

# Journal of Broadcasting



**FALL  
1969**

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

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BRADLEY S. GREENBERG and JOSEPH R. DOMINICK

# Racial and Social Class Differences in Teen-Agers' Use of Television

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*Much of this issue of the JOURNAL is devoted to questions of the mass communications behavior of the poor. In the following article, the influence of both race and class upon teen-agers' use of television is investigated as part of an extensive series of researches on communication among the urban poor being conducted at Michigan State University. The research reported on below was supported in part by a grant from the National Association of Broadcasters to Dr. Greenberg, associate professor of communication at Michigan State. Mr. Dominick is senior research assistant and Ph.D. candidate in the MSU Department of Communication.*

THIS research seeks to examine the role television maintains for one particular segment of society—low income, urban teen-agers, both black and white. At least three reasons exist for mass communication researchers to concentrate on this group. First, from the standpoint of the TV industry, such audience information can aid in determining specific policy and programming decisions. Second, from the standpoint of someone concerned with social change, this information would assist in the practical job of evaluating TV's potential as an instrument to combat poverty, illiteracy and similar social ailments. Finally, and primary for our purposes, such an analysis is relevant to mass communication theory.

Research on mass communication has frequently shown the importance of sociological variables in the communication process. Peer group memberships (Riley and Riley, 1954), family relationships (Hess and Goldman, 1962) and ethnic background (Gans, 1962)

among others influence the functions of mass communications for particular audiences.

To extend any sociological theory of mass communication, we first must delineate the ways in which mass communication is received, processed, and evaluated in different parts of the social structure. We must sort out what variables influence patterns of usage, attitudes, and functions related to any mass medium and try to establish linkages among them. This study first examines the effects of economic status on the usage, attitudes, and functions played by TV for urban teen-agers. Because such a large proportion of urban poor are black (56% in 1968 according to the Census Bureau) race becomes a second, critical variable for examination (Carey, 1966).

Prior studies of television among teen-agers have not provided instances of low-income and/or black youth for extended analysis (e.g., Lyle, 1962; Merrill, 1961). Studies that have focussed on this age and economic grouping have been highly specific in nature. Blood (1961) examined family control over TV viewing and found that middle-class families generally exercised more influence over viewing times and program choices. Gerson (1966) investigated the ways in which white and black teen-agers used all mass media to learn about dating behavior. Controlling for income differences, he found that blacks were more likely to use the media to learn dating information. Schramm, Lyle, and Parker (1961) found that among 10th graders, those who fell in the low socio-economic group were more likely to use the media for what the researchers labelled "fantasy seeking." Middle-class teen-agers were more likely to be "reality-oriented." That is, they were lower on TV usage and higher on usage of the print media. They also were more likely to turn to the media for information than for entertainment.

To further understand the role of television in the lives of low-income teen-agers we must begin to identify the overall patterns of television usage, attitudes and motivations. The present study had three purposes:

- 1) to describe the use of the major mass media by urban teen-agers from low-income families, with a more detailed analysis of their TV exposure.
- 2) to explore the attitudes of disadvantaged teen-agers toward the mass media; and
- 3) to examine their motivations for watching television.

Research among low-income groups (Cohen, 1963; Chilman, 1966) has delineated certain relevant characteristics of their "sub-culture." The poor participate in a more restricted range of activities, workday rules are less complex than in other classes and individuals seldom assume "public service" roles. Further, there is an emphasis on the concrete, the here-and-now aspect of life. Television behavior would seem to fit into this framework. TV watching is low-cost, can be done at home, requires little effort, and emphasizes concrete, visual experiences.

With this in mind, two working hypotheses were formed:

- H<sub>1</sub>: Teen-agers from low-income homes would spend more of their media time with TV than middle-incomes teen-agers, and more absolute time with TV.
- H<sub>2</sub>: More favorable attitudes would exist toward television offerings among the former.

These hypotheses express differences in media behaviors between income groups. Research has shown, however, that even within the low income level, there are differences between whites and blacks. Blacks typically earn even less money than their white counterparts, are more likely to live in an inner-city ghetto and are more likely to engage in "fantasy" behaviors (Clark, 1967; Henry, 1965; U. S. Commission on Civil Disorders, 1968). For these reasons, further segmentation of the low-income teen-agers into black and white sub-groups was expected to accentuate the hypothesized differences.

Moreover, a young person from a low-income family can be thought of as living in a world where contacts with the middle-class are infrequent and limited in diversity. The U. S. Commission on Civil Disorders (1968) reported a high degree of segregation between the poor and middle-class, regardless of race. For example, a low-income teen-ager would also be more likely to attend a neighborhood school where he would have less contact with youngsters from middle-class homes. All in all, the amount of information about the middle-class world possessed by a young person from a lower-income environment would be minimal.

Thus, we expect that he would turn to TV as a means of finding out about that environment which is so vastly different from his own. Further, since television would be his main source of information about the middle-class world, we should expect to find a higher degree

of belief in the accuracy of TV's portrayals of middle-class life. This reasoning led to three additional hypotheses:

H<sub>3</sub>: Teen-agers from lower-income homes would watch TV more often for learning reasons than would middle-income teen-agers.

H<sub>4</sub>: Lower-income teen-agers would more likely believe that TV portrays real life situations; that the world outside their immediate environs corresponds to the world presented on TV.

H<sub>5</sub>: Low-income teen-agers would be less likely to prefer variety shows whose main purpose can be classified as "entertainment" than would middle-class youngsters.

Again, dividing the low-income teen-agers into black and white sub-groups was expected to intensify these overall differences.

### Methodology

Data were gathered from a sampling of eight English classes of tenth and eleventh graders in Philadelphia in May, 1968. The study was done during regular morning classes. Classes in the lowest ability level in the high school were not studied because school administrators believed the students lacked adequate skills to handle the questionnaire. This particular high school was located on the outskirts of a ghetto from which the school enrolls all its black students. It also was located near a low-income, white residential area which contributes most of its white enrollment. The racial distribution in the entire school was about 60% white and 40% black. We obtained data from 206 teen-agers, 60% whites and 40% blacks. On the next day, identical data were obtained from 100 middle-class, white teen-agers at a high school in the same city. The three samples were approximately half boys and half girls.

Data were obtained for three major variable categories. These were:

- 1) *Television usage*, e.g., amount of TV viewing; specific content or program choices; process of selecting programs; presence of rules connected with TV viewing; parental viewing habits; and other mass media usage.

- 2) *Attitudes toward television*, e.g., perceived reality in TV programming; relative believability of TV vs. other media; relative desirability of TV vs. other media; and relative competence of TV vs. other media.

- 3) *Motivations for watching television* or reasons given for TV watching.

Data obtained from three sub-groups—lower-class whites, lower-class blacks, and middle-class whites—enabled a three way analysis:

- 1) The two lower-class groups were compared to examine the influence of race on television behavior.
- 2) The middle and lower-class whites were compared to examine the effects of economic background on TV-related behaviors.
- 3) All three groups were compared directly to examine the linearity of differences among groups.

### Findings

Both social class and racial differences were found for many of the dependent variable behaviors. Being poor was sufficient to prompt many differences. Being poor and black usually served to extend those differences.

*Television time.* Each respondent went through a TV log for Sunday, May 5, 1968.<sup>1</sup> Total time was obtained by summing the lengths of shows watched. The middle-class teen-agers reported watching an average of 3.7 hours of TV compared to 4.6 hours for the lower class whites. The black teen-agers claimed to have watched most: 6.3 hours. These data are summarized in Table I, together with categorical time distributions.

**TABLE I**  
**Television Viewing**

Low Income		Hours	Middle Income
Blacks (N = 84)	Whites (N = 124)		Whites (N = 98)
14%	25%	did not watch	21%
15%	15%	½ to 3½ hours	29%
35%	44%	4 to 8 hours	43%
36%	16%	8½ or more hours	7%
6.3	4.6	Mean number of hours	3.7

A *t*-test of uncorrelated means yields a significant difference between middle and low income groups ( $t = 3.27$ ;  $df = 305$ ;  $p < .01$ ) as well as a significant difference between black and white low income respondents ( $t = 2.75$ ;  $df = 207$ ;  $p < .01$ ).

*Program choices.* Respondents named their three most favorite TV shows. Several shows appealed to all teen-agers, regardless of race or social class. *Mission Impossible* was ranked first or second for all three groups. Movies were also rated high by all. Two shows, *Laugh-In* and *Smothers Brothers*, appealed primarily to white audiences. *Laugh-In* was among the top three choices for both the middle-income and lower-income whites but only three blacks mentioned it as a favorite. In general, variety shows were more preferred by white youngsters. Not one variety show made the top 10 list of the low-income black youngsters.

*Nature of viewing preparation.* The three groups were not different in reporting the preparations they made for watching TV. The most common response was that most usually read *TV Guide* or the TV listings in the newspaper to see if there was something on they wanted to watch. If this response was a prestigious one, all groups used it to the same extent.

*Presence of TV rules.* Rules about TV watching exist in a minority of homes, without regard to social class or race. The most common

**TABLE II**  
**Presence of Rules in the Household**

	Low Income		Middle Income
	Blacks (N = 84)	Whites (N = 124)	Whites (N = 98)
Are there rules in your house about how late you can stay up watching TV? (% who said yes).	35%	46%	47%
Does anyone in your home ever tell you there are some kinds of TV shows they wish you wouldn't watch? (% yes).	30%	18%	27%
Are you ever punished for something by not being allowed to watch TV? (% yes).	20%	18%	19%

A Chi-Square test using the correction for continuity yielded no significant differences between the middle-income and low-income respondents on any of the three items. There were also no significant differences between low-income blacks and whites.

rule is a late-night cut-off point after which TV viewing is not allowed, as indicated in Table II. About half the white students reported such a rule, compared with 35% of the blacks. 30% of the black teenagers reported some attempted censorship of TV shows in their homes. In the lower-class white group, 18% reported censorship.

*Parental viewing.* Class differences were obtained in the amount of time the three groups said their parents spent with TV. The black teenagers reported that the adults in their homes watched TV more than 3.5 hours per day; the lower-class whites reported 3.3 hours and the middle class youngsters said it was 2.4 hours.<sup>2</sup>

**TABLE III**  
**Other Mass Media Usage**

	Low Income		Middle Income
	Blacks (N = 84)	Whites (N = 124)	Whites (N = 98)
Radio listening (hours)	1.95	2.54	2.50*
Records player use (hours)	1.57	1.03	1.14*
Newspaper reading (times per week)	5.70	6.10	6.93**
Magazine reading (number last week)	2.61	2.23	2.99**
Movie attendance (number in last month)	1.37	1.76	1.71

\* An analysis of variance of these means yielded a difference significant at the .05 level.

\*\* An analysis of variance of these means yielded a difference significant at the .001 level

*Other mass media activity.* Major differences were found in the use of radio, magazines, newspapers, and record players, but not for movies, as reported in Table III. A class difference was evident in both magazine and newspaper reading. The middle-class youngsters used these media more often than the lower-class teens. Radio listening showed a race difference. The two white groups reported listening a half-hour longer than did the blacks. A race difference was present in record player use. Here, the black youngsters listened

longer than did the whites. A composite media Sunday for these three groups of teen-agers would look like this:

	Low Income		Middle Income
	Blacks	Whites	Whites
TV	6 hrs.	4½ hrs.	3½ hrs.
Radio	2 hrs.	2½ hrs.	2½ hrs.
Records	1½ hrs.	1 hr.	1 hr.
Newspaper	Maybe	Maybe	Yes
Magazines	2/week	2/week	3/week
Movies	1/month	2/month	2/month

*Perceived reality in TV programs.* Three questions investigated whether or not the respondents perceived any similarity between the world they saw portrayed on TV programs and the world they saw around them. They were asked to agree or disagree with these statements:

"The people I see on TV are just like people I meet in real life."

"The programs I see on TV tell about life the way it really is."

"The same things that happen to people on TV happen to me in real life."

Scores on these three items were summed, creating an index for each respondent.

The results formed a statistically significant step-wise progression.<sup>3</sup> With total agreement indexed by a score of 9.0, the average score for the low-income Negroes was 6.08, for low income whites, 5.08, and for middle-class whites, 4.47. The average score of the middle-class youngsters can be interpreted as an answer of "I disagree" to the items. Next in belief were the lower-class whites. Highest in perceived reality were the black teen-agers. Their replies fell between "I'm not sure" and "I agree" on the index.

This step-wise progression of results persisted when six variables were used as controls. In all six comparisons, the low-income black teen-agers scored the highest on these items, followed by the low-

income white teen-agers and then the middle-income teens. These results are shown in Table IV. These data also show that both low

**TABLE IV**  
**Reality Perception by Control Variables**

	Low Income		Middle Income	P (F)
	Blacks	Whites	Whites	
Males	5.97	4.68	4.10	<.0005
Females	6.19	5.45	4.87	<.005
TV most cred.	6.33	5.26	4.92	<.0005
TV not most cred.	5.65	4.71	4.00	<.0005
Newspaper everyday	6.15	4.90	4.50	<.0005
Not everyday	6.02	5.32	4.40	<.001
0 or 1 movie	6.02	4.77	4.32	<.0005
2 or more movies	6.18	5.34	4.61	<.0005
Church every week	6.19	4.93	4.53	<.001
Church not every week	6.00	5.22	4.44	<.0005
Say-so over what is viewed:				
Myself	5.88	5.34	4.79	<.100
Someone else	6.17	4.93	4.25	<.0005

A pair of italicized means indicates that a *t*-test between them yielded a  $p < .05$ , for the two categories of the control variable.

and middle-income white females perceived more reality in TV content than did their male counterparts. Also, among the middle-income teen-agers, those who believed TV was most credible also perceived a higher degree of reality in TV programs.

*Credibility of television.* Three items, in Table V, dealt with the perceived believability of television in comparison with radio and the newspaper. If conflicting stories were received, the majority in each of the three groups would believe the TV version. Radio and newspapers were named by 15-18% of both lower-class groups. The middle-class youngsters showed more belief in the newspaper—35% named it as most believable. From two-thirds to three-fourths of all three groups reported that TV would be the one medium they would

**TABLE V**  
**Media Attitudes**

	Low Income		Middle Income
	Blacks (N = 84)	Whites (N = 124)	Whites (N = 98)
Suppose you got different stories about the same thing from radio, TV and the newspaper, which one would you believe? (% choosing TV).*	63%	66%	51%
Which do you think does his job the best? (% choosing TV).*	65%	55%	45%
Let's say you could keep only one of these: radio, TV, newspaper. Which one would you keep? (% choosing TV).	76%	69%	66%

\* A Chi-square test indicated differences significant at the .05 level between the middle and low income groups for the first two items.

keep, if they could have only one. Radio came in second and hardly anyone named the newspaper.<sup>4</sup>

The newspaper did better, but still poorly, when the respondents named the person who did his job the best—the newspaper, radio, or TV announcer. In the black sample, 65% named the TV announcer; the radio announcer was second with 17%. The lower-class whites gave the TV announcer 55% and the newspaper reporter 29%. The middle-class teen-agers showed more ambivalence. The newspaper reporter and the television news announcer were named with almost equal frequency—42 and 45% respectively.

*Reasons for television watching.* The youngsters responded to 34 possible reasons why they might watch television.<sup>5</sup> These reasons were derived from a content analysis of 75 essays written by separate groups of middle and low-income high school students on the topic "Why I Watch Television?" The questionnaire used statements from the essays which represented as wide a range of reasons as possible. Many reasons were mentioned with equal frequency across the groups

while other reasons differed with race and social class. This indicates that TV serves some general functions for all teen-agers, but it also serves some specific functions that vary with social class and/or race.

There were substantial racial and/or social class differences on 18 of the 34 items. Twelve referred to ways in which TV served as a learning device. For all 12, the black teen-agers were the most dependent on TV. That is, they reported they watched TV more for these reasons than did the other two groups. The middle-income youngsters used TV least for these reasons, with the lower-class white teen-agers in between. Each of the following items showed this kind of step-wise progression of TV dependence through race and social class:

I watch TV because . . .

I can learn from the mistakes of others.

I can learn a lot without working very hard.

it shows how others solve the same problems I have.

it shows what life is really like.

it helps me learn about myself as a human being.

I get to know all about people in all walks of life.

I want to know what's going on in the world.

I can understand things better when I can see them as well as hear them.

without it I wouldn't know much about the world.

the programs give lessons for life.

I learn things on TV I don't learn in school.

I get to see what people are like.

These items generally describe an informal, learning-about-life notion. The degree to which TV is used as this kind of learning device depends both on social class and race. Black teen-agers showed the most tendency to use TV for this kind of information. Middle-class white teen-agers showed the least tendency.

Six other items with this same pattern of progressive dependence were:

I watch TV because it excites me.

I watch TV because it gives me a thrill.

I watch TV because it keeps my mind off other things.

I watch TV because it keeps me out of trouble.

I watch TV because it's almost like a human companion.

I watch TV because it brings my family together.

There appear to be at least two main distinctions in these motivational patterns. One deals with a "school-of-life" notion; the lower-income students and the black youths in particular depend on TV more as a learning instrument. The second deals with relative stimulation sought through TV; the more disadvantaged seek excitement and thrills from TV more often. Functional differences were not found by social class or race in terms of such motivations for watching as relaxation, low cost and easy access, escape, or forgetting.

### Discussion

Support was found for the five hypotheses proposed in this study:

- 1) Teen-agers from low-income homes spent more absolute time and more relative media time with TV than did teen-agers from middle-income families.
- 2) These same low-income teen-agers perceived TV to be more believable in its news content and felt TV's news staffs were doing a more competent job.
- 3) TV was perceived to be depicting life as it actually is more frequently among the low-income groups.
- 4) Watching TV to learn about life or for stimulation was more prevalent among lower-income teen-agers.
- 5) There were differences in the kinds of shows preferred.

Several research extensions may be suggested. One possible approach would be to undertake this same type of study with different age groups. Would these differences, for example, hold up if we were looking at younger children instead of adolescents? Related research in psychology and political science suggests that children begin to adhere to the norms of their economic and racial groups during the pre-school years. If we are dealing with class and racial influences on TV watching, then we should expect to find this same pattern of differences among younger children.

A more intensive examination of the variable of reality perception seems warranted. Our rationale would predict less evidence of this process in operation among those people who have other sources of information about middle-class life. Such reasoning would predict that there would be less of a tendency to see TV as an accurate portrayal of life among those low-income teen-agers who have more exposure to friends or relatives of middle-class status. Further it would be useful to explore whether or not these reality perceptions

persist with regard to other media. If, for example, we substituted "magazines" in our items in place of "television," would we get the same results?

What effect does the increased frequency with which blacks now appear on TV have on some of the variables we examined? For example, do black teen-agers watch shows that contain blacks more often than white teen-agers watch such shows? Does this new trend increase the believability the lower-class black teen-ager has for TV or does it serve to decrease it? To what extent can a young black girl identify with *Julia*? Further what is the white perception of the same trend? Do whites tend to think that TV portrays an accurate picture of the way most blacks live? We would expect, for example, that whites would consider TV's depiction of blacks to be more accurate than would blacks themselves, and that whites would think there are a lot more blacks on TV than objectively are, or that black viewers think there are. Objective answers to such questions could provide the substance for further research by many investigators.

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### Footnotes

<sup>1</sup> According to Schramm, Lyle, and Parker (1961), the aided recall method of obtaining estimated viewing time from young people is a better procedure than using a diary or parental estimate.

<sup>2</sup> The means were computed by assigning values to categorical responses of the teen-agers. For the low-income whites and blacks, the median parental viewing estimate fell in the 3-4 hour category. For the middle-income whites, the median was in the 1-2 hour category.

<sup>3</sup> An analysis of variance indicated a significant difference among the means of the three groups ( $F = 18.91$ ;  $df = 2/303$ ;  $p < .0005$ ). A  $t$ -test yielded a significant difference between middle and low income groups ( $t = 4.69$ ;  $df = 305$ ;  $p < .001$ ). The same statistic also showed a significant difference between low-income blacks and whites ( $t = 3.76$ ;  $df = 207$ ;  $p < .001$ ).

<sup>4</sup> Using a national sample of adult respondents, Roper (1969) found that television was considered the most believable media by 44% of those interviewed. The present data indicate that TV is considered even more believable by young people. Further, Roper's data reveal 50% of his respondents named TV as the one medium they would most want to keep. The percentage is considerably larger among these teen-agers, again emphasizing TV's popularity among this age group.

<sup>5</sup> The complete set of statements and the means obtained for the respondent groups are available from the authors.

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FREDERICK WILLIAMS

# Social Class Differences in How Children Talk about Television

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*Much time and space has been devoted to such questions as "What does television do to the child?" and "How do children use television?" The findings of research into these questions often are unsatisfactorily vague and ambiguous. Laymen (and our own common sense) tell us that there must be more effect from the spending of many hours a day before the television set than has been evidenced in formal research reports to date. One unusual—and provocative—effect of television is reported upon in the following article: there seems to be a difference in how children of different social classes talk about television. Both the observations and the speculations of the following article may lead others into the sort of byway that may prove more productive than the "main-line" of research on television and children.*

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LITTLE space need be devoted here to reviewing the concerns that broadcasters, social scientists, and hopefully, even some parents, hold about what "television does to children," or to put it more fashionably, "what children do with television." In a recent research project<sup>1</sup> focused upon the language problems of the so-called "disadvantaged," we found that some of the most marked social class distinctions in children's language were when they were talking about television.<sup>2</sup> These findings, which had centered solely upon language distinctions, prompted a return to the samples to examine whether the social class differences could be better interpreted if selected analyses of content were also taken into account. This paper reports

upon these analyses, the results of which led to a number of speculations regarding the coalescence of ideas on language development, television, and the disadvantaged child.

### Background

Much of what unites a concern with language development in children with the social aspects of poverty centers upon two current lines of reasoning. One of these is the position usually identified with the British sociologist, Basil Bernstein<sup>3</sup>—and interpreted in U.S. research by Robert Hess, among others<sup>4</sup>—that the language distinctions found in the social structures of the lower socioeconomic classes are a key agent in the socialization of children reared in these structures. The second line of reasoning, complementary with the first but developed somewhat independently, is that the educational intervention programs directed to the poor will pay the most dividends if they are focused upon the language development of the young child. Bereiter and Englemann, in their book, *Teaching Disadvantaged Children in the Preschool*, have been the main proponents of this position.<sup>5</sup> Since television looms large in the lives of most children, there is the theoretical question of whether it has some type of effect upon language development. Could it counter the effects of social class differences in language? How might it enter into the strategy of preschool intervention programs which focus upon language? That the *topic* of television should stand out as the portion of our language samples where social class differences in speech were the most salient invited further analyses.

The language samples, totalling some 24,000 words from 40 children, had been selected by a partially random selection procedure from the tapes of a major linguistic field study conducted in Detroit during the summer of 1966 (a year prior to the riots).<sup>6</sup> Although our studies of these samples are reported in detail elsewhere,<sup>7</sup> a few notes on them are pertinent to the present project. The 40 tapes were of fifth and sixth grade children, 20 of whom were sampled from the lower ranges of the distribution of a socioeconomic index (the L.S., or lower status, sample) and 20 sampled from the middle to higher range (the H.S. sample).<sup>8</sup> Within each status group were balanced subgroups ( $n = 10$  each) of Negro and white children who were equated on the status index, and within each of these were groups

( $n = 5$ ) balanced by sex. The language samples were portions of an interview in the child's home conducted by a trained fieldworker who had attempted to elicit continuous speech on a variety of topics. Those included in our earlier studies were: *Games* ("What kinds of games do you play around here?"), *TV* ("What are your favorite TV programs?"), and *Aspirations* ("What do you want to be when you finish school?").

In the course of analyzing the foregoing samples, the samples on the television topic consistently revealed major social class differences, and these differences generally prevailed across the subsamples of race and sex. For example: (1) Although the H.S. children had longer average messages on a topic (mean = 311 words) than did the L.S. children (235 words), this difference was mainly due to a substantial discrepancy on the TV topic (where the means were 401 and 183, respectively). (2) On the average, the fieldworkers used more interview probes, and more which were directed at getting the child to respond in a narrative fashion, in their interactions with the L.S. children than with the H.S. children.<sup>9</sup> (3) In the grammatical comparisons of the L.S. and H.S. children's responses on the TV topic, there was less syntactic elaboration, more grammatical fragments, and more of a tendency to speak in the first person in the L.S. samples.

