to let their views be known to candidates for public office as well as to those already elected. For example, his website features a link to his strong stance against airline pricing; in it he states that he is opposed to the “tyranny inflicted on the public by airlines with regards to certain ticketing practices.”

Williams eschews what he perceives as elitists who dismiss the appeal of programs like his. After hearing the assertion that “nobody” listens to talk radio, he urged his listeners to prove otherwise. Soon, Williams’ legions of listeners, the “nobodies,” responded with tens of thousands of postcards and letters; in turn he displayed the correspondence prominently at the National Association of Broadcasters annual convention.

In 1995 Bruce Williams told the Freedom Forum First Amendment Center, “We’re not in the news business; we’re in the entertainment business.” As he is quick to point out, the information and wisdom he instills to his listeners night after night comes from firsthand experience and is meant to interest and inform. His audience responds in kind; they know his father had owned a profitable shoe salon in New York City but lost money in the Great Depression, and as a result, his listeners are open to his thoughts on how to protect their financial futures. Many have heard of Williams’ successes and failures in a variety of different fields and are phoning to learn what he has to say about which risks to take and which to avoid. Although they may share some of Williams’ frustrations with



Bruce Williams
Courtesy Radio Hall of Fame

bureaucracy and politics, they are after practical information, not speeches or news analyses.

Other Activities

In addition to his nightly broadcasts, Williams writes "Smart Money," a column syndicated by United Features that appears three times a week in about 600 papers nationwide. He has written several books, including *In Business for Yourself*,

HouseSmart, *CreditSmart*, and *America Asks Bruce*. He has also produced the tapes *The Road Map to Financial Security* and *The Bruce Williams One-Hour Crash Course in Getting the Job*. Williams is also popular on the public-speaking circuit, presenting "An Evening with Bruce Williams" to diverse groups of audiences.

A man of many passions, Williams has been a small-plane enthusiast for 50 years, even though in the mid-1980s he nearly died when his plane hit a tree while he attempted to abort a landing. He is currently part of Young Eagle Flights, a program that pairs pilots with students ages 8-17 to take them flying. Pilots such as Williams donate their time and use of their aircraft as part of the larger goal of promoting aviation as a career or as recreation.

RUTH BAYARD SMITH

See also Talk Radio; Westwood One

Bruce Williams. Born in 1932. Served in the U.S. Air Force during Korean War. Hosted *At Your Service* on WCTC beginning in 1975; from 1981, hosted talk show syndicated by NBC and then Westwood One.

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CreditSmart

America Asks Bruce

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Williams, Jerry 1923–2003

U.S. Talk Radio Host

In over half a century on the air, more than any other broadcaster Jerry Williams has played a crucial role in the invention and development of nearly every feature of the modern talk radio format. Known nationally as the “Dean of Talk Radio,” Williams owes his success to his ability to adapt to the changing technological and political terrain of the medium. Despite a career based almost exclusively in local, rather than national, broadcasts, Williams gained a national reputation by helping to invent talk radio as a forum for political advocacy and dissent, rather than just another form of audience participation programming. Moving from angry populism to friendly chatter to old-fashioned shtick, Williams connected with audiences and earned consistently high ratings in cities all over the nation. Callers to Williams’ program trusted him with their stories of economic ruin and the most intimate details of their sex lives; stories like these helped boost his ratings into the stratosphere.

Williams began his career in radio fresh out of military service in World War II, at WCYB in Bristol, Virginia, where the Brooklyn, New York, native hosted a country music program and a variety show entitled *Farm and Fun Time at Noontime* and read the news. From there he bounced around several stations in Pennsylvania including WKAP in Allentown, where he served as program director and as disk jockey on a hit parade program called *A Date with Jerry*. Inspired by the radio comedy of Henry Morgan, Williams helped to invent a style of talk that combined humor, listener interaction, and attention to the issues of the day.

Throughout the postwar years Williams sought new ways to engage listeners in his broadcasts and, in the process, invented some of the first programs of the talk-back radio genre. In 1948, while hosting a noontime program on WKDN, a Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, station, Williams invited listeners to call in and voice their opinions on a variety of local topics. Lacking the technological wherewithal to place callers’ voices on a tape delay, Williams, who was also the program director at WKDN, took calls and then repeated the callers’ comments to great comic effect. Around this same time, broadcasters in various markets began experimenting with live, impromptu interview programs—in many cases, from restaurants frequented by celebrities. Barry Gray at WXXX and Jack (“I’m at the Copa, where are you?”) Eigen pioneered this form. Williams mastered this interactive format as well, hosting his own interview show from a table in a Philadelphia restaurant for two years.

In 1957 Williams, now at WMEX, Boston, Massachusetts, made use of tape delay equipment to field “live” phone calls

about Boston politics on the air. His high ratings in Boston—one month he earned a phenomenal 46 share—were so tough on competitor WEEI that its parent company, Columbia Broadcasting System, lured him away from Boston to its Chicago, Illinois, affiliate, WBBM. In 1968 Williams returned to Boston for an eight-year run on WBZ, a clear channel station that could be heard in 38 states and six provinces of Canada. Despite his popularity, Williams was still subject to the peripatetic nature of the business and so his stint in Boston was followed by briefer sojourns at stations in New York, Philadelphia, and Miami, Florida.

With his return to Boston in 1981, Williams became a fixture on that city’s 50,000-watt station, WRKO. The power of his program to evoke the spirit of populist discontent, political cynicism, and economic despair was analyzed in Murray Levin’s *Talk Radio and the American Dream*, a study of two Boston-area talk radio programs in the post-Watergate, post-Vietnam era of liberal disillusionment and resurgent conservatism. Levin categorized Williams as “liberal” and, compared with the conservative Avi Nelson, whose program Levin also studied, he surely was, but the central themes of Williams’ program in this period tapped into a broader populist distrust of government, big business, and the mass media.

In 1986 Williams served as the key rallying point for widespread opposition to a proposed seat-belt law in Massachusetts. Energized by the host’s attention to the issue, impassioned callers decried the governmental intrusion into personal liberties. Williams’ consistent attention to the matter helped to galvanize opposition to the bill, which took the form of letter-writing and phone-call campaigns to state lawmakers. The issue took on a surprising ferocity and, when the bill was soundly defeated, many gave Williams much of the credit.

In 1989 Williams demonstrated the grassroots power of talk radio on a national level when he led a campaign to halt congressional pay raises. Working with Ralph Nader and fellow talk radio hosts around the country, Williams helped galvanize powerful nationwide opposition to the bill. This incident focused national attention on the political and cultural power of talk radio, particularly on its ability to reach a vital demographic: politically aware citizens who felt alienated from the political process and traditional forms of news media. Williams helped to consolidate talk radio’s national influence by founding the National Association of Radio Talk Show Hosts (NARTSH), an organization that conferred a degree of legitimacy and political clout on the upstart medium. This newfound influence was most clearly in evidence during the presidential election of 1992, when the candidates accorded

talk radio hosts in general, and NARTSH in particular, a new level of respect.

In addition to his passionate interest in politics, Jerry Williams also became notorious during this era for his semi-annual "Sex Survey." Inspired by *Cosmopolitan* magazine, Williams first tried the survey in 1976 at WWDB in Philadelphia, but it became an enduring institution on Boston's WRKO. Williams set aside a week of his program to conduct a surprisingly frank survey of the sexual habits, pleasures, and disappointments of his female listeners. Williams' remarkable success in soliciting willing female callers, their accounts often graphic, was most likely because of his deadpan delivery and his reputation for avoiding exploitative or nasty forms of talk show humor.

Williams was inducted into the Radio Hall of Fame in Chicago in 1996, the same year that Congress passed legislation weakening most of the ownership limitations on broadcasters. Williams credits this latest round of deregulation with the declining quality of talk radio nationwide, because corporate-owned stations increasingly lack the local touch, and respect for callers and listeners is replaced by a focus on the bottom line. In 1998 the Dean of Talk Radio himself became a victim of corporate consolidation in the industry. Days after Entercom purchased WRKO, Williams was summarily fired. In 2000 Williams tried for a comeback attempt on the Boston air-

waves, as host of WMEX interview show to be broadcast from local restaurants, harking back to the days of Jack Eigen, Barry Gray, and the first stirrings of talk radio. Never inclined to retire, he finished his career at Boston's WROL, as host of a one-hour call-in program even as he battled the early stages of Parkinson's disease, kidney disease, and other ailments. He suffered a stroke in March 2003 and died 29 April of that year.

JASON LOVIGLIO

See also Talk Radio

Jerry Williams. Born in 1923. Founder, National Association of Radio Talk Show Hosts (NAARTSH), 1987. Inducted into Museum of Broadcast Communications' Radio Hall of Fame, 1996; Paul Harvey Lifetime Achievement Award, 1996. Died 29 April 2003

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Williams, Nat D. 1907–1983

U.S. Radio Personality

In 1948 Nat D. Williams became the first black personality featured on the historically important station WDIA in Memphis, Tennessee. WDIA would become the nation's first all-black-oriented radio station in 1949.

Williams, also the first black air personality in Memphis and one of the first in the South, was hired by WDIA's owners, John Pepper and Bert Ferguson, in the fall of 1948 after they had decided to feature black-oriented programs. Williams' *Tan Town Jamboree*, which featured jazz and blues music, debuted in the afternoon of 25 October 1948 and met immediate and overwhelming success. The popularity of the new disc jockey among black Memphians convinced Pepper and Ferguson that black-oriented programming could be profitable. They soon plugged Williams into additional time slots, including their keystone morning show, *Tan Town Coffee Club*, and set about building the station's all-black format

around him. By 1949, with Nat D. Williams as its primary ambassador to the Memphis market, WDIA had completed the conversion to an all-black-oriented format, featuring an all-black on-air staff and programming tailored exclusively to the black audience. Within a year, WDIA boasted the highest radio ratings in Memphis' black market as well as the city's highest overall ratings.

The wisdom of hiring Williams and then featuring him heavily in the format became increasingly evident as WDIA's popularity and profits grew with zephyr-like speed. His well-established prominence in the Memphis community and his exuberant on-air style virtually guaranteed that black listeners in Memphis would flock to WDIA. For more than 15 years before joining WDIA and continuing throughout his tenure at the station, Williams taught history at Booker T. Washington High School, which produced many of Memphis' black elite,

and he wrote a weekly column in the *Memphis World*, a black newspaper. Williams was also well known in Memphis entertainment circles as the originator and host of *Amateur Night on Beale*, a weekly black talent show staged at the Palace Theater. There is no question that by 1948 much of the black community in Memphis was quite familiar with Nat D. Williams; they willingly followed him to WDIA.

WDIA co-owner Bert Ferguson had known Williams since 1937, when the station Ferguson worked for at the time, WHBQ, began airing *Amateur Night on Beale*. WHBQ aired the program only for a short time, but ten years later Pepper still remembered Williams' skills behind a microphone and brought him to WDIA. (Williams' appearance on the WHBQ broadcast of his show in the late 1930s places him among the first black announcers to appear on radio in the South.)

Williams had an on-air ebullience that caught the ear and brought a smile. Williams told author Mark Newman, "When [the engineer] pointed his finger at me I forgot everything I was supposed to say. So I just did what became typical of me. I laid out for dead. I just started laughing 'cause I was laughin' my way away. And the man said, 'the people seem to like that thing' and they told me to make it standard. . . . So ever since then . . . Nat has started his program laughin' and closed his program laughin'" (see Newman, 1988). Williams' style—and his established prominence in the Memphis community—helped him and WDIA maintain a loyal listenership.

In the wake of Williams' hiring and WDIA's conversion to an all-black-oriented format came a host of black disc jockeys and announcers, many of whom had been Williams' students at Booker T. Washington or performers on *Amateur Night on Beale*. Many were recruited by Williams or drawn to WDIA because of the respectability that Williams' name and presence brought to the station. He became the godfather of Memphis radio for blacks, attracting talented employees, recommending new employees for hire, and, of course, shepherding listeners to the station. As WDIA gained national prominence in the 1950s for its pioneering and complete march into black-oriented programming, Nat D. Williams, too, became nationally prominent. His name and face were frequently featured in national stories about black radio and in WDIA's national trade advertisements. Williams became one of the deans of

black disc jockeys in America, inspiring many blacks to enter professions in radio and demonstrating that blacks could make important contributions to the radio industry. Nat D. Williams broke ground for the legion of black radio personalities who would enter the profession in the 1950s and 1960s, just as the nation's first black announcer and disc jockey, Jack L. Cooper, had broken ground for the handful of blacks hosting radio shows in the late 1940s.

Nicknamed "The Professor" by many, Williams continued to host musical programs and public-affairs programs on WDIA until 1972, when a stroke forced him to retire. Until the end, his programs continued to post high ratings. A series of strokes would bring on his death in 1983.

MICHAEL STREISSGUTH

See also African Americans in Radio; Black-Oriented Radio; WDIA

Nathaniel D. Williams. Born in Memphis, Tennessee, 19 October 1907. Son of Albert and Hattie Williams. Attended Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial School (now Tennessee State University), Nashville, B.S. in English, 1928, M.S. in secondary education, 1956. Reporter for various newspapers in New York City, 1928–30; teacher, Booker T. Washington High School, Memphis, 1930–72; wrote for various black newspapers in Memphis, 1931–72; disc jockey and announcer, WDIA, Memphis, 1948–72. Died in Memphis, 27 October 1983.

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Wilson, Don 1900–1982

U.S. Radio Announcer

Beginning in 1934 and for more than 40 years, Don Wilson was known primarily as the heavy-set announcer with a hearty laugh who acted as a foil to Jack Benny's comedy. Wilson began as Benny's radio announcer and made a smooth transition to being the announcer for Benny's television program. He was strongly identified as the announcer of Benny's radio sponsor, Jell-O (at a time when most programs were sponsored by one advertiser). Like most announcers of that time, he was well educated and a credible actor, and he performed in many radio and television sketches with Benny.

Born in Lincoln, Nebraska, on 1 September 1900, Wilson grew up in Colorado after his parents moved there when he was two years old. He was a star on the University of Colorado football team, graduated in 1923, and began his professional life as a salesman. Shortly thereafter, he began his show business career as a member of a vocal trio that toured the western United States. In 1927 in San Francisco, an advertiser heard the group perform and put them on the air on KFRC. When the contract ended after more than a year, Wilson and another member of the trio went to Los Angeles, where they worked on various radio shows.

Finally, in 1929 Wilson abandoned his singing career and became an announcer on KFI in Los Angeles and soon moved up to chief announcer. He covered the Rose Bowl from 1930 to 1933. He was a very popular sports announcer, and as a result, in 1933 the vice president of the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) invited him to move to New York to cover sports for NBC. At the same time, he was also working on many of the high-rated NBC shows as an announcer. In 1934 he began working on Jack Benny's Sunday night broadcasts; the first program was *The General Tire Revue*, which aired on 20 July 1934.

When Jack Benny offered him the announcing job for the Benny show, Wilson joined regulars such as Dennis Day, Eddie Anderson (Rochester), Phil Harris, Mary Livingston, and Mel Blanc both as a character in skits and as a straight man and announcer. Wilson helped to develop the job that became known as the radio announcer. During the golden years of radio in the 1930s, Wilson established himself as a strong personality, as important as that of the star of the show. Benny recognized this, and when Benny took the show on the road, he made an effort to bring Wilson along.

His large size, 6 feet 2 inches tall and 220 pounds, made him the butt of many of Benny's jokes. The constant joking made it seem that Wilson was actually larger than he was, and Benny once said that he made Wilson "the biggest man in radio." On one program, Wilson began by teasing Benny for

not having an overcoat for a New York visit. Benny replied, "Listen, Don, are you selling clothing or Jell-O?" Wilson replied, "Jell-O." Benny's response was, "Stick to that or I'll fatten up [announcer] Graham McNamee for your job!" Wilson's association with Jell-O was so strong that one of the most memorable aspects of the program was Wilson's weekly selling of the "the six delicious flavors" and "a treat without equal." Wilson claimed that one of the most attractive gifts was a "big shimmering mold of Jell-O." For the 1942–43 radio season, Benny's sponsorship was changed by General Foods to Grape-Nuts. Wilson's reaction to the change of sponsors was panic, and on the first program of the new season, he claimed, "I won't do it, I tell ya, I won't do it!"

On another program, Wilson introduced Benny with a poem honoring their location in Palm Springs: "And there, out by the pool / far from strife and toil / is our blue-eyed star / selling suntan oil." Benny reacted by calling Wilson "Henry Wadsworth Fatfellow." Wilson once tried to get back at Benny by saying that Fred Allen was his favorite comedian. Another running gag featured Wilson trying to get the commercial on the air with Benny trying to stop him. Wilson would sometimes have the Sportsman Quartet sneak in the commercial. He would tell Benny there was just one more chorus for the quartet to sing, and then they would sing the commercial.

From 1950 to 1965, Wilson was part of Benny's television show. He continued his role as announcer and appeared in many television skits. In one parody of Art Linkletter's *Kids Say the Darndest Things*, he dressed in a child's sailor suit and was interviewed by Linkletter, along with Benny and Rochester, dressed in similarly outrageous costumes.

From 1937 to 1944 he was voted the most popular announcer by the press and the audience. When *The Jack Benny Show* ended as a weekly program, Wilson spent a year as the announcer for the *Kraft Music Hall* and *The Tommy Riggs and Betty Lou Show*, both on radio. Through 1973, he continued in his role as announcer on Jack Benny television specials.

Wilson's wife, Lois Corbet, appeared on the Jack Benny radio show, and when they moved to Palm Springs in 1967, both Wilson and his wife worked in radio and television. He hosted *Town Talk* until 1975, and in 1975 they both appeared on a television show that lasted six months, *The Don and Lois Wilson Show*. He died 25 April 1982.

MARY E. BEADLE

See also Benny, Jack

Donald Harlow Wilson. Born in Lincoln, Nebraska, 1 September 1900. Graduated from University of Colorado, 1923. After a short stint as a salesman, toured the West as a member of a singing trio; abandoned singing career and became an announcer on KFI, Los Angeles, 1929; joined NBC as sports announcer, 1933; served as announcer and cast member for the Jack Benny radio and television programs, 1934–65; announced for radio programs *The Kraft Music Hall* and *The Tommy Riggs and Betty Lou Show*; hosted *Town Talk* with wife in Palm Springs, California, 1967–75; hosted *The Don and Lois Wilson Show* in Palm Springs for six months, 1975. Voted by press and listeners most popular radio announcer, 1937–44. Died in Cathedral City, California, 25 April 1982.

Radio Series

1934–55 *The Jack Benny Program*

1967–75 *Town Talk*
1975 *The Don and Lois Wilson Show*

Television Series

The Jack Benny Program, 1950–64 (CBS); *The Jack Benny Program*, 1964–65 (NBC); *The Don and Lois Wilson Show*, 1975

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Winchell, Walter 1897–1972

U.S. Radio Commentator

One of the most popular American radio gossip journalists in the 1940s, Walter Winchell reached a huge audience with his newspaper column and radio program mixture of gossip and news tips, and he became one of the first celebrity journalists to build a career partially in the electronic media.

Origins

Winchell was born in Harlem and had a difficult childhood of poverty and parental discord. He sold newspapers and early on practiced to perform in the vaudeville circuit. He left school in the sixth grade. Working with George Jessel and Jack Weiner as the "Imperial Trio," he began to entertain while still a youngster. He worked through a number of vaudeville troupes until 1918, when he served for five months as an admiral's aide in the navy.

In February 1920 *Billboard* published the first of his columns, "Stage Whispers," which combined gossip and one-liners about Broadway and vaudeville. The column was credited not to the unknown Winchell but to "the busybody." He then began contributing to the new *Vaudeville News* a column called "Newssence." At the same time, he and spouse Rita Greene continued on the vaudeville circuit. He soon moved off the stage and into full-time journalism with "On Broadway"

for the New York *Evening Graphic* (1924–29) and later for the *Daily Mirror* (1929–63). The column would become syndicated in nearly 1,000 papers by the 1930s and 1940s.

Radio Career

Winchell moved into radio for the first time with several guest appearances on various programs and, in May 1930, a program on the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) called *Before Dinner—Walter Winchell*, which provided an audio version of what he was writing in his daily column. Shortly thereafter he moved to the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) with a gossip news program three times a week. He was soon tapped to be a part of NBC Red's *Lucky Strike Hour*, having attracted the attention of advertiser George Washington Hill. By 1932 Winchell was being touted on billboards across the country.

Winchell's chief radio vehicle, *Jergens Journal*, began in December 1932 on NBC Blue with a Sunday evening 15-minute broadcast that was briefly carried on CBS as well. The program began with Hollywood and Broadway gossip but moved into political news over time. The program continued on NBC Blue and later on the American Broadcasting Companies (ABC) networks until 1948. His opening line—"Good

evening Mr. and Mrs. North America and all the ships at sea—let's go to press!"—and his tapping telegraph key became nationally recognized. He tapped the key himself (it was mere background noise, as he did not know Morse code) while chattering away at some 200 words per minute. The program was a mixture of rumor and "fact"—and was often wrong. It mixed minor Broadway or Hollywood gossip with more important items. As his fame increased, Winchell basically edited what others often wrote (including many press agents eager for a good mention of their client). He constantly sought—and received—favors from those he covered. Along the way he continued a pattern begun years before with created words and phrases that listeners loved and that often entered the language: "making whoopie" (having fun) and "phfft" (getting divorced) are but two examples.

Throughout this 16-year period sponsored by the lotion company, Winchell was essentially liberal in his views, supporting President Roosevelt, but at the same time cozying up to Federal Bureau of Investigation chief J. Edgar Hoover. He was strongly antifascist in tone. He strode mightily across the New York social scene, holding court at table 50 of the swank Stork Club almost nightly. His was a voice to be reckoned with by Hollywood, Broadway, and even politicians.

After the war this began to change, as he slowly swung to the right and became a critic of President Harry Truman. As complaints rose, Jergens dropped the program. Other sponsors quickly picked up Winchell, who continued on ABC on Sunday evenings until 1955. But the final years of his weekly broadcast took on a darker tone, with constant attacks on the left and support for Senator Joseph McCarthy and others on the far right. His coverage of show business seemed to give way to a sharper political tone, and his once huge audience began to drop off. In 1955 Winchell walked away from a lifetime ABC contract and continued his weekly Sunday program on the Mutual network for two more years. A thinly veiled portrayal of him in the movie *The Sweet Smell of Success* (1957) showed the gossip columnist in the most negative fashion.

Winchell made several attempts in the 1950s to carry his persona to television, but the programs were all short-lived, as his intense approach did not work well on the small screen, seeming dated to younger viewers. In his one television success, he reverted to an audio role as the fast-talking narrator of ABC's *The Untouchables* on ABC from 1959 to 1963. His press column was a shadow of itself by the time the New York

World Journal Tribune closed in 1967, ending his newspaper outlet in New York after more than four decades.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Commentators; Hill, George Washington; News

Walter Winchell. Born in New York City, 7 April 1897, older son of Jacob Winschel, a salesman and Janette Bakst. (The "s" in Winschel was dropped when he was young; the extra "l" was added on a theater marquee early in his vaudeville career.) Left school at age 13. Vaudeville circuit in New York, 1910–1917. Admiral's aide, 1918. Reviewer, *Vaudeville News*, then *Billboard*, 1922–24. Columnist, *New York Evening Graphic*, 1924–29. Columnist, *New York World*, 1929–63. *Jergen's Journal* on NBC-Blue/ABC, 1932–49. News program on ABC, 1949–55; continued on Mutual 1955–57. Several short television program series, 1950s. Narrator ABC television's *The Untouchables*, 1959–1963. Died in Los Angeles, 20 February 1972.

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WINS

New York City Station

WINS, important as an all-news radio pioneer in the nation's largest market, traces its history back to the 1920s.

Origins

WINS-AM emerged from pioneering WGBS-AM, part of the Gimbels Brothers department store empire. In 1922 Gimbels had put WIP-AM in its Philadelphia store, and thus it was logical that in 1924 Gimbels would follow with a New York City broadcasting station from its landmark 33rd Street and 6th Avenue location. On opening night, Eddie Cantor was the master of ceremonies, with guests George Gershwin, Rube Goldberg, and the Vincent Lopez Orchestra. In November 1928 Gimbels reorganized its radio operations as the General Broadcasting System and announced plans for national expansion. But the General Broadcasting System failed, and on 10 October 1931, as the Depression deepened, Gimbels sold out to William Randolph Hearst, which changed the call letters to WINS (the *INS* stood for Hearst's International News Service).

In July 1932 WINS moved its studios to Park Avenue and 58th Street. Through the 1930s Hearst tried unsuccessfully to use its newspapers, the *New York Journal-American* and the *New York Daily Mirror*, to make WINS a success by carrying feature stories on station programs and stars, including full listings of the daily schedule. WINS moved to 1010 on the AM dial and to new news studios at 28 West 44th Street in the heart of Times Square. But when these changes brought no higher ratings, in 1945 Hearst sold WINS to Crosley Broadcasting for a reported \$2 million, at the time a record amount paid for a single radio station.

Postwar Changes

The deal was consummated in July 1946, and WINS began to carry programming from WLW-AM Cincinnati, including news broadcasts by Gilbert Kingsbury, the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra, and *Top o' the Morning*. Crosley also tried *Going to Town*, *Morning Matinee*, and the *Three Corner Club*. New York City was not the Midwest, however, and the station's only ratings winner was New York Yankees baseball.

Crosley owned WINS for seven years before selling the station to a consortium headed by J. Elroy McCaw (a radio station owner on the West Coast), Charles F. Skouras (a movie-theater exhibitor), and Jack Keating (a Honolulu and Portland, Oregon, radio station owner) in 1953. Operating as Gotham Broadcasting, WINS was reformatted as a disc jockey station

centered on the talents of Mel Allen, Johnny Clark, Jack Eigen, and Jack Lacy. A pivotal moment came when WINS's union contract with musicians expired in the summer of 1954, and McCaw said that WINS would no longer air any live music. The American Federation of Musicians protested, but to no avail.

Disc jockeys Murray "the K" Kaufman, Paul Sherman "the Clown Prince of Rock and Roll," Sam Z. Burns, and Herb Sheldin boosted WINS to the top tier of New York radio. Murray Kaufman became so popular that when the Atlantic record label issued Bobby Darin's "Splish, Splash," composer Darin assigned half the publishing rights to Murray Kaufman's mother so that Murray would plug the song on WINS. This transformation had formally begun in the fall of 1954 when McCaw hired Alan Freed from Cleveland. However, Freed proved so controversial that, despite his popularity, he was fired in May 1958. As the "Fifth Beatle," Murray the K would prove a far more lasting figure.

All News

In July 1962 McCaw and his Gotham group cashed in and sold WINS to Westinghouse Broadcasting Company for a reported \$10 million. Westinghouse at first continued to seek a musical format to top market leader WABC-AM, but it never succeeded. So on Monday, 19 April 1965, WINS went to an all-news format, becoming one of the first stations to make what was then considered a radical format transition. Importantly, WINS pioneered the all-news format in the largest media market in the United States. The station donated its massive music library to Fordham University, and a radio era was over.

WINS-AM became the station where New Yorkers tuned to learn about breaking news. In November 1965, when a major blackout darkened northeastern cities, WINS kept millions informed during the crisis as they listened on battery-powered portable radios. That same year WINS-AM became New York City's first all-computerized news operation, but advanced automation sometimes caused problems. For example, in December 1973 the station falsely reported that New York's Governor Nelson Rockefeller had been stabbed during a visit to Atlanta. Better for the station's image was the March 1974 event when Joseph Yacovelli, wanted for nearly two years by New York City police in connection with the shooting death of underworld leader Joseph Gallo, turned himself in at WINS studios. Yacovelli's attorney said that the purpose of broadcasting the surrender was to protect against police "manufac-

ture” of evidence against his client. Credit for arranging the public surrender went to WINS newsman Paul Sherman, long-time friend of Yacovelli’s attorney.

By 2000 WINS was still part of Westinghouse, which was in turn part of media conglomerate Viacom. WINS-AM was simply one profitable AM radio station within a vast group of radio stations, allied with Viacom’s other interest in television and film. To New Yorkers, WINS-AM was still “all news, all the time.”

DOUGLAS GOMERY AND CHUCK HOWELL

See also All-News Format; Murray the K; Westinghouse

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Wireless Acts of 1910 and 1912; Radio Acts of 1912 and 1927

Pioneering U.S. Legislation

Four acts of Congress concerning radio preceded the definitive Communications Act of 1934. The first two focused on maritime wireless telegraphy and are mostly important as initial precedents. The Radio Act of 1912 was to stand for 15 years and was thus in force for the first seven years of regular broadcasting. Its many defects led to the more complex Radio Act of 1927, many provisions of which remain in force three-quarters of a century later.

Origins

The history of congressional action in the field of communications reaches well back into the 19th century with the Post Roads Act of 1866, in which Congress sought “to aid in the construction of telegraph lines and to secure to the government the use of the same for postal, military, and other purposes.”

As experimental wireless activity increased after 1903, attempts were made to regulate the “wireless telegraph” industry. Between 1902 and 1912, some 28 bills were introduced in the U.S. Congress to deal with the problem of interference. In 1903 Germany called the First International Convention on radio, and the U.S. Navy made its first attempt to regulate wireless transmission. On 12 July 1904, President Theodore Roosevelt formed an inter-departmental radio advisory board consisting of the departments of commerce and labor, navy, war, and agriculture. Its recommendations constitute the first well-defined radio policy of the U.S. government. One of its rec-

ommendations was the necessity for legislation to prevent the control of radio telegraphy by monopolies or trusts by placing supervision in the Department of Commerce and Labor.

In 1906 the German government called the Second International Radio-Telegraph Conference, which was attended by 27 nations. The U.S. Senate’s failure to ratify the resulting Berlin Convention caused all government departments concerned with radio to intensify their efforts to obtain legislation for federal supervision of radio usage. The navy department led these efforts, because the commercial wireless companies and amateur interests were opposed to any legislation that would affect their interests.

The marine disaster on 23 January 1909—when the liner *Republic*, with 440 passengers, collided with the Italian SS *Florida*, crowded with 830 immigrants, virtually all of whom were saved thanks to wireless distress messages—focused the public’s attention on the safety applications of wireless. Within days there was considerable editorial comment on the role wireless had played in limiting the loss of life, creating such a favorable impression that radio, like life preservers, came to be considered a necessity by individual sea voyagers.

Wireless Ship Acts of 1910 and 1912

On 8 February 1909, President Theodore Roosevelt sent a special message to Congress recommending the immediate passage of legislation requiring, within reasonable limits, ocean-

going vessels to be fitted with efficient radio equipment. The Wireless Ship Act of 1910 contained in just one page nearly all that was called for in the 1906 Berlin protocol. The first step to carrying out the provisions of the law was the creation of a radio inspection service.

On the night of 14 April 1912, two months before the Third Wireless Conference was to be held in London, the liner *Titanic*, on its maiden voyage, struck an iceberg 800 miles off the coast of Nova Scotia. The *Titanic* disaster, in which some 1,500 people lost their lives, is often cited as the reason for amending the Wireless Ship Act. However, the subcommittee of the Senate commerce committee had completed its work and the bill had been reported out prior to the *Titanic* disaster. It had become apparent that the United States would have to ratify the 1906 Berlin Convention in order to be invited to a forthcoming London Conference. The new bill became the Wireless Act of 1912. The *Titanic* disaster, however, had awakened congressional concerns for such legislation and ensured its final enactment.

