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The Consumer's Stake in Radio and Television

DALLAS W. SMYTHE

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ACCORDING TO NBC'c vice-president in charge of television, "If television is a fad, so is breathing." Even if we discount this salesman's modest enthusiasm for television, it is fairly clear that television is here to stay in a large way.

One of the more popular sports among what used to be called our "intelligentsia" is that game I call "Let's Predict the Effects of Television." Everybody seems to be doing it, especially those who are best qualified by virtue of the fact that "they wouldn't have a television set in the house."

But consumers of radio and television have some specific interests in these media, economic interests which give them the right not only to predict their effects but to examine their techniques. To understand why, it might be well to begin by inquiring in economic terms as to the nature of the "product" which these media offer the consumer. Just what is the "product"?

Radio and television offer a complex of "products." If they had been designed to give nightmares to the economist who tries to measure statistically such things as demand—cross elasticities and all—it could hardly have been better contrived. There are two interrelated kinds of products, each with its unique differentiation of grades and prices.

In the first place there is the group of products and services which relate to the receiving sets. In addition to the sets themselves, there are attachments and antennas. There is electric power. There are replacement parts. And there are the services of the repairman. These are all in a sense intermediate producers' goods, except for whatever utility the radio and television sets may have as furniture.

In the second place there is that product known as station time, and sometimes as audience loyalty (measured by ratings) which stations sell to advertisers. The industry refers to this as a market for time. But it is not that simple. What is sold is *a program for the audience* (in whose continuing loyalty the station management has a vital interest), and *the probability of developing audience loyalty to the advertiser.* And the consideration paid and received is much more than what passes between the advertiser and the station or network—namely the payment for time and talent by the advertiser. In commercial radio and television, our Janus-like product is paid for twice. It is paid for once, as a producer's good, if you please, when the sponsor pays for its production. And it is paid for again, as a consumer's good, when the more or less predictable audience response results in the ringing of cash registers where the sponsor's product is sold to ultimate consumers.

I would feel like apologizing for inflicting on you this application of elementary economics to radio and television were it not for the fact that one of the most prevalent myths in our culture is that radio and television programs are "free." Even so intelligent and acute an observer as Jack Gould helps perpetuate this myth by referring in his lead article in a recent front-page series in the New York *Times* to "society's powerful unknown: the continuous free show available upon the flicking of the switch of a television set." Unless we remember how commercial radio and television articulate with our economic system, subsequent policy considerations may lose perspective.

One significant corollary meets us immediately. Readers of magazines and newspapers usually buy them for their editorial matter, not for their advertising content. The consumer's affirmative or negative reaction to editorial matter runs to the publishers, not to the advertiser. Yet in radio and television the consumer has the advertiser to thank for the program. This phrase falls naturally from our lips, for it realistically locates the effective party responsible for the program. And in saying this I do not derogate at all the legal responsibility of the station for its programs. The troublesome fact is that under our uneasy institutional compromise by which the stations are publicly licensed and commercially operated, the effective, if not the legal, responsibility is divided. And the voice which speaks most often to the consumer is that of the advertiser. Is it any wonder that the consumer is confused and inarticulate in trying to express his judgment as to how these media should conduct themselves? Is it any wonder that our traditional view of our cultural values, including freedom of speech and freedom of the press, may be reshaped increasingly into the likeness of the cultural values of the advertisers?

Having tried to locate the consumer in relation to the place of radio and television in our economic system, let me proceed to examine the principal consumer's interests in radio and television.

One consumer's interest is in the markets relating to the receiving set. Here we are on ground familiar to those engaged in consumer education. The aggregate consumer expenditures on receivers and ancillary services far exceed the expenditures of advertisers and stations on radio and television. Even if we disregard the costs paid by consumers through the prices of advertised goods and services which they buy, it is evident that radio and television are far from free to the consumer. His stake in radio and television, by virtue of his yearly cost of keeping his receiver operating, *alone,* might well be his admission ticket to the policy-making proceedings by the FCC, the FTC, and their Congressional masters.

A second kind of consumer's interest in radio and television is his concern with the technical standards of service. This arises in both the set market and the program market. It is his interest in *when what* kinds of innovation should take place in the art of radio communication. This is his interest in the introduction of FM to supplant in part AM broadcasting. This is his interest in the addition of color to television.

The consumer must look to federal authority to protect this interest. For long ago we decided that federal control was the only way this problem could be handled. When the policy of licensing was applied to the publicly owned radio waves a generation ago, it was realized that a split-up plant in which the lock (the receiver) and the key (the transmitter) are owned by different persons can only operate as a unit if both parts are built to work on the same standards. The FCC has the duty to set these standards with a view to building a nation-wide communications system which will best serve the interest of the public. It has the responsibility of prescribing the nature of the service to be rendered by each class of radio service. Closely related is the FCC's function of allocating wave lengths for the use of the several services. The FCC thus has authority to determine *what* kinds of electronic service should be provided by radio, *how much* of each should be provided, and *where* they should be provided. Through its authority to initiate proceedings at any time, it has ultimately also the control of when the service should be provided. And if no industry group should be interested in promoting a new service which was technically ripe for use, the FCC has the power to study such new uses and encourage them. If it found, for example, that facsimile was such a service, it could recommend to the Congress appropriate developmental legislation (such as grants-in-aid) or remedial legislation to free the new service from possible suppressing influences.

This broad range of federal authority does not represent any one political party viewpoint. In fact these kinds of authority were

conferred on the federal administration by historical events which amount to a genuine bipartisan policy. They were originally enacted by a Republican administration (that of President Coolidge) with the eager consent of the radio industry; they were transferred to the FCC by a Democratic administration, that of President Roosevelt.

The consumer's ignorance of the possible practical applications of the techniques covered by the thousands of patents held by the industry—the largest numbers of which are concentrated in the Bell System and RCA—accounts for his helplessness in appraising this aspect of the work of our regulatory agency. Consumers have occasional windfalls of information declassified from corporate security regulations as incidents to patent litigation. But the chances of significant technical developments being disclosed in this way decrease constantly with the growing concentration of patent holdings in large corporate hands and the complexity of science itself. Either consumers must depend passively on corporate decisions to innovate, or they must look to the FCC and to the Congress for protection of their interest in technical innovation.[1]

One reason for talking today about the consumer's interest in innovation is the fact that we are currently witnessing a dramatic example of the scope of this interest. I refer to the controversy over color television.

The great bulk of the capital investment in a nation-wide television system will be made by consumers in their own homes. One thousand television stations, even at a liberal estimate of two million dollars apiece, would represent an investment of two billion dollars. But forty million television sets in as many homes, at an average of $250 each, represent an investment of ten billion dollars, or five times the stations' investment.

[1] Parenthetically, a fascinating source of information on how the FCC discharges this and its other functions is one which I find little known, even to serious students of communication. I refer to the statements made by the FCC to the appropriation committees of Congress when it annually returns to them for its budget. These *Hearings* are published annually.

We have heard much from RCA and other prominent manufacturers and patent holders in black and white television of the cost to the viewers of making partially obsolete some ten to twelve million black and white receivers through their lack of "compatibility" with the CBS color system. The same manufacturers should take credit at the same time for a major share of the responsibility for creating the problem. When the FCC held its hearings on CBS color in 1946–1947 there were less than half of 1 per cent of the present number of black and white television sets in the hands of the public. The set manufacturing industry was almost solidly opposed to the adoption of color. Before them loomed a postwar market for perhaps thirty to forty million black and white sets which they were prepared to manufacture. And this was an eager market for consumer durables which had been scarce through four or five years while consumer savings were mounting. Doubtless many able engineers sincerely believed that the development of a satisfactory color system would require many years of research work. But for the set-manufacturing executives who establish corporate policy, and budgets for research and development, the incentive to push color was weak—to put it mildly. Would they not have been derelict in pursuing the goals conventionally attributed to enterprise if they had failed to seek to sell black and white sets to all this vast market—and then brought color sets on the scene as the next step in technical progress?

In any event, the set-manufacturing industry energetically presented many technical arguments to convince the FCC that the CBS color proposals were unsound. And an FCC, perhaps somewhat bemused by the welter of technical language, decided that the bulk of the industry was right and CBS was wrong. As the industry's metaphor put it: black and white got the green light.

Without trying to tell the full story, let me say that the color issue was raised again barely two years after that decision. On the public record of the second hearing, it was evident that the set manufacturers had not pushed the development of color television

in their laboratories. And by the time the FCC decided, after an exhaustive year of hearings, in the summer of 1950 that CBS color standards should be adopted, it was possible for most of the set manufacturers to point to the nine or ten billion black and white sets they had sold in the interim and to argue the issue of compatibility which had thus arisen. These manufacturers launched a massive public relations campaign to defeat CBS color. The Supreme Court, with little disagreement, decided this spring, however, that the FCC had both stayed within its powers and given due process to the opponents of CBS color. So we are about to see color television innovated.

What is the moral of this drama? I think it is this. Under Wayne Coy's able chairmanship the FCC ordered an innovation which was probably equally desirable three years earlier. But it is almost inconceivable that this result would have been achieved had there not been an aggressive, large rival—namely CBS—acting as advocate for color. In the present climate of opinion on the relation of government to business, it is doubtful whether the fortitude of the commissioners would be enough to cause the FCC *on its own account* to overrule a major industrial group on an innovation of large significance. The sad history of facsimile broadcasting is probably a case in point.

A related conclusion respecting the color controversy is that ultimately whether one approves of the commission decision or not largely depends on whether one thinks that the final authority in such matters should be that of the Communications Act and its administrators operating under the constitutional due process rules, or that of the large industrial corporations, pursuing their usual policies.

The color controversy illustrates well the inarticulateness of the consumer and of the FCC as well. Under the general Congressional restrictions on government informational activity, the FCC was prevented from presenting to the public its side of the controversy in any way which could compare in effectiveness with the very ex-

tensive and expensive public relations program conducted by the set manufacturers. Similarly, the individual members of the public, hearing only one side of the controversy and being unused to communicating with their government agencies, were silent. In an era when much is heard about the necessity of peoples speaking to peoples this may be a bit ironic. Corporations may speak to people, but not the FCC; and people speak seldom to either.

A third interest which the consumer has in radio and television is his concern with the quantity and quality of advertising matter which he consumes. Over the past quarter century radio listeners experienced a steady increase in the amount and aggressiveness of advertising matter in their radio programs. Periodically, the commercial broadcasters adopted rather ineffective "codes" relating to the maximum of advertising which stations should carry. The federal regulatory authority, speaking through Herbert Hoover when he was secretary of commerce, the Federal Radio Commission, the Congress, and the FCC, has laid down a series of policy statements, all of which have expressed the view that in the public interest advertising on the radio should be limited. Just how strictly it should be limited has varied in these policy statements from prohibitions on anything more than the mention of the sponsor's name (Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover's first annual radio conference) to the mere requirement that the broadcast stations should inform the FCC of the amount of time they proposed to devote to advertising (in the FCC Blue Book). This is not the time for a careful history of the progressive abuse of this kind of listener interest. Let us leave the policy aspect of this interest with the remark that the bright hope the consumers were entitled to derive from the Blue Book died years ago when the FCC permitted the industry to flout it openly.

In the National Association of Educational Broadcasters' study of New York television programs we did obtain some information about the extent of advertising. But the fact that neither the FCC nor the industry publishes the statistics which it has prevents the

public from any objective comparison of the relative saturation of advertising on radio when the Blue Book was issued in 1946, and on radio and television today.

The NAEB study found that the seven New York television stations devoted 10 per cent of their total time on the air to *timeable* commercials. The use of this term "timeable commercials" is itself significant of a development not contemplated when the Blue Book was written. Thus, the FCC in that document restated its obligation to protect this consumer interest in terms which assumed that one could distinguish between the time devoted to the commercial and the time devoted to the program material. Alas, the combination of sight and sound in television permits advertising and program to be blended. For this reason we were forced to regard as program-long advertisements some eighteen programs in which *untimeable* advertisements dominated the program time. If these untimeable programs be included the total television time given to advertising amounted to 14 per cent of time on the air. For individual stations, the total ranged from WABD, 23 per cent, and WNBT, 22 per cent, at the top to WCBS-TV, 10 per cent, and WATV, 7 per cent, at the bottom. It is very possible, however, that television is less saturated with advertising in New York than in other sections of the country. We found that in New York the weekdays bore a heavier load of advertising than Saturday and Sunday, and that the highest saturation was in the Housewive's Hours (from sign-on to 5 P.M., Monday through Friday) when 21 per cent of the time was devoted to advertising.

When the Blue Book was issued the FCC continued the former tradition of making a distinction between commercial and sustaining programs. The doctrine ran something like this: that sustaining programs were the balance wheel through which station management discharged its cultural and civic responsibility to the public and through which an over-all program balance was maintained. We tried in New York to determine, from the position of the viewers sitting before the television set, the proportion

of sustaining and commercial programs. We failed. Of course, the telecast of President Truman's message to the new Congress could be identified readily as a sustaining program. But other than this single public event which was televised in the week covered by our study, we had difficulty pointing to examples of sustaining programs which fitted the Blue Book's conception of that type of program. Too often the distinction between sustaining and commercial television programs seems to be the distinction between the program for which a sponsor has not yet been found, and one which is sold. Here is an example. Last summer there was a spectacular oil-tank fire in the Los Angeles harbor area. The fire was telecast in place of one station's regular broadcast of wrestling, which would have been sponsored by a beer company and a men's clothing store. The oil-tank fire might have been expected to be a sustaining program. But it was not: the fire had its own sponsor, an electrical manufacturing company.

We were also frustrated in our attempt in New York to count commercial and sustaining programs by the difficulty in determining whether many short programs had a sponsor or whether they were really sustaining programs thickly hedged in with spot announcements. The multiplicity of back-to-back, cow-catcher, and hitch-hiker spot announcements, many of which contain brief shots of people and scenes, understandably confuses the viewer until he cannot be blamed for not knowing whether any one of these sponsors is to be thanked for the few minutes of program material which is brought to him before the next commercial is due.

One more example of the archaic flavor of the Blue Book doctrine is ironically amusing in the light of television possibilities. You may remember that the Blue Book expressed revulsion at the graphic scope of what it termed physiological commercials *on radio*. There comes to my mind one day last summer when I was looking at my television set in Claremont, California. There was one commercial which *pictorially* and *aurally* presented the sad

plight of the young businessman who is tired, has headaches, is ineffective, and so on—and it was all caused by "sluggish bile" for which the cure was obviously a certain laxative. And the same day I saw another advertisement which presented the lack of social and especially male approval which awaits those unfortunate women who have "briar-patch legs" (illustrated visually by superimposing a briar patch on a pair of female legs), for which the remedy was obviously a certain brand of depilatory.

In June, 1951, NBC announced the adoption of a new set of standards for its television programs. It is to be commended for its candor in publishing these standards. I should like to quote several passages from them to illustrate the fact that in the eyes of the television industry all is not advertising that sells.

Stationary backdrops or properties in television presentations, showing the sponsor's name, the name of his product, his trade mark or his slogan, which are used as incidental background for entertainment are not counted as part of the time allowed for advertising. NBC seeks to have such backdrops or properties used judiciously, and reserves the right to count their use as part of the time allowed for advertising where, in NBC's opinion, they are unduly obtrusive and cannot properly be regarded as incidental background to the entertainment presentations of the program. . . .

A lead-in, or introductory comedy gag, preceding the direct advertising reference and associated with it, which constitutes entertainment material and would stand by itself even if the advertising message were omitted, is not counted as part of the time allowed for advertising. . . .

Billboards at the opening and closing of programs, identifying sponsorship of the program, are not counted as part of the time allowed for advertising, provided that each such billboard does not exceed 10 seconds in the case of a program sponsored by one advertiser, or 20 seconds in the case of a program sponsored by multiple advertisers.

It is not altogether clear without further interpretation from Radio City whether the following examples from our New York study would be regarded as advertising: (1) the fact that band members and entertainers wear uniforms and the orchestra music

racks bear signs prominently displaying the name of the sponsor's product; (2) the fact that a master of ceremonies talks to children in the studio audience about, and then leads them in chanting, the sponsor's advertising message.

Having defined advertising to exclude the kinds I have quoted from its new standards, how much advertising does NBC intend to permit on television? In the case of a thirty-minute program, 10 per cent in the evening and 14 per cent in the daytime; for a five-minute program, 20 per cent in the evening and 25 per cent in the daytime.

The consumer's fourth interest in radio and television is in the programs themselves. Chairman Wayne Coy is quoted in the trade press as having told a meeting of television executives assembled recently to consider criticisms directed against their programming practices:

> I hope also that one of the subjects you will explore will be the problem of advertiser domination of program schedules. Until the broadcaster schedules the kinds of programs that he knows are right and until he builds a schedule that he knows is properly balanced, he cannot realize his full potentialities. Under the law that is his responsibility. Under the law it is not the advertiser's responsibility nor the network's responsibility. Therefore the proper role for the advertiser is not that of the program director.

Lest some skeptic think that this represents merely the bureaucrat's propensity to make life difficult for businessmen, let me quote from a recent article in *Variety*.

> It is claimed that more than one program, which started off with considerable pretensions of showmanship and slick television values, eventually bogged down into the inevitable cancellation route. Reason was simply that the salesman-turned-showman who's been picking up the tab for the show, "wanted to play everything the safe way, stripped the program of all its imaginative, fresh elements, and after 26 weeks had practically lost his entire audience." . . .
>
> There are some instances of networks and package owners . . . telling the client off, at the risk of losing the account. But these have been

isolated cases. For the most part, nobody's taking chances antagonizing the man with the money belt . . . (June 6, 1951, p. 27).

You will note that *Variety* is referring not to the resentment of the station management which, as Chairman Coy says, is the responsible party, but to the resentment of the creative artists—the producers—who are employed by the agencies or the package producers. The element of freshness in entertainment is, however, only one of the criteria for evaluating the performance of stations. At the same industry meeting to which I referred earlier, Mr. Coy listed seven "points" which he said covered the essential elements.

1. [The station's] assistance in civic improvement.
2. [The station's] promotion of educational and cultural opportunities.
3. The integrity of the station's news.
4. The fairness of [the station's] presentation of controversial issues.
5. [The station's] enterprise and zeal in promoting good community relations and interracial understanding.
6. The wholesomeness of [the station's] entertainers and their sense of responsibility as visitors at the family hearth.
7. Advertising on [the] station; its reliability, it good taste, its listenability, its excesses.

We have already disposed of the last of these criteria. Unfortunately I cannot attempt an evaluation of all television, much less radio programming, in the light of these admirable criteria. The fact is that we citizens, and the industry, and the FCC have not yet laid the groundwork for this over-all evaluation in the year 1951 after a quarter century of experience with this unique institution, broadcasting. Sufficient data have not been collected; the available data on station programs have not been published by the FCC, and the studies which would permit the evaluation which is implicit in the American system of broadcasting have not been done. As a footnote at this point, I might suggest that for graduate students in search of thesis topics there is a fertile field for such evaluative studies right in their home communities.

I can, however, report to you what the NAEB study No. 1 found out about New York television programming in relation to these criteria. Some of Mr. Coy's criteria, however, call for effects studies in depth; others would call for detailed evaluation. For this reason, my comments on the results of the New York study cannot squarely meet all Mr. Coy's criteria. I should explain that in this study, Professor Horton of the University of Chicago and I monitored and inventoried all the programs telecast by all the seven New York stations for one week in January, 1951. We then classified the programs into some fifty-odd classes and subclasses and counted the amount of time given by the stations to each class for the various time segments of the week. We did not attempt either effects studies in depth or detailed evaluation.

Over-all we found that drama was the largest class of program with 25 per cent of the total time on the air, followed by variety (14 per cent) and children's programs (13 per cent). Sports and home-making programs were tied in fourth place with 10 per cent each. Quiz, stunt, and contest programs provided 7 per cent while personalities programs were 5 per cent. News was 5 per cent. When the viewer looked at the subclasses of programs he found that the largest was crime drama with 10 per cent (fifty-seven hours of programs). Informal variety was a close second, with 10 per cent and fifty-five hours. Spectator sports, such as basketball, wrestling, boxing, and roller derbies, came third with 9 per cent. Western drama was 8 per cent (with 6 per cent apparently programmed for adults and 2 per cent for children). The overwhelming bulk of the time was devoted to entertainment programs, for this is the only term which can be applied to those I have named, except for the news, and some of the home-making and children's programs.

Mr. Coy mentions the integrity of the news as one criterion. We were unable, with the means at our disposal, to make such an analysis of the news programs. I must therefore limit my comment on this criterion to noting that we observed a severe deficiency of local and regional news. We also found that one third of the 5 per

cent of the total time devoted to news consisted of a single daytime program which was a telegraph-like transmission of news bulletins, accompanied by unrelated recorded music.

Mr. Coy lists three criteria which I should like to take up together: assistance in civic improvements, fairness in the presentation of controversial issues, and enterprise and zeal in promoting good community relations and interracial understanding. While these objectives *might* be served by other kinds of programs, the most obvious place to find such programs would be under our headings of public issues, public events, public institutional, and information.

Public issues programs would be a likely place to find treatments of controversial issues and assistance in civic betterment. Yet we found a total of 1 per cent of the program time given to public issues (of all kinds). About half of that amount was in the form of unilateral presentation of opinion, and the remainder of it in the form of discussion and debate. In all, this 1 per cent represents about eight hours. It consists of few programs, mostly on national and foreign policy topics. Although we did not analyze these programs in detail, it seemed that the half of 1 per cent of the time which was devoted to bilateral or multilateral discussion was hardly a fair representation of the controversial issues of concern to the New York and New Jersey audiences. What we classified as public institutional programs amounted to another six hours, or 1 per cent of total broadcast time. For the most part this time was given over to films relating to national defense and to the activities of the armed forces. The paucity of programs in this category, of course, reflects many unserved interests in the activities of New York and New Jersey's local and state public institutions. We concluded that in providing discussions of current affairs, news, a broadcast of the President's address, and some of the public institutional programs, the television stations performed a necessary public service, although the amount and time of broadcast of these kinds of programs was woefully inadequate.

