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ABSTRACT

Drawn from a one-day seminar sponsored by the West Virginia University Appalachian Center and the West Virginia Broadcasters Association, these selected proceedings deal with social change in rural Appalachia, mass communication linkages with urban America, results of a projection of the West Virginia economy up to 1975, findings of a pilot study on mass media use in West Virginia, some issues and objectives in educational broadcasting, and a brief assessment of public affairs and other telecasting in the state. The document includes four charts and tables, the agenda, and summary population statistics on West Virginia. (1y)

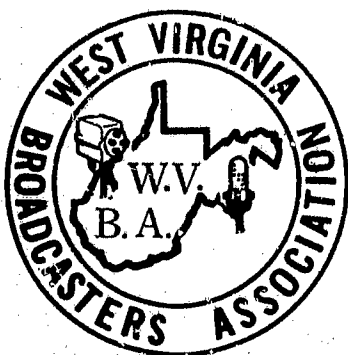
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selected proceedings
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THE CHANGING APPALACHIAN POPULATION: some facts

West Virginia's population, estimated to be 1,815,000 in 1965, should be almost exactly the same in 1985 — 1,810,000.

THE FUTURE:

- West Virginia will have a relatively stationary population concentrated mostly in the Great Valley and along the fringe of the region.
- People will be moving closer to the roads, abandoning narrow valleys and inaccessible hollows.

POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS:

- West Virginia's population declined 10% from 1950-60.
- The region's population is getting older.
- West Virginia had 23% fewer persons under 5 in 1960 than 1950.
 - 38% fewer persons 20-24
 - 41% fewer 25-29
 - 22% fewer 30-34
 - but 26% more 65 and over
- Hence, smaller proportion of persons of working age who are supporting more and more dependents. This trend will probably continue.
- Size of households is getting smaller (3.54) but still larger than U.S.

EDUCATION:

- Years of schooling completed by persons 25 and over (W. Va. 18% had 4 years of high school in 1960 compared with 25% in the U.S.) (median years of schooling completed in W. Va. increased only from 8.5 to 8.8, i.e., 8% from 1950-60 compared with 9.3 to 10.6, i.e., 14%, in the United States as a whole).
- Proportion of Children 16-17 years of age enrolled in school (W. Va. from 65 to 77 between 1950-60 compared with 75 to 81 in the U. S.).

INCOME:

- Median family income 1959.
 - (U. S. = \$5,660, West Virginia \$4,352, Southern Appalachia \$3,882.)
- 35% of all families in West Virginia have incomes less than \$3,000, compared with 21% in the United States.

INTRODUCTION

Broadcasting, they say, is a MASS MEDIUM, but, in fact, it's a CLASS MEDIUM. The distinction is to be found between broadcasting's public and the social-cultural values stations pump out to it.

While viewers and listeners run the gamut from peasants to princes, their homes ranging from Porcupine Hollow to Park Avenue, broadcasting seldom makes the effort to distinguish between swamp and Scarsdale. Instead, everyone in every place gets what adds up to almost 100% prosperous, middle-class suburbia.

This is fine for a broadcast outlet beaming its butts, borax, and Buick spots to a welter of Levittowns lying in the shadow of its antenna. But elsewhere, in places where butts are often bummed, where borax goes into ancient wringer washers, and Buicks are likely to be at least ten years old — that's another story.

Obviously, New York and Hollywood have to program "down the middle." The broadcaster, his economic umbilical cord running right from his transmitter to an entertainment center on either coast, has to live with this most of the time.

But note the word "most", which is something less than 100% of "all". He does have local programming that can be neatly tailored to zero in with fine sights on watchers and listeners network shotguns usually miss.

Here in West Virginia, broadcasters have long been aware that many Mountaineers differ remarkably from the middle-class world beyond the state's borders. Yet they too often lack a clear picture of what this difference is, and how best to gear their program offerings to the special people who inhabit Appalachia.

THIS IS WHAT THIS CONFERENCE IS ALL ABOUT.

SOCIAL CHANGE IN RURAL APPALACHIA AND COMMUNICATION LINKAGES WITH URBAN AMERICA

Harry K. Schwartzweller

Contemporary Appalachia is a rural society in transition. We may consider it transitional in the sense that social change forces which have brought about and are bringing about qualitative changes in the structure of that society have not as yet affected a relatively stable "new structure" though a new structure can be foreseen as an inevitable consequence of those change forces. To be sure, the economic tone of the region continues to be set by the extractive or primary industries — agriculture, mining, forestry.

A sizeable proportion of the labor force is still engaged in subsistence farming, marginal coal mining, and various unskilled occupational pursuits. An appallingly large segment of the population continues to live in abject poverty in mountain neighborhoods and rural slums whose conditions defy the comprehension of sympathetic and reasonable observers from more affluent states and from foreign lands.

Nevertheless, there are unmistakable signs supported by impressive evidence that the region is gradually becoming industrialized, that the once traditional rural society and folk culture is steadily becoming urbanized, and that Appalachia is certainly on the way toward modernization at a rate which by any measure must be called "a great leap forward" — into the mainstream of American Society and into the flurry of the Twentieth Century.

This blending and integration of rural and urban subcultures, not only in Appalachia but also in many other parts of the contemporary world, is a notable social phenomenon of our time and has received, and deserves, much attention. For, as we can readily appreciate from personal experiences and from an understanding of the sources of conflict and tension on the international scene, the processes of societal reorganization affect the very foundations of social order and, consequently, the well-being, life organization and personal stability of individuals and families who are caught-up in that swirl of change.

My aim, in this brief discussion, is to explore with you at a somewhat abstract level one aspect of this problem, namely, the characteristic structuring of rural communities in Appalachia and the institutional channels for change which exist within such communities. Specifically, I'm concerned with the manner by which the existing rural institutions (i.e., clusters of behavior patterns that are organized around one or the other of the main needs within a society) through communication connect (or span the gap between) relatively isolated rural communities of Appalachia and mainstream America. In other words, I want to examine the "normal" instrumentalities for communication and initiation of change which are woven into the social life of rural Appalachia and which, over time, are tending to bring mountain life and culture into congruence with the norms and behavior patterns of urban America.

The mass media, of course, represent one such institutionalized complex, one such instrumentality of communication from the outside and initiator of change within rural Appalachia. In deed, the mass media would seem to provide a tremendously persuasive direct entree by the national culture into the insular family systems of these mountain communities.

Yet by its very nature this contact is specialized, impersonal, concerned more with things than with ideas, more with ends than with means, and only indirectly with the normative structure and valued interests of the isolated family system. Mass media affect a partial or weak linkage with the Great Society. They attain communicative meaning for the individual only after being strained through the sieve of the valued interests of the familistic society.

On this point, for example, H. H. Remmers concludes from his study of the early socialization of attitudes that "The individual's need to retain his attitudes intact and thus to minimize conflicts and disagreements with persons in his social environment entail to a marked degree selective perception and a kind of self-insulation against conflicting and therefore disturbing attitudes. It is a well-known fact that people tend strongly to read those newspapers and to listen to those news commentators who most support their own attitudes."

Furthermore, rural low-income families in Appalachia do not have as much contact with mass communication media as one might perhaps suppose. For example, a recent study of families participating in a program of Aid to Families With Dependent Children and Unemployed Parents in seven eastern Kentucky counties found that: "Over four-fifths of the families had no member who read a newspaper regularly, half of the families seldom or never saw television, and a third had no radio. Most of the few newspapers read were local county weeklies — the radio stations they reported listening to were almost exclusively local eastern Kentucky ones. While one might expect each family to be reached by at least one of the media, this was not the case, for a fifth had no newspaper, radio, T.V., nor anyone in the family who regularly viewed T.V."

This is not to say, however, that the mass media provide no impetus for social development within the region. To the contrary, television, radio, and newspapers have been extremely effective advocates of change as, for example, in the recent road bond referendum. What I am saying is that for the message to be received it must be in congruence with the value system of the local culture or with the specified interest of a given segment of the society. (Advertisers, of course, are well aware of this rule.) Furthermore, I am also suggesting that the messages sent out by the mass media generally play upon existing aspirations and, as a consequence, reinforce those aspirations.

To be sure, these messages stimulate an awareness of what the Great Society considers to be good, beautiful, and desirable; (research on the diffusion of knowledge, for example, suggests that the mass media are most influential at the awareness and interest stage, but not at the stage of actual adoption of an innovation) but the emphasis of such messages is generally upon ends-values rather than means-values, and what means-values are suggested *en masse* are quickly modified and diluted within the personalistic web of rural Appalachian community life.

I shall come back to the role of the mass media in the social reconstruction of Appalachian rural society later in my discussion. At this point, let us examine the social configuration of rural Appalachia as a sociologist might view it.

Rural Appalachia, in many respects, is a familistic society in which "all the social relationships and institutions are permeated by and stamped with the characteristics of the family". This orientation, supported by other orientations in the mountain ethos such as traditionalism and puritanism, is perpetuated in many ways by the institutions of this society. The most important way is the family's almost monopolistic role in the **early** socialization of children.

Structurally, from the viewpoint of the community, the family institution is decentralized or multicentered. Each kinship unit tends to be a more or less closed social system with membership ascriptively assigned. Individuals rely heavily upon the family group for satisfying essential as well as most secondary (i.e., derived) needs and, relatively speaking, the mountaineers — especially those in the subsistence farming areas — experience very little active engagement with the larger society other than through the kin network.

To be sure, as an integral part of a close-knit family group, the individual has a place in the scheme of things — a haven of safety. Yet, viewed from another perspective, it might be said that he is caught up in a web of familism. To the extent that his family group is isolated from the mainstream of American Society and from the changing thoughtways of the modern world, the individual too is cut off from the outside and restricted in his world view. And that is often the case. Inter-family linkage, for example, through linkage of family members with other subsystems in the community is generally limited and weak.

Formal organizations occupy a very small part of the social life in mountain communities and any change-promoting agency has a difficult, almost impossible, task of implementing its program if it relies only on communication through formal organizations. Neighboring is also largely a family affair and the informal relationships, the mutual aid and resulting network of reciprocal obligations, and the leadership structure which evolve within the mountain locality are subject to the careful scrutiny, biased appraisal and constant vigilance of the family group.