On a more subjective level, these findings kept pointing to the interpretation that the language differences were more a reflection of differences in what the children had to say about television, than being simply speech differences *per se*. The L.S. child typically seemed less eager to elaborate upon what he had seen in a particular program, whereas the H.S. child seemed willing and often eager to engage in "telling-the-story" of a particular program. To gain a more objective view of these considerations, the content analyses, next described, were undertaken.

### Selected Analyses of Content

The children's transcripts on the television topic were reexamined and the following data recorded:

1. *Programs mentioned.* Any program mentioned was noted and identified as being found in the transcripts of one of the eight subgroups of children—e.g., L.S.-Negro-male; H.S.-white-female, etc.

2. *Programs discussed.* As a part of the interview schedule, the fieldworker always had tried to prompt the child into describing one of the programs that had been mentioned. When a child had responded with a description, it was found that most remarks would fit into one of two categories: (1) the report of an isolated episode, a fragment of what occurred during a program, or (2) a brief or extended narrative, that is, a "telling-of-the-story" (or part of it). Lists of the programs described were developed, and the remarks were classified according to the above two categories.

3. *Remarks content.* Finally, some attempt was made to classify *what* the children had discussed. That is, given a report or narrative, what were the referends of their remarks?

#### PROGRAMS MENTIONED

Altogether, the names of 53 different programs were found mentioned on the transcripts. This number of different programs was within a total of 105 instances of program mentioning, and was the first evidence of far more diversity in the programs mentioned than was anticipated from impressions gained during the earlier analyses. If there was any concentration upon certain programs, it was mostly upon *Batman*, which 10 children mentioned, and *The Man from U.N.C.L.E.*, which nine mentioned. Following these programs in frequency of mention were *Bewitched* (six children), a cartoon show (five), and *Honey West* (five). Beyond these, the following were each mentioned by three children: *Double Life of Henry Fife*, *Voyage to the Bottom of the Sea*, *Gunsmoke*, *Jesse James*, *Peyton Place*, and *Lost in Space*. Ten additional programs were mentioned each by two children, and the remaining 32 programs were mentioned only once.<sup>10</sup>

In examining which programs tended to be mentioned by children in the different subgroups, little concentration was found of particular programs being mentioned by particular subgroups. The only major exceptions to this were that three of five L.S.-white-male children mentioned *Batman*, and three of five H.S.-Negro-female children mentioned *Lost in Space*. In addition to comparing lists of programs by the subgroups of children, it was also possible to develop frequency counts of the number of programs that each subgroup had in common

with each of the other seven subgroups. An examination of these counts revealed no salient pattern of overlap in programs mentioned by combinations of the different (admittedly small) subgroups according to sex, status, or race.<sup>11</sup> In short, then, the diversity of programs mentioned extended across the different subgroups of the children.

Diversity of programs mentioned was also examined *within* subgroups of children by use of an index constructed along the lines of a type-token ratio—the number of different programs mentioned, divided by the number of all programs mentioned. The results indicated that there was a marked diversity of programs mentioned *within* subgroups that paralleled the diversity found across such groups. In two of the subgroups, H.S.-white-females and H.S.-Negro-males, the index was 1.00, indicating that every program mentioned was a different one. The least diversity, by contrast, was for the L.S.-white-male group (.72) and the H.S.-white-male group (.73). The remaining figures were: L.S.-white-female, .77; L.S.-white-male, .79; H.S.-Negro-female, .76; L.S.-Negro-female, .90. Again, no consistent pattern by status, race, or sex was evident.

#### PROGRAMS DISCUSSED

As mentioned earlier, the children's responses to the fieldworkers' requests for descriptions generally fell into two categories—the report of isolated episodes, and the narration of the "story-line." It should be noted that other types of less frequent remarks remained uncoded here, such as comments upon liking a particular program, asking questions of the fieldworker, and the like.

Of the 40 children, 33 had provided a major segment which could be classified into one of the two response categories.<sup>12</sup> The frequencies in these two categories differed substantially according to the status variable, a finding generally expected upon the basis of the earlier linguistic analyses. Here it was found that in the H.S. group, 15 children had provided narratives, as against only one who had given a report of an isolated episode. In the L.S. group, by contrast, 11 children had given reports of isolated episodes, and six had provided narratives. Again, a diversity of programs was found both within and among the different subgroups, save for some concentration upon

*The Man from U.N.C.L.E.* in the H.S. children's narratives, and *Batman* in the L.S. children's reports of isolated episodes. These results may be summarized as follows:

H.S. group, isolated episodes: *Combat*.

H.S. group, narratives: *The Man from U.N.C.L.E.* (three children), *Lost in Space* (two), *Double Life of Henry Fife*, *Smothers Brothers*, *Gidget*, *Flintstones*, *Jerry Lewis*, *Flash Gordon*, *Bozo*, *Patty Duke*, *I Spy*, *Dating Game*.

L.S. group, isolated episodes: *Batman* (four), *The Man from U.N.C.L.E.* (two), *Gunsmoke* (two), *Honey West*, *Jesse James*, *Dennis the Menace*.

L.S. group, narratives: *Gunsmoke*, *Lucy*, *Batman*, *Bewitched*, *evening movie*, *Peyton Place*.

#### CONTENT OF REMARKS

Although there were different programs being described by the children, the question was raised whether *what* they described differed according to the status groups. From notes and examples compiled on the descriptive passages, the following generalizations were developed.

The mark of the isolated episodes was that without exception they were descriptions of what might be called the "high points" in action sequences—ones which presumably had a major *visual* emphasis. Of the 12, eight could easily be classified as violence, based upon instances of shooting, hitting, or threatening. Even one of the "non-violent" four (*Dennis the Menace*) was an instance of a man being bitten by a dog. The remaining three were descriptions of people in particular programs. The best label for these descriptions would be *reports*, as if the child were telling what he saw on the screen, but without much, if any, interpretation of what he *saw*, and even less of what he heard. Here, for example, is part of the verbatim interaction sequence between a child (C) and the fieldworker (F), one which was classified as the description of an isolated episode.

F: Could you tell me about one real interesting time when you saw *Jesse James*?

C: Uh huh.

F: Well, what happened?

C: See this, that other time they was on, um, they was, um, they was on a night camp and some other man came and they was going to whip Jesse with a whip and didn't. Jesse got loose. His brother Frank came out there and helped him. He got loosed and he went on fightin' and killin' them, them other men.

In the 21 narrative segments, the typical description was either the story line alone of a particular program, or the story line coupled with the description of some of the details from a part of the story. Sometimes the latter was done in reverse—that is, the child mentioned some details of an action, then went on to explain it in terms of the context of the story. Such details, like the isolated episodes, were often centered upon high points in an action sequence (eight of the 15 narratives in the H.S. samples, and four of the six in the L.S. samples), and these in turn sometimes centered upon violence (six in the H.S. sample, three in the L.S. sample). An example of the description of a program theme is as follows:

F: Can you describe one of those programs to me?

C: Well, um, *The Dating Game*, I mean, there was a girl who sits like on one side of the screen or something and then there's three men sitting in these chairs. And then she'll ask 'em questions, and then after she's all through asking them questions, she'll pick one person to like, um, to go out on a date with him, a couple nights in a row or something and, and then, um, whatever one she picked would go on a date with her and then the other two men, um, the man would tell 'em what their names are. That was about all.

The following provides an example of a description that had lapsed into story-telling:

F: Oh, I see. Um, what happened?

C: Um, they, they had Illya and this other girl and they put 'em in this room and this man said, "If you don't tell me where the, a, ventilating system is to the main U.N.C.L.E. headquarters were, where a, a, a, Waverly was," and he was the head of all, this was the biggest headquarters, I guess, I guess, and, um so he wouldn't, so they turned on this machine and he said, "In three minutes your eardrums will be shattered," and then. . . .

In contrast with the isolated episodes, the content of the narrative sequences was far more dependent upon what had been verbally presented in a program. In most examples it would have been difficult, if not impossible, for the child to develop the descriptions he did,

were he not reacting to, and interpreting what was *said* in the context of the program. The visual aspect was still presumably important, but the narrative sequences reached to his experiences on the verbal level.

### Discussion

As stated at the outset, the specific aim in the present analyses was to determine whether social class distinctions in the children's language samples on the television topic could be better interpreted if some analyses of content were also taken into account. To be sure, the diversity of programs mentioned and described by the children underscored the point that they were often talking about different programs, and it raised the question of whether this is what had led to the language differences found between the two status groups. The interpretation here, however, was that although the children had talked about different programs, the remarks were often about the same type of program and more often about the same type of event—action. In short, the reasoning was that the language differences could not be attributed solely to the program differences.

Another alternative explanation which could not be totally discounted was that the status differences in the language sample were due more to the circumstances of cross-class interviewing than to the perception and response to the television programs. Perhaps, as Strauss and Schatzman have discussed, the lower class respondents were simply reticent and somewhat ill-equipped to discuss topics with the middle class (and highly educated) interviewers.<sup>13</sup> The major counterargument to this alternative is that the directors of the original field study had been aware of this problem and had attempted to avoid it in every way possible. The interviews were conducted in the child's home; a considerable warm-up period preceded the taping sessions; the interviewers were supposedly well trained in dealing with children. Also, it could be argued that there is little evidence from the language samples of any child being extremely uneasy, uncooperative, or balking in the interviews. However, the greater number of probes used with the L.S. children may have been evidence of cross-class difficulty in the interviews.

The interpretation which ties in most directly with the theoretical issues being researched in the project is that the L.S. and H.S. children were attending differently to what was presented in the tele-

vision programs. A further part of this interpretation is the explanation that such differences can be attributed to language differences between the two groups of children. Current research and theory seem to point increasingly to the finding that the family structures of the lower socioeconomic classes emphasize styles of language that are tied to the here-and-now, the concrete, and the practical.<sup>14</sup> Such language styles are reflected in speech which is within the contexts of activity—as when a mother talks to her child only when she wants him to *do* something (rather than to *think* something). Speech typically specifies an action, as when a child is told to “shut up,” rather than being told *why* he should do so. Finally, where physical action can replace or supplement speech, this course is typically taken in such families, as when a spanking takes the place of a “talking to,” or when invective accompanies the spanking.

It would seem misleading to contrast middle class families totally with the above picture, since speech of the foregoing type takes place within their structures also. The realistic contrast seems to be that the middle class family tends to employ additional language styles, ones outside of the context of direct activity tied to actions (as in storytelling, conversations about past or future activities, the activities of others, etc.), and ones where reason is communicated relative to action (as in telling a child *why* he should be quiet). These types of speech not only teach a child a variety of language styles, but the topics of discourse are a child's introduction to abstract concepts. These are concepts that a child can learn only on a symbolic level, since that is the only level at which they exist.

On the assumption that young children will attend and respond most to stimulation on the levels typically exercised in their family environment, one can hypothesize that children from the two stereotyped environments just described would react differently to a given television program, say of the *Batman* or *Man from U.N.C.L.E.* type. Here the lower status child would be more attuned to the concrete, the direct verbal and physical action level of a program. The higher status child, by contrast, would be capable of responding both to the concrete and to the more abstract—the *verbal*—levels of a program. It is on this higher level that the visual and concrete components of the programs may be combined by the verbal components into the “reason” for the action, or the “story-line” of the program. Obviously,

there are great hazards in such speculation, since programs must certainly vary in their relative emphasis upon the visual and verbal; and, there may, of course, be vast individual differences among children within particular social strata in terms of their predisposition to respond to these levels. Nevertheless, this is a line of speculation which can be amplified by appeal to current theory, and it is one which can serve as a basis for generating in a relatively specific manner some questions about the mass media and the disadvantaged.

A major theoretical question is this: If the distinctive language habits of the lower socioeconomic classes serve in the socialization of children in those classes, then what is the potential for the language of the mass media to counter this effect? Based upon what sketchy evidence now exists, television seems to have no significant effect upon the lower class child's learning of varying styles of language and, in particular, his learning of the more-or-less standardized English which is heard in television programs.<sup>15</sup> For that matter, the evidence is of little aid, either, in providing us with insight about the effects of television upon the language development of the higher status child.

To concentrate for now upon the disadvantaged, perhaps the lower class child is caught in a vicious circle: His language style serves as a barrier to gaining higher, or at least, different, levels of verbal (and conceptual) experience from television. Perhaps because of the availability of attention-serving materials on the visual and concrete-verbal level, television may even reinforce the child's restricted language style. Certainly, too, this line of speculation, when considered relative to the mass-taste criterion in U.S. television programming, could define a vicious circle encompassing more than merely the disadvantaged child.<sup>16</sup>

It seems conceptually sound to postulate a linkage between the potential of television to provide linguistic stimulation and the potential for children to internalize such stimulation as a contribution to their linguistic development. One aspect of the research problem is, of course, the nature of the stimulation—whether language examples are directly in the program, whether the program stimulates language activities among its viewers (say, between parent and child), or both. There are also the practical considerations of different manipulations

of such stimulation in commercial, educational, and instructional television programming. Such practical considerations as well as the line of reasoning stated earlier, raise some intriguing questions about the possible use of radio for language stimulation. With radio, of course, there is a focus upon the verbal mode.

The other necessary focus for research is upon the child himself—what level of language capability may be necessary to “open the gate” for new stimulation, and what experiences might have to accompany television stimulation in order for the child to benefit developmentally? It must be recognized, however, that such considerations only begin to touch upon the gaps which exist between the “cultures” portrayed on television programs and the “culture” of the viewer-child. For example, of what immediate relevance to the black child or the Indian child is the white, middle class, (reasonably) standard English that is spoken by people so unlike himself and in situations so unlike any that he ever experiences?<sup>17</sup>

The magnitude of the theoretical and practical aspects of this problem area may seem forbidding, but they are far more specific and researchable than those typically raised about the effects of television upon children in general, or the use of television with the disadvantaged in particular.

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#### Footnotes

<sup>1</sup> The research reported here was supported by funds granted to the Institute for Research on Poverty at the University of Wisconsin by the Office of Economic Opportunity pursuant to the provisions of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. The conclusions are the sole responsibility of the author. I am indebted especially to my research assistant, John Jason, for his work on this project.

<sup>2</sup> One must recognize that the term “disadvantaged” has several unfortunate connotations. Its most exact (and least offensive) use refers to a discrepancy between the demands placed upon a child (usually by the school system) and his capabilities in meeting these demands. The discrepancy may be explained relative to a number of combination of factors, such as subcultural differences, conditions which lead to lags in overall development, or the nature of the demands themselves. Some of the major aspects of our present research program are described in: Frederick Williams and Rita C. Naremore, “On the Functional Analyses of Social Class Differences in Modes of Speech,” *Speech Monographs* (in press); Frederick Williams and Rita C. Naremore, “Social Class Differences in Children’s Syntactic Performance: A Quantitative Analysis of Field Study Data,” *Journal of Speech and Hearing* (in press); Frederick

Williams and Barbara S. Wood, "Negro Children's Speech: Some Social Class Differences in Word Predictability," *Language and Speech* (in press). The different issues associated with the topic of language and poverty are reviewed in the forthcoming publication, *Language and Poverty: Perspectives on a Theme*, Frederick Williams (ed.), Chicago: Markham.

<sup>3</sup> For an overview of this thesis, see: "Elaborated and Restricted Codes: Their Social Origins and Some Consequences." In J. Gumperz and D. Hymes (eds.), *The Ethnography of Communication, American Anthropologist Special Publication*, 66, Part 2, 55-69; reprinted in A. G. Smith (ed.), *Communication and Culture*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1966, pp. 427-441. See also: "A Socio-linguistic Approach to Socialization: with Some Reference to Educability" (mimeo).

<sup>4</sup> See, for example: Robert Hess and Virginia Shipman, "Maternal Influences upon Early Learning." In Robert Hess and Roberta Baer (eds.), *Early Education*. Chicago: Aldine Press, 1968, pp. 91-103.

<sup>5</sup> Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1966.

<sup>6</sup> This research, known as the Detroit Dialect Study, is reported in: Roger Shuy, W. A. Wolfram, and W. K. Riley, "Linguistic Correlates of Social Stratification in Detroit Speech," Cooperative Research project No. 6-1347, Michigan State University, East Lansing, 1967 (mimeo).

<sup>7</sup> Williams and Naremore, "On the Functional Analysis of Social Class Differences in Modes of Speech" and "Social Class Differences in Children's Syntactic Performance: A Quantitative Analysis of Field Study Data." (See footnote 2).

<sup>8</sup> Their tape identification numbers are reported in Williams and Naremore, "On the Functional Analysis of Social Class Differences in Modes of Speech." By using these numbers, one may return to the original study (Shuy, *et al.*, *op cit.*) and obtain various types of information on each child. The socio-economic index, a modification of the Hollingshead ratio, was a weighted combination of parental education, income, and residential factors.

<sup>9</sup> This was a mean of 12.3 probes with the L.S. children, as against 9.85 with the H.S. children. In the functional analyses, the child's remarks were classified relative to whether the fieldworker's remarks could be answered with a simple "yes" or "no" (as in the question: "Do you watch TV?"), with simple naming ("What programs do you watch?"), or required narration ("What happened on that program?"). There were more fieldworker probes of the latter type in the interactions between the fieldworkers and the L.S. children on the TV topic, than with the H.S. children. See Williams and Naremore, "On the Functional Analysis of Social Class Differences in Modes of Speech," for further details.

<sup>10</sup> Mentioned by two children were: *Twelve O'Clock High, Combat, Johnny Ginger, Movies, Gidget, Lucy, Shenandoah, Dennis the Menace, I Spy, and the Beverly Hillbillies*. Mentioned once were: *Wild Wild West, Sports, McHale's Navy, F-troop, Mr. Ed, Soupy Sales, Wyatt Earp, Smothers Brothers, Three Stooges, Please Don't Eat the Daisies, Dating Game, Supermarket Sweep, Match Game, Addams Family, Zorro, Jerry Lewis, Mr. Roberts, Mr. Foster, Flash Gordon, My Three Sons, Bozo, Bill Kennedy, Hawkeye, Big Valley, Detectives, Arrest and Trial, Patty Duke Show, Gilligan's Island, American Bandstand, Swingin' Time, Cartoons, and I Dream of Jeannie*.

<sup>11</sup> H.S. and L.S. children mentioned 41 programs in common; males and females, 36; Negroes and whites, 37. These sums were quite similar, but did indicate that differences in the programs mentioned were slightly in line with

an earlier impression that the least differences were according to the status variable.

<sup>12</sup> The 33 descriptions were from individual children, thus leaving seven children whose remarks did not fit into the present categories of interest to us. In the transcripts of five of these children (one L.S., two H.S.), the interaction between the child and the fieldworker never got to the point of any substantial focus on a single program; in three transcripts (one L.S., two H.S.) the conversation strayed to a topic other than television, and in one (L.S.), the child's responses were only to name a few programs.

<sup>13</sup> A. Strauss and L. Schatzman, "Cross-class Interviewing: An Analysis of Interaction and Communicative Styles," *Human Organization*, 14, 28-31, 1955.

<sup>14</sup> These generalizations are based mainly upon the work of Bernstein (esp., "A Socio-linguistic Approach to Socialization") and Hess and Shipman (*op cit.*).

<sup>15</sup> Although there is a burgeoning amount of research literature on children and television, very little of this literature includes a specific focus upon language, and still less incorporates a sufficiently sophisticated treatment of language to be of much value to researchers. Some such literature and pertinent bibliographies can be found in Neil Postman, *et al.*, *Television and the Teaching of English*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1961; Arthur A. Lumsdaine and Mark A. May, "Mass Communication and Educational Media," *Annual Review of Psychology*, Vol. 16 (1965); Henry R. Cassirer, "Television for the Pre-School Child," *The UNESCO Courier*, Nov., 1966, pp. 4-11. For a description of a current project see Stuart W. Little, "Children's Television Workshop," *Saturday Review*, Feb. 8, 1969, pp. 60-62.

<sup>16</sup> It should be noted in the context of this discussion that the Kerner report (*Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*. New York: Bantam Books, 1968) makes some very direct references to the saturation of television sets in the Negro ghetto; see especially p. 376.

<sup>17</sup> This point stimulated substantial discussion among a group of Negro elementary-school teachers (mostly from the Chicago inner-city area) who heard an oral presentation of this paper in the Fall of 1968. A new television program, *Julia*, which features the story of a young Negro widow and her child, was discussed with mixed emotions. On the one hand, some thought it good to see the "system" change enough so that such a program was now on. But on the other hand, so much of Julia's circumstances and life-style was seen as "white" that many argued that the program was another example—both in its existence as a program as well as in the plot of the program itself—of how much of the black identity must be put aside in order to be acceptable to white America. Although there were mixed opinions, there was some consensus that men such as Sammy Davis Jr. or Bill Cosby, who are often seen on television, were counterexamples in that they had "made it" yet were still "black." Moreover, such persons often provided examples of dialect shifting which were favorably perceived by young Negro children. I mention this discussion since it stresses the apparent and probably overwhelming insensitivity that some television programming conveys to the black community, not to mention the paucity of scholarly activity in this vital area.

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### Due to Circumstances . . .

beyond our immediate control, we were forced to raise subscription prices for the JOURNAL OF BROADCASTING last year. This was the first such increase in seven years.

However, much more enthusiastically, we were also able to expand the number of pages in each issue of the JOURNAL. Effective with the Summer 1968 issue, we have been publishing 16 extra pages in each issue. This increase will enable us to publish more articles, as well as lengthy bibliographies and other reference materials and to reduce the lag between acceptance and publication.

The increase in subscription rates was voted reluctantly by the APBE Board of Directors a year ago. In addition to the positive side of the increase, the additional pages, the Board also had to consider the negative side: inflation (up 5% last year), postage (first class mail was only 4¢ back in 1961) and printing bills (our printing budget has doubled over the past seven years). In light of these factors, there was little to do but raise prices. Because of the nearly-prohibitive cost of reprinting back issues that have been going out of stock, it will be necessary to raise their price as well.

The new rates are:	<u>Regular</u>	<u>Student</u>
Annual subscription . . . . .	\$8.00	\$4.00
Single copies, current issue . . . . .	2.50	2.00
Back issues, complete volumes (four consecutive issues) . . . . .	8.00	6.50
Back issues, single copies . . . . .	2.50	2.00

All back issues either are in stock or in the process of being reprinted. In case you wish only a copy of a particular article, it may be that we have an offprint in stock. These may be had for 2½¢ per page, plus 10¢ for each order (check or stamps to accompany order, please). Copies of the 7-year topic and author index cost 25¢, postpaid. Please write for special prices on multiple copies.

In addition, arrangements have been made to supply a microfilm edition of the JOURNAL OF BROADCASTING to those librarians and others wishing to store the JOURNAL in this form. Please write directly to University Microfilms (Ann Arbor, Michigan 48107) for exact prices, shipping and other information.

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ALAN D. FLETCHER

# Negro and White Children's Television Program Preferences

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*A 1965 JOURNAL article by James W. Carey, "Variations in Negro/White Television Preferences," aroused considerable discussion when it appeared. The following article is on a similar topic, using a different sample. Alan D. Fletcher earned his Ph.D. in Communication at the University of Illinois; this article is based on a section of his dissertation. He presently is associate professor of marketing at Illinois State University, Normal, Illinois.*

**D**IFFERENCES between Negro and white television viewing preferences are great. Carey found a correlation coefficient of only .50 in his study of Negro and white preferences in adult audiences and concluded that cultural differences must play a major role in determining program preferences.<sup>1</sup> But differences between preferences among Negro and white children appear to be even greater than among adults. The correlation in this study is considerably lower than that of Carey—.20—and it is not statistically greater than zero at the .05 level of confidence. Although this study was not conducted for the sole purpose of making comparisons with Carey's study, it does show some interesting results that one can compare.

The hypothesis here was that among youngsters, race is a significant factor in the determination of viewing behavior. Negro youth have their own program preferences. Of the 461 young people who participated in this study, 214 were whites and 247 Negroes. They attended grades six through twelve in the public schools of Athens, Georgia, a city of approximately 40,000 population. Using printed program

rosters administered in the classroom the students recorded their actual viewing selections for a seven day period.

