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ABSTRACT

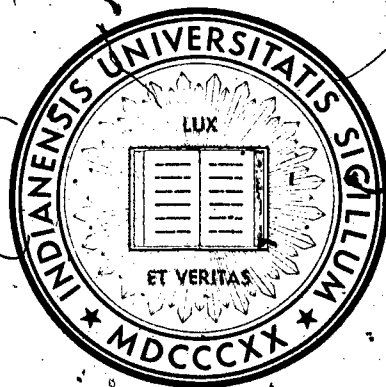
Volume 2 of an investigation conducted for the United States Office of Education reprints ten commissioned papers which provided input to Volume 1. These papers address the areas of self-concept development, economically disadvantaged children, sexism in television, diversity in a mass medium, Federal involvements in commercial television, copyright issues, and distribution system. (Author/DS)

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ED114088

# The Federal Role in Funding Children's Television Programming

Volume II: Commissioned Papers



Institute for Communication Research  
Department of Telecommunications  
Indiana University  
Bloomington, Indiana

R 008 717

The Federal Role in Funding Children's Television Programming

Board of Advisors

James A. Fellows

Gerald S. Lesser

Fay Fondiller

Harold Mendelsohn

Hyman Howard Goldin

Frank W. Norwood

Robert Heinich

Edward J. Pfister

Joseph T. Klapper

Eddie Smardan

The Board of Advisors was formed to provide guidance to the direction of the study and feedback as the study developed. The contents of Volume I reflect the judgments of the three Indiana University researchers, and the contents of this volume of commissioned papers reflect the opinions of their respective authors. Neither Volume I nor Volume II necessarily reflect the position of the Board of Advisors.

USOE Project Officer: Arthur S. Kirschenbaum

Research Assistant: Mary Ann Eads

The Federal Role, in Funding Children's Television Programming

Volume II: Commissioned Papers

Keith W. Mielke  
Principal Investigator

Rolland C. Johnson

Barry G. Cole

Institute for Communication Research,  
Department of Telecommunications  
Indiana University  
Bloomington, Indiana

April 30, 1975

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## Foreword

An integral part of the investigation into the Federal Role in funding purposive children's television programming was the commissioning of ten original papers to assist in developing policy recommendations. These papers provided input to Volume I and are included here in their entirety as significant contributions in their own right. The authors were selected by the primary research team with the advice and consent of the USOE Project Officer. The papers reflect the views of the respective authors and not necessarily those of the research team.

The authors and topics are as follows:

Lillian Ambrosino, "Children's Self-Concepts, Television and Government Policies"

Bradley S. Greenberg, (assisted by Byron Reeves), "Children's Television and the Economically Disadvantaged Child: Research Findings and Policy Implications"

Lionel C. Barrow, Jr., "The We Nobody Knows: Minority Children and Television"

Louis A. Bransford, "Impact of Television on Children and Youth in Geographically Isolated Areas"

Carolyn J. Nygren and Frank B. Withrow, "Handicapped Children and Television"

Muriel G. Cantor, "Children's Television: Sex-role Portrayals and Employment Discrimination"

Harold Mendelsohn, "The Mythic Functions of Television and the Pressures for 'Reality'"

Herman W. Land, "Federal Government Involvement in Commercial Television for Children"

Eugene N. Aleinikoff, "Rights, Residuals and Royalties: A Legal Inquiry into Office of Education Grants for Educational Television Materials"

John P. Witherspoon, "Federal Investment in Television Programming for Children: Implications of Delivery Systems"

The first seven papers form an audience-oriented cluster, and the last three form an administratively-oriented cluster. The first paper deals with self-concept development and is intended to serve as a theoretical introduction to the next four papers, each of which deals with a different specialized audience group, and each of which is related to self-concept development. The final paper in the audience cluster is again broad and theoretical, dealing with the limits of diversity in a mass medium. The final three papers, the administratively-oriented cluster, deal with commercial television/Federal relationships, copyright issues, and alternative distribution systems.

The authors were asked, where appropriate, to make specific recommendations based on the analyses made in their papers. A full understanding of the rationales behind these recommendations will, of course, require a thorough reading of each paper. With that caveat in mind, a summary of the major recommendations made in the ten commissioned papers are presented below in highly summarized form.

Ambrosino's recommendations are in the form of a suggested administrative reorganization in DHEW/USOE, to better serve the needs of children with purposive, and Federally-sponsored, television programming. She recommends establishment of a single "Office of Television" to oversee all on-air projects in DHEW. From the more fully elaborated plan in her paper, the following advantages of the single office that she envisions are extracted in summary form: duplication of effort would be reduced; a centrally-administered office could

formulate short-term and long-term policy, both of which are now scattered and sketchy; there would be higher probability of benefiting from experience and accumulating knowledge; producers could deal with a single office; proposal criteria and procedures could be standardized; all production proposals would receive a fair and comparable examination; television projects would be evaluated, funded, and monitored by people who were knowledgeable not only in relevant areas, but in television as well.

Since the poor in many cases can be identified with specific geographic locations, Greenberg recommends that national programming be supplemented by regional programming, targeting the programming to local/regional needs. Since many high-quality, high-appeal programs are under-used, regional videotape libraries should be developed to help recycle good programs to schools and homes via cable or other systems. Because interaction and reinforcement are so important to the learning process, and since considerable success in learning has been demonstrated even with traditional "one-way" television, the development of interactive television has high promise and should be encouraged. Since television is one of the major suppliers of information, vicarious experience, and socialization models, etc., public school curricula, particularly in economically disadvantaged areas, should be developed to help children understand and critically evaluate television programming. Teacher training in higher education should include training in the social effects of television on children, as well as how to teach "hands on" courses in actual production use of media in the classroom.

Barrow urges greater participation of minority producers and researchers in programming for minority children by way of a four-stage process: (1) location of interested and qualified minority personnel; (2) conduct of basic and evaluation research on what the effects of television programming are for minority children; (3) establish training programs for minority producers and researchers; and (4) let production contracts to minority firms who have undergone the training programs listed above.

Bransford made 17 recommendations dealing with the needs of the geographically isolated child. In the main, these deal with the special needs for services--educational, health, and social--that are generally lacking or deficient in isolated areas. Special programming is needed in addition to better distribution of existing programming. Two-way audio-video interaction would help alleviate many problems inherent in geographic isolation. Bransford suggests that the subsidization of cable or translator companies to induce them to serve isolated areas should be considered.

Nygren and Withrow recommend that, for the needs of the handicapped child, there should be developed both special programming of high quality for cable distribution and adaptation/supplementation of existing materials. Both approaches should be evaluated in terms of behavioral impact. Experts on the handicapped should be supplied to assist in the conceptualization of children's programs for the normal child, so that they may also be of benefit to some types of handicapped children. To administer/implement these recommendations, Nygren and Withrow propose that the National Center on Educational

Media and Materials for the Handicapped be set up under DHEW/USOE in the status of a special institution.

Cantor concludes that needed research areas include the processes by which children's programs come into being, content analyses of actual programming effects of TV on self-concept development, interaction of TV effects with influences of parents and teachers, and how feedback is incorporated by the broadcasting industry. Ratings surveys should include sex demographic breakdowns even for young children. Commercial "spots" should be developed along anti-sexist themes. Permanent advisory boards on women's interests should be set up at CPB for monitoring, advising, and consciousness-raising purposes. Guidelines for screening sexist content in television should be developed. A 1971 Congressional Resolution advocating the end of undesirable racial, religious, or ethnic stereotyping in broadcasting and motion pictures should be amended to include sex stereotyping as well.

Mendelsohn does not make recommendations per se, but presents a theoretical argument that addresses the issue of how much diversity of content and how much representation of special interest can be accommodated in mass appeal programming, while still retaining the mass appeal. A demand for realistic portrayals in television content is, he argues, a demand for mass-appeal television to stop serving its main function, which is "fundamentally unrealistic and mythic." Specialized content will draw specialized, not mass, audiences, and the mass medium will fractionate into specialized media. An implied recommendation is that the media analyst consider not only what would happen to television if the current few pressure groups work their will on television content, but what would happen if the hundreds of

pressure groups not yet heard from work their will with similar arguments and similar tactics.

Because of historical and valid caution by the commercial broadcaster in dealing with Federally-involved broadcast materials, Land urges that any topics so arranged be non-controversial, at a minimum. Land supports further exploration with commercial broadcasters, in terms of airing spot announcements as public service announcements, and also in purchased time slots. He suggests HEW establishment of a media research unit that would offer formative evaluation services to any producer of purposive children's programs, public or commercial, thereby increasing the educational effectiveness of programs that would otherwise have little or no formative evaluation input. Land is enthusiastic about the possibility of reserving a children's channel on a satellite distribution system, with financial and regulatory inducements to program that channel effectively.

Aleinikoff explains how copyright is an aid, not a hindrance, to distribution, and urges full copyright in the grantee's name be permitted uniformly for Federally-funded television series. Residuals as now handled by talent unions are difficult to accommodate with typical USOE funding cycles and procedures, and Aleinikoff suggests that talent unions might well be amenable to working out a more acceptable arrangement. Revenues can sometimes be generated by auxiliary uses of a series and/or from ancillary, "spin-off" products, and Aleinikoff points out the absence of USOE policy that could be applied uniformly on how best to handle revenue-generating situations; he suggests that revenues go back to the grantee/contractor in a spe-

cial fund targeted for purposes of furthering the goals of the project, with certain safeguard of USOE's interests. Aleinikoff urges grants rather than contracts as the USOE funding mode for television projects because of the greater probability of insulation from Government control on content, which is desired by both the broadcasting and the educational communities. Finally, Aleinikoff recommends that competitive bidding for subcontracting not be required beyond technical facilities used in television production.

Witherspoon examined a variety of distribution systems from the viewpoint of their strengths and limitations for children's programming supported in some way by the Federal government. He sees Federal involvement with commercial television as both promising and problematic, worthy of cautious further exploration. Cable is still futuristic, currently reaching less than 15% of the television homes; consequently programming exclusively for cable at this time was not recommended, although acquiring cable rights at this time was recommended. Satellites and audience-controlled systems are promising, although futuristic. The most favorable medium for distribution of purposive children's programming that contains Federal involvement continues to be PBS.

Commissioned Papers

Children's Self-Concepts, Television and Government Policies  
Lillian Ambrosino

Children's Television and the Economically Disadvantaged Child:  
Research Findings and Policy Implications  
Bradley S. Greenberg, assisted by Byron Reeves

The "We" Nobody Knows: Minority Children and Television  
Lionel C. Barrow, Jr.

Impact of Television on Children and Youth in Geographically  
Isolated Areas  
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Herman W. Land

Rights, Residuals and Royalties  
Eugene N. Aleinikoff

Federal Investment in Television Programming for Children:  
Implications of Delivery Systems  
John P. Witherspoon



## Self-Concept Development

### The Author

Lillian Ambrosino, as past Staff Consultant to the U. S. Office of Child Development, DHEW, was principal adviser in areas of children and television and liaison with the Federal Communications Commission, the Federal Trade Commission as well as with other HEW agencies. She is also a certified teacher and has done research in education and early childhood development. Her broadcasting experience includes work as a radio producer and as a program developer for the Public Broadcasting Service and WGBH-TV in Boston. She is co-author of An International Comparison of Children's Television and author of Runaways, a book about runaway children in the United States. Mrs. Ambrosino was one of four founding members of Action for Children's Television.

### The Paper

In the following paper, "Children's Self-Concepts: Television and Government Policies," Ambrosino reviews some of the basic assumptions about the processes through which children develop self-concepts, and how television relates to those processes. Turning then to the administrative prerequisites for producing appropriate programming, she argues that recent and current Federal mechanisms frequently can work against quality television through lack of internal coordination and lack of expertise in television. She urges establishment of a single Office of Television within HEW to oversee all on-air projects.

CHILDREN'S SELF-CONCEPTS, TELEVISION AND GOVERNMENT POLICIES

"Being self-aware is the essence  
of being human and on this assumption  
one might say that self-awareness is  
what development is toward."

John Nash, 1970

Lillian Ambrosino  
566 Centre Street  
Newton, Massachusetts 02158

January 20, 1975

The question to be considered in this short paper is the government's role, through the judicious use of television, in the enhancement of self-concepts in children.

The paper will be divided into four parts: a brief description of the processes involved in the development of self-concepts; the place of the television experience in that development; the current organization of government funding in children's television and the effect of those policies; and recommendations. The data for the last two sections comes from the author's experience as a staff consultant in television for the Office of Child Development, HEW, in Washington and as a writer of proposals. Since the experience was limited to HEW and since it funds the bulk of children's television, the recommendations are limited to that branch of government.

The theme is that the process of development of children's self-concepts and children's producers both require a critical continuity to reach maturity. The government policy, therefore, that builds an appreciation for this continuity into its operations and policies has the best chance for success.

## I. Processes of Self-Concept Development.

Self-concept is that awareness of self, as distinguished from all else in the environment, that is the hallmark of man. It is the interaction of an individual's genes, culture and environment--an image of the self within the framework of sex, age, place and time. It is the ability to look backwards and forwards in time, inside and outside the self. Successfully resolved, a concept of self produces an answer to the ageless questions: Who am I? How and where do I fit in? No other animal, as far as is known, is so possessed. This awareness lies at the root of our humanness.

What is at the root of self-concept? The theories of self-concept are backed by relatively little documentary evidence.<sup>1</sup> The subject is difficult to define, has philosophical overtones, and is the confluence of interactive forces that are probably impossible to measure. Most of the literature on self-concepts is descriptive and tends to deal with the developed concepts of adults rather than the developing concepts of children.<sup>2</sup> Nonetheless, there is enough evidence to suggest that self-concepts evolve in a sequence throughout the stages of childhood.

They begin with a body schema, a concept of body form that is probably innate.<sup>3</sup> During the early days of life, the child does not realize he is separate from the environment: he and it are one. Slowly, however, from the body schema, the sensations he receives, and the reactions of others to him, the child begins to form a body

image, a sense of himself. This represents a tremendous developmental achievement, for now the child realizes both the boundaries of his body (where it stops and the environment begins) and the rudiments of its appearance.<sup>4</sup> Bodies at this stage are vague entities, but later on, especially at adolescence, the value and perceptions placed on this body image (beauty, strength, size) can have a significant impact on self-concept.