Radio Act of 1912

The Radio Act of 13 August 1912 was a totally new piece of legislation to provide for the licensing of terrestrial (not maritime) radio operators and transmitting stations. For nearly 15 years, radio operators and radio stations were licensed under this law, which was in effect until 1927.

The law was designed to serve two purposes: (1) to promote safety of life and property at sea and to promote commerce by facilitating the dispatch of ships; and (2) to secure the fullest use of radio communication by means of federal regulation, which was made necessary by the fact that in the state of the art at that time, unregulated use and resulting interference would impair or prevent almost all use. To give effect to these two purposes, both based on the Commerce Clause of the Constitution (Article I, Section 8), Congress provided for licensing and entrusted the administration of the system to the Department of Commerce and Labor's Bureau of Navigation, which previously had inspected ships leaving the United States' harbors for proper wireless apparatus.

The term *radio communication* instead of *radio telegraphy* was used throughout the bill so that its provisions would cover the possibility of the commercial development of radio telephony (or the use of radio waves to carry voice and other non-code signals). One feature of the Radio Act of 1912 that had far-reaching consequences was the fact that 19 specific regulations were embodied in the law, and thus no discretion to make further regulations was allowed to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor. It was the judgment of some members of Congress that doing so would be a surrender by Congress of its powers and would, to all intents and purposes, bestow discretionary legislative power on administrative officers.

Secretary of Commerce and Labor Charles Nagel soon attempted to deny a license to a station that was a subsidiary of certain German interests. Germany did not allow American-owned or -controlled stations to operate in that country, and the secretary wished to apply pressure until a reciprocal arrangement could be made with Germany that would allow U.S. capital the right of investing in and controlling corporations organized under German laws. The secretary of commerce asked for an opinion from the U.S. attorney general concerning his licensing power, and on 22 November 1912, he was advised that Congress had not intended to repose any discretion in the secretary. Although the 1912 opinion clearly restricted the secretary of commerce, he used as a lever a clause that directed him to license for the "least possible interference." However, in reality no one had been given the authority to meet the new problems that were to arise with the rapid development of radio telephony. The fact that a "normal" wavelength might be written on the face of the license did not give the Department of Commerce (as it was after 1913) actual power of wavelength assignment.

Nevertheless, the assumption of controls was a step forward, and no serious problems arose for some eight years, until the era of regular broadcasting began in 1920. The development of radio broadcasting was delayed first by the threat of government ownership and then by renewal of the patent wars of the radio manufacturing industry. Bills on behalf of the Navy Department, which desired to take over wireless, were presented in January 1917 and again late in 1918. On both occasions, Congress, reluctant to establish outright governmental control, tabled the proposals. The cross-licensing agreements of General Electric, Western Electric, and Westinghouse in 1920-21, involving some 1,200 radio patents, ended the long patent war in radio.

Early Broadcast Regulation

After 1920, the biggest problems the Department of Commerce faced were the licensing of broadcast stations and the control of interference. Twenty bills were placed before the 67th Congress (1921-23); 13 proposed laws were submitted to the 68th Congress (1923-25); and 18 bills were introduced to the 69th Congress (1925-27)—all to regulate radio communication. Of these 51 bills, only one was to pass both houses of Congress—the Radio Act of 1927. Of importance is what took place while these various bills were being debated.

The first step to controlling interference was the closing down of amateur radio transmission. Another reason for stopping amateur work was the fact that many amateurs were attempting "broadcasting." To prevent this, the Department of Commerce began stipulating on all licenses the material that particular classes of licenses could transmit, restricting music,

weather, market reports, speeches, news, and so forth to the "limited commercial" or broadcasting stations.

Radio conferences were held to obtain industry support. At the First National Radio Telephony Conference, held at Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover's invitation in Washington in 1922, priorities were assigned to stations according to the services they rendered, with toll stations (i.e., those that sold their airtime) being last on the list. The concepts that the wavelengths being used were public property, that broadcasting should be performed by private enterprise, that there should be no monopoly, and that there must be regulation by the government were presented at these meetings.

The numbers of stations continued to increase, and time sharing became increasingly difficult. The Department of Commerce made available another wavelength for a special class of stations, called Class B. These stations were to be the higher-grade stations in terms of both equipment and programming. Congestion still grew on all three available frequencies. Time sharing of Class B stations began to be required before 1923. The new station classification system with the extra frequency did not solve the problems of interference or time sharing.

The Department of Commerce then decided that a complete band of frequencies was necessary, with specific wavelengths assigned to cities for use by broadcasting stations in those localities. Upon consultation with the navy, which agreed to relinquish its control of the 600- to 1600-meter wavelengths to obtain new equipment, the band of 500 to 1500 kilohertz was made available exclusively for broadcasting on 15 May 1923.

The Second National Radio Conference in Washington then formally recognized and supported the Department of Commerce's classification system. However, with the increasing number of stations, all of which had great difficulty maintaining a constant frequency with accuracy, the interference and time-sharing problems continued.

A third conference was called by Hoover in an effort to deal with interference. Power increases continued, and experimentation was conducted to reduce the kilocycle separation between adjacent stations. The very success and popularity of broadcasting gave rise to its principal difficulty, which came to a head in 1925. The frequencies of broadcasting stations, which were in 10-kilohertz bands, provided 89 channels or frequencies. Since there were about 578 stations operating in 1925, not every station could have an exclusive frequency, and most of the stations had to share time with one or more stations. This duplicate assignment of frequencies required that stations alternate in the use of the frequencies, for instance, by transmitting on alternate evenings. This was generally recognized as undesirable. In spite of this, the building of stations and the applications for broadcasting licenses increased. Because all of the channels for broadcasting were already completely filled, the Department of Commerce could see no way of complying with more applications.

The discussions at the Fourth (and final) National Radio Conference in 1925 clearly brought out the fact that broadcasting would be harmed unless a severe check were put on the numbers of stations being authorized. The Department of Commerce in 1926 refused to license any further radio stations, leading to increased pressure from those individuals and corporations who wished to enter this growing field. Scarcity inevitably brought about an increase in the practice of renting the airtime of broadcasting stations to parties who wished to reach the public.

The Zenith Radio Corporation, which had obtained a license in 1925 by promising to restrict their schedule to two hours of operation a week, pressed for either increases in broadcast time or another frequency. Without permission, Eugene F. McDonald placed the company's station, WJAZ, in operation on a Canadian frequency. The Department of Commerce initiated court action, and on 16 April 1926, the court found that the Department of Commerce had no right to make regulations other than those prescribed in the Act of 1912 and could not, therefore, limit a license as to frequency.

Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, instead of appealing the court decision, forced the issue by requesting an opinion on his powers from the attorney general of the United States. This opinion supported the WJAZ-Zenith Company decision and restricted the Department of Commerce's powers to the issuance of licenses to any and all applicants. Because of this decision, at least 100 stations changed frequencies, and over 200 were issued licenses when they applied for them. This created chaos. The main difficulty in achieving legislation was resolving the question of which agency should control radio regulation. Secretary Hoover compromised his stand of keeping the control within the Department of Commerce and agreed to leave some control in the radio service and regulatory and licensing control in an independent commission.

Radio Act of 1927

The Department of Commerce's involvement with broadcast regulation diminished but did not cease. The Act of 1927 was an experiment in the field of administrative legislation, as it combined a semi-independent agency with the Department of Commerce's newly formed Radio Division.

First, the Act created a Federal Radio Commission of five members, appointed by the president with the advice and consent of the Senate. The commission was given broad administrative and quasi-judicial powers to classify radio stations, prescribe the nature of their service, assign frequencies and wavelengths, determine locations for classes of stations, regulate the apparatus used, prevent interference through regulation, hold hearings, and summon witnesses.

The Radio Division of the Department of Commerce retained the power to accept applications for station licenses,

renewals, or changes, but these were to be referred to the commission for definite actions. The secretary of commerce might refer to the commission any matter upon which he desired its judgment. An appeal could be made to the commission from any decision or regulation that the Radio Division, through the secretary of commerce, made.

Second, certain purely administrative powers were left in the hands of the secretary of commerce. He was to receive all applications, although he could not act on them. He was to license and fix the qualifications of station operators and suspend such licenses for cause. He was to inspect, through the Radio Division, transmitting equipment; designate call letters; and conduct investigations designed to uncover violations of the act or the terms of the licenses.

Third, this division of labor was to continue for one year only. The secretary of commerce was then to take over all the powers and duties of the Federal Radio Commission except its power to revoke licenses and its appellate powers, and the commission itself was to become merely an appellate body. However, at the end of one year it was apparent that only the worst cases of radio interference had been eliminated, and for the next two years Congress continued the year-by-year status of the commission.

In December 1929 the Federal Radio Commission was made a permanent agency of government. The Radio Division of the Department of Commerce became the field staff of the Federal Radio Commission on 20 July 1932.

The Department of Commerce radio actions influenced almost all of the provisions of the law that was passed in 1927. Through trial and error, the essential ingredients of the regulatory scheme embodied in the Radio Act of 1927 had been developed and refined. The Radio Act of 1927 codified that (1) the radio waves or channels belong to the public; (2) broadcasting is a unique service; (3) not everyone is eligible to use a channel; (4) radio broadcasting is a form of expression protected by the First Amendment; (5) the government has discretionary regulatory powers; and (6) the government's powers are not absolute. Perhaps most importantly, the 1927 law created the principal under which radio was to be regulated—"the public interest, convenience, or necessity," a phrase not

defined in the act. Carried over into the definitive 1934 Communications Act, and still in force, the words have been variously defined over the years by the courts, adding to a considerable degree to the Act's flexibility.

MARVIN BENSMAN

See also Communications Act of 1934; Federal Radio Commission; Hoover, Herbert; Public Interest, Convenience, or Necessity

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Wire Recording

Early Means of Radio Recording

Wire recording technology, used briefly in the 1940s, was an interim approach to recording of radio programs. It helped mark the transition from electrical transcriptions in the 1930s to the soon-to-be-developed plastic tape recording process introduced in the late 1940s and widespread by the 1950s.

Origins

The phonograph and later the wire recorder were developed as dictation devices for stenographers, not for entertainment value. After the 1877 invention of the phonograph, Oberlin Smith, an American mechanical engineer, suggested in the September 1888 issue of *Electrical World* that a thread or ribbon of magnetizable material could record and play sound electromagnetically.

Building on Smith's suggestion, Danish inventor Valdemar Poulsen built the first magnetic recorder in 1893 using a steel piano wire. Poulsen's "telegraphone," patented in 1898, was designed as a dictation device for office use and as an alternative to the phonograph. A working model was demonstrated at the 1900 Paris Exposition and was apparently received well, winning the *Grand Prix*. It was capable of recording for 30 minutes with the wire traveling seven feet per second. Following the device's success, Poulsen and others searched for financial backing but were not successful.

Early wire recording had inherent technical problems. The first wire recorders utilized acoustical (mechanical) technology as opposed to electronic recording. This frequency response was limited; the dynamic recording range did not exceed about 20 decibels, and there were high noise levels and low acoustical output in comparison with other mechanical systems then in place. In time some of these technical problems were overcome. Wire recorders recorded crosswise in a perpendicular direction as opposed to longitudinal magnetization. The discovery of AC or high frequency bias technique and better recording head design aided the process.

Most wire recording improvements occurred in Europe. In 1930 several movies were completed by Ludwig Blattner in England using a sound track recorded on synchronized steel tape. The British Marconi Company acquired Blattner's company and improved the recorder (called the "Blattnerphone") to produce the "Marconi-Stille" machine used by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). But this machine weighed almost a ton and thus was not portable.

In Europe the "Dailygraph" was a wire recorder used for dictation and telephone recording by the Echophone Company. One interesting feature was the device's cartridge loading

capability. In 1933 the C. Lorenz Company sold the "Textophone," an improved version of the Dailygraph that featured wire or steel bands. Both machines were used throughout Europe to provide a central station telephone answering service or for centralized office dictation systems. The machine was eventually used by Nazi party officials in 1933.

About this time various versions of tape recording entered the marketplace. One example was the "magnetophone" exhibited at the 1935 Radio Exposition in Berlin. The medium used was a 6.5-millimeter-wide plastic tape. Another machine, the German "Lorenz Stahltonmaschine," used steel tape. Other steel tape machines followed.

Government-operated radio systems were another catalyst for the development of wire recording in Europe, as a method of storing programming and broadcasting programs across various time zones was needed. Military interest in the United States also spurred wire recording. Immediately prior to the U.S. entry into World War II, wire recorders built by Armour Research Foundation were used for research in submarine detection, language classes, and music recording. Wire recorders also were used increasingly by the U.S. military in the war effort. Manufacturers included Peirce Wire Recorder, the Armour Research Foundation, and Minifon.

An early American pioneer in the development of wire recording was Marvin Camras (1916–95). In 1938 he helped develop a consumer wire recorder, "Model 50," from the Armour Research Foundation. The U.S. military used these wire recorders to train pilots. They were also used to record battle sounds and then play them back, amplified, in places where the D-Day invasion would not take place, thus deceiving the German military. Brush Development (a company in Cleveland, Ohio) also designed and built wire recorders for the U.S. military. One model had a magazine that totally enclosed the spools of wire, level winders, heads, and indicators; it also featured bronze wire. (The first use of stainless steel in 1943 was an important development for wire recorders. It was magnetically superior to previously used carbon steel and even to chromium and tungsten alloy magnet steels; it did not rust or corrode.)

Active Use

After World War II, the production of consumer wire recorders increased until it peaked around 1948. Webster-Chicago and Sears, Roebuck and Company began large-scale wire recorder production. Wire recorders were an alternative to high-priced dictation equipment as they featured advanced

electronics and were erasable, a feature not feasible with wax or vinyl. A typical wire machine would use a wire gauge from .004 to .0036 inches. At a speed of 24 inches per second, typical recording time would be 15 minutes, 30 minutes, or one hour. Magnecord produced a wire machine with a frequency response from 35 to 15,000 hertz and flutter below 0.1 percent. (School systems had been among the first to buy wire recorders; a typical model would cost about \$150, an affordable price for many school systems. However, the wire would easily snarl and the devices were too difficult for young children to use.)

One of the most popular models was the Webster-Chicago (Webcor) Model 80 because of its low cost, portability, and relative reliability. A similar model was built by Crescent Industries of Chicago. A compact automobile recorder was built by WiRecorder Corporation of Detroit. However, it saw only limited production. Utah Radio Products introduced its "Magic Wire" machine in 1945, touting its ability to record up to 66 minutes of talk or music on one spool. Advertisements emphasized the point that the portable recorder-reproducer had been originally developed for the military.

The value of wire recorded audio segments became clear in postwar radio news departments, several of which were using the device by 1946 and 1947. In January 1948 Mutual's Washington bureau reported that the chairs of all congressional committees had agreed to wire recorder use in committee sessions. By this time some reporters were using wire recorders to

create "cut-in" recordings that allowed the broadcast of speech or interview highlights within newscasts.

Decline

The rise of a vastly improved competing device—plastic tape for recording—soon spelled the end of wire recording as a mainline technology. The formation of Ampex in 1946 (and the financial support of its research by singer Bing Crosby) helped to focus work on seeking an effective means of recording popular weekly shows to avoid live rebroadcasts for different time zones. Wire recording continued to be used for many years by military personnel, who appreciated the ruggedness of the equipment and had less need for high fidelity recordings.

DAVID SPICELAND

See also Audiotape; Recording and Studio Equipment

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WJR

Detroit, Michigan Station

Perhaps best known in the latter half of the 20th century for its award-winning news, documentaries, and sports coverage, WJR is a 50,000-watt clear channel station with a long and colorful broadcast history.

Origins

When newspaper rival *The Detroit News* put its station WWJ on the air in 1920, *Detroit Free Press* owner and publisher E.D. Stair felt compelled to begin his own station. So WCX, WJR's precursor, began broadcasting on 4 May 1922 from a studio located on the ninth floor of the Free Press Building. Operating at 580 kilohertz, WCX became known as "The Call

of the Motor City." One of its popular programs was a variety show called the *Red Apple Club*, named after WCX's first manager, C.D. Tomy, who offered a "nice red apple" to the first person to call in with the name of the next singing guest. Tomy later became "Uncle Neal" to two generations of listeners who grew up with his children's programs on WJR.

On 16 August 1925, the Jewett Radio and Phonographic Company of Pontiac bought into WCX and moved it to the Book-Cadillac Hotel. The station became WCX/WJR (the "JR" stood for Jewett Radio). Power was increased from 517 watts to 5,000 watts, making it the second "super power" station in the country (Cincinnati's WLW was the first). For more than two years the *Free Press's* WCX broadcast news, sports

and *The Red Apple Club* while WJR aired commercial programs on their shared frequency.

On 20 December 1926 WCX's call letters were changed to WJR and it moved from 580 to 680 kilohertz. Jewett had hired Leo J. Fitzpatrick, a popular personality from Kansas, as program director in hopes of increasing sales of his radios, but Jewett went out of business. It soon became clear to most radio manufacturers who owned radio facilities that stations could not survive on radio set sales alone.

In 1926 WJR offered several religious programs on a commercial basis, and Sundays were especially profitable. Now station manager, Fitzpatrick persuaded Father Charles Coughlin of the Shrine of the Little Flower in Royal Oak to experiment in using radio for fund-raising. The program was a success and the controversial priest soon became known over the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) network for his vitriolic political views.

George A. Richards (president of Pontiac automobiles of southern Michigan) and the Richards-Oakland Motor Car Company bought the *Detroit Free Press's* interest in WJR in 1927 and constructed a street-level studio for it in a show-room in the General Motors Building. It was perhaps the only station in the country to operate a ground-floor studio, and entertainers could be seen by passersby. Its new slogan was "The Goodwill Station." In April 1927 WJR/WCX became affiliated with the Blue Network of the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), and in 1928 the WJR orchestra was formed, beginning almost 40 years of music performed live by various WJR staff.

After the Federal Radio Commission revised the entire broadcasting band in 1928, WCX/WJR moved to 750 kilohertz. In December 1928 WJR physically separated from WCX. The station installed studios in the new Fisher Building for a token rental fee and regular on-air mentions of its location. On 17 April 1929 WJR bought all of WCX's equipment and WCX left the air. In July 1929 WJR, the Good Will Station, was formed.

In 1932 WJR increased its power to 10,000 watts and became "In the Golden Tower." Programs during the 1930s included *Detroit Police Drama*, based on actual crimes, and *The Seven-Day Trial of Vivienne Ware*, featuring Judge John Brennan overseeing a trial and then basing his verdict and sentence on listener votes.

WJR switched from the NBC network to CBS in 1935 and constructed a 50,000-watt transmitter. On 29 March 1941 WJR moved again from 750 to 760 kilohertz, where it remains today. In 1942 it began operating 24 hours a day. Future Federal Communications Commissioner (FCC) James H. Quello was hired in 1947 as publicity and promotions director, rising to become vice president and station manager of WJR 22 years later.

In the 1940s WJR created hundreds of special programs devoted to the war effort. In 1944 owner George Richards began *Victory F.O.B.*, a series that featured a businessman supposedly discussing postwar problems. By this time Richards owned two other 50,000-watt stations. It had become clear that he had a strong political agenda and wished to use his stations to further his causes. According to broadcast historian Erik Barnouw, Richards wanted to use *F.O.B.* to influence the 1944 and 1948 elections. He had a history of encouraging both anti-Semitism and comments against President Franklin D. Roosevelt on his stations. A petition in March 1948 to the FCC from the Radio News Club of Southern California accused Richards of instructing his newsmen to slant, distort, and falsify news. It led to a struggle by Richards to keep his station licenses. Richards died in 1951 during the extensive hearings, but the station licenses were renewed by his family.

The Modern Station

By the late 1950s WJR had developed an intensive news schedule, producing eight five-minute daily newscasts as well as five-minute network news summaries throughout the day. A variety of programs aired in the 1950s, including symphony concerts, opera, and sports. Rock and roll was excluded, according to then executive vice president Worth Kramer, because it was "music to steal hubcaps by." Popular host J.P. McCarthy began at WJR in 1956 as a staff announcer and took over *Music Hall*, a morning music show, in 1958. He went on to dominate the Detroit market for many years with his blend of music and talk on WJR. In 1959 the station left the CBS network to commit itself to more local programming.

CBS and WJR joined forces again on 30 December 1962. CBS agreed to let the popular WJR censor any network advertisements and programs. It was the only CBS station in the country that didn't broadcast Arthur Godfrey's show live, as it aired at the same time as WJR's showcase program, *Adventures in Good Music* (hosted by Karl Haas, the station's director of fine arts). One of the most celebrated educational programs during the 1960s was the award-winning *Kaleidoscope*, a blend of recorded music and dramatic narrative on a particular topic, hosted by Mike Whorf. WJR was sold to Capital Cities Broadcasting Corporation on 9 September 1964. Its on-air slogan became "The Great Voice of the Great Lakes," and it changed to a middle-of-the-road talk and variety format.

On 1 January 1976 WJR dropped its CBS affiliation and joined the NBC radio network. In early 1983 WJR "Radio 76" began C-QUAM stereo broadcasting. When Capital Cities Broadcasting merged with the American Broadcasting Companies (ABC) in the spring of 1985, WJR's NBC affiliation was dropped for the ABC Information Network.

In 1990 WJR changed to an adult contemporary music/news/talk format but dropped the music in 1993. On 9 February 1996 Capital Cities/ABC, including WJR, was purchased by the Walt Disney Company, and its licensee name was shortened to ABC. WJR continued into the 21st century as "The Great Voice of the Great Lakes" with its award-winning news and sports coverage.

LYNN SPANGLER

See also Adventures in Good Music; Columbia Broadcasting System; Coughlin, Father Charles; National Broadcasting Company

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WLAC

Nashville, Tennessee Station

WLAC is the powerful radio station in Nashville, Tennessee, that played an influential role in the national diffusion of music recorded by African-American artists from the late 1940s through the mid-1960s. The call letters represent the Life and Casualty Insurance Company of Tennessee, which established the station in 1926. In its early years WLAC was known as the "Thrift Station," reflecting the inscription "Thrift—the Cornerstone" chiseled on the Life and Casualty headquarters building in downtown Nashville.

After operating the station for about a decade, in 1935 Life and Casualty sold WLAC to a company executive, J. Truman Ward. During Ward's tenure as licensee, WLAC enjoyed a close relationship with the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS). Ward's station manager, F.C. Sowell, served as head of the CBS affiliate group, and the network carried a few of WLAC's local programs coast to coast.

WLAC began operation with 1,000 watts of power and increased to 5,000 watts within a few years, but in 1941 Ward won a class 1-B clear channel assignment. For full-time operation with 50,000 watts at 1510 kilohertz, WLAC engineers designed a new transmitter facility about seven miles north of Nashville. The antenna system accentuated night-time skywave radiation, resulting in a reliable signal that carried the CBS prime-time schedule into 28 states and parts of Canada.

Following World War II, WLAC developed a lucrative niche advertising market by promoting the products of the many small, independent record companies of the period that specialized in "race music" or "sepia and swing." Sometime around 1946 or 1947 WLAC announcer Gene Nobles began to generate a large volume of mail by playing African-American artists on a late-night disc jockey program sponsored by a

middle-Tennessee record store. WLAC's management soon recognized the revenue potential of selling access to its widespread night-time audience on a per-inquiry (PI) basis. As network programming dwindled, PI programming on WLAC was gradually extended into the earlier evening hours. During the height of WLAC's PI years, the station maintained a large mail room to handle the orders for products advertised nightly such as 45-rpm recordings, pomade, petroleum jelly, and live baby chicks. These orders were delivered daily to the station by the postal service in large canvas bags. WLAC also sold blocks of time at night for paid religious broadcasts.

In addition to Gene Nobles, the night-time announcing staff included Herman Grizzard, John Richbourg ("John R"), Bill Allen ("The Hossman"), Hugh Jarrett ("Huey Baby"), and newscaster Don Whitehead. The music varied according to the products being pitched. On-air descriptions included "the sweet and the beat," "rock and roll," "rhythm and blues," "spirituals," and "gospel." Several African-American artists who became major recording stars after Motown brought rhythm and blues music into the cultural mainstream have attributed their early success to WLAC airplay in general and in particular to Bill Allen and John Richbourg, both of whom maintained close ties to the recording industry.

Truman Ward sold WLAC back to Life and Casualty in 1953 during the early years of the music-and-news era. His son, Jim Ward, later served as the station's general manager during Life and Casualty's second period as licensee. Although well positioned for a television license, Life and Casualty chose to merge interests with two competing local applicants in order to facilitate the construction of Nashville's third television station, WLAC-TV, in 1954. From 1964 to 1967, WLAC-TV

aired a local weekend variety program, *Night Train*, which featured many of the African-American artists heard nightly on WLAC "blues" radio.

Life and Casualty also operated a successful separately programmed FM station during the 1960s and 1970s. From studios on the observation deck of the company's Nashville skyscraper—the tallest building in the southeastern United States when built in 1957—WLAC-FM featured an easy listening format that introduced many middle Tennesseans to FM.

It is important to recognize that during the day, when its signal covered a 125-mile radius of Nashville, WLAC sounded like an entirely different radio station from the one listeners in distant places received via night-time skip signals. Daytime listeners in middle Tennessee, southern Kentucky, and northern Alabama heard a full array of mass-appeal adult programming that included CBS news and features, local news and interview programs, editorials by F.C. Sowell ("The South's Foremost Radio Commentator"), helicopter traffic reports, and upbeat middle-of-the-road music.

In 1971 WLAC introduced Nashville's first news-talk format, but the next year the station dropped its CBS affiliation and switched to a Top 40 music format. WLAC enjoyed several years of good audience ratings with Top 40. It was during those years that the station gradually retreated from its legendary night-time schedule. John Richbourg retired in 1973 rather than play Top 40 music. Bill Allen and Gene Nobles continued to host a few late-night PI shows for long-time sponsors, but by 1977 Top 40 music aired until midnight. The PI and paid religious programming that had distinguished WLAC from other clear channel stations was relegated to overnights.

In 1968 the Life and Casualty Insurance Company of Tennessee was acquired by American General, the Houston-based insurance conglomerate. Life and Casualty's 50 percent interest in WLAC-TV was sold in 1975, and in 1977 WLAC AM-FM were sold to the publishers of *Billboard* magazine.

By 1980 historians of popular culture had begun to recognize Gene Nobles as the first person in the United States to play "race music" on a "power" station. WLAC's impact as a principal conduit of rhythm and blues music throughout the eastern half of North America during the 1950s and 1960s has made it one of America's most frequently cited radio stations in historical treatments of the early rock and roll era. In 2003 WLAC was again a CBS affiliate and featured an award-winning all-news-talk format.

ROBERT M. OGLES

See also Black-Oriented Radio; WSM

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WLS

Chicago, Illinois Station

Chicago's WLS-AM started as WJR, but in April 1924 the Sears-Roebuck company took over the station and renamed it—in one of the most famous of radio's early logos—for the "World's Largest Store." First under Sears, then after 1928 under a new owner—the *Prairie Farmer* magazine—and finally later in the 20th century under the American Broadcasting Companies (ABC), WLS-AM has long helped define radio broadcasting in Chicago and the upper Midwest. Clear channel status, granted in the early 1930s, made WLS-AM a fixture

in homes from Minnesota to Ohio, from the Upper Peninsula of Michigan to the cotton fields of Arkansas and Mississippi.

WLS-AM ought to be remembered as the home base for one of radio's most popular programs of its golden age. Although the *Grand Ole Opry* survived longer, the WLS *National Barn Dance* before World War II pulled in a far larger listenership and ranked as America's most popular country music program. After being picked up by the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) network in 1933, the *National*

Barn Dance expanded to all Saturday night once *Prairie Farmer* took charge. Renamed simply *The WLS National Barn Dance*, the show became an NBC Saturday night fixture. Indeed, it was only seven years later, in 1940, that NBC paired the *WLS National Barn Dance* with the *Grand Ole Opry* on the network. The two programs battled evenly during World War II, but the postwar years saw the *Opry* surpass its predecessor in ratings. In time, country format radio, playing recorded music, would replace all barn dance live radio shows—except for the *Opry*.

Still, WLS-AM offered more than the *Barn Dance*. *Prairie Farmer* sold not only its magazines, but also membership in the WLS–Prairie Farmer Protective Union, which promised farmers that it would keep thieves away from listeners’ farms. Resident announcers, such as Hal O’Halloran, Martha Crane, Al Rice, Jack Holden, Margaret McKay, and Bill Cline became household names. Ralph Waldo Emerson, organist for WLS, offered an alternative to string hillbilly music. Bill Vickland, the voice of the *Book Shop*, produced live drama. The Sunday School Singers Trio was heard each week on the *Cross Roads Sunday School*. The WLS Staff Orchestra, under Herman Felber’s direction, played Tin Pan Alley standards and the latest big band hits. The Chicago Gospel Tabernacle offered another alternative. And Jim Poole offered the necessary reports from the Chicago Live Stock Exchange.

WLS-AM became part of the ABC radio network in 1960. By then, in response to the ascendance of television, WLS-AM needed to reinvent itself. In May 1960 it joined the Top 40 ranks and helped bring mainstream rock sound to the Chicago

area through the 1980s. New management hired and promoted many local disc jockey stars—none hotter or more famous than Larry Lujack, who, based at WLS-AM, became one of the symbols of the Top 40 era.

In the 1990s, WLS-AM became news plus talk radio 890, adapting to the new ownership by the Walt Disney company in 1995. The program lineup by 2000 included Dr. Laura Schlessinger, Rush Limbaugh, and Electronic Town Hall meetings over radio.

DOUGLAS GOMERY

See also Biondi, Dick; Clear Channel Stations; Country Music Format; Farm/Agricultural Radio; National Barn Dance

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WLW

Cincinnati, Ohio Station

“The Nation’s Station,” founded in Cincinnati in 1922 by Powel Crosley, Jr., was for many years the United States’ most powerful radio station, not only in wattage but in the wide geographical range of its audience. From 1935 to 1939, it used 10 times the wattage allowed today. WLW produced and broadcast popular local programming over a large area in Ohio, Indiana, and Kentucky, and also had listeners in Michigan, West Virginia, Illinois, and Tennessee—and in many more states at night. Numerous stars began their careers at WLW (the talent roster includes Fats Waller and Rod Serling), and the station developed programs that were later carried on the national networks. After nearly 80 years WLW remains the

most popular radio station in Cincinnati and a large surrounding area, aided by its favorable combination of power and frequency—50,000 watts at 700 MHz.

Origins

Crosley, a manufacturer in Cincinnati, Ohio, became interested in radio in 1921 when his son asked for a “radio toy” as a birthday present. Crosley’s interest in radio grew to fascination as he built a set for his son from an instruction booklet and an assortment of loose parts. That same year he started an amateur radio station in his home, licensed as 8XAA, and within

about a year the Crosley Manufacturing Corporation was the world's largest manufacturer of radio sets and parts. In March 1922 Crosley's station was assigned (at random, as was the practice) the letters WLW as a call sign for a "land radio station" of 50 watts on 360 meters. Such a station could have had a range of about 100 miles, but it shared that frequency with hundreds of other stations.

Because he was manufacturing small, inexpensive, and therefore less sensitive radio receivers, Crosley had a more compelling interest in higher power than did many other radio broadcasters. The station's power was increased to 500 watts in April 1923, then to 1,000 watts a year later, and the Commerce Department announced it might use five kilowatts on a "strictly experimental" basis.