Spearman's Rank Order correlation was used to test the similarities between selections of certain groups. Negro-white correlations were run for the following variables: total sample, sex, grade in school, number of children in family, sex of household head, education of household head, marital status of household head, and occupation of household head. Probably the most important condition revealed in data on actual viewing preferences is that the young audience is composed of a great many separate groups; the audience is a highly diverse one with rather specialized interests in programs. Hardly any of the comparisons revealed congruence, whether between the two races or within either race.

### Negro-White Comparisons

Significantly, Negro children and white children do not watch the same programs—at least not in like degree. In a Spearman Rank Order correlation of Negro and white preferences among the 75 most heavily viewed programs, the coefficient of correlation was .20, not statistically greater than zero at the .05 level of confidence. Table I shows the 75 programs with the largest audiences, with the list in descending order of popularity for Negroes and corresponding rankings by whites. The table includes the total sample for each race (214 whites and 247 Negroes).

The two columns of rankings show hardly any similarities. Among the few common preferences is the liking for situation comedy. In the Negro list, these programs accounted for five of the top 10 programs; in the white list, they numbered six of the top 11.<sup>2</sup> However, children of the two races shared only two preferences in common—*Petticoat Junction* and *Andy Griffith*.

One feature of the Negro ranking which stands out is the strong preference for programs in which the central character, or one of the central characters, is without a mate. The plots of the first four programs plus *My Three Sons* and *Family Affair* all contain a central figure who has been widowed or, as in the case of *Family Affair*, is an uncle substituting as father for three children who apparently have been orphaned.

**TABLE I**  
**Rank-Order Correlation of Negro and**  
**White Program Preferences**

Program	Rank		Program	Rank	
	Negro	White		Negro	White
Petticoat Junction	1	5	Dundee and the		
Lucy Show	2	36	Culhane	39	75
Andy Griffith	3	8	Falcon Football	40.5	25.5
Bonanza	4	15	Moby Dick	40.5	60.5
Daktari	5	41	Wed. Movie: <i>Where</i>		
My Three Sons	6	17	<i>Love Has Gone</i>	42	69
Space Ghost	7	31.5	Jackie Gleason	43	43
Beverly Hillbillies	8	13	Gomer Pyle	44.5	16
Mannix	9	46	Three Stooges	44.5	55
Mission Impossible	10	49	Cinema '68:		
Gunsmoke	11.5	63	<i>Julius Caesar</i>	46	42
Red Skelton	11.5	22.5	Live Wrestling	47	73.5
Bewitched	13	10.5	Cartoon Show	48	57
Family Affair	14.5	22.5	Panorama News	49	72
Shazzam	14.5	10.5	My Favorite Martian	50.5	62
Fri. Movie:			Batman	50.5	44
<i>McClintock</i>	16	4	Frankenstein	52	64.5
Hogan's Heroes	17.5	6	Custer	53	68
That Girl	17.5	21	Get Smart	54	10.5
Green Acres	19	33	The Virginian	55	55
Mr. Ed	20	18	FBI	56	70
Gilligan's Island	21	12	Giants vs. Vikings	57	29
Road Runner	22.5	25.5	Lone Ranger	58	51
Herculeoids	22.5	47	Mothers-in-Law	59	2
Johnny Quest	24.5	24	Ed Sullivan	60	53
Flying Nun	24.5	19.5	Popeye Club	61	66
Big Valley	26	73.5	Gentle Ben	62	67
Voyage to Bottom			Daniel Boone	63	27.5
of Sea	27	37	Man from U.N.C.L.E.	64.5	14
Thurs. Movie:			Carol Burnett	64.5	52
<i>7th Dawn</i>	28	59	Star Trek	66	9
He and She	29	64.5	Falcon Faces	67	58
Maya	30	1	Sat. Movie: <i>Marnie</i>	68	40
Good Morning World	31	34.5	Walt Disney	69.5	3
Cimmaron Strip	32	60.5	Smothers Brothers	69.5	7
Second Hundred Years	33	31.5	Dragnet 1968	71	19.5
Peyton Place	34	71	Georgia Football		
Outer Limits	35	55	Review	72	27.5
Superman/Aquaman	36	48	Ironside	73	45
Invaders	37	50	I Dream of Jeannie	74	34.5
Truth or Consequences	38	39	LSU vs. Mississippi	75	30

$r' = .20$ . Not significant at .05 level.

With Negroes as well as whites, preference for programs featuring crime and violence appears light; only *Bonanza*, which often centers on family problems rather than crime, *Mannix* and *Mission Impossible* are in the top 10 for the Negroes in this sample. *Gunsmoke* is number 11, and *Big Valley*, number 26, is the next such program on the list. Among white children's preferences for violence, only *Star Trek* is in the top 10; other such programs favored are *Man from U.N.C.L.E.*, *Bonanza* and *Dragnet 1968*. Farther down the list, *Daniel Boone* is ranked 27.5.

The lack of numerous similarities in the two columns of rankings is a condition which one might not expect. In the previously mentioned study by Carey,<sup>3</sup> the correlation coefficient for the comparison of the Negro and white samples was .50. That study, of course, dealt with a national sample of adults, not a local sample of children. Nevertheless, one might expect some similarities in television program preferences of Negro and white children. After all, these children are in the same grades in school; they live in the same city; they have access to the same television signals. The differences in viewing behavior are so vast that cultural factors are believed to be of major proportions.

As Carey noted, common taste itself could account for some similarities. In his study, he found great agreement on what was thought *not* good on television—*The Jimmy Dean Show*, for example. Yet there seems to be no evidence that in this study common taste exerts much influence. Programs that score high with Negro children are likely to score very poorly with white children. *Walt Disney*, which was ranked third by whites, was ranked only 69.5 by Negroes. And *Smothers Brothers*, which was number seven for whites, was also 69.5 for Negroes. The top program for whites, *Maya*, was ranked 30 by Negroes.

The low correlation coefficient shown in Table I is indicative of conditions that exist in further comparisons of program preferences. Of 21 Negro-white correlations based on the previously mentioned variables, only seven are large enough to be statistically greater than zero. And where the correlation is significant the value is very low.

Table II shows the coefficients of correlation that result when the viewing preferences of the two demographic groups indicated are compared. A quick glance reveals the great diversity of program

preferences that exists from one group to another. These low and generally insignificant coefficients of correlation show the nearly complete lack of similarity between groups for which similarities might initially seem obvious. The table includes all the Negro-white comparisons remaining.

**TABLE II**  
**Negro and White Rankings Correlated on**  
**Basis of Thirteen Variables**

Variable	Negro-White Coefficient of Correlation
Male	.26*
Female	.39*
Grades 6-8	.42*
Grades 9-10	.16
Grades 11-12	.02
1 child in family	.03
2-4 children in family	.33*
5 or more children in family	.12
Head of household is male	.18
Head of household is female	.21
Head of household has 1-7 years education	.10
Head of household has 8-12 years education	.31*
Head of household has more than 12 years education	.12
Head of household married or widowed	.19
Head of household divorced or separated	.21
Occupation of head of household:	
professional, technical, managerial	.17
clerical, sales	.29*
operative	.09
service, including private	.19
farm, laborer, military	.06
unemployed, unclassified	.24*

\* Statistically significantly greater than zero at the .05 level of confidence.

### Intraracial Comparisons

Although the emphasis in this paper is on racial similarities and differences, certain correlations between two groups of one race may be worthwhile as reference points. Although differences within each of the races were definite, low but significant coefficients of correlation

did appear frequently. Table III shows that similarities within each race are much more prevalent than between the races. These similarities notwithstanding, the data bear out the earlier contention that the young audience is constituted of numerous smaller groups, each with its own special interests in television viewing fare.

Explanation of differences in program preference is especially difficult since the data exhibit no clear pattern. One tentative explanation for the vast difference in viewing preferences is that among members of the young audience, peer group influence exists primarily, possibly only, in the individual member's own race. Because the students in this sample are not integrated to any great extent in their classes, the influence of one race upon the other probably cannot develop through the school system. This condition may account for some of the divergence in preferences. Perhaps, with more extensive integration in schools in the future, the intermingling of the races will result in viewing patterns that are more nearly alike than they are at the present time.

The randomlike ordering of preferences by different groups seems to preclude making further generalizations. However, a comparison of the data with those of Carey may prove fruitful, since he, too, found little similarity between the television program preferences of Negroes and whites in the adult audience. Although in Carey's study the coefficient of correlation was statistically significant, it was not high. And he concluded, therefore, that other factors must play a part in the determination of viewing preferences. Since the coefficient of correlation in this study is only .20, perhaps the cultural factors are even more important in a young audience than in an adult audience, where members of the audience have, to some extent, a chance to become members of the total society rather than of just a segment of it.

Present findings also verify Carey's contention that merely holding certain demographic variables constant would not be a satisfactory way of explaining the differences between the Negro and white audience behavior. One can easily see that holding demographic variables constant does not explain the variability. Although one might think that a given group in one race might more closely resemble the corresponding group in the other race than others in the same race, such a relationship does not appear here. For example, the child whose

**TABLE III**  
**Correlations of Rankings Between Groups of Each Race**

Correlated Variables	Coefficients of Correlation	
	Negro	White
Male-Female†	.30*	.43*
Grades 6-8—9-10	.69*	.52*
Grades 9-10—11-12	.71*	.62*
1 child in family—2-4 children	.67*	.62*
2-4 children in family—5 or more children	.77*	.58*
Head of household: male-female	.82*	.47*
Head of household: 1-7 years education— 8-12 years	.63*	.43*
Head of household: 8-12 years education— more than 12 years	.52*	.61*
Head of household: married or widowed— divorced, separated	.80*	.34*
Occupation of head of household:		
professional, technical, managerial— clerical, sales	-.14	.63*
clerical, sales—operative	-.09	.42*
operative—service	.67*	.43*
service—farm, laborer	.66*	.23*
farm, laborer—unemployed, unclassified	.46*	.32*

\* Statistically Significant at the .05 Level of Confidence.

† Read: Coefficient of correlation between white males and white females is .43.

parent is among the lower occupational categories appears to resemble more closely the members of the next higher and lower categories in his own race than his counterpart in the other race. For reasons unexplained here, the young Negro and the young white in Athens, Georgia, just do not have great common taste in programs. The relationship holds true almost without exception.

Although much of the data agree with some of Carey's hypotheses, other data do not correspond. The problem of trying to generalize is that Carey's data were for an adult sample. His study revealed strong preferences, among Negroes, for programs that contained crime and violence; however, such a finding did not appear here. The young audience in this study preferred situation comedy over crime and violence.

In summary, it seems safe to say that the racial factor is an important one in the selection of television viewing fare. In this localized study it resulted in wide differences in choices of viewing matter.

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### Footnotes

<sup>1</sup> James W. Carey, "Variations in Negro/White Television Preferences," *JOURNAL OF BROADCASTING*, 10:3 (Summer, 1965), 199-211.

<sup>2</sup> Two programs tied for 10th place: *Petticoat Junction* and *Get Smart*.

<sup>3</sup> Carey, *op. cit.*

### Whatever happened to . . .

so-and-so? Would anyone else be interested in this teaching technique? Does this small-scale research on broadcasting education match the results found by others? Will anybody want a copy of this pamphlet or report?

The answers to this sort of question rarely are to be found in the *JOURNAL OF BROADCASTING* which, due to its nature as a printed permanent reference quarterly, isn't intended to handle ephemeral material of this sort—however valuable or however interesting it may be.

Since the answers *are* valuable and interesting, the Association for Professional Broadcasting Education also publishes *Feedback*, a multilithed newsletter, four to six times a year. Any Individual Member of APBE (see p. 396) automatically receives *Feedback* as part of his membership, as do the representatives of Institutional Members.

If you have any matters of the "news and notes" variety, or wish to supply teachers of broadcasting with information of particular interest to them, or want to get into a discussion or argument on a current topic without having to wait for the *JOURNAL*'s slower publication schedule, then send your material to: Dr. John H. Pennybacker, Editor, *Feedback*, Department of Speech, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70803. Materials of more enduring interest should, of course, still be sent to the *JOURNAL OF BROADCASTING* at Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19122.

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JOHN W. SLATER and MAXWELL E. McCOMBS

# Some Aspects of Broadcast News Coverage and Riot Participation

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*This study, based upon research conducted after the Detroit riots, indicates that age, not source of news, is the key correlate of riot participation. John Slater is a graduate student in mass communications research and Maxwell McCombs is associate professor in the School of Journalism at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.*

**P**UBLIC opinion has been quick to blame the broadcast media, and particularly television, for contributing to riots and large-scale disturbances. "Since Watts, television stations have learned that . . . overdramatic coverage attracts more rioters to the scene."<sup>1</sup> Because of this many stations have subscribed to some form of voluntary censorship or delayed transmission of riot news. In 1967, "Detroit stations purposely kept their crews away during the early stages of the riot, honoring the concern of the state's Civil Rights Commission that coverage would only draw potential rioters into the fray."<sup>2</sup>

Further information bearing on this subject is available in a survey conducted by the *Detroit Free Press*<sup>3</sup> in the weeks following the Detroit riots in July, 1967. The *Free Press* survey used a random sample of residents of areas where rioting had occurred. All the respondents were Negroes, as were all the interviewers. Sample size for that portion of the survey which was used for this secondary analysis was 360. When asked "How did you first hear about the riot?" 50% of the respondents said they heard about it from friends

**TABLE I**  
**Riot Participation by Source of News and Age**

	Active	Inactive	N <sup>4</sup>
Personally Saw or Heard	22.9%	77.1%	48
Told by Someone Else	16.4%	83.6%	128
Learned from Radio, TV	14.1%	85.9%	78
	Active	Inactive	N
Age 15-24	35.6%	64.4%	90
Age 25-35	15.3%	84.7%	59
Age 36-50	8.2%	91.8%	97
Age 50	5.3%	94.7%	75

or family members. Another 30% got the news from radio or TV, while 19% learned of the riot by seeing or hearing it for themselves.

Analysis of the relationship between how people learned of the riot and their participation in it (Table I) shows a monotonic decline in percentages of participants from those who saw or heard the riot, through those who were told by someone else, to those who learned from radio and television. This decline suggests a relationship between learning method and participation, but the results could well be due to chance ( $X^2 = 1.69$ , 2 df,  $p < .50$ ). The breakdown of participation by age, also shown in Table I, does exhibit a significant monotonic, inverse relationship with participation ( $X^2 = 35.35$ , 3 df,  $p < .001$ ). Young people age 15 to 24 are most likely to participate and participation declines steadily with increasing age.

The next step in the analysis was examination of the joint effect of age and mode of learning on riot participation. In Table II the effect of age is still obvious, but the suggested effect of mode of learning holds only for older respondents. Overall, the combined effect of age and mode of learning on participation is significant ( $X^2 = 18.00$ , 5 df,  $p < .01$ ), suggesting an interaction between the two.

The analysis was carried through another phase to determine if there was any age/method of learning interaction. "Participation"

**TABLE II**  
**Riot Participation by Learning Method and Age Combined**

		Active	Inactive	N
<b>PERSONALLY SAW OR HEARD</b>				
Age	≤ 35	29.6%	70.4%	27
	> 35	14.3%	85.7%	21
<b>TOLD BY SOMEONE ELSE</b>				
Age	≤ 35	22.4%	77.6%	58
	> 35	10.0%	90.0%	70
<b>LEARNED FROM RADIO, TV</b>				
Age	≤ 35	30.3%	69.7%	33
	> 35	2.3%	97.7%	44
				253

as used in Tables I and II is based on the respondent's answer to the question, "Would you describe yourself as having been very active, somewhat active, or slightly active in the disturbance?" Since only 19.2% of those who answered the question indicated any degree of active participation, they were combined into the category "active." Another measure of participation is afforded through the question, "Which of the following did you do?" The nine response categories provided for this question ranged from "got out of the riot area" to "threw fire bombs."<sup>5</sup>

These behavioral categories provide a continuum of responses, allowing use of analysis of variance. This enables the testing both of main effects, (i.e., replicating the findings in Table I with another measure of the dependent variable, riot participation) and of the interaction suggested by Table II. Results of this analysis of variance, reported in Table III, confirm the findings reported in Table I, but fail to show any significant interaction between age and mode of learning. The significant  $X^2$  for Table II probably was not due to an interaction, but to the strong correlation of age to participation.

Age, then, and not learning method, appears to be the key to participation in riots. It is young people who join in riots, irrespective of how they learn of them. Self-imposed censorship thus may be

**TABLE III**  
**Analysis of Variance Results**

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p
Source of News	1.07	2	0.53	0.62	N.S.
Age	13.64	3	4.55	5.30	p < .01
Source X Age	3.72	6	0.62	0.72	N.S.
Error	186.01	217	0.86		

ineffective in preventing the spread of a riot, since would-be participants have access to other (uncensorable) media for information. A caveat may be in order here. The Detroit data are descriptive only of the relationship between first learning of the riot and riot participation. The possible influence of continued television coverage on riot participation remains to be studied. Furthermore, no inferences can be drawn from these data about the impact that a TV camera may have on a rioter who is already on the scene. Further research is needed in these areas.

Wayne A. Danielson has said, "It is much more dangerous to let a rumor spread than it is to get the facts of a potentially dangerous story spread before the public." The findings of this survey indicate that it may be possible for broadcast stations to cover the potentially dangerous story without contributing to the problem. Broadcast news media may not be the villains they have been made out to be.

#### Footnotes

<sup>1</sup> *Time*, August 25, 1967, p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> *Newsweek*, August 14, 1967, p. 78.

<sup>3</sup> Appreciation is expressed to the Detroit *Free Press* and the Louis Harris Political Data Center at the U. of North Carolina for the use of these data.

<sup>4</sup> Total N for each table does not equal 360 due to non-response on some items.

<sup>5</sup> Comparison of these two questions shows that respondents were consistent in their replies ( $X^2 = 57.97$ , 24 df,  $p < .001$ ).

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HERSCHEL SHOSTECK

## Some Influences of Television on Civil Unrest

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*Early in April, 1968, just after President Johnson announced his decision not to run for reelection, and the day before the Rev. Martin Luther King was assassinated, Eldon Campbell—a member of the APBE Board of Directors and vice president and general manager of the WFBM stations in Indianapolis—commissioned the Frank Magid Associates organization in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, to do a study on the divergent perceptions of the Negro and the white man in Indianapolis and the impact, if any, made by television on the community in relation to civil unrest. The study, supervised by Dr. Herschel Shosteck, resulted in two volumes of reports that presently are being used to advantage in Indianapolis. It should be noted that the WFBM stations sponsored this research as a public service, and that station call letters do not appear in the report. This article was prepared from the summary chapter in the second volume of the report, THE IMPACT OF TELEVISION ON CIVIL UNREST.*

THIS research studied the influence of television on Negro aspirations and on civil unrest in Indianapolis. It sought to answer both social and pragmatic questions. First, as an institution which has a responsibility to the community it serves, what steps can television take to improve the social and economic conditions of the Negro? Second, what role can television play to mitigate racial tensions? Third, as a profit-making venture, how can television best orient its programming toward the Negro audience without adversely affecting white viewership?

The following general questions served as a focus for analysis:

1. What are the sources of news—both general and Negro-oriented—of Indianapolis Negroes? What are their television viewing habits?

2. What relationship, if any, do viewers see between television and "community problems"? Is television seen as a potential vehicle for solving community problems? Regardless of its potentiality, how aware are viewers of community-oriented special reports which have been broadcast by area stations?
3. How widespread is editorial viewership? Which channels, if any, are most preferred for television editorials? What is the reaction to Negro-oriented editorials?
4. What relationship do viewers perceive between television and civil unrest? How interested are viewers in reports on it? Do viewers perceive news of such disorders as "fair"? To what extent, if any, is television seen as an instigator of racial disorder? What steps do viewers think television can take to maintain order during periods of civil unrest?
5. Besides direct effects, what indirect effects might television have in creating the antecedents to civil unrest? Specifically, do programs and commercials which depict affluence unrealistically raise Negro expectations? If such is the case, do these unrealistic expectations motivate violent action?
6. What do Negroes think of Negro-oriented programs? Are Negroes aware of increased numbers of Negro television actors? Do they perceive differences in the number of Negro personalities carried on different Indianapolis channels? How strong is the desire among Negroes for Negro-oriented programming? What content for such programs is most desired?

### Methodology

The population consisted of both Negroes and whites, age 18 and over, residing in Marion County, Indiana. From this population, 450 Negro and 400 white respondents were sampled, using stratified random sampling techniques. This method of sampling was selected to ensure that the social, economic, and attitudinal characteristics of persons questioned accurately reflected the same characteristics of all Negro and white respondents of the Indianapolis area.

One interview was conducted per household, with contingencies such as replacement covered explicitly in directions to field interviewers. Under the most conservative conditions, the size of the sample used was expected to provide results with an error margin no greater than plus or minus 4.9%, using a confidence limit of 95%.

The attitudinal questionnaire developed for use among Negroes was 11 pages in length, while an abbreviated seven-page version was

administered to whites. All questionnaires, which contained both open-ended and pre-structured items, were administered to each of the respondents in his own home, by trained field interviewers. Scale questions to measure the intensity of response also were included. Interviewers were instructed to transcribe the answers to open-ended questions verbatim; no interpretation was to be included. If interviewers judged the responses to be evasive, they were instructed to probe further without altering the form of the question or leading the respondent in a particular direction.

Prior to coding responses, the answers in each questionnaire were checked for completeness and internal consistency. Through content analysis of the verbatim responses to open-ended items, analysts developed codes to convert the qualitative information to quantitative data. Following coding, all information was transferred to EDP cards for statistical analysis by computer.<sup>1</sup>

From an interpretive point of view, it frequently is useful to analyze media data in terms of demographic characteristics such as income. However, this one datum may not always adequately explain motivations or behavior. But if additional factors contingent to income are known, the attitudes, motivations, and behavior patterns of the population can be better predicted. Accordingly, an index of socioeconomic status (SES) was developed. This index was based on the combination of income, education, and occupational ranking of an individual. An assumption was made—supported by research<sup>2</sup>—that this combination of the three distinct variables into a single measure provides a more realistic categorization of responses in terms of interpreting tastes, preferences, and attitudes over a broad range of human behavior.

#### THE PHENOMENON OF INTERVIEWER EFFECT

For many, race is a delicate issue. Both Negro and whites recognize tensions between them; both voice suspicions of the other's motives. Because of these tensions, white interviewers may be less than successful in gaining fully candid answers from Negro respondents. White interviewers in Negro areas risk introducing an "interviewer effect." Interviewer and respondent differ so much that the very act of questioning distorts communication between them. Because of this, the meaning of answers cannot be accepted at face value. Answers must be interpreted in a context of constraint.

An attempt was made to recruit Negro interviewers for the Negro respondents, but only two of the original two dozen recruits persevered with the project through its completion. The deadline for completing the field interviewing allowed no time to recruit and train additional Negro interviewers. Because of this, the white interviewers who had participated in the first phase of the study—eliciting the attitudes of 400 white respondents—were evaluated. The most proficient of these were used to complete the Negro interviewing phase. Although this would introduce an interviewer effect into the data, this disadvantage was outweighed by two factors: time, and the feasibility of evaluating the impact of interviewer effect on the responses. However, what had been anticipated to be a mechanical exercise in analysis uncovered some of the most subtle and significant findings of the research.

Initial examination of the quality and type of response gained even when white interviewers entered Negro households indicated a high degree of candor on the part of Negro respondents. But despite the candor, the presence of a white interviewer seemed to bring a generally dampening effect to the interviewer situation. Apparently, it softened bitterness, harshness, and militancy that might otherwise have been voiced. This dampening cannot be isolated from the responses in any single interview. Many Negroes spoke openly to the whites, sometimes to the point of embarrassment. However, when taken as a group, patterns of emphasis appeared in the responses Negroes gave to white interviewers which differed from those given to Negro interviewers. This was a difference of tone, most clear in questions dealing directly with race and racially related problems.