As the child grows older and perfects his language, perceptual, cognitive and reasoning faculties (which themselves increase a child's awareness of self and environment),<sup>5</sup> other influences come into play. Among the most important are family, social and group mores, individual personality traits and talents (or their lack). These give the child his mental frame on the world: what it values and what it expects of him. The child who belongs to an upper-class family or one with a long and proud tradition of cultural heritage begins with a stronger psychological base than one whose family is fragmented and struggling for existence. This was tragically shown in research of the '60s that related the effect of poverty on the self-esteem of black children.<sup>6</sup> These children, as well as the poor of many backgrounds, were found to think less of themselves than others their age. Furthermore, the self-evaluations of the black children tended to be far less accurate than those of white children of their class.

The corollary of this class-associated set of evaluations are the expectations it suggests to others. Rosenthal demonstrated that external factors such as a reputed test score or family asso-

ciations can irrationally affect teachers' estimations of classroom performance.<sup>7</sup> Undoubtedly, a byproduct of the push for economic and racial integration has been the reorientation of these rigid sets of expectations.

These self-evaluations and expectations are also affected by a child's language and perceptual abilities. Some theorists, notably Rogers<sup>8</sup> and Sullivan,<sup>9</sup> pose as the key to self-concept development, the child's language development and his ability, therefrom, to structure reality. The child's perceptions of his situation seem critical, and, as will be discussed shortly, television can play an important role in that perception.

Reconciliation to one's sex--i.e., one's maleness or femaleness--is a strong element in the mature self-concept. Sex relates both to the biological differences and to the social roles associated with those differences. One of every young child's tasks is to glean the meaning of this sexuality from the examples presented them by their parents, their friends, respected adults. The parent reveals his comfort, or discomfort, with his own sex in many ways: his conduct as an individual, his relationships with those of his own and opposite sexes, his relationships with his children. The father who plays ball with only his son reveals a sexual bias, which will be understood by both his son and daughter, albeit differently.

Such incidents lead to gender-imposed expectations. How comfortable the child feels with these expectations will naturally be related to the child's ability to fulfill the expectations and

to the tie they have to his natural inclinations. As Margaret Mead explains in her brilliant chapter on "The Deviant" in Sex & Temperament, it is one thing for a culture to reinforce one personality type at the expense of another, and quite another to describe a so-called personality aberration in sexual terms. In other words, the gentle may be made to feel out of place in a society of the aggressive. But in the primitive cultures studied by Mead, they were never considered unmasculine or unfeminine as a result.<sup>10</sup> In the United States' mainstream of thought, aggressive women or gentle men were made to feel out of phase with both their personality and their gender. And in this way were deviants made, not born. Because of these influences, self-concept developments have been found to differ in boys and girls. The situation is changing, but the differences still exist.

The major theorists differ not so much in their recognition of the influence of genes, culture and environment on self-concept development as in the emphasis placed on each and the critical point of development. Freudians<sup>11</sup> place great import on the earliest years. Erikson sees adolescence as the crucible for the formation of identity.<sup>12</sup> Adler's life style explanation suggests that the child's eventual approach to life is the result of society's evaluation of him and his, of society and that the whole process is a combination of experience and inheritance.<sup>13</sup> The phenomenological school of psychology believes that all behavior is determined perceptually with the child's experience acting as the selector of effective behavior.<sup>14</sup> Rogers' therapy flows from this in its attempt to induce the individual's restructuring of his personal reality.<sup>15</sup>

Maslow's self-actualization is a variation: it emphasizes the realization of the potential the individual sees within himself.<sup>16</sup>

Sullivan also recognizes the perceptual elements, but his theory of self-concept stresses the role of "significant others."<sup>17</sup> Anthropologists, such as Mead, might find the cultural milieu itself of greatest importance.

Regardless of the theoretical mold, however, what shines forth as a beacon for development is the continuity that, in Erikson's elegant phrase, ". . . presupposes a basic trust with one's origins and the courage to emerge from them."<sup>18</sup> Elsewhere he elaborates:

" . . . that to experience wholeness, the young person must feel a progressive continuity between what he has come to be during the long years of childhood and that which he promises to become in the anticipated future; between that which he conceives himself to be and that which he perceives others to see in him and to expect of him. . . .

" . . . true identity depends on the support the young individual receives from the collective sense of identity characterizing the social groups significant to him: his class, his nation, his culture. . . ." <sup>19</sup>

## II. The Television Experience in Self-Concept Development.

Television is relevant to self-concept because it has become so inexorably a part of the times: it has become a part of the ecology of childhood and increasingly a part of the ecology of parenthood, as well. Best figures indicate that 99 percent of all families with children own at least one set.<sup>20</sup> The very fact of ownership virtually preordains the use. Children will watch because the set



is there, and unlike, say, books, it can be used easily by almost anyone. The precise number of hours watched may matter less in the long run than the watching itself.

Hypothesizing the relevance, however, is not describing it. And with television the difficulties are compounded because "television" can mean content or process. Content, of course, refers to the material seen on the screen, but process refers to television itself and the effects it may have on interpersonal relationships, on the one hand, and personal perceptions on the other. It is the content that is studied most often; it may be the process, however, that will have the more profound impact on childhood.

The process of television has changed the ways in which one generation's experience is shared with another. Its effect on this process of cultivation, ". . .the symbols and images in which people reflect on things and relate to one another," is a revolutionary transformation in human affairs that is being compared to the invention of the printing press.<sup>21</sup> Margaret Mead, taking her usual broad view, suggests this is a new time for everyone in which all guidelines are in the future and experience unique, not the duplicate of that gone through by the parents.<sup>22</sup> Bower, in comparing 1960 television audiences with 1970, found a paradox: The later audiences were watching more television with greater enjoyment, but they thought less of television in general. He wonders whether this means that television has become a psychological necessity or simply a useful and pragmatic tool for a modern world.<sup>23</sup>

Necessity or not, the larger question is television's effect on a child's sense of history and destiny. What is it doing to that "basic sense of one's origins" seen to be the bastion of development? Here, it is possible to hypothesize that the least affected child will be one whose familial and cultural ties are strong and whose own reality (as he perceives it) will be mirrored on the screen.

It is well-known that the content of television is increasingly a source of language, information and socialization for the young.<sup>24</sup> From the material on the set, children see and imitate examples of pro- and anti-social behavior.<sup>25</sup> And the more limited the child's real life experiences or his economic circumstances, the more likely he is to trust what he sees on the TV screen. Greenberg and others have consistently found poor children and adults believing television far more than others and blacks believing it most of all.<sup>26</sup> Some researchers have even postulated a vicarious-use theory of viewing. That is, children will watch those programs that have elements they sense are missing in their own lives: the child without a full family will watch family-situation programs; the child who feels himself beyond the norm will look to the TV set for a pattern of behavior seen to be within that norm.<sup>27</sup>

All this comes at a critical time. Television seems to have become part of our mental woodwork at precisely the time the traditional pillars of child--the extended family (indeed even the two-parent family), the church, the school--seem to be crumbling.<sup>28</sup> Television therefore is an easy substitute for the growing child who is trying to make sense of a confusing world and it may be exercising

a disproportionate share of the cultivation process in suggesting both to the child and his parent how things are (or ought to be) and how they were (presumably). It is possible for an uncertain parent to mimic a style of parenting seen on the screen; it is possible that the child will eventually use that style in his role as a parent.

Television also projects a scale of normality, a range of behavior, people and situations that are seen as acceptable simply because they are on the screen. Whatever its other benefits, television can provide a standard to a child by which to measure his own situation: it is a standard that can depress as well as elevate. The poor child, living among the poor, suffers his condition without suggestions of how it might be. The same is true of other unusual children--the handicapped, the non-white, the spirited, the isolated. Television invades the privacy of a neighborhood, however that may be defined. It presents another side of life. In this sense, the absence of kindred types on the screen may have hidden meaning. It may connote "peculiarity" and further aggravate the feeling of alienation the aforementioned unusual children already experience. The appearance, then, of many kinds of people and situations on television is critical. It provides role-models with whom many can identify and suggests that diversity is the normal condition of American society. All Americans need to be reminded that talent and art, anxiety and hope, know no discrimination. American television has begun to open up in the last few years; it needs even more.

But television does more than merely present people. It

shows them coping with life's problems. How they do this is a sign of the future to children, a preview of life as an adult. The successful resolution of childhood is the desire to grow up, and children will only want to become adults if adulthood is seen as worthwhile. Children will form their opinion of this later stage of life from the older people they see, including those on television. It is fascinating in this regard to compare English and American television. In England, adults are very carefully selected for children's programs. They are lively, open, gentle and understanding because the example they project is considered very important. Even the adult English programs, though they have their share of silliness, leave the impression that grown people can be sensitive and enormously competent. The two most popular detective series, Z-Cars and Softly, Softly, for example, rarely feature violence because understanding the criminal, not catching him, is the dramatic focal point. (Can one even imagine an American detective series being called Softly, Softly?) The English also manage to weave great amounts of history into their programming so that even a casual viewer of television is left with a cohesive sense of a long, sometimes troubled, but always interesting past. This gives the English child an understanding of his past and a belief in his future. All too often in this country, a child is presented with a disjointed parade of shooting, screaming and uninteresting adults. Rarely does he see history on the screen, American television taking place in the present or the 19th century of Westerns. Children who yearn for the past, as a clue to their budding self-concepts, get little help from American television.

When speaking, then, of television and children, one must think of the medium as presenter and conditioner. One must be as aware of the unexpected fallout of the hours of viewing as of the programs themselves. We must be concerned with its effect on language, the consequences of the television generation's deteriorating ability to read and write. Thus, an approach to television that cares enough about the child and his development must also care enough to investigate the full implications of television. We must understand what it can and cannot do, and we must be prepared to compensate, as in the case of language, for the unexpected losses.

### III. Federal Relationships with Children's Television Programming.

If the government is serious in its quest for economically and administratively feasible policy recommendations for constructive children's programming, it must concern itself with the problem of continuity of quality. This means it must first turn its attention to those who bear the ultimate responsibility for this quality--the program makers.

In the battle for substantive change in children's television, the tendency (perhaps the necessity) has been to focus on the programs themselves: what do they contain; who decides the content and on what basis; what are the effects. Unfortunately, that puts the cart before the horse; for without responsible, dedicated and creative producers, there can be no responsible, dedicated and creative programs. Producers, no less than children, need a continuity for healthy development. They need to be in an atmosphere where the purpose is under-

stood, the funds are certain, and the spirit congenial. They must have a tradition upon which to build and a future for which to prepare.

This is simply not understood by those government agencies involved with funding children's television.\* It is rarely even recognized, and it is important to understand why because many of the suggestions made in this paper speak to the current structure of these agencies and the methods and pressures by which they conduct their business.

Most federal agencies are created either to do a certain job or to serve a certain group of people. Television enters an agency's agenda as a means of achieving a given temporal end. Thus, 4-H Television in the Department of Agriculture funds a series of television programs to promote nutrition among fourth graders; the Office of Child Development contracts for 3-minute segments to promote the self-concepts of preschoolers; the Office of Education gives the Children's Television Workshop money for several programs on reading readiness; the Bureau for the Education of the Handicapped underwrites portions of Mister Rogers' Neighborhood to deal with the problems of exceptional children and so forth. These projects are not part of an overall design; they rarely flow in an orderly sequence so that one program is preparation for the next or the findings of research are integrated with the next stage. They are most usually one-shot funding packages commissioned to implement an agency priority for a given year.

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\* The funding of the Children's Television Workshop is a possible exception.

This is not really an oversight, but a manifestation of government operations. There are few long-range programs in government. Policy is articulated in terms of yearly or bi-yearly priorities that will harmonize with the yearly budget by whose increments an agency measures its success. Talk of priorities is the rule, for goals are tangible and require continuously operating agencies to realize. Many agencies in the executive branch come and go, are split up or amalgamated.\* Government appointees have a habit of staying for several years and then leaving. Many of the agencies overlap in their functions. Thus, the ephemeral has a special appeal.

Television is seen to advantage in this state of affairs. Along with the achievement of a given priority, the creation of a noteworthy and notice-worthy series becomes a way in which an agency can trumpet its existence and its good works. It is human to wish association with the worthy; and government agencies, being collections of unusually sincere individuals, are particularly human. But this scheme reduces television to a powerful, but limited, tool.

Agencies are staffed with the highly educated, who come to government either directly after their university training or after work in the field of education or in the social services. Their world is that of the school or university, social service agency, research, perhaps engineering. Almost without exception, their knowl-

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\* An example in HEW was BLET, the Bureau of Educational Technology and Libraries. In 1971, it was the main source for major communications projects. It was replaced in 1972 by NCET, the National Center for Educational Technology and dissolved in 1973. Some of its people went to NIE, the National Institute for Education (whose own future is uncertain at this writing), or to administer the television portion of the ESAA, the Emergency School Aid Act.



edge of television comes from the research literature. This is second-hand information, gotten from the perspective of the academic, not the practitioner. Given a training that inculcates caution and criticism and a particular regard for the written word, the tendency is to be more impressed by the form of a proposal (Does it review the research? Does it have an adequate design?) than by its substance. The same is true of the review panels, who are composed of similar kinds of people. Lacking experience in the field of television, few are able to assess a proposer's technical and artistic ability to execute an otherwise reasonable proposal.

Because of this inexperience, grave errors are committed in the funding and supervision of television projects. Thousands of dollars have been given to research topics a communications sophisticate could have answered in a day. Thousands of dollars are wasted because an inexperienced project supervisor does not understand the complexities of producing and subcontracting arrangements in television. Hundreds of thousands of dollars are wasted on projects that assume technology, per se, can achieve miracles at the expense of content.

Thousands of dollars more are not expended as wisely as they might be because of the inherent conflicts that bedevil most government agencies: (1) the desire to fund effectively versus the desire to spread the funds, (2) the desire to reward the competent versus the desire to be open, fair and democratic, (3) the desire to renew successful on-going programs versus the desire to innovate, and (4) the desire to serve a public (e.g., social service agencies)



versus the public (the children they serve). These are real conflicts, not always of the agencies' own making. Agencies know their mission, but they are also well aware of political pressures that can interfere with otherwise sound judgment. So they must keep their political antennae well-tuned lest they lose their precious budgets. Often this takes the form of awarding a lesser candidate a project for geographic reasons.

All this contributes to an ad hoc quality of planning in children's television. The current state of government funding in this area is the antithesis of orderly development. There is little cooperation between departments (who barely know what the other is doing\*); there is little continuity of television policy within a given agency; there is little understanding of the impact or significance of a given project; there is little thought given to the continued development of professionals in children's television; and there are very few individuals in the government capable of advocating the cause of good children's television.\*\*

This situation becomes the breeding ground for prevailing myths, e.g., that geographic or ethnic producers per se are the

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\* The Office of Telecommunications in HEW was supposed to coordinate the various TV projects in HEW as far back as 1970. They found it an impossible task, as did I in my informal efforts with them during 1971-72, while a consultant with the Office of Child Development.