At first WLW was operated mainly to provide programming for purchasers of Crosley radio sets "as a medium of advertising and publicity." The company's weekly magazine, distributed to radio retailers and purchasers of new sets, asked listeners to fill out a questionnaire to vote for the type of programs they would most like to hear, out of a choice of music, talk, and drama categories.

The station's earliest programs were musical variety shows featuring amateur talent, talks, and soloists. In August 1922 Crosley hired Fred Smith as station director; he was WLW's first employee. Smith, who later conceived of the news digest program that became *The March of Time*, inaugurated a regular daytime schedule of market reports, financial news, weather, and recorded music. For the evening hours he arranged musical variety shows and live music remotes. Smith also wrote original radio dramas, the first of which aired on 22 December 1922. On 3 April 1923, WLW broadcast *When Love Wakens*, an original play that Smith wrote especially for radio—probably the first in radio history—and for one station in particular (note the title's initials).

Fred Smith tried many other formats at the station, too, to provide entertainment and information, such as programs for children, lectures to teach swimming, and re-creating a boxing match based on telephone reports from a station staff member at the arena. He also read news items interspersed with musical selections played by an organist in the studio; Smith later revised this news digest program as the basis for the news drama program *The March of Time*.

The U.S. Commerce Department designated WLW as a class B station in June 1923, making the Cincinnati station one of only about 39 (of 500 total stations) in the United States that could use higher power. When the Federal Radio Commission (FRC) set about "cleaning up the broadcast situation" and announced frequency assignment for 694 stations beginning 1 June 1927, WLW was assigned 700 kilocycles (kHz). Soon it was the only station in the United States using that frequency, and thus became a "clear channel" station. It was one of only ten stations using five kilowatts of power, and it grew

more powerful after 25 May 1928, when the FRC authorized WLW to begin construction of facilities for 50 kilowatts. At that time there were probably only four other stations with that output, but WLW's staff kept producing original programming that (in Crosley's view, anyway) warranted further expansion.

By the late 1920s, WLW was affiliated with both the NBC Red and Blue networks, but the station originated more expensive and high-quality local programming than most other stations in the country. Only the network-owned stations in New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago had staffs as large as WLW's. In June 1929, a hookup was arranged connecting WLS Chicago, WOR New York, and WLW. The Quality Radio Group, as the coalition came to be called, carried each other's programs and made available to advertisers a huge audience in most of the northeastern United States. In 1934 WLW got together with WOR New York, WGN Chicago, and WZYZ Detroit (with its prize show *The Lone Ranger*) to establish the Mutual Broadcasting System (MBS).

Superpower Experiment

In June 1932 the FRC authorized WLW to construct a 500-kilowatt (500,000-watt) experimental station and to conduct tests from 1 A.M. to 6 A.M. On 2 May 1934, the station began using this "super power" at all hours after a dedication ceremony in which President Franklin Roosevelt activated the new water-cooled transmitter by pushing a gold key on his desk at the White House. This power increase allowed WLW to transmit with ten times more power than any other AM station—then or now—until 1 March 1939, when the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) refused to renew the "experimental" license for higher power. After a Canadian station in Toronto complained of interference with its signal on 690 kHz, WLW was briefly limited to 50 kilowatts after local sunset. Soon a directional signal was arranged so that no more than 50 kilowatts was transmitted northwest of Buffalo, New York.

The decision to end the 500-kilowatt experiment was controversial and complex for political and technical reasons, but it was primarily the result of complaints by other stations resentful of WLW's enormous economic advantage. A "sense of the Senate" resolution had been passed that directed the FCC to limit stations to 50 kilowatts. The resolution stated that an increase of superpower stations in the United States (at least 15 other clear-channel licensees had applied to the FCC for superpower status) would deprive other local and regional stations of valuable network affiliations and national advertising revenues.

Although its 500-kilowatt experiment was discontinued, WLW had proved that higher power was possible, that it did not cause more than normal interference with adjacent stations,

and that it did not blanket out other stations for nearby listeners. Many other AM stations around the world soon began using this much and even more power. However, it was because of its superior programming, not its powerful wattage, that WLW achieved much higher ratings than even the hometown station in many cities in its vast coverage area, which extended in a circle around Cincinnati stretching nearly to Chicago, Detroit, Pittsburgh, and Nashville. (As an indication of WLW's reach, one fundraising appeal during floods on the Ohio River brought donations from 48 states.) In 1936, as part of an FCC study of channel allocations and utilization, a survey returned by more than 32,000 rural listeners (of 100,000 surveys mailed) showed that WLW was by far the favorite station and the listeners' first choice in 13 states and second in six more, from Michigan to Florida and Texas. While its powerful signal made WLW available in homes out of the reach of many other stations at night, its popularity derived from its use of the most popular shows from four networks, a large staff of local talent and specific programming—especially in the early-morning hours aimed at farm audiences—and its geographical position near the center of the agricultural Midwest.

WLW also began a shortwave service and relayed the station's programs around the world until the facility was taken over during World War II for government wartime propaganda broadcasts. In 1942 six new transmitters installed at that facility became the largest installation for Voice of America.

During the 1930s WLW's staff numbered about 350, of whom about 200 worked in the programming division. The station carried programs from both NBC networks (Red and Blue), CBS, and MBS. The station called itself "The Cradle of the Stars," in reference to those who worked there early in their careers, including Virginia Payne (who created the serial heroine Ma Perkins), the Mills Brothers, Andy Williams, writer Rod Serling, Betty and Rosemary Clooney (their younger brother Nick was later a news anchor at WLW's television affiliate), the McQuire Sisters, actor Frank Lovejoy, Red Skelton, Durward Kirby, Eddie Albert, Thomas W. "Fats" Waller, Red Barber, the Ink Spots, Norman Corwin (who quit after only a few weeks when the station refused to broadcast news about labor strikes), and Erik Barnouw. Many performers soon moved on to stations in New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles, and some joked that the call letters WLW stood for World's Lowest Wages.

In the 1930s about 50 percent of all WLW programming was local, 40 percent in evening hours. The station's staff originated programming carried on NBC, especially variety and hillbilly (later called country) music, and many Mutual programs. It also produced original drama—some destined for the networks included *Ma Perkins* (soap opera) and *Mr. District Attorney* (crime). In the late 1930s, station executives added a great deal of agriculture programming, and WLW even started

its own experimental farm in an attempt to retain the 500-kilowatt superpower transmitter by providing more unique and rural programming.

The station produced popular early morning hillbilly variety programs and, in cooperation with Ohio State University and the state's department of education, an educational series for in-school listening. WLW was a "regional" service, nearly a network unto itself. The same could be said of other major clear-channel stations such as WGN, WCCO, and WSM, but none matched WLW's quantity of original local programming.

Postwar Change

From 1949 to April 1953, as the station sought to duplicate the huge WLW AM coverage in the new medium of FM (frequency modulation), WLW's programming was broadcast simultaneously on FM stations in Cincinnati, Dayton, and Columbus, Ohio, but the growth of the FM audience was slow. The company concentrated on television. Many WLW radio programs were first simulcast on the television outlet, then later were shown only on TV. In 1955 WLW was the first radio station to provide weather forecasts based on radar (which it shared with the TV station), and in 1958 it became one of the first with helicopter traffic reports. In the 1960s WLW often ranked only third or fourth in Cincinnati ratings (losing out to Top 40 formats), but it had the largest total audience of any station in the city because of its larger coverage area. For example, in 1961 Nielsen reported WLW as having listeners in 184 counties in four states.

As network programming declined in the last half of the 1950s and into the 1960s, WLW became what was often called a Middle of the Road (MOR) station, producing "magazine" programs of news, information, talk, and limited amounts of recorded music during the morning and afternoon hours. Other types of music, including classical all night long, filled most of the rest of the hours. The station's format in the 1970s and 1980s was "adult contemporary." In the 1990s and into the new century, by which time there were many competing stations with a variety of popular music formats (most derived from the earlier Top 40 formula), WLW was usually the station with the highest audience share in the Cincinnati market. The station consistently maintains the largest total audience of any Cincinnati station because it reaches audiences over a wide area in Ohio, Indiana, and Kentucky.

Modern WLW

The programming on WLW is now what is generally described as "full service," being a combination of news, talk, and sports with well-known local personalities—a format that is usually found only on a few stations (mostly 50-kilowatt stations) sim-

ilar to WLW in the largest markets with very big revenues. More news and information are offered during peak listening times in the mornings and afternoons. Evenings are generally call-in talk, including sports. Typically WLW has slightly higher overall ratings during the summer and spring, when Cincinnati Reds play-by-play baseball is broadcast.

At the turn of the century, WLW was estimated to have revenues of about \$21 million, which would place it in the top 20 of all-talk, news/talk and so-called full service radio stations. All the other full service stations earning more money were in markets larger than Cincinnati (ranked 26th in radio), mostly in New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago, the three largest markets. It is regularly rated among the top 20 stations in other markets in a radius of 35 to 135 miles from its transmitter in Mason, Ohio, such as Dayton, Columbus, Lima, Lexington, and Fort Wayne. After several changes of ownership and mergers, WLW is now owned by Clear Channel Communications, which operates seven other facilities in

the market, and owns more radio stations than any other single company.

LAWRENCE W. LICHTY

See also Clear Channel Communications; Clear Channel Stations; Crosley, Powel; Middle of the Road Format; Mutual Network

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WMAQ

Chicago, Illinois Station

The origins of WMAQ-AM go back to the beginnings of radio when, in the spring of 1922, the *Chicago Daily News* put WGU on the air as a 500-watt forerunner of what the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) would turn into a mighty 50,000-watt broadcast giant. In 1923 the station acquired formal studios in the LaSalle Hotel; in 1929 the station moved to the new *Daily News* building. Two years later, on 1 November 1931, WMAQ-AM was purchased by the Radio Corporation of America's (RCA) NBC, which moved the studios to the Merchandise Mart and made WMAQ a flagship station.

WMAQ-AM remained a key NBC-owned and -operated station until General Electric (which purchased RCA, NBC's parent, in 1985) sold it to Group W in 1988. (There was also a WMAQ-FM, which was sold in the early 1970s.) The related television operation—also named WMAQ—was also an NBC-owned-and -operated station in Chicago.

NBC's acquisition of WMAQ-AM gave the network primary Chicago outlets for both its Red and Blue network programming, because WENR-AM had been purchased by NBC earlier. WMAQ-AM was a programming pioneer. Freeman Gosden and Charles Correll started *Sam 'n' Henry* for WGN-AM, but they moved to NBC and WMAQ to become *Amos 'n' Andy* in 1929. Another one of WMAQ's biggest achievements

was the discovery of a new act by Marian and Jim Jordan, later widely popular on the show *Fibber McGee and Molly*, who made their first appearance on radio in February 1931. Other first-timers were Count Ilya Tolstoy, son of the noted author; Cyrens Van Gordon, opera star; Lorado Taft, the sculptor; Rosa Raisa, the famed soprano; George Arliss; Ben Hecht; Otis Skinner; Ruth Chatterton; and Jane Addams.

Indeed, the station was within a day of being six months old when it presented the first music appreciation program—on 12 October 1922. Mr. and Mrs. Max E. Oberndorfer began a series of broadcasts with an analysis of the opening program of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra that year. On the following day, WMAQ-AM led the radio industry into the field of children's programs with Mrs. Oberndorfer's *Hearing America First* series. This phase of broadcasting was expanded on 16 October of the same year when Georgene Faulkner, the "Story Lady," gave the first of her *Mother Goose* broadcasts. On 28 November 1922, the first educational broadcast was presented by WMAQ when Professor Forest Ray Moulton, head of the astronomy department at the University of Chicago, gave a lecture on "The Evening Sky." It was the first in a series of broadcasts by University of Chicago professors and was the forerunner of the *University of Chicago Round Table*.

WMAQ-AM also led the field in sports and news broadcasting. It presented one of the first daily play-by-play descriptions of major-league baseball on 20 April 1925 and one of the first play-by-play descriptions of a football game on 3 October 1925. For news, WMAQ-AM ran the first transatlantic news broadcast in history, on 4 December 1928, which consisted of a telephone conversation between John Gunther, then *Chicago Daily News* correspondent in London, and Hal O'Flaherty, then foreign news editor of the *News*, regarding the condition of King George V, who was seriously ill. WMAQ-AM was also the only Chicago station to broadcast the first presidential inaugural ever put on the air, that of Calvin Coolidge, on 4 March 1925.

That the best in radio entertainment was continually on WMAQ-AM is obvious after a glance at a list of stars, both past and present, who made their radio debuts over Chicago's oldest station. Wayne King, for instance, made his first broadcast anywhere over WMAQ-AM on 28 January 1928. Fred Waring and his Pennsylvanians made one of their earliest broadcasts on WMAQ in August 1922; Ed Wynn made his ini-

tial radio broadcast in October 1922; Vincent Lopez made his radio debut in September 1924; and so on.

Because of the success of WMAQ-TV, WMAQ-AM, as a NBC network mainstay, had to reinvent itself as TV forced radio's redefinition. It was never very successful, and so few were surprised when WMAQ-AM was acquired by Westinghouse and became a news/talk station, still based in the NBC Tower on North Columbus Drive.

DOUGLAS GOMERY

See also Amos 'n' Andy; Clear Channel Stations; National Broadcasting Company

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WNBC

New York City Station

Begun as WEAJ by AT&T in 1922 and becoming the flagship of the new National Broadcasting Company (NBC) network in September 1926, this network-owned-and-operated station's call letters changed to WNBC in November 1946 as part of a process of "rationalizing" network station call letters in the city. Operating with 50,000 watts on 660 kilohertz, WNBC was both the network flagship and a local market station.

With the decline in network radio in the early 1950s, WNBC took on a middle-of-the-road format like many other big-city stations, offering a variety of programs aimed at different tastes during the day, trying to provide something for everyone. Boston radio humorists Bob and Ray joined the station in 1951 with their parade of characters and radio take-offs. Public service features such as daily pollen counts and traffic reports became important program elements by mid decade. From 1954 to 1960, WNBC became WRCA to better promote the initials of owner Radio Corporation of America (the NBC call letters went to a network-owned UHF television station in Connecticut, so the network did not lose control of the identity).

WNBC, as with most stations, had for its entire history signed off the air after its late-evening programs concluded. Beginning in 1952 it began to provide 24-hour service with the *Music through the Night* mixture of easy talk and both classics and light classical music. In 1959 daytime programming featured "wall-to-wall" music, a combination of easy listening and pop tunes and talk. For a time the program could be heard in a kind of stereo with one channel broadcast on the network's AM outlet and the other on the co-owned FM station.

But even in New York City, radio was in decline. By 1962 the station's facilities had shrunk from studios on five floors of the RCA building in Rockefeller Center to just two. A long-time transmitter location on Long Island was closed down and NBC radio shared a transmitter with WCBS, also on Long Island. By the 1960s WNBC was trading more on its traditions and history than its current listenership, and ratings were far from market leaders. From 1964 to 1970, WNBC programmed a talk format, including some of New York's first call-in programs.

By 1970 music had once again taken over, although the format concentration on "66 NBC" (emphasizing the station's location on the AM dial) varied. The music was all contemporary, sometimes current hits and sometimes a mixture of new and older top songs. A major change came with the 1972 hiring of a Cleveland disc jockey, Don Imus, for the morning drive time period, and the beginning of shock jocks in the New York market. A decade later Howard Stern moved into the afternoon drive time period. WNBC soon added former TV entertainers Soupy Sales and Joey Reynolds. Although their comments were embarrassing at times, the jocks and their music helped the station climb in audience ratings.

But the ratings turnaround could not save the station. In 1986 parent company RCA was sold to General Electric, which soon decided not to continue radio operations. The NBC network was sold to Westwood One and the New York AM and FM outlets were sold to Emmis Broadcasting. WNBC's last broadcast was heard on 7 October 1988. The

next day, its frequency was taken over by WFAN, the city's first all-sports station.

CRAIG ALLEN AND CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Imus, Don; Shock Jocks; Stern, Howard; Talk Radio; WEAJ

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WNEW

New York City Station

A comparative novelty during network radio's pre-World War II heyday, independently programmed WNEW generated respectable ratings and profit without ties to the likes of the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), or Mutual. By the late 1940s, television's widening influence cut deeply into revenues of radio network affiliates that continued to embrace soap operas, sitcoms, and drama. Meanwhile, WNEW's pop music format proved relatively impervious to video competition. Curious broadcast insiders were drawn to WNEW. They wanted to see how the locally programmed AM outlet could succeed with just a handful of disc jockeys, some phonograph records, and a bit of news.

The WNEW story begins in New Jersey, where the station was formed primarily from remnants of comedian Ed Wynn's failed network venture. The performer had tried competing against CBS and NBC with his Amalgamated Broadcasting System, but the effort succumbed to fiscal woes. The Wynn connection is mentioned owing to its legendary nature, but was largely a province of studio facilities acquired from the comic's then-defunct broadcast ownership foray. WNEW more accurately originated from the amalgamation of New Jersey

stations WAAM at Jersey City and WODA in Paterson, which timeshared 1250 kilohertz in the metropolitan region. (Another outlet, WHBI of Newark, occupied the 1250 dial position on Sundays and Monday nights.)

Watch manufacturer Arde Bulova, advertising man Milton Biow, and WODA's owner Richard O'Dea were principals in the station consolidation. Because—at least for a time—their broadcast enterprise would qualify as the New York area's newest, WNEW seemed a perfect call sign choice. President Roosevelt was selected to inaugurate the station, and on 13 February 1934, he pushed a button in the White House that was wired to a light in WNEW's Carlstadt, New Jersey, transmitter building. The button signaled a singer to belt out the "Star Spangled Banner," and the facility's 1250-kilohertz channel carried it with 1,000 watts. In 1939, its frequency got reassigned to 1280 kilohertz while the wattage was raised to 5,000.

For two decades, the station's real power came from a metropolitan socialite blessed with an intuitive knack for programming. Bernice Judis had no previous radio industry experience when a friend (wife of co-owner Milton Biow) suggested that she become part of the WNEW staff. Consequently,

she thought more like a listener than a detached, by-the-book executive. This, as well as a limited budget, caused Judis to fill much of WNEW's schedule with a pleasant output of pop music records and smooth-voiced announcers skilled at describing the music's performers. Audiences soon equated the station with an endearing kind of companionship that gave them a sound track for their daily routine. Ratings rose, prompting Bulova and Biow to name Judis general manager of what had evolved from Newark, New Jersey-based studios to an exclusively downtown New York operation. Judis felt that a city that never slept needed a station that stayed on all night. In 1936 with an early-morning broadcast dubbed *Milkman's Matinee*, WNEW became the first to do so.

The thought of their records being freely spun, even at 3:00 A.M., irritated some musicians, who would rather perform live and be paid. In a resulting lawsuit, the plaintiff artists were disappointed to learn that because WNEW had purchased the recordings, it could use the transcriptions for any desired purpose. This decision prompted independents in other U.S. communities to proudly play records (a practice "big radio" had considered laughably low class in the 1920s and 1930s). Columnist Walter Winchell so enjoyed the way Judis' announcers deftly rode ad-libs around their discs that he coined their professional title—disc jockey.

In a 1941 frequency swap with co-owned WOV, WNEW was moved from 1280 to 1130 kilohertz, and power was increased to 10,000 watts. This shift also rid WNEW of the time-share arrangement with WHBI. Programs included news, public service, celebrity interviews, and even a series about good grooming. Broadcast schedule diversity included actor James Earl Jones' WNEW debut, circa 1945, in an American Negro Theater radio production. The next year, radio's first two-man morning show hit WNEW's air. This wake-up session garnered a following as loyal as that of the station's cornerstone, *Make Believe Ballroom*, a show on which a recording star might just drop in while disc jockey Martin Block happened to be playing his or her latest release.

A group including general manager Judis purchased WNEW in 1950. The station saw revenues jump due in part to a 1949 quintupling of its transmitter power (to 50,000 watts). The group sold to Dick Buckley and associates in 1954. Subsequently, Buckley's principals merged with remnants of the DuMont Television Network, before selling in 1957 to what became John Kluge's prominent Metromedia.

As radio "flagship" for this growing media conglomerate, WNEW received what was arguably the largest and most skilled news department of any independent outlet. By 1961 New York Giants (football) play-by-play broadcasts brought listeners to the 1130 dial position. And the list of excellent air personalities (William B. Williams, Ted Brown, Gene Klavan, Jim Lowe, Bob Landers, Gene Rayburn, and others) made for a very secure-sounding product. That's why, when-

ever they were in Manhattan, America's most sophisticated pop music icons (such as Dean Martin, Jack Jones, Peggy Lee, Steve Lawrence, and Eydie Gorme) eagerly sampled WNEW. Toting their just-released 33 1/3-rpm album, they would often drop by the Fifth Avenue studios for a surprise on-air appearance.

But by the late 1960s, most advertisers had become more interested in baby boomers and focused their advertising budgets on stations playing records kids demanded. Metromedia watched its venerable AM property slip, while WNEW-FM (established in 1958 as the remaining supply of vacant 50,000-watt New York City-area FM allocations had dwindled to three) achieved high ratings among the young demographic by dumping its "all-girl" announcers and easy listening music format in favor of progressive rock.

The old WNEW tried attracting new audiences by trying various incarnations of adult contemporary records and sports talk shows. A variety of air-personality and other changes never drained WNEW of broadcasters who could make a shampoo commercial entertaining, but such classic announcing talent was a poor fit with disco-era chart toppers. Fortunately for WNEW, advertising priorities had changed by the late 1970s. Advertising agencies were suddenly interested in America's comfortably affluent 40-plus population, giving the original "good" music, personality, and news station an economic reason to return to the most familiar shelves in its (1930s through 1960s non-rock hits) record library. Targeted listeners gratefully responded. For most, the change represented a surprise homecoming, lifting the station into a second heyday circa 1979. Other AM operators in what was by then an FM world studied this round of WNEW success. Arguably, all music stations that transmit disc jockey patter and recorded music can trace some of their roots to WNEW's original programming practices.

Rupert Murdoch's 1986 Fox acquisition of the Metromedia television properties orphaned WNEW radio. The FM station was bought by Westinghouse (in 1989), and WNEW-AM eventually ended up with the Bloomberg organization for a 1992 rechristening as the 24-hour, business-formatted (Bloomberg Business Radio) WBBR. So great was WNEW's personality-delivered big band/standards void that the *New York Times* came to the rescue. The paper's perennially classical WQXR-AM switched call letters to a mnemonic WQEW (Westinghouse didn't wish to relinquish the WNEW name) and accurately reconstructed, in full AM stereo, WNEW's programming spirit there. That legacy ended in late 1998, when Disney contracted with the *Times* to shift WQEW's programming to a juvenile focus.

PETER E. HUNN

See also All Night Radio; Block, Martin; Disk Jockeys; Judis, Bernice; Metromedia; Radio Disney; WQXR; Wynn, Ed

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WNYC

New York City Station

For more than 75 years, WNYC, the nation's "most listened to" public radio station (93.9 FM and 820 AM), was funded by New York City municipal tax dollars. The station has weathered a long history of stormy relations as a result of its control at the hands of a line of New York City mayors extending from Mayor John F. Hylan in the 1920s to Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani in 1995. This mayoral prerogative ended when ownership of the AM and FM stations was sold by the Giuliani administration to the WNYC Foundation, a nonprofit entity, in 1995.

Origins

In 1922 city official Grover A. Whalen, then commissioner of the Department of Plant and Structures, convinced Mayor John F. Hylan to appoint a committee to study the feasibility of operating a city radio station. The committee recommended the establishment of a municipally owned station, despite opposition from city Republicans and various big-business interests. When Western Electric was the sole bidder for the construction of the station and charged "exorbitant prices" for the use of its wires for remote broadcasts, the city searched for another alternative. In March 1924, a solution appeared in the form of a slightly used 1,000-watt broadcasting plant, which Westinghouse sold to the city after removing the equipment from its site at a Brazilian Centennial Exposition in Rio de Janeiro. During construction, an experimental license was granted to "station 2XHB." The station premiered on 8 July 1924, broadcasting from the top of the Municipal Building using the new official call letters WNYC. The opening evening featured crooners and instrumentals by the Police Band and the Vincent Lopez Orchestra. Mayor Hylan and city officials provided stirring orations, solemnized by blessings by clergy from three

major faiths. The premier broadcast interfered with broadcasts of ships at sea and annoyed WEAJ listeners when the transmission interrupted a broadcast from the Democratic National Convention.

Early broadcast schedules were erratic, beginning in the evenings at approximately 6:00 P.M. and concluding at around 11:00 P.M. Live performances from musical artists promoting the sale of sheet music and a series of one-hour foreign language lessons were among the staples of the evening broadcasts. Ad hoc longer broadcast hours accommodated visiting dignitaries and events ranging from band concerts to visiting monarchs, record-breaking aviators, and channel swimmers. H.V. Kaltenborn was an early contributor to WNYC and organized a radio quiz, and WNYC's *Air College* offered scholarly discussion on a variety of topics.

The station's service to the city consisted mostly of a nightly broadcast of missing persons. When Mayor Hylan sought to air a report of progress to the board of aldermen over the air in 1925 while running for his third term of office, the Citizen's Union, a watchdog advocacy group, brought legal action to prevent the mayor from using the station as a tool of propaganda. It was the beginning of a long history of contentious relationships between the mayor or board of city aldermen and the station. In the late 1920s, the station was criticized by a "Freethinker" for broadcasting religious services promoting the Catholic and Jewish faiths. To avoid such criticism, management codified a statement of its mission in 1930; the station would feature music, concerts, and entertainment; talks on current affairs; meetings of civic bodies, associations, and societies; lectures and addresses; and the reception of distinguished visitors.

Upon his election, Depression-era Mayor Fiorello H. La Guardia planned to sell the station as a cost-cutting move. A

report by La Guardia aide Walter Chambers argued eloquently for the retention of the station as a public relations arm of the mayor's office. La Guardia detested the station at first, reportedly shouting upon spotting the old-fashioned carbon microphones of WNYC at a speech at the Commodore Hotel in 1934, "Get that damn peanut whistle out of here!" WNYC weathered the Great Depression partially through staffing provided by the Works Progress Administration (WPA) from government relief rolls, and the station embarked on a "Radio Project" to increase cultural programs, vary content, and find new sources of information and entertainment. In 1935 WNYC received a \$30,000 WPA grant, and its transmitter was moved to the Greenpoint section of Brooklyn.

Controversies

Almost from its inception, the station was embroiled with federal regulators, fighting to protect its frequency assignment or to maintain broadcast hours. Under the Radio Act of 1927, the station was assigned 570 kilocycles and would be forced to share its frequency with radio station WMCA, broadcasting on alternate days at a reduced power of 500 watts. The city fought the assignment, and the Federal Radio Commission agreed that WNYC could swap frequencies with another station also owned by the management of WMCA, at 810 kilocycles. The swap allowed WNYC to operate during the daytime on clear channel until sunset at Minneapolis, when the 50,000-watt WCCO assigned to the same frequency came on the air.

In 1937 city councilmen seeking to embarrass Mayor La Guardia accused the station of anti-Semitism and racial hatred following a broadcast discussion of the Arab position on Palestine. The city council attempted to engineer another frequency swap that would have given the 810 AM frequency to the Paulist Fathers and forced WNYC to operate on a half-time basis from frequency 1130. La Guardia successfully fought the move. He was then targeted by political opponents as a supporter of communism for appointing the former secretary to the American Labor Party, Morris S. Novik, as director of radio communications for the city. WNYC was again accused of communist sympathies when the producer George Brandt's National Travel Club program on Soviet Russia on 27 February 1938 expressed admiration for Soviet accomplishments, but station management successfully defended itself against the charges. Concurrently, WNYC began broadcasting city council meetings, and the proceedings quickly became a source of public amusement. The *New York Times* commented that whereas the former board of aldermen had taken 135 years to make fools of themselves, the council had accomplished the same in only 2 years of radio broadcasts. Despite WNYC political broadcasts, the *New York Post* noted in 1938 that the station also provided more live unrecorded music than any other station in the city.

By 1940 La Guardia was a WNYC enthusiast, using the station to promulgate his political agenda. In 1944 the mayor began a weekly radio show, most memorably reading the Sunday comics to New York City children during a newspaper strike in July 1945. Comedian Fred Allen quipped to the *New York Times*:

The Mayor's . . . program is a happy blend of *Mary Margaret McBride*, *Information Please*, and *Gang Busters*. One week the Mayor will tell you how to make French-fried potatoes with artichoke roots. The next week he gives you the name of the bookmakers and hurdy-gurdy owners he has chased out of the city." (cited in Scher, 1966)

Mayor William O'Dwyer, a former district attorney and judge, was the last of the line of early New York City mayors to routinely review the merits of WNYC and contemplate its sale immediately following election. O'Dwyer eventually was convinced to maintain the station and its noncommercial status.

During World War II, the station requested additional hours of broadcast for wartime information, and in 1942 the Federal Communications Commission granted a Special Service Authorization to allow WNYC to broadcast from 6:00 P.M. until 10:00 P.M., despite the conflict with Minnesota's clear channel frequency. The additional time slot was extended after retired Mayor La Guardia lobbied the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), owner of the Minneapolis clear channel station, to permit the Special Service Authorization to continue, and the hours were made permanent in 1955. In 1943 New York City launched a companion FM station that would allow WNYC to operate around the clock. Initially, the two stations carried the same programming until sign-off at 10:00 P.M. for the AM band. In 1953 WNYC also received a permit to construct an ultrahigh-frequency (UHF) band television station, which was renamed WNYC-TV in 1962. In 1987 WNYC moved to 820 kilohertz and boosted power tenfold—to 10,000 watts.

WNYC has built its reputation over the years on its ability to craft a mix of local, national, and world politics; culture; education; the arts; and classical music. The station claims it was the first to broadcast the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, and it has broadcast more Senate hearings, conferences, and conventions, including the presidential conventions of smaller political parties, than any other station. In the 1960s, the station offered an outlet for foreign programs and the views of various national news such as the *French Press Review* and the *Review of British Weeklies*. Its broadcast of public hearings on the increase of the New York City subway fare was called "one of the greatest mass civic lessons in the history of radio" by *Variety* magazine. Bob Dylan made his radio debut in 1961 on Oscar Brand's *Folk Song Festival*, and experimental and modern music found an outlet on WNYC.

In 1994 Mayor Giuliani announced that the city would sell the station, and a deal was struck whereby the AM and FM stations would be sold at a reduced price of \$20 million to the WNYC Foundation, and the television station would be sold to commercial interests. For the first time, WNYC would be a public- and grant-supported station, and its president would no longer be a political appointee of the mayor but rather hired by the board of the WNYC Foundation. The board appointed Laura Walker, a former producer of Children's Television Workshop, as president. Her management team succeeded in doubling public contributions to the station and raising \$1.4 million in June 1995 in a four-day campaign while garnering support from corporations and other high-profile supporters. WNYC 93.9 FM is a member station of National Public Radio (NPR) and of Public Radio International (PRI), and it features NPR and WNYC news and cultural programming along with classical music. WNYC Radio New York at 820 kilohertz broadcasts news, talk, and public-affairs programs. In 1998 the station launched a website, wnyc.org, which also allows web users to receive radio programming, both live and in archived segments.

In 2001, the station lost its FM transmitter and antenna in the September 11th attacks on the World Trade Center and temporarily used borrowed transmitters and antenna to simulcast the news talk programming of its AM station over both AM and FM outlets. The subsequent soar in ratings and fundraising was instructive. Within a few months of restoring the FM tower, the station announced it was eliminating five hours of classical music programming each day on the FM

channel in favor of more news/talk programming, to the consternation of many listeners and performers who saw WNYC as one of the few outlets for both original and recorded classical programming.