Conceivably information programs could have been used to assist civic improvement and to develop tolerance and open-mindedness on controversial issues. More obviously, information programs might be the backbone of the stations' promotion of educational and cultural opportunities (which is still another of Mr. Coy's points). As a matter of fact, general information programs amounted to about eighteen hours or 3 per cent of total time on the air, while children's information programs were another five hours or 1 per cent of total time on the air.

What were they like? Only one program, the Johns Hopkins Science Review, was produced under the auspices of an educational institution. There were no extension courses, no vocational courses, no courses for handicapped persons. One of our general information program subclasses was "science information." In it we found, besides the Johns Hopkins program, a film on psychology and a Hayden Planetarium film—a total of one quarter of 1 per cent of total time. The second of our subclasses under information programs was "travelogues." Travelogue programs amounted to 1 per cent of total time. They included standard commercially produced films, intended more for entertainment than to provide a real understanding of foreign lands. Apparently without plan or notice we were taken on visits to Norway, Ottawa, Africa, Latin America, Holland, the Grand Canyon, and we spent a few minutes at Christmas time among the Ukrainians of Manitoba. The last of the general information subclasses was that old standby, "other." It had 2 per cent of total broadcast time. Prominent among films in this class were seven shorts on wild life, of which the favorite subject was fish. We had films on the habits of salmon, codfish, stickelbacks, trout, and sardines. There were four films on the customs of other peoples, one on rivers and water supply, and one on "spelunking." There were two zoo programs, some institutional advertising films from industry, and four miscellaneous films. Only one genuinely instructional program was observed: a teaching demonstration of art techniques by Jon Gnagy.

Children's information programs were predominately films too. There was a travelogue on Alaska, films on Eskimo dogs, salt mining, how a pump works, how a pulley works, how to change a tire, baby animals, and one on fish. There was also a fifteen-minute violin class, a thirty-minute United Nations Stamp Club, and some western lore in a Chuckwagon program.

Throughout our study we took a broad view of what the term "education" means in connection with television programs—much broader than the identification of the program with some educational institution. We said that while there might be differences of opinion about the characteristics of an optimum educational program, it was possible to find broad agreement on the following minimum requirements of such a program: the educational program would be designed to help the viewer to organize himself, to order his relations with other individuals, and with social groups ranging from the family to the human race, past and present. More specifically there should be some rational plan for the program with regularity in the time of presentation, continuity in the material, and some progression in its content. There should be some basic theme or problems with some progress achieved in problem solving. There should be emphasis on basic principles with a synthesis of understanding being developed through the series of programs. In the light of these minimum requirements for educational programs, how should one evaluate the educational or cultural contribution which we classed as information programs? With due allowance for the fact that we monitored for only one week, it appeared that these programs were a miscellaneous collection of superficial, unrelated bits of information, presented without plan, without forenotice to the viewer of what was to appear, and seemingly without regularity in the stations' program structures. Shouldn't one conclude that on the whole, and with the exceptions I have noted, the information programs of New York's television stations were insignificant educationally? And as for their serving the objectives of civic improve-

ment and tolerance in social relations named by Mr. Coy, again with the exceptions noted, any such effects would probably be accidental and rather unlikely.

This leaves us the sixth of Mr. Coy's points to apply to New York television programs: "The wholesomeness of the station's entertainers and their sense of responsibility as visitors at the family hearth." There is considerable room for difference of opinion as to what constitutes "wholesomeness," though I suspect that the remainder of this point will command general approval. One view makes a neo-Victorian sense of morality the guide to wholesomeness. For people with this view, it means the absence of certain kinds of vulgarity. Such critics may succeed in imposing on television as they have on motion pictures a censorship policy which prescribes the height of the necklines and kinds of gags which will be acceptable. But if this view prevails there is real danger of throwing out the baby with the dirty bath water. Such a policy will accentuate the already pronounced tendency of the advertising sponsors to avoid program experimentation. Banality and formula entertainers will become even more dominant in television than in the motion pictures where advertising pressures at least are not so directly involved. The contrasting interpretation of wholesomeness might apply this term to entertainment which had the following qualities: respect for human beings with insight into all of their elements of strength and weakness, of humor and grief; spontaneity, candor, imagination, and originality. This last term, originality, I prefer to the notion of "slick values" and "freshness" which *Variety* uses. At the other end of the scale, one might place vulgarity in the sense of degradation, triteness, and certain kinds of formula drama in which people are represented as two-dimensional shadows who move in response to fate, technology, or creaky plot gimmicks. It may be argued convincingly, I think, that the dignity of human beings may be assaulted more grievously and the family hearth more abused by such misrepresentation than by the low-cut gown or the joke which offends some minority pressure group.

If the second of these points of view be adopted, what can be said of New York entertainment programs, as measured by this standard? There are commercial television programs which measure up well on this standard. Without meaning to be invidious, let me mention "Mr. I-Magination" and the highly original "Stud's Place" as two quite different examples. But the weight of the scales in terms of the massive hours given over to entertainment tips heavily toward the formula programs in which pallid representation of character, sadistic and masochistic gimmicks justify generally low ratings for wholesomeness.

Wholesomeness, I think people should tell Mr. Coy and their congressmen, is more than the negative notion of sterilizing the comedian's jokes, and determining the permissible amount of the female body which may be exposed to the hearthside viewer. It is a characteristic of the works of the creative artist judged by some such standards as I have tentatively suggested. And doubtless you could improve on my proposal. In large measure the forms which such entertainment might assume have not yet been created by the television producers, writers, and directors. All the more reason, therefore, not to shackle them so tightly with the twin handcuffs of a censorship code resembling that of the motion pictures and of advertiser pressures for conformity to existing types of shows.

But we might go further and be more specific in suggesting to Mr. Coy and the congressmen existing kinds of wholesome entertainment, more of which could probably be successfully produced on television. We might, for instance, demand that there be more programs for both children and adults presenting some of the enduring forms of art and literature which are part of our proud cultural tradition. In our study we found ten minutes of serious music in the children's listening hours, and seventy-seven minutes in the whole week. The great field of fine arts (including painting, sculpture, architecture, handicraft, and decorative arts) was ignored completely in the children's hours and was given thirty minutes in the whole week. The dance as a serious art was given

twelve minutes in the children's hours and thirty-six minutes in the whole week. Classical drama was altogether absent from the children's hours and was given ninety minutes in the whole week.

You will note that I have not spoken of the consumer's interest in the success of the movement by which educational institutions hope to supplement the fare provided by the commercial television and radio stations. That is another story and one I cannot develop now. I am deeply concerned that the drive for educational television should develop soundly and rapidly with all the support which the Congress and the FCC can give it. I believe that this is our best hope of realizing a kind of mass-medium technique which can provide a yardstick of wholesomeness of the sort I have referred to. I am happy to hear that one of our greatest educational foundations is offering to help the commercial television industry improve its instructional and cultural programming. TV needs all the help it can get. Commercial broadcasters should not be cut loose from their present obligations to serve the public interest. And because of the special pressures to which the commercial industry must inevitably be subject, it is clear that the need for educational stations to supply the yardstick of cultural programming and supply the deficiencies in commercial station fare is imminent and real.

In so describing the possibilities of educational television, however, let us be careful lest in stating an attractive plan—a beautiful dream, if you please—we lose sight of the politico-economic realities surrounding the proposal. It will take unbelievable effort and time in each community to develop the support required to bring a substantial number of educational stations into existence and to maintain them in vigorous condition. Perhaps the full quota of stations may not be built as rapidly as they should be. Even so, the unsuccessful efforts will themselves yield rich fruit in terms of popular understanding of the problems concerning the mass media.

A Word of Caution for the Intelligent Consumer of Motion Pictures

FRANKLIN FEARING

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DALLAS W. SMYTHE has discussed in some detail the problems relating to the consumer's interest in television and radio sets and in programming. While I am assigned the topic of films, I think almost everything I have to say holds with equal force for radio and television. There are differences, but from the point of view of the social scientist, these are the mass media of communication, and the factors we are interested in are found in all of these media.

Dr. Smythe has implied that you are interested, as intelligent consumers, in better programs. I want to say something about some of the problems that come up in trying to decide what precisely we mean by the term "better programs" or "better films." I can't offer you any criteria so that you will know whether you are going to like the next movie that you go to see. The testing that researchers do in this area is quite different from the kind of testing that Consumer's Union does with respect to tomato juice or vacuum cleaners. It has a different implication. It is called effects analysis and is mainly concerned with the *impact* of films and radio programs on people. What effects, if any, do the contents of these programs have on human beings, on their attitudes, their beliefs, and more concretely on their behavior? How do people react to films and the other mass media? What role do these media play in their lives? What purposes do they serve in society?

The answers to these questions so far as systematic research at present can answer them will not tell us directly the differences between "good" and "bad" films, nor will they give us anything in the nature of a list of the Best Buys, so familiar to Consumer's Union subscribers, in films and TV programs. I think we should be clear on one point. The questions with which we are here concerned can only be answered, even tentatively, by carefully designed research conducted by trained investigators. Social causation is always complex. A seemingly unimpeachable connection between stimulus A and social effect B may turn out to be only apparent. The armchair *dicta* of even the most intelligent and sophisticated observers can only give us hypotheses which carefully planned research may endeavor to test. This research is quite tedious and undramatic, but as the results accumulate, they may give us a basis for understanding the role, and hence a policy regarding the control of the great mass media of communication in our society.

Many people have strong feelings and beliefs about these problems. It is here that the professional and amateur viewers-with-alarm, good people all of them surely, tend to get high blood pressure. They witness a film, for example, which has a great deal of violence in it, or which depicts crime, or they listen to a radio program which is filled with violence, or crude slapstick, and vulgarity, or they watch Johnny listening, and they get dreadfully alarmed about the effects *on Johnny*. And the people who are more vocal in this matter tend to implement their alarm. They set up campaigns to do something about it. Currently a favorite target for such activities in many communities has been the comic strip. It is another mass medium of communication, and what I have to say will apply equally well to it. Periodically there is a wave of interest in the supposed evil effects of comic strips, and good people form committees to do something about them.

I am sure you are familiar with this kind of attitude, and probably most of us one time or another have shared this concern, and

a feeling that something ought to be done. We don't like what we hear or see on radio or TV programs and we feel that their effects must be bad, that they are probably responsible for the increase in juvenile deliquency or the divorce rate, or whatever social ill about which at the moment we happen to be concerned. And if we are vocal and articulate, we find it very easy to set in motion the machinery of reform.

Back of these attitudes and activities are some interesting assumptions, assumptions which need careful analysis, and assumptions about which we need to have a considerable body of data before we are ready to organize a committee or try to pass a law or try to get the local police force on the job. Let us examine some of them.

The basic assumption seems to be that there is a simple causal connection between the content of a film or TV program and human behavior and attitudes. In other words, Johnny might become a delinquent or do something very, very bad after seeing a similar act on the TV screen.

The assumption that there is a simple relationship between the mass media and the behavior and attitudes and beliefs of human beings needs careful testing. It is here that we confront a paradoxical situation.

On the one hand, on general grounds, it seems that films, for example, have had a tremendous impact on human culture all over the world. It is almost trite to say that the content of films, as determined in a very small area in Los Angeles County, in one way or another has affected people all over the world, has changed their interests, habits, and even moral standards. If it is true that films can have such far-reaching effects, surely they could also cause Johnny to become a drug addict or to commit a crime, or, at the very least, put wrong ideas in his head.

On the other hand—and here is the seeming paradox that I want to explore with you this evening—research, conducted as carefully as we now know how to conduct it, reveals that the ef-

fects of these media—films and radio, especially films—on human attitudes and behavior is unexpectedly slight.

I want to proceed cautiously here because I am very conscious of the difficulties of conducting rigorous research in this area. It may be that our inability to demonstrate clear-cut effects of films or radio means that our methods of investigation need to be sharpened, and that with better procedures we might find more effects than now appear to be the case. This important qualification underlies all that I have to say.

Let us look at some of these researches. I think they might interest you from the point of view of their methods as well as their results. Perhaps the most elaborate study of the impact of films on human beings yet undertaken is the investigation of the effects of films used by the army in World War II. The film program of the army probably represents the most extensive use of films for concrete educational purposes yet attempted. Films were used by both the army and navy at every step in their training program as educational devices.

There were two types of films. One group was called "nuts and bolts" films, and the other "orientation" films. The nuts and bolts films were concerned with teaching specific skills. There were films on the thousand-and-one specialized activities which men in service had to learn.

The orientation films, on the other hand, are of special interest to us, because they resemble the Hollywood commercial product a little more closely. As the term implies, the orientation films used in the army were concerned with modifying the attitudes, beliefs, and motives of the individuals who were exposed to them. The best example of the orientation films, some of which you may have seen, were the "Why We Fight" series. "The Battle for Britain," "The Battle for Russia," and "The Battle for China" are three notable examples.

These films were magnificently done. They were made by the best-trained film people, writers and directors and so on, in Holly-

wood, and that means from the technical point of view probably the best that can be found anywhere. These are magnificent documentaries, interesting, dramatic, exciting.

The general intent of these films was to interpret the goals of the war to the soldier, to increase his confidence in our allies, and to intensify his hostility toward the enemy—in a word to strengthen his motivation to fight. The general method was to marshal the facts in the most cinematically effective and dramatic form, and allow the soldier to draw his own conclusions. This is, of course, a widely accepted method and is the basis of much educational procedure.

The analysis of the effects of these films has recently been published in one of the four volumes called *Studies in Social Psychology in World War II.*[1] Volume III, called "Experiments on Mass Communication," reports the results of all the tests of the effects of these films.

Now what are the results?

In the first place, the nuts and bolts films, the ones designed to teach skills, as tested in this and similar investigations, showed up very well; they were successful as adjuncts in the process of training soldiers in these various specific skills and imparting specific information. But, when the test results of the effects of the orientation films on general attitudes and motivations were carefully analyzed they were found, on the whole, not very great. That is to say, when opinions and beliefs were tested in various ways before exposure to the film, and then retested afterward, there was surprisingly little change in the direction intended by the makers of the film. The most definite effects were on the amount of factual knowledge and on opinions specifically covered by the film. The films had very little effect on opinions or attitudes of a more general nature. In the matter of the men's motivation to serve as soldiers—one of the primary objectives of the orientation film program—the tests showed no effects.

[1] C. I. Hovland, A. Lunsdaine, and F. D. Sheffield, *Experiments on Mass Communications,* Vol. III (Princeton University Press, 1949).

An interesting exception to these general results was the so-called sleeper effect. It was found that in some groups, although there was no detectable effect on opinions and presumably on behavior, immediately after the film, there were effects that could be detected some nine weeks later, especially in individuals shown by tests to be already predisposed to accept a particular opinion.

If you are concerned with carrying the torch for films as means of affecting people's opinions and motivations, the sleeper effect should give you some support. If it turns out that this delayed effect is especially marked on the individual's generalized attitudes rather than on specific attitudes, it will be an important finding indeed. This will be true even if this effect is restricted to individuals already predisposed in the direction of the film content.

I have briefly, much too briefly, summarized some of the results of a very extensive research on the effects of films, especially on attitudes and opinions. And bear in mind that it is with regard to this area that many people are most nervous. They fear that a film showing violence, as I have said, may make people tolerant of violence. In other words, they assume that people, or at least certain people, passively accept whatever is presented to them on the screen or in the TV and radio program. While it is true that we cannot translate directly to the Hollywood commercial product the results of these investigations on a particular kind of film shown under the conditions that existed in the war situation, nevertheless they do have some bearing on our problem. They suggest that people do not come to any kind of communication situation with blank minds, and that attitudes and opinions are perhaps more resistant than we had thought.

There are other researches that bear on this last point. I will describe very briefly an investigation of a more specific sort which was undertaken at the University of California by Dr. Daniel Wilner working as a graduate student under my direction.[2]

[2] Daniel Wilner, "Attitude as a Determinant of Perception in the Mass Media of Communications: Reactions to the Motion Picture *Home of the Brave*" (unpublished Ph.D. diss., 1950, on file in the library of the University of California, Los Angeles campus).

You may have seen the film called *Home of the Brave*. It is an excellent film, and is, in fact, the first film which broke the taboo that had existed for a long time in Hollywood regarding films in which the problem of the Negro and Negro-white relations was the central theme. It is a dramatic, even a melodramatic film, the protagonist of which is a Negro soldier.

We were interested in finding out how individuals who by various tests are known to be highly prejudiced against Negroes react to this film, as contrasted with individuals at the other end of the scale who have very little or no prejudice. In other words, in this type of experiment we deliberately selected individuals who have known but differing attitudes toward the major themes of the communication content, and we asked ourselves the question: How do they handle communicated material which is contrary to their already-accepted beliefs?

In viewing this film the high-prejudice people are put, psychologically speaking, on a spot because its basic theme is, from their point of view, an affront. It exposes frankly and dramatically many of the stereotypes and beliefs about Negroes which they have accepted and now hold very close to their hearts. So you might expect—well, what would you expect?

We found that to an amazing degree the high-prejudice individuals were enabled in terms of their patterns of belief and stereotypes to revise the content of the film and see in it or select from it that which they wanted to see. That is, if the film may be said to have a "message" or basic theme, these people did not get it, or got it in a distorted form. For example, some might have found, in the collapse of the Negro soldier, reaffirmation of their belief in the inferiority of the Negro race.

This is probably not true of all the high-prejudice people. There is undoubtedly a very small hard-core group that are intellectually aware of their prejudice, and are able to watch a film of this type with a superior smile; they reject it *in toto*.

Findings of this sort mean that people can modify, or, to use our psychological jargon, restructure material of this type to suit their needs and beliefs. This perhaps explains why this film in spite of its supposedly "controversial" character was a box-office success in the South as well as in other parts of the country.

From this we cannot conclude with certainty what its effects have been on attitudes about Negros or Negro-white relations. It may be that people can see this film, and come out with their prejudices intact, or, perhaps, actually strengthened. These patterns of evasion, as they are called, are numerous and subtle and undoubtedly have nullified many a well-intended program of social reëducation.

Let us look at another investigation, again of the effects of a Hollywood film.[3] During the war a film called *Tomorrow the World* was produced. It was based on the successful Broadway play of the same name. *Tomorrow the World* is the story of a dreadful teenage Nazi boy who is brought to this country and to the home of an American college professor. Here he endeavors to Nazify his companions, upsets the whole household of the college professor, and even tries to wreck the latter's approaching marriage with a Jewish girl. At the end we find this boy, Emil, in the hands of the police.

The question posed by the film is what can you do with Emil? Can he be reëducated? Can German youth be reëducated? In 1942 these were, as they still are, pressing questions.

This film was shown by Doctors Wiese and Cole to about 4,000 children ranging from the fourth grade to the eighth grade. Some of the children were from very superior homes. Others came from a very depressed or semislum area. And the third group were several hundred children from middle-class homes in Salt Lake City. I haven't space to describe the details of the methods used by Doctors Wiese and Cole. In general their purpose was to give the children an opportunity to tell what they got out of the film

[3] M. Wiese and S. Cole, "A Study of Children's Attitudes and the Influence of a Commercial Motion Picture," *Journal of Psychology*, XXI (1946), 151–171.

and especially to answer such questions as "What would *you* do with Emil?" "Do you think Emil should be punished?" (Remember this film is about a boy and his relations with other children as well as with adults.)

So these children had a chance to react to a number of questions before and after seeing the film. There were some very striking differences among the different social groups. The children from the depressed area in Los Angeles—a large proportion of whom were Negroes as well as representatives of other ethnic groups—were much more punitive and realistic in their attitude toward Emil. Also, they were not shocked by his ruthless and gangster-like behavior as were the children from the middle- and upper-class homes. It is a type of behavior with which they had some familiarity.

The children coming from socially and economically superior homes had a more detached, almost philosophic attitude. They—especially the children from middle-class homes—tended to see Emil and his problem in terms of the stereotyped, idealized formulas regarding democracy and the American way of life which they had learned in school. The upper-class children were especially reactive to Emil's anti-Semitism, which the film brought out very strongly. A considerable proportion of the children in this group came from Jewish homes.

Other findings of the study bear out these trends. The point is that there was much variation in what this film meant to groups of children coming from differing social and economic backgrounds. What they got from the film was in part conditioned by their socioeconomic background.

Similar findings were obtained in a recently reported study of the effects of a non-Hollywood film called *Don't Be a Sucker.*[4] This film was made by the Army Signal Corps during World War II and was specifically designed to reduce intergroup prejudice. In fictional form it endeavors to expose the dangerous and anti-

[4] E. Cooper and H. Dinerman, "Analysis of the Film 'Don't Be a Sucker': A Study in Communication," *Public Opinion Quarterly,* XV (1951), 243–264.

democratic purposes of rabble rousers who try to stimulate hatred toward various minority groups. The investigators, Eunice Cooper and Helen Dinerman, planned a research designed to discover the extent to which the "messages" of the film came through to audiences of high school students and adults. Briefly summarized, they found that selective perception operated: that is, that individuals reacted in terms of their predispositions. Those whose attitudes favored the messages of the film accepted them, those whose attitudes did not were able to evade or misperceive them. These misinterpretations, or "boomerang" effects, frequently mean that a basic message planned by the makers of the film is completely nullified.

Again, these results seem to document the notion that the impact of the mass media of communication cannot be conceived in simple cause-and-effect terms. We must revise our view that whatever is "in" a film or radio program will somehow inevitably come through and have a predetermined effect on those exposed to it.

There is one other type of research that I want to refer to, and this gets us over into radio. These are investigations concerned with the soap opera. Most people, especially "intelligent consumers," never listen to them. They seem trivial and trite. But they do have a large listening audience among housewives. The researcher asks the question: What function do these programs have for their listeners? The investigations on this problem indicate that soap operas serve a variety of socially meaningful functions for the housewives who listen. Broadly speaking, they furnish her with vicarious experience. This may seem strange to sophisticated people, but, strange or not, the housewife sees in the soap opera some reflection of her own problems, and she gets some assistance on her own problems in the solutions or the attempts at solution which are presented in the soap opera itself.