\*\* Dr. Frederick Green, former Head of the Children's Bureau at the Office of Child Development, did testify as an advocate for improved children's television at Federal Trade and Communications hearings during 1971-73.

guarantee for diversity or that the persuasive power of objective research is the best harbinger of improvement. Anyone who is familiar with local children's programs throughout the country or the situation of children's television in general knows neither to be true. The problem is not background, but competence and understanding, not proofs but values.

In order to begin towards a goal of sustained quality children's programs, several assumptions must be acknowledged: (1) consistently excellent children's television, unlike news or Headstart programs, must originate in relatively few sources where the leadership and tradition spawn individual creativity; and (2) such programs must be based on a commonly held theory of childhood.

Admittedly, this is difficult to do within the American context, since it seems to fly in the face of our ethic of individual enterprise and cultural diversity. Yet, that very lack of a common conceptual and production base has been the problem with children's television in this country. American television, unlike that in Europe, did not establish its children's television upon an unspoken folklore of childhood--the do's and don'ts in child rearing and attitudes that are beyond dispute. From the very start, the Europeans envisioned television as a means of feeding children's minds and imaginations. Producers were protected from the few market pressures by the enactment of rigid advertising codes, the reservation of specific children's hours in the broadcast schedule, and the creation of special children's production units. This regulatory scheme proscribed practices deemed offensive to children. It did not prescribe content, but created the atmosphere that made it pos-

sible for the professionals to exercise their best judgment freely. In the States, the theory varied with the producer: a very few catered to the panoply of emotional needs of growing children; another few concentrated on the cognitive development; most broadcast to the child as potential consumer. The rationalization of content, then, varied with the theory of childhood.

Given a common understanding of those elements that unite all children, individual differences become a variation on an accepted theme. If a group understands how to program for children, it probably can program for most children. Indeed, the best programs I have ever seen for "special" groups of children are the BBC's Vision-On, an art show originally created for deaf children; the inserts on uniformity in the land of make-believe on Mister Rogers' Neighborhood;<sup>\*</sup> and the films of blind, retarded, Indian and other diverse children on Zoom. The point is simply that the staffs of these shows made for the excellence; it was their sensitivity and training that led to the attention to these very special children. This sensitivity is the most precious element in children's programs, and since it takes many months to develop, it must not be wasted.

One final consideration is that posed uniquely by our American democracy: How can we present children, particularly adolescents, with ideals that can be shared by those of many backgrounds? How can programs praise the differences which constitute the American

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\* The purpose of these segments, funded by the Bureau for the Education of the Handicapped, is to explain differences to children. Mister Rogers chose to do this by showing the monotony that would result if everyone were the same.

experience and at the same time stress the common threads of history and thought that make us one? Lastly, how can the programs through a combination of fun, history, drama and information casually lead children to the independence that is a prerequisite for adulthood? These questions can be answered with forethought and coordination. But HEW's role in what could be a magnificent achievement will only be assured if it is willing to completely rethink its approach and administration of television funding.

#### IV. Recommendations.

A. HEW should create a single Office of Television to oversee all on-air projects. If radio is also to be funded for children, it should be included and the Office should be called the Office for Radio and Television. This office would control all radio-television monies to be issued from HEW. It would have divisions for children's, instructional, training and other programs. Its basic concern is the creation of the best possible programs for children, their education, their parents, etc. Projects that use videotape or film in an experimental way would still be funded through the existing channels.

This would involve a considerable reorientation, since some HEW Bureaus, such as the Bureau for the Education of the Handicapped, are accustomed to their own television budgets, and some legislation, such as the Emergency School Aid Act, reserve television monies that are administered by offices expressly established for that purpose. I would recommend that all these be combined, in-

sofar as possible, under the single Office of Television.

The benefits are obvious. Under one office, all television projects could be coordinated. Duplication would be eliminated, communications problems (mentioned on p. 15) highly simplified. The staff would have an opportunity to establish broad policy, i.e., they would have the luxury of looking at children's and professionals' needs as a whole. Within this framework, they can more reasonably assess the specific concerns of the various subdivisions and subgroups at HEW. The staff will have an experience in communications and children and thus will have the ability to evaluate program needs and producer capabilities. This unified-system approach will be far less confusing to prospective producers because they would be dealing with a single source and a single set of policies. Lastly, putting television projects under one roof is a greater assurance for the continuity, since plausibly one year's policies will be the fruit of the past year's efforts, and the seeds for the next.

B. The Office of Television will be responsible for the stimulation, coordination and formulation of long-and short-term policy for the use of HEW funds for on-air television. This policy will be planned for the respective divisions under its control. That is, there will be a policy for instructional and children's programs, etc. Whenever possible, however, these policies should be integrated so that overriding aims can be reinforced with different types of programs:

1. The policy will be a result of the suggestions of the respectively concerned agencies of HEW (OCD, BEH, NIMH, etc.),

professional and community groups, broadcasters and producers; and other interested and qualified parties. Its aim, however, would not be so much the creation of specific projects to suit specific agency needs as much as the combination of these individual viewpoints into a comprehensive plan. I have alluded to the frustrated attempts at coordination by the Office of Telecommunications. These failed because the confederate-like HEW structure worked against cooperation. The Office of Television, being the controller of the purse strings, would be in a different position. Its budget will guarantee it a certain respect, and agencies will learn to marshal and advocate their arguments for a piece of the action.

2. Although the Office of Television can use its own insights and experience in the formulation of policy, it would be understood that its over-all design must include those constituencies and concerns represented by HEW.

3. Broad outline of policy goals should be made every four years at the start of a new administration. It should take no longer than 3 to 4 months to create. In addition to formal or informal meetings with the HEW agencies mentioned above, the Office of Television may wish to hold seminars with various ethnic and regional groups to determine the four-year plan. The broad policy should be reviewed annually. The four-year plan should include a mix of short- and long-term projects. It should be devised with a knowledge

of available (or possibly available) air times for a maximum exposure. It is assumed that the Office will aim for a mix of program topics, times and styles.

C. The actual receipt, evaluation and award of grants for television will be exclusively the job of the Office of Television and its advisory boards. This will be a two-pronged approach. All proposals will come to this office. The staff will review them for technical feasibility. The advisory boards, (there should be one for each subdivision such as children's, instructional, etc.) will review the proposals for appropriateness of content and content approach, as will the agencies involved. The final arbiter, however, will be the Office of Television and its advisors.

The Office should establish a standard method of operations so that a proposer will be assured of receiving fair attention and a timely response to his idea.

It should establish and publish criteria for qualified producers. (This will be explained in detail later.)

The Office may wish to conduct periodic conferences on its funding processes, either at Washington or its regional offices. Such meetings could also be the vehicle for soliciting suggestions of program needs for children and for the evaluation of local facilities. The staff of the Emergency School Aid Act used this device quite effectively.

D. The staff of the Office of Television will be composed of people experienced in both children and television. They must be able to understand the intricacies of television production and the limitations of the medium. They must also understand children enough to be able to determine the use of television that will be most suitable to their healthy development. A Ph.D. in child development, alone, is not a qualification for this office. Neither is work as, for example, a producer of news or cultural programming. It is the combination that is the important element.

Staffing will be difficult because most children's producers and programmers are probably happiest staying in the field. However, there are a few people already in HEW who have the combined experience necessary, and the recession might induce others to leave television and join government. It is critical to choose the right people because they, of course, will set the standard for the future.

E. Early in its operations, the Office of Television must refine its approach to television by making some hard choices.

1. It must determine its spending strategy. Will it elect costly long-term projects? Short-term projects? A combination of both? It is impossible to discuss this in the abstract, since much will depend on the program topics themselves. Probably the best approach is the one that combines both. This is mentioned to avoid the plague of regionalism, the pervasive notion in government that it is best to spread the money for a given project to as many



sections of the country as possible. This should not enter the Office's deliberations, for the aim is the production of superior programs and the realities of production may automatically rule out certain parts of the country as major producers. This does not mean that a fledging company cannot be used as a subcontractor, but that experience, not location, will be the principal criterion.

2. The Office will contract, as mentioned, directly with producers, who themselves will turn to the educators and other professionals for the content expertise they may require. Doing it the other way, i.e., contracting with non-production organizations who then subcontract the television, does not work. The Office, after all, is interested in programs; it should therefore deal directly with those who know how to make them. Frankly, I can think of no exception to this rule. Even the Open University in England was a collaboration between the BBC and university personnel where the latter were taught the art of television and the former had the final editorial control.

3. Successful producers of children's programs should be given a preference. (The same would be true of other divisions of the Office of Television, i.e., successful producers of instructional programs should be given preference, etc.) The scale of success would be determined in terms of past programs, their quality, length of experience of the producers, quality of the staff, etc.

Encouragement of new groups, i.e., an Indian Children's Production Group, should be very carefully weighed. Is it defensible morally? Government likes to think of itself as a sower of seeds. It can help a project to get started, goes this thinking, and then, if this project is truly meritorious, it will surely find its own means of support. This is not true in children's programs. The outside funding from foundations diminishes with each year and is itself often limited to initial funding. Foundations also think of themselves as seed sowers. The possibility of selling the program or its resulting materials to commercial stations, toymakers, and the like raises the criticism of using publically funded materials for private gain. Thus, the creation of a new unit must be done only after great thought. If it is worthy of creation in the first place, then it should deserve at least the prospect of continued funding. Given the talent that already exists, it seems preferable to encourage or add to its development than to begin anew.\*

4. The Office should create a policy to limit its funding to non-profit organizations, since it is dealing with public monies.

5. The Office should continue its affirmative action policy by encouraging its prospective producers to train and/or hire

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\* The Emergency School Aid Act specifies that its television monies are to go only to a few experienced producers.

and/or subcontract qualified members of minority or under-represented groups.

6. The Office should develop a policy on the use of programs and materials developed with federal funding. Who holds the copyright? Who gains the profits and in what ratio? To what should the government be entitled?

7. The government should also create a policy for the use of federally-sponsored materials on commercial television. This is a rough area. On the one hand, there is the natural desire for maximum exposure gotten through the commercial channels. (Some of the target audiences of government-funded television watch only commercial television.) On the other hand, there is the problem of the government appearing to underwrite the public service programming that is the price broadcasters are to pay for use of the public airwaves for profit. Even broadcasting such materials without commercials does not void that criticism. Perhaps the long-range solution is to reserve certain hours on commercial channels exclusively for such programs and to have such programs overseen by specially created non-profit corporations. That, however, is hardly to be hoped for in the near future, and until then a substitute resolution must be reached.

F. The Office of Television should reserve some portions of its television funds for research.

1. It should have evaluations of its major projects, as a guide for future planning. It may wish to consult with the National Institute for Education (NIE) or the Office of Behavioral Research at NIMH for the proper dispensation of such funds.
  2. Ideally, it should have its separate office for research so that all television impact investigations will be centrally located. Now this kind of research is being funded throughout HEW with the consequence that no one knows much about it and its overall significance. Having it under one roof also insures its integration into program planning, whenever appropriate.
  3. From time to time, the Office of Television should use its good offices to sponsor conferences of researchers and programmers. The purpose would be an update: researchers would tell the practitioners their findings; programmers would tell the academicians their concerns. The Children's Television Workshop has always incorporated research into its operations. The Office of Television could provide a similar service for other children's producers.
  4. The Office of Television would itself attempt to keep abreast of communications and child development research and explore ways in which the information could be popularly disseminated.
- G. The Office of Television may, on occasion, use its knowledge to

advocate the cause of children's television. The Federal Communications and Trade Commissions have been grappling with the problem of children's television for the past five years. They might have been aided in this job had they had an impartial source of information of children and television to which to turn. There is a need for such a group, and the Office of Television, with its eventual expertise, would seem to be the prime candidate.

These recommendations argue for a new consensus on the need for consolidation and continuity in children's television planning and funding at HEW to be embodied in an Office of Television. The logic of economics and administration suggests the virtues of such centralization; the realities of television almost demand it. HEW has spent nearly 50 million dollars during the past nine years on children's television. Has the result been worth the money? That is an answer I must leave to others. But that same sum, dispensed from a single knowledgeable office, could create a multitude of excellent programs and, just as important, a new generation of producers. Money, alone, is no guarantee of quality. It must be used by those who know what they are about. Money, best spent, will repay its investment manyfold. In television, this must mean an expenditure with an eye towards those producers who can continually make those programs children will want to watch and grow up with.

1. Nash, John, Developmental Psychology: A Psychobiological Approach. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970. p. 465. I am indebted to Dr. Nash for his clear explanation of the research on self-concept and the ideas of the major theorists.
2. See, for example, Wylie, Ruth C., The Self-Concept: A Critical Survey of Pertinent Research Literature. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961.
3. Critchley, M., The Parietal Lobes. London: Arnold, 1953. This research hypothesizes the parietal lobes to be the source of the body schema.
4. Piaget calls this first stage the sensomotor stage. He and many other infant researchers feel that hand-eye and spatial coordination and sensory feedback (reafference) is very important to development.
5. For a brief description of this phenomenon of development and its relation to television see: "A Brief Description of Children at Various Stages of Cognitive Development," Washington: Office of Child Development, HEW, unpublished monograph, 1972.
6. Goldschmid, M. L., ed., Black Americans and White Racism: Theory and Research. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1969.
7. Rosenthal, R. and Jacobson, L., "Teachers' Expectations for the Disadvantaged," Scientific American, Vol. 218, No. 4, 1968. pp. 19-23.
8. Rogers, Carl, On Becoming a Person. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1961.
9. Sullivan, H. S., The Interpersonal Theory of Psychiatry. Helen E. Perry and Mary L. Gawel, eds. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1953.
10. Mead, Margaret, Sex and Temperament. New York: W. Marrow & Co., 1935.
11. In the id, ego, superego theory of personality, the self-concept is the result of the interplay of biological and instinctual urges of the id and the modifying influence of culture and parents (superego).
12. Erikson, Erik H., Childhood and Society. New York: Norton, 1950 and 1959. Erikson's theory poses eight stages of development:
  - A - Basic trust (concern with oral needs) - infancy.
  - B - Autonomy (concern with control over one's body) - walking, sitting, 1 to 3 years.
  - C - Initiative (concern with personal expression and sex role identity) - 3 to 6 years.
  - D - Industry (concern with competence and peer cooperation) - 6 to 12 years.
  - E - Identity (concern with lasting self-image) - puberty and adolescence.
  - F - Intimacy (concern with love and finding a mate) - young adulthood

G - Generalitvity (concern with one's life work) - adulthood.  
H - Integrity (concern with final judgment of one's life) - maturity.