L. CLARE BRATTEN

See also Educational Radio to 1967; Public Radio since 1967

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Wolfman Jack (Robert Smith) 1938-1995

U.S. Radio Personality

Robert Weston (Bob) Smith, born in Brooklyn, New York, on 21 January 1938, was mesmerized as a youth by Jocko Henderson at WDAS in Philadelphia, John R. (John Richbourg) at WLAC in Nashville, and Alan Freed at WINS in New York. Smith's career started modestly, as a gofer for WNJR in Newark, New Jersey. When his parents discovered he was at WNJR and missing school, they banished him from home. Smith left for Hollywood but made it only to his sister's Alexandria, Virginia, home, where he entertained her children as "Wolfman." Smith recalled, "The 'Jack' part got added on because that was a hipster's style of speaking, to end your sentences with the name Jack."

Smith sold encyclopedias and Fuller brushes until attending Washington, D.C.'s National Academy of Broadcasting. Upon graduation in 1960, Smith worked at WYOU-AM in Newport News, Virginia, a station programmed for African-Americans. Smith (a.k.a. "Daddy Jules") did everything from sales to cleaning. WYOU became WTID and changed formats to beautiful music. Smith was retained by the new management but changed his air name from "Daddy Jules" to the more sedate "Roger Gordon." In his autobiography, Smith wrote: "[I]t wasn't where my heart was. To this day, I feel a lot worse about cracking open a mike and announcing, 'Good morning. This is Roger Gordon bringing you Music in Good Taste,' than



Wolfman Jack
Courtesy Radio Hall of Fame

I do about the fact that I was transporting weed and brokering mattress action on the side.”

Mo Burton, WTID sales manager, bought KCIJ-AM in Shreveport, Louisiana, in 1962 and hired “Big Smith with the Records” to play country music. By 1963 KCIJ merged with KREB in Marshall, Texas. KREB could not boost its power as long as KCIJ was on the air, so the owners worked out an unprecedented deal with the FCC. The owner of KCIJ took its station off the air in exchange for half ownership in KREB, which was then allowed to increase its power. A weak station, then, went dark so a stronger one could grow. (Such an arrangement has now become commonplace.) Big Smith was now on KREB, but he had bigger aspirations.

All his life, Smith had listened to the most powerful commercial radio station on earth. XERF was a 250,000-watt blowtorch on the border near Del Rio, Texas, in Ciudad Acuña, Mexico. XERF was notorious for transmitting, as Smith explained, “old-time, prayer-cloth-selling preachers, fervent gospel singers, hillbilly mountain music, all kinds of stuff that was just a little too weird, a little too dangerous for American stations.” The station “sold gain-weight plans, lose-weight plans, baby chicks, pep pills, sex-drive-boosting pills, songbooks, records, hair dye, anything that could be stuffed into a box or corked up in a bottle and sent off in the mail for ‘cash, check, or money order.’” Smith initially got in on the action by selling KCIJ airtime to about half the preachers who bought slots on XERF. The preachers taped their shows and paid XERF about \$1,500 to air 15-minute programs five days a week. Smith gave them a cut rate to air the programs over KCIJ, too. Meanwhile, he continued to dream of developing his own show for XERF. Smith recalled: “I’d do exactly like the preachers do, make my money on mail order. Except there wouldn’t be any preaching. Instead, I’d stir people up with the power of the music, and a crazy DJ character who had the same blend of coolness and hipness as all the great ones that had zapped my imagination when I was a strange little kid transfixed by what was coming through the radio.”

Smith secretly developed his Wolfman Jack character. In December 1963 he took a demo tape to XERF but instead ended up operating the station. For eight months, he aired *The Wolfman Jack Show*, featuring a “superjock” who relied on personality as much as music. Wolfman Jack played rock and blues, had an unconventional delivery, used strange language, and howled like a wolf.

Smith returned to KCIJ but continued to tape *The Wolfman Jack Show* for XERF. Few people knew that Smith was Wolfman Jack. In character he recorded a live singing performance. *Wolfman Jack—Live at the Peppermint Lounge*, an embarrassing yet profitable recording, was sold over XERF, which Smith continued to control. Burton bought KUXL-AM in Minneapolis in 1964, and Smith ran the station. XERF continued airing tapes of *The Wolfman Jack Show*, but Wolfman Jack was not

seen for years. The show soon aired on other border stations, XEG and XERB. In 1965 Smith moved to Los Angeles to run XERB as though it were local.

Smith had always kept the Wolfman Jack character separate from his real identity. To almost everyone, he was radio businessman Bob Smith. Wolfman Jack was something Bob Smith did for fun, but as the popularity and profits rose, people wanted to see Wolfman Jack and they paid big money to see him. For Wolfman Jack to appear in public, Smith’s wife designed the look, and a makeup artist added a wig, dark makeup, a big nose, fangs, false fingernails, and facial hair. In 1971, Smith’s empire crashed when the Mexican government banned evangelical religious programming, costing XERB 80 percent of its income. As XERB went out of business, Smith turned completely to Wolfman Jack.

In 1972 Wolfman Jack was hired for the 7 P.M. to midnight shift at Los Angeles’ KDAY for one-tenth of his XERB salary. He put together tapes of old XERB broadcasts for syndication and for Armed Forces Radio. Wolfman Jack played himself in 1973’s *American Graffiti*, where he was seen widely for the first time. He surprised fans who assumed he was black. In 1973 he started a nine-year stint as host of NBC TV’s concert show *The Midnight Special* (which ran from 2 February 1973 to 1 May 1981). The program was network TV’s first foray into late-late-night hours. The same year, New York’s WNBC hired Wolfman Jack to compete with WABC’s Cousin Brucie. WNBC wanted Wolfman Jack to be crazy but constantly complained about things he said and did. He made it to number one doing a shock jock routine that influenced Howard Stern. At one point, Wolfman Jack, Don Imus, and Stern worked simultaneously at WNBC. The Guess Who, who did the 1974 song *Clap for the Wolfman*, asked Wolfman Jack to join them on tour that same year. To get out of his contract, he convinced WNBC to hire Cousin Brucie. He continued to fly to Los Angeles twice monthly to tape *The Midnight Special*.

Wolfman Jack recorded his second album in 1974, called *Fun and Romance*. In the 1980s, he appeared at oldies concerts and car shows. He hosted a short-lived oldies revival on the Nashville network (TNN) in 1989. In 1995 he hosted a live weekly radio show on WXTR from Washington, D.C.’s *Planet Hollywood*. On 1 July 1995, he died at home in Belvidere, North Carolina, of a heart attack after a 20-city promotional tour for his autobiography. He was inducted posthumously into the Museum of Broadcast Communications Radio Hall of Fame on 27 October 1996 and into the National Association of Broadcasters Hall of Fame on 20 April 1999.

W.A. KELLY HUFF

Wolfman Jack. Born Robert Weston Smith in Brooklyn, New York, 21 January 1938. Began radio career as a gofer at WNJR, Newark, New Jersey; graduated from National Academy of

Broadcasting, Washington, D.C., 1960; on-air and sales, WYOU-AM, Newport News, Virginia, 1960; on-air at KCIJ-AM, Shreveport, Louisiana, 1961; operated XERF, Mexico, 1963-64; *The Wolfman Jack Show*, XERF, 1964; operated KUXL-AM, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1964; operated XERB, Los Angeles, California, 1965-71; permanently became Wolfman Jack, 1971; on-air at KDAY, Los Angeles, 1972; syndicated XERB broadcasts, 1972; appeared in *American Graffiti*, 1973; hosted NBC's *The Midnight Special*, 1973-81; on-air at WNBC, New York, 1973-74; on-air at WXTR, Washington, D.C., 1995; inducted into Museum of Broadcast Communications Radio Hall of Fame, 1996, and NAB Hall of Fame, 1999. Died in Belvidere, North Carolina, 1 July 1995.

Radio Series

1970-86 *The Wolfman Jack Show*

Television Series

The Midnight Special, 1973-81 (NBC); *Superstars of Rock*, 1973 (syndicated); *The Wolfman Jack Show*, 1974 (syndicated)

Films

The Seven Minutes, 1971; *American Graffiti*, 1973; *Murder at the Mardi Gras* (TV Movie), 1977; *Deadman's Curve* (TV Movie), 1978; *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band*, 1978; *Hanging on a Star*, 1978; *More American Graffiti*, 1979; *Motel Hell*, 1980; *Conquest of the Earth* (TV Movie), 1980; *The Midnight Hour* (TV Movie), 1985; *Garfield in Paradise*, 1986; *The Return of Bruno*, 1988; *Mortuary Academy*, 1988

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Women in Radio

Why is it necessary to have a separate entry on the subject of women and radio? Haven't women—as producers, stars, industry personnel, and audiences—been so deeply interwoven in radio's history, development, innovation, marketing, and reception as to make them an integral part of a work such as this? Won't women's contributions and concerns turn up as a natural component of the general run of entries, without need for special consideration? The answer to the former question is undoubtedly “yes”—women have been deeply and centrally involved in radio's development from the 1920s to the present. Yet their near-exclusion from most standard histories of the medium, along with special characteristics of the ways that U.S. radio has handled the presence and contributions of women, underline the need for additional consideration.

The basic structures, programming, marketing strategies, and audience definitions of U.S. radio have been deeply affected by gender. From radio's earliest days, women's interests were segregated in a separate “women's ghetto” of daytime programs, while the prime-time hours—those most often written about by historians and enshrined in popular memory—carefully relegated women to ancillary roles. The industry very early on devised an understanding of its public in which daytime audiences were seen as fundamentally female

(despite a sizable male minority) and night-time audiences were addressed as primarily male (despite a sizable feminine majority). These understandings carried over into television and have only begun to change since the 1980s.

Yet this kind of gender segregation—conforming to a held-over “separate spheres” philosophy from Victorian times—also worked to create a space on radio that was dedicated to female interests and points of view. That this space was commercially driven (women have long been understood as the primary consumers for the household) marks out its limitations but doesn't take away from its unique contributions to radio's development. Women became powerful independent producers, writing and marketing programs that employed hundreds of men and women and creating genres that, 70 years later, form the backbone of popular television. Daytime programs addressed topics of direct relevance to women's lives, created dramas in which women controlled events and saw their experiences played out, and encouraged talk programs that discussed women's interests and concerns. Meanwhile, night-time radio, and later television, carefully contained female voices and faces within secondary roles, situation comedies, and family programs; excluded them from “serious” genres such as news, discussion, and documentaries; and marginalized

women's contributions to prime-time drama. But gradually daytime conventions crept into the night-time hours, and with them a more extensive female presence, especially during the World War II years.

On post-television radio, a similar route was traced as female disc jockeys and artists slowly developed a more extensive presence on the airwaves. This overview of how women have operated within the cultural structures of the radio broadcasting field should provide a contextual framework for the separate entries on some of the individuals who appear elsewhere in this encyclopedia. Their achievements—and limitations—took place within a highly gendered social and industrial system that guided not only these women's lives and practices but the way they have been treated by historians, critics, and regulators.

Early Experimenters, Amateurs, and Managers

Although it has become a cliché of history to think of the period of radio amateurs—roughly 1915 to 1926—as the domain of “small boys,” in fact wireless experimentation offered a fairly welcoming venue for women. The American Radio Relay League (ARRL), one of the earliest and largest of the radio amateur organizations, began to recognize women members in 1916 and predicted a flood of female membership after World War I, because the army had recruited hundreds of young women as wireless instructors. The ARRL's journal, *QST*, offers a number of profiles of female amateur operators during the early years, including Emma Candler of station 8NH in St. Mary's, Ohio, one of the key operators in the ARRL's cross-country relay network, and amateur M. Adaire Garmhausen, who was a regular contributor to the journal. Other early experimenters—selected for their presence in the historical record more than for any difference from hundreds of others—were Eunice Randall of 1XE, Boston, an engineer with the American Radio and Research Corporation (AMRAD) company who became chief announcer for WGI from 1922 until 1925; Marie Zimmerman, who with her husband Bob broadcast from WIAE in Vinton, Iowa, from 1920 to 1923; Eleanor Poehler, station manager of WLAG, Minneapolis, from 1922 to 1924 and later music director at WCCO, Minneapolis; and Ida McNeil, who ran station KGFX in Pierre, South Dakota, from 1922 until the mid-1940s.

Announcers and Network Executives

Many more women came on board fledgling commercial stations as they began to make their debut in the mid-1920s, and radio shifted from the province of amateurs toward becoming an industry. Gwen Wagner of station WPO in Memphis, Tennessee, began as the station's one on-air employee, announcing, planning the broadcast schedule, inviting the guests, and

reporting the news. Both Bertha Brainard and Judith Waller started out in such jill-of-all-trades on-air positions. Brainard began as a volunteer program producer on WJZ, “Broadcasting Broadway” over the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) lead station. She then went on to become first program director, then station manager, and then director of commercial programming for the newly organized National Broadcasting Company (NBC). Similarly, Waller started out on Chicago's WMAQ as an announcer and station manager. When NBC purchased the station in 1932, Waller became the network's director of public service programming for the central region, where she innovated with such respected shows as *American School of the Air* and *University of Chicago Round Table*.

A number of female pioneers, whose voices were heard on the air during the early 1920s, also filled secretarial roles and later went into audience relations (via their duties of answering audience mail); still more, like most of those above, were directed toward women's, children's, and public service programming. A turning point occurred in 1924, when Jennie Irene Mix, a columnist for *Radio Broadcast*, one of the most influential of the new radio magazines, opened up a discussion on the suitability of women's voices for radio transmission. Though many station managers—mostly male—dismissed the notion that there was any significant difference between male and female broadcast capabilities, others argued that women voices were monotonous, were overly emotional, lacked personality, had too much personality, didn't transmit well over radio because they employed higher frequencies (a frequently repeated error, only applicable to the highest soprano notes and not to the spoken voice), or “lacked body.” The opinion that women's voices were untransmittable, however specious, had a great effect on the standardization of the broadcast schedule that would take effect over the next five years, and on the exclusion of women from many aspects of broadcasting.

Program Producers and Innovators

Radio, as a new field whose barriers for women were only slowly developing, attracted female pioneers through a variety of routes. Gertrude Berg developed her popular and long-running radio serial *The Rise of the Goldbergs* in 1928, writing, acting, and producing throughout the show's radio decades and into its run on television. The show ran on NBC's nightly schedule with high ratings until 1936, when it moved to daytime. College sorority sisters Louise Starkey, Isobel Carothers, and Helen King created their heavily improvised comic serial *Clara, Lu, and Em* for WGN in Chicago in 1930, about three neighbors in a Chicago apartment building and their humorous travails; it became a prototypical soap opera when it transferred to daytime in 1932, and it ran there until Carothers' death in 1936. Myrtle Vail created the dramatic serial *Myrt and Marge* with her daughter Donna Damerel in 1931; it kept

audiences tuning in for its tales of a mother-and-daughter theatrical team on Broadway until Damerel's untimely death in 1941. Also a night-time original, it went to daytime in 1937. Although *Amos 'n' Andy*, created in 1926, must be counted as the first radio program to develop the genre of serial comedy/drama, these programs took the form in a feminine direction and led not only to the daytime serial format but to the later genre of situation comedy.

As the history of these programs shows, the debate over women's suitability on the air led to a major change in programming practices in the early to mid-1930s. As radio's commercial support grew larger, and as networks began to turn over much of their programming function to the radio departments of advertising agencies, a new way of understanding the radio audience arose. Research conducted by first the Crossley and later the Hooper companies, as well as in-house network and agency data, showed that the daytime audience consisted of about 70 percent women and that the night-time audience had a slightly smaller feminine majority, about 55–60 percent. Women were known to purchase roughly 85 percent of all household goods, making this an extremely desirable market to approach. Yet radio's regulatory status mandated a restriction of its purely commercial aims, requiring public service standards to be applied to its program offerings.

Broadcasters resolved these two contradictory claims on their attention by separating daytime and night-time schedules by gender. Women's programs—those featuring primarily female characters, usually produced by women, and selling products to women—were placed on the daytime schedule, even though many had had a fairly large mixed audience at their former night-time hours. Here the networks could sell unabashedly to their primary audience, indulging in program types and subject matter that were not seen as wholly respectable and that often provoked controversy, as long as they attracted the target audience of women. Night-time programs, although still commercially supported, were increasingly seen as more prestigious and of higher quality; the night-time schedule became a place for sponsors and networks to display their big names and big-budget productions for an audience increasingly defined as masculine despite its majority female composition. Advertising was held to a minimum and was often worked into the content of the show to keep it as unobtrusive as possible. This “separate spheres” approach would at once spark a lively wave of creative activity addressed to and created by women in the daytime and create serious barriers for women's ability to compete on the night-time schedule.

Ladies of the Daytime

In the space allotted to them, the ladies of radio's daytime sphere developed programs that not only appealed to women but also tended to feature women in central roles in a way that

created a woman-centered discourse that few other media genres cared to touch. Its closest precedent was probably the field of women's magazines, whose serialized fiction; interview pieces; discussion of the “private” realm of home, family, health, and relationships; and interaction with their readership in many ways influenced the development of daytime genres. Irna Phillips is often credited with being “the mother of soap operas,” and indeed, her pioneering serial *Painted Dreams*, begun on WGN in 1930, represents one of the earliest examples of a woman-centered drama created specifically for the daytime schedule. This program mutated into *Today's Children* on rival station WMAQ, and Phillips went on to become one of the most prolific individual producers of daytime soaps. Perhaps more important, she discovered that retaining ownership of her intellectual property and incorporating as her own producer made far more sense—and gave her far more creative control—than working as an agency or network employee. Her most famous serials include *Women in White* and *The Right to Happiness*, along with the still-running *Guiding Light*. Production control was a lesson most female innovators needed to learn. Jane Crusinberry, author of the extremely popular serial *Story of Mary Marlin*, learned the hard way that her own property could be taken from her: after a series of escalating disagreements with the ad agency that produced the show after the war—mostly about Mary's “redomestication” after serving as a U.S. senator—Crusinberry was fired from her own soap, and she never wrote another.

Anne Hummert, in partnership with her husband Frank, owned one of the biggest radio production houses in the country, at one point producing almost half of the soaps on the air. These included *Ma Perkins*, *The Romance of Helen Trent*, and *Mary Noble*, *Backstage Wife*. Elaine Carrington produced a number of soaps that enjoyed a relatively high critical reputation (*Pepper Young's Family*, *When a Girl Marries*, and *Rosemary*), as did Sandra Michael (*Against the Storm*—the only soap ever to win a Peabody award—*Lone Journey*, and *Open Door*). Many other popular serials were written by women who, not having become producers, labored in obscurity for agencies and other producers: Helen Walpole of *Our Gal Sunday* and *Stella Dallas*; Elizabeth Todd of *Young Widder Brown* and *Amanda of Honeymoon Hill* (and later of the night-time *Fred Allen Show*); and Addy Richton and Lynn Stone, who wrote under the joint pen name Adelaide Marston for *Valiant Lady*, *Hilltop House*, and *This Life Is Mine*, just to name a few.

Besides the ever-popular and ever-expanding soaps, a staple of daytime was the talk show. This form evolved from the “household chat” format of advice aimed at modern busy housewives. Early innovators of this genre include Mrs. Julian Heath, Ida Bailey Allen, Ruth Crane, the various Betty Crockers (a made-up identity filled by a series of female broadcasters), and, perhaps most famous, Mary Margaret McBride. In

the mid-1930s this format began to make the transition from solely domestic topics to a wider range of material, including news and interviews. It also went from a highly scripted format to one that emphasized informal, ad-libbed discussion. In both of these trends, McBride was a leader. A former journalist and feature article writer, McBride brought her reportorial and interviewing skills to a freely ad-libbed format that also involved highly effective product pitches. Starting out as *Martha Deane*, a Betty Crocker-like fictional character, she soon broke out on her own. By 1940 she had two 45-minute shows daily, one on NBC and one on the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), with over 6 million regular listeners.

Others took note, and by the mid-1940s a variety of "breakfast shows" abounded on the airwaves, usually featuring a husband-and-wife team who bantered back and forth on a wide range of topics, bringing in a guest or two and providing light news and weather updates. Innovators here include Pegeen Fitzgerald, whose *Pegeen Prefers* was modeled after McBride's show; husband Ed Fitzgerald also had a similar program called *Small Talk* on WOR. Their combined efforts produced *The Fitzgeralds* over WOR from 1940 to 1945, which then ran on the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) network from WJZ from 1945 to 1947. WOR replaced them with the breakfast team of Dorothy Kilgallen and Richard Kollmar in *Breakfast with Dorothy and Dick*. A third team graced the airwaves from 1946 until 1948, *Tex and Jinx*, featuring married duo Tex McCrary and Jinx Falkenberg. From here, the *Today Show* was only a short step in the future, although the early television version would "defeminize" itself, relying on all-male hosts until Barbara Walters' debut in 1964.

The breakfast show also marks one of the few venues for women to report the news. News formats remained largely closed to women on radio unless, as with print journalism, they could adapt their reportorial skills especially for the "female" audience and air in the daytime. Some early broadcasters of "news for women" include Ann Hard; Kathryn Cravens, whose *News through a Woman's Eyes* aired on CBS from 1936 to 1938; and Marian Young, who took over the *Martha Deane* show after McBride left and who began to include more outright news content. The years before and during World War II brought increased opportunities for women, as network news operations began to build up, and a number of journalists found their way to radio, including Helen Hiatt, who had a morning news spot daily on NBC Blue from 1941 to 1942, and Mary Marvin Breckinridge, who was recruited by Edward R. Murrow as the first CBS female staff broadcaster from Europe in 1939. Dorothy Thompson, the world-famous journalist, had held a news commentator spot on NBC in the mid-1930s until her strong anti-Hitler stance led the sponsor to dismiss her. But she returned in the middle of the war years after a brief stint at Mutual Broadcasting Company, providing news

reports from various locations around the world. Janet Flanner, too, had established a reputation as a columnist at the *New Yorker* magazine before turning to radio in 1944 with a series on NBC Blue.

Pauline Frederick represents a breakthrough for women in broadcast news, as the first to build a career in the medium. Beginning as a print journalist for the North American Newspaper Alliance, she appeared on NBC starting in 1938 for occasional pieces and covered the later years of the war in Europe. In 1946 she became the first woman to cover "hard" political news on the ABC network, and she began to appear on television. By 1953 she had her own NBC interview show, *Pauline Frederick Reporting*, a daily 15-minute program aired in the afternoon, as well as a program called *Listen to the Witness* on Sunday afternoons. She later joined National Public Radio (NPR) as foreign-affairs commentator.

Another important innovator was journalist Martha Rountree, whose *Meet the Press* debuted in 1945 with herself as coproducer and cohost. Although she sold her interest in the program to her partner, Lawrence Spivak, in 1953, the show continues on the air today, widely recognized as one of the most successful panel formats on television. Rountree's previous radio effort, *Leave It to the Girls*, was a witty, fast-paced all-female panel show that ran on Mutual from 1945 to 1948.

Women also featured prominently in the field of children's programming. One of the best known is Dorothy Gordon, who began on station WEAJ in 1924 with children's story hours and continued into the *Children's Corner* on CBS in the mid-1930s. She also served as music director for *American School of the Air*. The male/female duo format made a children's hit in the *Roy Rogers Show* with Dale Evans from 1944 well into the television years. Many local stations included children's shows in their schedules, and many of these featured female hosts or were produced by women.

Ladies of the Night

Although night-time radio remained a less hospitable spot for woman-controlled productions, many talented performers lent their names to the worlds of variety, comedy, and musical performance that made up the prime-time hours. Kate Smith remained for many years the only female host of a prime-time variety show, the *Kate Smith Hour*, which ran on CBS from 1931 to 1947 under a number of titles and sponsors but always featured Smith's singing interspersed with guest acts and sketches. Not until 1943, when Joan Davis took over Rudy Vallee's spot for Fleischmann's Yeast, did radio hear the second woman to single-handedly headline a major night-time vehicle. Fanny Brice would make a third female headliner after 1940, when her *Baby Snooks* routine slowly took over the *Maxwell House Coffee Time* and gradually metamorphosed into the *Baby Snooks Show*.

Until the early 1940s, almost all of night-time's female stars appeared either only occasionally, as guests, or as part of the traditional male/female duo act carried over from vaudeville. Usually the male/female duo involved a male straight man and a female "dumb Dora," a successful format illustrated not only by the teams of Jack Benny and Mary Livingston, and Fred Allen and Portland Hoffa, but most famously by George Burns and Gracie Allen. All of these famous radio duos were married in real life, too. So were Jim and Marian Jordan, playing *Fibber McGee and Molly*, although this time with the husband in the dumb Dora role.

In the late 1930s, a number of shows spun off from variety sketches also featured such teams, as in the *Bickersons*, *Easy Aces*, and *Duffy's Tavern*. However, the absence of available male talent, as well as the larger domestic audience of women and better audience research techniques, led to a breakthrough for women during the war years. Former Hollywood second-tier stars such as Lucille Ball (*My Favorite Husband*), Ann Sothern (*Maisie*), Eve Arden (*Our Miss Brooks*), Hattie McDaniel (*Beulah*), and Marie Wilson (*My Friend Irma*) took the opportunity to move into night-time radio, and most of them obeyed the rule that Irna Phillips had set down years before: form your own production company and retain production control. Not only would these women's efforts transform the night-time comedy scene, making important innovations on the emerging situation comedy format, but their shows would dominate early television as well.

Radio in the Age of Television

After television's widespread debut in the early 1950s, radio was transformed into a local, music-oriented medium whose new stars were the disc jockeys who introduced songs and provided chatter in between. Though a few women moved into this sort of work, the remnants of the "separate spheres" system mandated that they mostly stay in the daytime, speaking to an audience still conceived of as women in the home. Until the early 1960s, a few network daytime serials and talk shows still remained, and in the newly disorganized world of local radio, many different experiments could be tried. Martha Jean "the Queen" Steinberg became well known on the new black-format station WDIA Memphis in the 1950s. She cohosted an evening swing and rhythm and blues show with famed disc jockey Nat Williams; soon, she had her own show, called *Nite Spot*, and she had also replaced an earlier female talk host, Willa Monroe, on a daytime program called *Tan Town Home-maker*. She introduced her own rhythm and blues show, *Premium Stuff*, a little later and soon became known nationwide, eventually moving to Detroit station WCHB. Other African-American women rose to prominence in the postwar years of black radio: Vivian Carter on WGRY in Gary, Indiana; Louise "Louisville Lou" Saxon on WLOU in Louisville, Kentucky;

"Chattie" Hattie Leeper on WGIV in Charlotte, North Carolina; and Irene Johnson on WGOC, Mobile, Alabama. These disc jockeys and their male counterparts became important sources of community inspiration and information as the civil rights struggle heated up in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

Other women served as announcers and disc jockeys on stations of all kinds in the 1950s and 1960s, but they rarely surface in the historical record. Dottie Miller was featured on WBBQ Atlanta as "the miss with the hits" in the mid-1950s. Pola Chasman anchored a classical music program on WQXR in New York. In 1955 Memphis recording entrepreneur Sam Phillips experimented with an "all-female" format on station WHER, whose slogan was "1,000 Beautiful Watts." To differentiate himself in a market that was already becoming crowded, Phillips determined that this would be a station run by women, for women. Specializing in "pleasant, light music" and the usual mix of news, weather, and talk, this time all the voices heard were female, as was the station's management. The station was successful enough to last until 1966, and it spawned several imitators. As the climate of the country started to change in the late 1960s, underground radio brought its style of female broadcasting onto the airwaves. Rachael Donohue and Dusty Street were important early alternative broadcasters. WNEW in New York put out a nationwide call for female disc jockeys in 1966, and at least one stayed on: Alison Steel, known as the "Nightbird," whose "sultry voice and iron will" in her late-night slot made her one of the few women in rock radio throughout the 1970s and 1980s.

National Public Radio

In 1967 the United States finally caught up with many other countries by creating its first public broadcasting system; in 1970 National Public Radio (NPR) was founded. Its first major offering, the daily afternoon newsmagazine *All Things Considered* (ATC), introduced a new breed of serious female journalists to the still deeply gender-divided world of radio. With Susan Stamberg in the cohost position from the program's inception in 1971 and soon adding talented reporters and correspondents such as Linda Wertheimer, Cokie Roberts, and Nina Totenberg, NPR provided a different take on the news, broadening its mission to include those issues that affect the lives of ordinary people—including women. By 1984 ATC's staff was more than 50 percent female, which may have reflected the lower salaries women journalists were obliged to take (NPR's salaries were a third lower than the industry average); nevertheless, women had an enormous effect on the news content provided. Not only everyday news but also politics, law, international affairs, science, sports, and culture became the proper domain of women in this female-anchored medium for a general audience of the entire national public.

NPR's ability and mission to cover stories not just as breaking news but in depth and over time helped to build these women's careers into national reputations, and they are now frequently seen on television. Terry Gross developed one of NPR's top talk programs, *Fresh Air*, in 1975; it is still going strong. NPR's two additional newsmagazines, *Morning Edition* and *Weekend Edition*, continue the emphasis on women's voices as equals. Public radio remains a hospitable forum for female broadcasters on both national and local levels, although its lower pay scales and frequent use of volunteer talent may not do much to dispel the wage discrimination prevalent in society at large. Yet as talk radio developed into a forum for conservative white men in the 1980s and 1990s, public radio's feminine alternative occupies an increasingly important position in the U.S. public sphere.

Talk Radio

With the development of music formats on the FM band, AM became a radio graveyard, largely empty of all except news and sports and struggling local mavericks. Then talk radio came along in the late 1970s, made interactive by the new 800 number telephone technology that allowed listeners to call in from all over. Just as format radio had begun to go nationally syndicated, so too could popular local talk show hosts begin to attract national audiences.

One of the earliest to discover radio's potential in the field of talk and advice was the well-known psychologist Dr. Joyce Brothers. In the late 1960s, she took her advice to radio with syndicated shows on both the ABC and NBC networks, and she was later featured on WMCA in New York. Her shows, usually built around questions called in by listeners, were among the first to bridge the public/private divide, bringing personal problems into the light of publicity, including issues of sexuality, menopause, intimacy, and mental illness. Following in Brothers' footsteps came two more divas of the airwaves, Sally Jesse Raphael and Dr. Laura Schlessinger. Raphael got her start in Miami, with both a morning television show and an afternoon radio interview program. In 1976 she won a morning slot on New York's WMCA, and in 1979 hers was one of the original programs gathered together in NBC's syndicated Talknet package of night-time radio call-in shows. Schlessinger got her start at KABC in Los Angeles in 1975 as a frequent guest on another show, as an expert on human sexuality issues. This format had been introduced to the Los Angeles market by Dr. Toni Grant over KABC that same year. In 1976 Schlessinger began her own show on KWIZ Santa Ana, later moving back to Los Angeles at KMPC. Her major vehicle, *The Dr. Laura Schlessinger Show*, debuted in 1990 over KFI as a three-hour daily call-in program focused around personal advice and went into national syndication in 1994. In the late 1990s, Schlessinger's show surpassed talk king Rush Limbaugh's as the most popular talk program

on the air, although her conservative views brought controversy and declining status by 2002. Another broadcaster famous for her sexual and medical advice is Dr. Ruth Westheimer, whose show *Sexually Speaking* debuted in 1980 on WYNY-FM; by 1983 it was the top-rated radio show in the New York City area. In 1984 NBC began syndicating her show, which was renamed the *Dr. Ruth Show*, and Westheimer also ventured into television on the Lifetime network.