This is a kind of finding about the effects which has a slightly more, shall we say, positive tone than the findings that I have been describing. But, even here the relationship between program con-

tent and response is not a simple one; it is not an effect in which the ideas that are presented via the program are projected in some direct way on people's minds with direct effects on attitudes and behavior. The effects are selective, and are dependent on already existing needs.

This, then, is roughly and sketchily the picture of some of the research results to date on this enormously complicated problem of effects of the mass media of communication.

What can we say about them? What does this add up to? Well, it is very hard to formulate any broad generalization that will make all of this rather contradictory material fall into place. We still have the fact—if it is a fact—that Hollywood films have an enormous social impact on people all over the world. I sometimes wonder if these alleged world-wide effects have not been exaggerated. The fact that millions of people all over the world go to these films, and that their culture and way of living is changing or seems to be changing in the direction of being more like us—at least as we are represented in films—does not demonstrate a simple causal relation. Other factors may be operating.

In any event the exact nature of this impact is not clear. It may on occasion be highly specific. If shiny motor cars are driven by glamorous males or females in movies, it may well increase the demand for American automobiles in Calcutta but not necessarily in Timbuktu. In Timbuktu they may believe motor cars are inhabited by evil spirits. In many oriental countries public embracing and kissing is regarded as indecent and such scenes have to be deleted from our films. But if this taboo is disappearing, it does not necessarily mean that Hollywood films alone are responsible. My point is that because the audience for the mass media is large it is not amorphous and faceless, ready to accept anything projected on it.

The researches I have reviewed here in general support this. The viewer and listener are dynamic participants in the situation. They react *on* the content presented rather than reacting *to* it.

How they react is determined by many factors *only one of which is the content of the film itself.* This is not equivalent to saying that film and radio have no effects. Rather, it raises the much more complicated question of what effects under what conditions.

What does this mean so far as the intelligent consumer is concerned? What should he do?

I think we ought to see, if the results of these investigations have any meaning, that a certain note of caution has been sounded. Certain caution is called for before we launch ourselves on a program of immediate change of film and radio content or TV content because we are fearful that it is going to have certain effects, presumably effects which we disapprove.

I should point out that once you launch yourself along the path of regulating the content of films or other mass media, you are, if you do not watch out, going directly toward some form of censorship, some form of continuous and permanent control. This may, of course, be what you intend. If so it raises a number of thorny and very complicated problems, the chief of which is: Who is to decide what the "good" content is? Who is to be the censor?

We say we want "good" films, and "good" radio programs, but we are pretty vague as to what we mean by "good." Sometimes I think we mean by "good," films and radio programs which are *not disturbing to us.*

I have been impressed by the fact that people who are shocked by the radio programs or the films or the comic strips, never seem to be afraid that they themselves are going to be harmed. It is always somebody else who is in danger; it is Johnny, or the people on the other side of the tracks, about whose morals they are fearful. I wonder if they are not projecting their own disturbance with the problems that are sometimes raised in these films.

Take the matter of violence. It is the depiction of violence, I find, that is upsetting to many of my friends who go to movies occasionally. They think there is "too much" violence in films and radio programs. They think this has bad effects, not on them of

course, but on children or other people whose moral fiber is presumably weaker than theirs. We live in a world in which violence, both individual and mass, is the rule and not the exception. In fact, the amount of real violence in the world is considerably greater than all the violence that will ever be shown in films. It may be that violence in films is actually a rather pale reflection of the violence in the real world. It may be, also, that people who are upset by it are really suffering from certain guilt feelings. They are uneasily aware of this violent world and perhaps, in some degree, of their own responsibility for it. It is easy to reduce the uneasiness which we all feel in the present turbulent world by blaming films. This is a scapegoating mechanism with which social psychologists are already familiar.

But to come back to the problem of improving films and the other mass media. I do not wish to be understood as saying that films should not be better than they are, or that it is impossible to have critical standards for evaluating them. I am convinced that most intelligent consumers of films could play a more effective role in this matter if, in addition to moral indignation, they had a clearer understanding of what they have a right to expect from films, radio, and TV. Conceivably this might be achieved by a course on how to evaluate motion pictures. Such a course would sketch the historical development of the film and present information about the more important technical devices which distinguish the films from other media of communication. Here the intelligent consumer would learn something about the styles and methods of different directors and screen writers. These differ as do the methods of creative artists working in other media. If we wish to make our approvals and disapprovals effective, we should be able to recognize and reward those who do a good job.

Most important, such a course should include something about the psychological and social role of drama and storytelling in human society. We should understand some of the human needs which are served by these agencies. Such a course should give the

intelligent consumer a basis for demanding not just "better" films, but films which deal significantly with significant problems, and with no loss of their entertainment quality. It is not a question of eliminating a particular kind of action in a film that happens to disturb us, but a question of whether the disturbing action is placed in some sort of meaningful context so that we have a better understanding that makes a movie or story or play exciting and hence, in the real sense of a much-overworked word, entertaining. In this sense, if motion pictures are to achieve their full potential, they will be more rather than less disturbing because they will deal with disturbing problems. This will be achieved not by emasculating films through hampering restrictions, but by demanding that they deal honestly with every kind of human problem.

But with or without special courses, I have indicated some of the reasons why I think the intelligent consumer should proceed with caution over a terrain which is full of unsuspected pitfalls and much of which isn't even mapped. I don't believe the great mass media stand so much in need of policing as they do of intelligent analysis, and moral indignation is not enough.

Children's Television Habits and Preferences[1]

MAY V. SEAGOE

DR. MAY SEAGOE is professor of education at the University of California at Los Angeles. She is the author of over forty articles and a few research studies of greater length in her own field. Her interest in the field of children's entertainment dates back to one of her earliest studies, before the era of the Payne Fund studies, on "The Child's Reaction to the Movies." She served as leader of the Workshop on Psychological Aspects of the Child Audience of the Children's Theater Convention held on the Los Angeles campus of the University of California in the summer of 1951.

TELEVISION is the newest addition to the illustrious family of our mass entertainment enthusiasms. We have had dime novels, movies, radio, comics—and now television. Each time we seem to go through the same stages. We remember the alarm raised soon after the advent of the talking picture, which in time gave rise to the Payne Fund studies, which in turn showed that the same movies might either help or hinder growth, reinforce social standards, or teach the techniques of crime, depending upon the person who saw them and the attitudes he took to the seeing. For a while films seemed designed more for children than adults: then, when we had examined the matter and learned how to use movies, the alarm died away. The same thing happened with the widespread use of radio, leading to the studies of Eisenberger and others. The same thing went on in relation to the comics. Now we are starting that cycle with television. Whenever there is a new social invention, there is a feeling of strangeness and a distrust of the new until it becomes familiar. In television we are rapidly passing from the period of viewing-with-alarm to that of careful investigation.

This is especially true where children are concerned. We have a tendency to think of them as needing protection from an over-

[1] The material presented here was gathered for and presented to the Workshop on Psychological Aspects of the Child Audience in Film and Television of the Seventh Annual Children's Theater Convention at UCLA, July 30–August 1, 1951.

demanding and sometimes hostile world. We often think of them, too, as a breed apart, either more or less than human. Actually, of course, their fundamental values are similar to those of adults; the development from child to adult is continuous and our differentiation of "children over eight" from "children under eight" chooses an arbitrary point on a continuum. Such differences as occur (and they are important) are qualitative differences related to mental age, experience level, degree of emotional resilience, and degree of social development. When we talk of criteria for children's programs, then, we are talking of criteria which in many ways apply to adult programs as well, the difference being one of degree of complexity or theme in relation to experience, or to ability to take emotional tension, or to kinds of social interest. Children—and we have defined them as those between four and twelve—are not homogeneous in standards but different points on the scale of growing toward adulthood.

With the newness of television it is easy to see its novelty, less easy to see that it is only one more of a long series of similar inventions. It is actually much like the movies in some ways, the radio in others, the theater in still others. Differences between these media are related, not to basic psychological values, but to the availability of the medium, its intensity of stimulation, its limitations, and the usual viewing conditions. Theater is available to relatively few children, both because of distance and expense; but television is increasingly available in a majority of homes, and radio in nearly all homes. Theater presents more rounded stimulation than television, radio and movies differ in sensory appeal, movies in color attract more than do black-white versions, and the musical drama appeals more than drama alone because of its greater use of movement and sound in addition to dramatic action.

In addition, television is a realistic medium, limited in the space in which action may occur, limited in number of rehearsals and number of showings. Motion pictures have a greater latitude in some ways, though, like television, the mode of appeal is limited

to the visual and auditory. Radio has its limitation to the auditory alone, with greater appeal to the imagination and greater mobility and range as a result. And theater has the greatest impact of all because of its completeness of appeal; yet it also has its limitations in time and space. Each medium has its special strengths and weaknesses, but the fundamental psychological principles operating differ in degree rather than in kind. What makes good theater makes good television, and good radio has much in common with good movies.

The matter of viewing conditions has been less recognized as a factor in differential viewing. When the child hears radio or sees television it is with a family group: supervision and postdiscussion are very easily arranged by the careful parent. Yet the older child and the adolescent want to get away from that same supervision; can you imagine a "first date" to sit with the family to watch television? In the theater and movies there is independence, but there is also an impersonal aggregate of individuals, making the audience reaction different. Perhaps that is why television appeals primarily to the preadolescent and movies to the adolescent, though policies in the industries concerned emphasize the trend.

In order to try to get an indication of what television is doing to children, how much time they spend watching, whether television cuts down on time spent listening to radio or going to movies and theater, and what shows children really like, a brief questionnaire was devised. Interested teachers who were also graduate students at UCLA agreed to gather information from their classes, and to enlist the help of other teachers in their schools. The children were chosen so as to include four different school districts in the Los Angeles area, with approximately the same number of children from each grade and from three socioeconomic levels.[2] From kindergarten through grade three questions were answered through interviews; those in grade four and above filled out the

[2] The sampling was determined roughly on the basis of type of community and availability of experimental subjects. Results are approximate rather than finely controlled and definitive.

questionnaires themselves. All cases above the age of twelve were eliminated. All told, 323 children gave answers. Table 1 gives the distribution of cases by grade and by district.

Turning to the listening and viewing habits of the children, table 2 shows that the average motion picture attendance for all cases in our sample is every other week, that older children go more often, and that those of higher socioeconomic status also

TABLE 1

NUMBER OF CASES

Grade level	Socioeconomic level			
	Low	Middle	High	All
Seventh	15	43	..	58
Sixth	26	..	20	46
Fifth	..	25	19	44
Fourth	..	27	21	48
Third	25	..	22	47
Second	..	..	22	22
First	..	27	11	38
Kindergarten	..	..	20	20
Totals	66	122	135	323

attend more frequently. As for radio listening, the average is less than an hour a day, with increasing frequency with age and decreasing frequency with socioeconomic status. In television, more than two thirds of the children in the sample own a set, without regard to age of child or to socioeconomic status. In television time the average for all children is more than two hours daily, increasing slightly with age and decreasing slightly with socioeconomic status. Even those who do not own television sets often view shows at a neighbor's house; very few have no contact with television. Theater is relatively undeveloped in this sample, only one in four having seen a stage show, and even that figure including an entire class which was taken to a play. The number attending theater increases slightly with age and socioeconomic status, a reversal of

the trend in the other media. In summary, table 2 shows that the average child sees motion pictures every two weeks, listens to the radio an hour a day, has a television set and watches it two or more

TABLE 2

FREQUENCY OF MOVIE ATTENDANCE, RADIO LISTENING, AND TELEVISION WATCHING

Item on Questionnaire	Total responses	Grade pattern								Socioeconomic pattern		
		K	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	L	M	H
How often do you go to the movies?												
More than once a week...	18	1	..	..	4	4	..	4	5	4	5	9
Once a week.....	77	2	2	5	7	14	9	13	25	14	34	29
Once in two weeks.....	39	1	..	2	4	7	6	7	12	9	16	14
Once a month.....	55	3	1	7	10	7	13	9	5	10	12	33
Less than once a month...	73	4	7	8	10	13	9	12	10	15	21	37
How much time do you spend listening to the radio?												
More than two hours a day	60	1	1	1	9	10	14	12	12	15	25	20
One to two hours a day...	71	3	1	7	8	7	12	14	19	17	19	35
Less than an hour a day...	125	12	8	10	22	21	15	16	21	20	49	56
Do you have a chance to watch television?												
Have a television set at home.....	200	12	6	15	29	38	30	30	40	47	74	79
Watch at a friend's house.	51	3	3	6	9	8	9	6	7	7	11	33
Do not see television often	38	4	..	1	9	2	5	7	10	10	10	18
How much time do you spend watching television?												
More than two hours a day	129	2	1	3	20	31	19	22	31	36	62	31
One or two hours a day...	69	6	2	11	13	5	13	7	12	12	16	41
Less than one hour a day..	60	6	..	6	10	8	7	11	12	12	14	34
Have you seen a stage play this year other than one put on by children in your school?												
Yes.....	74	4	1	6	..	21	17	16	9	12	15	47
No.....	202	15	5	14	46	25	26	25	46	50	76	76

hours a day, and has had no theater experience. The time spent in all the media increases with age, a phenomenon related to ability to enjoy vicarious experience and to give increasing attention. The interesting fact about high as opposed to low socioeconomic status is that those from the "high" areas have more theater experience, and use radio and films and television less than those from depressed areas.

More important in a consideration of television, however, is what owning a television set does to children's motion picture and theater attendance and radio listening. Table 3 presents these figures, broken down in a different way, from the same question-

TABLE 3

OWNERS AND NONOWNERS OF TELEVISION SETS COMPARED

Item on questionnaire	Total responses	Own television	Do not own television
Do you have a chance to watch television?			
Have a television set at home	200	200	..
Watch at a friend's house	51	..	51
Do not see television often	38	..	38
How often do you go to the movies?			
More than once a week	18	12	6
Once a week	77	39	38
Once in two weeks	39	27	12
Once a month	55	38	17
Less than once a month	73	51	22
How much time do you spend listening to the radio?			
More than two hours a day	60	25	35
One to two hours a day	71	42	29
Less than an hour a day	125	101	24
How much time do you spend watching television?			
More than two hours a day	129	121	8
One to two hours a day	69	54	15
Less than one hour a day	60	13	47
Have you seen a stage play this year other than one put on by children in your school?			
Yes	74	41	33
No	202	155	47

naire. Here it is clear that those who own television sets attend motion pictures less often (once in two weeks instead of once a week), listen to radio less (less than one hour rather than two hours or more a day), spend much more time with television (more than two hours compared to less than one hour a day), and see plays a little more often than those who do not own television sets. One child put the matter succinctly: when asked how often he went to the movies or listened to the radio, he answered, "Only when the television isn't working."

TABLE 4

Shows Seen or Heard

Program	Total responses	Grade pattern								Socioeconomic pattern		
		K	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	L	M	H
Radio Programs:												
Lone Ranger	36	1	3	2	14	5	5	4	2	10	6	20
Clyde Beatty	30	..	1	2	10	3	3	6	5	3	6	21
Sky King	23	..	1	2	3	2	5	2	8	3	5	15
Our Miss Brooks	20	..	..	1	..	1	5	9	4	2	12	6
Straight Arrow	20	..	2	3	4	1	5	..	5	2	4	14
Mark Trail	19	..	1	2	4	2	3	2	5	2	13	4
Cisco Kid	19	1	1	1	10	3	1	1	1	6	11	2
Baby Snooks	16	..	..	..	..	3	8	1	4	2	..	14
Tarzan	16	2	..	..	2	1	9	2	..	..	5	11
Aldrich Family	13	..	..	..	..	3	2	7	1	4	9	..
Andrews Family	11	..	..	..	..	4	5	2	..	1	7	3
Gang Busters	11	..	..	..	..	8	2	1	..	1	8	2
Music	11	1	3	..	1	1	..	..	5	1	4	6
Jack Benny	10	..	1	..	..	1	1	5	2	1	5	4
My Friend Irma	10	1	..	..	2	1	2	1	3	..	5	5
Red Skelton	10	..	..	..	..	..	4	2	4	4	4	2
Baseball games	9	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	6	2	7	..
Buster Brown	9	..	..	..	..	8	..	1	..	1	2	6
Charlie McCarthy	9	..	..	2	1	..	1	3	2	1	..	8
Happy Theater	9	..	..	5	4	..	..	..	..	3	4	2
Lux Radio Theater	8	..	..	..	1	1	2	2	2	..	4	4
Let's Pretend	7	1	..	..	..	..	..	5	1	2	1	4
Red Ryder	7	..	..	..	..	..	6	1	..	1	4	2
Uncle Whoa Bill	7	4	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
Gene Autry	6	..	3	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	3	3
Father Knows Best	6	1	..	..	..	..	1	2	2	2	..	4
Your FBI	6	..	..	..	3	..	1	2	..	3	..	3
Arthur Godfrey	5	..	..	..	..	4	..	1	..	1	4	..
Bob Hope	5	..	..	..	1	..	..	2	2	1	2	2
Breakfast Club	5	..	..	..	2	1	..	1	1	1	1	3
Cliff Stone	5	..	..	..	..	..	3	2	..	2	3	..
Hopalong Cassidy	5	1	3	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	3	2
Horse Races	5	..	2	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	5	..
Life of Riley	5	..	..	..	1	1	2	..	1	..	3	2
People are Funny	5	..	..	..	..	..	1	3	1	1	..	4
Space Patrol	5	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	2	1	2	2
117 others	190	Not differentiated										
Total	593	14	21	24	67	57	81	70	69	64	152	187
Television:												
Space Patrol	71	2	1	5	9	16	14	12	12	17	27	27
Time for Beany	64	2	11	8	14	10	8	8	3	20	22	22
Crusader Rabbit	37	4	3	4	8	10	3	5	..	7	4	26
Space Cadet	31	1	..	2	1	15	4	4	4	3	13	15

TABLE 4—*Continued*

Program	Total responses	Grade pattern								Socioeconomic pattern		
		K	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	L	M	H
Television—*Continued*												
Laurel and Hardy	30	..	7	..	2	9	6	4	2	4	19	7
Milton Berle	29	1	..	2	1	2	12	7	4	4	12	13
The Ruggles	28	..	1	..	1	3	6	6	11	8	14	6
Lone Ranger	27	1	2	2	6	4	6	4	2	2	10	15
Doye O'Dell	25	1	4	2	5	6	..	4	3	9	8	8
Eastside Kids	24	..	..	..	..	9	7	1	7	2	20	2
Comics	18	..	3	..	2	8	2	..	3	1	12	5
Hopalong Cassidy	15	3	3	3	4	2	..	..	..	3	1	11
Howdy Doody	15	5	1	6	1	2	..	..	..	1	..	14
Cisco Kid	13	2	..	2	2	4	..	3	..	1	2	10
Wrestling	13	..	..	..	1	5	2	2	3	3	3	7
Charlie Chase	12	..	3	..	3	3	..	2	1	3	5	4
Comedy Hour	12	3	..	..	2	1	1	1	4	3	3	6
Baseball games	11	..	..	..	1	1	..	2	7	5	4	2
Flash Gordon	11	..	..	..	2	3	2	1	3	1	7	3
Western Films	9	2	..	3	1	..	..	3	..	4	..	5
Spade Cooley	8	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	6	2	6	..
Alan Young	7	..	1	..	1	..	..	1	4	..	4	3
Handy Hints	7	2	..	..	1	2	..	2	..	2	2	3
Hometown Jamboree	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	3	5	2	..
Beulah	6	1	..	..	..	..	4	..	1	1	4	1
Big Movie Matinee	6	..	..	..	..	..	3	3	..	2	3	1
Burns and Allen	6	..	..	..	1	1	..	1	3	1	3	2
Gabby Hayes	6	..	1	1	..	3	1	..	..	..	4	2
Movies	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	..	6	..
Tim McCoy	6	..	..	2	1	2	..	..	1	1	2	3
Hail the Champ	5	..	1	..	2	..	..	1	1	1	1	3
Queen for a Day	5	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	4	1	4	..
Saturday Movie Matinee	5	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	4	1	4	..
Triple Feature Theater	5	..	..	1	..	..	..	2	2	1	2	2
72 others	119	Not differentiated										
Total	699	30	42	43	74	121	83	83	104	119	233	228
Films:												
Bedtime for Bonzo	21	1	1	3	6	3	3	4	..	8	9	4
King Solomon's Mines	16	..	1	1	3	4	4	2	1	1	..	15
Bird of Paradise	13	..	..	..	2	3	3	2	3	1	6	6
Samson and Delilah	13	..	..	..	5	..	..	1	7	..	7	6
You're in the Navy Now	7	1	..	..	2	..	1	2	1	..	1	6
Cinderella	5	2	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Flying Missile	5	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	5	..
Meet the Invisible Man	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	2	3	..
75 others	133	Not differentiated										
Total	218	4	3	6	18	10	16	11	17	12	31	42

TABLE 4—*Concluded*

Program	Total responses	Grade pattern								Socioeconomic pattern		
		K	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	L	M	H
Stage:												
In the Month of May.....	18	..	..	..	..	..	16	..	2	..	1	17
South Pacific.....	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	5	..	1	9
Hansel and Gretel.....	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	7	7	..	1
37 others.....	43	Not differentiated										
Total	79	..	..	..	..	..	16	6	14	7	2	27

Turning from the amount of time spent with films, radio, television, and theater to what children like, we find some most interesting patterns. Table 4 summarizes the programs to which children in the sample say they listen regularly (radio and television), and which they have seen lately and liked (motion pictures and plays). The popular programs, together with age trends and socioeconomic patterns are apparent from the table. Differences in listing in radio and television for programs with the same title may be significant. The results for films and for theater are limited by what has been shown in the neighborhood, and hence constitute a less accurate cross section of preferences. Within each grouping, however, the frequency of seeing or hearing a show is significant. The appeal of adventure (including westerns), family shows, and comedy is clear in both radio and television.