It may be that the most significant direct linkage between urban America and the isolated family systems of Appalachia comes through the tremendous numbers of migrants who maintain ties with their families "back home". Only insofar as these migrants, however, absorb and substitute urban norms and behavioral characteristics for those of the "mountain" way of life, and only insofar as this personality change becomes communicatively effective with the family "back home" can this linkage be influential in bringing about a socio-cultural integration of the rural and urban family systems.

We know, however, from a number of studies on migration (including my own) that Appalachian migrants themselves tend to be isolated within migrant neighborhoods in and around the major metropolitan areas and therefore, for this and other reasons, the assimilation of urban norms is a slow process. Also, their effectiveness as advocates of change is limited by their specified role positions within the family group; because they are generally young, their power to suggest innovations is somewhat restricted within a mountain culture that continues to emphasize a high regard for age.

The religious institutions of Appalachia, because of their nature and structure, tend to be insulated from those of urban America. This is not to say, of course, that there is no linkage. However, the line of communication between the churches in rural Appalachian communities and the "outside" is notably indirect, not strong, and not continuous.

Rural Appalachian people are overwhelmingly Protestant. The dominant mountain religious traditions emphasize congregational autonomy, which weakens ties with the outside and reinforces the localistic orientation common to much of the region's institutional structure. Furthermore, the general religious orientation strongly emphasizes direct personal relationships between the individual and his God to such an extent that great social pressure is put upon **each** individual to establish such a relationship. Indeed, most Southern Highlanders believe that an individual has the inherent right, free-

dom and privilege to choose for himself in matters of religion and that an individual's preferences, beliefs and interpretation of the Bible, rather than family tradition, should be the basis for his convictions and choice.

This stress, coupled with the low socioeconomic and educational levels always characteristic of the region, has tended to make mountain religion more emotional, more fundamentalistic, more personal, and more familistic than in urban America. It is no surprise, then, to find scores of "splinter" groups or sects, few highly formalized church organizations, and consequently very low numbers of church members reported in religious censuses. Most mountain churches are small and informally structured, with relatively few services. The ministers of these churches are usually local men, frequently "Sunday preachers" who earn most of their livelihood in other occupations, often serving more than one church group. Seldom are they well educated. The family fulfills more of the religious function than is true in the urban American society. Thus, by its very nature and structure, religion tends **not** to be an effective, close communication link between the relatively isolated rural communities of Appalachia and urban America.

It may be useful to think of the political institution of mountain communities as two systems. On the one hand, there is the hierarchical governing structure of the community, and on the other hand there is the system of state and federal agencies operating within the community.

The local governmental structure is patterned according to state and national prescription, licensed by and administratively tied to the legal system of American Society, but with its operative roots, so to speak, in community mores and tradition. Selection of individuals to staff positions in this structure is largely a local matter very often a process of distributing tribute to those who reflect valued personality traits associated with "political jobs" or who represent segmental groups in control of the local balance of power. In the process of filling these positions, as in the process of law enforcement within mountain communities, kin relationships are not ignored.

The system of governmental agencies maintained and sponsored by the federal government within the rural community is, of course, a direct linkage with the outside. Most of these agencies, however, have economic or limited and specific educative rather than political functions to perform. Individuals who staff positions in these agencies are generally disassociated from the community, often by class lines or as "outsiders", and are often specifically prohibited from dealing with community "politics".

These governmental agencies are extralocal in origin, operating upon, not within, the local situation, and therefore their contract with the community is, in the main, only tangential to the prevailing normative patterns. To be sure, there have been a number of instances in recent years of "outsiders" attempting to disrupt the local balance of power; but by and large these efforts have met with stubborn and, generally speaking, successful resistance by local residents and community political leaders.

Communication, then, between urban America and rural mountain communities through the political institution is probably not as influential in bringing about sociocultural integration as one might suppose or as some might wish. During state and national election years, however, when the power of rural mountain votes attracts considerable attention, American political leaders manifest a desire for closer and more influential linkage.

For example, if one looks at the voting record of Appalachian counties, whether mining or agricultural counties (but, especially the agricultural counties) one is startled by the consistency of party loyalty regardless of national political personalities, national issues, and variations in party positions affecting the economic interests of mountain

communities. Occasionally, certain emotional issues may sway party loyalties, but over the long haul, because of relative isolation and strong familistic norms, voting behavior is far more predictable in mountain counties than in urban America.

Economic contact between urban America and the rural agricultural communities of Appalachia is mainly through the social mechanism of the market place and its supportive agencies. The traditional system of structurally isolated farm firms, with its industrial fragmentation in terms of decision making and spatial concentration, is a natural barrier, or gap, to effective intracommunication within the industry. Lines of communication from the urban sector to farm production units do not have a central community target, are therefore easily rejected, are more easily ignored, and are often in the form of mass media that are lost in the interest world of a familistically oriented agricultural community.

A major economic contact, then, is at the point of exchange of goods and commodities, that is, the distribution sphere of economic activity. The market place, geared to the contractual patterns of a money economy, functions as a direct linkage of American Society to the rural community. However, this linkage is influential in causing an integration of these sociocultural systems only when it involves the expenditure of much time by individuals in the contact situation, a large turnover of goods and commodities, and, more important, the necessity of making choices and planning specific marketing strategy.

In the low-income farming counties of Appalachia with their subsistence-like orientation to economic activity, the market place linkage, in effect, is not very influential in welding together the inner and the outer world. Appalachian folk in their day-to-day decisions concerning the production and distribution of commodities tend to operate in conformance with traditional normative patterns.

In recent years, an increasingly important economic linkage between the agricultural sector of this region and urban America has been in the form of "transfer payments", that is, payments made to individuals by governmental agencies such as Social Security, pensions, unemployment insurance, workman's compensation, and the like. Transfer payments amount to a sizeable proportion of the personal income coming into these Appalachian communities.

What is significant about this form of economic linkage is that its influence does not penetrate deeply into the sociocultural core of rural community life. Transfer payments and similar programs provide people with the means necessary for pursuing traditional goals, but their influence on the value structure of the local rural community is, for the most part, negligible.

In many "rural" Appalachian communities, of course, coal mining is dominant. The structure of the contact situation between the inner and outer economic systems is quite different in these mining communities. Mining is a more centrally organized industry, with larger production units and more intercommunication between these production units. In terms of the labor market, until recently the stream of migration has been into these communities rather than out, as in the farming communities. Cultural diversity has been absorbed by the mining communities rather than drained away, and this has fostered internal change in their social structure, making them less familistic and more like that of urban America.

As an occupational activity, mining is separated from the family in the specific sense of how the enterprise is organized; the miner, for example, is not self-employed and his wife does not perform specific work roles in the enterprise. Furthermore, the unions have been a direct, organized, intensive, and highly influential linkage with the outside. In comparison with the agricultural communities, the mining ones are, in many respects, more closely linked with the national culture.

Nevertheless, at the present time, as many coal mining communities are faced with economic crises and as they have become places to leave rather than, as was true in the early days, pockets of economic opportunity, many of the built-in linkages have been severed and many of the ties with urban America broken. A tragedy of our contemporary era is that the forces of modernization, which were never really adequately tapped, were pushed further back by economic circumstances confronting coal communities.

Let us turn our attention now to the characteristic structure of the educational system in rural Appalachia. As an institution, the school is structurally central in the sociocultural fabric of rural community life acting within, as well as upon, the local milieu. In recent years the consolidated school, probably more than any other organization, has become the focus of these relatively isolated rural communities.

Interschool rivalry in athletics, for example, has taken on great symbolic value and provided a means for reinforcing community identification. Along with this general interest in the public education system, an ever-increasing amount of community economic resources is being allocated to the local school. Education, as a "thing to get", is sanctioned by the mores and folkways and, like their urban counterparts, rural people in Appalachia support the "forced-formula educational system".

For example, in a recent survey of southern Appalachian people it was found that only about one per cent of the rural informants desired less than a high-school education for their sons or daughters, 96 per cent favored their sons going to college if they had the opportunity, and 92 per cent, compared to a little over 93 per cent of their urban counterparts, said they favored children being legally required to go to school until they are 16 years old even if they wanted to work.

Interest in education, as numerous studies have shown, is self-perpetuating; that is, a strong belief in the value of education begets an even stronger belief in the value of education. In this sense, the school system is granted and ensured the power to change the social structure of the local community by its virtual monopoly over the formal, extra-familial socialization of the community's youth. Furthermore, American society (inclusive of Appalachia) has tended to turn over more and more socialization functions to the school.

It seems likely that this is closely related to the societal need for more uniformity, or homogeneity, in its citizens. Indeed, the demand for conformity in school programs may be partly interpreted as due to the necessity for citizens to be, so to speak, interchangeable parts of a gigantic social machine as they move about freely within the nation. Since it is not only an integral part of the local social system, supported by community sentiment, but also tied into, indeed a part of, the educational system of the larger society, the school is a natural and strategic center for the diffusion of urban or urbanizing norms.

When a young person enters the school system, his basic orientations and behavior, learned in the primary group atmosphere of family, kin and neighborhood, are exposed to the influence of a different environment. For though Appalachia communities tend to be familistically organized, the local school system tends, in some degree, to reflect the contractual type norms of urban America. Grade school retains many of the more personal, communal characteristics of the primary group, functioning as a sort of transitional "buffer".

High school is the big step. The young person becomes submerged in a microcosm of the adult occupational world. Under the expedient pressure of large classes and varied curriculums, teachers must treat their pupils more formally. Marks become the

criteria of success, at least in the formal structure of the school, and competition becomes an expected fact of life. In a framework of achievement standards, social skills are learned and practiced through school organizations, classroom procedures, and everyday contact with peers, teachers and administrators.

The school, by teaching the behavioral patterns of urban America, inculcates the youngster with the culture of the larger society and furnishes him with a cultural link with the larger society, allowing him to become an agent of change in the rural community or to make an easier adjustment to urban life if he migrates.