Into the Future

As the discussion of popular female radio talk show hosts above indicates, a peculiar kind of "separate spheres" philosophy still operates in the radio industry today. Most nationally recognized female broadcasters, with the exception of those on NPR, operate in the world of personal and private issues, giving advice in the areas of psychology, health, lifestyle, and culture, whereas political talk radio is largely the province of men. In commercial music formats, the "morning team" program, epitomized nationally by such "shock jocks" as Howard Stern and Don Imus, typically features a male host with a female sidekick in a markedly subordinate position (sometimes called "the giggle box"). Though a few women achieve prominence in the highly rated morning slots, their numbers are small, and it is usually still as half of a male/female team.

Meanwhile, behind the scenes and out of the public eye, more and more of radio's program, music, promotion, and marketing directors are women, and women make up the largest slice of the commercial audience. There are a few women station owners and syndicated producers, but the vast bulk of management remains male. Things have changed, but in many ways they have remained the same. The "women's daytime ghetto" may be gone, but certain occupational ghettos remain. However, turn on your radio and the chance that you'll hear a female voice announcing the upcoming hits, reporting the news, or delivering a commercial has increased enormously over the last 20 years. The controversy over women's voices on the air would appear to be settled, though now we must wait for industry control to catch up.

MICHELE HILMES

See also Association for Women in Communication; Brice, Fanny; Female Radio Personalities and Disk Jockeys; Frederick, Pauline; *Fresh Air*; Goldbergs; Phillips, Irna; Hummert, Frank and Anne; McBride, Mary Margaret; Our Miss Brooks; Serials; Smith, Kate; Soap Opera; Stamberg, Susan; Totenberg, Nina; Wertheimer, Linda; WHER

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WOR

New York City Station

WOR-AM (710), now a leading talk/news format radio station in New York City that is heard in 35 states, began in 1922 as the New York metropolitan area's second radio station. WOR was constructed as a marketing promotion for the L. Bamberger and Company Department Store, and it originally served the New York area from Newark, New Jersey. Although its transmitter remains in New Jersey, its studios have been located in New York City for more than 70 years.

After New York station WJZ (later WABC) was launched in October 1921, Edgar Bamberger decided to start a radio station to promote both the crystal radio sets sold at the L. Bamberger and Company store and the store itself. Jacob R. Poppele, a former wireless operator for the U.S. Army who worked in the store's radio department, strung up antenna wires and launched station WOR on 22 February 1922 as its chief engineer. Initially, WJZ and WOR alternated daylight and evening hours. WOR operated at 833 kilohertz with 250 watts of power and moved to 740 kilohertz when it increased its power to 500 watts. When the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers (ASCAP) sued WOR for copyright fees in 1923, WOR argued that it was providing a cultural service rather than broadcasting for profit. However, the courts decided that repeated emphasis of the station's sponsorship by L. Bamberger and Company as "one of America's Great stores" excluded it from the realm of charitable enterprises.

Early schedules alternated vocal and instrumental numbers with talk and various programs aimed at self-improvement. One of the most enduring of these early shows was a morning exercise program begun in 1925 featuring Bernarr Macfadden, a physical culture enthusiast and publisher of the magazines

Physical Culture and *True Story*. Macfadden paid WOR for the privilege of hosting the program. When Macfadden came down with laryngitis, John B. Gambling filled in and eventually took over the morning exercise show. That show ended in 1934, but John Gambling stayed on as a morning fixture. Two succeeding generations of Gambings have held the morning-show host position since—John A. until 1991 and John R. Gambling for the final decade, 1991–2001.

In 1927 WOR moved to the 710-kilohertz clear channel frequency. That same year, WOR joined with a group of radio stations enlisted by Arthur Judson and George A. Coats to form the United Independent Broadcasters (UIB), which required that participating stations sell ten hours of station time each week to UIB. WOR was the key station for the UIB group, which merged with Columbia Phonograph Broadcasting System and later became the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS). However, WOR separated from the CBS chain in 1928 when WABC joined and became the key transmitter station for the chain. Competing department store chain R.H. Macy and Company acquired a controlling interest in L. Bamberger and Company in 1929, and the licensee name for WOR was changed to the Bamberger Broadcasting Service. By 1935 a new 50,000-watt transmitter and directional antenna sent WOR airwaves over a "bean-shaped area" up and down the eastern seaboard, garnering it a huge audience.

WOR joined three other major-market stations in 1934 to form the Mutual network, and it was the anchor station for Mutual for many years before leaving the network in 1959. Mary Margaret McBride got her start as *Martha Deane* on WOR from 1934 to 1940. *Uncle Don*, played by Donald Carney, a popular figure with young listeners, told stories and pro-

vided avuncular advice. In 1940 Ed Fitzgerald and his wife Pegeen created *The Fitzgeralds*, a breakfast show broadcast from the couple's 16th-floor apartment overlooking Central Park that achieved an audience of 2 million listeners as they discussed the day's upcoming social events and the morning news. The station featured another long-lived radio family—the McCanns. Alfred W. McCann, a muckraking journalist, used *The McCann Pure Food Hour* to expose the practices of the food industry in the late 1920s. After his death in 1931, son Alfred W. McCann Jr. took over and was later joined by his wife, Dora, to broadcast *The McCanns at Home* from their house in Yonkers. Daughter Patricia McCann continued the family tradition with *The Patricia McCann Magazine* until 1983.

In 1940 J.R. Poppele oversaw the creation of another WOR entity—New York's first commercial FM station, carrying WOR programs. During the 1940s, the *American Forum of the Air* staged debates on various topics. The station also originated dramatic series, such as *Nick Carter, Master Detective*; game shows; and soap operas. It attracted talent such as Henry Morgan, Cab Calloway, Arlene Francis, and theater critic Jack O'Brian. In the mid-1950s, Jean Shepherd joined WOR and stayed for 21 years as a personality and raconteur. In 1948 Bamberger Broadcasting System became a part of General Tel-radio, and in 1952 Don Lee Broadcasting System purchased WOR. In 1955 the station was acquired by RKO Pictures (later RKO General).

WOR-FM developed a new format described as “ahead of its time,” featuring “alternative” music such as the Beatles and Rolling Stones album cuts in 1966. It switched to an oldies format called the “Big Town Sound” in November 1967. When, in 1972, it dropped its oldies format and lost half its audience, WOR-FM became WXLO and later WRKS.

Attempting to update its programming in the 1970s, WOR-AM moved increasingly toward a talk format. A 1978 New School of Social Research survey reported that independent stations such as WOR produced more public-affairs programming than network radio competitors. From 1973 and for the next 20 years, “folksy foggy-voiced” radio personality Bernard Meltzer hosted the programs *What's Your Problem?* and *Guidance for Living*, which combined advice on finances, real estate, taxes, and personal problems. During the 1980s, both WOR and its archrival WABC adopted the talk radio format and struggled with revamping their programming to attract a younger audience. In 1988 the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) approved the sale of WOR-AM to S/G Communications, which in turn sold it a year later to Buckley

Broadcasting Corporation for \$25.5 million, after RKO General lost its licenses because of fraudulent billing practices in the mid-1970s.

Along with its mellow programming personalities, WOR also had its share of controversial figures. Irwin H. Sonny Bloch, a financial talk show host, was aired by WOR until Bloch admitted to swindling his listeners and was jailed. Eric Braverman, a doctor with a weekly show on alternative medicine, lost his medical license in 1996. WOR also hired controversial talk show host Bob Grant from rival WABC-AM in 1996 after Grant was fired for racial slurs against deceased Commerce Secretary Ron Brown.

WOR-AM talk format includes *Rambling With Gambling*; *Dr. Joy Brown*, a radio psychologist; *The Bob Grant Show*; financial advice from Ken and Daria Dolan; *The Joan Rivers Show*; *Health Talk* with Dr. Ronald Hoffman; and a food program by *Daily News* critic Arthur Schwartz. The station also carries sports coverage of the New Jersey Nets and Rutgers University.

WOR-AM talk format includes journalist Ed Walsh on *The Morning Show*, *Dr. Joy Brown*, a radio psychologist; *The Bob Grant Show*, financial advice from Ken and Daria Dolan, and Joan Hamburg, a talk show host wildly popular with women over 30 and whose style is reminiscent of WOR's earlier successes such as *The Fitzgeralds*. *Health Talk* with Dr. Ronald Hoffman, a food program by *Daily News* critic Arthur Schwartz, and an evening talk show host Tom Marr, brought in from Baltimore to replace Joan Rivers, were on the 2003 roster. Joey Reynolds, a former shock jock who is billed by the station as the “Mr. Nice Guy of Night Radio,” holds down the night time hours; his show is distributed by satellite to 35 stations nationwide. WOR does use some outside programming—Fox-syndicated commentator Bill O'Reilly's program *The Radio Factor* is featured during late afternoon hours.

L. CLARE BRATTEN

See also Gambling, John; Mutual Broadcasting System; WABC

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World Radiocommunication Conference

The World Radiocommunication Conference (WRC) is an important global forum in the planning for and utilization of radio spectrum. Though only created in 1992, it builds on more than a century of international cooperation in telecommunications.

In response to unprecedented communication and technological convergence, the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) was restructured in 1992, and a new sector, the Radiocommunication Sector (ITU-R), was created. Under the 1992 ITU Constitution and Convention, the ITU-R replaces the World Administrative Radio Conference (WARC), which met every few years on matters related to radio spectrum.

The ITU-R is responsible for all ITU radiocommunication activities. Its mission includes ensuring worldwide rational, equitable, efficient, and economical use of frequency spectrum by all radiocommunication services and users around the world. WRCs are organized under the auspices of the ITU-R and serve as its governing body.

Functions

As the main legislative and policy-making body of the ITU-R, the WRC coordinates allocation of spectrum bands for national and international radio communication services among the 189 member countries. Unlike its WARC predecessor (which convened on an ad hoc basis to discuss specific matters related to international regulation of the radio spectrum), the WRC meets regularly (every two years) to discuss and adopt regulations governing the use of the radio-frequency spectrum. The WRC is designed to maintain a fair and efficient allocation of the radio spectrum for multiple uses by avoiding or at least reducing international disagreement and technical interference. The rationale for WRC's action is that the electromagnetic spectrum is a limited resource that must be managed for the benefit of all nations.

The WRC serves as an ITU legislative organ, and its resolutions, recommendations, and regulations have the status of treaties and conventions. However, ITU member countries are not bound by all WRC agreements. Although WRC resolutions and decisions are adopted by consensus, member countries are allowed to issue declarations reserving their right to take actions necessary to safeguard their national interests. For example, the United States has taken a number of these so-called exceptions to WRC or ITU decisions. Various national declarations and reservations notwithstanding, however, most nations participate in the technical standardization of worldwide radio communication to facilitate communications as well as world trade in radio equipment.

Nongovernmental Organization Participation

The ITU has over 600 nongovernmental organization (NGO) members representing a wide range of interests in telecommunications. These private-sector NGOs include major telecommunication and internet service providers, equipment manufacturers, broadcasters, and network and radio infrastructure designers, as well as regional and international organizations. These all play an increasingly important role in the WRC. They serve as information technology developers, exhibitors, consultants, and advisers, among other roles. Despite the active participation of the private sector in WRCs, NGOs do not have the rights and obligations generally appertaining to ITU member states. Only member countries or their accredited representatives are allowed to vote on WRC resolutions and conventions.

The WRC in the Digital Age

WRC meetings may revise radio regulations and associated frequency assignment and may address any radiocommunication matter of international importance. The WRC is concerned with the entire range of radio services: both AM and FM broadcasting, satellite broadcast services, mobile and amateur broadcasting, and a host of nonbroadcast services. In the last ten years, WRCs have allocated frequencies and set standards for wideband high-definition television (HDTV), mobile satellite services, terrestrial public communication, aeronautic services to provide telephone communication for passengers in commercial aircraft, satellite or terrestrial digital audio broadcasting, and maritime distress communications. The most significant recent WRC resolutions and agreements include treaties governing the use of the geostationary-satellite orbit, HDTV, low earth-orbiting satellites, and high-frequency national and international radio services (including amateur and government-sponsored international broadcasting). WRC meetings are usually forward-looking conferences held to consider and update regulations on specific terrestrial and space radiocommunication services in order to keep up with technological changes. For example, the WRC-2000 conference, which took place in Istanbul, Turkey, allocated additional radio spectrum for third-generation international mobile telecommunication; agreed on conditions under which a new wave of non-geostationary satellites will operate; and assigned new broadcasting satellite orbits to Europe, Africa, and the Asia-Pacific region.

WRCs and International Politics

Because all countries negotiate WRC agreements in the light of their national interests, WRC meetings have not been free of controversy. For example, in the WRC that charted the method to be followed in planning fixed satellite services ("Space WARC 1985"), regional and national interests were very evident. Developing countries, which did not have the financial or technological resources to launch their own satellites, feared that all satellite orbital slots would be occupied by industrial nations before poorer countries could develop means of launching their own satellites. The larger number of poorer countries therefore demanded that slots be reserved for their future use as a means of creating equitable access to the geostationary orbit for all countries. The United States and other developed countries preferred an evolutionary system in which countries would be assigned bands on a first-come, first-served basis. The same kinds of pressures were evident in more recent HF (high-frequency or shortwave radio) WRC conferences.

Technological developments in the field of radiocommunication and the convergence of telecommunications, voice, video, and information technology have tendered the role of the WRC more crucial than ever before. Without WRCs' forward planning, resolutions, and treaties, radiocommunication around the world would be chaotic at best and impossible at worst.

LYOMBE EKO

See also Frequency Allocation; International Telecommunication Union

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World War II and U.S. Radio

A brief radio bulletin brought the reality of another world war to American listeners on 7 December 1941. At 2:26 P.M. EST, the Mutual Broadcasting System (MBS) interrupted coverage of a Sunday afternoon football game to announce that Japanese warplanes had bombed U.S. forces at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. The other networks quickly followed suit, John Daley of CBS mispronouncing the name of Oahu in his excitement, for example. America and its Allies soon were engaged in a monumental struggle, every aspect of which was in one way or another connected with radio. U.S. radio's prominence during World War II proved to be the medium's journalistic high-water mark. In a sense, radio was the perfect medium to undertake the wartime task of informing, entertaining, and

boosting the morale of the American public. In doing so, radio adapted itself to serve three program settings—international, domestic, and military.

International Radio

Such a purpose for radio came not from the United States but rather from the Axis nations of Germany, Italy, and Japan. As early as 1933, German shortwave broadcasts were flooding the airwaves with programming designed initially to provide Germans living abroad a link to the "Fatherland." Such programs gradually became conduits for coded messages meant for German agents living in the United States. And once the United

States' intention to ally with Great Britain became obvious, the German broadcasts began filling with propaganda messages, of which the purpose, according to Adolf Hitler, was "psychological decomposition of the masses."

The international or "external" voice that radio provided the Axis powers soon spread worldwide in some 30 languages. Shortwave listening nonetheless was limited to a U.S. audience of between 3 and 7 million, according to a 1941 survey by the American Institute of Public Opinion. The survey also found that persons listening specifically to German shortwave programming numbered only about 150,000 on any particular day. Those in charge of Germany's North American Service were well aware of the small audience but still found success with the manner in which loyal listeners (many of whom had formed into "listening groups") were able to spread radio's propaganda messages to non-listeners by word of mouth.

In order to counter the prewar propaganda available to American listeners via shortwave radio, President Franklin D. Roosevelt encouraged several members of Congress to introduce legislation that would create a government-owned shortwave radio station to aim programming toward Axis countries. When several bills to this effect failed, Roosevelt encouraged the existing privately owned U.S. shortwave stations not only to assist the government's propaganda efforts, but also to air propaganda programs produced by government agencies.

Several U.S. companies had constructed shortwave radio stations during the 1930s in order to experiment with high-powered, high-frequency broadcasting. The experimental nature of these stations changed in 1936 when the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) reclassified them as "international broadcast stations." Six companies or organizations—National Broadcasting Company (NBC), Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), Westinghouse, General Electric, Crosley Corporation, and World Wide Broadcasting Foundation—transmitted shortwave signals to Europe, Latin America, and Asia via 14 transmitters just prior to America's entry into World War II. The number of transmitters jumped to 38 as the war began. Similarly, the number of languages in which international programming was aired jumped from six in 1939 to nearly two dozen by 1942. Privately owned U.S. shortwave stations were not openly cooperative with the government's efforts to use their facilities. Nonetheless, the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (OIAA) began supplying news items in August 1941 for broadcast to Latin American countries.

Matters changed substantially when the United States entered the war in December 1941. War emergency provisions of the Communications Act of 1934 empowered the president to order any U.S. radio station, domestic or international, either to cease operation or to operate under government control. Neither of these options was applied to domestic stations

(with the exception that all amateur radio operators were ordered off the air), but such was not the case for international stations. The government arranged to "lease" the transmitters of these stations and to place their control under the Office of War Information (OWI) in June 1942. Assurances were given all international broadcast station licensees that stations would be returned to them following the war. Station staffs were retained by the government, partly because of their experience and partly as reassurance to station owners that government supervision was only temporary. The broadcast service of the now-combined international stations was called the Voice of America (VOA). Seventy-five percent of VOA programs consisted of news, with the remainder of program time devoted to music and features.

The broad objectives of the VOA were to engage in psychological warfare against the enemy and to provide news and morale-building programs for U.S. Allies and armed forces. Programs of the former type were supplied by the Office of Strategic Services (OSS). Much of the OSS effort was aimed at formulating quick responses to Nazi propaganda broadcasts that had been intercepted and translated by the newly created Foreign Broadcast Monitoring Service (later called the Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service). News programs were typically 15 minutes in length and were designed to provide a true account of whatever events were reported.

VOA entertainment programming was meant to reflect life in the United States. Programs ranged in length from 15 to 30 minutes and were produced primarily in the New York studios of CBS and NBC. By September 1943 the VOA was transmitting approximately 2,600 shortwave programs per week. A majority of these programs were beamed to Europe, but two West Coast shortwave stations also beamed VOA programming to the Far East in Japanese and a number of Chinese and Filipino dialects. The VOA was assisted by Australian radio stations that picked up and rebroadcast its programming. The same was true in Europe, where the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) relayed VOA programming into occupied countries via BBC standard-band radio stations. The European operation actually began in May 1944, just prior to the D-Day invasion, and was called the American Broadcasting Station in Europe (ABSIE). ABSIE was programmed much like the BBC, with music and news. The news was broadcast in seven languages and often carried comments from exiled leaders; nearly a third of the ABSIE broadcast day was aimed into Germany. ABSIE disbanded in July 1945, after reaching a peak of nearly 80 percent of listeners in occupied Europe.

Domestic Radio

Nearly 82 percent of U.S. households and 30 percent of U.S. automobiles were equipped with at least one radio receiver as World War II began, and more than 900 U.S. radio stations, 76

percent of which were affiliated with one of the four major networks—NBC Red, NBC Blue, CBS, and MBS—served listeners before war's end. A demonstration of radio's power to reach listeners occurred on 8 December 1941 when President Roosevelt delivered his noontime address asking that Congress declare war on Japan. A daytime record of 66 percent of radio listeners tuned in to the address. The night-time record was broken the next evening when 83 percent of the audience heard another address by the president.

As the United States entered the war, radio, especially radio news, had achieved stature as a major unifying force. Radio network and station executives who had been reluctant to program anything that appeared to breach the nation's declared neutrality now were able to act in concert. As a result, practically all of the radio programs that listeners were accustomed to hearing—from drama to comedy and from variety show to soap opera—incorporated patriotic, morale-boosting themes.

Radio news during World War II was, for all intents and purposes, NBC and CBS News. CBS News became a force in journalism in a sudden burst of improvised reporting activity at the very outset of the war. On 11 March 1938, when the German army occupied Austria, Edward R. Murrow and William L. Shirer were the only two foreign correspondents employed by CBS Radio. Both, however, were resourceful enough to arrange to cover the *Anschluss*, and at 8 P.M. on 13 March 1938, Murrow and Shirer, along with several newspaper reporters scattered in various European cities, went on the air with live reports of reaction to the German occupation. The CBS *World News Roundup*, as it came to be called, was successful enough to be made a permanent wartime fixture. Radio from then until war's end was not only the chief information source for most Americans, but also the information source that Americans held in highest esteem.

Radio performers such as Jack Benny mixed regular program fare with wartime requests to conserve scarce items or to grow "Victory Gardens." Networks also produced special programs built around stars to make particular mobilization appeals. One such program with Kate Smith, airing on CBS in February 1944, was successful in raising some \$112 million in war bond sales. Comedian Bob Hope began a tradition that lasted until the Vietnam War era of taking his show on the road, entertaining radio listeners and military personnel alike at various military locations at home and abroad. The music programs (most of which were in the popular or "pop" category) that filled nearly a third of the network schedules also joined the war effort with the likes of Frank Sinatra or Glenn Miller and his Orchestra performing tunes such as "Praise the Lord and Pass the Ammunition" and "This Is the Army, Mr. Jones."

New dramatic programs such as *Counter Spy* and *Alias John Freedom* incorporated wartime themes exclusively, as did documentary series such as *To the Young, Report to the*

Nation, and *This Is War*. All of these were meant to stimulate morale as well as to inform listeners about U.S. war policy. Youthful radio listeners were introduced to Americanism and patriotism via the heroic deeds of such characters as Jack Armstrong, Superman, Tom Mix, and Captain Midnight. These and similar characters battled the treacherous deeds of assorted Axis villains. Messages imploring children to collect paper or to buy war stamps were also inserted into programming especially produced for that age group. And many of the nearly 50 morning and afternoon serials or "soap operas" such as *Young Dr. Malone*, *Backstage Wife*, and *Front Page Farrell* adapted their plots and characters to wartime situations.

Special programs that demonstrated the unified spirit of the American entertainment industry occasionally appeared throughout the war. One of these, "We Hold These Truths," was produced by the U.S. government and had been intended as a commemoration of the 150th anniversary of America's Bill of Rights. It aired live simultaneously in prime time on all four U.S. radio networks only eight days after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Created by noted writer Norman Corwin, "We Hold These Truths" reached a radio audience estimated at the time to have been the largest ever to hear a dramatic performance. President Roosevelt, along with a cast of some of America's most famous performers, including Lionel Barrymore, Walter Huston, Marjorie Main, Edward G. Robinson, Orson Welles, and James Stewart, all lent their voices and talent to a program in which the original intentions of celebration gave way to a more somber call to patriotism.

The U.S. government played other prominent roles in radio programming during the war. For example, *The Army Hour*, financed by NBC but produced by the U.S. Army, began its hourly Sunday afternoon broadcasts in April 1942. *The Army Hour* was produced not only for domestic listeners, but also for military personnel around the globe. The show gave listeners a blend of entertainment and information about the army's mission and featured well-known celebrities and army personnel from privates to generals. For instance, it was here that listeners heard General Jimmy Doolittle tell of Army Air Corps bombing runs over Tokyo. *The Army Hour*, originating from military bases around the globe, remained popular throughout the war.

The U.S. War Department found radio of use in other ways. Noted writers such as Norman Corwin and William Robson were commissioned to prepare scripts for programs meant to raise public perception regarding women serving in the armed forces and regarding the fighting abilities of African-American troops. And when morale problems crept into the numerous military training bases around the country, the War Department requested that networks provide some entertainment relief by originating programs from the bases themselves. The networks complied, but before the originations began, the networks had to promise to abide by another request—to begin

each program with a disclaimer for endorsements by either the army or War Department of commercial products represented by the programs' sponsors.

A number of government agencies produced radio programs that were available to networks and local radio stations wishing to air them. All such programs had to be approved by the OWI, and many of the agencies producing them were assisted by such civilian groups as the Writers' War Board, the War Advertising Council, the Council for Democracy, and the War Activities Committee of the Motion Picture Industry. Members of these wartime organizations devoted time, talent, and expertise to the cause. *Treasury Star Parade* was one such product of this civilian/government collaboration. The 15-minute series was produced by the U.S. Treasury Department and was meant to persuade listeners to buy war bonds. Leading performers of the day donated their dramatic and musical talents to *Treasury Star Parade*. The program, reproduced on electrical transcriptions (called "ETs") that resembled the contemporary long-playing record, was distributed free upon request to over 800 radio stations nationwide.

The government played other key roles during World War II that affected the radio industry. For instance, in April 1942 the FCC discontinued issuing permits to construct both AM and FM stations until war's end. The commission's rationale for its decision was the shortage of construction material resulting from wartime needs and the shortage of trained personnel necessary to operate radio stations. Even before the war had begun, in September 1940, Roosevelt had created the Defense Communications Board (later renamed the Board of War Communications), which was made up of government representatives and civilian representatives of the radio industry and was charged with deciding how best to utilize American radio during the war. The Board's most significant contribution was allowing radio networks and stations to operate as usual with only a modicum of extraordinary government oversight.

Practically all of that oversight came via the Office of Censorship (see following) and units of the FCC. The FCC's Radio Intelligence Division had been created prior to the war to search for unlicensed radio stations. That job became more critical during the war with the threat of clandestine stations broadcasting subversive messages. The FCC's Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service also existed prior to the war to monitor and transcribe foreign broadcasts and to make their transcriptions available to the appropriate government agencies.

Voluntary censorship was assisted by an Office of Censorship (OC), which was created by the president's executive order only two days after the Pearl Harbor attack. One of the OC's first objectives was to prepare a code for broadcasters that would include advice on what should or should not be said on the air and how certain kinds of information might be handled.

The OC issued the first of five editions of its *Code of Wartime Practices for American Broadcasters* in January 1942. Because of ways in which the enemy might make use of otherwise innocent kinds of programming, radio station licensees were cautioned to abstain from broadcasting, among other things, weather reports, information about military troop locations or deployments, identification and location of naval ships or military aircraft, military base locations, and casualty counts as a result of military action. Licensees were also cautioned to avoid musical request programs or interview programs that relied on extemporaneous comments and to avoid dramatic content that portrayed the horrors of battle. The OC staff spot-checked network programs for any content that might prove problematic. The staff also reviewed program scripts that networks or stations submitted voluntarily. With few reported breaches of security, the radio industry's ability to look after its own house during the war worked exceptionally well.

The one new FCC unit was the War Problems Division, which the commission established in its law department in 1942 to monitor the nation's 169 radio stations that broadcast all or a major portion of their programming in foreign languages. Because German and Italian were the predominant languages of these programs, there were fears that agents of the Axis powers could easily use the programs to plant subversive messages. The stations could have been ordered off the air, of course, but the FCC realized that they served a significant number of listeners (estimated at 14 million foreign-born and first-generation Americans) who might otherwise listen to shortwave stations originating in Axis countries if they were not served by American stations. In order to police themselves, the stations created the Foreign Language Radio Wartime Control, which adopted a code requiring strict oversight of program content and station employee loyalty. This code eventually was incorporated into the *Code of Wartime Practices for American Broadcasters*.

The abundance of programming for World War II radio was matched by the abundance of advertising. In fact, only one year after the war began, the U.S. radio industry billed a record \$255 million for commercial time. And things simply got better after that. Two factors contributed to radio's economic well-being. One was the shortage of newsprint, which curtailed the amount of space many newspapers could allow for advertising. Businesses naturally turned to radio, where no such space constraints existed. As a result, radio's total share of the advertising dollar climbed steadily throughout the war years. The second economic factor favoring radio derived from a tax levied by the government on excess profits as a means of curtailing wartime profiteering. The 90 percent tax on profits exceeding what a company would normally be expected to make was exempted when these profits were spent for advertising. Instead of keeping what amounted to only ten cents for

every dollar, companies dumped much of their excess profits into radio advertising.

Radio advertising in the form of program sponsorship also benefited from government largesse. Companies under contract to manufacture war-related products were allowed to count advertising along with other manufacturing costs and to pass along to the government all the bills for doing business. This formula allowed a number of companies to dedicate large amounts of money to sponsoring radio programs. Such sponsorship amounted to paying the full production costs of programs, with the results that a number of network programs either remained in production or were created as a result of funding that came indirectly from the government.

Wartime conditions changed radio advertising content in a number of ways. For one, a number of consumer products either were not available or were in short supply and thus rationed. Companies whose products were thus affected often turned to institutional advertising just to keep their name or brand in the listener's mind. This kind of advertising was particularly beneficial to the fine arts when, for example, a corporation such as General Motors that had no cars to sell nonetheless gave its name to sponsor the NBC Symphony Orchestra. Other companies tied their name or product to the war effort by the messages they chose for their radio commercials. A famous western hat company, for example, mixed its product name with a plea to guard against spreading rumors by admonishing Americans to "Keep it under your Stetson."

Finally, domestic radio stations underwent some wartime changes. Many stations located in markets that were also the homes of important war industries adjusted their broadcast day in order to provide industry and plant workers something to listen to as they worked. Radio was also considered an essential industry by the government, and many key radio station personnel were granted deferments for military duty by the Selective Service System. Of course, although some decisions were made to take advantage of these deferments, many broadcasters still joined the military when duty called. Broadcast engineers in particular provided technical expertise that was useful to the military. They contributed considerably in developing America's wartime electronics capability. And their skills advanced in such ways that the radio engineers who entered World War II left it in 1945 to form the advance troops in postwar development of the television industry.

Military Radio

U.S. military personnel were among the most avid listeners of the shortwave international stations that had been transformed by the OWI into the Voice of America. Programming produced especially for the "G.I." began appearing in early 1942 as a result of the U.S. Army's Bureau of Public Relations (BPR). The BPR's first and perhaps best-known program was *Com-*

mand Performance. The one-hour program aired weekly on Sundays and carried a blend of comedy, sports summaries, popular music, and celebrity appearances. The *Command Performance* title derived from the program's key element of entertainers responding to military personnel requests such as singing a special song. The program was produced from several takes, allowing deletion of questionable material or material deemed censorable by the military, and then recorded finally onto wax disks for the Sunday airing. *Command Performance* originated in New York but was moved to Los Angeles shortly thereafter because of the Hollywood talent pool. After producing 44 of the programs, the BPR relinquished control of *Command Performance* to the Armed Forces Radio Service (AFRS).

The AFRS was created in 1942 as a unit within the War Department's Information and Education Division and was headed by Col. Thomas H.A. Lewis. The AFRS was headquartered in Los Angeles and run by staff members from the army and navy as well as civilians. The service was closely connected to the entertainment industry and thus attracted top talent for AFRS programs. By the end of 1943 AFRS had 306 outlets and stations in 47 countries. Each outlet received more than 50 hours of recorded programming per week, delivered by plane, as well as special shortwave programming (e.g., news and ball games) and programs that were produced in the field or at the stations themselves. All programs were reproduced on unbreakable 12-inch vinylite disks, some 83,000 of which were shipped every month from Los Angeles to AFRS outlets. Reuse of commercial programs required cooperation of network and transcription companies as well as concession of rights of entertainers, sponsors, advertising agencies, musicians, copyright claimants, and publishers.