When faced with a white interviewer, Negro respondents tended to reflect less truculence. They underplayed militancy. Indeed, frequently they voiced what may be considered an eminently bourgeois outlook. Not infrequently they focused on the middle class problems of crime and taxes. However, when talking to a Negro interviewer, Negro respondents were more apt to display a militant stance; they emphasized their frustrations with economic and housing inequities. Indeed, in some cases, this militancy may have been aggravated by a *reverse* interviewer effect. Perhaps to avoid being labeled "Uncle Toms," Negroes voiced a more activist stance to Negro interviewers than they actually might have felt. Obviously, this research was not designed to investigate these points and the conclusions presented are specula-

tive. "True" attitudes no doubt lie somewhere in-between. They probably approximate responses given to Negro interviewers, rather than those given to whites.

Does this mean that the study results are vitiated? Not at all. Absolute percentages frequently were distorted by the interviewer effect. Dwelling on these, however, overlooks more important nuances of meaning uncovered by the data. First, distortions due to the interviewer effect were controlled by the analysis. This helped to distinguish the articulate and intense feeling on race relations which Negroes confided to each other but not to whites. Secondly, despite the muting effect which the presence of white interviewers apparently imposed on the interview situation, the *relative* importance of specific problem areas was not affected by it. Third—and not to be underestimated—was the observation that regardless of race of interviewer, *discrimination* in housing, employment, and public schools were virtually unmentioned by Negroes as major problems of Indianapolis. Negroes conceived of their problems more in terms of economic and material well-being, naming poor housing, poor employment opportunities, and poor education as major problems.

Finally, the interviewer effect was not all-pervasive. Statements regarding behavior (such as employment status), anticipated behavior (such as willingness to work longer hours), and some statements of belief showed no variations regardless of race of interviewer.

Overall, the distortion in Negro responses generated by the pressure of a white interviewer was not taken as belying the value of the data, but as enhancing their meaning by underscoring the hidden hiatus in communication between Black and white. Inferentially, this block to open communications between Negro and white could frustrate development of a white awareness of the needs of the Negro community. This lack of awareness, in turn, might mitigate against even initial steps in satisfactorily dealing with these needs.

There is, of course, the possibility that the different answers given to interviewers of different races might reflect some other factor than the interviewer's race. To test this possibility, comparison of the demographic characteristics of respondents interviewed by whites and those interviewed by Negroes was made. There were, however, no gross differences between the two groups of respondents.

## Demographic and Social Findings

### SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS

Daniel Moynihan has characterized the Negro family in America as in a state of social disintegration.<sup>3</sup> Compared to whites in Indianapolis, this generalization also applied to the Negroes in that area. About 33% of Negroes were unmarried, compared to 19% of whites. Of these, nearly 10% of Negroes admitted to being divorced or separated, compared to 4% of whites. Yet, despite the lower proportion of married Negroes, Negroes were more likely than whites to have children in school (48% versus 39%).

The Negro in Indianapolis was poorly educated. Nearly half had not graduated from high school, compared to 31% of whites. White heads of households were three times as likely as Negro heads to have some college experience (10% versus 3%). Considering the relationship between education and occupational success, this suggested the Negro in Indianapolis was at a disadvantage in the labor market. The educational disadvantage of the Negro was not due to a recent increase in Negro immigration, because Negroes were more likely than whites to be long-term residents of Indianapolis. Residency of 10 years or more was reported by three in four (78%) of the Negroes, contrasted to two in three (66%) of the whites.

### ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

Negro household heads were almost twice as likely as white household heads to fill unskilled positions (32% versus 18%), although white household heads were three times as likely as Negro household heads to hold sales or clerical positions (22% versus 7%), and were four times as likely to hold professional and managerial positions (8% versus 2%). Monthly familial income reflected the Negro's lower occupational status. Average (median) income for a Negro family was \$417 a month; in contrast, the white family averaged \$575 a month.

Initially, it might appear that the comparative poverty of Negroes rested on low-paying jobs which, in turn, were a result of poor education. However, when education and family income were compared for both Negro and white household heads, Negroes with education

equivalent to that of whites still had lower incomes. Thus, between 13 and 31%<sup>4</sup> of college-educated Negroes reported family incomes of \$800 or more per month. Among college-educated whites, 27 to 48% reported incomes of this much.

Because of their lower standing in education, occupation, and family income, Negroes ranked lower than whites on a composite scale of socio-economic status (SES). Negroes were more likely than whites to be classified as low SES (45% versus 16%); whites were more likely to be classified as high SES (14% versus 4%). Regardless of race, the elderly were most often classified as poverty-stricken. Among Negroes 18 to 49 years of age, 30% fell in the low SES group. Among Negroes age 50 and over, however, 77% were considered as low SES. The same tendency existed among whites, although to a lesser extent. Only 8% of whites between ages 18 and 49 were in a low SES category. For those 50 and over, this rose to 31%.

#### THE BLACK MILITANT

To measure militancy, each Negro respondent was ranked on three questions designed to evaluate trust or mistrust of the white community. These items were intended to elicit attitudes toward "cooperating with white people," making "constant demands on the white community," and belief in the "good intentions of the government." Negroes who responded positively to all three items, that is, who would cooperate with whites, believed that they need not pressure the white community, and had faith in the good intentions of the government were scored low in militancy. Those who responded positively to some, but not all items, were scored medium in militancy. Negroes who responded neutrally or negatively were scored high in militancy. Throughout the remaining analysis of the study, they are referred to as the "militants."

At least half—and more likely three-quarters—of Indianapolis Negroes did not place much trust in the intentions of the white community or the ability of the Negro to make progress without placing demands on that community. Even among Negroes interviewed by whites, more than 40% openly voiced distrust of white intentions. When interviewed by fellow Negroes, the proportion of Negroes so responding rose to three out of four.

What characterizes the Negro militant? There was no difference between the sexes and militancy, nor was there a clear relationship between socio-economic status and militancy. Clearly, the Negro militant was younger than the less-than-militant. Some 13% of those 18 to 34 years old were rated high in militancy; this compared to 8% of those 35 and over. More importantly, the high militant had no familial ties. Single and divorced Negroes were twice as likely to be highly militant as those who were married (19% to 15% versus 9%). Thus, disproportionately, the militant was the single youth.

"Black" was a militant symbol. Almost half (45%) of the militants preferred it over any other racial designation, while only 38% favored "Negro." In general, however, respondents by far favored the name "Negroes." Even in the presence of Negro interviewers, the term "Negro" was preferred over "Black" by a ratio of greater than two to one (55% versus 24%). The term "Black" was avoided by large segments of the less-than-militant Negro population.

### **Media Importance Findings**

#### **SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

Television and newspapers were the most important news sources for both Negro and white residents of Indianapolis. At least half of Negroes and whites alike got "most" of their news "about . . . Indianapolis" from them. Radio was considered a major local news source by about one in three residents, regardless of race, and was relied on more frequently by members of the low SES group. The fourth major news source, "talking to people," was noted by one in four (22-25%) Negroes, but by only 3% of whites.

Negroes relied primarily on television (60%) and newspapers (48%) as sources of Negro community news. Talking to people was the third most important source, relied on by 34% of the Negro population. As such, it was twice as important as radio (relied on by 19%) as a source of Negro community news. Television (83%) and newspapers (61%) were used most often by the high SES Negroes; talking to people was used most often by low SES Negroes (43%).

The daily mass media also had to compete with the Negro press, which was read by nearly half of all Negroes. Readership of the

Negro press was highest among higher SES Negroes (50%) and among the more highly militant (48%). The Negro press read by Indianapolis Negroes was comprised of three basic publications: *Ebony*, *The Indianapolis Record*, and *Jet*.

Militant Negroes were less likely than others to use television (44% versus 58-62% of the less-than-militant) or newspapers (39% versus 44-52%) as sources of Negro community news. Conversely, they were more prone than others to gain their news of the Negro community through radio (24% versus 16-20%) and especially through talking to fellow Negroes (41% versus 33-34%). This latter data suggested that the Negro community was particularly susceptible to the face-to-face dissemination of rumors. Influence of the media in calming a racially tense situation might well be muted by this factor.

Among Indianapolis whites, television saturation was virtually total. Nearly all (97%) white households reported at least one television set, and 38% reported two or more. Within the Negro community, however, saturation was not as great. About 8% of all Negroes interviewed reported no television set. Multiple set ownership also was less prevalent, with approximately one in four Negroes reporting ownership of two or more sets. Non-television ownership among Negroes was concentrated among members of the low SES group. Of these, 13% reported having no television receiver. Given this single exception, the pattern of television set ownership of Negroes and whites was nearly identical. The higher the SES of an individual, the more likely he was to own plural sets. Hence, regardless of race, 50-55% of the high SES group owned two or more sets; 39% of the middle SES group owned two or more sets; and 14% of the low SES group owned two sets or more.

A comparison of actual Negro and white viewing habits did not support the popular stereotype—that Negro poverty is caused partly by lack of initiative, reflected by long hours wasted before the television set. As reported above, the Negro was less likely than the white to own a television set. Moreover, the Negro owning a receiver was no more likely than the white to view it. Approximately 14-24% of all Negroes reported viewing television five hours or more a day; among whites, the proportion was 22%.

The reason for the seemingly limited viewing among Negroes might rest, in part, with the lesser time Negroes had for it. Research carried

on simultaneously<sup>5</sup> with the present study revealed that Indianapolis Negroes were more likely than whites to be employed; furthermore, employed Negroes were more likely to work full-time than employed whites. For both of these reasons, Negroes would have limited viewing time available.

In Indianapolis, whites were more likely than Negroes to have watched television news (86% versus 70-78%). Regardless of race, the higher the SES of an individual, the more apt he was to watch television news. Even with SES and employment status held constant, however, whites were more likely than Negroes to watch television news.

When given a choice of four television stations for news coverage, the majority of Negroes, regardless of SES or level of militancy, chose one station by a margin of more than two to one (50% versus 23%) over the next most favored station. Reasons for this news station preference included complete and detailed news coverage (21%), well-explained and understandable newscasts (12%), and preference for a specific newscaster (11%). No station was cited particularly for its coverage of Negro news nor for an outstanding fairness of its news presentation. The reasons given by Negroes were insufficiently precise to explain the overwhelming preference for the one station's news over that of other stations.

#### TELEVISION AND COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

More often than not, viewers saw news and TV special reports as beneficial in helping to solve major community problems. Whites were more optimistic than were Negroes (63% versus 50%) over their effectiveness. For both Negro and white, those of higher socio-economic status were more apt to see a positive effect of television coverage in solving local problems. Consistently, however, middle and high SES Negroes showed less optimism than did middle and high SES whites. To a limited extent, the militant was more likely (58%) than other Negroes (about 50%) to think television coverage of community problems would aid in their solution.

The lesser faith of Negroes in the effectiveness of television reports in helping to solve community problems was paralleled by a lesser awareness of such reports among most Negroes. However, militant

Negroes were particularly aware of such reports. Of viewers who perceived that local stations produced "reports on community problems," Negroes and whites alike most frequently named the same station rated highest for its news coverage as among the stations making such reports. "Preferred station for news" seemed a prominent factor affecting Negro identification of the station as producing reports on community problems and as doing the best job with such reports.

#### TELEVISION EDITORIALS

One-half of white television news viewers in Indianapolis "have . . . seen . . . an editorial on television in the last week." Among Negro news viewers, the proportion was noticeably less. Editorial viewership also appeared to be a function of socio-economic status. The editorials were considered favorably by both Negro and white viewers who had seen them. If anything, more militant Negroes reacted most favorably toward television editorials.

Regardless of race, editorial viewers most often preferred editorials of the "preferred station for news" over those of its nearest competitor in this category. Viewing of editorials on other channels was virtually inconsequential. Preference for the "preferred-for-news" station's editorials was stronger among Negroes, but high viewership of these editorials seemed more a factor of socio-economic status than of race. The lower the SES of a viewer, the more likely he was to watch this station; conversely, those with higher SES were more apt to watch editorials on the nearest competitor.

Preference for the editorialist had an important effect on editorial viewership over a given channel. White editorial viewers claimed to be drawn to a preferred channel particularly often because of the editorialist. Negroes, on the other hand, claimed to be drawn to an editorial channel by the local orientation of the station and its attention to what they considered important problems and, specifically, important Negro problems. The most preferred-for-news station was more frequently thought of as having a greater editorial orientation toward Indianapolis. There was a strong desire among Negroes for more editorials on Negro-oriented subjects. White responses indicated what might be incipient, but at that point minimal, alienation with Negro-oriented editorial content, with 13% of the white respondents

stating that there were too many Negro-oriented editorials, and 79% maintaining that there were "about the right number."

#### TELEVISION AND CIVIL UNREST

Among white viewers who reported being "very" or "somewhat" concerned over civil unrest and rioting, only 15% said they were "very interested" in television "reports on rioting and racial disorder." Negroes showed a greater interest in such reports. Not unexpectedly, militant Negroes (47%) were more likely to express high interest in news and reports on rioting and racial disorders than those of middle (27%) or low (9%) militancy. Regardless of race of interviewer or respondent, two out of three questioned judged television news as "fair . . . in reporting both sides" of racial disorders. Among the most militant of the Negroes, however, 40% considered news reports as unfair, while only 15% of the least militant thought so. Of the concerned whites, 32% believed such news reports were unfair.

Among Negroes and whites who felt televised coverage of racial disorders was unfair, half maintained that television stations were masking the "truth" in their coverage of rioting; half requested more balanced news coverage. Some viewers maintained that coverage of situations was unfair because it focused primarily on the sensational—failing to balance sensational rioting with the mundane. Several specified that de-emphasis could be undertaken by placing the riot situation in the context of those (assumedly less inflammatory) events which preceded it as well as those which followed. The majority of Negro respondents who commented said they did not feel that one station did a better job than others in such reporting.

Among viewers who reported they were concerned with "civil unrest" and interested in "seeing television news reports" of it, the majority—whether white or Negro—thought that blaming television for riots was primarily "talk." Only one in three whites (36%) thought that television news reports helped to cause riots. When speaking to Negro interviewers, no Negroes voiced this opinion. Even when talking to whites, only three out of ten (29%) thought so. Although up to 23% of nonmilitants voiced the opinion that television contributed to rioting, no nonmilitants thought so. Overall, among the viewers who reported "concern with civil unrest," clear, albeit

limited agreement was given to the belief that television plays an aggravating influence.

Those who believed that television might contribute to riots saw the effect as one of providing an example to potential rioters among viewers and as stimulating greater exhibitionist behavior among those being televised. Only a handful of Negroes interested in civil unrest and television coverage of it agreed that "television helps cause riots." To mitigate the influence of television, this group suggested that television cover the bulk of the nonparticipants in and around the riot situation and that the medium report steps being taken by authorities to contain potentially riotous situations. This group also believed that interviews with Negro community leaders would also mitigate the stimulating effect of televised riot coverage.

#### TELEVISION AS A SOURCE OF UNFULFILLED EXPECTATIONS

As many as 42% of Negroes and 58% of whites said that "nothing" about television programs bothered them. Those who had a complaint most often focused on the violence, crime, immorality, and vulgarity which they found in much of television entertainment, as well as the banality, fantasy, dullness, and poor acting. Only a minority of each race reported that the above subjects for criticism bothered them "a lot." There was no mention of frustrations generated by the unobtainable affluence depicted on television programs.

One-quarter (25%) of Negroes and 44% of whites specified aspects of TV commercials which they disliked. Both races criticized the frequency with which ads interfered with the program. Whites, more than Negroes, criticised lack of realism, candor, believability, banality, stupidity, and poor taste of television ads. Virtually no one in either racial group indicated that television commercials generated a desire for products he could not afford.

In response to specific questioning, whites were more likely than Negroes to see themselves as affording television-advertised products. When socio-economic status was controlled for, Negroes were more likely than whites to perceive products advertised on television as within their reach.

Separate research undertaken simultaneously with this study<sup>6</sup> revealed that unlike other Negroes, the militant voiced higher job

dissatisfaction, despaired of advance into a higher-paying job, and particularly often blamed his frustrating job position on employment discrimination. The present research adds a further discrimination to this picture. The militant seemed least likely to believe that someday he might obtain the material goods advertised on television. Thus, militancy seemed to be influenced by the dual frustrations of inadequate participation in the employment world and the consequent inadequate share of American economic wealth. However, the comparatively infrequent reports of television-induced frustrations suggest that it is more likely a disadvantageous job than the stimulation of television that might generate higher militancy.

#### ATTITUDES TOWARD NEGRO-ORIENTED PROGRAMS

There seemed to be a great awareness (80-93%) among Negro viewers of the increase in the numbers of Negro actors over the past year. To a lesser degree, (38-40%) Negro viewers perceived an increase in the number of Negro television newscasters. More important than perception of growth in the number of Negro television personalities was a highly positive Negro reaction to it. Among Negroes who perceived an increase in Negro newscasters, three out of four (71%) liked it; none said they disliked it.

About one-fourth of Negro news viewers perceived that one channel in Indianapolis had more programs about Negroes than any other channel. Half of this group identified a channel not mentioned earlier in this report as that channel. Apparently this station was chosen primarily because it carried a specific program highly appreciated by Negro viewers. Responses indicated that the program featured a dominantly Negro cast.

Negro viewers expressed an overall sentiment for more Negro-oriented programming. One-half felt that most Negroes wanted to see more such programming. This feeling was particularly strong among the more militant. Virtually no Negro desired more programming depicting Negroes as heroes. There was relatively limited sentiment for educational programs or for those dealing specifically with Negro culture and history. More than anything, viewer sentiment favored programs which depicted Negroes in average or typical roles.

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### Footnotes

<sup>1</sup> In the full report, titled *The Impact of Television on Civil Unrest*, the data themselves are presented mainly in tabular form, accompanied by descriptive notations. Tables are placed in complementary fashion throughout the report, rather than being concentrated in a technical appendix.

<sup>2</sup> The research supporting this statement also was conducted by Frank N. Magid Associates.

<sup>3</sup> U. S. Dept. of Labor, Office of Policy Planning and Research, *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action* (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1965). The statement appeared in the opening unnumbered page of *The Negro Family* (popularly known as *The Moynihan Report*), which was prepared by Moynihan in his capacity as Assistant Secretary of Labor during the Johnson administration. Under President Richard Nixon, Moynihan currently is serving as Assistant to the President for Urban Affairs.

<sup>4</sup> Ranges of proportions are shown from time to time in this report in order to point up the "margin of error" that is affected mainly by sample size and size of reported percentages.

<sup>5</sup> Frank N. Magid Associates, *The Negro in Indianapolis*, A Report Prepared for the WFBM Stations, Indianapolis, Indiana (Cedar Rapids: Frank N. Magid Associates, May 1969).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

The JOURNAL OF BROADCASTING depends upon the cooperation of broadcasters, teachers of professional broadcasting, and researchers in continuing and strengthening its service. The stature of the JOURNAL depends upon the quality and quantity of both the readership and the manuscripts offered for publication.

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If you are interested in submitting a manuscript to the JOURNAL, you may wish to consult the Editor or the "Suggestions for Preparation of Manuscripts" published on pp. 187-188 of the Spring, 1966, issue of the JOURNAL.

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RADIO TELEVISION NEWS DIRECTORS ASSOCIATION

# Code of Broadcast News Ethics

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*The following code of broadcast news ethics was adopted by RTNDA on January 2, 1966. The implementation of this code, "Rules of Procedure in Matters Concerning the Code of Broadcast News Ethics," was adopted in August, 1966. Copies of this latter document may be obtained from RTNDA, the JOURNAL OF BROADCASTING, or found in the June-July 1969 issue of the RTNDA BULLETIN.*

THE members of the Radio Television News Directors Association agree that their prime responsibility as newsmen—and that of the broadcasting industry as the collective sponsor of news broadcasting—is to provide to the public they serve a news service as accurate, full and prompt as human integrity and devotion can devise. To that end, they declare their acceptance of the standards of practice here set forth, and their solemn intent to honor them to the limits of their ability.

*Article One.* The primary purpose of broadcast newsmen—to inform the public of events of importance and appropriate interest in a manner that is accurate and comprehensive—shall override all other purposes.

*Article Two.* Broadcast news presentations shall be designed not only to offer timely and accurate information, but also to present it in the light of relevant circumstances that give it meaning and perspective. This standard means that news reports, when clarity demands it, will be laid against pertinent factual background; that factors such as race, creed, nationality or prior status will be reported only when they are relevant; that comment or subjective content will

be properly identified; and that errors in fact will be promptly acknowledged and corrected.

*Article Three.* Broadcast newsmen shall seek to select material for newscast solely on their evaluation of its merits as news. This standard means that news will be selected on the criteria of significance, community and regional relevance, appropriate human interest, service to defined audiences. It excludes sensationalism or misleading emphasis in any form; subservience to external or "interested" efforts to influence news selection and presentation, whether from within the broadcasting industry or from without. It requires that such terms as "bulletin" and "flash" be used only when the character of the news justifies them; that bombastic or misleading descriptions of newsroom facilities and personnel be rejected, along with undue use of sound and visual effects; and that promotional or publicity material be sharply scrutinized before use and identified by source or otherwise when broadcast.

*Article Four.* Broadcast newsmen shall at all times display humane respect for the dignity, privacy and the well-being of persons with whom the news deals.

*Article Five.* Broadcast newsmen shall govern their personal lives and such nonprofessional associations as may impinge on their professional activities in a manner that will protect them from conflict of interest, real or apparent.

*Article Six.* Broadcast newsmen shall seek actively to present all news the knowledge of which will serve the public interest, no matter what selfish, uninformed or corrupt efforts attempt to color it, withhold it or prevent its presentation. They shall make constant effort to open doors closed to the reporting of public proceedings with tools appropriate to broadcasting (including cameras and recorders), consistent with the public interest. They acknowledge the newsman's ethic of protection of confidential information and sources, and urge unswerving observation of it except in instances in which it would clearly and unmistakably defy the public interest.

*Article Seven.* Broadcast newsmen recognize the responsibility borne by broadcasting for informed analysis, comment and editorial opinion on public events and issues. They accept the obligation of

broadcasters, for the presentation of such matters by individuals whose competence, experience and judgment qualify them for it.

*Article Eight.* In court, broadcast newsmen shall conduct themselves with dignity, whether the court is in or out of session. They shall keep broadcast equipment as unobtrusive and silent as possible. Where court facilities are inadequate, pool broadcasts should be arranged.

*Article Nine.* In reporting matters that are or may be litigated, the newsmen shall avoid practices which would tend to interfere with the right of an individual to a fair trial.

*Article Ten.* Broadcast newsmen shall actively censure and seek to prevent violations of these standards, and shall actively encourage their observance by all newsmen, whether of the Radio Television News Directors Association or not.

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### Stay tuned . . .

for a double-header Winter issue of the JOURNAL. The first game will be a somewhat-shortened regular issue of the JOURNAL filled, as usual, with articles on law, research, issues, and literature of broadcasting. The second is expected to be an oversized (probably approaching 70 pages) "Bibliography of Articles about Broadcasting in Law Periodicals, 1956-1968" compiled by Kenneth Gompertz. This second part of the Winter issue, which probably will arrive in a second envelope, also will contain reprints of two earlier bibliographies on the same topic. It is being produced with the help of some financial assistance from the Federal Communications Bar Association. This aid permits us to publish what is, in effect, an issue of some 150 pages so that we may provide this monumental cross-indexed bibliography while at the same time not increase our backlog of other articles.

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E. A. KRETSINGER

## Some New Techniques in Profile Analysis

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*It is unfortunately true that much time often is wasted because of the tools that are used to conduct research in communications. Profile analysis, the continuous recording of respondent judgments as a program is viewed or listened to, typically requires a great deal of tedious data reduction. The devices described in the following article may save literally hundreds of hours of the audience or program researcher's time. Their development was funded by the Office of Scientific and Scholarly Research at the University of Oregon and from a research grant by the National Association of Broadcasters. Unfortunately, the JOURNAL's publication process made it impracticable to reproduce schematic and block diagrams of the devices; a limited number of copies are available through the JOURNAL office.*

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PROFILE analysis, which makes a continuous recording of audience reactions throughout a program, has the unusual virtue of being free of recall error. Although developed more than a quarter century ago,<sup>1</sup> and despite its virtue, profile analysis never has been widely used in broadcast research conducted in an academic setting.<sup>2</sup> For one thing, it is a complicated process. Much tedious and time-consuming effort is required simply to index the paper chart according to the various stimuli operating in a half-hour or hour-long program. It is also risky. To associate an ink-line variation on paper with a brief, discrete element occurring well into the program is to invite a certain time-base error. And it is awkward to analyze. Ink-line excursions must be converted to numerical data which in turn must

be statistically treated for each of the many parts of the program under investigation. It is little wonder, therefore, that researchers generally have chosen to tolerate recall error in the interest of a simpler post-program instrument. If, however, the problems related to profile analysis could be eliminated—if this instrument could be made simple, fast, and reliable—it would probably become a research tool of real value. This was the objective the author set out to achieve.