There remains the question, however, whether children see these programs regularly because they really enjoy them or because the shows happen to come at times when the radio or television set is on anyway. Questions on what radio and television shows children in this sample like best are illuminating. Table 5 isolates radio and television shows seen regularly by ten or more children, and gives the proportion for each of mentions as "liked best" to "seen regularly." The purpose is to see whether intensity of enjoyment is different from frequency of listening. It is clear from table 5 that the radio shows "The Lone Ranger," "Clyde Beatty," and "Sky King" are seen most often, but that "Baby

TABLE 5

INTENSITY OF ENJOYMENT OF CERTAIN SHOWS

Show	Seen or heard by	Best liked by	Ratio of likes to seen or heard
Radio:			
Lone Ranger	36	15	.42
Clyde Beatty	30	14	.47
Sky King	23	4	.17
Our Miss Brooks	20	11	.55
Straight Arrow	20	5	.25
Mark Trail	19	4	.21
Cisco Kid	19	2	.11
Baby Snooks	16	12	.75
Tarzan	16	11	.69
Aldrich Family	13	4	.31
Andrews Family	11	6	.55
Gang Busters	11	4	.36
Music	11	4	.36
Jack Benny	10	2	.20
My Friend Irma	10	3	.30
Red Skelton	10	3	.30
Television:			
Space Patrol	71	21	.30
Time for Beany	64	24	.37
Crusader Rabbit	37	16	.43
Space Cadet	31	11	.35
Laurel and Hardy	30	20	.67
Milton Berle	29	8	.28
The Ruggles	28	14	.50
Lone Ranger	27	3	.11
Doye O'Dell	25	7	.28
Eastside Kids	24	14	.58
Comics	18	10	.56
Hopalong Cassidy	15	8	.53
Howdy Doody	15	6	.40
Cisco Kid	13	4	.31
Comedy Hour	13	2	.15
Wrestling	12	2	.17
Charlie Chase	12	5	.42
Baseball	11	2	.18
Flash Gordon	11	7	.64

Snooks," "Our Miss Brooks," "Tarzan," and "The Andrews Family" have the highest ratios of mentions as "best liked" to mentions as "seen regularly," that is, they tend to be favorites when opportunity for listening is held constant. Similarly, the television shows "Space Patrol" and "Time for Beany" are seen most often, but "Laurel and Hardy," "Flash Gordon," and "Eastside Kids" have higher ratios as "best liked." Though the method of analysis is relatively untried, there is the suggestion that frequency of listening or viewing is different from intensity of enjoyment.[3]

We have seen, then, that television has a major impact on the child audience. Radio listening and motion picture attendance are partially sacrificed to television viewing. Older children watch television with increasing frequency, at least to the age of twelve. Low socioeconomic status is no handicap in television viewing, but a positive factor instead. Children show distinct preferences for certain programs, especially adventure, family programs, and comedy. However, the favorite program is not always the one seen most often. These results are, of course, based on a limited sample of children in one area only, and the treatment has some of the crudeness characteristic of all pioneering. If the findings stimulate further and more precise investigation, the purpose of this article will have been achieved.

[3] To test the matter further, coefficients of correlation were computed. *Rho* was used because of the small number of programs included in each group. The coefficients were .07 for radio programs and .08 for television. Since coefficients of correlation vary from .00 or no relationship at all to 1.00 or perfect relationship, it is clear that how regularly a child hears a program has little relationship to how intensely he enjoys it. This warrants further study.

Radio in Puerto Rico

WALTER KRULEVITCH KINGSON AND
ROME COWGILL

WALTER KRULEVITCH KINGSON, an associate professor in the Radio Division, Theater Arts Department, University of California, Los Angeles, and a member of the editorial board of the *Quarterly of Film, Radio, and Television,* was director of the Radio Workshop at the University of Puerto Rico during the summer of 1951. Rome Cowgill, formerly staff writer for the Voice of America and at present managing editor of the *Quarterly,* taught in the summer workshop of the University of Puerto Rico.

ONE OF THE most popular of the many radio serials broadcast daily in Puerto Rico is *Los Que No Deben Nacer* (Those Who Should Never Have Been Born). The story concerns a proud Spanish gentleman who conceals from the world the fact that he has syphilis, and marries a lovely, noble young woman. Their first child is born legless and with only one arm. By chance, a servant in the house gives birth to a perfect male child on the same day, and the father puts this baby in his wife's arms, never letting her know that she gave birth to a monster. The monster he sells to a circus, and brings the servant's child up as his own. Later, his wife bears him another son, perfect physically, but who, as he grows up, is found to suffer from mental aberrations. The father manages somehow to hide this fact from both his wife and the community and brings the two boys up as brothers. By the summer of 1951, *Those Who Should Never Have Been Born* had progressed to this point: the servant's child, who believes himself to be the eldest son, has gone to Cuba and, by a strange coincidence, becomes fast friends with a monster in a circus, who is, of course, the real eldest son. Neither young man has any knowledge of the true identity of the other. The monster has told the servant's child the sad story of his having been sold to a circus as a baby, and is fiercely determined to find his father. The servant's child, little knowing, as the saying goes, that this father is the same man he himself calls father, has pledged his help to the monster. Meanwhile, back

home, the handsome, deranged younger son is courting a beautiful young girl, and his father is torn by doubt: how can he explain to his son, the girl, his own wife, and the world itself why this marriage never should be? Or should he permit it and hope for the best?

Although some Puerto Ricans consider this serial, or *novella,* educational because it dramatically portrays how innocent people can suffer from another's sins, it is probably unnecessary to say that *Those Who Should Never Have Been Born* would not be broadcast by radio stations in the United States. The problem of syphilis has been seriously treated over the radio here, but it would not be used as a motivating theme in a drama designed primarily for entertainment rather than education. In Puerto Rico however, the fact that syphilis exists is sufficient justification for using it in a radio drama. In like manner, adultery and infidelity become central themes in radio serials. Scenes of sexual violence have been broadcast, of a sort which one young Puerto Rican woman described as disgusting. At the end of one such program, in which an errant young girl was lustily pursued by the rich man in whose home she had come to live, the announcer remarked that this is what happens to girls who leave home and disobey their mothers. However (and disregarding cultural differences in attitudes toward moral values, and what is fit for broadcast), Puerto Rican radio serials differ from those offered by the major American networks in more than content.

In the first place, plots move much faster. Stories advance rapidly from crisis to crisis, are concluded, and succeeded by new stories. The longest run of any single serial was ten months; most are completed within two or three months.

In the second place, each episode is packed with action. The listener who misses a broadcast will probably miss an important plot development; listeners who don't hear the serial for several days may find it hard to pick up the story again. This speed of action is illustrated in the following condensation of an episode

from the serial *La Sacrificada,*[1] broadcast during the summer of 1951. It is the story of Señora Paulina and her sister, María Luisa, who makes her home with her. Paulina has had a disastrous extramarital affair, and, to keep her husband Juan Manuel from knowing her guilt, she goes to a remote mountain village with María Luisa to bear the illegitimate child of her sin. She has also instructed her servant Juana to destroy all letters which might come for María Luisa in their absence. Upon their return after the birth of the baby girl, María Luisa is brokenhearted because there has been no word for her from Ricardo, her fiancé, but her greatest concern is what will happen to Paulina, for María Luisa has written Juan Manuel a letter explaining everything and begging Juan Manuel to be charitable. In the program broadcast July 24, 1951, Paulina tells María Luisa that Juan Manuel wishes to speak to her in his study, and then, the narrator says, "Paulina smiles coldly, satisfied with the result of her strategy and certain that she will never be defeated or discovered." In the study, María Luisa is amazed at Juan Manuel's severity toward her, and shocked when he accuses Ricardo of a breach of honor in not fulfilling his obligation toward her.

MARÍA LUISA: Obligation? Ricardo need not feel obligated toward me for anyone or anything.
JUAN: It would be better if you had no obligations either.
MARÍA: What obligations have I?
JUAN: Have you considered the baby?
MARÍA: What baby?
JUAN: Your baby.
(MUSIC: *Sting.*)
MARÍA: But what are you saying? What do you mean?
JUAN: It is useless to pretend, María Luisa. Paulina has told me all.
MARÍA: What did Paulina tell you?
JUAN: That Ricardo won you with a false promise of marriage . . . that you gave yourself to him . . . and that now he no longer wishes to marry you.
MARÍA: This is a falsehood! These are lies!
JUAN: I am not lying. I have never seen things as clearly as now.

[1] The authors wish to thank Elva Baer for helping them translate this and other scripts and documents from the Spanish.

MARÍA: Is this what Paulina told you?

JUAN: Yes.

MARÍA: She told you this baby is mine . . . and Ricardo's . . . that I am guilty . . . that I have been wanting in purity, and he in honor!

JUAN: Yes, she told me that.

MARÍA: What infamy! And you have believed it all. You want me to receive the blame for all this. But no! It will not be I who receives it. I am going to find Paulina immediately, and I will make her come back with me, to tell the truth, the truth of all this!

A scene between Paulina and María follows:

PAULINA: I have no child. The child is yours.

MARÍA: Coward! You lie! You lie!

PAULINA: Don't raise your voice so, María. Do you want Juan Manuel to have a bad opinion of you? Do you want him to hear you trying to blame me for your sins?

MARÍA: You stole the letter in which I explained the truth. You have ruined my honor, my happiness.

PAULINA: Don't make a scene, María Luisa. It gives me a headache.

MARÍA: Infamous! You are capable of renouncing your own baby!

PAULINA: Tell that to people and see if they believe you. A young girl goes to a remote village, stays there some months, and returns with a baby. The young man no longer pays her attention . . . what does it look like? What will everyone believe?

MARÍA: It is horrible! You are a wicked woman, Paulina . . . vilifying me without pity—me, your sister.

PAULINA: My sister had no hesitation in sacrificing me to her ego . . . in leaving me defenseless, shamed, before my husband, implacable and jealous.

MARÍA: You are deceiving yourself. Why should I pay for your sins?

PAULINA: Don't put yourself in that position. When we were in the mountain you made me a generous offer . . . to speak to Ricardo so that I could live with you and the baby. (*Sarcastically*) Thank you very much, María Luisa. I give you the same offer . . . Juan Manuel and I are willing to have you in our house . . . you and your baby. You will need nothing.

MARÍA: You are a monster of evil! All this is frightful!

PAULINA: Is there anything more you wish to say to me, María Luisa?

MARÍA: Yes . . . that I will find a way to untangle myself from this plot . . . to cut this web in which you have involved me.

PAULINA: Do it. No one will believe you.

MARÍA: I will tell Juan Manuel what I said in my letter.

PAULINA: It is too late. Appearances are against you.

MARÍA: But I will force you to speak. Now we will go to see Juan Manuel and tell him the truth whether you wish it or no.

PAULINA: Don't be a fool. You can force me to do nothing, and he would not believe you.

MARÍA: I'll struggle. I will defend myself.

PAULINA: Struggle . . . defend yourself . . . all the world will believe that besides being guilty you are a coward . . . that you wish to blame me for a crime I did not commit . . . that you blame me to save yourself. And Juan Manuel, who is disposed to pardon you, to protect you, will throw you into the street, abandon you to your fate. And you will face it alone, with your baby, without a bit of bread to put in your mouth, more dishonored than ever, with the sign of your shame on your face. You understand me? Attack me if you wish. . . . Now and always I will be the victor . . . always I will be the stronger.

(MUSIC: *Dramatic, transition into background.*)

This is the climax of the broadcast but before the program ends there is a scene between Juana and María in which María tells her story and Juana, though she keeps to herself the knowledge that she has destroyed Ricardo's letters to María at Paulina's bidding, is horrified that María should accuse her sister of bearing an illegitimate child. Crushed and miserable, María determines to have one more talk with Juan Manuel, but when she goes to his study the next morning, he tells her coldly that there is nothing more for them to discuss. The episode ends with María crying out, "I have the right to defend myself!"

No one can deny that this is a lively, even a fascinating plot, but many Puerto Ricans consider that this and similar *novellas* present a serious problem. Letters of protest appear periodically in the newspapers, educators fret, but the broadcasts continue and are very likely to do so for some time. For the *novellas* merely reflect the larger problems of radio broadcasting in Puerto Rico. In a report made after a seminar held in 1950, when Puerto Rican educators and station representatives met for a serious study of radio on the island under the direction of Professor Charles Siepmann of New York University, the situation was pithily described.

It would be unfair to judge the programs of the local stations objectively according only to the normal practices of other countries where radio is a reflection of quite different social conditions, different economy, and culture. One must consider the complications which surround an institution like radio in Puerto Rico, where the industry is poor, lacking in trained and talented personnel, and confronted with the problem of pleasing a public very largely at a low cultural level, with only a minority of cultured listeners.

Novellas please the majority of the Puerto Rican listening public, making up the bulk of radio drama and a sizable share of all programming (except in baseball season, October to March, when remote broadcasts from the diamonds outstrip all other programs in popularity). Mystery dramas are not popular, oddly enough, and though there are some family comedies, such as *La Familia Perez,* the predominance of *novellas* is best illustrated by a comparison: in the United States some fifteen hundred stations of the five networks broadcast about sixty serials weekly; in Puerto Rico, an island 95 by 35 miles in area, with a population of less than two and a half million, twenty-four stations broadcast about forty serials weekly. No figures are available to indicate the number of people who listen to these *novellas,* because there has never been a listener survey in Puerto Rico similar to those done by such firms as Hooper and Nielson in the United States. In the summer of 1951, Colgate-Palmolive-Peet and station WKAQ were conducting a joint door-to-door survey, but there have been no such surveys as in Cuba, where all forty stations chipped in to pay a reliable, outside firm. Only door-to-door interview surveys are practical in Puerto Rico, since there are only 35,000 telephones on the island. There are said to be 128,000 radios on the island, an average of less than 65 per each 1,000 of population. Even this is little help in estimating the number of people who listen to *novellas,* for in Puerto Rico, as in many countries with relatively few sets-in-usage, group and community listening is common, and a single radio may serve a very large number of listeners.

This brings us to the crux of the problem. Puerto Rico is in the midst of a tremendous bootstrap effort to raise its economic level, but though it is a beautiful island it is a poor country. The radio industry can't afford expensive surveys, and can't pay high prices for talent, yet the stations are obliged to originate an astonishing number of programs. They have no choice. Although Puerto Rico is part of the United States of America, with its stations operating under the Federal Communications Commission and deriving a good share of income from state-side advertisers, programs are broadcast in Spanish to listeners whose English is an acquired and second language. There is no possibility of relieving the immense programming burden by the United States networks. But, curiously enough, Puerto Rico is far enough removed culturally from neighboring Spanish islands to make a Caribbean network equally unsatisfactory. In fifty-six years as a United States territory, Puerto Rican interests have shifted somewhat north, and what goes on in Washington is more interesting to Puerto Ricans than what goes on in Havana or Port au Prince. Puerto Rican standards of living and education are higher than those of neighboring islands—not only higher but more northern. On the other hand, Puerto Rico developed its own national pattern for several hundred years as a Spanish colony to the extent that there are language differences between it and, for example, Cuba. Pronunciation is different; there are even common words in Cuba which have unlike, sometimes foul, meanings in Puerto Rico. These are not insuperable obstacles, and no one can negate the close religious and cultural bonds between the Spanish-speaking islands of the Carribean, but interisland network programming, even were it feasible on all other scores, would encounter such problems as different interpretations of freedom of speech between island and island.[2] In terms of programs, it is probably safe to say that a local radio station in San Juan would benefit as much from an affiliation with a Cuban-

[2] The single exception in which several of the islands jointly use programs originating from a central point is the baseball broadcasts in Spanish from the United States.

centered network as one in Arkansas would with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

The result then is that Puerto Rican radio stations originate hour after hour of programming on woefully small budgets. The budgets are small because, with the exception of WIPR, the government station, all income is from advertising, and few local industries are able to afford radio time. Retailers do not buy spot announcements; most prefer newspaper advertising. And because of the lack of survey figures to establish audience size and program preference, time sales are more difficult to make and rates are low. WAPA, for example, a popular 10,000-watt station in San Juan offers the following rates.

GENERAL BROADCAST RATES

Class A

6:00 P.M. to 9:00 P.M.:

	1–12 times	*13–25*	*26–51*	*52–103*	*104–311*	*312 or more*
1 hour	$100.00	95.00	90.00	85.00	80.00	75.00
½ hour	52.00	49.00	46.00	43.00	40.00	37.50
¼ hour	27.00	25.50	24.00	22.50	21.00	19.50
10 minutes	20.00	19.00	18.00	17.00	16.00	15.00
5 minutes	15.00	14.25	13.50	12.75	12.00	11.25

This is the best and highest priced radio time. Class B time (6:30–9:00 A.M., 11 A.M.–2 P.M., 5:00–6:00 P.M., and 9:30 P.M. to sign off) starts at $52.50 for one hour, 1–12 times, and ends at $5.50 for five minutes, 312 or more times. Class C time (9:00–11:00 A.M., 2:00–5:00 P.M.) begins at $35 for one hour, 1–12 times, and ends at $4 for five minutes, 312 times or more. In other words, a sponsor can buy a half hour of prime time weekly, from, say, 7:30–8:00 P.M. for $52 a week on a 12-week contract, and, if he wants to continue the series, can buy up to a year's time for $46 a week. Or if he wants a fifteen-minute woman's program or a *novella* at 10:30–10:45 in the morning, Monday through Friday, he can buy the time on a 26-week contract for $8 a quarter hour, or $40 a week. Spot announcements range from $12 for 25-word

station break announcements in Class A time—the most expensive, with discounts up to 55 per cent for 600 announcements or more—to $1.35 for fifteen seconds in Class C time, placed on a sustaining program at the discretion of the station.

These rates are standard for the larger stations in San Juan. Thus, revenue from time sales is not large, even though a good share of time is sold to United States firms and some to local ones. In July, 1951, WKAQ, a 5,000-watt station in San Juan, owned by the leading newspaper, *El Mundo,* and considered by many to be the leading station in Puerto Rico, issued the following program schedule. For convenience sake, only the Monday to Friday programs are listed here. The name of the sponsor, and, where necessary for clarity, a description of the program, are given in the parentheses. Where several sponsors share a program it is listed as "participating."

MORNING

6:15 *Ritmos Alegres* (Music. Participating sponsorship)
6:30– 7:00 *Alba Alegre* (Alba Powdered Milk)
7:00– 7:15 *Relojito Pal* (Pal Blades)
7:15– 7:30 *Noticiero* (News. Participating sponsorship)
7:30– 7:45 *Programa Sello Rojo* (Sello Rojo Rice)
7:45– 8:00 *English News* (Participating)
8:00– 8:15 *Peticiones de Nuestros Soldados* (Sustaining)
8:15– 8:30 *Peticiones de Nuestros Soldados* (Participating)
8:30– 8:45 *Revista Femenina* (Sustaining)
8:45– 9:00 *Programma de Los Pueblos* (Casa Splendide)
9:00– 9:30 *Programma de Los Pueblos* (Participating)
9:30–10:00 *Melodias del Momento* (Sustaining)
10:00–10:15 *Cumpleaños Keebler* (Keebler Biscuits)
10:15–10:30 *Hernan Cortes* (Soap opera. Sustaining)
10:30–10:45 *Weather Report* and
Amores Inolvidables (Love Stories. Sustaining)
10:45–11:00 *El Imposter* (Pan American Standard Brands)
11:00–11:15 *Concierto Popular* (Participating)
11:15–12:15 *Caravana Musical* (Participating)

AFTERNOON

12:15–12:30 *Gloria Y Miguel* (Proctor and Gamble)
12:30–12:45 *Noticiero Schaefer* (Schaefer)
12:45– 1:00 *El Tremendo Hotel* (Gus Lallande)
1:00– 1:15 *Brindis Blatz* (Freira Bros. and Blatz Beer)
1:15– 1:45 *Los Tres Villalobos* (Proctor and Gamble)
1:45– 2:00 *El Derecho a La Felicidad* (Campbell's Soups)
2:00– 2:30 *Teatro—Fab* (Colgate-Palmolive-Peet)
2:30– 3:00 *Novella Octagon* (Colgate-Palmolive-Peet)
3:00– 3:15 *Sierra Negra* (Pet Milk Company)
3:15– 3:30 *Novella Duryea* (Corn Products Refining Company)
3:30– 3:45 *Estos Son Mis Hijos* (Sustaining)
3:45– 4:00 *Melodias Populares* (Participating)
4:00– 4:15 *Acertijos Musicales* (Participating)
4:15– 4:30 *Reportajes de Hollywood* (Participating)
4:30– 4:45 *Weather Report* (Sustaining) and *Variedads* (Music, Participating)
4:45– 5:00 *Quince Minutos Con Abuelita* (Participating)
5:00– 5:15 *El Club de las Cinco* (Coco Cola)
5:15– 5:30 *Tarzan* (Pan American Trading Co.—Denia Powdered Milk)
5:30– 5:45 *El Corsario Negro* (Sustaining)
5:45– 6:00 *Cisco Kid* (Swift Brookfield Milk)

EVENING

6:00– 6:15 *Noticiero* (News. Participating)
6:15– 6:30 *Revista Deportiva* (Pabst Sales)
6:30– 7:00 *Los Que No Deben Nacer* (Colgate-Palmolive-Peet)
7:00– 7:15 *La Familia Perez* (Borden Company)
7:15– 7:30 *Doroteo, El Policia Relampago* (Pal Blades. Pepto Bismo)
7:30– 7:45 *Los Enredos de Tinito* (Corona Beer)
7:45– 8:00 *Que Sirvienta!* (Lever Bros.)
8:00– 8:30 *Music and Quiz* (Sponsors vary nightly, including Denia Powdered Milk; Libby, McNeil and Libby; and Orange Crush.)
8:30– 8:45 *Club del Monte* (California Packing Co.)
8:45– 9:00 *Panorama Internacional* (Colgate-Palmolive-Peet)

EVENING (*Continued*)
9:00–9:30 *La Novella Palmolive* (Colgate-Palmolive-Peet)
9:30– 9:45 *El Mundo de Mañana* (El Mundo)
9:45–10:00 *Ultima Hora Deportiva* (Sustaining)
10:00–10:30 *Music* (Sustaining)
10:30–10:45 *Musica Popular* (Sustaining)
10:45–11:00 *Noticiero* (News. Participating)
11:00–11:30 *Manos Sobre el Teclado* (Sustaining)
11:30–12:00 *Musica y Noticias* (Participating)

On this same schedule, Sunday programs begin at 7:00 A.M., and between then and midnight, only 3 hours and 45 minutes are listed as sponsored; the morning is given to religious programs and the afternoon primarily to music, with opera scheduled from 3:00 until 5:30. Music also predominates on Sunday evening, when five programs are sponsored by Wurlitzer, Orange Crush, Caribe Motors, the Ford Company, and Colgate-Palmolive-Peet, whose *Panorama Internacional* is broadcast seven days a week.