13. Adler, A., Social Interest. London: Putnam, 1939.
14. Coombs, A. and Snygg, D., Individual Behavior. New York: Harper & Row, 1959, rev. ed.
15. Rogers, Carl, op. cit.
16. Maslow, A. H., Motivation and Personality. New York: Harper, 1954.
17. Sullivan, H. S., op. cit.
18. Erikson, Erik H., Insight and Responsibility. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1964. p. 91.
19. Ibid., p. 93.
20. Cumulative Nielson ratings, 1971. Ninety-nine percent is probably a conservative figure. Arbitron's 1974 figures indicated that 45 percent of all American families have more than one set.
21. Gerbner, George, "Communications and Social Environment," Scientific American, Vol 227, No. 3, 1962. pp. 153-55.
22. Mead, Margaret, Culture and Commitment: A Study of the Generation Gap. New York: Doubleday, 1970.
23. Bower, Robert, Television and the Public. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1973. p. 178.  
Steiner, Gary, The People Look at Television. New York: Knopf, 1963.
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27. Fletcher, Alan, "Negro and White Children's Television Preferences," Journal of Broadcasting, Vol. 13, No. 4, 1969. pp. 359-66.  
Sarlin, Stuart and Dominick, J., "Television's Function as a Third Parent for Black and White Teenagers," Journal of Broadcasting, Vol. 15, No. 1, 1971.

28. U. S. Vital Statistics for 1973 alone showed 913,000 divorces affecting 1,018,000 children.



## The Economically Disadvantaged Child

### The Author

Dr. Bradley S. Greenberg is Professor and Director of Graduate Studies in the Department of Communication at Michigan State University. He is currently a consultant to the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and has been consultant to the British Broadcasting System and the President's Commission on Causes and Prevention of Violence. He was a major contributor to the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior. His many publications include a book co-authored with Brenda Deryn entitled Use of Mass Media by the Urban Poor (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970).

### The Paper

In the following paper, "Children's Television and the Economically Disadvantaged Child: Research Findings and Policy Implications," Greenberg combs the literature for a composite set of social and psychological attributes of the disadvantaged child, followed by a "propositional inventory" of how television interacts with those attributes. Greenberg recommends development of regional programming, program storage and retrieval, development of interactive television, training children how to watch television, and training teachers to use television more effectively.

Children's Television and the Economically Disadvantaged Child  
Research Findings and Policy Implications

Bradley S. Greenberg, Ph.D.

(assisted by Byron Reeves)

Department of Communication

Michigan State University

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## Introduction

The basic purpose of this paper is to provide a basis for exploring possible alternative ways in which television may be used to augment, enhance or enrich the lives of children who are economically disadvantaged. This requires an assessment of (a) the prevalence of economic deprivation among youngsters in this country; (b) the psychological and social ramifications of being a disadvantaged child; (c) the nature of the child's interactions with the television medium, especially the child's television experiences, preferences, and attitudes, coupled with awareness of television's impacts on that child, and (d) suggestions as to what may be needed, feasible and useful in future television policies in this country, specifically for the disadvantaged child. This definition of our assignment provides the basic outline for this paper. The major emphasis has been given to the last two of these issues, because our own work has been most focused in those areas. The first two set the stage for specifically examining the roles of television in serving a specific sub-group of the population.

In compiling this paper, a comprehensive literature review was undertaken and completed. This included a 15-year examination of the following journals: Journalism Quarterly, Journal of Broadcasting, Public Opinion Quarterly, Journal of Communication, Educational Broadcasting Review, and Audio-Visual Communication Review. In addition, relevant abstracting resources were combed to as far back as 1964 for some, and to date of origination for more recently-created abstracting services. These included Psychological Abstracts, Sociological Abstracts, Child Development Abstracts,

Poverty and Human Resources Abstracts, Language and Language Behavior Abstracts. In addition, appropriate ERIC runs were made through the MSU Library-ERIC computer system. Books, bibliographies and unpublished papers were examined, as well.

More impressive than not has been the dearth of specific research uncovered which focuses on television and the disadvantaged child. Many impressionistic pieces exist, but hard, broad, and reliable evidence remains lacking on most key questions.

What follows then is based on a mixture of research findings and insight with some generalizations that more cautious people might fault. Yet it is just those kinds of extrapolations which must be made in order to suggest policy options. In this case, I remind myself and the reader that the generalizations and recommendations offered may better be considered hypotheses than conclusions.

The Economically Disadvantaged Child: Who Are They? Where Are They?

The most complete data on the incidence of economically disadvantaged children comes from the 1970 Census and from the 1970 White House Conference on Children. The most appropriate data from these sources will be summarized briefly in this section.

The poor are approximately that one-fifth of the nation's families living below Office of Economic Opportunity established income standards. Relativistically, the poor are those with low income. What is low income uses these criteria--the size of the family, its location as either rural or non-rural, and the sex of the family's main wage earner. In the 1970 census, poverty yearly income thresholds varied from \$1487 for a woman living alone on a farm, to \$6116 for a non-farm family, with a male head-of-household and seven or more children. More typically, the average poverty level for a non-farm family of four headed by a man was \$3745.

From the last census, it was determined that more than 10,000,000 children under 18 years of age were members of families below defined poverty levels. This segment constituted 15% of all children in the United States in that age grouping. Of this total, 3,000,000 were under six years of age. Of all the poverty level children, they were disproportionately black (4,000,000), and disproportionately in homes with a female head (4,000,000).

During the 1960's, the number of children in poverty dropped dramatically, from 25% in 1959, to 15% in 1969. This change of course includes a re-definition of poverty levels. However, even this change has not affected all American children equivalently. Race and residence remain strong locator variables. Among white children, for instance, the decade

shift represented a decrease from 20% of all children in poverty homes to 11%; among blacks, it was a decrease from 66% to 42% of all children under 18. Thus, the proportionate decrease for white children was even greater than among black children, despite the fact that there were more than three times as many black children living in poverty at the beginning of the decade.

As a reminder of what kind of dollar income we are talking about, the data show that 17% of all white families (4.5 million families) had an annual income below \$6000, compared with 50% of all black families (1.7 million families). Stated one other way, the median income of white families was \$10,363 compared to \$6000 for black families.

Children living on farms, in urban centers, on Indian reservations and throughout the South are also far more likely to be living in poverty environments.

In metropolitan areas, central city dwellers are twice as likely to be poverty stricken as those living in suburbs, and the proportion of blacks in poverty is twice that of whites. Outside metro areas, farm families are more likely to be at or below poverty levels than non-farm families (15% compared to 10%), and there, if black, the likelihood of being in poverty circumstances is more than three times as great.

The economic plight of Indian families is catastrophic. As of 1970, 80% of all Indian families on reservations fell below standard poverty levels. Among the two million families of Spanish origin in the U.S., 21% fall below poverty income levels, and 39% have annual family incomes of less than \$6000. Within this group, those of Mexican and Puerto Rican origins are even poorer, with more than one of every four families in poverty.

It is the South which houses a disproportionate share of poverty families. In the Northeast, little more than 5% of all families qualify; in the South, it is nearly 15%. Again, black families in the South predominate in the statistics.

It is also useful to note that there is a large percentage of child-less homes below poverty levels. These are primarily homes with older or retired adults. The differences in distribution of poverty among homes with and without children is evident from the kinds of income distributions used by Nielsen in presenting their television audience data. Table 1 illustrates this.

A smaller proportion of homes with young people in them are at the extreme poverty level. Presumably, homes with teenagers provide some income increment. Poverty is even more prevalent among older householders.

Before closing this description, we wish to emphasize that the data represent only those families below minimum income standards. Many argue that those standards are not high enough, i.e., that many hundreds of thousands of families just above these poverty levels should also qualify. Therefore, the data presented are minimum estimates. Yet, even these minima would warrant the following generalizations:

1. The incidence of children living in poverty level homes is large, counting out at 10 million such children--at a minimum;
2. These children can be identified in geographic pockets--in the central city, and in the South in particular;
3. Although the largest proportions of the deprived children are among minority groups in this country, the raw numbers of majority children are even larger.

Table 1

## Income Distributions of A.C. Nielsen Sample Households \*

<u>Household Income Level</u>	<u>All Households</u>	<u>Households with 12-17 year-olds</u>	<u>Households with 2-11 year-olds</u>	<u>Households with men 50 and older</u>	<u>Households with women 50 and older</u>
Less than \$5000	17%	12%	14%	25%	36%
\$5-\$9999/year	25%	23%	28%	24%	24%
\$10-\$14,999	26%	27%	30%	21%	17%
\$15,000 or more	32%	38%	27%	38%	23%

\* These data, as are most of the other National Nielsen data summarized in the text of this paper, are extracted from a secondary analysis of Nielsen data reported in N. Katzman, "Television Viewing in the United States," (unpublished manuscript), 1975. A copy of the paper is available from the author.



The Psychological and Social Attributes and Needs of the Disadvantaged Child.

Given that one-fifth of the nation's families subsist in poverty conditions, and that at least 15% of all U.S. children are affected by whatever it is that poverty conditions do, much literature intersects on a strongly-supported portrait of the demographic, social and psychological context of poverty.

The poor are more likely than the non-poor to be: (1) unskilled and unprepared for jobs; (2) low in education and often functionally illiterate; (3) living in large families which minimize privacy; (4) living in incomplete families, marked by divorce and desertion and often, matriarchal; and (5) out of work.

As for the children themselves, 7,000,000 of them under 14 are being raised in fatherless homes, and the fatherless home is three times as characteristic of black families as of white families. More than half the mothers of children 6-17 and nearly one-third with children under 6 are in the labor force, particularly mothers in poverty families. As a likely consequence, one-third of all poverty children have been identified as having serious emotional problems which require professional attention.

Individuals within this category of 'poor' are of all racial groups. However, minority group citizens are more likely to be poor, and to be poorer on any available measures of poverty.

The poor in this country are in the unfortunate position of being poor in an affluent, middle-class oriented society. The society assumes skill, literacy, motivation, education, and information-processing ability. Further, the society is ill-equipped to deal with its poor. Social services are often middle-class oriented. Its school systems are typically based on the format and premises of education for middle-class students.

Sellers and producers assume middle-class ability in handling information. The job market assumes certain skills in job-getting and job-keeping. The evidence and meaning of lesser communication skills will be elaborated later in this section. Here, it is necessary to recognize that restricted linguistic modes of communication among the poor are compounded by low skills levels in obtaining and evaluating information. The poor are less likely to know what to do about anything, or how to find out, or what criteria to use in evaluating information. One outcome is greater gullibility.

In response, the poor have developed a sub-culture and psychological orientation which many observers agree is probably dysfunctional for operation in the major society. The sub-culture emphasizes an internal system of family members, friends, and relatives to the near exclusion of external relationships. It is not oriented to achievement, in the middle-class sense. It is what has been called a 'closed system,' and is a functional response to life's conditions as they are experienced by the poor.

The syndrome of psychological orientations developed among the poor and demonstrated in a host of mutually-agreeing studies, is not unlike those attributed to peasants in developing countries. These characteristics apply to poor whites, as well as non-whites and tend to extend to poverty sub-cultures across varying locations.

We present the major life perceptions and orientations derived from our review of the research here, as a means of understanding both the child who lives in poverty, and the people with whom the child lives. The characteristics lack mutual exclusivity, but yield a panorama of potential and actual needs:

- .....Present time orientation. The poor exhibit a "here and now" time orientation which largely ignores the future. This time orientation is illustrated by a lack of linear ordering of events within the ghetto community. Events don't happen at a specific time, they just happen. Researchers attribute this emphasis on "present time"--a kind of "whatever happens, happens" philosophy--as a functional response to a life of constant problems..
- .....Emphasis on short-term goals. Among the poor, there is little opportunity to plan ahead. A preference then for immediate reward and immediate gratification is related to both the realities of the poverty system, and the orientation to here and now activities.
- .....Emphasis on the concrete. The poor reject the abstract in judging events and people. Emphasis is placed on here-and-now, observable characteristics. This orientation to practical action includes a rejection of intellectuality.
- .....Lack of efficacy. This is the extent to which an individual believes that he can exercise power (through status). This is sometimes termed alienation, meaninglessness, powerlessness, anomie, isolation or fatalism. This characterizes a belief among the poor that they cannot influence their own destinies.
- .....Crisis vulnerability. The poor are more likely to be laid off from work with minimal, if any, notice. They are more likely to receive delays in any services they seek, e.g., social, medical. The orientation is then one of always being on the 'brink' of a coming disaster.
- .....Aspiration-achievement discrepancy. Given a mass culture in which

the achievements of the rest of society are all too evident, the poor exhibit a sizeable discrepancy between their aspirations and their achievements. Their aspirations and values, the evidence shows, are not unlike those of the major society. They want more luxuries and comforts, better jobs, more education, stable marriages, better lives for their kids. But, the realities of their lives prevent such achievement.

- ....Non-achievement. When hopes and aspiration are thwarted, one psychological response is not to attempt to achieve. Much research suggests this as a typical response of the poor.
- ....Low self-esteem. The research supports the notion that the poor see themselves as incapable and inefficient. This self-awareness of lack of prestige is transmitted to the children in poverty families.
- ....Sense of deprivation. Given that hopes are continuously frustrated, the poor feel deprived. This deprivation is "relative" as achievement is measured by major society standards.
- ....Illusion. Illusion and fantasy become a way of life for the poor. Men talk of fantasy conquests with women. Women talk of money they do not have. Fantasy is seen by researchers as a functional self-protection response.
- ....Concept of limited good. The poor often approach the world with the notion that only a limited number of resources (both goods and affection) are available and one must compete to get his share.
- ....Restricted alternatives. Options are far less available. Lack of money, of power, of education, of prestige all serve to reduce the range of alternative actions in facing most any kind of situation.
- ....Mistrust of others. The outside world is seen as a chaotic, disorganized place peopled with manipulators and users

and the non-trusted "establishment."

.....Restricted experiences. There remains very little overlap between the experiences of the poor and those of the majority. Experiences in the home and at work are of a much different nature; contacts with the middle-class are normally of a subordinate order. Empathy with and understanding of the values and behaviors of other economic groupings is narrow.

.....Power-based relationships. Interpersonal contacts both inside and outside are typically based on a power relationship, i.e., who's in charge?