AFRS programs either were produced by the AFRS itself or were network series that had been "denatured." Denaturing meant deleting commercials that normally appeared in the network programs from the transcribed versions heard by the G.I. so as not to give unfair advantage to particular advertisers. There also was fear that soldiers far from home and living under less than ideal conditions would be depressed to hear commercials for food and drink products or goods meant to provide comfort and relaxation. But when soldiers complained of missing the familiar sound of commercials, the army began inserting gag commercials that spoofed the real ones. And since many commercial network programs used the name of the program sponsor in the show's title, completely new openings and closings had to be created by the AFRS and substituted for the actual title. Thus, *Camel Caravan* became *Comedy Caravan* and *Chase and Sandborn Hour* became *Charlie McCarthy*. AFRS also combined dramatic episodes of several programs into anthology-like series with titles such as *Front Line Theater*, *Globe Theater*, and *Mystery Theater*.

Besides entertainment programs, educational and documentary programs were carried on the AFRS network. *Heard at Home* was another combination program that pulled segments from such shows as *The Chicago Roundtable*, *America's Town Meeting of the Air*, and *People's Platform*. The AFRS also produced its own educational programs, such as *Know Your Enemy* and *Know Your Ally*. *Mail Call*, a musical variety program that began in August 1942, was the first AFRS-produced program. For commercially produced shows, several different AFRS offices were responsible for examining program content for security violations, technical quality, authenticity, and compliance with current policy, such as race relations policy. AFRS could not supply all programming needs, and besides, troops preferred the familiarity of U.S. commercial network programs.

Most of the AFRS military radio stations operating in the field were called "American expeditionary stations." Their prototype was a station in Kodiak, Alaska. Soldiers stationed there soon after the war began were unhappy with the unreliable shortwave service in that remote area. To improve matters, the soldiers built and operated their own low-powered transmitter and a makeshift station that broadcast to troops stationed nearby. Programs consisted mainly of recorded music supplemented by occasional news reports as items were received via shortwave.

A more significant makeshift radio operation began in Casablanca shortly after U.S. forces invaded North Africa in November 1942. Present with the troops was Major Andre Baruch, who had been a CBS radio announcer prior to the war and who asked permission of General George H. Patton to construct a radio station for his comrades. The general approved, and Baruch set about molding spare parts into what became the U.S. Army's first expeditionary radio station on 15 December 1942. Major Baruch entertained troops with "platter-chatter" and music from his own limited collection of records. Radio receivers were not plentiful and either had to be purchased from French Moroccan radio shops or built from spare parts. A short time later, soldiers at Anzio were creative enough to build a simple receiving device called "Foxhole Radio" that was similar to the crystal sets of the 1920s.

The idea that radio was an important element in keeping troop morale high led to General Dwight D. Eisenhower's ordering the creation of additional stations that either were stationary or traveled with troops. Transmitters for the 50-watt mobile stations were carried in five portable cases and accompanied the Fifth Army as it advanced into Italy. At key locations along the route, permanent stations were established by Major Baruch. By March 1943 these stations were joined to form the Mediterranean Army network. A similar network of stations, called the Armed Forces network, was built to serve American troops stationed in England and

began broadcasting in July 1943. And in due course, an equivalent South Pacific operation called the "Mosquito" network was created with stations built on islands scattered throughout the area. All of these stations, of course, carried the AFRS programming supplied on disk, but they also provided listeners with localized programming produced at the stations themselves.

Radio at War's End

Reporting about military matters became more sophisticated as the war progressed. Radio reporters who accompanied troops were assisted in their reporting efforts by field recording techniques using portable wire recorders. During the latter part of the war, these reporters were indirectly assisted by German technical advances that had replaced the difficult-to-edit wire recorders with plastic tape recorders. Captured recorders of this new variety allowed reporters to cover a variety of dramatic wartime events and to quickly get their eyewitness accounts back to their respective networks. Thus, ABC's George Hix provided listeners with vivid accounts of the 6 June 1944 D-Day invasion from his observation point aboard a navy ship. And listeners heard the recorded reactions to nearly incomprehensible horrors on 13 August 1944, when a Mutual reporter first entered Maidanek extermination camp, which had been liberated only a few days earlier by the Russian army.

At least three months of fighting remained in the Pacific when Germany surrendered in May 1945. There was much V-E Day celebrating over the triumph of the Allied forces, and radio was in the thick of it. On 8 May 1945, CBS aired *On a Note of Triumph*, written by Norman Corwin to commemorate the event. *On a Note of Triumph* proved so popular that CBS rebroadcast it live on 14 May. The program eventually was released as a commercial record album, and Simon and Schuster put out a book version of the script that quickly made the best-seller list. The program in a symbolic sense brought radio full circle. Radio had made a commitment of so many of its resources to join in the collective experience that World War II became. Radio and its listeners—wherever they might have been and in whatever endeavor they might have been engaged—had formed a community during the war and had effectively woven themselves into the very fabric of that event.

RONALD GARAY

See also American Broadcasting Station in Europe; Armed Forces Radio Service; British Forces Broadcasting Service; Churchill, Winston S.; Commentators; Corwin, Norman; Davis, Elmer; International Radio Broadcasting; Murrow, Edward R.; News; Office of War Information; Propaganda; Shirer, William L.; Voice of America

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WQXR

New York City Station

One of the very few radio stations to begin as part of an experimental TV operation, WQXR (as it became in 1936) and its later FM associate station became in 1944 the voice of the *New York Times* in New York City, renowned for classical music and arts programming. Elliott Sanger, both father and son, played key roles in the station's creation and operation for decades.

Origins

This New York classical music station had a unique start—as the sound channel for a very early experimental TV transmitter. In 1929 radio inventor J.V.L. Hogan received a Federal Radio Commission (FRC) license for W2XR, based in Long Island City, New York, to develop a mechanically scanned TV and facsimile service. Whereas the pictures were sent out on 2100 kHz, as of 1933 a second, sound, channel at 1550 kHz was added. In accord with FRC rules of the time, this was one of three 20 kHz channels (each twice the width of existing AM radio channels). Using this new channel, Hogan used classical

music recordings as his sound background for the crude pictures. Audience interest in the music (most could not receive the pictures) prompted the idea of a commercial station providing such content. Indeed, the eventual failure of mechanical approaches to television led to an increased focus on the sound channels.

Working with engineer Al Barber, Hogan focused on providing high fidelity sound by using special broadcast-only electrical transcription recordings and various filters to improve the music transmitted. Equipment was the best available—or was made especially for W2XR operation. By 1934, using 250 watts, the station was on the air four hours daily and was providing a program log for listeners.

The big change came two years later when, teamed with advertising and public relations expert Elliott M. Sanger, the experimental W2XR became commercial station WQXR with 1,000 watts of power, still on 1550 kHz. But this was a different kind of commercial operation, because the station (with all of six employees) picked and chose its advertisers and their messages carefully to match the high tone of the programming.

WQXR would not accept advertising for products that were in poor taste or represented a bad value—and the method of presentation of those that were accepted “must be in keeping with the quality of the broadcast programs.” Prophetically, in light of what happened eight years later when the *Times* bought the station, the original license application stated that the new station would seek to emulate the values of the *New York Times*. Many radios could not even tune in to the station, which was just above what were then the uppermost frequencies on the AM band.

A focus on top-quality sound continued and in 1938 WQXR broadcast the first tape-recorded program (part of the opera *Carmen*), although the method of recording used was short-lived. Power rose to 10,000 watts (on 1560 kHz) in 1941. Hogan and Sanger’s Interstate Broadcasting Co. became an FM licensee, with New York’s first FM station, W2XQR (with a transmitter loaned by FM inventor Edwin Armstrong) on 26 November 1939, which became W59NY (45.9 MHz) when the FCC approved commercial operation in 1941. When FM call letter rules changed in 1943, the station became WQXQ, and with the service’s frequency change it shifted operations up to 97.7 MHz after World War II. Both stations provided the same programming and were now operating from a Fifth Avenue address.

Voices of the *Times*

In mid-1944, the *New York Times* purchased the stations from Sanger and Hogan for \$1 million. The program emphasis on fine music continued, as did the extensive schedule of live studio performances. Six years later, the studios moved to the *Times* building. In October 1952 the stations began a two-station transmission of stereo, with AM providing the right channel and FM the left. These were replaced in 1961 with the inception of FM multiplex transmission. The AM outlet’s power received a final power boost, to 50,000 watts, in 1956.

In a decade-long experiment, the New York-based classical programming was shared with more than a dozen “affiliate” stations in the WQXR network. Beginning in 1953 stations from Buffalo, New York, to Boston, Massachusetts, to Washington, D.C., formed the “WQXR Network.” It closed 10 years later because of insufficient income and the desire of the

other stations to have more local say in their program offerings. December 1963 saw the end of the station’s monthly program guide, which had first appeared in 1936 (the *Times* carried the program listings in its pages).

The stations won a Peabody Award in 1959, which noted “no station anywhere has devoted more time or more intelligent presentation to good music than has WQXR.” In 1967, in response to FCC rules not allowing AM-FM outlets to duplicate their programming, WQXR began to focus on lighter classics, show tunes, and jazz. Several other approaches were tried, but all angered listeners and did not please advertisers. The *Times* briefly considered selling the outlets in 1971, but instead obtained a nonduplication exemption from the FCC and went back to both stations providing the standard classical repertoire that had done so well for so long.

In December 1992 the AM outlet (which over the years had lost much of its audience to its higher fidelity FM twin) became WQEW, with much of the popular music programming that had been on now-defunct WNEW. At the end of 1998 WQEW entered a new stage when the *Times* leased the outlet to Disney for an eight-year period and the format was directed toward children (with a back-up of New York Jets game broadcasts), delivered by satellite and carried by about 40 other stations across the country. WQXR (FM) continued to provide classical music and in January 1997 began an internet website.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also Armstrong, Edwin Howard; Classical Music Format; Hogan, John V.L.

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Wright, Early 1915–1999

U.S. Disc Jockey

Early Wright was one of the earliest and longest-running black disc jockeys in the South. In 1947 he began as a disc jockey at WROX in Clarksdale, Mississippi. For nearly 50 years Wright broadcast blues and gospel to the people on the northern Mississippi Delta. Many internationally known blues artists began their careers on his show. He is credited with popularizing the Delta blues sound.

Wright claimed he was born in 1915 on a farm in Jackson, Mississippi. In 1937, after moving to Clarksdale, he became an auto mechanic. During his spare time, he was the manager for the Four Star Quartet Singers, a local gospel group. The group appeared on KFFA's *King Biscuit Time* program, which originated across the Mississippi River in Helena, Arkansas. Named after the sponsor's product, King Biscuit Flour, the show was one of the earliest (1941) to feature live blues artists.

When WROX started broadcasting from Clarksdale in 1944, the Four Star Quartet appeared there. After hearing Early Wright deliver Sunday morning announcements for the quartet, WROX's station manager, Buck Hinman, offered him a job. Two weeks later, after consulting with a preacher to be sure there was nothing sinful about playing blues records on the radio, Wright accepted the job.

From 1947 Early Wright's radio career continued until his heart surgery in 1997. His radio fame is interwoven with the rich blues tradition surrounding Clarksdale and Coahoma County. W.C. Handy, "Father of the Blues," lived there, and the area has been a gathering place for blues musicians since the 1920s.

In the early years Wright hosted live broadcasts of blues artists he knew from the *King Biscuit Time* show. Many, such as Sonny Boy Williamson, Robert Nighthawk, and Joe Willie "Pinetop" Perkins, achieved worldwide fame. Wright's programs were broadcast from the WROX studio at Clarksdale's Alcazar Hotel. The program reached listeners across the northern Delta and sections of eastern Arkansas.

During the 1940s Clarksdale's Issaquena Avenue was the hub of blues entertainment. Early Wright's program on WROX set the pace for the festivities. Roaring bands led by emerging musicians such as Ike Turner played all night. The Riverfront Hotel was another hot spot for blues music. Artists performed there while rooming at the hotel and traveling through Clarksdale. Before becoming a hotel, the Riverfront had been a black hospital; Bessie Smith, "Empress of the Blues," died there after a car accident in 1937.

At WROX Wright opened the door for Ike Turner in the early 1950s. Turner first appeared on Early Wright's program

with the "Kings of Rhythm." Later Turner did his own 30-minute show before moving to WHBQ and Sun Records in Memphis. According to Wright, Ike Turner first recorded "Rocker 88," considered by many to be the first rock and roll tune, at WROX.

Other well-known blues musicians, such as Muddy Waters and B.B. King, gave live performances hosted by Wright. In 1989 the *New York Times* reported that a little-known Mississippi country boy named Elvis Presley had made a radio appearance on the Early Wright show. Impressed with Presley's politeness and showmanship, Wright said "He always had a motion, you know" (Applebome, 1989).

In time the format of his program involved two segments. Usually beginning in the evening around 7:00 P.M., he was the "Soul Man," playing blues music. Later in the evening he was "Brother Early," playing gospel songs.

His delivery, which did not change during his career, was folksy, country, and deep-South sounding. *Living Blues Magazine* wrote of the time Wright delivered a warning about snakes in the black neighborhood. "I want to let you know that some snakes has been seen in the Round-yard neighborhood. The grass has grown up around the sidewalks and snakes has been seen, looking for water. And a man told me the other day, he saw a snake in the street. That's right—snakes has been seen in the street; it's been dry and they are looking for water. . . . Tell the children to be cautious in the street, too, and look out for cars" (McWilliams, 1988).

His down-home style engaged listeners, many of whom were white. Even during the heated 1960s racial disturbances, Wright held a sizable white audience, about a 50-50 split with black listeners. Responding to phone callers, he would say, "Soul Man speaking." On occasion, he left the microphone on, and the audience could hear him talking over the music: "and you wanna dedicate it to who?"

On a typical program, as reported by Peter Applebome of the *New York Times*, he introduced "an extinguished guest," then played the blues of Bobby Rush or the gospel tunes of the "Mighty Sons of Glory," and then reported on who was about to be "funeralized."

He would deliver commercials with the same folksy style. "Now I want to tell you about the Meat House. It's on Highway 61 South, owned and operated by Mr. Askew, the nicest man who ever sliced a piece of meat. . . . They've got two female meat cutters. They're A's instead of B's. The cashier's so nice, it makes the meat taste even better."

Early Wright is a radio legend who spoke the language of his listeners. He died in a Memphis hospital in December 1999. The Delta Blues Museum in Clarksdale has exhibits on the history of the blues and Early Wright. In his honor the city named the street where he lived Early Wright Drive.

FRANK J. CHORBA

See also Black-Oriented Radio; Blues Format; Disk Jockeys; Gospel Format

Early Wright. Born in Jackson, Mississippi, 1917. Began disk jockey career at WROX, Clarksdale, Mississippi, 1947; continued broadcasting and popularizing the Delta Blues on WROX for 50 years. Died in Memphis, Tennessee, 10 December 1999

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WRR

Dallas, Texas Station

WRR-FM has the distinction of being one of the few municipally owned commercial FM stations in the United States. **WRR-AM** began broadcasting in 1920; the FM station began broadcasting in 1948. Rising station values convinced the Dallas city government to sell the AM station in 1978, but the city retained the FM service. Although rising station values have again prompted the city to consider selling **WRR-FM**, the city has so far elected to retain the station and the distinct fine-arts and classical programming contribution the station makes to the city of Dallas.

A Radio Emergency Service

WRR-AM is one of the pioneer radio stations in the United States. In March 1920 **WRR** was issued a limited commercial license by the Department of Commerce to begin a specialized wireless service. While **WRR** claims to be the first station west of the Mississippi River, its original specialized function excludes it from being considered for many of the "firsts" in radio history. **WRR** was conceived as a two-way communication system to send and receive emergency calls from the city's fire and police departments. Thus its services were not intended for reception by the general public, nor did the station provide general-interest programs in its early years. When

not in use, the transmitter's carrier frequency would remain on the air. In the event of a fire or rescue emergency, the silence of the carrier frequency was interrupted with an emergency announcement for firefighters. What would today be termed "programming" was added during the interludes between emergency calls to enable listeners to know that their receivers were set on the correct station frequency.

As with radio in other parts of the United States, the presence of a station and at least limited programming service encouraged listeners to tune in to receive the miracle of wireless transmission. As the radio system developed, the central Dallas fire station served as the base of transmission. Fire Department personnel and dispatchers soon developed an eclectic broadcasting schedule, typical of many early radio stations, consisting of weather reports, joke telling, reading the newspaper on the air, announcing birthdays, and playing music. Such general-interest programming served to encourage more citizens to buy receivers, which in turn increased listener demand for more and improved programming. Eventually, the station was airing not only recorded music but broadcasts of local amateur musicians as well.

The success of **WRR** led its operation to shift from the fire department to being a municipally operated station. The station began accepting advertising in 1927. By 1939 the station's

trailblazer operations led to the construction of a radio building and transmitter tower at the Fair Grounds Park near downtown Dallas. In 1940 the station affiliated with the Mutual Broadcasting System and the Texas State network. Much of the station's format consisted of block programming.

By the 1970s WRR-AM was operating with 5,000 watts of power on 1310 kilohertz. Rising station values led the city of Dallas to sell WRR-AM for \$1.9 million in 1978 to Bonneville Broadcasting. Later, Bonneville sold the station to Susquehanna Broadcasting. The station is still on the air using the call letters KTCK and is a profitable all-sports station.

WRR-FM Begins Operation

WRR-FM began broadcasting in 1948, a time when few members of the public owned an FM receiver, but when hopes for the new radio service were high. As with many other FM outlets, WRR-FM began by programming classical music.

WRR-FM has survived a series of city government debates regarding its ownership and operation. Some members of the Dallas City Council have characterized ownership of a commercial radio station as socialism and have viewed the station as being in direct competition with commercial station owners. WRR-FM has consistently maintained a classical music format with a strong emphasis on local news. It is perhaps the classical format that has enabled the station to continue its status as a municipally owned station. Few commercial station operators would be likely to continue the commercial classical music format if the station were sold. The Dallas-Fort Worth market is also served by a classical and news affiliate of National Public Radio (NPR).

WRR-FM Extends Its Coverage

WRR increased its transmitter power and relocated the transmitter and antenna in 1986. The station currently broadcasts in stereo with 98,000 watts on 101.1 megahertz. The station's primary coverage radius extends more than 65 miles from its transmitter location, enabling the station to reach listeners in Fort Worth and the suburbs in north Dallas.

Though a commercial radio station, WRR has adopted a tactic of many noncommercial classical-formatted stations. The group "Friends of WRR" is a nonprofit organization whose mission is to support the station's classical programming. WRR also generates revenue by selling time for religious broadcasts, and it sells a weekday half-hour segment at 6:00 P.M. to a local television station to air the station's local newscast.

WRR programming includes symphonic and opera broadcasts, local arts and cultural programming, and children's programming; the station also broadcasts the bimonthly meetings of the Dallas City Council. WRR-FM continues to be a self-sustaining and profitable radio station. The station is typically one of the 20 most-listened-to stations in the Dallas-Fort Worth radio market, one of the ten largest radio markets in the United States.

GREGORY G. PITTS

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WSB

Atlanta, Georgia Station

Atlanta's WSB radio is the oldest radio station in the South, born of a competition between two Atlanta newspapers. A clear-channel station, WSB signed on the air 15 March 1922.

Origins

As early as 1921, ham radio operators in Atlanta were asking for a station. Since the sign-on of KDKA in 1920, radio was becoming a big amateur venture, and Atlanta—and surrounding Georgia—jumped on the bandwagon. A former Navy wire-

less operator named Walter Tison approached Major John S. Cohen, editor and publisher of *The Atlanta Journal*, to discuss the feasibility of a local radio station. Tison persuaded Cohen, and plans went into action for the new station; Tison would become the first federally licensed operator. George A. Iler, an engineer with the Georgia Power Company, was hired to be the first station director.

The Atlanta Journal and *The Atlanta Constitution*, then rival newspapers, were fighting to get the first Atlanta radio station on the air. On 15 March 1922, *The Journal* won when

it received this telegram, signed by acting secretary of commerce C. H. Huston:

The Atlanta Journal is authorized to temporarily broadcast weather reports on the wavelength of four hundred eighty five meters pending action on the formal application for a radio license. Station must use radio call letters WSB repeat WSB and employ commercial second class or higher radio operator licensed by this department.

The telegram ended with these words: "If you desire to broadcast news entertainment and such matter this is permitted on wavelength of three hundred sixty meters only."

According to the station's history, by nightfall the station was on the air with these words, "Good evening: This is the Radiophone Broadcasting Station of *The Atlanta Journal*." That first broadcast came from *The Atlanta Journal* office on Forsyth Street; the station broadcast at a mere 100 watts of power. *The Journal* wrote the next day, "Atlanta is on the radio map of the world today." Three months later, according to the station history, that map grew as the station increased to 500 watts.

WSB Radio remained a noncommercial station located at *The Journal's* office for its first three years but moved in 1925 to the Biltmore Hotel. On 9 January 1927, according to the station's official history, WSB became a charter affiliate of the National Broadcasting Company and began to sell advertising. These moves paralleled the station's power boost to 1,000 watts.

WSB was a station of firsts. In addition to being the first station in the South, it was the first in the country to have a slogan. According to the station's golden anniversary history, a listener coined the phrase "The Voice of the South," writing, "Because of its remarkable powers of transmission, penetrating alike into lonely cottages in isolated sections and palatial residences in distant cities, WSB has truly become 'The Voice of the South'." A listener contest gave meaning to the call letters WSB—"Welcome South, Brother." Lambdin Key, the first full-time general manager, led programming.

According to the station's official history, WSB was also the first station in the nation to present an entire church service—on Easter Sunday in 1922. The station claims many other firsts, including the first radio fan club, the WSB Radiowls.

By 1933, the station's wattage was increased to 50,000, and WSB had become a permanent and national fixture at 750 kHz. The station made its name by offering first-class news coverage as well as entertainment options.

In December 1939, Governor James M. Cox of Ohio bought the station and *The Atlanta Journal*, adding them to his company that would become the Cox Broadcasting Company. He put J. Leonard Reinsch in charge of the station as general manager. In 1944, Governor Cox made Reinsch managing director of all of his broadcasting properties. Reinsch and former vice president and general manager Elmo Ellis moved the radio station through the initial days of television in Atlanta, a time that saw a national decline in radio usage. Both men saw the station through the turbulent 1960s and into the 1970s. Ellis retired from the station in 1982.

According to the station's history, WSB achieved another first on 16 November 1944, when it put Georgia's first ever Frequency Modulation (FM) station on the air. That station, now known as B 98.5, has changed music format over the years, but it remains a leader and soft rock alternative in the vast Atlanta market.

WSB radio made its last big location move on 28 December 1955 joining its sister television station at Cox's new broadcasting facility known as White Columns, and both remain at that location.

WSB-AM at the turn of the century led its market as an all-news radio station, a format it adopted in the 1980s. It remained a clear-channel station at 50,000 watts and was the national broadcasting center for the Atlanta Braves.

GINGER RUDESEAL CARTER

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WSM

Nashville, Tennessee Station

WSM, “The Air Castle of the South,” is the powerful radio station in Nashville, Tennessee, largely responsible for that city’s emergence as a major entertainment and media center. The call letters WSM represent “We Shield Millions,” slogan of the National Life and Accident Insurance Company of Nashville, the station’s founding licensee.

Other Tennessee radio stations had already begun broadcasting in Memphis, Knoxville, and Nashville by the time WSM signed on the air in 1925. Although most of the inaugural WSM schedule consisted of programs characteristic of the mid-1920s (i.e., light classical and dance music), some of the station’s programs were tailored for the farmers and wage earners who constituted National Life’s main business, the sale of weekly premium insurance. Very early in WSM’s history, a program of rural-flavored music was modeled after the WLS (Chicago) *Barn Dance*. Shortly after its start, WSM’s program became known as the *Grand Ole Opry*. The content of the *Grand Ole Opry* engendered some distaste in certain sections of Nashville, but the “*Grand Ole Opry* Insurance Company” prospered from its affiliation with the broadcast.

A “W S Empire” emerged from National Life’s 1931 authorization to operate WSM as an unduplicated class 1-A clear channel (650 kilohertz), with 50,000 watts of power full-time and a nondirectional radiation contour. When National Life won the clear channel for WSM, it erected North America’s tallest radio tower near Brentwood, about 15 miles south of downtown Nashville. At the dawn of radio’s golden age, WSM thus became one of about 25 stations in the United States that could be received reliably at night throughout much of North America.

Although barn-dance programs aired on other clear channel stations during the 1930s and 1940s, Nashville’s *Grand Ole Opry* emerged as the leader of that genre for three principal reasons. First, the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) Red network carried a portion of the *Grand Ole Opry* coast to coast for several years starting in 1939, thereby extending the reach of WSM entertainers beyond the range of “clear channel six-fifty.” Second, WSM’s association with a rural style of music diffused by word of mouth during World War II, as people from various parts of the country served together in the armed forces. Third, touring *Grand Ole Opry* musicians and personalities who entertained World War II troops fostered the image of Nashville as a center for “hillbilly” or “country and western” music.

National Life also was an early commercial FM licensee but abandoned FM broadcasting in favor of television in 1950. The present WSM-FM at 95.5 megahertz (formerly WLWM) was purchased in 1968. In 1950 National Life established

Nashville’s first television station, WSM-TV, which operated without competition for three years. This head start in television did much to solidify WSM’s position of dominance in the Nashville radio and television market, which continued at least through the 1970s.

WSM remained a basic affiliate of the NBC radio network during radio’s music-and-news era. Only after television displaced much of the evening radio audience in the 1950s did WSM begin to devote large amounts of its weeknight schedule to recorded country and western music. During the day, however, WSM remained a full-service, mass-appeal station. Middle-of-the-road and, later, adult contemporary recorded music filled the time between network features, local news, and business and agricultural reports. The station maintained a staff of musicians who performed pop standards during a live studio morning show well into the 1970s.

By 1968 National Life had become Nashville’s largest corporation, the nation’s sixth largest stock life insurance company, and the principal subsidiary of NLT Corporation. In 1972 NLT capitalized on WSM’s *Grand Ole Opry* as the theme for Opryland USA, a \$40 million entertainment complex followed in 1977 by a \$26 million hotel.

The decade of the 1970s probably captures the peak of WSM’s influence in Nashville and middle Tennessee. As the radio and television industries began to undergo tremendous change during the late 1970s, NLT broadcasting executives led by Tom Griscom envisioned a way to extend the company’s advertising base beyond the reach of WSM, WSM-FM, and WSM-TV. They foresaw the inevitable decline in the audience for AM stations in general and in particular the erosion of the clear channels, as federal regulators increasingly viewed the extensive protection of night-time signals such as WSM’s as a vestige of the radio age. They also recognized the widespread market potential of cable television. In response to these structural changes in telecommunications, NLT executives advanced a plan that would fully utilize Nashville’s extensive talent pool and NLT’s large investment in television production while maintaining *Grand Ole Opry*’s core audience.

That plan eventually took form as the Nashville Network. Seed money for the Nashville Network was obtained from the 1981 sale of WSM-TV to George N. Gillette. An even more significant change at WSM occurred that same year, when NLT was acquired by American General, the Houston financial services giant. Executives at American General made it clear that their interest was limited to NLT’s insurance business and that the NLT broadcasting and entertainment operations were to be sold. For a time, there was concern that a single buyer would

not be found for WSM, WSM-FM, the Opryland complex, and the Nashville Network. Speculation abounded that splitting the NLT broadcasting and entertainment division through sales to multiple buyers would have the effect of ending the historic *Grand Ole Opry*, which by then had been recognized as the world's longest-running live radio program.

Gaylord Broadcasting Company, a family-owned firm itself wholly owned by the Oklahoma Publishing Company (publisher of the *Daily Oklahoman*), stepped in and purchased the NLT broadcasting and entertainment properties as a group in 1983, and the *WSM Grand Ole Opry* continued uninterrupted. In 2000 WSM featured a fine local news department and a country music format carried live on Sirius Satellite Radio.

ROBERT M. OGLES

See also Clear Channel Stations; Country Music Format; Grand Ole Opry; WLAC

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WTOP

Washington, D.C. Station

"The spot at the top of your dial," WTOP-AM, at 1500 kilohertz, has been a fixture in the Washington, D.C., market (with various owners, frequencies, and call letters) since 1927. Still an affiliate of the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), WTOP was owned by the network from 1932 to 1949 and then by the *Washington Post* before undergoing a series of ownership changes in the 1980s and 1990s. The station's Washington location and the reach of its signal made WTOP a key originating station for CBS, and it launched important careers, including Arthur Godfrey's. In 1969 WTOP became a pioneer of the all-news AM format, and in the 1990s it began providing its signal over the world wide web.

Origins

Although long based in the Washington, D.C. area, WTOP began under different call letters more than 200 miles to the north. A Republican Party political club placed station WTRC on the air in Brooklyn in September 1926. It offered music and some talk programs. Just a year later the station's equipment was sold to John S. Vance, a Virginia publisher with Ku Klux Klan affiliations. Vance's station, first as WTFF and then carry-

ing his initials as WJSV, began broadcasting from Mount Vernon Hills, Virginia, as a self-styled "independent voice from the heart of the nation." CBS purchased WJSV in 1932, took it off the air for three months, then returned to broadcasting from a facility beside the Potomac River in Alexandria, Virginia, using a submarine telephone cable to communicate with a second studio in Washington's Shoreham Hotel. An increasing number of live location broadcasts motivated a full move into Washington in 1933, with a new studio in the Earle Theatre Building. Station engineers set up for Franklin Roosevelt's fireside chats, concerts from Constitution Hall, the visit of George VI and Queen Consort Elizabeth in 1938, and other live broadcasts throughout the 1930s and 1940s.

A complete tape exists of WJSV's broadcast day on 21 September 1939, an invaluable snapshot of radio's golden era. Signing on at 5:58 A.M., the station broadcast *Sundial with Arthur Godfrey* at 6:30, CBS serials (including *The Goldbergs* at noon), a live Roosevelt address to Congress (repeated later in the evening), a Washington Senators baseball game, *Major Bowes' Original Amateur Hour*, and Louis Prima's orchestra at midnight, prior to a 1:00 A.M. signoff. During World War II, because its night-time signal reached the entire East Coast, the

station was designated by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) as a conduit for alerts, and its studios were staffed 24 hours a day even when not broadcasting.

After several frequency changes, the station in 1941 settled at 1500 kilohertz, at that time the highest AM frequency. This move in turn motivated new call letters, WTOP, adopted in 1943 along with the “top of your dial” slogan. A 50,000-watt transmitter had been established in a new international-style building in Wheaton, Maryland, in 1940, where it remains today. (In the 1960s, Sam Donaldson hosted *Music Till Dawn* from the Wheaton transmitter.) The Washington Post Company purchased 55 percent of WTOP in 1949 and assumed full ownership in 1954. Under *Post* control, the station adopted an all-news format in 1969. For 25 years, WTOP-AM shared “Broadcast House” studios and some personnel with WTOP television, channel 9, which was also a Post-Newsweek station and CBS affiliate. The connection ended in 1978 with the sale of the AM station to the Outlet Company of Providence, Rhode Island; WTOP radio moved its studio to an office building next door to Broadcast House. WTOP was acquired in 1997 by Bonneville International Corporation, which also owns classical, contemporary, and country music stations in the Washington market.

From 1947 to 1966, WTOP simulcast its programming on FM. At that point, FCC regulations intervened to stipulate that eight hours daily be separately programmed for FM. In the uncertain regulatory environment, the Post-Newsweek Company eventually sold WTOP-FM for one dollar to Howard University, where it became WHUR. In an attempt to improve its signal in Virginia, another attempt at FM began in 1997, with a signal purchased, upgraded, and moved to 107.7 megahertz (near the top of the FM frequency band). In 1998 WTOP launched its website, wtopnews.com. Web newscasts quickly became popular in Washington’s government offices (where broadcast signals were sometimes weak), and webcasting figures significantly in WTOP’s plans for the future.