Rural community institutions, of course, are staffed largely by middle-class-oriented personnel who operate the bureaucratic structures of society. In the case of the school system, this is true, to some degree, even in the extremely isolated rural areas of Appalachia. Teachers are trained in colleges that emphasize urban-contractual values, at least more so than in their familistic community setting, and the "high priests" of education have left their mark on the evaluative thought processes of their trainees. These modes of thinking and the resultant framework of expectations influence the content and the more or less standardized curriculums of the local school system.

State regulations, which compel all school-age persons to attend school, also determine the requirements, in general, for hiring teachers on the local level. Furthermore, these teachers rely on textbooks usually written by middle-class-oriented "outsiders" reflecting values, beliefs, and sentiments that are more characteristic of urban society than of the rural familistic community.

It should be noted, however that a large proportion of teachers in Appalachian schools, because of comparatively low salary levels and generally unattractive school and community amenities, are natives of the region whose early socialization stems from the familistic socio-cultural environment. This makes them "insiders" strategically placed in the local situation, where, though acceptable, they function as advocates of change.

The educational institution then, because of its structurally strategic position, functions as a major cultural bridge between the relatively isolated mountain communities of Appalachia and the larger American Society of which these communities are a part and to which these communities belong. The other major institutional systems are more insulated and have less direct, less strong, and less continuous lines of communication into the mountain region from the rest of American society.

The educational institution then is extremely important in bringing about a socio-cultural integration of rural Appalachian communities and urban America. Indeed, one might say that education is an effective and efficient force stimulating the processes of modernization in relatively isolated mountain communities. For the major institutions are interdependent and interrelated; that is, they are parts of a sociocultural system composing the local community, and changes introduced through one institution will, in time, bring about significant changes in the others.

In summary, let me suggest an obvious inference from this exploratory discussion. It seems clear, given the sociocultural circumstances that characterize Appalachian communities, that the development of a strong, modern school system in the relatively isolated rural areas of this region will, in the long run, pay rich dividends in terms of binding these communities and their people — whether they remain in Appalachia or whether they choose to migrate to regions offering greater economic opportunity — into the mainstream of American Society.

The educational system, which is directly linked with urban America and strategically located within the fabric of community life, can perform this task quite efficiently; the system of religious organizations, for example, and the other institutional sectors of Appalachian communities, for reasons I have mentioned, cannot.

The school system brings about great changes in the general orientations of young people, and these changes set the stage for changes in specific orientations, both educational and recreational. Furthermore, with time and under certain conditions, these changes in orientation will affect changes in the institutional structure of the region and in the very fabric of neighborhood and community life.

I believe, therefore, that a heavy investment of societal resources in the educational institutions of Appalachia, particularly at the elementary and secondary school levels, would prove to be in the long run, one of the more effective (and efficient) strategies within our means for securing the well-being of the Appalachian people.

If this is so — if a strong system of education at the local level is the key that will eventually unlock the door of provincialism and apathy which has so long barred the forces of modernization and change from entry into the mountain communities — then we might well ask what role the mass media could play in supporting this strategy and in implementing the necessary reforms to bolster local school systems.

As I see it, the mass media are highly effective in producing an awareness of something that did not exist in the individual's cognitive sphere and, further, in providing subsequent information on that idea which in turn will maintain and even stimulate individual interest. We must also recognize, however, that the process of dissemination into the local culture entails a two-step flow of communication.

The content of the mass media output is picked up first by local opinion leaders who are highly selective in the kinds of changes they would be willing to advocate. The innovation must "fit" the opinion leader's values as well as his perception of the local social, political and economic situation. In other words, the opinion leader is somewhat of a control factor on the impact of the media upon the local culture. Fortunately, Appalachian people in general accept the concept of the importance of schooling — at least they give lip-service to this notion, as do most other Americans.

But as I read the situation, there seem to be two points of strain in bringing about a revitalization of rural Appalachia's educational system. On the one hand, the people are not fully cognizant of the fact that the schools and school programs of the rural hinterland of Appalachia are no longer adequate for providing children with the kind of education that will permit them to compete effectively with children from other areas of the United States for the "good" jobs and the "good" colleges. They don't seem to realize that their own youngsters' life chances are at stake.

On the other hand, given the economic deprivation characteristic of the region, any proposals which suggest the additional expenditure of scarce funds are immediately suspect and, perhaps for reasons that can be regarded as quite rational.

In matters concerning the allocation of resources, values and value hierarchies are put to the test and, as we all know, the mountaineer is imbued with strong convictions drawn from the Protestant Ethic — the individual is responsible only to himself and to his God, etc. A sense of "community" is relatively underdeveloped in the mountains. A collective conscience seems to be applicable mainly to the family group.

I believe that the mass media in Appalachia could best serve the people of Appalachia by focusing their concerted efforts upon a revitalization of the local school systems. By this, I do not mean a program of sheer propaganda but rather an honest, sincere program of providing the people of Appalachia with facts and competent appraisals of their local schools.

The mass media's role should be to create an awareness of the truth and part of the truth emerges when one compares his own situation with that of situations elsewhere. Then too, I also believe that the mass media are very effective in building a sense of community within the region. Indeed, the concept of a "region" — united perhaps by common problems and notably by poverty — is only now beginning to

emerge and I believe that the mass media have been instrumental in the formulation of that concept. Without communication there can be no cohesiveness and without cohesiveness there can be no unified approach to common problems.

This, then, is the challenge confronting the mass media in Appalachia — to stimulate an awareness of developmental problems within the region and, through the instrumentality of communication, to help organize a collective approach for solving those problems.

WEST VIRGINIA IN 1975

Dr. William H. Miernyk

I'm going to give you the results of a projection of the West Virginia economy to the year 1975. There are many kinds of projections. One can sit down and take a look at what's been happening in the past and draw a line graph which is then extended into the future. That's not a very sophisticated kind of forecasting. There are other methods that involve statistical analysis, but I will not try to go into the details of them other than to say that they give somewhat better forecasts than simply extending a line.

The method we have used is rather complicated, highly sophisticated, and not completely original with us, so I can say nice things about it. We have done some improving on the basic model. It involves dividing West Virginia into sectors — or what most people would call industry — of which there are 48. We spent almost 2 years simply getting this basic description on paper. This, the pure statistical description for the year 1965, is based on a lot of published information, but more importantly, it's based on information that we collected by careful random sampling methods from West Virginia businessmen.

Once we have been able to describe the West Virginia economy in this way, we are then able to project — to make a forecast — and we arbitrarily selected 1975.

All of these projections are made on the assumption that there will be no price changes. In other words, we have not tried to guess how fast prices will change because guessing is all one can do. So when I talk about an increase of so many dollars, I'm talking about an increase in 1965 dollars.

One of the nice things about this kind of long-range, highly detailed study is that it takes so long — it's almost 1970 — we're almost half way to where we're going, that we can check and see if we're on the right track. And as it happens, with a little bit of good luck, and some careful analytical effort, it appears that these projections to 1975 are very realistic. We have already made some checks. We don't have information for 1969 yet, but we do for 66, 67, and 68, and to put in a nutshell, the forecasts look pretty good.

The West Virginia economy really went through a turning point in 1963, the year in which it hit bottom. People still talk about the declining West Virginia economy — people in West Virginia as well as outside. It isn't declining. I didn't come here until 1964 so I can't take credit for the upturn, but it's here, it's started. It's no longer a matter of speculation. We've had 5 years now of economic growth. It has been at a slower rate than the national growth, so that we're not closing the gap. We are still sliding a little bit behind the United States in terms of national averages, but the important thing is we're going in the right direction, after a long and very painful decline.

What I'm going to do is to start out by giving some highly compressed results of the forecast. And this has been very sketchy. This whole system is set up — actually we have 54 equations describing the West Virginia economy in 54 unknowns. Those of you who remember your basic Algebra know how hard it is to solve 3 equations in 3 unknowns, realize that we have to have this done by computer. In fact, this program is so complicated that it takes an hour and ten minutes of computer time to run, which is very long.

Now I want to talk about some of the broad changes and then look at the compressions we have made into 18 sectors.

Let me give you the results in very highly aggregated terms, going from 65 to 75 and then to the annual rate of growth.

The first broad aggregate measure that we can talk about is gross state product, meaning the value of final goods and services produced in a given year. The gross national product for this country is almost 900 billion now. In West Virginia in 1965 our gross state product was 4.6 billion. And in 1975 — again in 1965 dollars, no price changes — it will be 6.9 billion. This means that we are growing at the rate of 4.9 per cent a year. Now the national economy has been growing at a rate in excess of 5 per cent. The federal policy makers have been trying to slow that down a little because there is some inflation component in the national growth — there is none in this study — we have eliminated it. This is still a little slower than the national economy, but not much.

Now most of this growth is yet to come. The big turning point will come sometime early in the 1970s. Really it's going to be much more interesting to make a new projection starting with about 1970, once we get additional data for 1970, and see what West Virginia is going to look like in 1980. Because a very important thing is going to happen between now and 1975 and that is, hopefully, completion of the Appalachian highway system and the planned interstate highway system. Under the law they have to be finished but we know that laws can be extended.

I want to mention a critical assumption in our forecast: we assumed that most of the highway system would be completed before 1975. This is very critical because, from an economic point of view, the greatest difference between West Virginia and the rest of the country has been its highway system. A little later I will bring this back to the broadcasting industry.

Let's go on to personal income which will go up about 4.5% a year, which again is just a little less than the national average. Per capita income — that is, income per person — will rise about 3.5% a year, pretty close to the national average, because West Virginia is losing people. You know if our income goes up and our people go out, then income per person has to be larger. But now, interestingly enough, we project an increase in the population by 1975.