.....Restricted sources of information. The 'closed system' of the poor which relies most heavily on non-work related friendships and kinship contacts for social support and resources limits use of external expert resources.

Like all summaries, this one masks many differences within groups, or within families. However, significant sub-groups fit these 'typical' patterns.

For this paper, let us continue by focusing directly on the particular nature of the poverty family, and the child's roles and relationships within that family. The child remains the most poignant evidence of the impact of poverty in an affluent society.

The child is raised in the context of an exploitive adult male-female relationship. Role prescriptions are strictly defined: Women take care of the household; men are to be the breadwinners. In practice, women may take on both roles, but the expectations are as indicated. The man values the woman for the work she does, the money she may earn, and the satisfaction of physical needs. The woman values having a man. The emotional bond is typically a weak one.

In this atmosphere, the child quickly learns that resources are extremely limited. The child is highly competitive with siblings in seeking material and affection resources available. The child finds himself rarely talked to or listened to. To be heard, the child learns verbal aggression and loudness. At about age 10, this child is expected to act like an adult. There is less of an adolescent period of weaning from the child to the adult role. Such children are little encouraged to be creative, to innovate, to explore or express ideas. Whereas middle-class parents want their children to be curious, adjusted and successful, the low-income parents emphasize physical needs satisfactions. The particular values espoused become neatness, cleanliness and honesty.

We have alluded to several distinctions in interpersonal communication behaviors and development in low-income homes. This will be the final notion we will elaborate in this section, because language skills have important implications both for the production and interpretation of media content.

Clearly, the low-income child is far more likely to engage in non-standard uses of standard English. There are far more errors in verb usage, encoding of word and sentence fragments, hesitation phenomena, and pronoun prominence. Researchers are less certain whether this is an impediment to cognitive development. There is some indication that it may indicate linguistic preferences, rather than mental impoverishment.

Differences in language behavior have been attributed to an extensive set of mediating variables. Degree of experience with real-life phenomena facilitates expression about those phenomena, and the lower-class child has fewer experiences. The lower-class child is less accustomed to being asked about and hence talking about such experiences. For the poverty

child, amount of verbal interaction in the home is less; there is less mother-child verbal play, and the predominance of working mothers limits whatever time there might have been. Such mothers also read less to their kids, and this restrains language usage. Mealtime in middle-class homes is a high verbal period; more often, the lower-class child eats alone, or concentrates more so on the mere act of getting his share of the meal. And lower-class parents talk less to each other to begin with.

Parental control in poverty homes is based more on the status of the adult and this results in the use of a more restricted verbal code. Control in middle-class homes is modified by reactions to the individual child, its feelings and attributes. This greater personal orientation has been shown to result in a more elaborated language system. In low SES homes, the actual language controls are more usually imperative, normative statements. These tend to shut off thoughts and responses, and do not encourage them. In such situations, dialogue becomes unnecessary and may be perceived as unwelcome, i.e., likely to lead to negative reinforcement. Clearly there is greater linguistic versatility in middle-class homes.

Peer influence on language behavior has also been demonstrated to be a key mediating characteristic of language output. The peers of the poverty child are equally untrained in a fuller range of linguistic skills, or choose not to find them appropriate in peer interactions.

For most of these influences, the conception is that language behavior and development are stimulated through modeling. The models are less available to the poor child, and probably poorer models for adequate coping with the external society's communication styles, frequencies, and scope.



## The Television Experiences of the Economically Disadvantaged Child.

Here we will be concerned with what use the child makes of television, both in terms of gross exposure and content selections. Further, it is important to understand the child's perception of television content and its impacts on cognitions, desires and behaviors. Rather than present these aspects in the form of a normal review, we shall provide more of a "propositional inventory." This inventory will consist of those generalizations which we believe that the research evidence supports. Each proposition will be followed by a relatively succinct statement of findings which bear on the proposition and whatever interpretation we think may be necessary. In the following section of this paper, we will derive policy implications from the set of propositions.

One final introductory note is important. Many studies have made comparisons between black and white youngsters without stratifying household income. This is of course not synonymous with comparing economically advantaged with disadvantaged youngsters, although in many cases it may be a fairly good approximation of that difference. As demonstrated earlier, any sample of black youth is going to include a far greater proportion of economically disadvantaged children than a comparable sample of white youth. The point is that racial and economic differences are often confounded, both because many studies do not differentiate, and because there is a substantial correlation between the two attributes. There is the additional fact that the poor black is even poorer than the poor white. So when racial differences are noted, e.g. in TV exposure time, the difference may as much represent an intensification of the poverty condition, and its consequences. We will attempt to maintain this distinction where appropriate in this section.<sup>1</sup>



1. The economically disadvantaged child is more dependent on television in leisure time allocation.

Studies from both academic and commercial sources persistently demonstrate the greater time allocation to television among the poor -- both for the adults and the children in their homes. The typical poor home has two working television sets, and each month a larger portion of these homes include a color television set,-- which is the principal item desired in those homes without that capacity.

In a Cleveland study with 400, 9-10 year olds, poor white youngsters reported daily viewing of shows that averaged 6 hours per weekday, compared to 4 hours for the better-off children; the poor black children averaged 7 hours. The poor children were more likely to watch TV before going to school, in the morning, during their lunch hour, after school and in the late evening.

In a Philadelphia study with 300 ghetto and suburban high school students, the middle-class white teenager was giving 3 1/2 hours Sunday to TV, in contrast with 4 1/2 hours for the poorer whites, and 6 hours for the poor black adolescents.

National data confirm this pattern and demonstrate an additional point as well. In the last decade, Nielsen data show that overall television watching has increased -- among all homes. Thus whatever figures exist now are larger consumption figures than would have appeared in earlier studies. For example, in 1963, households in which the maximum education was less than a year of college, daily television set-on time averaged slightly under 6 hours; in 1973, it was a full hour more per day.\*

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\* Nielsen collates set-on time as recorded on the home meters with individual diary data to arrive at an adjusted estimate of exposure. The difference is not important for the comparisons made in this paper.

Moving to our specific interest in children, household viewing increased nearly 2 1/2 hours weekly between 1967 and 1973, within households with children aged 2-11.

But what is the current state of national viewing within low-income households? In the Nielsen household sample, four income stratifications are made: Incomes less than \$5000 annually; \$5000-\$9999; \$10,000-\$14,999; and \$15,000+. In 1973, the lowest income grouping of households gave 32.2 hours/week to watching; the other three income groups ranged from 23-26 hours/week. Thus, in low-income households, sets were turned on at least one more hour each day -- or better than 300 additional hours a year!

However, many of these low income homes are childless, representing older segments of the population. A break-out was made for homes with children, by household income. It shows that in low income households, with children aged 2-11, the relationship with amount of viewing is less strong. The poorest homes average 4 more hours a week (200 hours a year) than the best-off families. Among teens (12-17 years of age), the relationship is even stronger. The poorest homes average 12 1/2 hours more per week of television watching than those more well-to-do.

Summarizing, the national data demonstrate that disadvantaged young children and their teenage cohorts are averaging between 4 and 5 hours of viewing each day, in comparison to 2-3 hours for the more advantaged youngsters.

We shall suggest that these estimates are deflated, if anything. The data from the youngsters in the Nielsen sample are derived from their parents. Parents' estimates and reports of their children's viewing behaviors are consistently lower than self-reports of the children. The mother may underestimate the child's viewing time because her values so direct; the

child may overestimate for the same reason. A knowledge of content test could verify the child's estimates, but this has not been done, to our knowledge. We cannot warrant a guess as to how much off they are, nor need we here. The point is that within those estimates, the disadvantaged child has selectively allocated the majority of available leisure time to a single activity, that of television watching.

Where does some of the remaining time go? Other media activities are involved. The economically disadvantaged child spends less time with print media, be it newspapers or books. Traditionally, they have spent somewhat more time with comic books, but recent evidence suggests this may no longer be so. Among poorer teenagers, especially ethnic minorities, record playing is a more cherished activity, primarily to obtain ethnic music, less generally available. As to non-media activities, the better-off youngster allocates more time to post-school activities, such as organizations among teenagers. Those same youngsters also appear to give more time to home responsibilities, in the form of chores and jobs around the house.

In other words, there are no other significant accumulators of leisure time identified for the economically disadvantaged child. The younger ones are basically home-bound and in some sense restricted to television as an activity; the older ones who do develop strong peer ties have not been shown to channel their behavior into recognizable time-consuming activities.

Of course, a plethora of interpersonal contacts pervade leisure and non-leisure moments. It is difficult to deal with these for no systematic logging of daily interpersonal experiences has been made -- for adults, let alone the disadvantaged child. Some claim that the context of viewing television is one which stimulates conversation among family members. Surely,

there is some, but no evidence to suggest it as either important or constructive. The interaction between parent and child is perhaps more likely to be negative than positive, e.g., "Shut up, so I can hear," "Go to bed," "It's bad -- don't watch." The increasing incidence of multiple-set households further eliminates the opportunity for social interaction among family members during joint viewing times. And low-income houses are almost as likely as the less poor to have two working TV sets.

Consider then the typical school age disadvantaged child. Each day, seven hours are consumed by going to, coming from and being in school, 8-9 hours are spent abed, 4-5 hours go to television, 1-2 hours to other media activities. Considering these as primary activities, rather than secondary ones, which appears to be the case, we are reduced to identifying what is done with the remaining one or two hours. Maximum variance has already been accounted for.

2. Content selectivity is less prevalent among economically disadvantaged youngsters.

Stated more directly, the child we are focusing on is more likely to watch more of whatever is available. This child is in the audience for more different times of the day, and for more different programs. These are not preference statements, they do not bear on what the child likes to see. But it is conclusive that disadvantaged children watch more of almost everything, rather than concentrating their greater exposure in a select set of programming categories.

In Nielsen audience data, the audience size among low-income 2-11 year olds, as compared with all 2-11 year olds, is larger for 8 of 10 programming categories, and the same for the remaining two, sports shows and quiz/game shows. It is impressively larger for news shows in particular.

This diffuse viewing pattern is even more striking among teenage low-income girls. Their proportionate audience size is treble that of their age/sex group for children's weekend shows, sports shows, soap operas and news. It is double for the dozen movies available during the week and substantially higher for general drama, and suspense/mystery shows.

There are some useful distinctions to be made, however, in terms of what they would prefer to watch, even though preferences may be less important than actual behavior. However, preferences may have distinct programming implications.

Racial differences predominate in program preference studies, more so than income differences. Minority children (and adults) express a strong affinity for those shows which regularly feature minority actors and actresses. For example, until "The Flip Wilson Show," virtually no variety shows appeared on television which regularly featured a black performer. And very few black youngsters ever cited a variety show among their top preferences. By contrast, the favorite shows of black youngsters were far more likely to be those situation comedies, or dramatic offerings, which did present regular black characters.

This situation persists today. In Washington, D.C., "Sanford and Son" received a metro black household rating of 69 for eight weeks in 1974, while the same show had a total household rating of 35. In Chicago, the same show had respective ratings of 69 and 34; in Detroit, they were 74 and 41. In all 3 cities, "Flip Wilson" was among the top six shows for black households, and out of the top 10 among total households.

There are some interesting differences which have been identified between the program-type preferences of lower and middle-income children.<sup>12</sup> One focuses on the affinity for violence-filled shows. The economically

disadvantaged child watches more of these shows, and likes them more. In perhaps a more constructive sense, the favorite shows of lower-class children are far more likely to be shows in which a family setting exists, in which some parent and child function together. These appear high on the list of favorite program choices for the disadvantaged youngster, and are most often in the family situation comedy genre.

One other aspect of content selectivity is the relative inertia found in initially turning on the set, selecting a program and changing a channel. Among the younger children, black children report more often that the set is turned on by someone other than themselves. But these same children are more likely to say that if there is nothing on they want to watch, they keep on watching anyhow. Older low-income children are less likely to turn the set off than older higher-income children, when there's nothing to watch, and the latter are more likely to consult a TV log initially to decide whether to turn the set on. Children in lower-income homes are more likely to turn the set on, then flip channels looking for something they like. For the low-income, content selection is more random, or less purposive.

A final attribute of selection is control over the television set. Despite the finding that black youngsters more often report that someone else turns on the television set, disadvantaged youngsters are more likely to cite themselves as in control of what is watched. Or, middle-class youngsters more often suggest that someone else decides. Further, the lower-class youngster is less likely to report that there are rules about watching in the house, either rules about how late to watch, what shows to watch, or being punished by denial of television privileges. Thus, for the lower-income child, content selection is a more self-controllable or self-directed activity.

3. The economically disadvantaged child is more accepting of television messages.

Across a large number of studies, and diverse attitude instruments, the proposition that the more disadvantaged are less critical of television content is supported with near-uniform consistency. Here are some samplings of these attitudes:

The economically disadvantaged child is more likely to believe a television report than a report from any other mass medium;

The same child is more willing to forego other media behaviors if a choice must be made between media;

The same child attributes more credibility to television news people than to newsmen from other media.

These are all comparative statements. The large majority of all children choose television as most believable, least worth forsaking, etc. But, even significantly more of those youngsters from poor homes choose television over other options,

In some other belief areas, the same pattern emerges:

Minority students perceive television to be more fair to minority groups than do majority group children;

TV commercials are more likely to be believed among lower-income and/or minority youngsters.

Running throughout all these discrete statements is the general idea that television entertainment content in general is more likely to be judged true-to-life. This is indeed the case, as a number of studies have centered on the perceived reality of television content.

Some sample items indicate the core of such research:

Families I see on TV are like my family;

The programs on TV tell about life the way it really is;

The people I see on TV shows are just like people I know in real life.

Low-income youngsters agree more often to such statements as these, or are less skeptical about such statements, than children from middle-class homes. And this finding interacts with race, so that black low-income youngsters are even more believing of TV's content reality than white low-income children. This finding has been replicated among pre-teens and teens in both the United States and England.

Although less often demonstrated, this general difference persists when particular sub-categories of content are investigated. Above, we pointed out this acceptance of commercials on television. Further, low-income youngsters are more likely to say that acts of televised violence are more realistic.

More recent research has focused on determining the relative believability of specific television characters, in contrast to character categories (e.g., policemen, families), or in contrast to television concepts in general. As one moves from more to less abstract referents within television programs, the degree of perceived reality increases conspicuously.

The general expectation then is that economically disadvantaged youngsters are more likely to believe that any specific or general component of TV shows is more true-to-life. Why? One prevalent explanation is that the disadvantaged child has had fewer opportunities to check TV content against external reality criteria. That child does less outside the home save in school, while in pre- and post-school hours, gives more to television watching.