The Saturday morning schedule almost duplicates the Monday to Friday morning schedule. Saturday afternoon programs are largely music, with one program sponsored by the Mathias Photo Shop, and one listed as "participating." Music also dominates in Saturday night programs, with Colgate-Palmolive-Peet's *Panorama Internacional* the only sponsored broadcast, though the 6:00 o'clock news and 11:30–12:00 music and news programs are listed as "participating."

Examination of this schedule shows that, though Class A and B time is rather generally sold out Mondays through Fridays, the week end is perilously close to all-sustaining, lowering the over-all weekly income measurably.

Obviously, when time-sale income is low, talent fees are correspondingly small. Actors in Puerto Rico are paid $3 to $6 a performance with a few stars receiving up to $10. Writers are paid $5 or $6 a script. Announcers, except in small stations where they often work for nothing in order to get on the air (with tele-

vision still in the future, radio "glamor" is a glittery force in Puerto Rico), are paid weekly salaries which vary depending upon how many shows they are expected to write and produce, and whether or not their shows are sponsored. Few performers are specialists. The staff of WAPA includes four announcers who also write and produce; two music librarians; a program director who edits and directs four soap operas a day; an assistant program director who serves also as chief announcer and director; and two part-time announcers.

To make a living in radio in Puerto Rico demands either an unbelievable amount of simple physical strength, or fantastic luck in the national lottery. In the space of two hours in one of San Juan's most popular stations, the program director directed and announced a fifteen-minute serial, emceed a half-hour quiz program, and directed a half-hour musical variety program, in addition to taking charge of the station for the night, and eating his dinner. One actor said he managed pretty well financially because he had been averaging four and five shows a day. And all radio performers speak enviously of Tommy Muñoz, who is reported to get up to $15 a script for some of the several five-a-day week comedy shows he writes, directs, and performs in. However the Seminar Report points out that for the listener, the result is monotony: he hears the same actors and announcers hour after hour, day after day.

No one could expect consistently high quality from people working so strenuously for so little. Sheer fatigue must take its toll. But there is an equally obstinate problem in the lack of training available for Puerto Rican radio performers. Until the summer of 1951, when the University of Puerto Rico inaugurated its first—and the island's only—radio training program, there was no place for a would-be radio actor or writer to learn his trade. The lucky ones learned while doing or picked up some skill in a loose sort of apprenticeship, based on volunteer performance. A few have managed to stake themselves to a year in New York,

where, in spite of language difficulties, they have absorbed a certain amount of technique. Some go to Cuba, largest and richest of the Carribean islands, and the center of advertising and radio in the area. But more Cubans succeed in Puerto Rico than vice versa, for Puerto Rican radio station managers often seek out Cubans for staff positions. And a good number of the *novellas* broadcast over Puerto Rican stations are edited versions of scripts written and originally broadcast in Cuba. This accounts partly for the low script rates: Cuban writers sell second broadcast rights on their *novellas* to Puerto Rican stations and agencies for a few dollars, and station managers see no reason to pay more for Puerto Rican scripts. Cuban *novellas* need only a little editing, to eliminate language differences already mentioned. The world of fiction is perhaps the only existing One World, since in it all characters are projections of common, human needs and desires, influenced less by geographic and national boundaries than by emotional bonds and bondage. So though a radio network linking Cuba and Puerto Rico would run into difficulties with nonfiction programs—news, women's broadcasts, sports—the exchange of *novellas* offers no problem. Puerto Rican writers, then, face not only a low-paying market, but a restricted one, offering their untried original dramas in competition with proven Cuban successes. Worse, since Cuban *novellas* prove so popular, Puerto Rican writers follow their pattern, as rigid as United States soap opera patterns, but based on a formula of Just Plain Sex. There is no opportunity to experiment with new forms—a writer's best training—and no place to go for academic or trade school training.

Announcers, directors, actors, and technicians suffer from the same lack of training, and station executives deplore it. The question is, who should supply it? Most radio people seem to feel that the university should. Many educators agree in part but point out that the university is not a trade school and can only supply radio courses as part of a broad general education or liberal arts curriculum, which would be unlikely to include classes in *novella* writing

and directing. But with the seminar in 1950, the university examined the radio problem in Puerto Rico, and with the workshop in 1951 it made a first step toward meeting the need.

There can be no doubt that the seminar report summed up the situation accurately when it said that Puerto Rican radio "is a reflection of quite different social conditions, different economy and culture." But it is possible to question the statement that it is "lacking in trained *and talented* personnel."

Talent is there. It is simply overworked, untrained, underpaid, and limited in the forms in which it can express itself. The staff of the government radio station, WIPR, has opportunity to experiment with program forms, and some interesting broadcasts result. WIPR plans its programs for the cultured listeners of the island, scheduling hours of classical music, daily children's stories, and numerous serious drama series. One of these, *Studio X,* features half-hour original, experimental plays, generally staff-written since there are no funds for buying scripts from outside. Many of the *Studio X* plays are impressionistic, symbolic, or, as one was described by its author, "a psychological fantasy with an existentialistic vision of the world." But the schedule is varied with comedy and lighter dramas. Here, for example, is the opening of a farce by Francisco Aribi, titled "The Bachelors' Club."

(CONTROL: *Theme.*)
VOICE: Francisco Aribi presents with apprehension . . .
VOICE II: The Bachelors' Club.
VOICE I: A farce in which fictitious puppets resemble some real puppets.
VOICE II: A coincidence which cannot be avoided by the author . . .
VOICE I: Something which worries him . . .
VOICE II: Especially on account of the puppets.
(CONTROL: *Theme.*)

The opening sets the mood for a tongue-in-cheek farce in which women finally vanquish the bachelors' club by marrying the bachelors.

More typical of the *Studio X* dramas was "The Man and She," an expressionistic drama of man's fight against tyranny. A group

of people are shipwrecked, finding safety on an island, where the Boss immediately dominates characters called the Rich Man, the Crazy Man, the Poet, the Woman, and the Enslaved Man, who at the end kills the Boss. A sample of the dialogue follows.

THE CRAZY MAN: I buried two little words under a poplar . . . two little words.
THE MAN: Truly? What are these little words?
CRAZY MAN: You won't tell anyone?
MAN: No.
CRAZY MAN: Then these little words are Mind and Heart.
MAN: Oh!
CRAZY MAN: But at night a hungry dog comes and digs up the earth . . . you understand? And in the morning I see that the two little words are all uncovered, damp with dew.
MAN: Truly!
CRAZY MAN: Then I have to go back and bury them again.
MAN: But at night they go out of your sight?
CRAZY MAN: Yes. All night they are outside, looking at the stars. . . . And you? Haven't you buried any little words?
MAN: (*Gravely*) Yes. I have also buried a little word.
CRAZY MAN: What is it?
MAN: Justice.
CRAZY MAN: Is it well buried?
MAN: By day, yes. . . . But at night the same hungry dog digs up the earth and uncovers it a little . . . and I go back to see it . . . and I take it between my hands and tell it . . . "Wait . . . wait . . ."
CRAZY MAN: I understand! I understand! My two words will meet yours, under the stars, and embrace, eh?
MAN: Yes, it must be so . . .
CRAZY MAN: Keep silence over all I told you, will you?
MAN: Yes, yes . . .
CRAZY MAN: Silence is gray, like my cape . . . not black, not white. . . . Gray like the cape of the wind . . .
(CONTROL: *Music.*)

In addition to *Studio X* and *Radio Theater,* which presents adaptations of novels and stories, WIPR broadcasts a weekly series which grew out of a *Studio X* drama. Written by Abelard Diaz Alfaro, it is called "Sketches from the Country," and presents, with the colloquial language of the *jibarros,* or country people of

Puerto Rico, characters from the farms and small towns. Here is a portion of "The Idiot."

(MUSIC: *Theme, brilliant and down for:*)

ANNOUNCER: Abelard Diaz Alfaro writes Sketches from the Land.

(MUSIC: *Up briefly and out.*)

ANNOUNCER: The Idiot . . . a character from my country, dedicated to simple men.

(MUSIC: *Under, hold, and out.*)

NARRATOR: He was a fantastic figure—dull eyes fixed on an invisible nirvana, thin, faded beard like threads floating in a wind of misfortune, a phantom from a nightmare of illness. The idiot.

And the idiot stayed in the corner, his lower lip fallen open, his eyes blank, seeking something that no one, not even he himself knew exactly, mumbling words without meaning . . .

IDIOT: Bun, make, tree, four, fife.

NARRATOR: He made the sign of the cross and grunted like a strange animal. And one of those self-appointed jokers asked him . . .

MAN: Peyo, when do you marry?

NARRATOR: Over his lips fluttered a cautious smile, an unearthly grin, and his voice sounded like water under the earth . . .

IDIOT: Tomorrow, cut off their heads, come, Ho, ho, ho!

NARRATOR: And the idiot crowd roared with laughter before this idiot who served as their clown and who chattered a childish jibberish. The fool, Peyo, liked flowers and birds and children. In the garden he uprooted a red pavona and a yellow flower, and arranged them in the button hole of an ancient greatcoat that had no age, that was as colorless as the life of his master. And the idiot laughed . . . a laugh of another world.

IDIOT: (*Laugh.*)

NARRATOR: A screaming laugh, one of those laughs that might be the quintessence of pain . . .

IDIOT: Flowery dinda pa mama, muelta.

It is difficult, particularly against the odds of translation and limited space, to give a fair picture of the lively and creative dramatic work of the WIPR staff, and of course the scripts alone give no indication of the quality of performance, which is surprisingly high, especially in view of the fact that all staff members double, sometimes triple, in brass. Announcers write scripts, script writers act and direct, there being no funds for hiring outside talent. Many supplement the low government salary with com-

mercial announcing and acting in their free time. But it would be strange indeed if this small group represented the only talented Puerto Ricans drawn to radio, although there is little doubt that the government station offers the only opportunity for people who are serious about broadcasting. And, to work for WIPR, it is necessary to be quite serious about it. Salaries are low: the station operates on a budget of $170,000 a year. The work is demanding: one script writer turns out a daily original children's play in addition to acting in most of the station's dramatic broadcasts.

The existence of WIPR emphasizes the problem of radio in Puerto Rico. Lack of survey figures makes it impossible to gauge the size of the station's audience, but commercial broadcasters think it is minute. The station staff believes it to be larger, judging by mail response to gift offers made on programs. However, the station deliberately plans its programs for a minority audience. It provides little for the listener who wants something more substantial than *novellas,* but does not enjoy chamber music. This, plus lack of a wire news service, which it cannot afford, makes it difficult for the station to increase its audience. Theoretically, the high quality broadcasts of the government station should raise the standard of radio in Puerto Rico, but some critics feel that listeners accustomed to the spice of *novellas* are never going to be tempted by the solid fare of WIPR, no matter how well it is presented. In their opinion, WIPR should offer good programs on a popular level in order, by winning large sections of the mass audience, to force commercial stations to raise their program standards. Others, including most commercial station managers, feel that WIPR should not enter into competition with the other radio stations, but continue to direct its broadcasts to a limited audience.

But everyone wants to see program standards raised. Commercial station managers who, like all Puerto Ricans, are intensely interested in their island's welfare, say they would welcome a chance to broadcast good educational programs prepared by WIPR or

government agencies for island-wide distribution. Most stations have enough unsold time to guarantee scheduling of such programs, but neither the talent nor the funds to originate them.

WIPR has the talent but its staff is worked to capacity and over. To prepare series of popular educational programs would require the coöperation of information specialists in various government agencies, plus the discovery and development of new talent. Some good would undoubtedly come of it, but it would be unreasonably optimistic to expect commercial radio to leap to new heights as a result.

A few good educational series won't change the general pattern of programming in Puerto Rico, and they would raise standards only by providing a few more good programs and a few more trained people. *Novellas* would still fill the air, if only because there are too many stations in business on the island for the number of available advertising accounts, and so long as Cuban *novellas* are cheap there will be stations to buy and broadcast them.

The great, glaring need in Puerto Rican radio is for a survey whose results all stations would accept. While such a survey would undoubtedly prove the popularity of *novellas,* it would also show what other types of programs have large audiences, not as large perhaps but big enough to interest sponsors. It might reveal that the *novella* audience does not represent as important a part of the buying public as some others. It would certainly indicate the size and structure of the WIPR audience.

Whatever the revelations of such a survey, it is unlikely that program standards in Puerto Rico will be much changed without it. Even if performance standards were raised through training and improved opportunities, program types would remain unaltered unless advertisers were convinced of the popularity of new ones.

And the burden cannot be left entirely with the radio stations. Radio standards, in the last analysis, are part of general cultural standards. Puerto Rico is too complicated a social problem for

brief summary, but even in the light of the teacher shortage and the poverty that keeps many Puerto Ricans from attending school, it seems less remarkable that *novellas* are popular than that there is any audience at all for WIPR.

There's Really No Business Like Show Business

JAY E. GORDON

JAY E. GORDON is a former associate editor of the *Hollywood Spectator,* a position he left at the beginning of World War II to become director of the Army Training Film Center in San Francisco. He had previously been active in the exhibition and distribution of motion pictures, but is at present a free-lance motion picture critic.

MORE AND MORE these days, we read that to improve the motion picture business we have only to produce better pictures. A good show can't miss, we are assured. This is the opinion of the majority of theater operators, who, unfortunately, are sufficiently preoccupied with taxes, labor contracts, real estate values, and popcorn consumption to find themselves lacking the time for study necessary to provide a genuine understanding of the reasons behind the failing box office. Having no control over the content of the pictures he plays, the theater operator is loath to accept any responsibility for low grosses; all the services he provides and the methods he employs to sell them are uniform throughout the year; therefore he can deduce only that money-making pictures are good pictures, and money-losing pictures are bad pictures. If his theater consistently loses money, he believes that he has been subjected to a series of particularly bad pictures. If the pictures could improve, he insists, he would make more money.

I submit that the motion picture industry is failing to observe in full one of the basic precepts of modern business—specialization.

When a producer wants to show a scene involving the interior of a submarine, does he merely ask his cast and crew if anyone knows how the interior of a submarine should look? He does not. He asks the navy to send him a submarine specialist to advise on the matter—and he usually takes the expert's advice. When the

producer wants to show an English courtroom, he calls in an expert consultant. When he wants to show an Egyptian tomb, he call for an Egyptologist. But when he is finished with his film and is ready to sell it, does he call in a specialist? No. He goes to the publicity department, and instructs them as to methods he wants employed in promoting the film. From this misguidance, together with instructions from the home office, the exploitation and publicity departments set to work fabricating an advertising campaign for the film. Right there, the ball is dropped, and a touchdown is left to pure chance.

From this stamping press, whose dies never change, comes the showman's guide, the pressbook. From lack of time or courage, most theater operators look no further than the pages of this hackneyed handbook, and thus individual initiative in showmanship never gets a try. The pressbook is full of words and various sizes of the two or more thematic illustrations. It has ideas on tying the picture to the brands of sport shirt sold locally, and contains a dozen or so publicity stories to be handed out to the local papers. These stories strike the editors with much the same effect as a damp flapjack in the face. If the editor does not print one of these literary gems once a week, the theaterman tells him that the paper is not being fair. So there it rests. The publicity and advertising men of the film company, if they have any talent, are frustrated by insistent directions from both the artistic and the business sides of the company to the point where they merely turn out one more pressbook, just like the last one—just like the last thousand. On the other end, the theaterman relies on only this factory-stamped pressbook and his conscience, neither of which seems to be a ticket seller.

In this country we have a good many business pursuits. One of these is known fondly as "the advertising game." Just as successful businessmen turn to tax consultants, accountants, and lawyers for specialized services, so do they turn to advertising agencies to provide the machinery of selling. Advertising agencies have but

one mission: to disseminate carefully prepared information to the general public through tested media in a manner conducive to action. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* in defining the functions of an advertising agency, lists market research, indoctrination of salesmen, preparation of written and pictorial matter, liaison between the advertiser and the media, and assistance to the advertiser in cultivation of the good will of the trade and of the public. The efforts of the advertising agency spell the success of many a business enterprise. A motion picture production company—including the studios, the home office, and the board of directors—surely qualifies as a business enterprise.

But show business is different! True, at the present writing and for most of the past, it can be agreed that there is really no business quite like show business. Basically, however, the film industry is trying to sell a commodity to the public. And, in its attempt to do so, it is passing over one of the most potent forces in modern business—the advertising agency.

There is a little business in all arts, but little art in business, it has been said. Occasionally there appears a businessman of whom many say: "Now, there is an artist." Such a man is Henry J. Kaiser, whose business operations are conducted with such skill and finesse that he has been described as a true business artist. When Mr. Kaiser sets out to sell a commodity, he gathers around him the advisers and specialists on his staff, then calls in representatives of the advertising agency he has selected. They discuss the product and they discuss objectives. The producers offer whatever ideas or limitations they have in mind concerning media, emphasis, or theme, then decide upon and allocate a budget. From that point on, the method of attaining objectives with the product is left to the specialized skills, arts, and experiences of the advertising agency.

Now let us take an example. Suppose one of Mr. Kaiser's engineers says, "Mr. Kaiser, every auto made these days is identical with every other one of the same make and model, except for

minor differences in color or accessories; therefore no one can say his Kaiser sedan is really tailored to suit him and him alone. Now, Mr. Kaiser, I suggest we tailor the steering wheel to each owner's preference. People's hands are of different size and shape. Half the people who drive find the feel of the steering wheel awkward. So if we ship our cars to the dealers minus the steering wheels, then give each dealer a kit for molding the wheel in plastic to fit the owner's hands, we can truthfully say each car is form-fitted, tailor-made. When the car changes hands, a new owner can get a new fitting for a couple of dollars. It will be revolutionary." After a meeting of minds among engineers and stylists, and a "dry run" test at two or three locations ("sneak previews"), Mr. Kaiser will call together the group mentioned above and the advertising agency will go to work.

The agency will have to sell something old, transportation; something already widely advertised, the current-model Kaisers; plus something new, the hand-molded steering wheel. They will have tradition to buck, will have to disprove in advance the skeptics who are confident that such an idea is impossible or at least unnatural. The advertising campaign will have to sell a product, an idea, yet with it a basic service. They will be successful, of course, and after that all cars will have form-fitted steering wheels.

The film industry has a basic service to sell—entertainment. It has the latest models to show—current themes, popular stars, and noted directors. It also has something special each time—a specific story to tell. The film company may be said to be highly skilled in the business of putting a specific story on celluloid, but, when it comes to selling the product, can it honestly claim to be more efficient and qualified in the advertising game than the advertising professionals? Not unless it wishes to claim more business acumen than is possessed by Henry J. Kaiser.

Advertising in show business has not come along very far since the advent of the walking billboard. Originally the advertisement of a show consisted of a poster on the wall beside the door to the

theater. Then someone put a poster on each side of the door. Later a man was hired to carry a sandwich sign back and forth in front of the theater; then he ventured all over the neighborhood. Still later, the same format as the poster beside the theater door appeared in the newspapers. Outdoor advertising, in terms of posters at conspicuous locations over the town, expanded the original poster idea. This is in terms of live theater. Only in recent years have magazine or radio advertisements been employed for specific attractions.

Naturally, motion picture advertisements followed the format employed by theaters. Some fifty years before the birth of the movies, a man with the gift for what we call showmanship came along and added flamboyance to advertising in the form of the brass band, the parade, and general noise making. The influence of Barnum on advertising in show business cannot be overlooked. "Give them a free sample," Barnum said, "and they will flock to pay for more." His circus parade stopped at intervals to permit acrobats, clowns, and elephants to perform in the street. Here was the beginning of our "preview trailers."

Somewhere along the line of evolution from the single poster beside the theater door to the four-color spread in today's multi-million circulation weekly, the showman-advertiser has dropped the ball. He has retained the ridiculous "full list of credits" but he has forgotten the basic qualities a good advertisement must possess. The good advertisement should be honest, direct, attractive, should arouse interest, and should compel action.

Let us take a film and examine its advertising—a hypothetical film—in order that everyone can say: "I know whom he means."

Our film is called "The Jungle and Mr. Smith." It is a cavalcade of action involving the Smith family in the Philippines from the time of Dewey's capture of Manila until the date of Philippine independence. It is a patriotic story of American aid to a backward Oriental colony culminating in the latter's rise to the stature of a nation among nations, told as a background to a human story of

an American family who helped make it possible. The story has romance, children growing up, humor, action in the forms of typhoons, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, floods, life, death, all the elements necessary to make a fascinating two hours. The film has been made by a top studio, in color, with a top producer, director, and writer, three top stars, and good supporting cast. Incidental to plot there is some crime, punishment, adultery, disloyalty, and divorce in the picture. All in all, however, it is a film to make Americans proud they are Americans, and to make Filipinos grateful to the Americans for their help. Yes, it could be called propaganda. Russian critics would attack it. The *Daily Worker* would warn against it. It would have all the elements for success.

Now, let us look at the pressbook. Most prominent in the pressbook, of course, is a reproduction of the 24-sheet, the highway billboard poster. In full colors, the poster would feature a native girl, scantily clad, lying in a rice field, looking up at a bare-chested American, a pistol strapped to his side. He would be appraising her. In the middleground a water buffalo and a nipa hut on stilts, with a volcano erupting in the background. Across the top would be the caption: "Tropical passion in the torrid Philippines!" Small letters: "Tantamount Pictures present."... Big letters: "The Jungle and Mr. Smith"..."starring Gary Potter ... Helen Doyle ... Ben Sutton." Small letters: "Color by Falknocolor ... a John Eastman production ... with George Gillette ... Dorothy Funk ... Mark Fowler ... Edwin Carton ... Mary Douglass.... Produced by Henry Wadsworth ... directed by John Eastman ... written for the screen by James Collins ... from an original story by Carlos Felipe Rodriguez."