There are many forecasts, and many people who engage in forecasting, yet our study is the only one I know of in recent years that has projected an increase in the population. The reason for this, I think, is that again too many people have looked at the trend. We've been losing people since 1940, so if you plot it on a chart, it goes down, and the easiest thing to do is to have it keep on going like that. You do that far enough out here and pretty soon you have nobody in West Virginia. We think that is not going to happen. We think the population is going to go up. And the reason we think so is that over this 10 year period the labor force is going to grow at about the rate of 4% a year. And employment is going to grow at about the rate of 1.8% a year. Again, most of this is yet to come. It has already started — we had an upturn in 1963 and somewhere around 1972 there is going to be another bend in the curve and it's going to start to grow faster. Unemployment throughout this entire period will go down at the rate of 2.9% a year. Now we will have more people in the labor force, not only about 48% of the population as in 1965, but about 52% in 1975, primarily because there will be more women coming into the labor force. So our unemployment rate in 1975 will be down to about 4.3%, which will still be substantially larger than the national average.

Now I know that, even if you follow the percentage changes, these broad aggregates really don't tell you too much about what is going to happen, so here are some

specific employment changes. Let me just say a word about agriculture. It looks as though it's going totally down the drain though we don't expect any substantial change in the number of farms. There are a lot of family farms in West Virginia that hire nobody, so we expect the number of hired workers to drop from 900 and something to 600 and something. We don't get too excited about a change like that.

Coal employment is going to go down — it's about 44,000 now and we say it's going to be about 38,000 in 10 years. Former Governor Hulett Smith was very upset when a report was published that mentioned these figures, because he was trying to encourage young men to go into the coal industry. He said this kind of nonsense makes it hard to recruit people. But this is an overall figure for all coal mining. It is true that right now we need more people in the coal industry, but interestingly enough, at the time we need people in the coal industry, others are losing their jobs. There are still a lot of small coal mines in this state which have no chance for economic survival. This is a hard thing to say and I don't like to in places like Logan, West Virginia, nevertheless, it is a fact of life that there is going to be a drop in coal employment. It doesn't necessarily mean that the outlook is grim as we'll see in a few moments.

Petroleum, gas, and other kinds of mining show a fairly big increase. Construction is going to be big during this period. As for miscellaneous manufacturing — non-durables — we're beginning to get some shoe factories and small garment factories, and so on, which provide jobs. So there's going to be an increase in this kind of employment, but it's not going to do a whole lot for West Virginia's economic future, though every little bit helps.

Chemical employment is going down. Stone and clay and glass are going up because building is going up. We see a rather large increase in miscellaneous durables. This is rather encouraging because this represents a substantial number of small manufacturing plants that make a great variety of durable goods. In the last 2 or 3 years there have been dozens of new manufacturing plants built in this state, each one of them is relatively small, employing perhaps 12-20 people, but you add them all up and it's substantial. So in miscellaneous durables the slow growth is appreciable in relative terms.

The big changes are coming in trade, finance, services, utilities, and government — state and local and federal government. This is happening everywhere, part of the consequences of increased productivity. We've heard a lot about automation in recent years and labor leader Miles Stanley has implied that practically all the jobs in the country are going to be wiped out by automation. But this is not true. What is going to happen is that it will take fewer people to make goods and more people to provide services, meaning there will be jobs.

QUESTION FROM AUDIENCE: Where do tourists fit in your categories?

MIERNYK: In the trade and services, but primarily in the services, because this would include such things as filling stations, motels, and so on. I will say more about tourism later.

Let me go on now to the other side of the coin to output, production. Here the picture is quite different. Everything is going up, though at different rates. Even agricultural production, with declining hired help, is going to go up. Coal production is going to go up 46%, which is quite a contrast to what we said would happen to employment. This is due simply to increased productivity as more and more machines are used in mining the coal. Of course, the more this goes on, the more modernization and mechanization we have in the larger coal mines, the more difficult it is for the small mines to survive. They will be gradually driven out of business. So we're not out of the

woods when it comes to the problem of the displaced and unemployed coal miners. But it will never be as bad in the future as it was in the past because there aren't that many coal miners left. We have already wiped out over 100,000 coal miners' jobs — there are only 44,000 left, so in relative terms, it cannot have as serious an impact on this state as it did have in the past.

Again, in chemicals — where our forecast shows a rather pronounced drop in employment but a very large increase in output. Everytime I mention this, someone asks about the companies cutting back in Charleston. They have been taken into account. We really don't expect any additional growth in the chemical industry in the Kanawha valley, which is a major location, but within the borders of West Virginia there will be growth in output.

The steel industry will go up, as will miscellaneous durables and non-durables.

Let me repeat that aggregating our 48 industries into 18 allows us to give you sort of a broad brush review of what is likely to happen. We have this information in highly detailed form for all 48 sectors in our model, which I should name at this point. It's called an inter-industry, or an input-output model, a very powerful analytical tool that enables us to trace through all of the interrelationships.

If someone asks, "Growth in coal output is fine for coal operators, but what does it mean for the filling stations of the state?", we can push a few buttons on the computer and answer that question. The model shows how everything in this state depends upon everything else. And private businessmen and state agencies as well will use it. The complete results of this, to be published sometime this summer, include a lot of additional information. If we assume no change in the tax structure, a rather difficult assumption but nevertheless it is a beginning, this input-output forecast will tell you how much tax revenue there will be in 1975 and how much we're going to have to spend on education and other public services during this 10 year period. To illustrate this point, it's going to require about 1 billion 1965 dollars in capital spending for education alone. Much of this, of course, will be for our colleges and universities but much of it also will be for our public schools.

Now let me try to touch on a couple of points. First of all, the assumption that we will have the highway system essentially completed before 1975 is realistic. If it's not finished, then some of these projections will have to be scaled down a little bit — not those in coal, chemicals, or steel, but in the miscellaneous durables and non-durables.

To tie this topic of highways, I think the broadcasting industry had a great deal to do with the success of the bond issue during the last election. I know that the broadcasting industry played an important part in this campaign — some people have called it a propaganda campaign, but at least it was good propaganda for the kind of public service that certainly we needed. And I believe that the broadcasting industry is justified in taking some share of the credit for that successful issue. I just hope that you will not be frustrated by local groups who might want the Appalachian highways to come through their towns. They can't win because the highways were laid out by engineers taking topography, cost of construction, and so forth into account.

I think that forecasts like our study might be of some use to you. They can tell you where growth is going to be, and, presumably, you are interested in finding customers who will sponsor advertising. While I realize that air waves do not recognize state boundaries and most of you may serve more than one state, you still might find these of some use for marketing purposes. Marketing people make great use of input-output models of this kind, you know, simply to find out where the action is going to be because obviously you will find more customers in a growth industry than in one that is stagnant or declining.

As an aside, there has been a great deal of talk about the future and the economic impact of tourism on the state of West Virginia. This has become a highly controversial topic since the state labor federation has declared a boycott on tourism in West Virginia. I don't want to leave the impression that this is not a serious issue, but very little of the growth of the West Virginia economy will be due to the expansion of tourism.

The typical layman has the notion that money that is brought into this state by tourists is somehow better than money that comes in by resources that are produced in the state. But the fact of the matter is, as you well know, that there's an old established economic law — a buck is a buck and it doesn't matter how you get that dollar into the state. The point is we really don't get very many tourist dollars in this state and, as a matter of fact, most states — I mean the people in most states — have an exaggerated notion of the importance of tourism as a stimulator of economic activity.

Now I'm not opposed to tourism — I'm more or less of a tourist myself — but it would be a mistake if we allocated too many of our resources to projects designed to lure tourists into the state. We need more state parks, but we need them because people **in West Virginia** want to spend more time in them. If we have more state parks, tourists will come in from other States. They will spend some money here — but not much. The typical kind of tourist in this day of the camper and the mobile trailer is the one who loads up at home, brings his groceries and everything he needs and drives into the next state, buys a couple quarts of milk and 20 gallons of gasoline. That's the amount of money he leaves in West Virginia — not much. Obviously, filling stations and presumably local dairies benefit from this but not a whole lot, so it's nothing we should get terribly excited about. Quite frankly, boycott or not, I don't think it's going to be much different. We're going to get about as much tourist revenue as we would without the boycott and it is still not going to be a tremendous part of this predicted economic growth.

What we do need, and we've already started in this direction, in addition to the highways, is an improvement in the general amenities in West Virginia. Perhaps the most significant political action taken — certainly since I've been in this state — was the across-the-board salary increase for public school teachers which Governor Moore tells us has raised us from 44th to 24th rank.

One of the things we encountered repeatedly when talking with the businessmen who gave us all the information for these forecasts, were comments about public education because of the difficulties of attracting management people to operate plants here because the state's public facilities are so inadequate.

POOR MAN'S GALLUP POLL*

Foster Mullenax

The eyes and ears of the nation focused on West Virginia during the 1960 primary election campaign. Poverty became a key campaign issue of the presidential aspirants. Four years later President Johnson's "Great Society" program declared war on poverty.

According to family income, the war on poverty would be waged on behalf of nearly one third of the state's people. There were 32.5 per cent of the families in West Virginia with \$3,000 or less annual income.

Subsequently, the mass media played the major role in providing the poverty image about West Virginia to the nation. It is one thing to read about the isolated, abandoned coal mining camps and the obsolete pick and shovel miners. It is another to see on television the sunken, sad eyes of dirty, poorly clothed children and the look of despair and hopelessness of the men and women of the ridges and hollows.

The great power of human persuasion, ever present in the mass media, helped greatly to fan the flames of the poverty war in Washington. The author believes that the mass media can become major weapons in the war at the battle front. They can serve very much like an activated unit of the National Guard.

Too little is known about the roles mass media are playing in homes of the disadvantaged in West Virginia. The availability of written and electronic media and the use patterns exercised in the homes need to be investigated.

Hence, this thesis became a pilot study of the media and use patterns in selected poverty areas in West Virginia.

The purpose of this study was to determine effective ways to reach rural non-farm families of low socio-economic status. It was to provide an opportunity to investigate the use patterns and interests of the families with low incomes, low levels of educational attainment and rural isolation. Knowledge gained from the study would be useful in developing mass media approaches specifically to aid the low status families.

The writer believes that skillful use of the press, radio, and television can result in a much faster rate of social change among the more alienated families. Rather than the media being used only to report to the nation about poor people, they can be used to help readjust value orientations and family goals of people who are poor.