The restrictions of home and environment permit fewer alternative personal and communication experiences. School is often an educational relic with children whose lives are equally deprived. Few activities take place outside the school grounds. Direct contacts with the outside world are very limited. Primary contacts with outside phenomena are television contacts, against which few standards of comparison are available.

Although the explanation may be an over-statement, it merits consideration. In a more severe expression of this view, one might posit that the more disadvantaged child is likely to begin to believe television more so than his own experiences, when such experiences are even available. For example, the people seen may be much more interesting models than those available in the home neighborhood. Therefore, the local ones may be rejected as unrealistic, and the models become the "real" ones.

4. The disadvantaged child is more likely to come to television to "learn" something.

Watching television serves many functions for viewers. Among these are an opportunity to relax, to get some excitement, to find diversion from in-home or out-of-home unpleasanties, to pass time, and to combat loneliness. These various functions exist among all youngsters at different times, and have not been shown to apply differentially to economically disadvantaged ones. One study suggests that white-collar youngsters do tend to go to television more when they have been angered, while black youngsters go more often for arousal-seeking motives.

But the most repeated finding is that the low-income child expects to learn something from his television experiences. This child anticipates that learning will occur primarily in ways that will be socially adaptive.

The economically disadvantaged child expects more so to learn about things:

"... learn about things happening in the world.

"... learn how to do things I haven't done before.

"... because it teaches me things I don't learn at school."

The economically disadvantaged child expects more so to learn about him/herself:

"... because it shows me how I'm supposed to act.

"... because it shows how other people deal with the same problems I have.

"... because it helps me learn things about myself.

This is a motivation that undoubtedly interacts with the other experiences and psychological postures of this child in facing television. The child is receptive, positive, eager and believing.<sup>3</sup>

##### 5. Disadvantaged children do learn from watching television.

There is no argument among researchers or educators about this premise. The argument begins when one turns to such questions as whether they do learn more or less, whether it is constructive learning or not, and just what the content of the learning is.

Cognitive learning from television has been most ably demonstrated from the research done in conjunction with the Sesame Street programs. This program was created for the disadvantaged youngster. Research results from the first and second years of that show clearly indicate that the more a disadvantaged youngster watched the program, the more that child learned the skills and information emphasized in the programs. And this large amount of learning did not require adult supervision, was picked up as well

by home viewing as by in-school viewing, and was even more impressive among the younger viewers than the older ones. But each of these results was obtainable among the more advantaged child viewers as well. That is, Sesame Street was not a teacher solely for the disadvantaged; it taught the more advantaged child at least equally. The paradox is this: If a disadvantaged child watches more of Sesame Street than an advantaged one, but former learns more, and the cognitive gap between them tends to lessen; however, if an advantaged and a disadvantaged child both watch a larger number of programs, the former -- because of what has already gone into making that child an advantaged one -- learns more of what is available and the gap between them may increase.

Another instance of the widespread use of television for straightforward learning was the creation of Electric Company. The first-year adoption rate was exceptional. Just short of half of all elementary schools in the country with in-school television capabilities were using that program to assist children behind their own grade level in reading. In urban areas, where larger concentrations of disadvantaged children go to school, 70% reported using this show. At least educators were willing to be innovative with children's television.

More importantly, significant positive gains in reading skills were found in grades one through four among program adopters. Gains were largest in the grades one and two presumably because of higher entry skills in the upper grades.

The impact of in-school viewing of Electric Company was similar for several subgroups tested, including Chicano children, black children, white children, and boys and girls.

Parallel programs specially designed for ethnic subgroups, e.g., Carrascolendas, have been equally impressive in their abilities to teach rudimentary learning skills among the very young.

Often these same shows teach other things as well. Sesame Street and Misterogers, for example, have had such specific pro-social consequences as increased cooperation and sharing behaviors, task persistence, and tolerance for delay among more regular viewers. More positive attitude toward school and toward other races have been also documented.

In one major study, pro-social interpersonal behavior (cooperative play, nurturance, verbalization of feeling) increased only among children from poor families. The higher SES children did not increase their pro-social behavior from watching Misterogers.

Children learn some less desirable things from a steady diet of commercial television. They learn more aggressive traits if they watch a steady diet of televised violence, and research demonstrates that the programs which contain heavier doses of such content are among the show categories more favored and watched by the disadvantaged. The child who views regularly is more likely to accept violence as a mode of conflict resolution, is more likely to consider violence an effective problem-solver, and expresses greater willingness to use it. There is no evidence that these attributes develop more strongly from television among the disadvantaged, but as pointed out in the prior section, the values and behaviors of aggression are already more prevalent among the disadvantaged segments. And television violence is even more impactful on those who come to it with more aggressive predispositions.

There also appear to be substantial differences between the more and less advantaged in their direct perception and interpretation of content.

With regard to violent content, the disadvantaged (by either race or income) perceive less violence in a given unit of content, judge it as more acceptable, enjoy it more, find it more humorous, and judge it as more true-to-life. The importance of these findings is that similar assessments of differential perceptions of other content categories have yet to be made. So, it works more so to the detriment of the disadvantaged.

This learning associated with watching violence provides an interesting contrast to the Sesame Street results. It is worth a paragraph of direct statement. Given an advantaged and disadvantaged child each exposed to large chunks of cognitively focused programming, with the former already more trained in basic learning skills, then the advantaged youngster will maintain his advantage and likely increase it. At the same time the disadvantaged youngster is definitely improving in those skills. Now, given an advantaged and disadvantaged child each exposed to large chunks of adult programming with pronounced violent segments, with the latter already likely to be a more aggressive child, then the disadvantaged youngster will have those aggressive proclivities enhanced. At the same time, the advantaged youngster who persists in viewing such programs will show an augmented aggressive inclination. What a child brings to television is critical in assessing what may be taken away.

All these have been couched in terms of learning of aggression. It is a prevalent conclusion among researchers that this learning manifests itself in behavior often enough to be of national concern.

Another commercial content area with both attitudinal and behavioral impacts on the disadvantaged is that of advertising. Disadvantaged children more often ask for and get (or complain if they don't) commercially advertised products, such as cereals, according to their self-reports and

that of their mothers. There is more frustration if denied their wants. Studies reporting these results were conducted before recent policies limiting both the amount of advertising in children's programs, and certain features of its content. In thinking of the disadvantaged child (or the rest of the family) and the constant exposure to commercial products which are just not economically available, the resultant frustration is remindful of research done in developing countries. There, as peasants and other less privileged segments of the population became more and more aware -- through mass media -- of what the rest of the country or the world has available, it produces a sense of increasing frustration. Channeled one way; this may lead to modernization; channeled another; it may result in anger and revolution.

Disadvantaged children use television more for modeling other aspects of their behavior. Socialization research suggests, for example, that blacks, in the early '60s, looked more so to television for dating behavior information. Much early political socialization information accrues through television. A recent experiment in Florida involved the use of television in the classroom to show current developments in the state legislature. The disadvantaged not only picked up a good deal of factual information, but their political interest and political communication expanded considerably.

There are many content analysis studies which attempt to isolate major themes and portrayals on television. These then constitute the lessons that are available to be learned from television. We have not surveyed all these for this paper. It seems sufficient to talk about the availability of TV models similar to the viewers we are concerned with. Such models are the most likely agents of identification. A decade ago, portrayals of lower-class job-holders were primarily in servile capacities;

portrayals of blacks were virtually non-existent. Today, there is considerable depiction of blacks, minimal of other racial groups. Today, half a dozen successful series center on families in either lower-class or lower-middle-class circumstances, e.g., All In The Family, Sanford and Son, Good Times. Clearly new role models are available to poverty children, which appear to be more similar to their own life experiences. Any special impact from this content has not been identified.

Information also flows heavily to the advantaged in information-lacking areas. For example, rural white children are far more likely to credit television with teaching them most of the things they know about black people -- how they talk, how they dress, what they look like. Here, the point to emerge is that television is a most powerful teacher, both formally and informally. It is particularly impressive in those content areas where the viewer has a particular void. And the less advantaged child clearly has more such voids than the more advantaged child.

## Children's Television Programming and Policy Considerations

In this section, we will try to outline strategies for accommodating some of the larger needs of children living in poverty. Some deal directly with broadcast considerations. Others deal with the preparation of such children for whatever television experiences they may encounter. Still others deal with training for people who interact significantly with poor children. We have defined our assignment as positing an inter-related set of activities designed to assist those children who grow up in poverty circumstances to better handle the great variety and complexity of television stimuli they receive.

Policy Issue 1. Regional programming considerations. The clear cut fact that there are geographic pockets of the poor suggests that television content needs should in part be accommodated by emphasis on local and/or regional content availability in the areas where the poor are most likely to be living. The concept of national programming should at least be supplemented by that of regional programming as a more efficient means for reaching this target audience.

Let's take, for example, the large portion of Indian families living in poverty. Most of these are concentrated on a relatively small number of reservations within a particular region of the United States. It should be possible to determine their particular programming needs, those programs which should be both entertaining and enlightening for them, and to utilize regional means for production and/or distribution.

Another large pocket of the poor are throughout the southern part of the United States. Programming created in that part of the country could then take greater advantage of dialect, social customs, forms of interactions, fads and manner of dress.



What we are doing with this suggestion is trying to make a contrast with such national programming as "Sesame Street." Surely, this program has been a most valuable contributor to certain key needs of most preschoolers in the United States, and particularly, the more disadvantaged ones. However, "Sesame Street" was never intended to be a complete training model. There are content needs of these children which "Sesame Street" has never tried to satisfy. These would deal more with the socio-emotional aspects than the cognitive needs of these children.

It is not our intention to go into the particular content of such programming in this recommendation. Rather we suggest that the structural considerations involved in creating and distributing programming for this segment of the population be examined. Poor children exist disproportionately in the South, in central city enclaves, and in encapsulated areas such as Indian reservations.

The method by which more localized programming might be created could be by government support of production centers in specified regional areas, or through expanded support of the public broadcasting system for program development, among other options.

As one moves from seeking to satisfy solely cognitive considerations to more affective needs, the concept of national programming may well be incomplete. Cultural considerations, language differences, customs, and habit patterns which are peculiar to regions of the country and to clustered ethnic groups, are likely to be better understood by television people living within that context than by those more remote both geographically and psychologically.

One specific illustration may be made with poor children of Spanish origin. There is a tendency to think of this sub-group as rather homogeneous. Yet there are substantial differences socially and culturally

among children of Mexican origin and children of Puerto Rican origin. Furthermore, these children tend to be living in different parts of the United States. Programming for one sub-group which focuses on socio-emotional needs, which presents cultural models with which viewers could perceive some similarity would be radically different than the same content examples for children from a second Spanish origin background. I am not suggesting that we reduce programming to the level of individual personalities. We are talking about substantial numbers of young people concentrated in particular areas, cities, or regions.

Policy Issue 2. A programming storage and retrieval system. One of the key difficulties in matching television programming to poverty children may be the lack of a direct intersection between when certain programming is available and when certain children are available for that programming. Such children are not likely to choose a program whose educational content exceeds its entertainment content when the entertainment alternative is equally available. This proposal suggests that appropriate government and private agencies determine both the means and feasibility by which this country can avoid losing one of its largest unnatural resources--television content itself--and how it can more efficiently recycle that resource through the sub-population of poor children.

My conception here of an idyllic situation would be the creation of a series of video tape libraries. The libraries would contain those programs from both public and private production companies which experts believe would have valuable content for impacting on both the cognitions and affective states of the economically disadvantaged in this country. Such centers of video resources would be able to provide those materials to requesting agencies throughout the country. For example, a school system in

Virginia or in California might decide they wish to use some programming on its closed circuit television facilities or on an individual videotape recorder in a given classroom, e.g., the Alistair Cooke "America" series. Reformatories for young people might wish to use the "Electric Company" on an intra-institutional basis. These should be readily available for that purpose. The primary function of such a resource facility would be to capture those messages available from commercial network television programs that are typically shown a single time and with very few exceptions are neither re-run nor available for subsequent use. They should be stored for an audience which may have missed the program the first time around and for whom the program could serve multiple purposes if viewed in either a home context or in a context where guidance could facilitate understanding of the program's message. For example, some of the fine television plays broadcast on commercial television should be available to educational institutions for use in both formal educational settings and for the extra-curricular efforts that go into dramatic activities. The National Geographic sponsored series would be available for studios use, rather than available only for a single, night-time commercial showing. Large numbers of entertainment programs, such as those sponsored by Bell Telephone, Xerox, and IBM, should not disappear into the atmosphere. These kinds of programs can now very cheaply be recorded, copied, distributed and played.

Clearly, there are policy implications here which deal with copyright, royalties, re-broadcast and these are issues which go beyond the scope of expertise of this writer.

The lack of availability of television efforts which have come from much creativity and much money is an appalling state of affairs. The

concept of centers which might provide for distribution of programs by videotape copies need not be national centers. It seems quite reasonable that if the federal government were to take an active role in establishing this concept, one can envision regional distribution centers, taking advantage of eventual inter-connected cable television systems, for more adequate and more efficient use of a limited set of materials.

Technology to be available within the next decade will enable us to do far more in the way of pinpointed broadcasting, that is, the sending of video messages to specially concerned or specially needy target audiences. The notion of mass broadcasting deserves serious study in its own right, for it is a premise in this paper that the means by which economically disadvantaged children can better be served by television is more likely to be by selective targeted exposure than by mass exposure.

Another technological development that might facilitate such a system is expected to be feasible in the near future. Now, for example, Westinghouse technology enables the sending of hundreds of still pictures in a film strip to a distant point in seconds. The pictures are sufficient for a 30-minute program, are transferred into full-program format and erased after use. This is not yet possible for complete audio-visual motion messages, but soon should be. Central distribution centers could then maintain a single copy of a program, distribute it not physically but by electronic transference, where the program would be used and then erased. This has obvious implications for efficient use of money and resources.

Perhaps some serious thought should be given to the way in which local (or regional) cable television systems could act in either a recording, storage, or retrieval mode. These locally franchised systems which receive the largest number of signals in a given area could be used in implementing this concept. If only for the original off-the-cable recording of chosen

content, they would serve an important purpose because of the excellent fidelity of picture and sound available through cable.

In essence then, what we are suggesting for serving the needs of various segments of the population, particularly that of disadvantaged children, is having available television programming for re-broadcasting, for re-use. Such programming could be integrated into the school system, into the special channels allocated by cable television for various purposes, for commercial stations to use rather than using and paying for syndicated pap.