### The Chi-Square Audience Analyzer

Quite often the broadcast researcher wants to know how a particular audience variable responds to certain kinds of program material. Age, sex, education, race, etc.—each has implications for the broadcaster. Chi-square is a logical statistical test to use in this situation. If this test could be built into a profile instrument in such a way as to afford an automatic probability readout, instantly available, the instrument would become much more efficient and useful.

Fortunately, most behavioral scientists are interested only in whether a probability is less than .05 or .01—not in the specific level of probability. To be useful, then, the profile instrument had only to indicate when each of these two confidence levels were reached. Nor, as it turned out, did the instrument have to perform the complicated square-law function. A statistical table was available in which, for two groups of equal size up to 50, cell frequencies required to achieve significant (.05 and .01) Chi-squares were given.<sup>3</sup> Although the cell frequencies varied to form different proportions, the proportions (within the  $2 \times 2$  structure) maintained a uniform relationship to each other at each level.<sup>4</sup> This meant the profile instrument need only be calibrated to show when such a relationship existed. The next step was to find the electro-mechanical means whereby audience members could distribute themselves like cell frequencies in a  $2 \times 2$  matrix.

The four cells in a  $2 \times 2$  contingency table are analogous to the four legs of a Wheatstone bridge, a well known instrument for measuring electrical resistance or impedance. Since the audience to be tested would be divided equally according to a single variable, it was decided to arrange the two subgroups electrically as two parallel strings of resistors with each resistor equal in value. Each person

would control two resistors as he operated his response switch. If his response was "Like," he switched a resistor into the top or "Like" leg of his subgroup's string and at the same time automatically switched a resistor out of the bottom or "Dislike" leg—thus, since the resistors comprising a string are in series with each other, he adds himself to one "cell" while subtracting himself from another. A simplified version of how an electrical analog to the  $2 \times 2$  contingency table was obtained is available from the author.<sup>5</sup>

A zero-centered microammeter used as the bridging element was calibrated to readout the critical probability points, in both directions, when the cell frequencies (resistors per leg) were distributed in the significant proportions mentioned earlier. Two more meters were added to resolve the ambiguity arising in the interpretation of a significant Chi-square. For example, did Subgroup A like something very much while Subgroup B was indifferent? Or was Subgroup A indifferent while Subgroup B disliked something very much? The Chi-square indication would be the same in either case. So, to clarify the interpretation, the "Like" responses of each subgroup were counted and readout on a separate meter.

In order to avoid having to run 60 cables out to two subgroups of 30 each, it was decided to extend the Wheatstone bridge itself into the audience via two 3-conductor cables. The small aluminum boxes containing the response switches also were used to house the resistors being switched. Since the resistors in a subgroup string were in series anyway, the response boxes were connected in series (at 4-ft. intervals) by a single cable. The meters and power supply, of course, were kept at a point remote from the audience. It remained now to find a way to make a continuous record of the readout data and relate them to the program stimuli in a reliable manner.

Most broadcast researchers today have access to some kind of television production facility—studios with cameras and video tape recorders. If the readout data from the profile instrument could be superimposed over the program being viewed (in such a way that the data would not be seen by the audience) and the resulting output recorded on video tape, the researcher would have an accurate and efficient profile of response without further data reduction or manipulation. Now, the author is mindful of the irony in making an instrument "simple, fast, and reliable" by using it in conjunction with ex-

pensive and elaborate television equipment. But if such facility is already available to a researcher and is admirably suited to his purpose, why not use it?

The Chi-square and counter meters were scaled in white numbers against a black background and were mounted on a black panel in an isolated studio. A live television camera was positioned to scan the meters throughout the program. The program source may be live, film, or video tape.<sup>6</sup> In the validating study, a videotaped program was played back over a closed-circuit system to two subgroups located in separate rooms. Simultaneously, the VTR fed non-composite video to the switcher where it was mixed with the data video from the live camera and recorded, with program sound, on a second videotape machine. The resulting recording became the response profile.

To examine the performance of this new profile instrument in an actual test, an audience of 30 teenagers and 30 adults was asked to respond throughout a videotape playback of an *Ed Sullivan* program in August, 1967. Since the research interest was in the instrument *per se*, the audience sample was not drawn with customary care. Extreme care was taken, however, in connecting two conventional profile instruments (ink-writing recorders, each counting and logging the "Like" responses of a different subgroup) in such a way that the same responses were recorded simultaneously by both new and old profile instruments. This was not so much a test to determine whether the new instrument was superior, as it was to determine the degree of the superiority as indexed by the efficiency of data retrieval and interpretation.

During the test the author monitored the data-indexed picture in the control room. It was apparent that, while the adults and teenagers generally responded alike, every time Ed Sullivan appeared in the same shot as a performer the teenagers disliked it significantly more than the adults (1%). When the program was over, the author asked the teenagers why they had reacted this way. After some discussion, the consensus was they had not realized how little talent Sullivan had until they saw him standing next to a talented person, and they resented him for it. The adults, when questioned about these shots, reported no particular disillusion in regard to Sullivan—being more interested in the performer. Thus it was, that another ad-

vantage of the Chi-square Audience Analyzer's immediate readout became evident: Its ability to identify areas of real difference in time for the researcher to probe the subjects for further information, before he lost control of them as subjects.

The videotape recording of the data-indexed program was used in this instance only to confirm the areas of significant difference noted earlier. These were located in a matter of seconds and could have been used to aid audience recall as to the "why" of its response, had it been necessary. Two colleagues who had not seen the superimposed data-indexing were asked to retrieve the data from the conventional ink-writing machines. In approximately two hours and a half, after several fruitless calculations, they succeeded in locating on the paper charts the areas of significant response difference. In two instances, however, these differences were attributed to wrong program elements due to accumulated error in lineal chart measurement. These were 8-second episodes occurring 17 and 20 minutes into the program. At this point it seemed clear that the new profile instrument was substantially superior to the older one and attention now turned to another problem in profile analysis.

### **The Digital Display Program Analyzer**

The broadcast researcher often will be more interested in a program variable than in an audience variable. That is, he will want to compare the response produced by one program element with that produced by another. Or, he may want to know when significant changes in response occur throughout a program. To do this with statistical reliability, he must have a datum for each individual in his audience. There may have been reversals of individual response from scene to scene or from Time 1 to Time 2. Thus, without knowing what the individual variation looks like, there can be no accurate scene-by-scene program analysis. If the researcher only has one ink-writing recorder, this means he must conduct numerous separate program tests to obtain the required data. Of course, more recorders will reduce testing time, but the cost factor may become prohibitive and the considerable time and risk in data retrieval will remain unchanged. To make profile analysis more efficient in these regards, techniques were sought for the simultaneous and continuous recording of 30

individual responses tied to the program stimuli after the fashion of the Chi-square Audience Analyzer.

It was decided that each audience member would operate a multi-position response switch to control a separate NL-803 digital readout tube. This tube would display any of several digits (1 through 7 in this case) as a neon figure corresponding to intensity or degree of response from the individual audience member. Thirty such tubes were arranged in rectangular fashion against a black or non-registering background so they could be superimposed like a border over the program video. The other test procedures—the presentation of the program over a closed-circuit system, the videotape recording of the data-indexed stimuli to achieve a response profile—essentially duplicated those discussed earlier. The Digital Display Program Analyzer could provide no probability readout, however, so a test was conducted to determine how much time and difficulty were required to compare the responses to two adjacent scenes from an *Iron-sides* television program.

When the program was over, the response profile was rewound to an early expository scene and still-framed while the author copied down the data. The tape was then advanced into the next scene (an action scene) and still-framed again as the data were copied. The data were copied rapidly, but care was taken to preserve the identity of each datum. For example, individual #1 (whose responses show on a digital readout tube in one corner of the screen) may have changed his response from a "4" to a "7." In this pilot study there were 22 changes in all, 18 increases and 4 decreases. It took just over five minutes to learn that a significant (at the .01 level) change in response occurred at this point in the program.<sup>7</sup> Since the subjects could change their response at any moment, any two points in the program could be so compared.

No effort was made to compare the performance of the digital tube technique with that of conventional ink-writing machines. Multiple ink-writing machines were not available and, as for conducting the test 15 times with the two machines on hand, the author felt it was unnecessary. The superiority of the newer technique in terms of its simplicity, speed, and reliability seemed obvious enough to plead *res ipsa loquitur*—the thing speaks for itself.

### Conclusions

While the Chi-square Audience Analyzer and the Digital Display Program Analyzer were developed primarily for broadcast research, they have implications for other behavioral disciplines as well. The Chi-square technique, for example, could be useful in a study of intercultural relations. Response differences—between Chinese and Americans, say—to certain kinds of program stimuli could be pinpointed. The digital technique might also be useful to the psychologist who wished to observe and record the response of certain personality types to clinically prepared program stimuli. Whatever the stimuli, and whatever purpose is intended by the research, profile analysis using the devices and techniques described above (or yet other configurations involving similar combinations of videotape, response stations, and data readout) should now be simpler, faster, and more reliable than before.

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### Footnotes

<sup>1</sup> Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Frank N. Stanton, *Radio Research 1942-1943* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1944), p. 271.

<sup>2</sup> This is not to say that it hasn't been used at all. Although data are not published, pre-testing of programs has been done for many years using this technique by network researchers and by commercial organizations such as Audience Studies, Inc. in Hollywood. Academic studies using both commercially-built and home-made equipment have been relatively uncommon, particularly in recent years, but certainly not unheard-of.

<sup>3</sup> J. P. Guilford, *Fundamental Statistics in Psychology and Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1965), p. 595. The table was checked by the author (for an N of 30) to verify that each combination of cell frequencies produced a minimally significant Chi-square as claimed.

<sup>4</sup> When any cell frequency is 5 or smaller, the relationship does vary somewhat and there is a chance of making a type II error (mistakenly assuming no significance). The behavioral scientist normally gives little weight to this type of error.

<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately, it was not possible to reproduce photographs of the various readouts, or even detailed schematics of equipment or setup, in the pages of the JOURNAL. The author's address is: Department of Speech, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon 97403.

<sup>6</sup> If the program stimuli are on video tape, the drive source for the live television camera scanning the data must be phased or "genlocked" to the video tape. Otherwise, stable superimposition is impossible.

<sup>7</sup> Sidney Siegel, *Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1956), p. 63. The formula used was:

$$\chi^2 = \frac{(18-4-1)^2}{22} = 7.6, \text{ significant at the 1\% level.}$$

### **Individual Membership in APBE**

Any individual with a concern for professional broadcasting education, as teacher, broadcaster or student, is eligible for Individual Membership in the Association for Professional Broadcasting Education. Many individuals who are affiliated with institutions that also belong to APBE nevertheless find it desirable to join APBE as Individual Members.

Individual Members will receive a subscription to the JOURNAL OF BROADCASTING and copies of the member newsletter, *Feedback*, as well as other privileges. In addition they will be able to attend the annual meeting of APBE and NAB regional conferences as well as open sessions and exhibits of the NAB Annual Convention. Individual Memberships do not carry with them the right to attend NAB closed sessions or receive NAB membership materials.

Annual dues are now \$8.50. The membership year runs from April 1 through March 31, with applications received after the first of December normally credited to the following year. An Individual Member is entitled to all four issues of the JOURNAL volume year current during the first nine months of the membership year. Applications should be sent to, and further information and application forms obtained from, the Executive Secretary of APBE, Dr. Harold Niven, 1771 N Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036.

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CHARLES E. SHERMAN

# The Asian Broadcasting Union

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*Little is known in the United States of the various regional broadcasting associations. Even such basic volumes as Emery's NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL SYSTEMS OF BROADCASTING cover the major organizations—European Broadcasting Union, International Radio and Television Organization (OIRT), URTNA (Africa), Inter-American Broadcast Association, and Asian Broadcasting Union (ABU)—in fewer than a dozen pages. The JOURNAL OF BROADCASTING only has published materials on the first two of these. As global broadcasting over domestic channels becomes a satellite-borne reality, this lack of information is bound to become more and more embarrassing.*

*Charles E. Sherman has been interested in regional broadcasting organizations since working on his doctoral dissertation on the EBU. The following report was made possible by grants from the Graduate School and the Center for International Communication Studies of the University of Wisconsin, where the author is assistant professor of speech. The basic data were collected during a trip to the Asian/Pacific area during the summer of 1968, and have been updated as necessary.*

FOR more than 45 years the need for joint international action among professional broadcasters has been recognized. This realization led to the founding in 1925 of the European-based International Broadcasting Union (IBU), the first international non-governmental organization in the field.<sup>1</sup> Other regional bodies have followed its example in dealing with common technical, legal and program matters. In 1946, the International Radio and Television Organization (OIRT) and the Inter-American Association of Broadcasters (IAAB) were formed. The European Broadcasting Union (EBU) in 1950 acceded to the activities and facilities of IBU after its dissolution. In 1962, the Union of National Radio and Television

of Africa (URTNA) came into existence, followed by the Asian Broadcasting Union (ABU) in 1964. This article will deal with the youngest of these private associations.

ABU's full members are drawn from a geographical area bounded by the eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea and the middle of the Pacific Ocean. Within this broad region, there are vast national differences in culture, language, literacy and development. Such diversity is reflected in ABU's membership, ranging from such large, sophisticated organizations as the Japanese Broadcasting Corporation (NHK) and the Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC) with budgets in the millions of dollars to the Western Samoan Broadcasting Service (SBS) and Radio Nepal with financial support of approximately \$50,000 a year. This is in marked contrast to EBU where the full members tend to be more homogeneous in terms of background, status, and sophistication. Despite such variance, ABU has become within five years a viable organization and one that is playing an increasingly important role in international broadcasting activities.<sup>2</sup>

### History

NHK sponsored the first Asian Broadcasters' Conference in July, 1957, in Tokyo. Organizations in the region, except those under Communist domination, were asked to send participants. However, neither Australia nor New Zealand received invitations as the Japanese felt they were too closely aligned with the British Commonwealth. Attendees included China, Egypt, Indonesia, Iran, Israel, Laos, the Philippines, Thailand, Turkey and South Vietnam. Although many resolutions concerning common problems were passed, no permanent machinery was established to put them into effect, but it was decided to continue the Conferences as a useful device.<sup>3</sup>

NHK also arranged the second (1958) and third (1960) Conferences. Again, common problems were discussed, resolutions were passed, but no means were provided for implementation. Some participants talked about a permanent union, but most indicated it was too early to consider such a proposal. As an important sidelight, Egypt refused to attend these conferences as long as Israel took part.

By the fourth Conference in 1962 in Malaya, there was a changing attitude toward a union. Experience had shown that sporadically

exchanging information was not enough and that a permanent secretariat was needed. In an apparent appeasement of the Arab countries, Malaya did not invite Israel, while the United Arab Republic and Saudi Arabia sent delegations. ABC and the New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation (NZBC) were asked to participate for the first time. These invitations were due in part to Malaya's ties with the British Commonwealth, to the closer relations which were growing between ABC, NZBC and NHK in preparation for covering the 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games, and to the desire of Australia and New Zealand to become more involved in Asian matters. Their encouragement and interest, combined with the efforts of NHK, gave impetus to a resolution to form a permanent union. A statutory drafting committee met in Japan during December 1962, and the *Statutes* were adopted at the fifth Conference held in Seoul the following year. With 11 broadcasting organizations acceding to the *Statutes*, the ABU came into being on July 1, 1964.

### Organization

ABU is organized similarly to other international broadcasting groups.<sup>4</sup> It is a private association with no commercial aims; full membership is limited to national broadcasting services from the region and only they have the right to vote and hold office; the official bodies include the General Assembly, Administrative Council, Programme and Technical Committees, Study Groups, and the Secretariat; and the principal officers are a President, two Vice-Presidents, and a Secretary-General.<sup>5</sup> There are, however, certain significant differences which affect ABU operations and procedures.

ABU has 22 full and 29 associate members.<sup>6</sup> Full membership is open to authorized broadcasting services of the independent countries in the Asian/Pacific Region, defined as lying "substantially between the longitudes of 30 degrees East and 170 degrees West."<sup>7</sup> Each country has one full member and, if other national organizations wish to join, they must do so as associates. Broadcasting groups from outside the region are eligible only for membership in the latter category. There are exceptions to the above. An organization from a dependent territory can only obtain associate status, a limitation applying to members from Brunei, Fiji, the Solomon Islands, and Hong Kong. In addition, full members of EBU, OIRT, URTNA

and other similar bodies are not concurrently eligible for equal status in ABU, except those who participated in the Fourth Asian Broadcasters' Conference, e.g. the United Arab Republic and Turkey. This provision is intended to prevent the People's Republic of China, North Vietnam, North Korea, and Israel from obtaining full status and mollifies certain Asian nations on the one hand and some Arab groups on the other. Associate status also would be difficult for these countries to attain. Aside from countries represented at the Fourth Conference, admissions must be approved by at least three-quarters of all full members. This stipulation is more stringent than entry requirements for EBU or OIRT. While the decision barring Israel is partly political, it is an economic one too. Certain Arab nations would probably resign or refuse to join if Israel were a member and ABU would lose their financial support. There are, nevertheless, several ABU members who hope Israel eventually can be admitted, particularly since it was an active participant in the initial Asian Broadcasters' Conferences.

*Administrative Council and Secretariat:* The alignment and procedures of ABU's Administrative Council and Secretariat differ in degree, but not in purpose, when compared to other similar bodies. The Administrative Council is composed of nine Councillors. One seat is held permanently by NHK since the Union's headquarters is located in Tokyo. To provide an effective voice for smaller organizations, three seats are reserved for members who are in Subscription Groups A, B, C and D, i.e. those having an annual budget of less than \$1,250,000 a year. The remaining Councillors are elected from the other Subscription Groups. No other international broadcasting organization has a similar provision to ensure such representation. In addition, whereas EBU has two official languages and OIRT five, ABU has only one, English. It is the one language most members have in common.

The Secretary-Generals of OIRT and EBU are situated in their respective headquarters in Prague and Geneva. Such is not the case of ABU. When the first General Assembly met in Sydney, Sir Charles Moses was to retire to private life after many years as General Manager of ABC. The ABU membership wanted to obtain the services of this exceptional individual as their first Secretary-General. Sir Charles did not want to leave Australia permanently, but he was

willing to travel periodically to the Tokyo headquarters. It was agreed, therefore, to establish a Secretary-General's Office in Sydney while maintaining a headquarters' staff under the supervision of the Honorary Deputy Secretary-General, Mr. Ichiro Matsui, who is a Special Consultant to the President of NHK.<sup>8</sup>

The Secretariat staff is drawn from ABU member nations, and five people are assigned to each office. The staff in Tokyo is mainly responsible for handling correspondence of the President, program exchanges, technical matters, questionnaires, applications for membership, and financial records. The Secretary-General's office implements policy decisions between meetings of the General Assembly and Administrative Council, compiles the agenda and reports of all meetings, publishes the monthly newsletter, develops new sources of income, and maintains relationships with individuals and organizations outside of ABU. The Sydney office also keeps records of its expenditures which then are incorporated into the official financial statements in Tokyo. To facilitate unified action, correspondence sent or received by either office is photocopied and forwarded to the other, ensuring that each is fully apprised of Union affairs. In addition, members are notified which office is to receive their yearly subscription payments. This designation depends upon the needs of each office for the fiscal year and avoids any loss in the rate of exchange which would occur if funds were funneled into one office.

Several problems occur, however, from maintaining a split-secretariat. In the beginning, there were some misunderstandings regarding the responsibilities of each office and the proper form to use in correspondence. This situation was alleviated to a great degree as many practices became standardized. There are still some delays when new matters arise and the Tokyo Office, in particular, wants to obtain advice of the Secretary-General. Furthermore, all questionnaires and program circulars prepared in Tokyo must be sent to Sydney for approval prior to mailing. Some confusion is evident among the members as to where to send various classifications of correspondence. This communication problem results in needless delays in expediting Union affairs, occasional misunderstandings, and increases expenditures of an organization that must carefully watch its budget. In spite of these deficiencies, the Secretariat operates in a remarkably efficient manner, particularly because of the leadership

provided by Sir Charles and Mr. Matsui as well as the dedication of the staff.

*Financing:* Whereas the subscription fees of EBU are based on license fees, those of OIRT on assessed dues, and URTNA's on national population, ABU's basic financial support is computed on the members' gross annual expenditures for their previous fiscal year, excluding capital items. Members are arranged in equitable financial groups by means of a table in which subscription units are prorated from one to 100.<sup>9</sup> The subscription unit for full members is presently \$125, and the member multiplies this figure by the number of units assigned to its group to ascertain the obligation. No member can be responsible for more than 40% of the total subscriptions, thereby preventing the Union from becoming too dependent on any one member. This provision is particularly applicable to NHK since it is ABU's most affluent full member. Associate members are assessed similarly, except they only pay half the number of units for their respective groups, their units are valued at \$100, and their maximum payment can only be \$2,000. This limitation again is intended to prevent heavy reliance on the associates who in many instances represent large, well-financed organizations. Special services undertaken for members are subject to additional fees as determined by the General Assembly.

In fiscal 1967/68, these subscriptions accounted for \$58,500 of ABU's total budget of approximately \$105,000. The remainder was furnished by a grant from the Ford Foundation. Through the efforts of Sir Charles, the Foundation became interested in Union activities and in 1967 granted it \$200,000 over a five-year period to strengthen the Secretariat. This money is being used to expand and internationalize the staff, increase informational materials, provide additional travel expenses for conferences, and broaden activities, especially in training technical and program personnel. When this grant expires in 1972, the ABU will have to find new revenue sources if such expansion is to continue. The leadership hopes this financial gap can be filled by larger subscription fees as well as an increase in the total membership.<sup>10</sup> However, members from the small, developing nations, which generally are government services, might have some difficulty paying additional sums. On the brighter side, the economy in many Asian nations is improving and, as many members begin television

operations, their budgets will increase, allowing them to play a larger financial role in the ABU.

In addition to the Ford Foundation, UNESCO and the Asia Foundation have occasionally provided travel grants for small organizations. Since the ABU region covers a vast territory, air travel is costly. It is sometimes difficult for the smaller members to get per diem money even if travel funds are contributed by an outside source. The Asia Foundation furnished some air fares to the second and third General Assemblies and UNESCO to the last two. They were terminal grants as neither organization generally funds such activities, but they made an exception to indicate their support for ABU. It seems likely other sources will have to be found to fill this gap so as many members as possible can attend the annual meetings.

### Activities

In stating its objectives, ABU claims to be the only regional body stressing the need "to promote all measures designed to assist the development of broadcasting in all its aspects, *particularly in its use for the purpose of education and national development.*"<sup>11</sup> (Emphasis supplied.) This sense of purpose is evident in its major activities of training, program exchanges, technical aid, and information.

*Training:* Developing qualified personnel as well as improving the efficiency of current staffs are primary problems for members from developing nations. As a result of ABU initiative, new training programs were developed, and increased opportunities were made available in existing courses. One goal is to establish a Regional Training Institute for the ABU region, the first of its kind in the world. For this purpose, contact was made with the United Nations Development Program and UNESCO which undertook a need and feasibility survey in 1967. The report urged favorable action; Malaysia will furnish the land and building, and the operating funds may be provided by a United Nations' agency. As envisioned, the new institute will be associated with a Malaysian training center now being planned in Kuala Lumpur. The regional body will maintain its separate identity and, by sharing common facilities, economic savings should be produced. It primarily will train instructors to return home to establish programs based on national needs. The subject matter will be radio

and television programming and engineering as well as seminars on education, agriculture, news, and health. The institute also will provide visiting experts to organize national centers and undertake research concerning training and curriculum development. It is hoped the institute can become a reality by 1970. For its close collaboration with UNESCO, ABU has been granted Consultative Status "B," the highest rank held by a regional broadcasting group.<sup>12</sup>

While awaiting the institute's establishment, ABU has fostered other training. The Food and Agriculture Organizations (FAO) of the United Nations, upon ABU initiative, arranged a farm broadcasting seminar in Tokyo during 1966 with NHK acting as the host. In 1967 Radio Malaysia with FAO gave a farm broadcasting course. FAO also has sent a representative to visit several members to discuss their particular problems. ABU holds Specialized Consultative Status with FAO.