Like other AM stations, WTOP had lost audience in the 1960s, and in response the station experimented with a variety

of formats before adopting an “all-news” format in 1969. (Originally “all news, all the time,” the station soon went from 24 hours a day to a 2 A.M. sign-off; WTOP returned to around-the-clock broadcasting, initially with a talk program, after its purchase by the Outlet Company.) News was a smart choice given the station’s history, its location in the political capital, and its affiliations with the *Washington Post* and CBS. Through three subsequent decades of ownership changes and technical developments, WTOP has maintained its highly successful version of all news. One or two anchors coordinate a mix of live reporting and feeds from CBS. There is a strong emphasis on local reporting, not necessarily focused on the federal government. Local leaders are featured on regularly scheduled call-in shows. Well-coordinated local news resources culminated in WTOP’s award-winning live coverage of the July 1998 shootings inside the U.S. Capitol.

In its successful news mix, WTOP’s sports coverage emphasizes local professional teams, and “traffic and weather together” appear every ten minutes. WTOP has not been immune to trends that are only marginally related to traditional “news.” The long-running *Call for Action* consumer feature was joined in the late 1990s by a series of *Place for the Kids* fund-raising activities for boys clubs and girls clubs. Although on-air personnel still emphasized professionalism over personality, a WTOP’s *Man about Town* was created through sponsorship by a luxury automobile. Activities stretching the all-news focus at WTOP had a long-standing precedent: the station for many years broadcast the full season of baseball games by the Baltimore Orioles. By 2000, three technologies—AM, FM, and the world wide web—were delivering WTOP’s “all-news” content.

GLEN M. JOHNSON

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WWJ

Detroit, Michigan Station

WWJ Radio was the first radio station in the world to be started by a newspaper, the *Detroit News*, in 1920. By 1924

the radio station was to achieve a number of other first-time events in the history of radio.

Origins

At 8:15 P.M. on 20 August 1920, WWJ radio was born when eight automobile batteries powered what was then called 8MK. The equipment for the station came from a local electrical retail store. The station put out a 20-watt signal on that first broadcast. Listeners (mainly ham operators) were asked to call in if they could hear the broadcast.

According to newspaper accounts of the historic event, the first words on the station were spoken by a 17-year-old Canadian named Elton Plant: "This is 8MK calling." A Windsor, Ontario, native, Plant had worked his way up to cub reporter at the *Detroit News* when the managing editor approached him with the idea of going on the air. Plant agreed to do it. He noted later, "It didn't mean a thing as far as I was concerned . . . because I didn't know what it all was."

The name of the station was changed from 8MK to WBL when it received its radio license in October 1921. In March 1922 the call letters were changed again to WWJ, reportedly because listeners kept getting the call letters wrong. Over the years, a dispute developed over whether WWJ in Detroit, KDKA in Pittsburgh or WHA in Madison, Wisconsin, was the oldest radio station in the United States. Those who favor WWJ argue that it was the first station to actually get on the air when wireless restrictions were lifted after World War I.

Initial Programs

Between 1920 and 1924, WWJ aired the first news program, the first election returns (a Michigan race in the summer of 1920), the first complete symphony broadcast, the first regularly scheduled religious broadcast, and the first sports broadcast. The early sports broadcasting duties for WWJ were handled by Ty Tyson, later credited with being the world's first radio sports broadcaster. He got his job at WWJ through an orchestra leader whose band was invited to play on WWJ. Tyson was hired to do weather reports but went on to do sports and live interviews with celebrities such as Charles Lindbergh and Will Rogers. In 1924 he broadcast the first college football game and the Gold Cup powerboat races. On 19 April 1927 Tyson became the first radio sports broadcaster to do a regular season major league baseball game. He was also known for his ability to communicate the essence of the game even when he was not physically present. When the Detroit Tigers played out of town before direct radio lines became common, a telegraph operator in the opponent's park would

tap out coded play-by-play messages to Tyson back in Detroit. Tyson would decode the taps and broadcast the plays as if he were seeing them himself.

Later Years

By the mid-1970s, WWJ radio was moving to an all-news format. In 1978 the *Washington Post* acquired WWJ-TV from the Evening News Association. In exchange the Evening News Association acquired WTOP, a Washington, D.C. television station owned by the *Washington Post*. The station trade followed speculation about forthcoming FCC rules banning local market cross-ownership. The Evening News Association kept WWJ radio. In 1985 the Gannett Company announced that it would sell five broadcast properties to satisfy FCC rules affecting its proposed \$717 million purchase of the Evening News Association in Detroit. (FCC rules at the time prohibited companies from owning newspapers and broadcast properties in the same city.) The broadcast properties in Detroit that were to be sold included WWJ radio. WWJ was purchased by Federal Broadcasting, but in March of 1989 the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) announced that it had acquired WWJ and its sister station WJOI from Federal Broadcasting for \$58 million. WWJ and WJOI continue to be a part of the CBS news family, even though the network has been through several ownership changes, and WWJ remains the only commercial all-news radio station in Michigan.

RICK SYKES

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WWL

New Orleans, Louisiana Station

The first radio station in the lower Mississippi Valley, WWL has long provided a 50,000-watt clear channel voice to one of America's most culturally distinctive cities, serving as a window on New Orleans for much of the nation. This powerful commercial radio station was owned and operated through most of its history by a Jesuit university.

Origins

From the opening of Loyola University of New Orleans in 1914, its physics department offered courses in "wireless telegraphy." By 1922, after several years of accumulating radio equipment to support its curriculum and two years after the U.S. debut of regular broadcasting, Loyola established WWL radio. Although the goals outlined for the station included some educational, cultural, and public service programs (the latter in the form of weather and agricultural reports for farmers), WWL was intended first and foremost to serve as a fund-raising tool for the private university. The station's first broadcast, on 31 March 1922, was a direct appeal for funds by the university president. Not only were listeners urged to contribute to a \$1.5 million campaign for the construction of six new classroom buildings, they were urged to spread word of the university's financial needs to those not fortunate enough to own radio receiving sets.

WWL's first two years saw it off the air more than on. Once the initial enthusiasm wore off, live, original programs became burdensome to produce. The fund-raising appeals were not having the desired effect; the station cost more to operate than it was bringing in. The original 100 watts of operating power was reduced to 10 watts in an effort to cut costs. This only served to diminish further the station's broadcast range and fund-raising potential.

The station seemed doomed in 1924, when new physics faculty decided to attempt resuscitation. Committing to a reliable if extremely modest broadcast schedule of one hour per week, WWL's power was increased in increments over the next few years to 500 watts. In an effort to find a safe haven from the rampant interference problems of the era, the station moved up the radio dial, from 833.3 kc, to 1070 kc, to 1090 kc, and finally up to 1220 kc.

The Federal Radio Commission permitted WWL to increase its power to 5,000 watts, but the Commission moved the station back down the dial to 850 kc, a frequency that it was forced to share with KWKH of Shreveport, Louisiana, a city 350 miles northwest of New Orleans—the stations were too

close to both be on the air at the same time. KWKH was owned by W.K. Henderson, a social activist who used his station to broadcast his political views. For the next several years, WWL's growing program schedule had to be squeezed into a complicated time-sharing arrangement with Henderson. Depending on the time of day or day of the week, radio listeners tuning in to 850 kc would hear either WWL's classical music and lectures or Henderson's political harangues.

In 1929 the administration at Loyola made a pivotal decision: the university's goals would be best served if WWL operated as a money-making commercial enterprise, thus providing a continuing endowment to the university. Educational and religious programming, with few exceptions (such as the long-running *Mass from Holy Name Church*), gave way to popular entertainment. However, for WWL to realize its full revenue-producing potential, it needed the reliable source of quality programs that only affiliation with one of the major networks could provide. Although WWL was the most powerful radio station in New Orleans (reaching 10,000 watts in 1932), the networks were not interested in a part-time affiliate. As long as it was saddled with the KWKH time-sharing arrangement, WWL would have to continue producing most of its own programming. To this end, Loyola moved the station from the university campus to new studios in New Orleans' Roosevelt Hotel in 1932.

In 1934, KWKH moved to 1100 kc, and WWL achieved full-time status. With this hurdle cleared, negotiations regarding network affiliation could begin in earnest. WWL joined the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) on 2 November 1935 with a live, one-hour network show entitled *A City of Contrasts*, which dramatized events from New Orleans history.

The year 1937 saw the debut of *Dawnbusters*, a local morning show featuring live music and comedy. The program would be one of the most popular in WWL's history, running until 1959. In 1938 WWL reached the maximum permissible power of 50,000 watts, permitting its signal to cover much of eastern North America at nighttime. President Franklin Roosevelt sent the station a congratulatory telegram, noting that the station's far-reaching signal "should be a source of great satisfaction to the Jesuit Fathers who have worked so assiduously building up the station from a small beginning. I trust that its future will be one of great usefulness in the service of God, of Home and of Country." In 1941, to comply with a treaty seeking to reduce interference throughout North America, WWL changed frequencies one final time to its current 870 kilohertz.

Postwar Change

After World War II, WWL, like all of the nation's AM radio broadcasters, faced a new set of options: expand into television and/or FM or stay the course with AM. WWL's initial decision was to move into FM and leave television to others. WWL's FM station, WWLH, went on the air in 1946. A halfhearted effort from the outset, WWLH mainly simulcast WWL programming. The public failed to buy FM receivers in sufficient quantities to make the enterprise viable, and WWLH went off the air in 1951.

Loyola now decided that television was the more valuable path, but between the Federal Communication Commission's (FCC) four-year freeze on new television licenses and a post-freeze battle with competing interests for the few channel allocations available to the New Orleans market, WWL-TV (channel 4) didn't become a reality until 1957.

With the advent of television and the decline of traditional radio network programming in the late 1950s, WWL's schedule became increasingly centered around local talk shows.

WWL's present-day programming is dominated by live, local news programs; "topic of the day" phone-in shows; sporting events; and sports talk programs.

In the late 1980s, the Loyola administration decided to abandon broadcasting. WWL-AM and WWL-TV were sold to different companies, and, through a series of sales and mergers, the AM station has since changed owners several times. Its current ownership, Entercom Communications, holds seven other stations in New Orleans, including WSMB, a long-time National Broadcasting Company (NBC) radio network affiliate that, along with WWL and WDSU, once defined broadcasting in "the city that care forgot."

RICHARD WARD

See also KWKH

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WWVA

Wheeling, West Virginia Station

WWVA is the oldest station in West Virginia, and from early in its history it proved to be an important factor in the popularization of country music.

WWVA first aired on 13 December 1926. Founder John Stroebel, a physics teacher and for years an experimenter with crystal sets and wireless telephone, transmitted from his basement in Wheeling. The 50-watt station was licensed to broadcast on 860 kilohertz.

Offering a menu of local information and entertainment, the station received permission to broadcast at 500 watts in 1927. WWVA evolved quickly over the next five years. Stroebel sold the station to Fidelity Investments Associates in 1928, and the Federal Radio Commission raised the station's power to 5,000 watts in 1929. "The Friendly Voice from out of the Hills of West Virginia" affiliated with the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) in 1931, which helped to fill out the station's program schedule. In 1931 Fidelity Investments sold WWVA to George B. Storer, whose Fort Industry Company (later renamed Storer Broadcasting Company) would hold the license for three decades.

At the time, Storer was collecting a wide array of radio stations, which would make him one of the largest chain owners of radio stations. Under Storer's ownership, WWVA would see its most dramatic developments: the introduction in 1933 of the *Jamboree*, a regular Saturday night broadcast of country music, and the increase of the station's power to 50,000 watts in 1941, just as the station moved to 1170 kilohertz.

The station had featured country music almost since its inception, but the debut of the *Jamboree* on 7 January 1933 would secure its prominent role in the popularization of country music. The show became an important stage for regional artists, whose reputations grew with every appearance, and when the station began broadcasting with 50,000 watts, the *Jamboree* became a force in the dissemination of country music in the Ohio Valley and far beyond. WWVA sent the *Jamboree* and country music surging into 18 eastern states and 6 Canadian provinces during the night-time hours on Saturdays. Along with the *Grand Ole Opry* on WSM (Nashville), the *National Barn Dance* on WLS (Chicago), and the *Louisiana Hayride* on KWKH (Shreveport), the WWVA *Jamboree* was

one of a number of widely heard barn dance radio shows that carried country music to large audiences around the nation.

Country music scholar Bill C. Malone (1985) has noted that although many of the barn dance radio programs were important in expanding country music's audience, the *Jamboree* did the most to carry country music to Northeast audiences and to help create new audiences in the Northeast and Canada for country music. The program also helped propel to national prominence the careers of a number of country and bluegrass artists. Artists who prospered from their exposure on the *Jamboree* included Grandpa Jones, Hank Snow, Hawkshaw Hawkins, Wilma Lee and Stoney Cooper, and Reno and Smiley. For a period in the mid-1950s, the CBS network carried the *Jamboree*, giving the program an even wider sphere of influence.

The *Jamboree* wasn't the only conduit for country music on WWVA. Starting in the 1950s, the station featured a popular overnight disc jockey program (hosted for many years by performer Lee Allen, "The Coffee Drinking Nighthawk") that covered the station's wide listening area, and in the 1960s, the station was among the first to adopt a "modern country" format, which featured the lush musical stylings popularized by performers such as Eddy Arnold and Jim Reeves.

WWVA, owned today by AM-FM Incorporated, dropped its all-country programming in 1997 in favor of a news/talk

format. But the station's Saturday night country show survives; it is the second-longest-running country music stage show on radio, behind only WSM's *Grand Ole Opry. Jamboree U.S.A.*, as the barn dance is known today, still airs from Wheeling's Capitol Musical Hall, which first hosted the show in 1933 (although the show changed venues a number of times after its debut before returning to the Capitol in 1969).

MICHAEL STREISSGUTH

See also Country Music Format; Storer, George

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WXYZ

Detroit, Michigan Station

Despite its comparatively remote Midwest location, WXYZ pioneered network radio and radio drama. The station and its *Lone Ranger* series were instrumental in the founding of the Mutual Broadcasting System.

Early Years

WXYZ began life on 10 October 1925 as WGHP, a Class B (medium power) station at 1270 kilohertz. This frequency was far enough removed from other Detroit stations to avoid serious interference. The WGHP call letters signified founding owner George Harrison Phelps, who had directed automobile advertising for Dodge since 1914. The station secured an affiliation with the fledgling Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) in 1927 and moved its studios from an alley garage to the 15th floor penthouse of the Maccabees Building, near the Detroit

Institute of Arts, and the new Detroit Public Library main branch. The station was a money-loser, however, and when Dodge was purchased by Chrysler Corporation in 1928, Phelps' agency lost the Dodge account. To lessen the cash crunch, Phelps peddled WGHP to J. Harold Ryan and his brother-in-law George Storer, owners of profitable WSPD in Toledo, Ohio. In October 1928 these two oil and steel magnates purchased WGHP for \$40,000.

WGHP's airtime was now aggressively marketed in a variety of commercial lengths. Just 18 months later as the Depression was deepening, the Storer group sold the station for \$250,000 to John Kunsy and George Trendle, owner and manager, respectively, of the Kunsy Theatres movie chain. In July 1930 the new owners unleashed a movie-business-like promotional campaign for their outlet, whose call sign they also changed to WXYZ—call letters Trendle had persuaded

the U.S. Army and Navy (separately) to relinquish. Programming now included *Carl Rupp and His Orchestra*, the first network show to originate from Detroit.

Trendle's background as a newsboy and lawyer and his grasp of management, promotion, and show business would soon propel the station onto the national stage as he stocked WXYZ with exceptional executives, writers, and on-air talent. All of this potential was nearly discarded, however, when station management decided they were being forced to give up too much time—and therefore advertising revenues—to the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS). At the end of 1931, WXYZ abruptly canceled its network affiliation and suddenly faced vast amounts of empty airtime for which programming quickly had to be found. Two studios now became four, rehearsals for one show cleared the studio only moments before the cast for another arrived to take the air, and announcers, actors, and musicians jostled each other in the narrow corridors.

Creating National Programs

The first network show to emerge from this creative chaos was *The Lone Ranger*, which debuted in January 1933 with scripts developed by Buffalo syndicated writer Fran Striker and a concept refined by George W. Trendle himself. Only days after the program's first broadcast, the Michigan Radio Network began linking stations in the state's major cities with WXYZ as the key outlet and *The Lone Ranger* as a centerpiece offering. By November the show was also airing over Chicago's WGN, and New York's WOR was added in early 1934. A few weeks later, the series was made available via transcription to stations in seven southern states under the sponsorship of American Bakeries. WXYZ's sales manager H. Allen Campbell then persuaded the general managers of WGN and WOR to expand their relationship into a program-sharing network that would feed multiple programs among their stations as well as to new partners in Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, and Washington, D.C. On 19 September 1934, the seven outlets were linked with telephone lines and became the Mutual Broadcasting System.

In the next year, WXYZ's partner stations began adding far more outlets to Mutual than Trendle thought wise. So while WXYZ continued to feed *The Lone Ranger* to Mutual, it joined the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) Blue Network to secure its own source of programming. In a successful attempt to repeat *The Lone Ranger*'s success, Trendle and Striker debuted *The Green Hornet* in early 1936.

WXYZ's success with these and other programs was recognized in 1937 by *Variety*'s award of its Citation for Showmanship in Program Origination, given each year to the station judged best in new show production. Three years later, to ensure continued access to the talent that made such distinc-

tions possible, WXYZ became the first Detroit station to sign a contract with the American Federation of Radio Artists (AFRA). Future television news stars getting early experience on the station at this time included Douglas Edwards, Hugh Downs, and Myron Wallace, whose first name was changed by WXYZ executives to "Mike."

Postwar Transition

To enlarge its production space, the station moved in 1944 to the Mendelssohn mansion in suburban Grosse Pointe. WXYZ's continued success made it a desirable purchase for the former NBC Blue Network, which had become the separately owned American Broadcasting Company (ABC). ABC badly needed to upgrade its owned-and-operated station holdings, and WXYZ was among the most desirable of its affiliates. In April 1946 the sale was consummated. Key programs such as *The Lone Ranger* and *The Green Hornet* remained the property of George Trendle and longtime station sales executive H. Allen Campbell. The other former station owners, John Kunsky and Howard Pierce, cashed out of the business entirely. The sale of WXYZ marked the end for the Michigan Radio Network stations, which now received program feeds directly from ABC.

Despite wooing by rival WJR, WXYZ sales manager Jim Riddell accepted ABC's Trendle-brokered offer to stay on as the new general manager. A separately programmed WXYZ-FM went on the air on 1 January 1948 at 101.1 megahertz, but before the end of the year it reverted to simulcasting the AM station signal. Meanwhile, WXYZ-TV had taken to the air from the Maccabees Building, under the direction of the radio operation's former wire recording technician John Pival. Pival lured some of the radio outlet's top personalities to the television side and the shift of dominance began. As happened around the country, the number of network radio shows withered, to be replaced by local disc jockeys. Chief among them on WXYZ were Paul Winter, Jack Surrell, Ed McKenzie, and Fred Wolf. *The Green Hornet* went off the air in 1952. *The Lone Ranger* hung on, but the last live broadcast was in 1954.

The radio station moved to a caretaker's cottage near the transmitter in 1955 while Fred Wolf's converted house trailer, the "Wandering Wigloo," became a vehicle for a hugely successful remote program; radio executives came from around the country to study the show. Unfortunately for Wolf and other program hosts, however, WXYZ embraced the Top 40 concept in 1958 and tight music formatting now overshadowed individual air personalities. In 1959 the WXYZ television and radio properties moved to the newly constructed suburban Broadcast House—in which radio was relegated to an obscure corner. Four years later, Charles Fritz, former manager of Blair Radio's Detroit office (the firm representing the station to national

advertisers), became WXYZ's general manager, but the station's prominence continued to wane. Even though disc jockey Lee Alan's record hops were proving tremendously popular, the station subsequently lost its Detroit market dominance to WKNR (programmed by Mike Joseph). In the years that followed, a string of competitors would continue to beat both the AM and FM (which became the harder-rocking and separately owned WRIF in the 1980s) at the music game.

Fritz bought the AM from ABC in 1984, changed its call letters to WXYT, and thereby launched Detroit's first all-talk outlet. The WXYZ designation thus disappeared from radio but survived as the call letters of the formerly co-owned television station that was purchased by the Scripps Howard News Service in 1986. WRIF (the old WXYZ-FM) continued its mainstream rock format and ultimately was purchased by Greater Media. The AM facility that began it all was acquired by Infinity Broadcasting in 1994. Ironically, when Infinity subsequently merged with CBS, the station found itself owned by

the same entity its first owners had unceremoniously jettisoned in 1931.

PETER B. ORLIK

See also Clear Channel Stations; Green Hornet; Lone Ranger; Mutual Broadcasting System; Striker, Fran

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Wynn, Ed 1886–1966

U.S. Radio Comedian

Ed Wynn, arguably the first all-out clown superstar of radio, began in the medium reluctantly. His career would cover radio's golden years, extended into television, and included several other media as well.

Origins

A "Broadway Baby" if ever there was one, Wynn (born Isaiah Edwin Leopold) ran away from home at age 15 to join a theater company. After that stint ended with the company's bankruptcy, Wynn returned home, only to run off again, this time to New York. By the age of 19, he was a headliner on the vaudeville stage, and by 1914 he was working for Ziegfeld. By this time, Wynn had perfected his comic persona, "The Perfect Fool," a moniker he took from his stage show of the same name.

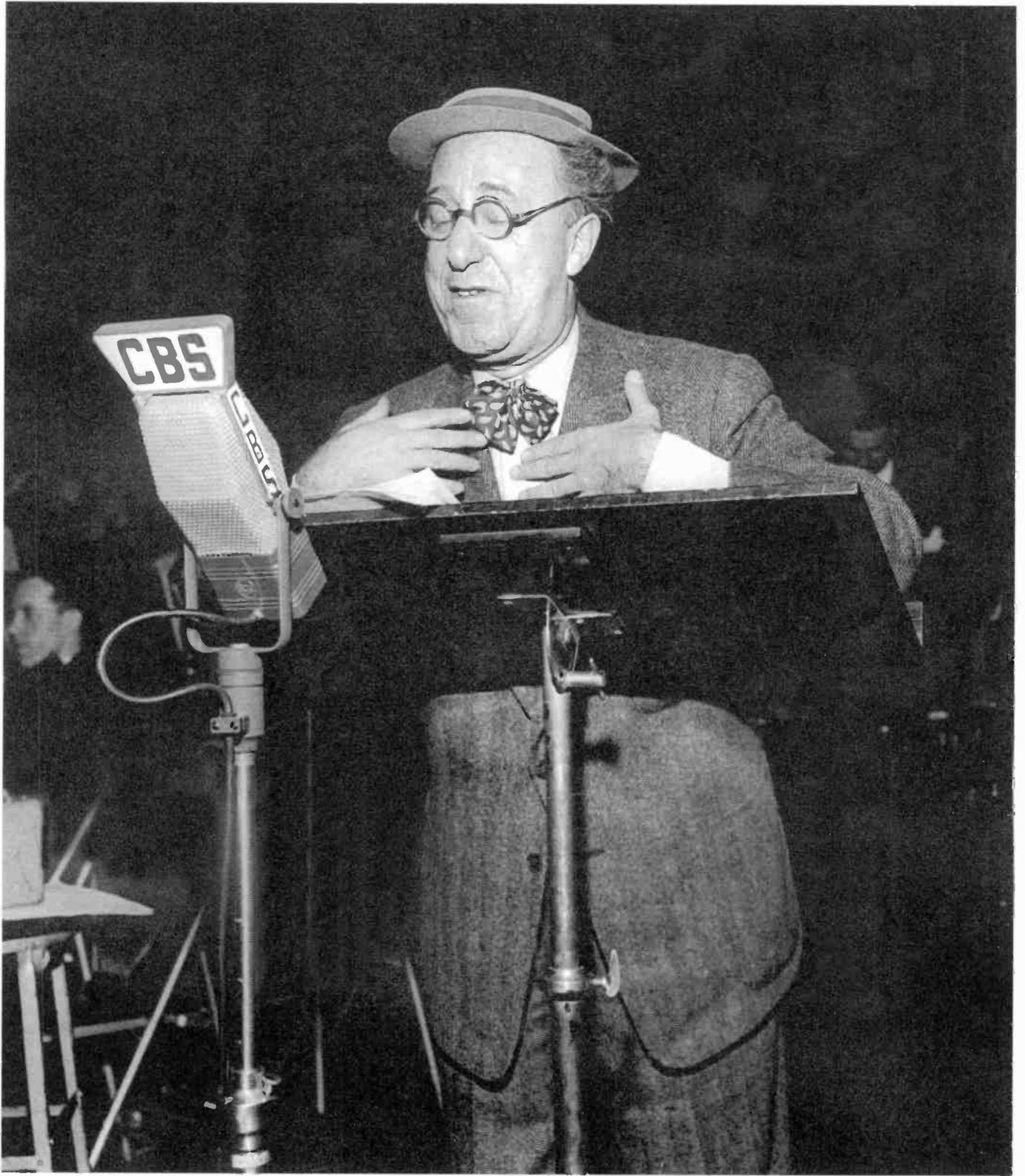
Wynn's act—old-school probably even at that time—was pun-heavy with shopworn, groan-inducing lines and relied heavily (though with great success) on exaggerated shoes, over-the-top costumes, and funny hats. (In some ways Wynn was carrying on the family tradition; his father had been a successful hat manufacturer.) But, nevertheless, Wynn's schtick, his

rubbery face, and his all-out, eager-to-please style were huge crowd-pleasers.

Radio Years

Wynn made his first radio appearance in a 1922 in-studio broadcast of his show *The Perfect Fool*. It was not a complete success, certainly not for Wynn. Accustomed to the stage, Wynn was used to playing to an audience, not just to a lone microphone. Legend has it that on learning he would have no people to perform in front of, he quickly rustled up an impromptu audience at the station that consisted of cleaning women, stage hands, and technicians. After that appearance, Wynn returned to the stage.

Despite additional offers, Wynn resisted the new radio craze, thinking (perhaps rightly) that his physical clowning and dependence on props and costumes wouldn't translate well to a nonvisual medium. But when promised a weekly salary of \$5,000 by Texaco to star in their program *The Fire Chief*, Wynn saw it as what it was: an offer too good to refuse. Wynn's *The Fire Chief* debuted on 28 April 1932, broadcast live and, at Wynn's insistence, in front of an audience.



Ed Wynn
Courtesy CBS Photo Archive

At the time, doing a radio show in front of a crowd seemed foolhardy, but Wynn's instinct would prove prophetic for the entire radio industry. Later, almost all radio comedy programs played to packed theaters while being broadcast. In its own way, this approach was the precursor to Lucille Ball's and Desi Arnaz's revolutionary "live on film" recording technique pioneered for their *I Love Lucy* television show.

To further blur the line between radio show and live theater, Wynn continued to perform in full makeup and in outrageous costumes. He even went so far as to change clothes several times during a performance. Each of Wynn's entrances would be greeted with applause and laughter, which obviously left radio listeners totally in the dark about just what was going on; in turn, it gave listeners the feeling they were not so much hearing something *meant for them* as much as they were eavesdropping onto a stage show already in progress. Nevertheless, Wynn persisted with his clothes and his silent, goofy antics, believing that listeners would assume something funny was going on and enjoy the merriment as if by proxy. (It should be noted, though, that radio audiences were surprisingly tolerant of "visual" comedy: Eddie Cantor, a comic of the Wynn variety, thrived for a time, as did Edgar Bergen's ventriloquism, where listeners just had to assume that his dummy was really there.)

Ed Wynn's on-stage, on-microphone comic persona was an interesting one. In describing it, writers and critics over the years have used a long list of colorful adjectives: "giggling," "befuddled," "frantic," and "fey." Wynn also used on the air a lispy, high-pitched voice (supposedly originally evoked by him out of "mike fright," but considered funny enough for him to retain it). Had Wynn entered the popular culture not in the 1930s but today, when the media is anxious to label, to "out," actors and characters, Wynn would no doubt have found himself labeled as "gay." But, of course, the subject of homosexuality was completely closeted at that time, and despite whatever signals Wynn's on-air personality sent out to the public, he was granted an entertainer's license to exist, in fact flourish, without being co-opted by or associated with any political or social agenda.

Wynn, married three times and a father, was not gay in real life, and despite the stereotypically "feminine" qualities of his show-business character, his comic self was not really a "sexual personae": indeed his character (similar in some ways to Jerry Lewis' boy-man persona in his early work or even to Chaplin's Little Tramp) was more asexual, practically genderless, possessing a childlike innocence that belied Wynn's real age.

But whatever Wynn was or represented, he was certainly popular at least for a time. As soon as *The Fire Chief* premiered, it was a hit, one of the largest in radio up to that time. But his on-air success was short-lived, declining each month the show was on, making it something of a flash in the pan. Only three years after its debut, Wynn's *Fire* went out.

By this time comics like Jack Benny and Bob Hope had premiered with their shows, which were more attuned to the limits and possibilities of radio and were, when compared with Wynn's vaudeville style, downright sophisticated and urbane. Wynn, by contrast, soon found himself something of a dinosaur in the medium he had conquered only a few years before.

Television and Film

Wynn tried other radio vehicles (*Gulliver*, *Happy Island*) with mixed artistic and little popular success. Luckily though, by that time, the age of television had dawned. Wynn was one of the first big-name stars to enter television, having realized it would be better suited to his brand of sight-gag humor. Though he didn't quite cotton to all the technical possibilities in the way that Ernie Kovacs later would, Wynn's clowning was well appreciated, at least briefly, by kids, until they, like the generation that preceded them in radio, gradually grew bored with Wynn's clown-at-all-costs identity.

By about 1950 Wynn, trapped by his own show-biz invention of himself, had nothing left to do but reinvent his persona and career. With the help of his talented son, actor Keenan Wynn, Wynn developed into an acclaimed character actor, especially good at playing saddened clowns or washed-up old men. Reining in his trademark voice and gestures, Wynn delivered acclaimed performances in television's landmark *Requiem for a Heavyweight* (1956) and later in the film *The Diary of Anne Frank* (1959), among other productions.

Wynn had also by this time developed into a singular presence in the canon of popular culture, as television and radio commercials, impressionists, and others all mimicked his voice and mannerisms to sell products or gain immediate, positive recognition from an audience. Wynn's place as a permanent fixture in the lexicon of Americana was further solidified with his long professional association with the Walt Disney Company. Disney's farcical, far-fetched stories, whether live-acted or drawn, seemed perfect for Wynn's gifts—he was always a sort of human cartoon anyway. The company paid him perhaps the highest compliment when they used his voice (and his visage) for the role of the Mad Hatter in their animated *Alice in Wonderland* (1951). After all, who besides Wynn could be more believable in that role—more delightfully clowny, wildly irrepressible, or completely madcap?

CARY O'DELL

See also Amalgamated Broadcasting System; Cantor, Eddie; Comedy; Edgar Bergen and Charlie McCarthy; Skelton, Red

Ed Wynn. Born Isaiah Edwin Leopold in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 9 November 1886. Appeared in theater and vaudeville beginning in 1901; made Broadway debut in 1910 (*The Deacon and the Lady*); worked for Ziegfeld beginning in

1914; appeared in *The Perfect Fool* stage show, 1921; made radio debut, 1922; began radio series career, 1932; began television series career, 1949; appeared in many films. Died in Beverly Hills, California, 19 June 1966.