For entertainment and news, the mass media outlets in West Virginia appear to serve all the people. But there is very little programming or writing done specifically for poorly educated adults. This is an area of concern which needs extensive study and evaluation.

The research procedure used in this pilot study consisted of personal interviews. One-half of the families in each of three communities were selected at random for the sample by the local county Extension Agents.

There was a total of fifty-six families in the sample. The total population was determined as those families who lived in the community in September 1964. A benchmark study was conducted in 1964 by the Cooperative Extension Service of West Virginia University and the Federal Extension Service of Washington, D.C. That study was

*Findings of study made by the author in 1968 from which his Master's thesis was written.

made to learn the social and economic status of each household in the three communities. The study sought to learn family incomes, educational attainment for each family member, general levels of living within each home and to establish a working relationship between professional workers and the household members. Certain data from that study were used for correlations with the data on mass media usage gathered later by the author.

inventory of mass media sources in households of study area

The Media	Number	Per Cent
RADIO	48	85.71
TELEVISION	49	87.50
DAILY NEWSPAPER	23	41.00
MORE THAN ONE DAILY	2	3.57
WEEKLY NEWSPAPER	31	55.35
MAGAZINES	24	42.85

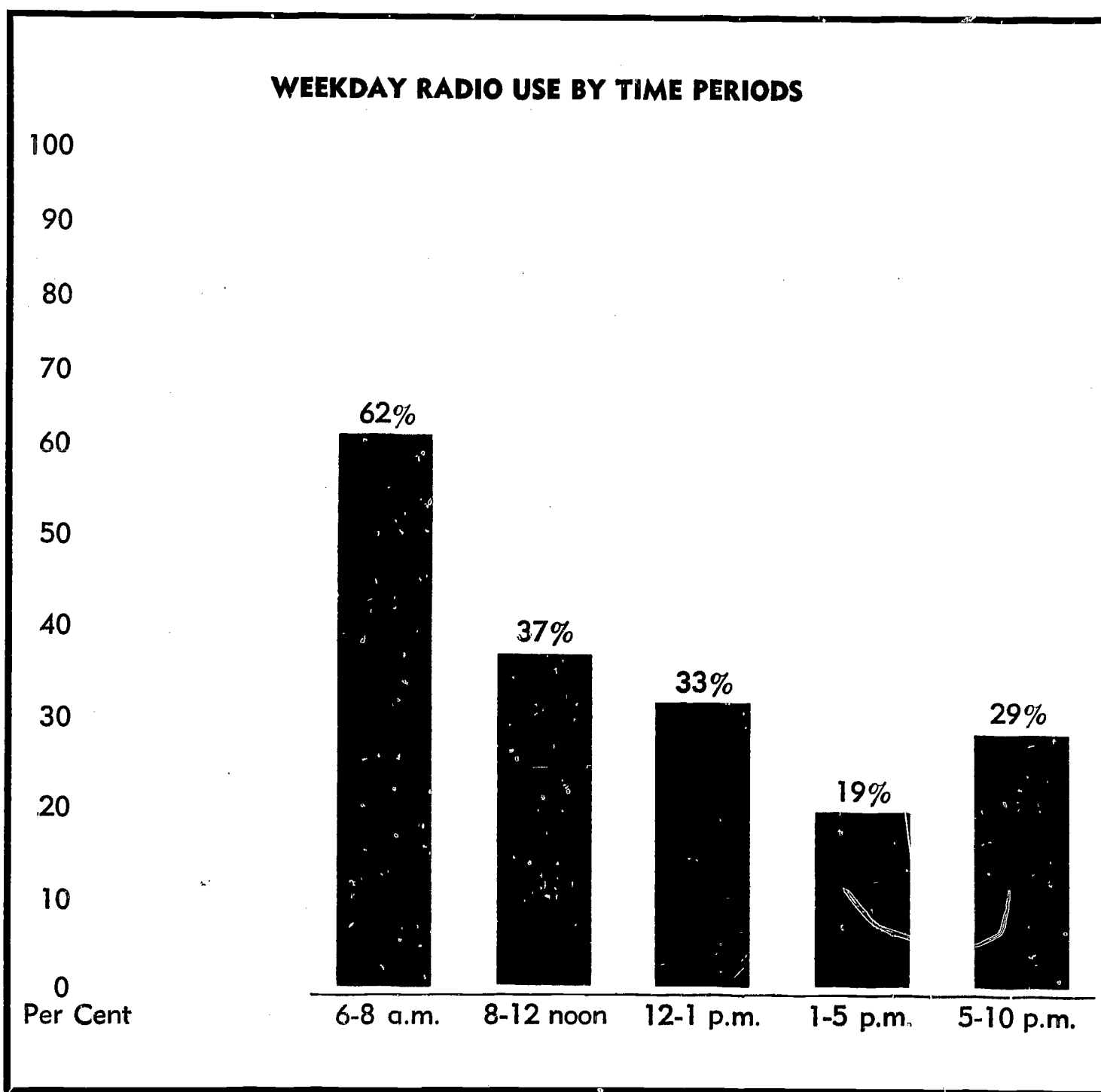
The hypothesis upon which this study was based is that in families of low socioeconomic status, the higher the income levels, educational attainment and the less geographic isolation, the higher the use of the mass media and the wider the interest in the content of the media.

what they liked best on radio

Type Of Program	Individuals Number	Individuals Per Cent
COUNTRY MUSIC	14	35%
RELIGIOUS PROGRAMS	12	30%
NEWS	9	22.5%
SPORTS	2	5%
POPULAR MUSIC	1	2.5%
ROCK N' ROLL	1	2.5%
OTHER	1	2.5%
TOTAL REPORTING	40	100%

Dr. Lewis Donohew, associate professor of journalism at the University of Kentucky, described the isolated communities of Appalachia as being similar to much of the world's population which is isolated, illiterate and poverty-stricken. He says that in many ways the people of the Southern Appalachians resemble those of the Middle East and South America. On such variables as education and income, the region ranks near the bottom of the United States.

Donohew's study dealt with the Appalachian's receptiveness to change. This researcher's study was designed to deal with mass media usage. Donohew's findings can be especially meaningful when one attempts to look at the entire communications behavior of the people. His report shows that when radio and television content, rather than just extent of exposure was analyzed, persons exposed to news and public affairs programs were more receptive to change than those exposed only to other kinds of programs. Also, those not exposed to news-public affairs but who watched and listened to just something were more receptive to change than those not exposed at all to the media.



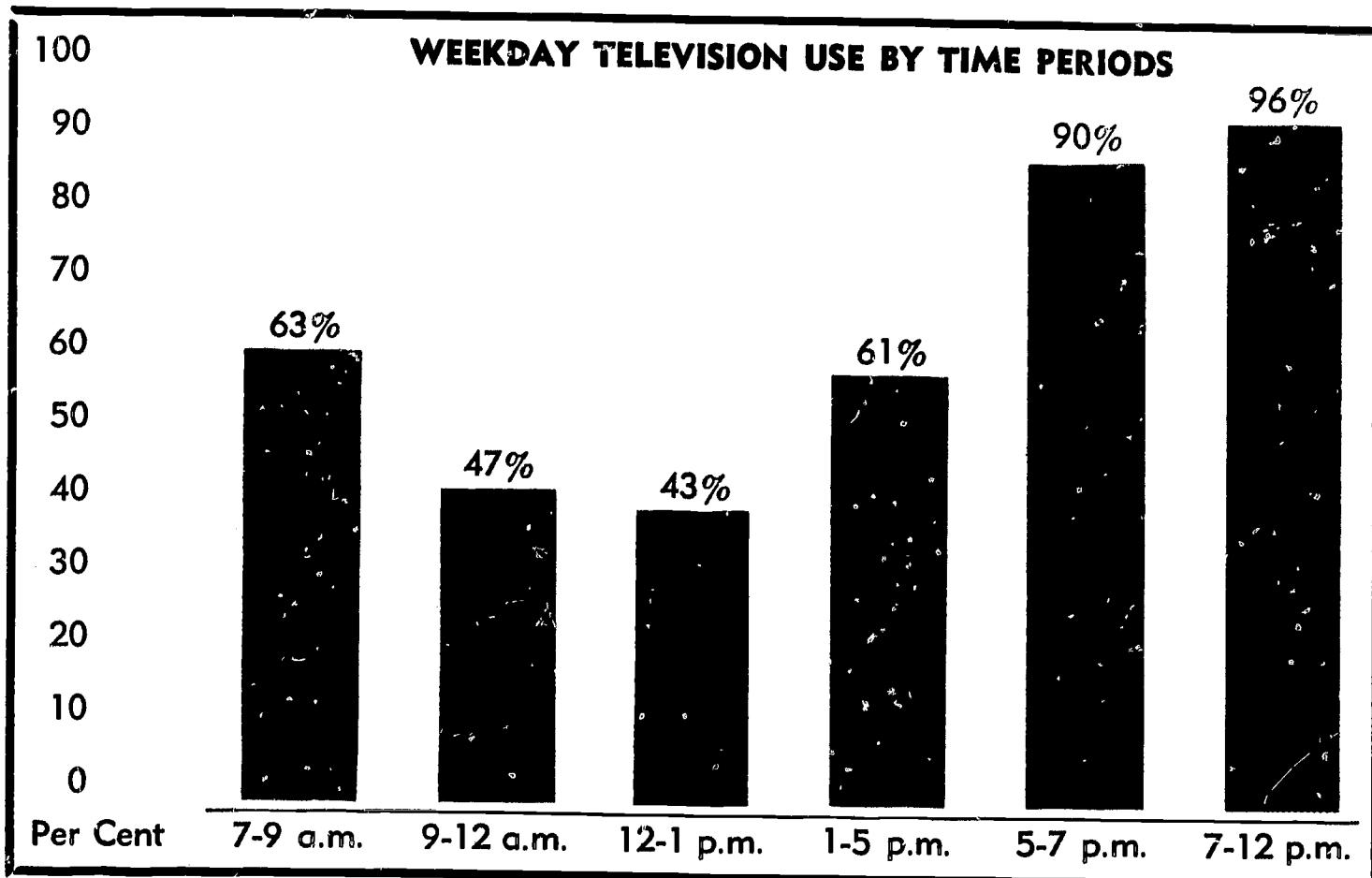
what they liked best on television

Type Of Program	Individuals Number	Individuals Per Cent
WESTERNS -----	12	29%
ENTERTAINMENT SHOWS -----	9	21%
STORIES (SOAP OPERAS) -----	8	19%
RELIGIOUS PROGRAMS -----	7	17%
COUNTRY MUSIC -----	4	10%
SPORTS -----	1	2%
MOVIES -----	0	0%
COMEDIES -----	0	0%
NEWS -----	0	0%
TOTAL REPORTING -----	42	100%

The author believes that this study shows some important ways that the mass media can be used to help fight the war on poverty. Editors and broadcasters can, if they will, begin to provide new approaches to helping the low status families.