Several ABU members have increased training opportunities for the developing nations, including the ABC courses in Educational and Rural Broadcasting; courses in Educational Television and Television Engineering at NHK; and the Federation of Australian Commercial Broadcasters' annual fellowship for studying commercial broadcasting. In addition to these programs, two groups from Great Britain, the Centre for Educational Television Overseas and the Thomson Foundation,<sup>13</sup> give assistance either at their own facilities or by sending out teams of experts. The above programs usually furnish all expenses, including transportation, subsistence allowance, and instructional fees.

While these programs are vital for ABU's smaller members, one major problem exists. Individuals in a majority of cases are not placed in positions for which they were trained and, even if they are so assigned, it is only for a short period. This is the result of two major factors. The individuals sent for training are generally of the highest quality and when they return home may fill positions of greater responsibility. Also many ABU members are government services whose employee practices are controlled by civil service. It is not unusual for individuals to be continually transferred among various government agencies, without any attention to their specialized training. ABU leaders are aware of the situation, but no remedies have yet been suggested.<sup>14</sup>

*Program Exchanges and Related Functions:* Through the Secretariat, program exchanges are organized, and information regarding program matters is provided. No recordings or films, however, are sent to the Tokyo office. It acts as a clearing house, arranging the exchanges and notifying the participants when programs are to be shipped. After the exchanges take place, participants file questionnaires with the Secretariat that indicate their reactions both to content and technical quality. This data is re-circulated among the members to correct deficiencies and improve future presentations.<sup>15</sup>

ABU has organized two successful radio program exchanges: the Ethnic Music Radio Festival of 1966 in which 17 members participated and the Folk Music Festival of 1968 which had 21 contributors. For both exchanges participants sent each other approximately 30 minutes of national music along with background notes. On about the same date each country presented a selection of this music, giving credit to ABU as the organizer. These projects were particularly helpful in obtaining music from countries without extensive recording industries. Apart from these exchanges, members agreed to supply the Secretariat with a list of ethnic music to be made available on request. The lists are to be distributed to all interested parties, but only seven members have replied thus far, thereby delaying this project.

There are two regular television program exchanges, both in the form of silent film accompanied by an English-language script. The monthly *ABU Magazine* consists of one- to four-minute film stories depicting national events of continuing interest within each country. Short films on farming showing national techniques in agriculture and fishing also are exchanged every three months. Eleven members participate in the *ABU Magazine* and seven in the farm films. The farming contributions can be used in any appropriate program as long as credit is given to ABU, but the magazine is intended to be a complete presentation which uses the ABU signature and sound signal. However, the larger organizations instead use the contributions irregularly in their own programs with credit given to ABU. The smaller members, on the other hand, have found these exchanges to be invaluable for expanding their program resources and present them as originally intended.

The television exchanges do not appear to be as successful as the radio ones for several reasons: Fewer ABU members operate televi-

sion systems; a few groups each month send their contributions late or not at all; the technical quality of some films from new television services is poor, being either scratched or dirty; and occasionally the subject matter is too local or specialized to be of general interest, and some items are news stories not of continuing interest. Two Engineering Committee study groups have been created to foster standardization, one for videotape and the other for film.

One other major problem seems to affect the success of all Union exchanges, whether programs or information. Because of costly travel expenses, delegations to the General Assembly usually consist of the ranking administrative officer and the chief engineer. Not many program officers attend, except those from the larger organizations. During the General Assembly, all the committees meet and commitments for the year are made (the only ABU body which meets between sessions of the General Assembly is the Administrative Council). Therefore, decisions are made at these meetings which directly affect program personnel, but since they are not involved in the decision-making process and since the chief administrator may not be totally aware of their workloads, the programmers at times do not fully cooperate to make the exchanges a success. According to Sir Charles, the meeting schedule may be rearranged so program personnel can attend and become directly involved in Union activities. Ideally, the committees in the future would meet a few months before the General Assembly, giving the full membership ample time to consider their proposals.

Besides the regular television exchanges, the Union is involved in a joint production of children's educational films about Asian countries. The initial six films are being produced by representatives from Australia, Brunei, Malaysia and Singapore, under a \$25,000 grant from the Edward E. Ford Foundation which is paying for film and travel expenses. ABU members will be able to obtain the films for the cost of the prints, and efforts will be made to sell them to outside organizations. Revenues from sales will then be used to produce further films.

To encourage quality program standards, an annual competition was initiated for the "ABU Prize." This award originated from a contest organized in 1964 by ABC for rural radio programs and

was held in honor of the first General Assembly. NHK, with the success of this endeavor, offered a prize in the television program field. There are now three ABU prizes: one for rural radio programs (\$1,000); another for the best television documentary (\$1,000); and the Special Television Prize for low cost documentaries (\$500). ABC and NHK contribute \$1,100 each to these prizes, and the remainder comes from the ABU treasury. The entries can be used by any members, although in actual practice only the television winners attain wide circulation.

Another ABU objective is an extensive Asian communications satellite system to make "Asiavision" a reality through direct interconnection as well as to aid the growth of basic communication facilities in the developing countries. ABU also envisions the day when a world television network will be an important program resource for its members. For these reasons, it played a key role in bringing the regional broadcasting bodies together under UNESCO auspices to discuss the use of space communication in broadcasting. Meeting in January 1968, the conference studied the major administrative, legal, political and technical problems confronting satellite communication and recommended that the ITU convene an intergovernmental conference to ensure the orderly growth of distribution satellite systems; developing nations be accorded equitable treatment when frequencies are allocated; and an international convention be prepared to protect program rights in television satellite transmissions.<sup>16</sup> None of the recommendations have been instituted yet. ABU is hopeful the regional bodies will continue meeting on a regular basis to discuss satellite developments and other matters of common interest. To maintain current data on satellite technology, the Union has formed a special study group.

*Technical:* ABU, from its inception, has indicated a keen interest in technical matters. Members are urged to include an engineer in their meeting delegations, and the Engineering Committee proceedings are an outstanding example of information exchange. Three major steps were recently taken in this field. An Engineering Officer was added to the Tokyo Secretariat in 1968; the bi-monthly *ABU Technical Review* was initiated in March 1969; and, in 1968, funds were provided to establish monitoring facilities at Klang, Malaysia, in

space furnished by Radio Malaysia. This station will study tropical ionospheric propagation in the medium-frequency band. Similar data compiled by EBU dealt mainly with the middle and upper geographical latitudes, and ABU should make an important contribution by investigating propagation characteristics in the equatorial zone.<sup>17</sup> The work at the monitoring station is guided by a study group which has been investigating spectrum interference problems in Asia. For its technical activities, ABU was admitted by ITU in an advisory capacity to the CCIR.

Some members have provided technical assistance and equipment to those who have suffered serious damage from natural or man-made disasters. For example, NZBC sent engineers to aid the SBS in repairing its transmitter following a hurricane, and the National Broadcasting System of South Vietnam received equipment after damages were sustained during the 1968 Tet offensive. When similar events occur, the Secretariat circulates a list of the damaged facilities to the members who can help if they so desire. The Union as a whole does not take direct action because, in some instances, there are political implications.

*Information:* The annual General Assemblies exemplify ABU's efforts to apprise members of major broadcasting developments. Each year leading authorities, from both within and outside the Union, present papers on a specific theme: "The Role of Broadcasting in Community Development" (1965), "Space Communication" (1966), "Administration and Legal Aspects of Broadcasting" (1967), "Functional Literacy" (1968), and "Commercial Broadcasting" (1969). With EBU's cooperation, Dr. Georges Straschnov, its Director of Legal Affairs, discussed copyright during the 1967 meeting and, since few Asian nations have such laws, his services were retained by ABU to develop model legislation for the region. He has initially assisted appropriate authorities in Malaysia and Ceylon in drawing up copyright laws, and these documents will be available to all other members.<sup>18</sup>

Another important aspect of the annual gatherings is the chance for top administrative officials to become acquainted, to share experiences, and to initiate programs of mutual assistance. For such purposes informal gatherings are arranged, and every effort is made to house the delegates in one location. Comments from several officials

indicate these informal contacts are a major benefit and are just as important as the more formal aspects. However, officials from some of the developing nations are changed frequently, and some individuals indicate the constant shift in personnel tends to disrupt the Union's continuity. Often the new officials are not aware of ABU activities or commitments made by the previous administrators. In no instance has a new executive withdrawn his organization from the Union, but his attitudes can affect the degree of participation and involvement in ABU activities.

Between the annual meetings, the monthly *ABU Newsletter* is the primary organ of information. Although presently lacking the sophistication of the *EBU Review*, it is a vital resource for individuals who want to be aware of significant developments in Asia, especially, and in other parts of the world. Several short articles are featured each month as well as news items on programming, personnel, and general membership activities. The newsletter has developed considerably in style and content since the first issue in 1965, particularly after additional funds and staff were furnished by the Ford grant. No charge is made for the newsletter, and copies are sent to the members and other interested agencies such as UNESCO, FAO, ITU, EBU, OIRT and URTNA.

ABU's endeavors in educational broadcasting have been limited thus far to exchanging ideas and information. It did participate, nevertheless, in the third EBU Conference on Educational Radio and Television. An extensive report on educational broadcasting in Asia was compiled by the Secretariat, detailing the activities of 42 organizations in 31 countries and was widely circulated.<sup>19</sup> Once other activities are stabilized, the membership is anxious to broaden its educational services. To supplement its informational resources, the Union belongs to the International Television and Film Council (ITFC), an organization established under the auspices of UNESCO to facilitate research, exchange information, and promote cooperation among international bodies concerned with visual media. The Secretariat also is collating a list of broadcasting books or periodicals published in member nations, indicating the language in which they are available. Members can then request the publications directly from one another, and the list will be up-dated periodically by announcements in the newsletter.

### Comments and Conclusions

In a sense, ABU is five years old going on 21. With effective leadership and the members' desire to create a viable organization, it has gained considerable maturity, undertaken significant programs of action, fostered alliances with other international bodies, and in general consolidated its position in the world community. Many of its problems are growing pains associated with any new enterprise. Some might be tempted at this stage to draw comparisons between ABU and EBU, but such a comparison would be unjust. While ABU did use EBU as a model in developing its organizational structure, it had to cope with a different level of problems in evolving its activities. A more valid comparison might be made if IBU was used as the basis. Many of the difficulties confronting ABU are related to the wide diversity and status of the members, differences IBU had to face in the 1920's when only a few European nations had solidified their broadcasting systems.

Nevertheless certain problems must be resolved if the Union is to continue its healthy growth, and the next few years will be crucial. First of all, the two men who have given ABU vigorous and dedicated leadership will soon retire: Mr. Maęda will step down in about two years as President of NHK (and ABU also), and Sir Charles Moses will start his second retirement, though no date has been specified. These men have been prominent in ABU's development, and it will be difficult to find replacements. Upon the retirement of Sir Charles another issue must be resolved, namely the consolidation of the Secretariat. As the *Statutes* presently stand, the merger would take place in Tokyo but, after long personal consideration, this author feels that this location may not be the most appropriate place for the Secretariat. The effective power within ABU rests on an axis stretching between NHK and ABC. This situation is due to their expertise, their financial status, and their desire to make ABU an influential body. However, other regional broadcasting organizations, in an apparent effort to maintain a balance between the large and small members, have selected "middle class" nations as the site for their headquarters, e.g. EBU in Geneva, Switzerland, OIRT in Prague, Czechoslovakia, and URTNA in Dakar, Senegal.

Several financial factors should also be considered before the Secretariat is consolidated. Although Tokyo has excellent communications facilities, it is at the northern extremity of the ABU region, thereby

increasing the cost of international travel and telecommunications. This factor would be especially important when moving expenses must be paid to foreign personnel employed at the Secretariat. Furthermore, Japan enjoys a very high standard of living, and it would therefore cost more to maintain the full Secretariat there than in other Asian nations. Although now the staff in Sydney and Tokyo receives the same basic wage scale, NHK must pay a wage differential to its employees assigned to the Secretariat. (Also, the Engineering Officer, who comes from India and is the only non-Japanese in the Tokyo office, receives a higher wage from ABU as a cost-of-living adjustment). Similar increases would have to be paid all non-Japanese employees in Tokyo, and it is doubtful whether ABU could afford such extra expenditures without limiting the scope of its activities. Under these circumstances a more centralized location, in a nation with a lower cost-of-living-index, might be a more prudent site for consolidating the Secretariat. Any of three nations apparently meet these qualifications: Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand. This conclusion should in no way be interpreted as demeaning Japan, NHK or the Japanese people. It is evident that without NHK's guiding genius, leadership and financial support, ABU might never have been formed, and it most certainly would not have evolved to its present healthy state. The conclusion is mainly a practical one, based upon the limited financial resources of the Union.

The time also seems to be appropriate for ABU to compare its aspirations with reality. At each General Assembly numerous resolutions are passed delineating new projects but, due principally to the understaffed Secretariat, many past proposals are not completed or even started. An objective assessment is needed to establish priorities to ascertain which programs should receive complete attention and which can be postponed without impairing progress. If such an appraisal is not undertaken, the work of the Secretariat will probably slip farther behind, and members may begin to lose confidence in the Union's ability to finish needed projects.

One final problem may affect ABU relationships: several members presently have strained diplomatic relations, e.g. the Philippine Islands and Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia. Such situations will test ABU's mettle; especially since many members are government agencies. The leadership will have to exercise great skill to be certain

that inter-governmental problems do not affect the Union's development as happened to the IBU and later to the OIR.

Thus despite the wide diversity of language, culture, stages of economic development, and status of the members, ABU has made great progress in a relatively short time. It has: (1) fostered increased training opportunities for members from developing countries; (2) organized program exchanges; (3) initiated needed action in the technical field; (4) increased the flow of information pertaining to broadcasting, especially in Asia; and (5) become an effective focal point for international cooperation, particularly by illustrating that large broadcasting organizations are willing to aid the smaller ones during their initial stages of development. While problems exist, the members are aware of them and are working to overcome them. The only major area ABU has yet to develop fully is educational broadcasting, but steps are being taken to enlarge activities in this field. ABU has reached the first important plateau of development. Its next major phase may come with the founding of "Asiavision." For although ABU might continue to exist without "Asiavision," it does not seem likely that such a regional broadcasting network could exist without an organization similar to ABU.

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#### Footnotes

<sup>1</sup> The term international non-governmental organization is applied to any international body which is not established by intergovernmental agreement. For a full discussion of such groups see: Lyman Cromwell White, *International Non-Governmental Organizations* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1951).

<sup>2</sup> The data for this study were gathered during a journey to the Asian/Pacific region in the summer of 1968. Funds were provided by the Graduate School and the Center for International Communication Studies of the University of Wisconsin. Sir Charles Moses, ABU's Secretary-General, and his staff in Tokyo and Sydney provided many valuable insights and allowed access to all ABU documentation, with the understanding that certain data had to be treated as confidential. Through Sir Charles' good offices visitations were also arranged to a sample of member organizations to ascertain their status as well as their attitudes toward ABU. Included in this sample were the Western Samoan Broadcasting Service, Radio and Televisi Republik Indonesia, Radio and Television Malaysia, Radio Hong Kong and the Broadcasting Corporation of China. While most of the time in Sydney and Tokyo was spent in the ABU offices, discussions were held with Mr. Yoshinori Maeda, President of NHK and ABU, Mr. T. S. Duckmanton, General Manager of ABC, and Mr. Lloyd Sommerlad, Federal Director of the Federation of Australian Commercial Broadcasters.

<sup>3</sup> Interview with Ichiro Matsui, Honorary Deputy Secretary-General, ABU, Tokyo, July, 1968.

<sup>4</sup> The studies which have investigated the regional broadcasting organizations include: Kenneth Harwood, "The International Radio and Television Organi-

zation," *JOURNAL OF BROADCASTING*, V: 1: 61-72; Russell B. Barber, "The European Broadcasting Union," *JOURNAL OF BROADCASTING*, VI: 2: 111-24; Russell Brooks Butler Barber, "Eurovision as an Expression of International Cooperation in Western Europe" (Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, June, 1963); Charles E. Sherman, "The Structure and Functions of the European Broadcasting Union" (Ph.D. dissertation, Wayne State University, May, 1967.)

<sup>5</sup> *Statutes of the Asian Broadcasting Union* (Tokyo: ABU Secretariat, 1967).

<sup>6</sup> In November, 1968, the full members were: Radio Afganistan, Australian Broadcasting Commission, Ceylon Broadcasting Corporation, Broadcasting Corporation of China, All India Radio, Radio Republik Indonesia/Televisi Republik Indonesia, Radio Iran/National Television of Iran, Nippon Hoso Kyokai, Korean Broadcasting System, Radiodiffusion Nationale Lao, Radio Malaysia/TV Malaysia, Radio Nepal, New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation, Radio Pakistan, Philippine Broadcasting Service, Radio and TV Singapura, Radio Thailand, Tonga Broadcasting Commission, Turkish Radio and Television Corporation, UAR Broadcasting and Television Corporations, National Broadcasting System of the Republic of Vietnam, Samoan Broadcasting Service.

The associate members included: Federation of Australian Commercial Broadcasters, Brunei Broadcasting Service, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Office de Radiodiffusion-Télévision Française, Fiji Broadcasting Commission, Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen, Pacific Broadcasting Corporation, Radio Hong Kong, Hong Kong Commercial Broadcasting Co. Ltd., Munhwa Broadcasting Corporation, Compagnie de Television du Liban et du Proche Orient S. A. L., Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation, Pakistan Television Corporation Ltd., Mindanao Broadcasting Network, Solomon Islands Broadcasting Service, Sveriges Radio, Gilbert and Ellice Islands Broadcasting Service, British Broadcasting Corporation, Independent Television Authority/Independent Television Companies Association, American Broadcasting Companies Inc., Columbia Broadcasting System Inc., National Broadcasting Company Inc., National Educational Television, National Association of Educational Broadcasters, Time-Life Broadcast Inc., International Broadcasting Service of the U. S. Information Agency, Swiss Broadcasting Corporation, National Association of Broadcasters of Japan.

<sup>7</sup> *Statutes*, Art. 1.

<sup>8</sup> Interview with Sir Charles Moses, Secretary-General, ABU, Sydney, June, 1968.

<sup>9</sup> *Statutes*, Art. 15. The subscription units are computed as follows:

Group	Operational Expenditure in US Dollars		Number of Units
A	Under	100,000	1
B	From	100,001— 300,000	2
C	From	300,001— 800,000	3
D	From	800,001— 1,500,000	5
E	From	1,500,001— 5,000,000	8
F	From	5,000,001— 12,000,000	13
G	From	12,000,001— 25,000,000	20
H	From	25,000,001— 45,000,000	30
I	From	45,000,001— 70,000,000	45
J	From	70,000,001—100,000,000	70
K	Over	100,000,000—	100

<sup>10</sup> Interview with Sir Charles Moses.

<sup>11</sup> *Statutes*, Art. 2.

<sup>12</sup> Under Article 71 of the United Nations' Charter, the Economic and

Social Council may arrange for consultation with non-governmental bodies. These arrangements allow the UN to obtain information or advice from such organizations regarding their special area of competence as well as enabling these bodies to express their views. Within this framework, certain non-governmental organizations are granted consultative status. For more details see: Stephen S. Goodspeed, *The Nature and Function of International Organization* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 414-17.

<sup>13</sup> The Centre for Educational Television Overseas was established in London in 1962 and has operated under grants supplied by the Nuffield Foundation, the Independent Television Companies, the Ford Foundation and the British Government. The Centre attempts to aid in the expansion of educational television, especially in the developing nations. To this end, it sends experts to help plan new services, holds production and direction courses, provides program materials, collects and exchanges information, and engages in research. The Thomson Foundation operates a television college in Kirkhill House, Newton Mearns, Glasgow, Scotland. Twice a year it offers courses in engineering and production for overseas personnel of newly established television stations. The facilities are designed on the line of small television operations which are generally found in developing nations. Each course is of three months' duration, and applications are submitted through the British Embassies.

<sup>14</sup> Interview with Betty Cook, Assistant to the Secretary-General, ABU, Sydney, June, 1968.

<sup>15</sup> Interview with Roku Ito, Assistant to the Secretary-General, ABU, Tokyo, July, 1968.

<sup>16</sup> United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, *Meeting of Experts on the Use of Space Communication for Broadcasting*, Paris, Jan. 24-26, 1968 (Paris: UNESCO, 1968).

<sup>17</sup> "Report to the Fifth Administrative Council Meeting on the Measurements of Signals from Distant Medium Frequency Transmitters and other Activities of Study Group 1," Tatsuji Nomura, chairman (Tokyo: ABU Secretariat, 1968, mimeographed).

<sup>18</sup> Interview with Sir Charles Moses.

<sup>19</sup> Asian Broadcasting Union, "The ABU Report on Educational Broadcasting in Asia and the Pacific" (Sydney: ABU Secretariat, 1967, mimeographed).

### **Don't Forget**

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**JOHN M. KITROSS, *Editor***

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SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

## The "Red Lion" Decision

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*The decision of the Supreme Court last June in the "Red Lion" and "RTNDA" cases is the most important decision on broadcasting from SCOTUS in many years. On this fact communications attorneys, members of the FCC, editorial writers, teachers, and the Vice President of the U. S. can all agree. To make this landmark decision more readily available, the JOURNAL is providing below most of the verbatim text of the decision. In the interests of conserving space, some minor marked deletions have been made.*

*The full title of this case is: "Red Lion Broadcasting Co., Inc., et al., Petitioners, v Federal Communications Commission et al. (No. 2)—United States et al, Petitioners, v Radio Television News Directors Association, et al. (No. 717)." It was argued April 2 and 3, 1969, and decided June 9, 1969, with Mr. Justice White delivering the opinion of the Court. The precise legal citations from the court reporting systems are not yet available.*

THE Federal Communications Commission has for many years imposed on radio and television broadcasters the requirement that discussion of public issues be presented on broadcast stations, and that each side of those issues must be given fair coverage. This is known as the fairness doctrine, which originated very early in the history of broadcasting and has maintained its present outlines for some time. It is an obligation whose content has been defined in a long series of FCC rulings in particular cases, and which is distinct from the statutory requirement of § 315 of the Communications Act that equal time be allotted all qualified candidates for public office. Two aspects of the fairness doctrine, relating to personal attacks in the context of controversial public issues and to political editorializing, were codified more precisely in the form of FCC regulations in 1967. The two cases before us now, which were decided separately below, challenge the constitutional and statutory bases of the doctrine and component rules. *Red Lion* involves the application of the fairness

doctrine to a particular broadcast, and *RTNDA* arises as an action to review the FCC's 1967 promulgation of the personal attack and political editorializing regulations, which were laid down after the *Red Lion* litigation had begun.

## I.

The Red Lion Broadcasting Company is licensed to operate a Pennsylvania radio station WGCB. On November 27, 1964, WGCB carried a 15-minute broadcast by Reverend Billy James Hargis as part of a "Christian Crusade" series. A book by Fred J. Cook entitled "Goldwater—Extremist on the Right" was discussed by Hargis, who said that Cook had been fired by a newspaper for fabricating false charges against city officials; that Cook had then worked for a Communist-affiliated publication; that he had defended Alger Hiss and attacked J. Edgar Hoover and the Central Intelligence Agency; and that he had now written a "book to smear and destroy Barry Goldwater." When Cook heard of the broadcast he concluded that he had been personally attacked and demanded free reply time, which the station refused. After an exchange of letters among Cook, Red Lion, and the FCC, the FCC declared that the Hargis broadcast constituted a personal attack on Cook; that Red Lion had failed to meet its obligation under the fairness doctrine as expressed in *Times-Mirror Broadcasting Co.*, 24 P & F Radio Reg. 404 (1962), to send a tape, transcript, or summary of the broadcast to Cook and offer him reply time; and that the station must provide reply time whether or not Cook would pay for it. On review in the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia,<sup>3</sup> the FCC's position was upheld as constitutional and otherwise proper. 381 F.2d 908 (1967).