Yes, that is a highway poster. Even at twenty-five miles per hour, a person riding past such a poster could have it in view for no more than one or two seconds. The driver of a car could hazard no more than a half-second glance away from his driving vigil. Obviously the last 50 words of that 62-word poster are wasted.

Traditionally, the 24-sheet sets the style of the advertising prepared for a film. All newspaper and magazine advertisements are merely variations of the format and content of the 24-sheet. So it is that everything that follows is based on a poster that is basically wrong in the first place.

Now, let us look at the five qualities of a good advertisement. Honesty comes first. The minor incident of infidelity referred to in the film has no place in its advertising, not in honest advertising, at any rate. Instead of "Tropical passion in the torrid Philippines," the catch line should be "See a nation rise from the jungle," or a similarly significant comment. The illustration should show a white man helping a faltering native to his feet. The title and two or three names could be added, but no more wordage. That would help in being direct. As to being attractive, this can come only by the employment of art. Art is created by an artist. Posters designed for 99 per cent of our films are not artistic, they are merely trite rearrangements of type surrounded by pictorial illustration. How many posters created for films have been reproduced in the *Commercial Art Annual,* published by the trade to honor distinguished commerical art? I counted only a handful since 1932. And in the book, *The One Hundred Greatest Advertisements—Who Wrote Them and What They Did,* by Julian Lewis Watkins (1949), the only advertisement even remotely connected with the entertainment industry was one for Lucky Strike cigarettes featuring Constance Talmadge, and that appeared in 1929. It might be pointed out also that in the *Commercial Art Annual,* practically all the film posters shown were foreign-created. The only American picture advertisement was a newspaper layout for Warner's *The Story of Louis Pasteur,* which cannot exactly be called a current release.

In simple language, motion picture advertising is dishonest. Batten, Barton, Durstine, and Osborne do not make dishonest claims for products they promote. Neither do Young and Rubicam. Advertising agencies, for all their high-tension, super-

vitaminized campaigns, have perhaps surprisingly high ethical standards. For instance, if the Motion Picture Association wished to engage Young and Rubicam to conduct a campaign promoting motion pictures to the detriment of television, a war of one medium against the other, the agency would either refuse to accept the motion picture account or it would withdraw from all contracts now held with television accounts. This is known as unilateral representation, a basic principle in advertising.

Under the general heading of dishonest advertising, there should be placed the almost universal inclination to drape every film poster with the female bosom or the unclad limb. Obviously if every film had these members as its major motivating factors and most significant theme material, the blue laws soon would put the cinema in the Smithsonian Institution along with the stocks, the Iron Maiden, and other immoral machinery.

A classic of advertising stupidity was the particularly sad experience of the British technicolor film *Colonel Blimp,* a warm, humorous, human story of an externally stuffy old man. Instead of leaning heavily on the art of David Low, the cartoonist who created Colonel Blimp and made him Britain's favorite, those responsible for advertising this picture in America chose to highlight all the posters and mats with a bosomy girl in a suggestive pose. The people who paid to see what was advertised were disappointed, for many were not of a temperament to enjoy the good colonel; but, more's the pity, the people who could have enjoyed Colonel Blimp were repelled by the advertising, and did not venture into the theater. Yes, it was a flop over here, but the picture was a success at home where more sensible and honest advertising was employed.

"Replacement or Refund of Money Guaranteed by Good Housekeeping if Not as Advertised Therein," proclaims a seal common to all sorts of products. Would anyone dare to make such a claim in reference to motion picture advertising?

An almost frightening spectacle is a high motion picture official stating: "We must get back to good, old-time, loud, slam-bang, ballyhoo showmanship." He goes on to insist that Barnum was right, and all that. He means that in the old days many films so promoted were huge successes. What he forgets is that in most cases success came when that kind of advertising was appropriate to the attraction, and people found themselves receiving the goods as advertised. Barnum was right to offer a free show in the streets with his circus parade when advertising "the greatest show on earth," but Mr. Barnum handled Jenny Lind in a somewhat different manner.

Every motion picture produced is a thing apart, a separate and distinguishable entity, an isolated artistic creation, related to others only by virtue of the medium it employs. Each motion picture should be sold as a separate article of commerce, advertised in accordance with its own merits and within the mounds of established rules of salemanship pertinent to creations of art. If this appears to be difficult in these days of double bills, my answer is the same as it was the first time I ever heard of double bills: "To the devil with the practice!" People go to the theater to see a particular film, not two particular films. With television time gobbling up celluloid by the supersonic mile, producing companies now can afford to concentrate on making fewer pictures without contributing to the unemployment rolls. People can stay at home and see a "second feature," so it will become increasingly fruitless to try to sell a "second feature" away from home.

To set forth some courses of action which would improve the box office financially, I submit the following to the industry.

Place basic motion picture advertising in the hands of people who know advertising, markets, media, sales techniques—the American advertising agencies whose efforts have made the world conscious of Coca-Cola, Chesterfields, Ivory Soap, and the beer that made Milwaukee famous.

Permit only honest advertising. If bare legs and a plunging neckline are motivating factors in a film, employ them in the advertising. If not, employ whatever really represents the film honestly. Permit genuine graphic artists to create poster art, with a minimum of restriction from either studio or home office.

Advertise each film in a manner harmonious with its singular character, plot, intent, and action. If the film was made to appeal to the hundred million Americans who love dogs, it should be sold to those people to the exclusion, if necessary, of those who despise dogs.

In coöperation with all studios, theater chains, and distributors, advertise the lasting values of motion pictures by constant, consistent, institutional advertising.

Advertise not only the stars—who come and go too fast to have any lasting value—but the producers, directors, writers, and the production companies themselves. Identify the executives as capable businessmen. Promote the producers as experienced, well-educated, sensitive creative artists. Promote the directors who have been performing with distinction for twenty and thirty years (while top stars have come and gone by the hundreds), and promote the writers who have been at it all their lives. Rid the public of the notion that anyone can produce or direct or write a motion picture. Promote the fact that competence in these arts and sciences comes just as hard as competence in engineering, surgery, finance, law. Put a solid foundation under the motion picture industry.

There is no "lost audience," there is only a lost habit. Employ every medium to sell motion pictures as "the place to go." Institutional advertising should be aimed at the reëstablishment of the movie-going habit. Place full-page advertisements in newspapers and magazines with messages of the character placed by the Association of American Railroads, the Dairy Industry, the American Meat Institute, and the United States Brewers Foundation. Place advertisements in journals of all trades and crafts. A slogan could

be adopted if it embodied the full message. "Movies Are Better Than Ever" won't do; it is a flat and debatable statement. "Let's Go to the Movies Tonight" would do, because it arouses the gregarious instincts in all of us, it urges action, and it urges action tonight. Billboards facing the homeward-bound traffic leading from all metropolitan centers should carry this message. Coca-Cola is a success partly because of its "Let's have a Coke" posters, each with a fresh illustration, but all with the message repeated over and over. The film industry could do no better than repeat "Let's Go to the Movies Tonight."

"Movietime, U.S.A.," a campaign originated, in part, from the clamor of exhibitors who wanted the industry to stage a fall film festival at a time when football, television, and the warm hearth are strong competition, was switched to a full year campaign. The idea sounded logical to the typical Hollywood promotion man. If a picture about ice skating makes money, why not make six more, and make six times as much money? That is called the film cycle technique, or the film cycle scourge. But a year's campaign is too much . . . it will die on the vine. The Democrats and Republicans would not dare to wage a campaign longer than five months to elect a president. Crosley, manufacturer of television and home appliances, is spending nine million dollars this fall on a sixty-day campaign. A campaign is an entity, too, but the Crosley people know sales will not cease at the end of their sixty-day promotion.

Another form of institutional advertising is the forum. The industry should encourage the establishment of civic and cultural movie forums, and should support them by sending out directors, producers, writers, executives, cinematographers, sound engineers, and costume designers all over the country, to lecture or to participate in forums.

Discourage movie gossip columns both in the public prints and on radio and television. Encourage programs of the character of *Invitation to Learning* discussing motion pictures instead of books.

Encourage the publication of books, serious books and otherwise, telling the story of motion pictures. There is a dearth of literature devoted to the motion picture. Of a half-dozen serious efforts in the past few years, those of Schary and Spottiswoode come first to mind. A recent biography of Charlie Chaplin was little more than the enumeration of films produced by him, but it has its place in the literature of the screen. A similar, more exciting book could be written of a dozen other leaders in the industry. Promote books on film music, cinematography, art and set design, film editing, organization and conduct of a location trip, or the accomplishments of sound engineers. Publish the twenty best motion picture scripts every year. Publish a symposium of critical analyses of films each year. The publishers who sell properties to Hollywood for millions of dollars each year certainly could be interested in publishing books that would aid in the public relations of the film industry. The literature of the motion picture industry should be expanded greatly. It is appallingly barren.

Accompany the films edited down from features for free loan to schools with trailers selling the motion picture medium in theaters as a desirable form of entertainment.

Create and maintain in Hollywood an adequate motion picture museum. The properties in custody of educational institutions should be brought out into the open where Mr. and Mrs. John Q. Public, visiting from all over America, could inspect them. Working sets, regular screenings, and lectures in such a museum would save studios time and money now lost conducting tours through working sets. Most major industries have museums for just this purpose. This, too, is public relations.

Use television. Television is not to be feared. It is an advertising medium, and a potent one; therefore a percentage of every film advertising budget should be allocated to television advertising. Positive selling can be more profitable than negative selling in the

form of deriding television's shortcomings, therefore industry personnel and particularly comedians should be invited to promote motion pictures positively, consistently.

Motion pictures are not dead, not dying. Modern merchandising methods can still save motion pictures if given a chance. To paraphrase a famous quotation: "This above all, to thine own industry be true."

Cyrano's Nose Since Rostand

COLEMAN O. PARSONS

COLEMAN O. PARSONS is an assistant professor of English at the City College of New York. He divides his spare time between meetings of the East Meadow, Long Island, Board of Education to which he was recently elected, and studies of literary figures.

FOR SEVERAL weeks the drums of publicity throbbed out news of a cinematic experience "Awaited for More Than 50 Years," thirty-eight-year-old Jose Ferrer's appearance as the "Fabulous Hero! Famous Nose!"—CYRANO DE BERGERAC! Stories were released about Ferrer's trying on different noses until he found the one that matched his new personality. On what this personality could possibly be there was no wholehearted agreement. The actor himself dreamed of a dashing, virtuous, humorous, courageous, knightly oddity; the director, Michael Gordon, had mystic thoughts of beauty resident in spirit rather than in form; and the adapter, Carl Foreman, most modern of the trio, got involved in the conflicts and frustrations of an ugly individualist.

Their technical adviser was Harold M. Holden, M.D., D.D.S., and Ph.D., author of a sprightly and painstaking work on a lifelong hobby, *Noses,* and head of the Holden Clinic for Plastic Surgery. The doctor probably leaned toward the adapter's interpretation. Diagnostically, Cyrano de Bergerac's ills were nothing more than aesthetic inadequacy or human-fulfillment deficiency due to "a neurotic nose problem." For this there is only one specific—rhinoplasty. To intensify or decrease the soldier-poet's maladjustment, any competent rhinologist would either build his proboscis up or pare it down. Dr. Holden, as photographs show, built it up.

An admiration for the foremost noseys, extending from Scipio Nasica and Publius Ovidius Naso to Cromwell, Frederick the Great, and "Schnozzola" Durante, has made me deeply concerned

over recent developments. Through focusing its cameras almost exclusively on Cyrano and through making a physiological part dominate the whole man, Hollywood has allowed a celebrated nose to get out of hand. It is my purpose, by referring to life, literature, and stage lore, to put Cyrano's nose back in its proper place.

In Cyrano's day, disciples of Gasparo Tagliacozzi and of Ambroise Paré were ready to give exuberant Nature a lesson in symmetry or to repair losses inflicted by bullet, dueling sword, or disease. They could trim flesh, engraft it, or fabricate substitutes of gold, silver, paper, and linen. The reason Cyrano did not call on these artisans may be discovered in old engravings. The author of comic histories of the sun and the moon possessed an ample, perhaps even a compendious nose, not a *lusus naturae*. This monstrous bantling was bestowed upon him by comic and satiric writers, and its growth was fostered by romantic biographers of the nineteenth century.

While Cyrano's frontal organ was being manipulated to subcontinental proportions by sundry men of letters, the pathetic appendage of Gaston-Jean-Baptiste, duc de Roquelaure, suffered a more remarkable sea change. Two years before Cyrano began his earthly strut, Roquelaure dared to appear in patrician France with a noseless face in which yawned two fearsome pits. Despite this handicap, he cultivated panache and was celebrated as a very god of raillery, practical jests, and—*mirabile dictu*—amorous stamina. As such he figured in *The French Momus, or the Diverting Adventures of the Duke of Roquelaure*.

Thus Cyrano and Roquelaure, their escapades richly inlaid with legendry, survived for two centuries in the affections of their countrymen. Then the nineteenth century looked these hearties between the eyes and concluded that they must have suffered in love, the one through abundance, the other through deficiency, of nose. A parting of the ways came in 1836 with the writing of a vaudeville, *Roquelaure, or the Ugliest Man in France*. Failing to unearth a player who would suffer his nose to be planed down to

fit the part, the three collaborators gave Roquelaure a devil of a nose instead and called him "Monsieur Grand-Nez." Being free from this embarrassment, the compilers of "curious histories" and "adventures" of the duke refused to abandon their hero's snub. Nor did these facetious hacks waste their talents on the theme of beauty pursued by quick-witted ugliness and tongue-tied comeliness.

This tender theme was revived by Edmond Rostand, who combined the deeds and facial promontories of Cyrano and the vaudeville Roquelaure in an eccentric paladin whose flaming spirit is burlesqued by a blazing carbuncle of a nose. Of course, any realistic physiognomist could have warned Rostand against misinterpreting the nose as an obstacle to love. For ages, amplitude in that member had betokened sexual grace, as well as fieriness, satire, and aggressiveness. That it could serve as a measuring stick of potency was revealed in the medieval *Secreta Secretorum:* "Tho that have grete Noosys . . . bene desposyd to concupiscence." Old Bruscambille's robust faith was, "O happy indeed are those who have a half foot of nose!" And are we not told that "the Shandy family ranked very high in King Harry the Eighth's time" because of its "long and jolly noses"?

Even Helene de Solanges, the young widow in the French vaudeville, had coyly admitted that she could love Roquelaure in spite of his flourishing nose. "The Man with a Nose" in a sketch by H. G. Wells, antedating *Cyrano* by almost three years, laments that "a bit of primordial chaos clapped to his face" has incapacitated him for "the business of life": "What woman could overlook a nose like mine" or "shut out her visions of . . . its immensity?" But no gross overtones linger in Rostand's play, whose sentimental-romantic handling of the nose does not call the blood to a maiden's cheek.

Once the playwright's task was ended, actors and make-up artists began deciding what they could possibly do with Cyrano's knob. The first to meet the challenge was Constant Coquelin, who

at fifty-six achieved his greatest success counterfeiting an active swordsman who died at thirty-six. Although Coquelin at times looked like a pursy notary in too-energetic masquerade, his voice bounced resonantly from its pendulous sounding board. So moving was the performance that Rostand exclaimed, "Cyrano's spirit . . . has passed into you." But Coquelin's nose was little more than *avant-garde*. At the Comédie-Française, André Brunot was later to turn Cyrano into a wide-eyed fop whose nasal proliferation stopped at a gristly point.

French restraint ended, however, when the celebrated nose was exported. In England, Charles Wyndham burdened himself with an inflated hawk's beak, and Robert Loraine resembled a Mephistopheles on whose nose a handsome dividend of dough had been declared. Coquelin's augmentation had been commemorated by a painter; Loraine's nasal asymmetry was perpetuated in sculpture. And only a few years ago, Sir Ralph Richardson brought to the New Theatre a frontal creation which descended in two cascades over a naïve and melancholy mouth.

Actors in America have really gone to town with Cyrano's protuberance. Richard Mansfield managed to look pretty much like the gloomy and heroic Karl von Moor in Schiller's *The Robbers*. On the Mansfield nose some unsung wielder of the trowel erected a superstructure of putty or plaster of Paris. Walter Hampden stalked through a thousand performances with a nose which fluctuated all the way from a mighty wedge to an untrimmed brierroot resembling nothing so much as a fungus on a spree. Unpredictable as this counterweight might be, Hampden was invariably the Knight of the Sorrowful Countenance whose Sancho Panza had been pulped against his face.

Only a man with Jose Ferrer's background could hope to surpass the previous concoctions of dressing rooms and laboratories. The value of noses may have first impressed Ferrer when he repeated Iago's lines, "The Moor . . . will as tenderly be led by the nose as asses are." Soon he was gasconading through the part of

Cyrano on the legitimate stage: "A big nose is indicative of a soul affable, and kind, and courteous, liberal, brave, just like myself." Arriving in Hollywood, Ferrer drew up specifications of a nose which would be as adamantine as the Rock of Gibraltar, as lofty as the Peak of Tenerife, and on its shoulders he hung twin moons resembling dilated, dreamily fixed eyes. And to counterbalance this boom, this flying buttress, this roost for homeless condors, he developed the nervous agility of a tightrope walker who respects the relentless laws of gravitation. For a time it was feared that Jose's nose might become an ice-capped and uncharted menace to aviation, but an all-wise Providence has reduced this Eighth Wonder of the Celluloid World to a horizontal position.

Says an old proverb, "An inch on a man's nose is much." Given an inch, Jose Ferrer has certainly taken an ell. Yet, unsatisfied with this territorial conquest, certain critics have lamented that Cyrano's peninsula was not floodlit by Technicolor. Cyrano must outshine Bardolph, whose beacon Falstaff likened to "an *ignis fatuus* or a ball of wildfire," a "lantern in the poop," and Dives burning in his purple robes.

Perhaps both actor and critics have lost sight of the fitness of things. Rostand's tormented hero exaggerates his nasal catastrophe, and out of this exaggeration come magnificence and misery. By making that catastrophe approximate Cyrano's description of it, Hollywood has reduced romantic tragicomedy to photographic realism. In translating the play to the screen, a producer should grow familiar with Rostand, Coquelin, and the nose of Cyrano. There is both more and less in that nose than meets the eye.

Composing, Orchestrating, and Criticizing

LAWRENCE MORTON

LAWRENCE MORTON, an arranger and composer of music for film and radio, discussed the attitude of British musicians and critics toward the Hollywood practice of employing orchestrators in the Spring, 1951, issue of the *Hollywood Quarterly*. His discussion was based on the deliberations of the International Music Congress at Florence, Italy, as reported in England by Anthony Hopkins for *Sight and Sound* and by Hans Keller for the *Music Review*. Mr. Morton's article was reprinted in the May *Sight and Sound* together with a reply by Mr. Hopkins, and further rebuttal was offered by Mr. Keller in the August *Music Review*. Mr. Morton now continues the discussion.

I AM SORELY tempted to follow the lead of my two distinguished opponents by devoting a portion of my space to discussing peripheral issues, toying with words, arguing purposely at cross purposes, and striking self-righteous attitudes. I am confident that in these areas I too could score some very unimportant points. But why should I pursue the question of the "strong national passions" aroused at the Florence Congress? If I was in error when I devoted a fraction of a single sentence to this matter, I must attribute the mistake to Mr. Hopkins' reporting. Let Mr. Keller argue this point not with me but with his colleague, whose reply to my article does not disabuse me of the notion I got from the original report. Why should I enter into a discussion of Mr. Keller's racial-cultural background? My own is just as varied as his, just as colorful, just as likely to win a reader's sympathy—and also just as irrelevant. I hope he will not be angry with me if I continue to regard him as an Englishman. Why should I argue about his use of psychological techniques in the criticism of music? I noticed them, to be sure; but I have expressed no objection to them, nor do I now, although I happen not to find them illuminating. They tell me more about Mr. Keller than about the music he discusses, which is the reverse order of my interest.

Or, why should I take time to resent his casting me in the role of Fafner guarding Hollywood's fatal gold since, by so doing, he reveals more about his own attitude than about my personal relationship with the film industry? Both he and Mr. Hopkins appear to be much exercised by the "enormous sums" earned here by composers and orchestrators. I would gladly join in denouncing big salaries if there were any assurance that Hollywood's film music could be improved by the simple expedient of paying less for it, or if there were any likelihood that Stravinsky and Hindemith would work for less money than Steiner and Newman get. Actually, in terms of an average annual wage, the majority of Hollywood musicians just manage to maintain a foothold in the lower middle class. But since Messrs. Keller and Hopkins are evidently misinformed about these matters[1] I shall refrain from giving a name to the sentiments they express.

I must point out to Mr. Hopkins that he is mistaken when he assumes that Hollywood composers have placed no pages "upon the altar of Art rather than on the lap of Mammon." The American Society of Music Arrangers, in the now departed days of its prosperity, maintained a rehearsal orchestra which met weekly for the express purpose of reading symphonic scores composed by the men working in the commercial fields. No masterpieces were discovered, but there were no offerings to Mammon. If Mr. Hopkins has not heard of any of this music, it is for the same reason that we have not heard, in this very active musical community, any of his.

Finally, I rejoice that Mr. Keller now takes up the sword of Siegfried and stands in defiance. Without challenging his heroism I must inform him that he comes rather late to the battle. I myself have been in it for a very long time, though I have never fancied myself a hero. Mr. Keller would know this if he had read my articles in this and other magazines during the past dozen years. I mention them only because he and Mr. Hopkins have invited

[1] For instance: American film composers, as such, do not yet collect royalties as their British colleagues do through the Performing Rights Society.

me to delve into their other writings in order to learn about their virtues. I must return the compliment by inviting them to read my complete but still uncollected works. Here they will find that I have not been "shielding" Hollywood composers "out of a mistaken sense of loyalty" but only that I have been careful not to throw the baby out with the bath water.