Radio is one medium that could be used quite effectively. There are several possible approaches that should be tried. The religious programs which have the high audience among the low status families provide a good approach. The ministers could be engaged in a plan to include messages on family living in their programs. They could give examples of the value of a good education and the importance of a man learning a new job skill so he can earn more money for the family.

If the preacher told them, they would be inclined to believe it and possibly do something about it.



Friends and neighbors exert strong influences to bring about changes in behavior or acceptance of new ideas. Interviews and taped comments of various family members from low status homes could add greatly to acceptance of messages in all the media. This could be especially true for radio.

Prepared spots and longer interviews could be aired on country music radio programs. The country music disc jockey could voice prepared spots of messages designed for the poor.

The great problem that has existed to this point is how can you help someone without causing him to feel less than the helper? This is why commercials and other messages directed to the poor must not give the impression that they are for the disadvantaged. The messages are for human beings with dignity and worth. A special effort is to be made to get the change messages on the air less obtrusive than other commercial or public service messages.

The approaches are not to be left to those who are unlearned in the social actions and reactions of people. Sociologists, psychologists, radio station program directors and the artists, such as preachers and country music stars, must all team up to understand the techniques to be used.

BROADCASTING NEEDED TO FOCUS ON KEY STATE ISSUES

Senator Randolph

What can the members of the West Virginia Broadcasters Association do to help solve our problems? You've taken a first essential step in this seminar, for the dissemination of information, the educational process, the establishment of discussion forums. These are all necessary prerequisites to affirmative action.

I think the overriding requirement which must be fulfilled is to have a mobilization of existing resources for social and economic progress. The problems that face us — large and small — today defy solution by any one organization, be it business, labor, education or government. We are faced with challenges in community and human development that transcend all of the old boundaries as we knew them. There is a desperate need for our cities, particularly those small communities that lack adequate financial resources, to mobilize existing agencies for better housing, and public and private community development programs, attention to health care, education, training in jobs, and all these programs — they can't be realized by half-way measures, 50% efforts. There must be total involvement.

You can't say, that is not my responsibility and point to someone else. It is our responsibility. We will not achieve our objectives with the organizations and the individuals if they work just absolutely independently. There must be cooperation. There must be coordination. The challenge for the broadcasters association is not only to focus your resources on these problems, but also to blend the efforts into total community work.

There is an area which I feel must concern all of us and in which civic and trade organizations can act with effectiveness. It involves communication with those that are in the "thick" of the struggle every day — our mayors, our city and county officials, our heads of public agencies, our school boards, our superintendents and our principals. We must remember that many of our community officials in West Virginia are not full time. They receive very little pay, so they often need financial support. They often need our moral support. They often need our political support. They often, very frankly, will profit from constructive criticism.

Now I do not say that you must blindly back every program or idea or action of officials — there certainly is room for differences to be blown out of proportion. We must have a continuing interchange with public officials, and then we must have action, and the action can be well reasoned. We seldom seem to act in those areas that there is agreement on. But it's necessary that we communicate on a continuing basis with public officials. We shouldn't just wait until we have a complaint. We would do much better sometimes if, when we see something that is being done that is worthwhile, we say so to the persons who led the way in bringing that worth-while program into being.

It was Aristotle who said a long time ago, but I think it's applicable today. He said, "Think with wisdom, but communicate in the language of the people."

So you have a great opportunity — you broadcasters — to help that understandable language which people will feel. I have seen local officials that have been blocked in difficult problems where you, the broadcaster, or financier, or banker, or engineer, or a lawyer, or a doctor, could frankly have given needed advice — helpful advice. I very frankly have known communities that expended valuable funds when other resources within the community could have solved the problem.

Now, new project and programs for our state and our communities — well let's be very frank, let's just talk this over. They don't just happen — they are made to happen. With all the resources mobilized, they could be made to happen much quicker and much better in West Virginia. We all know this.

Now, members of the West Virginia Broadcasters Association — both television and radio — can exercise a vital role in the development of progressive programs. In our complex and rapidly changing society there is little doubt as to the impact, a significant impact, of your industry. This impact is for good; sometimes there are people who think that it is used for bad. But you have the facilities to focus attention on these key issues — to mobilize the public and government officials. But in so doing, it isn't just enough to pinpoint problems. To fully discharge your obligations, and I will say my obligation, I suggest that it is essential that you also extend coverage and support, if appropriate, to those persons and organizations that are actively involved in social and economic programs, development programs in West Virginia.

None of us can retire to a sanctuary. We have to be in the thick of the battle, to try to help these problems to well-reasoned solutions. Well by every statistical measurement, West Virginia lags behind in the national averages in education, in the number of school years completed, the number of persons with college years, in expenditures. This is a critical time for education. We have a growing population in our school system and we must have public support on bond issues. The whole range of complex changes make complete education an essential ingredient. In terms of public facilities, the low tax base of our communities prevented many of these communities from water and sewerage systems being built, airports, streets, hospitals, libraries and other facilities coming into being. As a result our state continues to face a challenge in securing urgently needed public facilities.

We have beautiful mountains in West Virginia, but they are frankly a barrier when we think of the cost of building highways, because rugged terrain makes the construction of these roads very expensive. So we are lagging, perhaps, in a satisfactory pace in building them.

Now public facilities are critical as tools to attract the opportunity for greater public and private investment in our state. The community without adequate water and sewerage has very little chance of attracting new industry. Now we have had a 350 million dollar bond issue passed by the people with a resounding yes. But we need to complete the Interstate and the Appalachian roads and also our primary and secondary roads. This bond issue was essential. The people stood with it. And highways represent for West Virginia a major key to economic growth. Public support, I conclude, is the crucial element in coping with the problems West Virginia faces. Without this support, the efforts will fail. And this carries with it the expectation on my part, and I'm sure on your part, that West Virginia can solve these problems. It is a time when critical problems demand the very finest leadership. And I believe that you can help forge that leadership, in cooperation with other segments of society. The common resolution which we can all follow is to get the job done. Lincoln said, "With public opinion, everything is possible; without it, nothing is possible." West Virginia must mobilize its opinion and then take constructive, affirmative action.

NO SHORTAGE OF LOCAL ISSUES FOR BROADCASTERS TO AIR

Senator Byrd

When one is asked, what important issues face West Virginia, one is apt to think first about intangibles, such as the continuing need for good government, and then perhaps tangibles, such as the completion of the modern highway system. But there are also many other areas in which improvement can be brought about that would be of considerable benefit to the state.

Your President, Mr. Jack Lee, in his letter to me, suggested that I might wish to discuss a few of these areas from the viewpoint of my position in Washington, and that is what I shall briefly try to do. Mr. Lee also indicated that I might wish to suggest what radio and television broadcasters can do to help solve West Virginia's problems.

Let me say, in this latter connection, that the broadcasters are already doing a great deal to acquaint the people of West Virginia with the important problems of the state. Your news and public service programs are invaluable in helping West Virginia citizens form valid opinions and judgments. I hope that in the future you will continue the high quality of broadcasting you are already doing. West Virginians can do the most to help themselves, I believe, by action at the community level. And it is the need for local leadership and for local action that I would want to stress to you today.

I would say that West Virginians have much to gain by taking the fullest advantage possible of federal programs that can help to improve the quality of community life throughout the state. That which helps each community will, in the long run, help the state as a whole. Broadcasters can and should work to spur local initiative, local pride, and local desire for improvement. In almost every kind of project in which the federal government may be expected to assist, community effort and community participation are essential. I list the areas, or at least some of the areas, in which action is perhaps most needed. And they are as follows:

- The improvement of educational facilities.

- The expansion of health care.

- The provision of adequate water and sewerage systems.

- The abatement of air and water pollution.

- The development of recreational and tourism possibilities.

- The improvement of community facilities and housing.

- The upgrading of airports.

- And the establishment of flood control measures where needed.

Taking these things one by one, community educational facilities can always be improved, and the people in a community are really the ones who can best bring about any substantial and lasting betterment. What is especially needed is the expansion and upgrading of vocational and technological education. There is so much more that can be done in this regard than is now being done. So many of our youngsters could be given a much better start in life than they are presently getting.

The opportunities for employment in positions just below the professional level are expanding enormously and these can be well paying, satisfying, extremely worth-while jobs. And so I would like to emphasize and repeat the importance of vocational education and training, to so many of our young people in our state and throughout the country today.

Closely paralleling the need for more and improved educational and vocational facilities is the need for expanded health care facilities, whether county health centers or community hospitals. A healthy citizenry is one of the most prized assets of which a state can boast. And I would like to see West Virginia second to no state in this regard. New health care facilities are being provided at various points in the state now, but many more are needed. Local action can help bring them into being. Nothing can exceed the importance of personal and public health of high quality.

And closely related to health is the matter of safe and adequate water supplies and sewerage systems. Good water is basic to community health. And it is basic to business and industrial development. No town can grow and thrive without water. Where town and city water and sewerage systems need improvement, such improvements should be sought. New impoundments for surface water that now runs off and is lost should be provided wherever feasible. Such assets are priceless when the future is considered. And in the case of sewerage systems where old facilities are overloaded or outdated, modernization should be planned, both for community growth and to aid in the clean up of our polluted streams.