Policy Issue 3. Investment in the development of interactive television capabilities. Again, basing our policy considerations as much on a media system which is not available today but which will be available on a broad basis in the next decade, we would propose that the federal government consider its involvement in research on the most appropriate uses of interactive television systems to reach economically disadvantaged children. We refer to cabled television systems wherein the receiver of any program has an opportunity to provide immediate response and feedback to message stimuli coming in. The receiver of those audience responses can in turn respond, often by reinforcing either positively or negatively the initial response returned from the viewer. This has very strong implications for cognitive content situations. As much learning or training as has been evidenced from such programs as "Sesame Street" and "Electric Company," the interactive situation through its reinforcement capacities should be able to be even more efficacious in a learning situation. First, it involves active participation on the part of the learner and this clearly has been demonstrated to be a mediating variable which facilitates learning. Second, viewer participation can receive the appropriate type of reinforcement, by rewarding those behaviors which should be continued or not rewarding

those behaviors which should be discontinued or not learned.

Interactive systems are now marketable and inexpensive in terms of a digital response mechanism. The viewer can punch a button which corresponds to a coded response. The response can be made to any type of cognitive or affective questioning. This is the most primitive return system possible and is now being experimented with by the federal government in the delivery of social services. Soon to be available will be an audio response mechanism wherein the receiver of messages may ask questions, have them answered, be asked to participate verbally in some discussion, be listened to as a basis for examining either the content of the viewer's responses or perhaps even the language behavior involved. In learning situations for economically disadvantaged children, it is particularly essential to assist their understanding, their processing capabilities, and their response mechanisms. Eventually, and even now for small group viewing situations, it is possible to have both an audio and visual return system, but this is unlikely to be practical for individual homes. Interactive TV systems in relatively massive situations, e.g., community cable systems, in-school closed circuit television systems, provide a potential opportunity for experimentation with a new form of television that has some very specific implications for work with the economically disadvantaged child.

One main point of this is that the interactive television system requires entirely new concepts in programming. The script of a normal television program is not adequate because (a) it does not encompass the return channel that will be available and (b) it does not encompass alternative response patterns that may be necessary where one is using information from viewers to assist in constructing subsequent messages during the conduct of a program. We are reminded of the computer-assisted programming formats--

branched programming and linear programming--that were developed for direct instructional purposes. Perhaps parallel branching mechanisms may be necessary to handle the give-and-take messages of an interactive television system. Study groups should be established which concern themselves with what may be very special program creation concepts. They must deal with the fact that people on and off camera at the origination site may have to cope with and make immediate responses to incoming information. This information may say either "I don't understand you," or "I don't like what you're saying," or "This is a bunch of bull." This technological system is a much closer parallel to face-to-face communication. We have long been concerned with the inability of the mass media to have available immediate and direct feedback. We have attributed some of our failures to that very criterion. Soon, we will be without that excuse or rationalization for poor efforts in programming.

Perhaps nowhere else in this set of policy considerations will it be so apparent that our concern with the possible federal role in children's television programming is one which takes account of the television of the future. If we talk only of the here and now, then it is likely that the propositions will be outmoded before they can be adequately studied, researched, conceived and executed.

Policy Issue 4. Children's television and the role of public education. The data accumulated on both the psychological needs and the television experiences of the child living in a serious degree of impoverishment all suggest that this child is particularly lacking in certain capacities for dealing with television stimuli. By this we mean the child is more accepting, more believing of whatever it is that is received through the television set. Enormous amounts of time are spent with the



medium. The same child is deficient in the kinds of interpersonal contacts which might supplement, contradict, alternate with, reinforce, or otherwise be stimulating.

We urge that consideration be given to develop in the public schools of this country, curricular efforts which would enable the economically disadvantaged child to more effectively cope with television programming that is now received. We suggest the introduction of formal course work or training within the curriculum of the public schools. Teacher may then interact with child about the medium of television, about the programming that the child is so tempted by and has given such a large chunk of his life to.

For years now, the newspaper has been incorporated into the educational classrooms of this country as a means of informing young people about current affairs, stimulating their reading capacities and interests, and basically beginning to socialize them into the political systems of our nation. This traditional orientation to print has tended to preclude the fact that similar values might well be exercised through persistent, systematic and overseen exposure to television content. We are proposing that audio and video literacy are as important and will be at least as functional in the coming generation and century as the current reliance on the printed media. This is especially so for the poor, but hardly constrained to them. To this point, we are raising generations of children who are functionally illiterate in coping with television. The old refrain, "Why Johnnie can't read?" can now be replaced by the refrain, "Why Johnnie and Jenny can't understand television?"

Federal concern might be expressed in the development of public school curriculum which deals with the medium of television in the classroom.



in at least three ways. The first is to use news and public affairs information from television in classroom units perhaps much in the same ways that newspaper units are now being used for similar purposes.

Secondly, and more drastic, is the notion that entertainment programming be examined and analyzed in the classroom, dissected and critiqued, complimented and condemned, by students, with appropriate instructional material from a teacher. It may be as important for classrooms of second and third graders to examine soap operas, situation comedies, and action adventure shows as it is for them to examine high quality plays, or high culture music.

Our rationale in suggesting this is that if we are trying to cope with young people who believe that a good deal of what they watch in television fiction is very real-to-life, then the poor child, in particular, needs to have those ideas challenged, examined, corrected or altered. We think the mechanism for doing so would be having the kinds of interactive experiences with other children in which it is possible to examine programming premises, actions, behaviors and experiences. The ease of videotaping programs off the air and putting them into a classroom monitor makes the instructional materials very handy. What remains is to develop with teachers the appropriate kinds of supplemental materials with which the children could engage in a more objective appraisal of the message to which they constantly expose themselves. Bringing children around to some realization that television entertainment is largely fictional may well be a socially constructive endeavor.

We also believe that this kind of opportunity will not exist for the child if it is not done in the classroom. Parents tend not to engage in program discourse with their children. The children are left to their

own imaginations or to their own limited range of real world experiences against which to test the premises which are most frequent in commercial television programming. This also argues that changing the content of the television system is not the only alternative. We would clearly argue that attempting to work with young people in understanding and analyzing television programming may be a more efficacious approach.

To this point in time, we know of no more than a handful of schools in the country which have attempted to incorporate a formal unit dealing with contemporary television into their curriculum. All these have been at the secondary school level and this is later than we would advocate as maximally advantageous from an educational viewpoint.

This is not a recommendation that teachers integrate available television programming into existing courses. This is being done all over the country. What is not being done is adequate consideration of the typical television fare which the children watch voluntarily. Until we are able to develop in these young people some greater sense of awareness on their own part of what it is they're watching, and how they might more objectively, more intellectually, or more sensitively evaluate the entertainment, commercial and news and public affairs messages, we are missing a most important mark with them.

The third way in which television should be treated as a viable classroom concept is through training young people in the actual technology and creation process itself. We think there would be little that would be as exciting for young people including second, third and fourth graders as to be involved in working with a television camera, receiver, and recorder. We would advocate curricular development which would focus on teaching young people what the technology is all about and how it can be used by

them to create their own television shows. A daily or weekly news show, recording school activities, the recess period, all the kinds of life activities which go on in an elementary school are appropriate subjects capable of being developed by every young people. This would increase their understanding and awareness about the technology which they will be using during their adolescent and adult lives. It should also increase their sensitivity to what they can do with this medium and perhaps what this medium, when used outside of school, is doing with them. Clearly, exposure to the production and creation process should facilitate personal understanding of the television process which is impacting on their daily lives outside the school setting.

We envision elementary school systems in which a necessary curricular unit consists of both the production of television content and the appreciation of television content. Television is already so much a part of the daily lives of economically disadvantaged children that it is not heresy to suggest we make it an even more and even larger part of their daily lives. By bringing television into the school and by bringing it in the form in which they already understand and love it, we should be maximizing their attention. They should be most responsive, and it will enable discussion of perspectives which have not occurred to them. By involving the child in the creation of television content, by having the teacher recognize the legitimacy and credibility of television watched by the child at home and discussed with his peers, content that is modeled and acted upon by the child, all are likely to contribute to a more constructive relationship among teacher, child and television.

Policy Issue 5. Children's television and the role of higher education.

Here, our interest is in teacher training programs in schools of education.

I have yet to identify a single school of education at the college or university level which does anything with the media beyond the straightforward audio-visual instructional approach. It is possible for teachers to learn to use audio-visual media for purposes of supplementing more traditional classroom presentations. However, the role of higher education should not stop with teaching teachers how to use the technologies available to them. It is most important that teachers during their training cycle be instructed in two areas for which there are now curricular deficiencies: (1) teaching kids how to use the technology themselves for purposes of self expression, and, (2) training teachers in terms of the social effects of television on the children whose classrooms they will instruct. The first of these is related directly to what was discussed in the prior policy issue. Teachers have to understand the equipment, what it can do and what it can't do in order to help make it a creative tool, a creative instrument of expression for children with whom they will work. The second of these, the desire that teachers be made familiar with the research which has been done on television and children, should supplement whatever information they now receive on the efficacious use of instructional television materials in the classroom. It would be the basis for their in-class discussions and presentation of television content. It would help them cope with the child's perceptions of TV, his interests, and the gratifications sought from television.

Teacher-trainees should come to understand the social effects of television on children as they are trained in content expertise or child psychology or student counseling issues. Given that the pervasive use of television by the child outside the classroom affects the child's approach to in-classroom activities, the more the teacher understands the impact of television in the lives of those children, the more likely this infor-

information can be used to a teaching advantage in the classroom.

It seems that such agencies as the U.S. Office of Education must be intimately involved in experimental testing of alternative training modules in teacher training situations. Such efforts should be coordinated in creating the kinds of modules suggested for the direct classroom experience of the young child. That is, there must be an attempt to mesh whatever teacher training occurs in the use of television, commercial television, instructional television, public television or interactive television, with an in-classroom effort to provide the child with an opportunity to create television and to discuss and analyze its more and less serious content.

We are now training teachers who constitute the first generation of teachers who themselves were raised in a television context. Such teachers should be more amenable to appreciating their need to cope with the child's television behavior. The barrier perhaps may be that the professors of these fledgling teachers are themselves one generation removed from growing up with television.

None of this is meant to minimize the need for reading and writing literacy. We would expect that the effect of the use of television, as with "Electric Company" is an excellent means of enhancing that form of literacy while at the same time presenting a literate format in sound and sight.

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Each of these policy issues is complex. We have barely described them. Further, very few of our suggestions and concerns deal directly with programming content. We have focused more on such things as distribution systems, on altering the context of viewing, of considering

tomorrow's television technology rather than today's, of trying to deal with the capacity of the poor child as that child comes to the television watching situation. At the outset of this paper, we did not appreciate the full range of policy implications one might draw from existing data. We have only begun to explore them in the final section of this paper. Presumably, we could now sit and develop a second lengthy paper which explores the policy issues presented in even more detail and which extends to a number of other crucial areas as well. For example, the potential policy roles of the FCC, Congressional communication committees, the Commerce Department, the Justice Department, etc.

Most of what we have suggested in this final section and a good deal of what was summarized in earlier sections requires some comprehensive and systematic research efforts. The desire to elaborate on the required research--which dovetails basic research with policy research--also exceeds the parameters of this particular paper. Hopefully, those who deal with these papers may themselves generate the necessary synthesis of requisite research items.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Consistently throughout this text, comparative statements, e.g., "Less advantaged children do more of X," should be understood to compare these children with more advantaged ones. When the comparison is with another baseline, it will be explicit, e.g., "Less advantaged children do more of X than they do of Y."
2. These findings on content preferences are not to contradict the general proposition that lower-class children are likely to watch more of all kinds of content. They point out that within this more diffuse viewing pattern, some viewing selections stand out as especially prominent.
3. It should be emphasized that this learning is largely informal, though not necessarily incidental. This is not learning from instructional television; it is mediated social learning.

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## Minority Children and Television

### The Author

Dr. Lionel C. Barrow, Jr., is a Professor of Mass Communication and Afro-American Studies at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. Dr. Barrow is a founding member and President of the Journalism Council, Inc. He was the former head of the Theory and Methodology Division of the Association for Education in Journalism (AEJ) and was the founder and former head of the AEJ Minorities and Communications Division. He is currently an advisory committee member to the Census Bureau and the Community Relations Service of the Justice Department.

### The Paper

In this paper, "The We Nobody Knows," Barrow notes the scarcity of literature on the effects of television on minority children, and criticizes current programming, both commercial and public, for being insensitive to minority needs, and for failing to provide enough instances of positive role models. He suggests establishing programs to develop minority producers and researchers.

"THE WE NOBODY KNOWS" -

Minority Children and Television

A Position Paper

Submitted to

The Institute for Communication Research  
Indiana University

By

Lionel C. Barrow, Jr., Ph.D.  
University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee

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## Foreword

In December, 1974, I was asked to prepare a position paper on the subject of the Federal role in children's television programming from the perspective of the needs of ethnic minorities.

The paper was to provide a descriptive map of the location and frequency of children in the following ethnic minorities:

- a. Blacks
- b. Hispanic
- c. American Indian

It was also to answer a variety of other questions regarding minority children (such as "What are their special needs?" "What needs could conceivably be addressed through CTV programming?"), and it was supposed to synthesize and evaluate criticisms and suggestions that have been addressed by representatives of these groups toward current CTV programming.

In order to provide the information requested several things were done:

1. A literature search was launched to locate existing reviews and/or pertinent research studies.
2. Interviews were conducted in New York City and in Milwaukee with representatives of the various ethnic groups.
3. Letters were mailed to potential resource groups or individuals requesting research and/or position papers on the topic.
4. A second survey was undertaken to obtain expressions of interest in the area on the part of minority film makers.

The short time allocated has not made it possible for some of the respondents to reply or for some of their suggestions to be followed up. In some cases, books or journals suggested were not available in the local area and could not be obtained in time for this review.

The last time this author did something of this sort was in 1958 when a year was spent locating, summarizing and evaluating the available information.<sup>1</sup> This amount of time, we feel, is necessary for a thorough and reflective job and is, therefore, recommended for the immediate future.

### Some Basic Statistics

In 1970 (the last date for which comparable age breakdowns are available) there were 22.5 million Blacks, 9.1 million persons of Spanish origin (including 4.5 million Mexican-Americans and 1.4 million Puerto Ricans), and .76 million American Indians in the United States.

The vast majority of Blacks and Spanish-origin individuals live in urban areas (81 percent of Blacks and 87 percent of Spanish-origin persons did so in 1970). However, more American Indians live in areas classified as "rural non-farm" by the Census Bureau than live in urban areas. The 1970 figures were 49 percent rural non-farm and 45 percent for urban areas, respectively.