Radio Series

- 1932–35 *The Texaco Fire Chief*
 1936 *Gulliver*
 1936 *Ed Wynn's Grab Bag*
 1936–37 *The Perfect Fool*
 1944–45 *Happy Island*

Television

The Ed Wynn Show, 1949–50; *All-Star Revue*, 1950–52; *The Ed Wynn Show*, 1958–59; *Requiem for a Heavyweight*, 1956; *Meet Me in St. Louis*, 1959; *For the Love of Willadean*, 1964

Films

Rubber Heels, 1927; *Follow the Leader*, 1930; *The Hollywood Parade*, 1932; *The Chief*, 1933; *Stage Door Canteen*, 1943; *Alice in Wonderland* (voice only), 1951; *The Great Man*, 1956; *Marjorie Morningstar*, 1958; *The Diary of Anne Frank*, 1959; *Cinderella*, 1960; *The Absent-Minded Professor*, 1961; *Babes in Toyland*, 1961; *Golden Horseshoe Revue*, 1962; *Son*

of Flubber, 1963; *The Patsy* (cameo), 1964; *Mary Poppins*, 1964; *Those Calloways*, 1965; *Dear Brigitte*, 1965; *The Greatest Story Ever Told*, 1965; *That Darn Cat!*, 1965; *The Daydreamer*, 1966; *The Gnome-Mobile*, 1967

Stage

The Deacon and The Lady, 1910; *The Follies of 1914*, 1914; *The Zeigfeld Follies of 1915*, 1915; *The Passing Show of 1916*, 1916; *Doing Our Bit*, 1916; *Over the Top*, 1918; *Sometime*, 1918; *The Shubert Gaieties of 1919*, 1919; *Ed Wynn's Carnival*, 1920; *The Perfect Fool*, 1921; *The Grab Bag*, 1924; *Manhattan Mary*, 1927; *Simple Simon*, 1930; *The Laugh Parade*, 1931; *Alice Takat*, 1936; *Hooray for What!*, 1937; *Boys and Girls Together*, 1940; *Laugh, Town, Laugh*, 1942

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Y

Yankee Network

New England Regional Network

The Yankee network was one of several regional radio networks from the 1930s into the 1950s that linked stations to share programs and advertising.

Although Boston broadcaster John Shepard III knew little about engineering, he knew enough to hire good people who did understand the technical side of the radio business. In early 1923 he encouraged them to experiment with networking (WNAC linked up briefly with New York's WEAJ). It was not long before WNAC in Boston and WEAN in Providence, Rhode Island, were frequently sharing programming, connected by a telephone line. But Shepard wanted to expand: he had begun paying salaries to talented musicians so they would appear on his stations (early radio was still mainly volunteer, so being able to pay was a major plus in getting the big names to appear), and he felt confident he could offer good programs. When the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) and the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) were formed in 1926–27, Shepard was convinced that a local network that emphasized New England news, sports, and music would be well received. He called it the Yankee network, and by early in 1930 he had begun signing up a number of stations in New England. The first affiliates were WLBZ in Bangor, Maine; WNBH in New Bedford, Massachusetts; and WORC in Worcester, Massachusetts. In August 1932, *Broadcasting* magazine published a tribute to Shepard, noting that he now had eight affiliates, with number nine soon to go on the air. In 1939, Shepard would put the first experimental FM station in Massachusetts (W1XOJ) on the air, and it too would carry Yankee network programming. By then, the network had its own house orchestra, a music director, staff vocalists, and a large number of talented performers who could offer the affiliates everything from a radio drama to an evening of hit songs. Always innovative, Shepard sometimes ran synagogue services on the Yankee network, as he would also run church services and sermons by well-known priests and ministers.

Perhaps his biggest innovation was with radio news: in March 1934, thanks in large part to the hard work of editor in chief Leland Bickford, the Yankee News network went on the air. In a jab at newspapers, the network used the slogan “News while it IS news; the Yankee Network is on the air!” A former Boston newspaper reporter, Dick Grant, was hired to run the news department at a time when relationships between radio and newspapers were becoming more contentious. Local newspaper reporters were not amused and tried to bar the network's reporters from getting press passes and covering city hall. But Shepard and his team persisted, and gradually radio reporters gained credibility and came to be accepted as journalists. The Yankee News network made “radio news reporter” a career choice: in radio's first decade, what little news radio stations offered came mainly from newspapers, many of which had agreements with a local station that allowed a reporter to go on the air several times a day with headlines and top stories. But for radio journalists to cover news and generate their own stories (the network even established a news bureau in Washington, D.C.) was something new, and it made the Yankee News network unique in New England.

One popular news program the Yankee network offered was *Names in the News* (late 1930s through early 1940s), in which local heroes and newsmakers were invited to talk about their achievements against a backdrop of Yankee network performers dramatizing the important events that made the guests famous. This was similar to the famous CBS program *The March of Time*, but with a New England emphasis. Such radio newsmagazines were very popular and helped make the news more interesting to the average person.

The more benefits the Yankee network offered, the more New England stations wanted to affiliate. By retaining their affiliation with a national network—which provided the major music, drama, and comedy programs—as well as the regional

link, smaller stations benefited from the best of both worlds: professional-sounding local news coverage and access to the best-known national radio stars. By the early 1940s, the Yankee network had 19 affiliates. Shepard was becoming more involved with FM and was also active in Mutual Broadcasting. In late 1937 Bostonians had been shocked when he sold the Shepard Store in downtown Boston; the store in Providence still remained under Shepard family control, however. Shepard invested in technological improvements for his Boston stations—in early 1942, six new studios (for Shepard's AM stations, his FM stations, the Yankee network, and the Yankee News bureau) were dedicated; he was also attempting to organize a national FM network (this venture was not successful; his interest in FM was ahead of its time).

In late 1942 Shepard, rumored to have health problems that led him to sell off various assets, agreed to sell the Yankee network to the General Tire and Rubber Company, although he stayed on as a board member and general manager. (Later, in 1958, long after Shepard's death, the corporate ownership's name would change to RKO [Radio-Keith-Orpheum] General.) Shepard's poor health forced him to retire altogether from radio in 1948; he died two years later. The Yankee net-

work acquired more affiliates and remained a major player in New England through the 1950s. But radio was changing: the youth market wanted Top 40, and news was not as important to that demographic. Affiliates began programming for the younger audience, and gradually they dropped the Yankee network to "play the hits." Although a few stations did remain faithful to the older audience, allowing the Yankee network to survive into the 1960s, in early 1968, without much fanfare, RKO General disbanded the network, ending its 38 years of distinguished service.

DONNA L. HALPER

See also Don Lee Network; FM Radio; Mutual Broadcasting System; Shepard, John

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You Bet Your Life

Comedy Quiz Show

Reruns have made Groucho Marx's *You Bet Your Life* familiar to generations of television viewers. Few fans realize that they are also "watching" radio. For 6 seasons of its 14-year run, the program was recorded simultaneously for both media. The versions were then edited separately and broadcast on successive nights. Its circumstances of production, editing, and broadcast were just one aspect of the show's distinctiveness. A comedy show masquerading as a quiz, *You Bet Your Life* was "postmodern" before the term was invented.

The origin of *You Bet Your Life* was the appearance by Groucho Marx on a radio variety show in April 1947, when an ad-lib by Groucho led to a verbal duel with Bob Hope that made the segment run many minutes over. Producer John Guedel (who had made Art Linkletter a radio success) immediately went backstage and suggested to Marx a quiz show with an emphasis on ad-libs. Groucho replied, "I've flopped four times on radio before. . . . I might as well compete with refrigerators. I'll give it a try." *You Bet Your Life* premiered Mon-

day, 27 October 1947, on the American Broadcasting Companies (ABC), then moved to Wednesday night as lead-in to Bing Crosby's popular variety show.

A success by any measure, *You Bet Your Life* secured for Groucho the career he sought apart from the Marx Brothers. It also made a celebrity of its announcer and Groucho's comic foil, George Fenneman. The first season sold out the entire stock of its sponsor, Elgin Watches. Groucho received a 1949 Peabody Award as best radio entertainer, with cover stories in *Newsweek* and *Time*. Guedel and Marx moved *You Bet Your Life* in 1949 to the larger Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) network for a longer, 45-week season. (The show continued to precede Bing Crosby's.) A year later, the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) won a bidding war to begin a televised version. The radio broadcasts moved to NBC in October 1950, where they remained in the Wednesday 9 P.M. time slot. The televised version, recorded simultaneously but edited separately, aired a day later, on Thursdays. At the



*Groucho Marx, You Bet Your Life
Courtesy of family of Groucho Marx*

show's peak, in 1955, the broadcasts drew a combined audience of 35 million. The radio version folded late in 1956, with *You Bet Your Life* continuing on television until 1961.

Though its content was decidedly low-tech—Groucho interviewed contestants and asked simple quiz questions—*You Bet Your Life* was innovative in its production and delivery. *You Bet Your Life* pioneered a version of what became the “live on tape” approach adopted by television talk shows in the 1950s. Guedel's original intention to broadcast live was scrapped, apparently at the last minute, because of concerns about Groucho's ad-libs. The producers then procured acetate disks, of the kind used by Armed Forces Radio, which had the advantage of allowing content to be minimally edited. Later, the program was a pioneer in the use of magnetic tape. For a standard program, one hour of tape was edited down to 26 minutes. When the American Federation of Musicians in 1948 changed its policy to allow network radio shows to be prerecorded, *Daily Variety* attributed the “cry and hullabaloo for tape” to the influence of a single program, *You Bet Your Life*. With the debut of the televised version, the producers recognized the need for separate postproduction for different media. The Wednesday radio program and the Thursday television version were often quite different, to the extent of presenting different contestants because of time shifts during editing.

Ironically, neither version was the spontaneous fest of ad-libs originally conceived by Guedel and Marx. On the contrary, pre-production was as crucial to *You Bet Your Life* as its postproduction editing was. Groucho's writers were disguised in the program's credits, but most of his repartee was scripted. Room was left for spontaneity: for example, Marx declined to meet contestants beforehand, but his writers did extensive pre-interviews with them. Genuine ad-libs were always a prospect: director Bernie Smith commented, “At his peak you could never write for this man.” Nevertheless, the key was Groucho's ability to deliver scripted lines as if they were ad-libbed. Thus, to a tree surgeon: “Have you ever fallen out of a patient?” To a cartoonist: “If you want to see a comic strip, you should see me in the shower.” To a fat woman: “I bet you're a lot of fun at a party. . . . In fact, you *are* a party.” The remarks often had a cruel edge, but as writer Howard Harris observed, “If they weren't insulted, they were insulted.”

Scripted ad-libs and edited “live” content were aspects of what might now be called the “postmodern” approach of this quiz show. *You Bet Your Life* was almost pure process, inverting the conventions of its ostensible genre. For example, introductory interviews with contestants, ordinarily perfunctory on quiz shows, occupied half the running time of Groucho's program. Contestants usually appeared in male-female couples—carefully paired to create possibilities for comic repartee—yet

despite Groucho's standard compliment to “an attractive couple,” they rarely knew each other. The quiz portion of the program was played straight: contestants began with \$20 (later \$100) and bet on four questions in a set category; the couple with the highest total for each program got a chance at a jackpot question for \$1,000 (increased by \$500 per week if nobody won). Nevertheless, prizes were never very important; in an era of big-money quiz shows (and scandal), *You Bet Your Life* awarded an average of \$333 to 2,100 contestants over a decade. Besides, it was impossible *not* to win: if contestants blew the standard quiz, Groucho would ask a variation of the most famous of all quiz show questions: “Who's buried in Grant's Tomb?” Contestants could also win money accidentally, by speaking the previously announced “secret word.”

Periodic journalistic exposés, such as *TV Guide's* 1954 “The Truth about Groucho's Ad Libs,” had no effect whatever on his program's popularity. The audience knew they were listening to a comedy program in quiz show guise. If Groucho was funny, nobody cared that his quips were scripted and edited. *You Bet Your Life* presented a perfect match of star and vehicle. Later attempts to duplicate its success on television with Buddy Hackett and Bill Cosby failed. The show's opening audience-response formula turned out to be literally accurate: “Here he is—the one, the only . . . GROUCHO!”

GLEN M. JOHNSON

Host

Groucho Marx

Announcer

George Fenneman, Jack Slattery

Producer/Directors

John Guedel, Bernie Smith, Bob Dwan

Writers

Ed Tyler, Hy Freedman, and Howard Harris

Programming History

ABC October 1947–May 1949

CBS October 1949–June 1950

NBC October 1950–September 1956

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Your Hit Parade

Musical Variety Program

Your Hit Parade reflected popular music trends of its era, especially the big band sound; the program also helped sell millions of Lucky Strike cigarettes. Yet despite its status as a Saturday night radio staple, *Your Hit Parade* underwent many changes over its long history, notably its continual shifting of length, its scheduled time slot, and even its network.

Your Hit Parade emerged in early 1935 as the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) looked to fill its Saturday night schedule. The Rogers and Hart ballad "Soon" ranked as the

number-one hit. This alliance between big band hits and Lucky Strike cigarettes would continue to define the style and shape of *Your Hit Parade*: as a generation of executives for the American Tobacco Company's Lucky Strike division correctly figured, the public would tune in to the cover versions of hit songs by unknowns, and so show costs would be low while retaining a broad-based appeal.

Although its Saturday night venue never changed, its lineup of announcers, orchestras, and singers surely did. For



W.C. Fields and soundman Al Span, *Your Hit Parade*
 Courtesy CBS Radio Archive

example, in 1937, when *Your Hit Parade* shifted to the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), out went the old talent, and in came the Lanny Ross Orchestra, with Barry Wood and Bonnie Baker as the leading vocalists. But in 1939, out went Ross, and in came the Mark Warnow Orchestra. Such shifts were frequent for the program. Its time slot and length also varied over the years. Starting times of 8:00 P.M., 9:00 P.M., and 10:00 P.M. were tried and retried, as running time fell from one hour, to 45 minutes, down to 30 minutes.

Generally the names of the *Your Hit Parade* vocalists and orchestras have been forgotten, with a few exceptions such as Dinah Shore, Frank Sinatra, and Doris Day. Sometimes, to boost ratings, American Tobacco brought in guest stars, including most notably W.C. Fields and Fred Astaire. Indeed, *Your Hit Parade* reached its peak during the World War II years when executives—in a rare spending spree—hired Frank Sinatra, and thus the CBS Radio Theater at Broadway and 53rd Street became the focus of young female fan attention. The theater, which held 1,200, filled with teenagers who roared as Sinatra rendered hits such as “Paper Doll,” “You’ll Never Know,” “Long Ago and Far Away,” and “I’ll Be Seeing You.” In January 1945 Sinatra’s contract expired, and rather than pay a higher wage to this budding star, American Tobacco reverted to its low-cost approach. Sinatra would return in September 1946, bringing as his costar former Les Brown Orchestra star Doris Day, but only temporarily.

If there was an omen of the impending end of radio’s *Your Hit Parade*, it was surely when Mark Warnow, the show’s longest orchestra leader, died in 1949, immediately after completing his 493rd *Your Hit Parade* broadcast. He was replaced by Raymond Scott, and it was Scott who led the show to television by hiring and developing Snooky Lanson, Dorothy Collins, and Russell Arms. Scott did not change the programming formula.

The constant was that both the radio and television versions featured relative unknowns reprising the most popular pop songs of the week as determined by a national “survey” of record and sheet music sales. (The methodology of this survey was never revealed, but it could hardly have been scientific, as it probably never went beyond calls to a few major

city record stores and to the leading publishers of sheet music.) Repeated chart toppers were simply played again and again, with slight variations. “Race” music from and for African Americans and “Hillbilly” music from and for rural and small-town whites was wholly ignored unless a version “crossed over” and was covered by a mainstream crooner or band. So although Texas western swing band Bob Wills and the Texas Playboys composed, created, and initially recorded “The New San Antonio Rose,” it would be Bing Crosby’s version that would make it onto *Your Hit Parade*. This Tin Pan Alley focus and inability to deal with the synthesis of Race and Hillbilly music that eventually led to rock and roll signaled the end of the formula and of *Your Hit Parade*—on both radio and television.

DOUGLAS GOMERY

See also Recordings and the Radio Industry; Singers on Radio

Cast

Vocalists	Buddy Clark, Frank Sinatra, Joan Edwards,
(partial list)	Freda Gibbson (later Georgia Gibbs), Lawrence Tibbett, Barry Wood, Jeff Clark, Eileen Wilson, Doris Day, Bonnie Baker, and Andy Russell
Announcers	Martin Block, Del Sharbutt, Andre Baruch,
(partial list)	Kenny Delmar, and Basil Ruysdael

Programming History

NBC	Spring 1935–Fall 1937
CBS	Fall 1937–Fall 1947
NBC	Fall 1947–Winter 1953

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Yours Truly, Johnny Dollar

Drama Program

Yours Truly, Johnny Dollar was the last surviving network dramatic show after the inception of television. From 1949 to its demise in 1962, Johnny Dollar entertained those detective fans who had not yet been seduced by “the tube.” *Yours Truly, Johnny Dollar* and *Suspense* were the last two original radio dramatic series produced for the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), and they ended their run on 30 September 1962.

The radio series recounted the detective cases of Johnny Dollar, “America’s fabulous freelance insurance investigator.” He would often receive his assignments from Pat McCracken of the Universal Adjustment Bureau, a clearinghouse for several insurance firms. Hartford, Connecticut, the headquarters for many major insurance companies, was his home base, but his assignments took him all over the world. His investigations of such matters as stolen jewels, paintings, or furs; missing persons; and insurance fraud of various types would inevitably lead to a murder investigation and an encounter with the criminal element. However, Johnny Dollar could take care of himself; he could be as hard-boiled as the toughest detective. His wisecracking betrayed a cynical attitude, and his encounters with women certainly resulted in some suggestive language.

Johnny Dollar was a confirmed bachelor, although he did have a girlfriend, Betty Lewis, who appeared occasionally. He was basically a loner, and each story was told from his first-person point of view. “Dollar” was a metaphor for the detective’s interest in money. Described as the detective “with the action-packed expense account,” he tallied each and every expenditure, no matter how small. Each show concluded with the revelation of his total expenses, as if dictating a memorandum to his employer, before he signed off with “yours truly, Johnny Dollar.”

The series premiered on 11 February 1949 with a 30-minute episode entitled “The Parakoff Policy,” in which the insured was being held for the murder of Mr. Parakoff. Johnny Dollar’s encounter with Parakoff’s widow allowed for some suggestive dialogue. Paul Dudley and Gil Doud wrote the pilot script for the series, and actor Dick Powell auditioned for the title role on 8 December 1948, but he went on to star in *Richard Diamond, Private Detective* instead. Charles Russell was the first of six radio actors to play Johnny Dollar on the air. Russell played the role as the stereotypical hard-boiled investigator with his own little quirks, such as flipping silver dollars to hotel bellboys.

Russell played the role of Johnny Dollar for one year, through 34 half-hour episodes. Edmond O’Brien assumed the role in February 1950, starring in 103 episodes until Septem-

ber 1952, and John Lund continued in the role for the next two years, starring in 92 episodes through September 1954, when the show was canceled, probably because of a lack of sponsorship. Most often the shows were broadcast on a sustaining basis. Wrigley’s gum had the longest continuous sponsorship, from 10 March 1953 to 10 August 1954.

Yours Truly, Johnny Dollar returned to the air in October 1955 with a new format, star, and producer/writer/director. Instead of the 30-minute series format, the show moved to a serial format, with five 15-minute episodes per week. The listeners seemed to like this format because it allowed more time for story and character development—75 minutes each week, including commercials or other promotional material, of course. They liked the new star as well. Bob Bailey played Johnny Dollar as a more caring and less cynical and hard-boiled investigator. Bailey’s portrayal made the hero seem more human, but nevertheless a tough and smart detective. Gerald Mohr, who had played the lead in *The Adventures of Philip Marlowe*, made an audition tape on 29 August 1955, but it never aired. Jack Johnstone, who was responsible for the new directions in the program, began producing and directing the show at this time, and he contributed several scripts before the series ended in 1962.

Bailey played in 55 of these weekly serials before November 1956, when CBS reverted back to the original 30-minute, once-a-week format. Continuing until 27 November 1960, Bailey played in 203 episodes, more than any other star of the series. At that time, the show was moved from Hollywood, where it had been produced from its beginning, to New York City. Robert Readick assumed the role on 4 December 1960 and played in 28 episodes until 11 June 1961, when Mandel Kramer took the part. Kramer played Johnny Dollar for 69 episodes until the series ended with the last case, “The Tip-Off Matter,” on 30 September 1962.

PHILIP J. LANE

Cast

Johnny Dollar Charles Russell (1949–50), Edmond O’Brien (1950–52), John Lund (1952–54), Bob Bailey (1955–60), Robert Readick (1960–61), Mandel Kramer (1961–62)

Directors

Richard Sanville, Norman Macdonnell, Gordon Hughes, Jaime del Valle, Jack Johnstone, Bruno Zirato, Jr., and Fred Hendrickson



Robert Bailey in *Yours Truly, Johnny Dollar*
Courtesy CBS Photo Archive

Writers

Gil Doud, Paul Dudley, David Ellis, John M. Hayes, E. Jack Neuman, Les Crutchfield, Blake Edwards, Morton Fine, David Friedkin, Sidney Marshall, Joel Murcott, John Dawson, Jack Johnstone, and Robert Ryf

Programming History

CBS February 1949–September 1962

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Z

Zenith Radio Corporation

Radio and Electronics Manufacturer

Zenith Radio Corporation, now Zenith Electronics Corporation, was the longest-surviving American-owned consumer electronics corporation. Founded in 1919 as Chicago Radio Laboratory, Zenith manufactured a wide range of electronic products for 80 years and continues to be one of the most respected and widely known American names in consumer electronics. The United States-based company has been a wholly owned subsidiary of Korean electronics giant LG Electronics since late 1999.

Under the guidance of founding genius “Commander” Eugene F. McDonald, Jr., and innovative financial manager Hugh Robertson, Zenith grew from its beginnings on a kitchen table on Chicago’s North Side to a leadership position in radio and, along with archrival Radio Corporation of America (RCA), to continued dominance in the postwar television boom. Along the way, Zenith and McDonald made significant contributions to the very form of the consumer electronics and broadcasting industries. Zenith is best known for the high quality and reliability of its products and its innovative concepts in product development and marketing.

Origins

The founders of what was to become Zenith Radio Corporation were two radio amateurs, Ralph H.G. Matthews and Karl Hassel. Matthews built his first amateur station in Chicago in 1912. In 1913 and 1914 he perfected a distinctive aluminum sawtooth rotary spark gap disk that later became the company’s first product. Matthews also became heavily involved in the newly formed Amateur Radio Relay League (ARRL), and in 1917 his radio call sign was changed to 9ZN. While serving as a radioman at the Great Lakes Naval Training Station at the end of World War I, he met a radio code instructor, Karl Hassel. Upon release from the navy, the two entered into a partnership producing first the aluminum spark gap transmitting disk and then other amateur equipment. They were soon producing

complete receivers and transmitters of their own design. Operating as the Chicago Radio Laboratory, the two quickly outgrew their manufacturing space at 1316 Carmen Avenue (actually Matthew’s house) and moved into half of a garage on Sheridan Road, on the lakeside grounds of the Edgewater Beach Hotel. The other half of the garage served as the home of 9ZN, one of the best-known amateur stations in the United States. Because their equipment was built for the radio amateur, the earliest advertising was placed in *QST*, the magazine of the American Radio Relay League. By late 1921 *QST* advertisements listed the 9ZN call followed by a small “ith,” the origin of the trade name Z-Nith.

In 1921 Eugene F. McDonald became involved with the Chicago Radio Laboratory. McDonald was a savvy businessman who was looking for a business investment when he discovered Matthews, Hassel, and radio. McDonald offered to become a financial partner in their undertaking, and a partnership was formed, with McDonald as the general manager. A period of rapid growth followed.

As demand for the product increased in the spring of 1922, McDonald engaged his friend Tom Pletcher, a well-known figure in the music industry and president of the QRS Music Company, to take over the sales and manufacturing of CRL receivers in his large (and partially empty) new factory. By July, production had reached 15 sets per day.

Because the Armstrong receiver circuit patent was licensed to the Chicago Radio Laboratory, which produced Z-Nith products, McDonald formed Zenith Radio Corporation to become the marketing arm for the Z-Nith radios. The corporation was founded on 30 June 1923 with capital of \$500,000 derived from common stock sold at \$10 per share.

McDonald’s Zenith

In 1923 McDonald built one of Chicago’s pioneer radio stations, WJAZ, to stay in contact with the 1923–24 MacMillan

Arctic Expedition, which was carrying Zenith radio equipment. The experiment was successful, allowing the expedition to be the first to maintain contact with civilization during the long polar night and generating considerable publicity for the small radio company.

McDonald also equipped the 1925 MacMillan Arctic Expedition with Zenith shortwave equipment. That expedition was the first to use shortwave in the Arctic and the first to fly heavier-than-air craft in the Arctic; it was also Richard Byrd's first introduction to the polar regions. McDonald accompanied the expedition as second-in-command, and the Zenith equipment performed flawlessly. Experimental shortwave communications from the expedition in North Greenland to U.S. Navy vessels in New Zealand played a seminal role in the adoption of shortwave radio for long-distance communications.

McDonald's work with WJAZ highlighted for him emerging problems with the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers (ASCAP) over royalties for performers whose music was played on the radio. Dissatisfied with the arbitrary nature of ASCAP's rate schedules, McDonald organized a meeting of a small group of broadcasters in Chicago in early 1923 to oppose ASCAP; this organization was to become the National Association of Broadcasters, with McDonald serving as its first president.

By the end of 1924, the production rate at the QRS factory could not keep up with increasing demand, and Zenith resumed manufacturing its own products in a new four-story plant on Iron Street in Chicago.

In 1925, Zenith introduced the grandest Zenith radio models the company had ever manufactured, the ten-tube Deluxe receivers. There were five cabinet styles, each handmade: the Colonial, the English, the Italian, the Chinese, and the Spanish. The price for these models ranged from \$650 to \$2,000 (\$5,800 to \$21,400 in 2000 dollars) and were the most expensive radios being manufactured at that time. They illustrated the company's commitment to building the very best equipment, regardless of cost.

McDonald became embroiled in another broadcasting battle in 1926, when his WJAZ shifted ("jumped") to another frequency, seeking a less-congested channel, but also challenging the authority of the Secretary of Commerce to assign radio frequencies. On 16 April 1926, the case was decided in federal court in McDonald's favor (*United States v Zenith Radio Corporation*, 1926), proving finally that the existing frequency allocation laws, dating to 1912, were unenforceable and that the secretary lacked authority.

Zenith Radio Corporation was first listed on the Chicago Stock Exchange in March 1928 and on the New York Stock Exchange in July 1929. Stockholders increased from 250 in

April 1928 to 2,750 in April 1929. Fiscal year 1929 earnings exceeded \$1 million.

When the stock market crashed in 1929, Zenith found itself with a large inventory of materials to build new sets, but not many finished sets, primarily because of an innovative inventory control plan. That, and the selling of 100,000 shares of stock (worth \$1 million) just before the market collapsed, enabled Zenith, with proper management, to ride out the rough times without missing loan payments, borrowing money, or releasing large numbers of employees. The company continued to manufacture high-quality, high-priced radios during the Depression but also added a less expensive line, the Zenette series, to appeal to the average buyer.

Recovery for Zenith began in 1933 when deficits, which had been running at about \$500,000 a year, were converted into a \$50,000 profit for the fiscal year ending 30 April 1934. At the beginning of 1934, Zenith was the lowest-priced radio stock quoted on the New York Stock Exchange; by the end of 1934, it was the highest. The Depression recovery assumed spectacular proportions for Zenith in 1935, when net earnings returned to the pre-Depression high of just over \$1 million. Zenith also undertook major efforts to maintain its distributors' profit margins during the rough times, and Zenith emerged from the Depression with a fiercely loyal band of distributors who would serve the corporation admirably for many decades in the boom ahead.

In 1937 Zenith supplemented its factory space with the addition of the 400,000-square-foot West Dickens Avenue facility. In 1937 the radio industry as a whole showed a 15 percent drop, but Zenith's sales rose. New developments prior to World War II included the chairside radio-phonograph; a "Radio Nurse" baby monitor; and a line of portable radios, including the venerable Zenith Trans-Oceanic radio, which would go on to become the longest lasting radio brand in radio history. By 1938 most Zenith radios contained the Zenith-patented "Wavemagnet" antenna.

The ensuing years were marked by steady progress. The Zenith experimental television station, W9XZV, began operating in black and white in February 1939 and began color transmissions in 1941.

Because of the war, all domestic production stopped on 1 April 1942. Zenith's war efforts centered on development and production of sophisticated frequency meters, work on the V-T proximity fuse, and military-grade radio communications devices. It was through Zenith's efforts that most manufacturers, except RCA, granted the government free license under all patents covering war work. Zenith was awarded the Army-Navy "E" in November 1942, the first of five it would receive. Zenith was given special permission to manufacture only one civilian product during the war years, an inexpensive hearing

aid that allowed the hard-of-hearing to be gainfully employed in war work.

Postwar Radio

Zenith planned for the resumption of civilian production in the closing years of the war and was among the earliest to attain volume production after the war. In 1945 Zenith began production of many of its own components, such as loudspeakers, record changers, and coils. The company was also an important early manufacturer of FM receivers. In 1947 Zenith introduced the "Cobra" phonograph arm. In 1948 the company introduced turret tuning for television, allowing the expansion of the tuner for future UHF reception. Zenith acquired television tube manufacturer Rauland Corporation in 1948 and in 1949 introduced the first "black tube" television sets, which quickly became the industry standard. In 1950 Zenith stopped manufacturing automobile radios, in spite of excellent sales, to provide space for the rapidly expanding television business. The continuously variable speed (10- to 85-rpm) Cobra-Matic record changer was introduced in 1950.

Major expansion of manufacturing occurred again in 1950-51, when a large facility in Chicago was acquired for television production and for Korean War military contracts. The removal of the television station "freeze" in 1952 greatly stimulated the company's television business, and the Zenith turret tuner made Zenith the only sets in production that could be easily converted to UHF. In the fall of 1953 Zenith introduced a three-transistor hearing aid, the first of many solid-state models to follow. By 1954 Zenith was selling more hearing aids than all other companies combined, and their dominance of the industry continued through the 1970s. Zenith entered the high-fidelity market in 1953 and was among the first to provide high-fidelity sound for television receivers. The ultrasonic Zenith "Space Command" remote TV control was introduced in 1956. Zenith's founder, Eugene F. McDonald, Jr., died in 1958.

By the mid-1970s, because of increasing competitive pressures from offshore (mostly Asian) manufacturers of radio and television, Zenith established its own manufacturing operations in Mexico and Taiwan, while forging an alliance with LG Electronics to build Zenith-brand clock radios in Korea. While

growing its television business and venturing into new areas such as VCRs and cable set-top boxes, Zenith continued to play a role in transistor and portable radios and in component and console stereos until the company phased out its radio and audio products business in 1982 to concentrate on television and other video-related products. That year, the last of the legendary Trans-Oceanic radios was produced, marking the completion of the four-decade reign of that famous series of multiband shortwave radios.

HAROLD N. CONES AND JOHN H. BRYANT

See also McDonald, Eugene F.; National Association of Broadcasters

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