The water pollution problem urgently demands attention throughout the state. Not only is sewage pollution serious, but the acid mine drainage problem also is still far from being solved. Citizens who realize the critical aspects of this situation should redouble their efforts now to bring improvements.

Pollution of the air is equally important. It, too, has a definite bearing on the state's future development, especially in the realm of health and recreation.

Some progress is being made toward the abatement of both air and water pollution but much more remains to be done. The importance of these measures can be realized when note is taken of the fact that pollution of air and water has become so bad in some highly populated areas beyond the borders of our state that clean air and clean water alone may one day be sufficient inducement to draw visitors and new residents into West Virginia from other sections of the nation. Congress has actively promoted legislation and provided funds with which to deal with air and water pollution, and I have been a strong supporter of these Congressional measures.

But as important as attracting new visitors has become, the development of local recreational and tourism facilities has importance over and above the potential for state-wide growth. Good restaurants, for example, can be good income producers on the local level without the patronage of larger numbers of out of state travelers. But the out-of-staters will come too. Additionally, many cities in West Virginia, I believe, could take advantage of federal aid that is available for improved housing and other community facilities. And our communities should do this.

Now in the case of airports, it is true that the federal aid available is not adequate. But that should not preclude local efforts to bring about much needed improvement. Air transportation has become so vital to economic development and growth that West Virginia can be left behind in this air age unless the facilities for air travel and shipping keep pace with the demand for such service.

And lastly, in those communities where flooding has been a problem, community efforts to attain relief should be intensified rather than relaxed. Many towns and cities in West Virginia have been given protection for their valuable properties by Congressionally sponsored public works legislation and by Congressional appropriations all of which have been implemented by the United States Army Engineers working with, of course, the local citizens in the communities throughout the Mountain State.

These, then, are some of the things that broadcasters can push in their communities to benefit the community and the whole state. But the impetus must come from the community itself.

One last thing that I would mention as holding critical importance for the future of West Virginia is research and development, to bring new jobs and new uses in the coal, timber, glass, and other industries. Such research, generally speaking, lies beyond the realm of community action.

And I have actively sought and obtained a number of federally sponsored projects and activities in this field. Among them are facilities for research into new uses for coal, such as the conversion of coal into gasoline and other fuels, and the use that can be made of fly ash. And also I have been active in connection with research to broaden the market and the utilization of wood products. I have also sponsored research facilities dealing with such other things as the diseases that may arise from the mining of coal. Especially such things as pneumoconiosis, silicosis, black lung, and so on, such diseases being highly prevalent among the mining population.

So I would commend to radio and television broadcasters continued efforts to create the kind of progressive atmosphere in West Virginia that will be conducive to economic development in all of the fields upon which I have attempted to touch here.

IN-DEPTH, DOCUMENTARY COVERAGE NEEDED TO BOOST STATE PROGRAMS

Congressman Robert Mollahan

I think that the leadership of the state — whether politics, education, communication, or business has a primary responsibility to develop and use its resources in a way that gives the most benefit to the people of the state. Secondly, I think that West Virginia has tremendous resources and opportunity from which our citizens can derive vast benefit, if those resources are skillfully and effectively developed.

We are near the centers — huge metropolitan centers — in the midwest and the east which need recreational facilities and industrial sites. We have or are developing the basic infrastructure of transportation, power, and metals production that is necessary to support a large and diverse economy. Those are some of our assets.

On the other side, our educational facilities do not meet the needs of our young people and have consequently left us a less competitive labor pool. Our community facilities in many areas are vastly inadequate and we have very serious pollution problems. We also suffer from serious fractures in government administration at many levels. Consequently, it seems to me that we need a two-pronged approach to our state's problems.

First, I think the news media can help create a "can do" morale throughout the state by in-depth reporting on the quiet events that are enabling us to establish the foundations for a large and diversified industrial plant. For instance, West Penn Power Company is going to build a power plant in Shinnston which will provide an enormous pool of electric power for new industries.

Similarly, West Virginia is a beautiful and interesting state and the television media is in a particularly strategic position to show the public these qualities through imaginative film.

The second prong of the approach involves West Virginia's problems. For the most part these problems can be solved by a citizenry that analyzes them in the context of what should be done, as well as who or what is at fault. But if the general public analyzes pollution or education or community services as issues that require positive steps, it will be because you have taken the trouble to give in-depth and documentary coverage to these problems and have helped to outline possible solutions.

I grant you that both prongs of this approach call for an extraordinary amount of time and creative work from your news departments. But if this state is to change its attitudes about itself, it will happen largely because of the forward look of its communications media. There is a great service to be rendered.

BOOS AND BOUQUETS TO STATE STATIONS—PLUS A SEMINAR SUMMARY

Dr. O. Norman Simpkins

I do not see TV as dealing exclusively with a local area, because one of the greater changes, and one that we will get very little credit for, is the broadcast facility of a region that has fit into its region ideas from outside — a great variety of ideas that have served to develop what McClellan called an "achieving society" — building into individuals an urge to go out and do something to improve themselves.

You do it through your ads — creating a desire to have these products. You do it through introducing ideas. In the last few years, TV has improved tremendously in showing the things going on over the United States. Some may be bad, some may be good, but at least they're part of the life of this country, and you have to show the bad with the good. Sometimes I suspect you over-emphasize the bad — not because you have evil purposes, but because the bad is often action-oriented and TV is a medium that is oriented, not toward words — but toward action. This is why tremendous stress is being put on the things that are going on — the accidents, the riots, and so on. You tend to underplay the good things going on, because they're not so interesting to watch, not so action-oriented. But this is a characteristic of the whole medium and not necessarily a characteristic of local outlets.

I'm not here to suggest what kind of programs you should put on but to try to get across an awareness of the side effects or latent consequences of how you do things. I got real irritated at the broadcast people back in '64 in Charleston, whenever Bobby Kennedys was coming in to look at poverty and so on. I expected somebody to get shot before it was over with — it's lucky he didn't. It happened a couple years later down in Kentucky. Some Canadian photographer was down there shooting some strip mine poverty and got killed.

When I got out of the Army and wanted to go back to school, I went to the V.A. who gave me some tests and told me I ought to go to a radio repair school. So I went to college and ended up with sociology, which makes me a little skeptical about surveys and tests. I would be suspicious of any survey which asked only the leaders of a community what the problems are because I can see other areas that even the leaders will not admit to or do not see. It's not that they're bad guys and refuse to admit them, they simply do not see them. What I hope to do is to try to get across something of the kind of people you are dealing with in terms of how you get the program going. I just want to bring out to you that even the mispronunciation of a name can turn the viewer off so that whatever message you're getting across at that point is usually lost. This doesn't just apply to poor people.

You know this area is a familistic and male oriented society — I'm talking about Appalachian culture — in which the husband is the head of the household and everybody knows it, yet it's an area where if a man wants a job, it's not at all untypical for his wife to go down to the plant and apply for the job for him. Now these are some paradoxes that take some explaining but this is true, and I've got evidence to show it. The women can meet the public better than the men can. As a matter of fact, the women quite often has to front for the man whenever he is in a strange situation. Those of you who are familiar with this region recognize this characteristic.

Now, it's an extremely complex business, but once you are aware that people here act differently than they do in New York, or Chicago, or somewhere, you will tend to automatically adjust to this factor. But if you're not aware that there are differences, you won't look for them. This can cause trouble.

Look at most of the family situation programs on TV — I know you have little or no control over this because they're national — and in practically every one of them, the man is a boob. The husband of the family is a boob so the mother has to carry the family along. Many are concerned with the mother-dominated Negro family, but this is also true among the poor whites. It is not a race characteristic — it's a cultural one. Yet, whenever you do that sort of thing, you tend to emphasize values that go counter to the values in this area.

Of course, our whole society is becoming less sex differentiated. It's getting to the point now in some places where you can't tell boy from girl until you get in front of them because of the way they dress and wear their hair. You have no control over this, but be aware of these kinds of things, how men in this area are expected to be men, but in the comedies they and their kin watch on TV, men are the butt of the joke.

You'll notice in the Mullenax survey the popularity of westerns and country music. This area has a kiltic, Scotch-Irish background in its culture, since the late 1700's. Any other people who come in form an overlay on it, but the basic Scotch-Irish cultural pattern in this region has certain characteristics — a high degree of individualism — they don't recognize experts. You can turn a lot of people off if you ignore this fact. For example, whenever the federal government appropriates money for a program, it's always some politician that you credit with the announcement. You could de-emphasize these politicians a little bit and simply say that such and such an agency has received such and such a grant. You don't have to put a still photograph of a top politician up there, because this will turn off at least half of your audience wherever you do; if he's a Democrat, the Republicans won't listen; if he's a Republican, the Democrats won't listen. We're politically minded and politically oriented people.

You can de-emphasize the use of experts on TV, because the people here don't recognize experts. Their attitude is that "my idea is just as good as anybody's". They don't recognize class differences. They don't recognize that you're any better than they are, and when you start acting like you're a little better you lose them right away.

I see this when you go to some kind of a function, where you're dedicating something in a community you ought to cover it as a straight news story. You'll get all the dignitaries up on the stage, without knowing the local situation in terms of the attitude of the people toward these so-called community leaders, and there are always a lot of local people trying to get ahead or make a name for themselves pushing themselves up there. So you identify all these people as dignitaries and the people in the audience are laughing behind their backs, or in front of their screens, and you can't see it.

"Him a dignitary? Why I knew him when he was a so and so. . ." You don't know your community leaders — the real community leaders. When you go in to study a strange community and a strange culture, the people who come up and are most talkative are the very ones we sociologists avoid getting information about. These are the ones you hit whenever you go out in these rural communities, the people who want to talk, but they are the deviants, the marginal men in these areas. And you're not aware of it.

Yet the people from that area are aware of this sort of thing even if they don't put it into terms. I've seen two or three instances on local TV — both here in Charleston and in Huntington. This is a problem you can't lick entirely. You can't tell a talker that he can't get up on the stage and when, but you ought to show a view of the audience every once in a while, to let people know there are some people there besides those on the stage.