I think it important to indicate one point where Mr. Keller and I are really in agreement. I define that point in his words: ". . . something is basically wrong with this film industry's musico-sociologico-economical set-up." He presumed, by the way, to "foresee" my answer to this statement. But his foresight is not to be trusted, and I must disappoint him by declining to testify as a defender of the *status quo*. I have condemned mediocrity—which is, I admit, an easy path to virtue. Specifically, I have discussed the unfortunate influence of producers and directors whose semi-cultivated tastes invade and oftentimes rule the music departments, the miscasting of composers and the hiring of them on grounds of personal friendships rather than of ability or style, the distortion of sound by engineers who can't let a piece of music "ride" without fiddling with the controls, the pressure of deadlines, the destruction of musical forms and shapes by injudicious cutting, the overemphasis on showmanship, the prevalence of clichés, the absence of experimentation, and so forth. Mr. Keller cannot now maneuver me into defending these evils.

Nor should he, by using a term like "musico-sociologico-economical," bundle them all into one neat package and leave it on the doorstep of the composer-arranger-orchestrator. He should know about the antimusical forces that are at work everywhere—in concert halls as well as in film studios. My ears tell me from time to time that they are not inactive in Britain. Gerald Cockshott has cited several instances of how British directors have imposed their whims upon film scoring.[2] And what shall be said about the shredding of Rachmaninoff's "Second Concerto" in *Brief Encounter*?

[2] *Incidental Music in the Sound Film* (London: British Film Institute, 1946).

The whole conception of this film score was unmusicianly, and I am unwilling to admit that Muir Mathieson and John Hollingsworth, who are credited with the outrage, actually thought up the scheme. The whole thing smacks of the front office. I mention this not in any attempt to excuse Hollywood for its sins, nor am I suggesting that the British have no right to criticize us because they themselves are open to criticism on the same counts. I mean only to point out that the use of a multiordinal term like "musico-sociologico-economical" does not excuse the critic from distinguishing between what is musical, what is sociological, and what is economic, even while he is being most aware of how these three aspects of the situation react upon one another. Although I do not know the inside story of the scoring of *Brief Encounter,* I would guess that it was found less expensive to record an existing score than to commission a new one; that an executive (Noel Coward?) engineered the project just because he liked the music; that Mr. Mathieson, Mr. Hollingsworth, and Miss Joyce participated in the outrage because there was money to be made and because, in the end, it was their business to give a good performance and not to tell the front office how to run its business; and that every musician concerned in the affair has been "explaining" his part in it for the past six years. I leave it to Mr. Keller to departmentalize the blame and put it where it belongs.

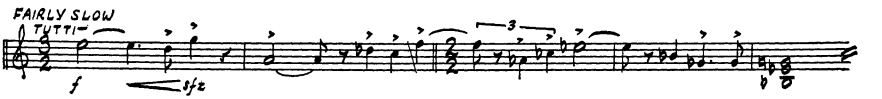
I invite him to exercise his critical powers further by attempting to make some distinctions within that catch-all category that he calls "the overwhelming majority of Hollywood scores." The only distinction he seems so far to have worked out is the one between Aaron Copland and the Hollywood "regulars." This gives him the opportunity to pose as Copland's champion. And so I must digress and point out that again Mr. Keller is late; but I shall not be so immodest as to give the references to my own articles on Copland's film music, written in the early 1940's. Nor need I remind anyone that it was Hollywood, not Mr. Keller, who awarded Copland his Oscar. But I cannot refrain from expressing

my astonishment that Mr. Keller took at its face value Dr. Frederick Sternfeld's naïve account of how Copland, in his score for *The Heiress,* combined on a single sound track a string orchestra recording and a full orchestra recording of the same piece of music.[3] This kind of thing is so commonly done in Hollywood that those of us who are close to the scene hardly ever bother to comment on it anymore. It would have been interesting to learn what Mr. Keller thought of this music when he heard it in the theater. I confess, for others of Copland's most faithful fans as well as for myself, that there was nothing extraordinary in the sound that our ears could detect even after several hearings. Dozens of other composers have done far more "monkeying" along these lines than Copland has. That they have not been able to obscure their mediocrity thereby is an argument that I present to Mr. Keller to use against them the next time he is amazed by the use of combined tracks and "sweeteners." In the meantime let us not reduce Copland's stature as a composer by building up his reputation as a dubber. Would Mr. Keller like to be praised for his punctuation?

After this digression I return to the distinctions I would like to see Mr. Keller make within "the overwhelming majority of Hollywood scores." How he has had the time to see any more than a fraction of the 400 to 500 films produced every year is an accomplishment in the management of time that I would fain learn about. For myself, I see no reason to be concerned with any except those that matter [with *Place in the Sun,* for instance, because of the strange mixture of styles that resulted from the replacement of some of Franz Waxman's music, with *Portrait of Jenny* because of its horrid distortion of Debussy's masterpieces, with *The Day the Earth Stood Still* because of Bernard Herrmann's use of electronic instruments, with *Thirteenth Letter* and *Anna Lucasta* because they were, respectively, the first Hollywood scores by Alex North and David Diamond]. I have spies who tell me what scores are worth looking out for. Mr. Keller may be too far from the

[3] "Copland as Film Composer," *Musical Quarterly* (April 1951).

scene to be able to single these out. Nevertheless I do not understand how he can fail to distinguish between the strongly modal character of much of Friedhofer's music, the chromaticism of Raksin's, the Viennese charm of Hollander's, the aggressiveness of Waxman's, the gaiety of Harline's (when it is not being Hindemithian), the ripe romanticism of Newman's, the extravagant richness of Amfitheatrof's, the theatrical effectiveness of Buttolph's—especially since these qualities must be expressed by sounds combined in particular ways. To assist Mr. Keller in making such distinctions, I quote two themes characteristic of their composers.



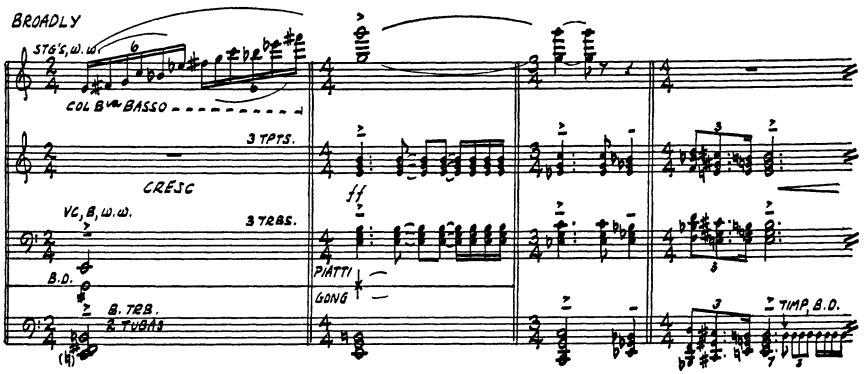
Example 1. David Raksin. *Man With a Cloak*

Example 1 is from David Raksin's score for *Man with a Cloak,* and the "composer joke" in the theme will doubtless occur to Mr. Keller immediately. In its initial statement, the theme is heard four octaves deep. Raksin used an unusual orchestra for this score: 2 flutes, 1 oboe, 2 clarinets, 1 bass clarinet, 1 bassoon; 1 horn, 1 trumpet, 1 trombone; 1 percussion, and a solo viola d'amore. For a few climactic scenes the orchestra was augmented by a second bassoon, second and third horns, tuba, harp, piano, 6 'cellos, and 1 bass.

Example 2, from Hugo Friedhofer's score for *Edge of Doom,* tells something about the gloomy tragedy and the church setting of the film. Whatever else might be said about these themes, it must be immediately apparent that they are the products of two very different musical minds, and I trust that the differences are not too subtle for Mr. Keller to discover.

I turn now to what is for me Mr. Keller's most important paragraph, wherein he specifies his objections to Hollywood orchestration. "The sickening effect of empty extravagance," he writes, "is not so much due to the strength of the forces employed as to their

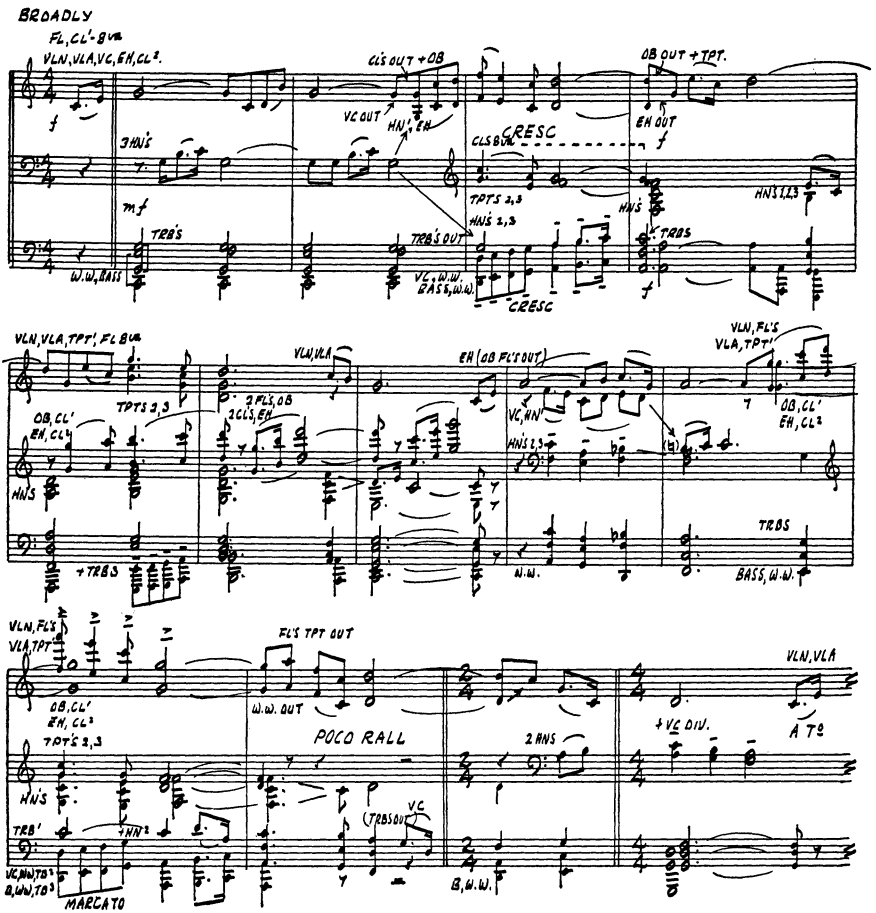
disproportion." There is much of the truth, but certainly not all of it, in this statement. Our studio orchestras are indeed overbrassed, and no one is more keenly aware of this than the musicians. [Some of them have suggested that it is the proper duty of the musician's union to insist that the studios engage enough string players to maintain a symphonic orchestral balance. That the studios would be reluctant to do this may be taken for granted:



Example 2. Hugo Friedhofer. *Edge of Doom*
By permission of Samuel Goldwyn Productions, Inc.

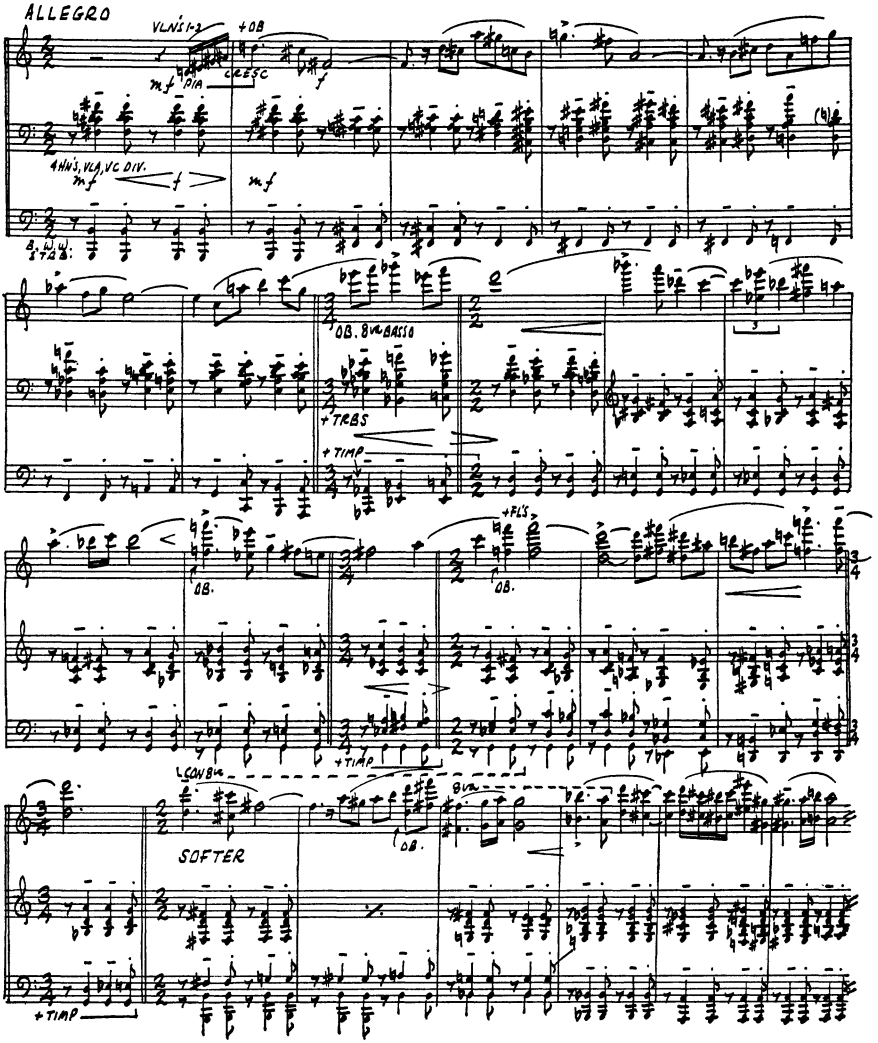
string sections would have to be increased by twenty to thirty players at a guaranteed minimum wage of about $7,500 each per year. But at least one music executive has spoken out against the inartistic composition of the orchestras.] In a recent forum discussion on film making, in which everyone from producers to costume designers participated, Mr. John Green (head of the M-G-M music department) told a large audience that Hollywood must get over the notion that a microphone can make four fiddles sound like a full section; and that for certain scores he insists on having (and sometimes gets) enough string players to make the music sound as it ought to. Although Mr. Green is a progressive and musically ambitious executive, no one expects that he is going to make heresy orthodox by the day after tomorrow. But his stand gives some insight into the relationship of the musical, social, and economic factors of the setup.

In the meantime composers and orchestrators must do the best they can with the forces available. These, I agree, are disproportionate, but only in relation to the standard symphonic ensemble.



Example 3. George Duning. *To the Ends of the Earth*
By permission of Columbia Pictures Corporation

There are, however, other ensembles, some of them lacking not only second violins (Mr. Keller's italicized horror of which I find very amusing), but even wanting first violins, third bassoons, tuba choirs, fipple flutes, and *crwths*. Almost any ensemble can be made to sound good if it is properly composed for. It is under no obligation to sound "normal," as is proved by *Man with a Cloak* as



Example 4. David Raksin. *Carrie*

well as Schoenberg's *First Chamber Symphony*. Hollywood's composers and orchestrators can do this. I quote in example 3 one of several settings of a theme from *To the Ends of the Earth,* composed by George Duning and orchestrated by Arthur Morton (who is not to be confused with the present writer). I choose a *tutti* setting so as to illustrate the full deployment of "disproportionate"

forces. The orchestra consisted of double woodwinds plus a bass clarinet, triple brass, piano, harp, percussion, 10 violins, 4 violas, 4 'cellos, and 2 basses.

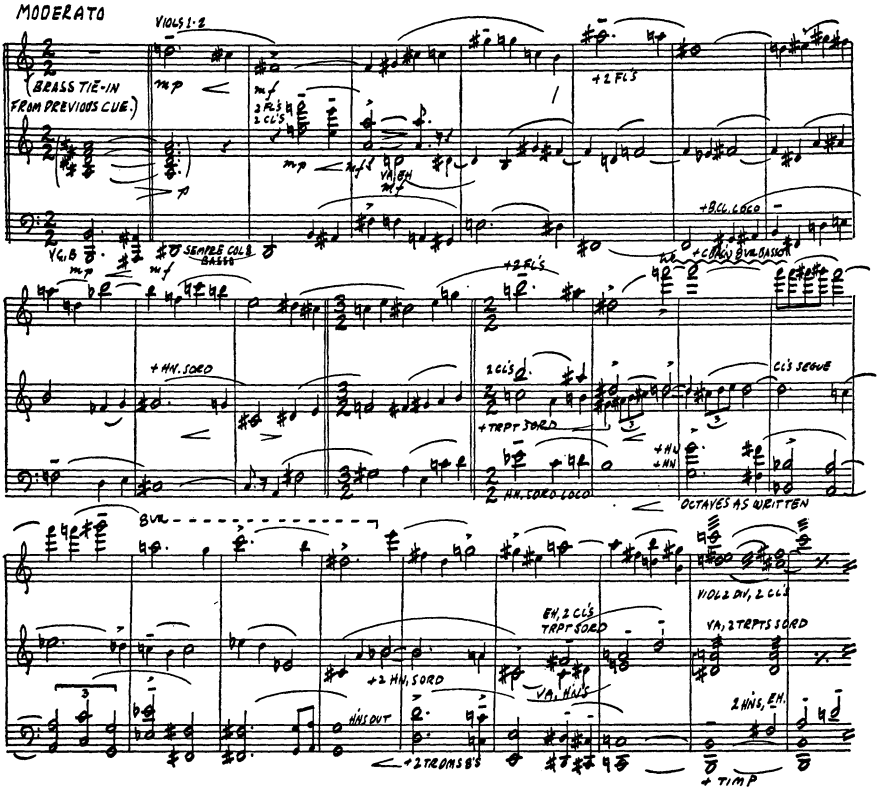
It was the purpose of this theme to express the courage of the Treasury Department officers engaged in tracking down criminals of the international narcotics traffic. Its strongly diatonic nature was planned to contrast with the great amount of locale music, mostly oriental, required by the film. I suggest that in this instance a particular piece of music has been made to sound good in one particular performance by one particular orchestra. And that is what the music job in a film studio consists of.

The disproportion of forces does not necessarily result in what Mr. Keller calls "obscene homophony." I take it for granted that he does not mean that homophony is in itself obscene. I know of no better texture for a good melody, nor of a more obscene polyphony than that of a melody swamped in a sea of counterpoint. Homophony is an honorable dramatic device and not to be outlawed even when large orchestral forces are available. In example 4 I quote a passage in which the simple texture of a melody with afterbeats answers the screen's demand for music bordering on hysteria. The string forces were not quite symphonic but still adequate: 10-8-6-6-4.

This melody is only one of several developments of a theme recurring many times throughout the score, mostly in the major mode. The variety of the treatment should convince Mr. Hopkins, when he hears the score, that the development of musical materials is a procedure of which the Hollywood composers are not as innocent as he supposes. I suggest that he listen especially for example 5, which comes almost at the end of the film. Here the melody of example 4 appears in the bass, with two partly imitative voices superimposed upon it, and without accompaniment.

Both of the excerpts from *Carrie* are quoted exactly as they stand in the composer's sketches. Musicians will see precisely what details were left to the discretion of the orchestrator, Nathan Van

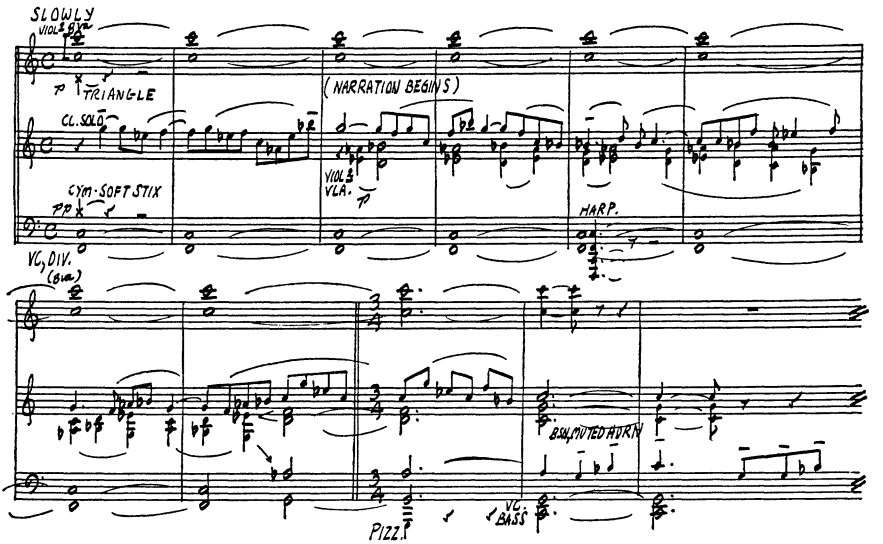
Cleave, who also orchestrated *The Heiress* for Copland. He worked out, in example 4, the *divisi* and double-stops of the violas and 'cellos, and the voicing of the horn-trombone chords. But the whole conception of the orchestral color is the composer's. I can



Example 5. David Raksin. *Carrie*

understand, although I do not agree with, Mr. Hopkins' opposition to the employment of an orchestrator on the grounds that it relieves the composer of his obligation to make "sacrifices to the Muse." But is it not clear, from the *Carrie* excerpts, that Mr. Raksin *does not need an orchestrator?* It is the studio that needs one, for studios can never wait. It is part of the industrial scheme that while Mr. Van Cleave orchestrates, Mr. Raksin goes on to compose the next scene.