Not long after the *Red Lion* litigation was begun, the FCC issued a Notice of Proposed Rule Making, 31 Fed.Reg. 5710, with an eye to making the personal attack aspect of the fairness doctrine more precise and more readily enforceable, and also to specify its rules relating to political editorials. After considering written comments supporting and opposing the rules, the FCC adopted them substantially as proposed, 32 Fed.Reg. 10303. Twice amended, 32 Fed.Reg. 11531, 33 Fed.Reg. 5362, the rules were held unconstitutional in the *RTNDA* litigation by the Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit on review of the rule-making proceeding as abridging the freedoms of speech and press. 400 F.2d 1002 (1968).

As they now stand amended, the regulations read as follows:

Personal attacks; political editorials.

(a) When, during the presentation of views on a controversial issue of public importance, an attack is made upon the honesty, character, integrity or like personal qualities of an identified person or group, the licensee shall, within a reasonable time and in no event later than one week after the attack, transmit to the person or group attacked (1) notification of the date, time and identification of the broadcast; (2) a script or tape (or an accurate summary if a script or tape is not available) of the attack; and (3) an offer of a reasonable opportunity to respond over the licensee's facilities.

(b) The provisions of paragraph (a) of this section shall not be applicable (i) to attacks on foreign groups or foreign public figures; (ii) to personal attacks which are made by legally qualified candidates, their authorized spokesmen, or those associated with them in the campaign, on other such candidates, their authorized spokesmen, or persons associated with the candidates in the campaign; and (iii) to bona fide newscasts, bona fide news interviews, and on-the-spot coverage of a bona fide news event (including commentary or analysis contained in the foregoing programs, but the provisions of paragraph (a) shall be applicable to editorials of the licensee).

NOTE: The fairness doctrine is applicable to situations coming within (iii), above, and, in a specific factual situation, may be applicable in the general area of political broadcasts (ii), above. See Section 315(a) of the Act, 47 U.S.C. 315(a); Public Notice: *Applicability of the Fairness Doctrine in the Handling of Controversial Issues of Public Importance*. 29 Fed. Reg. 10415. The categories listed in (iii) are the same as those specified in Section 315(a) of the Act.

(c) Where a licensee, in an editorial, (i) endorses or (ii) opposes a legally qualified candidate or candidates, the licensee shall, within 24 hours after the editorial, transmit to respectively (i) the other qualified candidate or candidates for the same office or (ii) the candidate opposed in the editorial (1) notification of the date and the time of the editorial; (2) a script or tape of the editorial; and (3) an offer of a reasonable opportunity for a candidate or a spokesman of the candidate to respond over the licensee's facilities: *Provided, however*, That where such editorials are broadcast within 72 hours prior to the day of the election, the licensee shall comply with the provisions of this subsection sufficiently far in advance of the broadcast to enable the candidate or candidates to have a reasonable opportunity to prepare a response and to present it in a timely fashion. [47 CFR §§ 73.123, 73.300, 73.598, 73.679 (all identical).]

Believing that the specific application of the fairness doctrine in *Red Lion*, and the promulgation of the regulations in *RTNDA*, are both authorized by Congress and enhance rather than abridge the freedoms of speech and press protected by the First Amendment, we hold them valid and constitutional, reversing the judgment below in *RTNDA* and affirming the judgment below in *Red Lion*.

## II.

The history of the emergence of the fairness doctrine and of the related legislation shows that the Commission's action in the *Red Lion* case did not exceed its authority, and that in adopting the new regulations the Commission was implementing congressional policy rather than embarking on a frolic of its own.

Before 1927, the allocation of frequencies was left entirely to the private sector, and the result was chaos. It quickly became apparent that broadcast frequencies constituted a scarce resource whose use could be regulated and rationalized only by the Government. Without government control, the medium would be of little use because of the cacaphony of competing voices, none of which could be clearly and predictably heard. Consequently, the Federal Radio Commission was established to allocate frequencies among competing applicants in a manner responsive to the public "convenience, interest, or necessity."

Very shortly thereafter the Commission expressed its view that the "public interest requires ample play for the free and fair competition of opposing views, and the Commission believes that the principle applies . . . to all discussions of issues of importance to the public." *Great Lakes Broadcasting Co.*, 3 F.R.C. Ann.Rep. 32, 33 (1929), rev'd on other grounds, 37 F.2d 993, cert. dismissed, 281 U.S. 706 (1930). This doctrine was applied through denial of license renewals or construction permits, both by the FRC, *Trinity Methodist Church, South v. FRC*, 62 F.2d 850 (C.A.D.C. Cir. 1932), cert. denied, 288 U.S. 599 (1933), and its successor FCC, *Young People's Association for the Propagation of the Gospel*, 6 F.C.C. 178 (1938). After an extended period during which the licensee was obliged not only to cover and to cover fairly the views of others, but also to refrain from expressing his own personal views, *Mayflower Broadcasting Corp.*, 8 F.C.C. 333 (1941), the latter limitation on the

licensee was abandoned and the doctrine developed into its present form.

There is a twofold duty laid down by the FCC's decisions and described by the 1949 Report on Editorializing by Broadcast Licensees, 13 F.C.C. 1246 (1949). The broadcaster must give adequate coverage to public issues, *United Broadcasting Co.*, 10 F.C.C., 515 (1945), and coverage must be fair in that it accurately reflects the opposing views. *New Broadcasting Co.*, 6 P & F Radio Reg. 258 (1950). This must be done at the broadcaster's own expense if sponsorship is unavailable. *Cullman Broadcasting Co.*, 25 P & F Radio Reg. 895 (1963). Moreover, the duty must be met by programming obtained at the licensee's own initiative if available from no other source. \* \* \*

When a personal attack has been made on a figure involved in a public issue, both the doctrine of cases such as *Red Lion* and *Times-Mirror Broadcasting Co.*, 24 P & F Radio Reg. 404 (1962), and also the 1967 regulations at issue in *RTNDA* require that the individual attacked himself be offered an opportunity to respond. Likewise, where one candidate is endorsed in a political editorial, the other candidates must themselves be offered reply time to use personally or through a spokesman. These obligations differ from the general fairness requirement that issues be presented, and presented with coverage of competing views, in that the broadcaster does not have the option of presenting the attacked party's side himself or choosing a third party to represent that side. But insofar as there is an obligation of the broadcaster to see that both sides are presented, and insofar as that is an affirmative obligation, the personal attack doctrine and regulations do not differ from preceding fairness doctrine. The simple fact that the attacked men or unendorsed candidates may respond themselves or through agents is not a critical distinction, and indeed, it is not unreasonable for the FCC to conclude that the objective of adequate presentation of all sides may best be served by allowing those most closely affected to make the response, rather than leaving the response in the hands of the station which has attacked their candidacies, endorsed their opponents, or carried a personal attack upon them.

The statutory authority of the FCC to promulgate these regulations derives from the mandate to the "Commission from time to time,

as public convenience, interest, or necessity requires" to promulgate "such rules and regulations and prescribe such restrictions and conditions . . . as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this chapter . . ." 47 U.S.C. § 303 and § 303(r). The Commission is specifically directed to consider the demands of the public interest in the course of granting licenses, 47 U.S.C. §§ 307(a), 309(a); renewing them, 47 U.S.C. § 307; and modifying them. *Ibid.* Moreover, the FCC has included among the conditions of the Red Lion license itself the requirement that operation of the station be carried out in the public interest, 47 U.S.C. § 309(h). This mandate to the FCC to assure that broadcasters operate in the public interest is a broad one, a power "not niggardly but expansive," *National Broadcasting Co. v. United States*, 319 U.S. 190, 219 (1943), whose validity we have long upheld. It is broad enough to encompass these regulations.

The fairness doctrine finds specific recognition in statutory form, is in part modeled on explicit statutory provisions relating to political candidates, and is approvingly reflected in legislative history.

In 1959 the Congress amended the statutory requirement of § 315 that equal time be accorded each political candidate to except certain appearances on news programs, but added that this constituted no exception "*from the obligation imposed upon them under this Act to operate in the public interest and to afford reasonable opportunity for the discussion of conflicting views on issues of public importance.*" Act of September 14, 1959, § 1, 73 Stat. 557, amending 47 U.S.C. § 315(a) (emphasis added). This language makes it very plain that Congress, in 1959, announced that the phrase "public interest," which had been in the Act since 1927, imposed a duty on broadcasters to discuss both sides of controversial public issues. In other words, the amendment vindicated the FCC's general view that the fairness doctrine inhered in the public interest standard. Subsequent legislation enacted into law and declaring the intent of an earlier statute is entitled to great weight in statutory construction. And here this principle is given special force by the equally venerable principle that the construction of a statute by those charged with its execution should be followed unless there are compelling indications that it is wrong, especially when Congress has refused to alter the administrative construction. Here, the Congress has not just kept its silence by refusing to overturn the administrative construction,

but has ratified it with positive legislation. Thirty years of consistent administrative construction left undisturbed by Congress until 1959, when that construction was expressly accepted, reinforce the natural conclusion that the public interest language of the Act authorized the Commission to require licensees to use their stations for discussion of public issues, and that the FCC is free to implement this requirement by reasonable rules and regulations which fall short of abridgement of the freedom of speech and press, and of the censorship proscribed by § 326 of the Act.

The objectives of § 315 themselves could readily be circumvented but for the complementary fairness doctrine ratified by § 315. The section applies only to campaign appearances by candidates, and not by family, friends, campaign managers, or other supporters. Without the fairness doctrine, then, a licensee could ban all campaign appearances by candidates themselves from the air and proceed to deliver over his station entirely to the supporters of one slate of candidates, to the exclusion of all others. In this way the broadcaster could have a far greater impact on the favored candidacy than he could by simply allowing a spot appearance by the candidate himself. It is the fairness doctrine as an aspect of the obligation to operate in the public interest, rather than § 315, which prohibits the broadcaster from taking such a step.

The legislative history reinforces this view of the effect of the 1959 amendment. Even before the language relevant here was added, the Senate report on amending § 315 noted that "broadcast frequencies are limited and, therefore, they have been necessarily considered a public trust. Every licensee who is fortunate in obtaining a license is mandated to operate in the public interest and has assumed the obligation of presenting important public questions fairly and without bias." S.Rep. No. 562, 86th Cong., 1st Sess., 8-9 (1959). See also, specifically adverting to Federal Communications Commission doctrine, *id.*, at 13.

Rather than leave this approval solely in the legislative history, Senator Proxmire suggested an amendment to make it part of the Act, 105 Cong.Rec. 14457. This amendment, which Senator Pastore, a manager of the bill and Chairman of the Senate Committee considered "rather surplusage," 105 Cong.Rec. 14462, constituted a positive statement of doctrine<sup>14</sup> and was altered to the present merely approving language in the conference committee. In explaining the

language to the Senate after the committee changes, Senator Pastore said: "We insisted that the provision remain in the bill, to be a continuing reminder and admonition to the Federal Communications Commission and to the broadcasters alike, that we were not abandoning the philosophy that gave birth to section 315, in giving the people the right to have a full and complete disclosure of conflicting views on news of interest to the people of the country." 105 Cong.Rec. 17830. Senator Scott, another Senate manager, added that "It is intended to encompass all legitimate areas of public importance which are controversial," not just politics. 105 Cong.Rec. 17831.

It is true that the personal attack aspect of the fairness doctrine was not actually adjudicated until after 1959, so that Congress then did not have those rules specifically before it. However, the obligation to offer time to reply to a personal attack was presaged by the FCC's 1949 Report on Editorializing, which the FCC views as the principal summary of its *ratio decidendi* in cases in this area:

In determining whether to honor specific requests for time, the station will inevitably be confronted with such questions as . . . whether there may not be other available groups or individuals who might be more appropriate spokesmen for the particular point of view than the person making the request. The latter's personal involvement in the controversy may also be a factor which must be considered, for elementary considerations of fairness may dictate that time be allocated to a person or group which has been specifically attacked over the station, where otherwise no such obligation would exist. (13 F.C.C., at 1251-1252.)

When the Congress ratified the FCC's implication of a fairness doctrine in 1959 it did not, of course, approve every past decision or pronouncement by the Commission on this subject, or give it a completely free hand for the future. The statutory authority does not go so far. But we cannot say that when a station publishes a personal attack or endorses a political candidate, it is a misconstruction of the public interest standard to require the station to offer time for a response rather than to leave the response entirely within the control of the station which has attacked either the candidacies or the men who wish to reply in their own defense. When a broadcaster grants time to a political candidate, Congress itself requires that equal time be offered his opponents. It would exceed our competence to hold that the Commission is unauthorized by the statute to employ a similar device where personal attacks or political editorials are broadcast by a radio or television station.

In light of the fact that the "public interest" in broadcasting clearly encompasses the presentation of vigorous debate of controversial issues of importance and concern to the public; the fact that the FCC has rested upon that language from its very inception a doctrine that these issues must be discussed, and fairly; and the fact that Congress has acknowledged that the analogous provisions of § 315 are not preclusive in this area, and knowingly preserved the FCC's complementary efforts, we think the fairness doctrine and its component personal attack and political editorializing regulations are a legitimate exercise of congressionally delegated authority. The Communications Act is not notable for the precision of its substantive standards and in this respect the explicit provisions of § 315, and the doctrine and rules at issue here which are closely modeled upon that section, are far more explicit than the generalized "public interest" standard in which the Commission ordinarily finds its sole guidance, and which we have held a broad but adequate standard before. We cannot say that the FCC's declaratory ruling in *Red Lion*, or the regulations at issue in *RTNDA*, are beyond the scope of the congressionally conferred power to assure that stations are operated by those whose possession of a license serves "the public interest."

### III.

The broadcasters challenge the fairness doctrine and its specific manifestations in the personal attack and political editorial rules on conventional First Amendment grounds, alleging that the rules abridge their freedom of speech and press. Their contention is that the First Amendment protects their desire to use their allotted frequencies continuously to broadcast whatever they choose, and to exclude whomever they choose from ever using that frequency. No man may be prevented from saying or publishing what he thinks, or from refusing in his speech or other utterances to give equal weight to the views of his opponents. This right, they say, applies equally to broadcasters.

Although broadcasting is clearly a medium affected by a First Amendment interest, *United States v. Paramount Pictures, Inc.*, 334 U.S. 131, 166 (1948), differences in the characteristics of new media justify differences in the First Amendment standards applied to them.<sup>15</sup> *Joseph Burstyn, Inc. v. Wilson*, 343 U.S. 495, 503 (1952). For example, the ability of new technology to produce sounds more

raucous than those of the human voice justifies restrictions on the sound level, and on the hours and places of use, of sound trucks so long as the restrictions are reasonable and applied without discrimination. *Kovacs v. Cooper*, 336 U.S. 77 (1949).

Just as the Government may limit the use of sound amplifying equipment potentially so noisy that it drowns out civilized private speech, so may the Government limit the use of broadcast equipment. The right of free speech of a broadcaster, the user of a sound truck, or any other individual does not embrace a right to snuff out the free speech of others. *Associated Press v. United States*, 326 U.S. 1, 20 (1945).

When two people converse face to face, both should not speak at once if either is to be clearly understood. But the range of the human voice is so limited that there could be meaningful communications if half the people in the United States were talking and the other half listening. Just as clearly, half the people might publish and the other half read. But the reach of radio signals is incomparably greater than the range of the human voice and the problem of interference is a massive reality. The lack of know-how and equipment may keep many from the air, but only a tiny fraction of those with resources and intelligence can hope to communicate by radio at the same time if intelligible communication is to be had, even if the entire radio spectrum is utilized in the present state of commercially acceptable technology.

It was this fact, and the chaos which ensued from permitting anyone to use any frequency at whatever power level he wished, which made necessary the enactment of the Radio Act of 1927 and the Communications Act of 1934,<sup>16</sup> as the Court has noted at length before. *National Broadcasting Co. v. United States*, 319 U.S. 190, 210-214 (1943). It was this reality which at the very least necessitated first the division of the radio spectrum into portions reserved respectively for public broadcasting and for other important radio uses such as amateur operation, aircraft, police, defense, and navigation; and then the subdivision of each portion, and assignment of specific frequencies to individual users or groups of users. Beyond this, however, because the frequencies reserved for public broadcasting were limited in number, it was essential for the Government to tell some applicants that they could not broadcast at all because there was room for only a few.

Where there are substantially more individuals who want to broadcast than there are frequencies to allocate, it is idle to posit an unbridgeable First Amendment right to broadcast comparable to the right of every individual to speak, write, or publish. If 100 persons want broadcast licenses but there are only 10 frequencies to allocate, all of them may have the same "right" to a license; but if there is to be any effective communication by radio, only a few can be licensed and the rest must be barred from the airways. It would be strange if the First Amendment, aimed at protecting and furthering communications, prevented the Government from making radio communication possible by requiring licenses to broadcast and by limiting the number of licenses so as not to overcrowd the spectrum.

This has been the consistent view of the Court. Congress unquestionably has the power to grant and deny licenses and to delete existing stations. *Federal Radio Commission v. Nelson Bros. Bond & Mortgage Co.*, 289 U.S. 266 (1933). No one has a First Amendment right to a license or to monopolize a radio frequency; to deny a station license because "the public interest" requires it "is not a denial of free speech." *National Broadcasting Co. v. U.S.*, 319 U.S. 190, 227 (1943).

By the same token, as far as the First Amendment is concerned those who are licensed stand no better than those to whom licenses are refused. A license permits broadcasting, but the licensee has no constitutional right to be the one who holds the license or to monopolize a radio frequency to the exclusion of his fellow citizens. There is nothing in the First Amendment which prevents the Government from requiring a licensee to share his frequency with others and to conduct himself as a proxy or fiduciary with obligations to present those views and voices which are representative of his community and which would otherwise, by necessity, be barred from the airwaves.

This is not to say that the First Amendment is irrelevant to public broadcasting. On the contrary, it has a major role to play as the Congress itself recognized in § 326, which forbids FCC interference with "the right of free speech by means of radio communications." Because of the scarcity of radio frequencies, the Government is permitted to put restraints on licensees in favor of others whose views should be expressed on this unique medium. But the people as a whole retain their interest in free speech by radio and their collective right to have the medium function consistently with the ends and purposes

of the First Amendment. It is the right of the viewers and listeners, not the right of the broadcasters, which is paramount. See *FCC v. Sanders Bros. Radio Station*, 309 U.S. 470, 475 (1940); *FCC v. Allentown Broadcasting Corp.*, 349 U.S. 358, 361-362 (1955); *Z. Chafee, Government and Mass Communications* 546 (1947). It is the purpose of the First Amendment to preserve an uninhibited marketplace of ideas in which truth will ultimately prevail, rather than to countenance monopolization of that market, whether it be by the Government itself or a private licensee. *Associated Press v. United States*, 326 U.S. 1, 20 (1945); *New York Times Co. v. Sullivan*, 376 U.S. 254, 270 (1964); *Abrams v. United States*, 250 U.S. 616, 630 (1919) (Holmes, J., dissenting). "[S]peech concerning public affairs is more than self-expression: it is the essence of self-government." *Garrison v. Louisiana*, 379 U.S. 64, 74-75 (1964). See Brennan, *The Supreme Court and the Meiklejohn Interpretation of the First Amendment*, 79 *Harv.L.Rev.* 1 (1965). It is the right of the public to receive suitable access to social, political, esthetic, moral, and other ideas and experiences which is crucial here. That right may not constitutionally be abridged either by Congress or by the FCC.

Rather than confer frequency monopolies on a relatively small number of licensees, in a Nation of 200,000,000, the Government could surely have decreed that each frequency should be shared among all or some of those who wish to use it, each being assigned a portion of the broadcast day or the broadcast week. The ruling and regulations at issue here do not go quite so far. They assert that under specified circumstances, a licensee must offer to make available a reasonable amount of broadcast time to those who have a view different from that which has already been expressed on his station. The expression of a political endorsement, or of a personal attack while dealing with a controversial public issue, simply triggers this time-sharing. As we have said, the First Amendment confers no right on licensees to prevent others from broadcasting on "their" frequencies and no right to an unconditional monopoly of a scarce resource which the Government has denied others the right to use.

In terms of constitutional principle, and as enforced sharing of a scarce resource, the personal attack and political editorial rules are indistinguishable from the equal-time provision of § 315, a specific enactment of Congress requiring stations to set aside reply time under specified circumstances and to which the fairness doctrine and these

constituent regulations are important complements. That provision, which has been part of the law since 1927, Radio Act of 1927, c. 169, § 18, 44 Stat. 1162, 1170, has been held valid by this Court as an obligation of the licensee relieving him of any power in any way to prevent or censor the broadcast, and thus insulating him from liability for defamation. The constitutionality of the statute under the First Amendment was unquestioned.<sup>17</sup> *Farmers Educ. & Coop. Union v. WDAY*, 360 U.S. 525 (1959).

Nor can we say that it is inconsistent with the First Amendment goal of producing an informed public capable of conducting its own affairs to require a broadcaster to permit answers to personal attacks occurring in the course of discussing controversial issues, or to require that the political opponents of those endorsed by the station be given a chance to communicate with the public.<sup>18</sup> Otherwise, station owners and a few networks would have unfettered power to make time available only to the highest bidders, to communicate only their own views on public issues, people and candidates, and to permit on the air only those with whom they agreed. There is no sanctuary in the First Amendment for unlimited private censorship operating in a medium not open to all. "Freedom of the press from governmental interference under the First Amendment does not sanction repression of that freedom by private interests." *Associated Press v. U. S.*, 326 U.S. 1, 20 (1944).

It is strenuously argued, however, that, if political editorials or personal attacks will trigger an obligation in broadcasters to afford the opportunity for expression to speakers who need not pay for time and whose views are unpalatable to the licensees, then broadcasters will be irresistibly forced to self-censorship and their coverage of controversial public issues will be eliminated or at least rendered wholly ineffective. Such a result would indeed be a serious matter, for should licensees actually eliminate their coverage of controversial issues, the purposes of the doctrine would be stifled.

At this point, however, as the Federal Communications Commission has indicated, that possibility is at best speculative. The communications industry, and in particular the networks, have taken pains to present controversial issues in the past, and even now they do not assert that they intend to abandon their efforts in this regard.<sup>19</sup> It would be better if the FCC's encouragement were never necessary to

induce the broadcasters to meet their responsibility. And if experience with the administration of these doctrines indicates that they have the net effect of reducing rather than enhancing the volume and quality of coverage, there will be time enough to reconsider the constitutional implications. The fairness doctrine in the past has had no such over-all effect.

That this will occur now seems unlikely, however, since if present licensees should suddenly prove timorous, the Commission is not powerless to insist that they give adequate and fair attention to public issues. It does not violate the First Amendment to treat licensees given the privilege of using scarce radio frequencies as proxies for the entire community, obligated to give suitable time and attention to matters of great public concern. To condition the granting or renewal of licenses on a willingness to present representative community views on controversial issues is consistent with the ends and purposes of those constitutional provisions forbidding the abridgment of freedom of speech and freedom of the press. Congress need not stand idly by and permit those with licenses to ignore the problems which beset the people or to exclude from the airways anything but their own views of fundamental questions. The statute, long administrative practice, and cases are to this effect.