You could do a lot of things in your programming, such as when one of these events is going on hold brief interviews with some in the audience. You don't have to focus on what's going on on the stage every minute.

I see these as the kinds of things with which you could make your mark, where you can get people, whenever you do make your surveys, they'll tell you what they really think. You need somebody on your staff who can relate to these people so that they will see him — see this person — as one of them, as one of themselves, as one of us — the **We** people — rather than the **they** people. I think most of you probably have someone like this on your staffs, some reporter who tends to establish rapport with people faster than others can.

If you're aware of this kind of thing, that these people are different, for example, in regard to school systems. Practically all I ever see on TV about schools is a band concert, a football game, or a basketball game. Nothing else seems to be going on.

All the bond issues around Huntington recently for the vocational school system were big issues but I saw no programs showing the people what a good vocational school will do, even though over in Lawrence county they voted it down.

You publicized the bond issue in terms of your news reports requirements, but somewhere along the line you could have had a feature story, or devoted part of the news if you had wanted to, to a brief story on some of the accomplishments of the East High School Vocational School in Huntington, as an example.

Here again, your medium is a limiting factor because TV is action rather than word oriented. The dullerest thing in the world is to get a panel of people who are not familiar with being on a panel, and then get up there and throw questions at them. You lose your audience if these people hem and haw and stutter and don't come out with it. This is a danger of your locally-produced panel discussions. If you compare local panel shows to national ones, you can see a difference in quality. It's not your fault — it's the people who are falling short. They're not accustomed to this sort of performing.

One problem arises when you've got people who are personally involved in an issue but who can't or won't be honest in front of the TV camera. On national TV, by contrast, the talkers are often not really involved. Recently one network presented Margaret Mead on some discussion of Generation Gap. I thought it was going to be an hour in which Margaret Mead and others like Spock were going to discuss and get into some deep things. But three-fourths of that whole hour was devoted to scenes of violence — on and off campus, with just enough commentary so that you knew that this was going on at Columbia, and this was going on somewhere else, and only about the last few minutes was there any real discussion.

Now, I'm not criticizing all this on the scene action. The general public probably went for it much better, because there it had a lot of action. From my own personal point of view, I would have preferred more discussion by these experts. It was, I think, an empty program.

Incidentally, you're having an impact that you don't realize — and this was mentioned in some of the earlier speeches about people leaving West Virginia — you bring some people back. You're getting some people to come back to West Virginia. I don't know how many yet but I'm interested in following this up. Ex Mountaineers see so much terror and violence in the cities that they are leaving the cities and beginning to come back. I've got a couple of friends from Chicago and Cleveland who have moved back to bring their kids up in this region where there is not so much violence in the streets, where there is no violence in the school system. So you're getting some people back to West Virginia, even taking cuts in salaries. One man with an income of around \$1,000 a month came back and is working on a job where he's making only about \$500 just to assure that his kids are reared in a place where violence is not an everyday fact of life. Whether you're aware of it or not, you're bringing some people back because the more you show of the horrible conditions in our cities, the more of

our hillbillies begin to filter back in and realize they left something behind when they went to Detroit or Cleveland. I don't think there will ever be a large number of returnees like this, only people who are really concerned about their kids.

The major point I want to make here is that the side effects of what you do are quite often more important than what you think you're accomplishing. In the area of establishing rapport I see nothing wrong with having an announcer on your TV station who can speak in the local dialect — hillbilly dialect is not bad grammar — it's merely a different dialect. "Hillbilly" doesn't necessarily mean using "ain't" and a lot of incorrect grammatical forms — it's more of the intonation. The rate of delivery is an area just now being explored.

Now let me get on some of the news. One of the things I don't like about the current news pattern, particularly the weather programs, is that the very time in the week I need them the most you have the fewest news and weather programs. On weekends, you've cut down the number of TV weather reports during the very time I travel and need to know about weather conditions. So for me the weekends are dead. There's also a scarcity of news programs. I'm as much interested in what's going on on Saturday and Sunday as I am on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday. This is my own personal comment — not the people's.

Speaking of these people — you'll notice their educational level in this area is low. And you've got some popular features on your news stations such as the weather forecasts, which don't take the public fully into account. For example, every station I watch uses a weather map that has on it the names of various places and their temperatures. But you don't leave the map on long enough for people to read it! These people read a little slower than you do. But it's on there in a flash and gone — creating frustration. I think you ought to leave it on a second longer so I can see all of it.

Next, a mild criticism of Channel 3 in Huntington with its crazy weather map. I can't make any sense out of it and I'm sure most others can't. You've got a map of the whole United States and then the tri-state areas — supposed to be a bullseye — whenever you're trying to follow the "highs" and "lows" you can't tell from where it is on the map whether it's a local low or whether it's up in New England somewhere.

But this is a sophisticated way of looking at a visual presentation that I think a lot of people in this region, particularly with the low educational level we've got, miss somewhat. In terms of reports, I've got mixed feelings about female announcers. The people in this area don't exactly cotton to them. I'm not convinced of this quite yet but I get this feeling a lot. I know in the early days whenever microphones were not very good quality, women's voices carried better than men's — but the microphones you've got are good quality now and men's voices carry pretty well. But I'm not against getting rid of women announcers. I think we ought to have more of them. But one thing here — let's have them do something besides the woman's page. Most stations with women announcers use them only for something that's connected only with women. Have them do something concerning the general community. Have a man occasionally talk about fashions or something. What I'm trying to get here is variety.

Looking through one of these little booklets from the TV station at Morgantown (WVU, Channel 24), many of the programs I see listed there would go very well on commercial TV, and get across an educational message and not be pictured as an educational situation, whereas it wouldn't go across so well on the station at Morgantown because the people see it as an educational TV station. They're going to see it as "they're going to try to teach me something here." Whatever you're teaching,

you're going to have to do it without them being aware of it. So that many of the programs, particularly that have to do with the culture of the region, could be presented on commercial TV and not make any effort to present it as an educational program and they would go over.

SUMMING UP:

The presentation on the economic picture of West Virginia should be a very useful guide to you in planning your programs, insofar as you have the opportunity to make changes, and insofar as you are aware of what the prospects for the state are. It could help you in that way, rather than offering any specific programming, although I could see a series of programs built around each one of those 18 categories in the survey. Now here's where you have your scarcity of resources for making these special programs. But this might well be something you could parcel out — one station do one on one and another on another. I don't know if you would get in trouble for collusion if you did this. I'm not familiar enough with the operations of the thing to do it, but this could be a long-range program.

At least you know now that in 1975 or shortly thereafter, the state is going to stop losing population, which means that people are going to be a little bit more optimistic. You can be more optimistic. We are sometimes our own worst enemies — and I mean the educator and the broadcaster too. We have run ourselves down so much that we've lost pride in our region. Now if we can get that feeling of pride back in our voices and our statements, and I include educators as well as broadcasters in this area, this will make a big difference.

Dr. Schwartzweller's presentation gives you a brief sketch of the characteristics of the people in this area. You know something about the kind of people in the region and I think those characteristics apply even to the small towns, as well as the rural areas — although he was describing rural Appalachia particularly. They apply to the small town and to the many people in Huntington and Charleston and the other large cities in the state. And the more you study them, the more you realize that the people here have certain characteristics.

I think many of you are concerned with what kind of programs can be put on to get at this. I don't think that's the critical issue. I'd hate to see a station put on nothing but local programs. It would probably be the dullerest thing in the world after a few days. People would get tired of it. You're going to have to decide how much time you can devote to these special programs. But I think the key thing here is that if you know what kind of people you are broadcasting to, you will tend to adjust without needing a course in sociology because of the kind of people you broadcasters are. You're trying to meet the needs of the community and satisfy the federal government and your advertisers at the same time. You're not between the rock and the hard place — you've got 3 of them there and you've got to try to satisfy all 3. You're not going to do a perfect job with any one of them in this area.

Now I think the results of Mullenax's study on the three little communities indicate fairly well the listening habits of the people in the region, particularly the westerns and the country music. The people in this area all have the same culture. And here is an odd thing. You may not be aware of the fact that cowboy culture is basically the same as the Appalachian culture. Yet in our society we have lauded cowboy culture to the skies — they are cultural heroes — every kid goes through the stage of want-

ing to play cowboy and Indian, yet nobody ever wants to play hillbilly. They are the same culture. One just happened to get out west a little further — the other stayed in the mountains — but they are the same basic cultural pattern, from the anthropological point of view, the same kind of people, yet the westerns are the most popular thing on TV, according to this survey. Cowboys are heroes and hillbillies are the scum of the earth.

This leads to the thought that it's not this region that's so bad, it's simply that for some reason we've got a bad image. We should work toward creating a better one (I don't mean a lot of rosy propaganda and here's where I would stay away from some of those leaders who can't see anything bad about their communities. They will give you too rosy a picture). Of course, there are some bad characteristics of the region but there are an awful lot of good ones that I don't think are being exploited. So I think you see now why these people have such an affinity for cowboy stories — the westerns — and for country music. It comes out of their Scotch-Irish cultural background. Remember this, if you're from outside, the people here are really Scots who settled in Northern Ireland and they came to this country from 1715 to around 1800. This was at the time these mountains were being settled and this is the basic culture pattern in this area. They've been isolated and they've been poor. So there are the three basic characteristics of this region. It's Scotch-Irish, it's isolated, and it's poor.

I'd like to call your attention to an about completed film being done by the Department of Natural Resources, the College of Forestry at the University, and the Appalachian Center, on the subject of forest fires. Here's a case where collaboration between people in the industry — the people who make these sorts of things, and other people, in which they are trying to get at at a kind of film that will go over in southern West Virginia. It's designed particularly for southern West Virginia, not northern West Virginia, to bring about a change in behavior. I suspect this will be shown on TV stations and I wish this were already finished and you could see it and see how well it comes out. I happen to be optimistic about it, the people who are producing it are optimistic about it. We got together and tried to combine our knowledge of the culture of the region with what you might call a special feature. I think more of this could be done than has been done in the past.

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