I turn now to Mr. Keller's statement about "the vague fakes and fillers of inner parts." It is sometimes one of the functions of film music to do nothing more than be there, as though it would exist as sound rather than as "constructed" music. Thus, what often seems to be a vague filler is in fact a very conscious dramatic device. Where this is so, Mr. Keller's comment might better be interpreted as a criticism of how a scene has been treated musi-



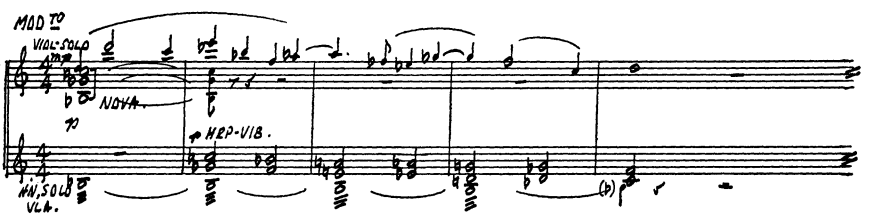
Example 6. Hugo Friedhofer. *Broken Arrow*
By permission of Twentieth Century-Fox Film Corporation

cally, not of how the music has been composed. At the beginning of *Broken Arrow,* Hugo Friedhofer underscored a scene where James Stewart rides horseback through the western desert. Pictorially the setting is spacious, immobile, quiet. The slow amble of the horse is the only sign of life, and our hero is meditative; a narrator starts the story on its way. Example 6 is the musical counterpart of this screen situation.

The inner parts here have the maximum interest compatible with the purposes of the scene. Simple as they are, they still make music by themselves. There is just enough harmony to "bed down" the solo clarinet and keep it from competing with the narrator's

voice, and just enough mobility to counteract the monotony of the double pedal. By way of contrast I cite in example 7 a "Narrative Theme" from George Duning's score for *The Family Secret.* Notewise the inner part here is purposely inexpressive; it is intended principally to carry the *sound* of the vibraphone and harp, and to anchor the solo violin which, by the way, was played with a minimum vibrato in order to avoid the "saccharine" which Mr. Keller is not alone in disliking.

It would not be difficult to give chapter and verse disproving each of the complaints that Mr. Keller has specified. If he thinks

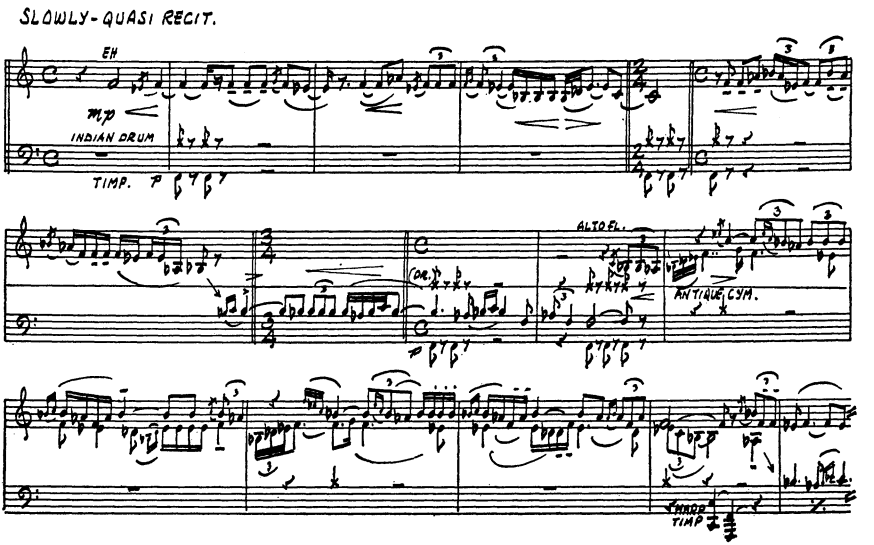


Example 7. George Duning. *The Family Secret*
By permission of Columbia Pictures Corporation

that "the brass is used in the most elementarily dialogic, chordal blocks," let him listen for several polyphonic brass passages in *Across the Wide Missouri,* by Raksin. If he wants further evidence on the matter of good part writing, he will find it in almost every Friedhofer score. This composer, almost as though it were ritual, finds at least one opportunity for a passage written in classical four-part style, for strings in *The Lodger,* and for woodwinds in *Broken Arrow.* Such passages are almost like the composer's personal signature to a score. For *fugato* passages, let Mr. Keller listen to some of Waxman's scores, especially *Objective Burma.* For a genuine economy of style I again refer him to Friedhofer, particularly to the scene of the wedding ceremony in *Broken Arrow.* Example 8 shows how it is possible to avoid the pitfall of an Apache *Lohengrin.*

Throughout this article I have quoted music which Messrs. Hopkins and Keller may not regard as typical of Hollywood. This

is because I have no time to analyze mediocrity, no intention of wasting my critical powers upon it. Also I have purposely refrained from citing the music of composers who have reputations in the concert hall, such as Rozsa, Antheil, Korngold, Gruenberg, Herrmann, Tedesco. Nor have I cited the "old guard." Raksin, Friedhofer, and Duning are Hollywood "regulars" and they have made their careers almost entirely in the film industry. Also, they



Example 8. Hugo Friedhofer. *Broken Arrow*
By permission of Twentieth Century-Fox Corporation

had not yet "arrived" when Copland wrote his essay on Hollywood in 1940, which Mr. Keller, always too late, now uses against us. Many changes have occurred since that time, and I judge it the duty of criticism to notice them. But they will not be noticed by ears that are prejudiced, even though Mr. Keller tries to justify prejudice with an unconvincing *bon mot*. He is more resolved to condemn than prepared to weigh evidence—a strange attitude for a critic. That, I presume, is why he ignored much of the factual material I gave in my previous article. That is why he cannot separate from the "overwhelming majority" of scores those which composers orchestrate themselves. I should have expected him to

comment on the sound of Bernard Herrmann's music, since Mr. Herrmann is as opposed as any Briton to the use of orchestrators. Cannot Mr. Keller hear this in a Herrmann score?

Why does not Mr. Keller discriminate between hack work and talent? Certainly he does this at home. For if he didn't, he wouldn't know the difference between the music of Walton and that of, say, the late Hubert Bath. I have at hand some twenty-odd phonograph records of British film music, privately issued by the Rank organization. I do not imagine that they were published as examples of how bad British film music can be. Yet most of them are appalling samples of hack work, the exact counterpart of what our Hollywood hacks produce. And how badly some of them need orchestrators! Ealing and Elstree are, after all, very much like Hollywood. But this is no reflection on the work of Walton and Vaughan Williams and Britten. Unfortunately they do not score *all* the British films. And do their great reputations necessarily assure us that everything they write is automatically a masterpiece? Was Hamlet's "Funeral March," for instance, worthy of Walton, or even worthy of the rest of the *Hamlet* score? Its popularity in certain quarters here was damnably unflattering. Yet, on the other hand, was it not the proper obsequy for Olivier's Hamlet, if not for Shakespeare's? Or, what was Lord Berners' music supposed to be doing in *Nicholas Nickleby?* And did not Sir Arnold Bax's music in *Oliver Twist* sound as though it had been written less for the film than for an eventual performance at Albert Hall? Some of us, hearing these scores, wonder if, after all, the less-renowned William Alwyn is not a better film composer than his knighted colleagues whose names and works we know from the concert hall.

Because I am so very busy making distinctions of this order—between Louis Levy and Muir Mathieson, between Miklos Rozsa (1940) and Miklos Rozsa (1951), between Adolph Deutsch and Victor Young—I shall have to decline taking time out to do battle with Mr. Keller. Before he girds his loins, sounds his alarms, draws his sword, and rides off simultaneously in all directions, he ought

to find out who his enemies are, who are his allies, what and where he is going to attack. He could even enlist my aid, if he would only be a little bit more discerning and not try to swallow the whole musico-socio-economic setup in one gulp. I recommend the strategy of divide and conquer. But let's first divide and divide and divide.

A Bibliography for the Quarter

Book Editor, FRANKLIN FEARING

BOOKS

THERE ARE, roughly speaking, only two ways of moving people: force and persuasion. The latter is a form of communication and involves the use of man's most potent device—symbols. When persuasion is called propaganda a reaction is aroused in many people that is a curious blend of distrust and faith—a type of response not unlike that found among certain primitives toward the magic incantations of their priests. For them, propaganda is something to be banished from human intercourse entirely, but at the same time almost miraculous powers are ascribed to it and they are willing to invoke its aid in their own interests.

These conflicting attitudes seem to have their origins in the climate of disillusionment of the twenties when the official propagandists of World War I rather casually revealed their operations. It was quite a story they told to a generation already deeply suspicious of ideals and ideologies, a story of tricks, invented atrocities, and distortions. With the appearance of the great mass media of communication and the development of systematic research programs by social scientists, the whole field of propaganda and mass communication is seen in a different and, scientifically speaking, a more comprehensible context. It moves from the realm of magic and myth, tricks and gimmicks, to the realm of formal theory, systematic hypotheses, and trained observation and analysis.

It is against this background that *Propaganda in War and Crisis* (George W. Stewart, New York, 1951) is to be considered. In this book the editor, Daniel Lerner, has brought together a group of papers which clarify the nature and present role of propaganda in world affairs. The nervous layman—and he is still nervous—who really wants to understand the subject may here discover that propaganda, now labeled psychological warfare, is not more fear-

some than, say, the atom bomb, and, as an agency in human affairs, considerably more effective in the long run. He will find that psychological warfare is not a bag of clever tricks, nor a scheme for knocking out the enemy by mass hypnosis, but an instrument of policy. The British prefer to call it political warfare, but whatever it is called it refers to the utilization of all the communicative techniques for the purpose of achieving policy goals. It is the use of symbols to promote policies. If we accept the UNESCO formula that wars begin in the minds of men, these techniques may not be limited to official war, and are certainly not left to chance.

Dr. Lerner has assembled an impressive list of social scientists and specialists in propaganda techniques. Included are Wallace Carrol whose account of propaganda in World War I in *Persuade or Perish* indicates the desperate character of the choices before us; Elmer Davis, OWI chief; Leonard Doob, professor of psychology at Yale; Harold Lasswell, professor of law at Yale; Ernst Kris, coauthor of *German Radio Propaganda;* Hans Spier, director of social science in the Rand Corporation; Ellis M. Zacharias, retired admiral of the U. S. Navy, and others. The contributions of these authors have appeared in various places, but are here reprinted in their entirety. Dr. Lerner binds them together in a series of editorial introductions so that the book achieves unity and continuity. As he says in the introduction "the voices here mingled are soloists . . . their effect, nevertheless is choral."

This is an important book. No person, layman or professional, who is seriously concerned with the use of communicative techniques in world affairs can overlook it.

If research in any field is to get past the nose-counting stage (how many children listen to the Hopalong Cassidy program?), it must formulate and test hypotheses. This requires a theoretical framework. Until very recently much communications research has been of the nose-counting variety. For this reason *Communication: The Social Matrix of Psychiatry* (W. W. Norton and Company, New

York, 1951) is significant. Here a psychiatrist, Jurgen Ruesch, and an anthropologist, Gregory Bateson, have joined the points of view and methods of analysis of their respective disciplines in an endeavor to place the phenomena and problems of human communication within the framework of a general theory. As they see it, all human actions have communicative aspects "as soon as they are perceived by a human being." The authors continue: "When persons convene, things happen. People have their feelings and thoughts, and both while they are together and afterwards, they act and react to one another. They themselves perceive their own actions, and other people who are present can likewise observe what takes place."

Such a broad conception means in effect that practically no aspect of human social behavior is excluded. The authors explicitly recognize this when they say that "no clear distinction can be made between communication theory, value theory, and anthropological statements about culture." They seem to be saying that communication like gravity is everywhere. From the point of view of this reviewer it is useful and even scientifically necessary to delimit the field, to distinguish operationally between communicative acts and other forms of human social interaction. This reviewer agrees wholly, however, with the emphasis on communication as participation, the importance of the situation in which communication occurs, and the essential role of perceptual processes. In connection with this last point it seems odd that the authors did not give attention to the rather extensive literature in the last few years reporting the results of experimental approaches to the social factors in perception.

The broad definition of the field enables the authors to discuss a wide range of topics—human relations, mental illness, American values, and the epistemological foundations of psychiatry. These discussions are informed and penetrating. If their connection with communication seems at times tenuous, it grows out of the initial definition of the field. Dr. Ruesch is associate professor of psychia-

try in the Medical School of the University of California, and Dr. Bateson is lecturer in medical anthropology at the same institution.

The student of words and their use will find *The Language of Wisdom and Folly* (Harper and Brothers, New York, 1949) an extremely useful book. Dr. Irving J. Lee has brought together an extraordinarily interesting group of excerpts from the writings of authors in a variety of fields. These authors are poets, psychologists, historians, novelists, anthropologists, and philosophers who doubtless would be surprised to find themselves represented in a book of readings in semantics. The material is classified under such section headings as "recognition of words," "functions and purposes of language," "questions and answers," "the ambiguous word," "structural patterns and implications of a language," and "escape from verbalism." Among the authors represented are William James, George Santayana, Ernst Cassirer, Edward Sapir, Carl Becker, John Locke, Thorstein Veblen, Aldous Huxley, and F. C. S. Schiller. The only criticism of the present reviewer is concerned with the length of the excerpts. Probably the most difficult decision that an editor of a book of readings has to make is the one concerning the relative importance of length of quotation as against variety of points of view. Dr. Lee seems to have decided that variety was the more important.

Another volume of readings which will prove useful is titled *Mass Communications* (University of Illinois Press, Urbana, Illinois, 1949). The editor is Wilbur Schramm, director of the Institute of Communications Research at the University of Illinois. The quoted material is presented under the following headings: "development of mass communications," "control and support of mass communications," "the communication process," "content of mass communications," "audiences of mass communication," and "effects of mass communications." Most of the important contemporary contributors to the field are represented by ample quotations. The book is introduced by an interesting chronology of

mass communications, the first date of which is 105 A.D. (the Chinese had made paper and ink) and ends with 1941 (full commercial television authorized).

If there be any readers who are interested in finding out how the social science researcher goes about his job of collecting, correlating, and interpreting data, he may be referred to *Research Methods in Social Relations* (Dryden Press, 31 West 54th Street, New York 19). There are two volumes: the first is concerned with *Basic Processes,* and the second with *Selected Techniques.* Various specialists have contributed original papers in these volumes. The editors are Marie Jahoda, Morton Deutsch, and Stuart W. Cook. These discussions are definitely technical but not incomprehensible. The first volume is mainly concerned with theory and method and the second stresses methodology especially as applied to problems of prejudice. There are chapters on constructing questionnaires, interviewing, community self-surveys, and on content analysis of the mass media of communication. The preparation of these volumes was a project of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, a professional organization of social psychologists.

The topics of propaganda, public opinion, and communication are so deeply interrelated that one may not be considered without the other. The subject of public opinion inevitably suggests polling and poll results. This is by way of an introduction to *Public Opinion 1935–1946* (Princeton University Press, 1951). Under the editorial direction of Hadley Cantril there has been compiled the results of all the polls conducted by 23 organizations in 16 countries for the period indicated. Almost every subject under the sun is represented in this 1,200-page volume. An elaborate analytical table of contents makes the material readily available.

The problem of what topics to include and exclude in a dictionary of any specialized subject must be little short of maddening. Whether the *Dictionary of the Arts* (Philosophical Library, New

York, 1951) by Martin L. Wolf has solved it this reviewer cannot say. According to the dust cover the volume "sets forth the material, terms, implements, techniques, etc., of all aspects of the arts, along with definitive and descriptive treatment of all schools and movements in esthetics." This is a large order. There are approximately eight hundred pages of material. It was interesting to test the book for motion picture terms. Of fourteen terms selected at random from the glossary in Raymond Spottiswoode's *Film and Its Techniques* seven were found in the *Dictionary*. These were "cutting," "fade," "frame," "montage," "rushes," "shot," and "technicolor." "Bloop," "close-up," "documentary," "dissolve," "dupe," "script," and "pan" were not found. In the course of these explorations the following terms which seem to bear no relation to art *were* given attention: "dissociation theory," "eidetic imagery," and "sphragistics."

UNESCO (19, Avenue Kleber, Paris) has issued a second catalogue of *Films on Art—1950*. In addition to an extensive listing of such films classified according to the country in which they were made, there are six articles on the following topics: "The Potentialities and Limitations of Films About Art," "A Teacher's Point of View," "Two English Films," "Five Thousand Years of Indian Art," "Films from Canada," "Notes on Some Films." The brochure is beautifully illustrated.

JOURNALS, RESEARCH, ETC.

Sight and Sound has published an impressive special issue for the Festival of Britain entitled *Films in 1951* (British Film Institute, 164 Shaftesbury Ave., London, W.C.2). Part 1 is concerned with British films and film-makers and contains articles by J. Arthur Rank, Sir Alexander Korda, Basil Wright, Ernest Lindgren, and others. Part 2 is on the festival and the cinema. Part 3 is concerned with British films today. Part 4 is entitled "Films and Society." Part 5 contains lists of British studios, production companies, film organizations, books and periodicals devoted to films, and the like.

York, 1951) by Martin L. Wolf has solved it this reviewer cannot say. According to the dust cover the volume "sets forth the material, terms, implements, techniques, etc., of all aspects of the arts, along with definitive and descriptive treatment of all schools and movements in esthetics." This is a large order. There are approximately eight hundred pages of material. It was interesting to test the book for motion picture terms. Of fourteen terms selected at random from the glossary in Raymond Spottiswoode's *Film and Its Techniques* seven were found in the *Dictionary*. These were "cutting," "fade," "frame," "montage," "rushes," "shot," and "technicolor." "Bloop," "close-up," "documentary," "dissolve," "dupe," "script," and "pan" were not found. In the course of these explorations the following terms which seem to bear no relation to art *were* given attention: "dissociation theory," "eidetic imagery," and "sphragistics."

UNESCO (19, Avenue Kleber, Paris) has issued a second catalogue of *Films on Art—1950*. In addition to an extensive listing of such films classified according to the country in which they were made, there are six articles on the following topics: "The Potentialities and Limitations of Films About Art," "A Teacher's Point of View," "Two English Films," "Five Thousand Years of Indian Art," "Films from Canada," "Notes on Some Films." The brochure is beautifully illustrated.

JOURNALS, RESEARCH, ETC.

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Films in 1951 is beautifully illustrated and the articles deal authoritatively and interestingly with every aspect of contemporary British film making.

Although done independently and concerned with different media, two researches on the problems of impact of the mass media currently reported in scientific journals arrive at mutually compatible conclusions.

Edward A. Ricciuti reports the results of a study ("Children and Radio: A Study of Listeners and Non-Listeners to Various Types of Radio Programs in Terms of Selected Ability, Attitude, and Behavior Measures," *Genetic Psychology Monographs,* 1951, 44, 69–143, The Journal Press, Provincetown, Mass.) of the relationship between radio listening and other areas of behavior. Some three thousand children in Waterbury, Connecticut, were the subjects. Listeners and nonlisteners were compared with respect to such factors as intelligence, scholastic achievement, attitudes toward law, social adjustment, nervous habits, and so forth. The extensive results of this monographic study cannot be reported here, but for this reviewer some of the more interesting findings were (1) comedy-variety and crime drama programs were the most popular (the programs were classified in 13 categories); (2) children were less interested in the "crime does not pay" approach than in the straight murder mystery (the author suggests this interest is comparable to the appeal of mystery stories to adults); (3) few significant differences are found between listeners and nonlisteners in such items as attitude toward law, nervous habits, fears, day dreaming, and personal social adjustment; (4) there was no evidence that crime (or anticrime) and daily adventure programs tended to develop nervous habits, fears, or day dreaming; (5) radio programs have different meanings for children depending on their age group. An over-all conclusion is that if we wish to improve broadcasts for children we should make the educational, quiz, and drama programs more attractive.

Eunice Cooper and Helen Dinerman report an investigation ("Analysis of the Film *Don't Be a Sucker:* A Study in Communication," *Public Opinion Quarterly,* 1951, 15, 243–264, Princeton, New Jersey) on the effectiveness of a film in changing attitudes in a specified direction. This study is discussed elsewhere in this issue, but should be briefly reviewed here. *Don't Be a Sucker* is a twenty-minute film made by the Army Signal Corps for the purpose of reducing "race" prejudice. The format of the film is dramatic. It exposes the antidemocratic character of demogogic appeals which attempt to arouse hostility toward ethnic minorities. The researchers were concerned with this question: Do the "messages" of the film hit their "targets?" It was shown to groups of high school students and adults, and its effects were tested in various ways. Control groups who had not seen the film were given similar tests. The most important general finding is that "selective perception" operated. Although certain "messages" are accepted, in general the individual perceives the stimulus in terms of his own predispositions. This can mean that a "message" is modified or "misperceived" in a variety of ways—it may even "boomerang" and have an effect directly contrary to that intended. The dramatic structure of *Don't Be a Sucker,* its characterizations, and casting are analyzed in the light of the findings.

Two other articles of specific interest to the student of communications in the same issue of the *Public Opinion Quarterly* are "The B.B.C., Government and Politics" by John Coatman, formerly chief news editor and North of England regional controller of the BBC, and "The Intelligibility of Broadcast Talks" by Robert Silvey, head of audience research of the BBC.

Dutch Popular Music is an ingratiating little publication issued by an organization representing the Dutch music industry called Onze Lichte Muziek (Our Light Music), which we learn has been in existence since 1946. There are brief articles on Dutch film music, problems of Dutch music publishers in the export field, and Dutch song writers. We were interested to learn that in Holland

there are 250 people regularly engaged in the business of producing songs and light music, 200 of whom are composers, and all are members of the Dutch Songer Writers Union.

Lo Spettacolo is an impressive new quarterly devoted to the economic, social, and cultural aspects of all forms of public entertainment—in American vernacular, show business. It is published in Rome (Via Valadier, 37) and its editor is Antonio Ciampi. The advisory committee consists of professors from the universities of Rome and Naples, and the director general for the theater and cinema and director general in the Ministry of Finance. The first issue contains four articles, book reviews, and summaries of articles from the trade and professional journals published in various parts of the world. There is an extensive section giving statistical analyses of economic and other data related to the entertainment industries. An introduction contains abstracts in English of the leading articles.

Cahiers du Cinéma is the title of an important new journal on the motion picture. Its editors are Lo Duca, J. Doniol-Valcroze, and A. Bazin. In the three issues we have received are articles analyzing films, film-makers, and film techniques from a wide variety of points of view. The intent is to cover the film field not only in France but internationally. The magazine is beautifully printed and illustrated. The address is 146 Champs-Elysées, Paris 8e.