Licenses to broadcast do not confer ownership of designated frequencies, but only the temporary privilege of using them. 47 U.S.C. § 301. Unless renewed, they expire within three years. 47 U.S.C. § 307(d). The statute mandates the issuance of licenses if the "public convenience, interest or necessity will be served thereby." 47 U.S.C. § 307(a). In applying this standard the Commission for 40 years has been choosing licensees based in part on their program proposals. In *F. R. C. v. Nelson Bros. Bond and Mortgage Co.*, 289 U.S. 266, 279 (1933), the Court noted that in "view of the limited number of available broadcasting frequencies, the Congress has authorized allocation and licenses." In determining how best to allocate frequencies, the Federal Radio Commission considered the needs of competing communities and the programs offered by competing stations to meet those needs; moreover, if needs or programs shifted, the Commission could alter its allocations to reflect those shifts. *Id.*, at 285. In the same vein, in *F. C. C. v. Pottsville Broadcasting Co.*, 309 U.S. 134, 137-138 (1940), the Court noted that the statutory standard was a supple instrument to effect congressional desires "to maintain . . .

a grip on the dynamic aspects of radio transmission" and to allay fears that "in the absence of governmental control the public interest might be subordinated to monopolistic domination in the broadcasting field." Three years later the Court considered the validity of the Commission's chain broadcasting regulations, which among other things forbade stations from devoting too much time to network programs in order that there be suitable opportunity for local programs serving local needs. The Court upheld the regulations, unequivocally recognizing that the Commission was more than a traffic policeman concerned with the technical aspects of broadcasting and that it neither exceeded its powers under the statute nor transgressed the First Amendment in interesting itself in general program format and the kinds of programs broadcast by licensees. *National Broadcasting Co. v. United States*, 319 U.S. 190 (1943).

The litigants embellish their first amendment arguments with the contention that the regulations are so vague that their duties are impossible to discern. Of this point it is enough to say that, judging the validity of the regulations on their face as they are presented here, we cannot conclude that the FCC has been left a free hand to vindicate its own idiosyncratic conception of the public interest or of the requirements of free speech. Past adjudications by the FCC give added precision to the regulations; there was nothing vague about the FCC's specific ruling in *Red Lion* that Fred Cook should be provided an opportunity to reply. The regulations at issue in *RTNDA* could be employed in precisely the same way as the fairness doctrine was in *Red Lion*. Moreover, the FCC itself has recognized that the applicability of its regulations to situations beyond the scope of past cases may be questionable, 32 Fed.Reg. 10303, 10304 and n. 6, and will not impose sanctions in such cases without warning. We need not approve every aspect of the fairness doctrine to decide these cases, and we will not now pass upon the constitutionality of these regulations by envisioning the most extreme applications conceivable, *United States v. Sullivan*, 332 U.S. 689, 694 (1948), but will deal with those problems if and when they arise.

We need not and do not now ratify every past and future decision by the FCC with regard to programming. There is no question here of the Commission's refusal to permit the broadcaster to carry a particular program or to publish his own views; of a discriminatory refusal to require the licensee to broadcast certain views which have been

denied access to the airways; of government censorship of a particular program contrary to § 326; or of the official government view dominating public broadcasting. Such questions would raise more serious first amendment issues. But we do hold that the Congress and the Commission do not violate the First Amendment when they require a radio or television station to give reply time to answer personal attacks and political editorials.

It is argued that even if at one time the lack of available frequencies for all who wished to use them justified the Government's choice of those who would best serve the public interest by acting as proxy for those who would present differing views, or by giving the latter access directly to broadcast facilities, this condition no longer prevails so that continuing control is not justified. To this there are several answers.

Scarcity is not entirely a thing of the past. \* \* \*

*[An interesting discussion of frequency allocation problems and technological developments in this area has been omitted in the interests of saving space.]*<sup>20, 27</sup>

\* \* \* Some present possibility for new entry by competing stations is not enough, in itself, to render unconstitutional the Government's effort to assure that a broadcaster's programming ranges widely enough to serve the public interest.

In view of the prevalence of scarcity of broadcast frequencies, the Government's role in allocating those frequencies, and the legitimate claims of those unable without governmental assistance to gain access to those frequencies for expression of their views, we hold the regulations and ruling at issue here are both authorized by statute and constitutional.<sup>28</sup> The judgment of the Court of Appeals in *Red Lion* is affirmed and that in *RTNDA* reversed and the causes remanded for proceedings consistent with this opinion.

It is so ordered.

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#### Footnotes

(original numbering retained)

<sup>28</sup> The Court of Appeals initially dismissed the petition for want of a reviewable order, later reversing itself en banc upon argument by the Government that the FCC rule used here, which permits it to issue "a declaratory ruling

terminating a controversy or removing uncertainty," 47 CFR § 1.2, was in fact justified by the Administrative Procedure Act. That Act permits an adjudicating agency, "in its sound discretion, with like effect as in the case of other orders, to issue a declaratory order to terminate a controversy or remove uncertainty." § 5, 60 Stat. 239, 5 U.S.C. § 1004(d). In this case, the FCC could have determined the question of Red Lion's liability to a cease-and-desist order or license revocation, 47 U.S.C. § 312, for failure to comply with the license's condition that the station be operated "in the public interest," or for failure to obey a requirement of operation in the public interest implicit in the ability of the FCC to revoke licenses for conditions justifying the denial of an initial license, 47 U.S.C. § 312(a) (2), and the statutory requirement that the public interest be served in granting and renewing licenses, 47 U.S.C. §§ 307(a), (d). Since the FCC could have adjudicated these questions it could, under the Administrative Procedure Act, have issued a declaratory order in the course of its adjudication which would have been subject to judicial review. Although the FCC did not comply with all of the formalities for an adjudicative proceeding in this case, the petitioner itself adopted as its own the Government's position that this was a reviewable order, waiving any objection it might have had to the procedure of the adjudication.

<sup>14</sup> The Proxmire amendment read: "[B]ut nothing in this sentence shall be construed as changing the basic intent of Congress with respect to the provisions of this act, which recognizes that television and radio frequencies are in the public domain, that the license to operate in such frequencies requires operation in the public interest, and that in newscasts, news interviews, news documentaries, on-the-spot coverage of news events, and panel discussions, all sides of public controversies shall be given as equal an opportunity to be heard as is practically possible." 105 *Cong. Rec.* 14457.

<sup>15</sup> The general problems raised by a technology which supplants atomized, relatively informal communication with mass media as a prime source of national cohesion and news were discussed at considerable length by Zechariah Chafee in *Government and Mass Communications* (1947). Debate on the particular implications of this view for the broadcasting industry has continued unabated. A compendium of views appears in *Freedom and Responsibility in Broadcasting* (Coons, ed.) (1961). See also Kalven, *Broadcasting Public Policy, and the First Amendment*, 10 *J. of Law and Econ.* 15 (1967); Ernst, *The First Freedom* 125-180 (1946); Robinson, *Radio Networks and the Federal Government*, especially at 75-87 (1943). The considerations which the newest technology brings to bear on the particular problem of this litigation are concisely explored by Louis Jaffe in *The Fairness Doctrine, Equal Time, Reply to Personal Attacks, and the Local Service Obligation; Implications of Technological Change* (U. S. Government Printing Office 1968).

<sup>16</sup> The range of controls which have in fact been imposed over the last 40 years, without giving rise to successful constitutional challenge in this Court, is discussed in Emery, *Broadcasting and Government: Responsibilities and Regulations* (1961); Note, *Regulation of Program Content by the FCC*, 77 *Harv. L. Rev.* 701 (1964).

<sup>17</sup> This has not prevented vigorous argument from developing on the constitutionality of the ancillary FCC doctrines. Compare Barrow, *The Equal Opportunities and Fairness Doctrine in Broadcasting: Pillars in the Forum of Democracy*, 37 *U. Cin. L. Rev.* 447 (1968), with Robinson, *The FCC and the First Amendment: Observations on 40 Years of Radio and Television Regu-*

lation, 52 *Minn. L. Rev.* 67 (1967), and Sullivan, Editorials and Controversy, The Broadcaster's Dilemma, 32 *Geo. Wash. L. Rev.* 719 (1964).

<sup>18</sup> The expression of views opposing those which broadcasters permit to be aired in the first place need not be confided solely to the broadcasters themselves as proxies. "Nor is it enough that he should hear the arguments of his adversaries from his own teachers, presented as they state them, and accompanied by what they offer as refutations. That is not the way to do justice to the arguments, or bring them into real contact with his own mind. He must be able to hear them from persons who actually believe them; who defend them in earnest, and do their very utmost for them." J. S. Mill, *On Liberty* 32 (R. McCallum ed. 1947).

<sup>19</sup> The President of the Columbia Broadcasting System has recently declared that despite the Government, "we are determined to continue covering controversial issues as a public service, and exercising our own independent news judgment and enterprise. I, for one, refuse to allow that judgment and enterprise to be affected by official intimidation." Stanton, Keynote Address, Sigma Delta Chi National Convention, Atlanta, Georgia, November 21, 1968. Problems of news coverage from the broadcaster's viewpoint are surveyed in Wood, *Electronic Journalism* (1967).

<sup>20</sup> Current discussions of the frequency allocation problem appear in Telecommunication Science Panel, Commerce Technical Advisory Board, U. S. Department of Commerce, *Electromagnetic Spectrum Utilization—The Silent Crisis* (1966); Joint Technical Advisory Comm., Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers & Electronic Industries Assn., *Radio Spectrum Utilization* (1964); Note, The Crisis in Electromagnetic Frequency Spectrum Allocation, 53 *Iowa L. Rev.* 437 (1967). A recently released study is the *Final Report of the President's Task Force on Communications Policy* (1968).

<sup>27</sup> The "airwaves [need not] be filled at the earliest possible moment in all circumstances, without due regard for these important factors." *Community Broadcasting Co. v. FCC*, 274 F. 2d 753, 763 (C.A.D.C. Cir. 1960). Accord, enforcing the fairness doctrine, *Office of Communication of the United Church of Christ v. FCC*, 359 F. 2d 994, 1009 (C.A.D.C. Cir. 1966).

<sup>28</sup> We need not deal with the argument that even if there is no longer a technological scarcity of frequencies limiting the number of broadcasters, there nevertheless is an economic scarcity in the sense that the Commission could or does limit entry to the broadcasting market on economic grounds and license no more stations than the market will support. Hence, it is said, the fairness doctrine or its equivalent is essential to satisfy the claims of those excluded and of the public generally. A related argument, which we also put aside, is that quite apart from scarcity of frequencies, technological or economic, Congress does not abridge freedom of speech or press by legislation directly or indirectly multiplying the voices and views presented to the public through time sharing, fairness doctrines, or other devices which limit or dissipate the power of those who sit astride the channels of communication with the general public. Cf. *Citizens Publishing Co. v. United States*, 394 U. S. 131 (1969).

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## Books in Review

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LIVING ROOM WAR. By Michael J. Arlen. New York: The Viking Press, 1969. xiv+ 242 pp. \$5.95.

Michael J. Arlen is a very literate and amusing television critic. His charge from the editors of the *New Yorker* magazine and his natural writing style may partially explain his popularity. But he is also thoughtful and frequently provocative, refreshing, and original—even for those of us who have been reading about television for much of our lives.

Arlen's book is a collection of 34 of his *New Yorker* pieces, two from other sources, and a very interesting introduction. Unfortunately, these individual essays are not dated or placed in context. Although his pieces about Vietnam (one of which lends its title to the book) are the most important, Arlen's interests (or, in some cases, disinterests) span a much wider range. His basic point of view is to consider TV

as something we are doing to ourselves . . . as if one had had this lens focused in tightly on the television screen, watching these mechanical figures in western hats acting out their mechanical charades, and then gradually had begun to widen the lens, taking in the table beneath the set, the walls, the furniture, a hand holding a cigarette, a pair of legs, people—people (no matter what they seemed to be saying) connecting with the figures on the screen, connecting with each other, looking, peering into the set looking (no matter what they seemed to be saying) for a reflection, for God knows what.

Arlen's theme is a plea for *reality* in television even, and particularly, in news reporting. He uses as an example a Vietnam report by Morely Safer which provided "the first sound of an individual human voice that many of us have heard on television for days and days." Morely Safer was "not standing tall and staring purposefully into the camera [as he might have learned in Telecommunications 106], but instead hand on hip, out of breath, telling us about an action." Arlen welcomes the occasional respite from the unreal "institutional" and stylized voices of television. He tells how

. . . Babe Ruth, who, in answer to a question from a radio interviewer about the speed of Walter Johnson's fast ball, slammed his fist into his leather windbreaker, then blurted, "Jesus Christ, I bust the god-dam cigars," gives way to Maury Wills, articulate, grammatical, natty (not too natty), talking smoothly in a post-game interview about his off-season business career.

Arlen laments the use of television as a direct conduit between government and people without journalistic mediation . . . a position that Vice-President Agnew might not agree with. In a piece titled "The National Broadcasting Company Views the Manila Conference and Finds it Pleasing," he wonders if

NBC's television news people really understand the degree of complicity with official government policy that they achieve by presenting government statements at face value and then simply *not asking* the questions that intelligent men are bound to be concerned about.

The complicity theme continues with criticism of a CBS documentary on the air war in Vietnam. He argues that you are doing more than saying Colonel Hill is a brave man

. . . if you present merely admiring sequences of . . . Colonel Hill, brave, professional, old-pro-just-doing-his-job, for most of your program. . . . In choosing to spend your time this way, and thereby refusing to spend it in taking a hard, fair look at the disagreement over the consequences of the bombing—the military, political and diplomatic consequences—you imply that a disagreement doesn't really exist, or that the causes for the disagreement are insubstantial, neither of which is true. In picturing the actuality of bombing as a remote, technological act (a "delivery" of "goods on the shelf"), when to at least 50 per cent of the people involved—namely the deliverees—it is a near-mythic deeply human experience, you make it that much more difficult, at a critical time, for your human audience to grasp in human terms the enemy's sometimes complicated responses to what Colonel Hill is doing. And, worse still, you're leading people to approve of what he's doing (which is one kind of fact, and which deserves to be examined on its own merits) for the simple specious reason that he's such a brave, professional, etc., man (which is quite another).

Arlen presents an analogy to summarize the nature of television coverage of war which, I think, effectively communicates the essence of the problem.

They [the reporters] look at Viet Nam, it seems, as a child kneeling in the corridor, his eye to the keyhole, looks at two grown ups arguing in a locked room—the aperture of the keyhole small; the figures shadowy, mostly out of sight; the voices indistinct, isolated threats without meaning; isolated glimpses, part of an elbow, a man's jacket (who is the man?), part of a face, a woman's face. Ah, she is crying. One sees tears. (The voices continue indistinctly.) One counts the tears. Two tears, three tears. Two bombing raids. Four seek-and-destroy missions. Six administration pronouncements . . . I wonder if (the people who run television) truly think that those isolated glimpses of elbow, face, a swirl of dress (who is that other person anyway?) are all we children can really stand to see of what is going on inside that room.

As a debunker of pomposity, Arlen is reminiscent of H. L. Mencken. Although he stands by ETV where others have been overly harsh (e.g., in the case of PBL), he objects to people having "rather *automatic* ideas" about it (*italics mine*).

most programs . . . seem to exist in a sort of sacred vacuum in which the viewers are so busy admiring the high-minded purity of each other's motives that it often seems that one could film thirty minutes of a seventh grade geography class and title it "New Horizons in Geography" and Channel 13 would run it and people would sit before their sets fairly glowing with enrichment.

With reference to the "Canadian communications whizbang" (McLuhan) he notes that "it's hard to forget that the first thing that boring old Gutenberg

printed was the Bible and the first thing that television gave us was Uncle Miltie." Arlen may be kidding McLuhan in the following passage, but then again, he may be seriously acknowledging the blend of television with its viewing environment.

Miranda hovered in the doorway, wearing that bandana thing around her head and clutching sprigs of oregano. "Sniping, I hear," she said, "continues on a scattered scale in outlying districts of Saigon."

A Vietnamese in a checked shirt was walking, being walked, dragged, held between two soldiers. The soldiers took him over to another man, holding a pistol, who held it to the head of the man wearing the checked shirt, and shot him. Miranda began to cry—short, sniffy sobs. She blew her nose, then wiped her eyes on Grigsby's shirt, looked up. "I don't like any of this," she said. "My home is sacred. My kitchen floor is blessed. I wish no mortal harm or hurt or bruise or injury or other bodily damage."

*Living Room War* is worth reading.

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PROPAGANDA AND PROMOTIONAL ACTIVITIES, An Annotated Bibliography. Edited by Harold D. Lasswell, Ralph D. Casey and Bruce Lannes Smith. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969. xxiii+ 450 pp. \$10.00.

This volume is a reissue of one of the standard bibliographies in the field, originally prepared under the direction of the Advisory Committee on Pressure Groups and Propaganda of the Social Science Research Council and published in 1935. Out of print for many years, *Propaganda and Promotional Activities* is the starting point for any search of the literature of persuasive communication. It led to such continuation bibliographies as *Propaganda, Communication, and Public Opinion* by Smith, Lasswell and Casey (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946), and *International Communication and Public Opinion* by Bruce L. and Chitra M. Smith (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956).

*Propaganda and Promotional Activities* includes the original chapter by Lasswell on "The Study and Practice of Propaganda," as well as a short introductory section (also by Lasswell) titled "Introduction (1969): What Next?" that gives the reader some insights into the background and purposes of the original Committee and suggests a number of topics for future research and practice—including a continuing appraisal of the mass media by an independent body complementary to the agency proposed in the report of the Hutchins Commission on Freedom of the Press.

The book is organized into seven sections: Propaganda Strategy and Technique, Propaganda Classified by the Name of the Promoting Group, Propaganda Classified by the Response to be Elicited, The Symbols and Practices of Which Propaganda Makes Use or to Which It Adapts Itself, The Channels of Propaganda, The Measurement of the Effects of Propaganda, and Propaganda and Censorship in Modern Society. The problems caused by this sort of organization, without full cross-indexing, are partially solved by extensive author and subject indices. The annotations, while brief, nevertheless are extremely helpful in evaluating a given title of the approximately 4,500 listed. There is little question but that every communications library—private or institutional—should have this book on its shelves.

J. M. K.

**COLOR TELEVISION, The Business of Colorcasting.** Edited by Howard W. Coleman. New York: Hastings House, Publishers, 1968. 287 pp. \$8.95.

Although it took decades, color television finally "arrived" as a somehow-different sub-species of television. It is only fitting that a book be compiled that describes how color is different (better?) than monochrome. These attributes of color television are organized in this book into four main sections: psychology and technology, production techniques, the color television audience and "doing business in color" particularly at the local station level.

Howard Coleman—a former NBC and Time-Life Broadcasting publicity-advertising-promotion director and former Press Relations Director of A. C. Nielsen who now is working with the Press-Radio-Television Commission of the Lutheran Church in America—has both the academic and the commercial background necessary to tackle a topic such as this. The 17 contributors to this volume also seem to know their subjects. They include experts from both the United Kingdom (in their chapters "color" is purposively given the English spelling of "colour") and the United States. Several are network or advertising agency executives, others are the managers of major stations. All but four of the 17 chapters in the book were prepared for it, with the others selected as being the "very best materials available on the subjects proposed."

This book does cover the topic, albeit a bit unevenly. It is unlikely that too many readers will equally appreciate A. V. Lord's (Head of Physics Group, Research Department, British Broadcasting Corporation) highly technical description of the various "Colour Television Systems" and Roy Bacus' (General Manager, WBAP-TV, Dallas) essay on "The Local Station and Color." Coleman attempts toward the end of the book to provide the "Sum of the Parts" in a chapter titled "It's in Color—so what?" which also affords some glimpses at the future.

For a station manager planning to dip his foot into color, or for an advertising man in the same boat, this book could be invaluable. It might also find a useful place on the shelves of an academic library. However, it is somewhat difficult to think of a long list of other potential readers. It covers too much (from higher mathematics to pep talks) and too little (only one aspect of television, now the norm at the network and larger station levels) at the same time. The price is high, but not outrageous—unless your own interests are much narrower than Mr. Coleman's. For the academician, the primary value of this book is in its possibly unintentional coverage of most aspects of station management and operations. As "color television" becomes so commonplace that it is no longer distinguished from "television," this overview of the impact of technology on management, programming, and sales may well be the most valuable aspect of the book.

J. M. K.

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# JOURNAL OF BROADCASTING

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## **THE ASSOCIATION FOR PROFESSIONAL BROADCASTING EDUCATION**

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

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

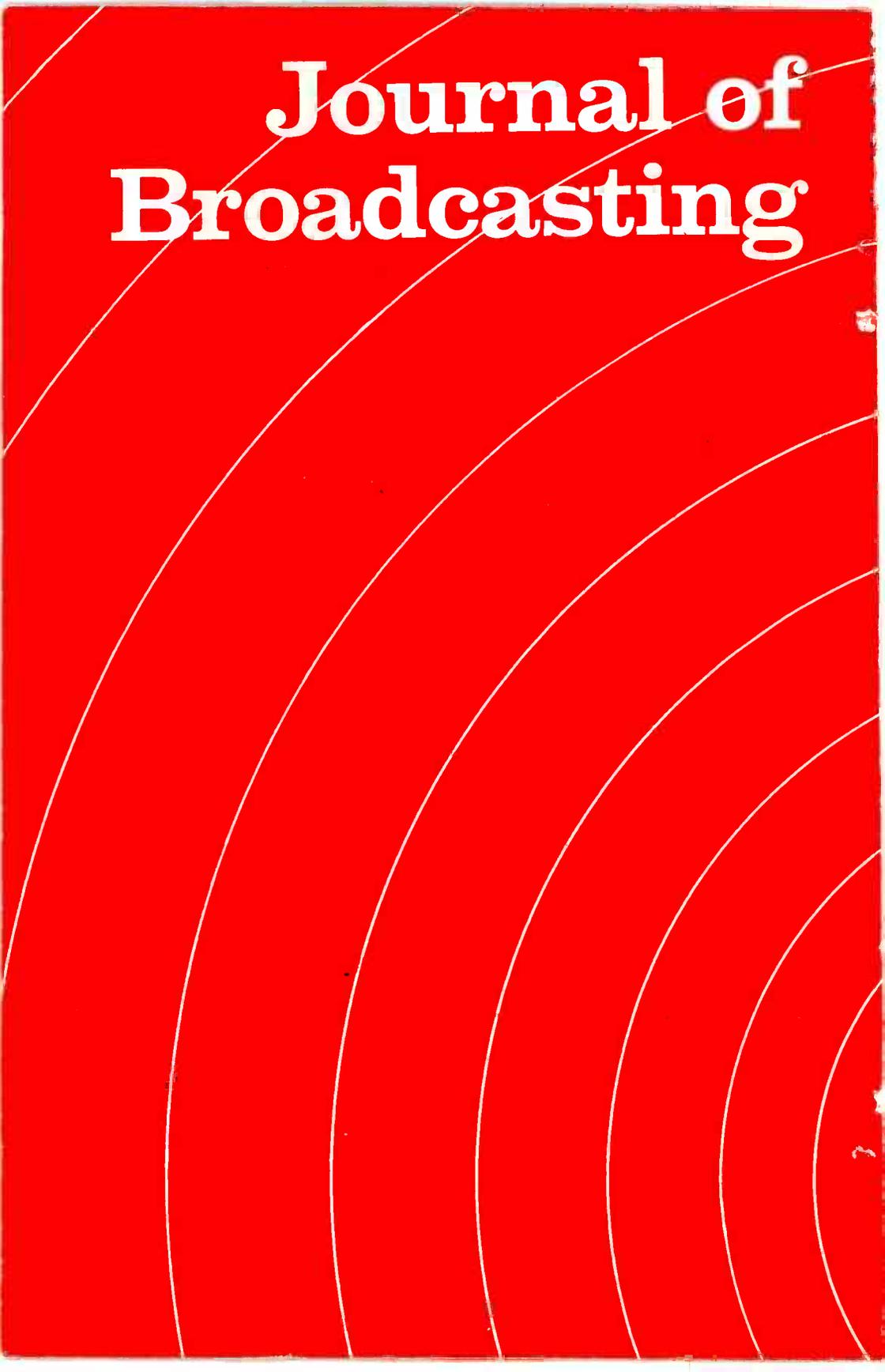
We recognize the existence of a group of colleges and universities aware of these responsibilities and presently maintaining effective programs of professional broadcasting education; and further, we see growing evidence of increased interest on the part of other colleges and universities in the establishment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

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

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

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

# Journal of Broadcasting

The cover features a solid red background. In the upper portion, the title "Journal of Broadcasting" is printed in a white, bold, serif font. Below the title, a series of white, concentric, semi-circular arcs curve across the lower two-thirds of the cover, creating a sense of depth and movement. The arcs are evenly spaced and originate from the left edge, curving towards the right.