Slightly more than half of the Blacks still live in the South. The movement "since Slavery" out of the South has resulted in 40 percent living in the North Central or North East areas of the country and the remainder (7.5 percent) living in the Western (Pacific and Mountain) region.

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1. Barrow, Lionel C., Jr., and Westley, Bruce H., Television Effects: A Summary of the Literature and Proposed General Theory. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Television Laboratory, Research Bulletin #9, May 25, 1958.

- 3 -

About 37 percent of the Mexican-Americans live in the West, according to 1970 census figures, about 30 percent live in the South (mostly in the state of Texas) and almost 19 percent in the North Central region. Most Puerto Ricans (81 percent) live in the North East, particularly in New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

Half of the American Indians live in the Western region and another 25 percent live in the South (particularly in Oklahoma and North Carolina).

As of 1970, the five states with the largest numbers of each group were:

Blacks

1. New York	2.165 million
2. Illinois	1.422
3. California	1.398
4. Texas	1.397
5. Georgia	1.184

American Indians

1. Oklahoma	0.047 million
2. Arizona	0.046
3. California	0.044
4. New Mexico	0.034
5. New York	0.026

Mexican Americans

1. California	1.857 million
2. Texas	1.619
3. Arizona	0.240
4. Illinois	0.160
5. New Mexico	0.119

Puerto-Ricans

1. New York	0.917 million
2. New Jersey	0.139
3. Illinois	0.087
4. California	0.051
5. Pennsylvania	0.044

All four groups are extremely young. From 42 to 47 percent of each

population was under 18 in 1970 and from 35 to 43 percent were under 15, as the following figures indicate:

Ethnic Group	Percent			
	Under 18	Under 15	Under 5	Under 1
Blacks	42.3	35.4	10.7	2.1
American Indians	45.2	38.3	12.0	2.5
Mexican-Americans	47.2	40.1	12.9	2.7
Puerto Ricans	46.7	42.7	16.4	3.1

The median age for each group in 1970 was: Blacks, 22.3 years; American Indians, 20.4; Mexican-Americans, 19.3; and Puerto Ricans, 19.8.

Research on the "Effects" of Television on Minority Children

Several documents were examined to ascertain what is currently known about the effect that television viewing has on minority children.

These included:

Murray, John P., Rubinstein, Eli A., and Comstock, George A., (Eds.) Television and Social Behavior, Reports and Papers. Vol. II. Television and Social Learning. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1972.

Greenberg, Bradley S., and Mazingo, Sherrie L., Racial Issues in Mass Media Institutions. Project CUP Report #16. East Lansing, Michigan: Dept. of Communication, Michigan State University, November 1973.

Hall, William E., (Ed.) Journalism Abstracts, Vol. 11. Minneapolis, Minn.: Association for Education in Journalism, 1973.

Dervin, Brenda; Greenberg, Bradley; & Bowes, John., Communication and Urban Poverty: An Annotated Bibliography. Project CUP Report #7. East Lansing, Michigan: Dept. of Communication, Michigan State University, April 1969.

Williams, Frederick and Van Wart, Geraldine, Carrascolendas: Bilingual Education Through Television. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974.

Down Sesame Street. Notebook #6. New York: The Network Project, Columbia University, November 1973.

Barrow, Lionel C., Jr., and Westley, Bruce H., Television Effects: A Summary of the Literature and Proposed General Theory. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin. Television Laboratory Research Bulletin #9, May 26, 1958.

Atkin, Charles K.; Murray, John P.; & Nayman, Oguz B., Television and Social Behavior, An Annotated Bibliography of Research Focusing on Television's Impact on Children. Rockville, Maryland: National Institute of Mental Health (Public Health Service Publication #2099), 1971.

Comstock, George A.; Rubinstein, Eli A.; & Murray, John P., (Eds.) Television and Social Behavior, Reports and Papers. Vol. 5. Television's Effects: Further Explorations. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1972.

In addition a computerized search was made of the ERIC (Educational Resources Information Center) Files using the keywords:

Behavior development or human development or television research or television surveys or television viewing AND minority group children or ethnic groups.

The ERIC search yielded seven entries, only one of which was pertinent to this report (an article on Sesame Street research). The other summaries were also of little help.

For example, Barrow & Westley (1958) summarized 41 experimental studies on the effects of educational film or TV. None of the studies was designed to explore the reaction of a particular ethnic group. In fact, none of them report ethnic differences, although it is quite clear that some of the studies (particularly those done on military personnel) could have (and probably did) include a number of minority subjects.

Dervin, Greenberg and Bowes (1969) present abstracts of 93 studies. None of these was an experimental study of the effects of TV on minority children. Journalism Abstracts is an annual compilation of master's



theses and doctoral dissertations written in schools and departments of Journalism and Communication in the U. S.. In 1973 it listed 45 abstracts (out of 302) that dealt with radio-TV-film. Only two of these dealt with U.'S. minorities and neither investigated the effect of TV on minority children.

The Murray, Rubinstein & Comstock (1972) volume includes several articles of research on children and TV. Again none were designed to investigate the impact of television on minority children and only two acknowledge that their samples included minority children.

Stevenson<sup>1</sup> laments that "the influence of television on the behavior of preschool children is a topic of great social concern. It has, nevertheless, received only minimal attention in the research of social scientists."

With respect to minority children, this attention has been virtually non-existent, especially for the Spanish-origin child (except for the Williams & Van Wart book) or the American Indian child. Fortunately, three of the eight studies in the Comstock, Rubinstein & Murray (1972) volume were on target, and two relevant dissertations were also located. Greenberg and Gordon<sup>2</sup> present the results of two studies of different reactions of blacks and whites to televised violence. They subdivided

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1. Stevenson, Harold W., "Television and the Behavior of Preschool Children." In Television & Social Behavior, Reports and Papers. Vol. II. Television and Social Learning, pp. 181-20.

2. Greenberg, Bradley S., and Gordon, Thomas F., "Social Class and Racial Differences in Children's Perceptions of Television Violence," and "Children's Perceptions of Television Violence: A Replication." In Comstock, Rubinstein & Murray, op.cit., 185-210 and 211-230.

their 5th and 8th grade subjects into four groups--low income blacks, low income whites, middle income whites and upper-middle income whites.

Greenberg<sup>1</sup> summarizes their findings as follows:

<u>Dimensions of Judgment</u>	<u>Study 1 (5th grade)</u>	<u>Study 2 (8th grade)</u>
1. Perceived violence	Blacks perceive less	No difference
2. Perceived acceptability	Lower-income & blacks find it more acceptable	Blacks find it more acceptable
3. Professed liking	Lower-income & blacks like it more	Blacks like it more
4. Perceived humor	not assessed	Lower-income find it more humorous
5. Perceived reality	Lower-income see it as more realistic	Lower-income & blacks see it as more realistic

The authors conclude "that the racial differences noted were extensions of economic conditions, rather than cultural influences."

Clark<sup>2</sup> designed a study to measure "identification with characters in a television drama"--a half hour tape of a Dragnet program featuring a black militant, a black policeman and a white policeman. He recruited 71 teenagers (38 whites and 33 blacks) who viewed the program under one of four conditions--"(1) racially mixed groups in a white locality; (2) racially unmixed groups in a white locality; (3) racially mixed groups in a black locality; and (4) racially unmixed groups in a black locality." Clark concluded that locality had little

1. Greenberg, Bradley S., "Televised Violence: Further Explorations (Overview)" In Comstock, Rubinstein and Murray, op.cit., 1-21.

2. Clark, Cedric, "Race, Identification, and Television Violence." In Comstock, Rubinstein and Murray, op.cit., 120-184.

effect, that the black teenagers "identified with the white policeman more than did the whites" and that they "rated the two policemen as more friendly" than did the white teenagers.

Neither the Clark study nor the Greenberg and Gordon studies varied the stimulus, but two studies were located in which the stimulus was varied.

Shapiro<sup>1</sup> reported that neither the race of the model nor sex labelling of the job made any difference in the extent to which 11th and 12th grade black girls recalled information about the jobs discussed in a program. It also made no difference in the girls' acceptance of the models or the jobs. She did find that girls who felt that their aspiration levels were "high" relative to their peers and those who reported "high levels of vicarious experiences with race discrimination were more influenced by black models than by white models."

Shapiro used tape recordings of "radio style interviews" in which a white, male announcer interviewed with a black or a white female. These interviews were played to the girls accompanied by 5 x 7 inch photographs of "attractive, young (21-27 years old) black and white women.

Dimas<sup>2</sup> tested the effect on self-concept of motion pictures (16 mm

1. Shapiro, Bernadette N., Effects of Race and Sex Role Stereotyping on Acceptance of and Learning from Occupational Role Models. Ph.D. Dissertation, Stanford University, 1972.

2. Dimas, Chris, The Effect of Motion Pictures Portraying Black Models on the Self-Concept of Black Elementary School Children. Ph.D. dissertation, Syracuse University, 1970.

film segments) portraying black models and white models. Dimas used all the black students in the 4th and 6th grades of three inner-city Syracuse schools as subjects. The subjects who saw the films with black models scored higher on "power," on group identification and on identification with parents. The fourth graders who saw the films with black models scored lower on "centrality" than did those who saw the films with white models, "indicating less focusing on the self," according to Dimas.

Ball and Bogatz<sup>1</sup> present the results of research evaluating the effects of Sesame Street. Nine hundred forty-three 3-, 4- and 5-year-olds were tested. The subjects included "disadvantaged children from the inner city, advantaged suburban children, children from rural areas, and disadvantaged Spanish-speaking children. The ERIC summary of the research<sup>2</sup> said the results indicated that: "(1) the children who watched the most learned the most; (2) the skills that received the most time and attention on the program were, with some rare exceptions, the skills that were best learned; and (3) the program did not require adult supervision for the children to learn." The ERIC summary also stated that "various disadvantaged groups made as much progress as advantaged children in learning from television," but gave no details for any specific ethnic group.

Williams and Van Wart evaluated Carrascalendas on 1-3 grade Spanish and

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1. Ball, Samuel, and Bogatz, Gerry Ann, Sesame Street Summative Research: Some Implications for Education and Child Development. Princeton, New Jersey: Educational Testing Service, 1971.

2. Research in Education (1971), article #57914.

English speaking children on a series of measures such as self-concept, language skills, history/culture, math, etc. Their research indicated definite gains in the history/culture area, mixed results in most other areas and no change in self-concept. In no instance, however, was any research done on different variations of the Carrascolendas program. Thus, while the research is able to speak to the success or failure of a single program series, generalization or even hypothesis-building is difficult.

My tentative conclusions are that we know virtually nothing about either the short or the long-term effects of television on minority children--the "we" nobody knows.

We know--or think we know--that Black children (especially poor Black children) tend to think of television as telling it "like it is," and as being "educational" to a greater extent than their white counterparts. We don't know if other minority group children (Spanish-origin children or American Indian children) have similar attitudes. Even more important, we don't know which show or aspects of shows they are talking about when they say "realistic" and "educational"--are they talking about the Sesame Street shows, or the commercial TV quiz shows, situation comedies, westerns or crime shows?

We know--or we think we know--that minority children can learn certain basic skills and facts (such as the ABCs and numbers) from watching programs like Sesame Street, The Electric Company and Carrascolendas. But we don't know how to prevent this learning from being extinguished in a hostile school environment and, even more importantly, we don't

know the extent to which TV viewing influences or modifies the minority child's social behavior or his sense of self-worth.

To repeat, we know precious little. If I were to place all of our knowledge in a thimble, I would probably still have room for my thumb.

#### Criticism of Current Programming

The basic criticism of current children's television is that it reflects little interest in or awareness of minority children and their problems. This is true not only of commercial television but also of educational TV which members of the Feminist Party feel is both sexist and racist. Floryncé Kennedy, attorney and founder of the Feminist Party, said, in a December interview in her home in New York City, that while Sesame Street seemed to be better than the programming on commercial TV ("I don't even know how to talk about the Cookie Monster programs"), it still left much to be desired. The children, through the "chocolate covered manure" of commercial television, are getting heavy dosages of sexism, racism and militarism, and educational television is not meeting this problem head on. In addition, Ms. Kennedy felt that there was an absence of serious discussion on children's programs, that the children themselves seldom get a chance to express themselves seriously. "There's a lot of dancing and singing, but the only time I see children being serious on television is when they are begging," she declared.

While most people interviewed felt that the educational TV shows are teaching children tangible skills, The Network Project reports research

by Dr. Herbert Sprigle<sup>1</sup> that casts doubts on this claim. The Project report ("Down Sesame Street") also summarizes research that indicates that black children tend to identify with the Muppet, Oscar the Grouch, who lives in a trash can. The report comments, "To many he (Oscar) represents the inner-city character, who is bottled up in his trash can; Oscar, however, likes his trash can. 'Sesame Street,' expressed a black minister, 'is telling a black kid that it's perfectly normal for you to live in a garbage can if you keep it clean.'" Joan Cooney of the Children's Television Workshop has refuted both claims.

Fernando Fuster, Puerto Rican Filmmaker in New York City, commented that most films deal with the harshness and hopelessness of ghetto life. He felt that there was a need for more films "dealing with positive experiences."

A Mexican-American discussion revealed feelings that current programs (such as Carrascolendas) might unwittingly cause conflict in the home. The Spanish spoken in these programs, the participants agreed, was academic, Castilian Spanish, not the Spanish spoken in most Mexican-American homes. This might actually create conflict at home unless the child was also taught not to be ashamed of his language. They felt that there should be more innovative programs on Mexican-American culture (on "La Vida") such as the Cancion de la Raza program done in the late '60s in Los Angeles.

Finally, they felt that the Latin child going into an Anglo class is

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1. "Down Sesame Street," Notebook Number 6 (November 1973), pp. 27-30. New York: The Network Project, Columbia University.



going to be afraid--no matter how many Sesame Streets or Carrascolendas the child has seen. Some programs, they felt, were needed that dealt with this situation. Culture conflict exists, they said, and should be dealt with.

The above Mexican-American discussion was held in Milwaukee. Present were: William Bailey, Chicano student working for a Ph.D. in educational psychology; Francisco Urbina, midwest coordinator of CANBEE (Curriculum Adaptation Network for Bilingual, Bicultural Education) and a former first grade teacher in a 99 percent Mexican-American school; Greg Montoto, acting director, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Spanish Speaking Outreach Center and José Vasquez, father, rehabilitation counselor and a graduate student in the UWM School of Education.

A similar discussion on the American Indian child was held at the Indian Community School in Milwaukee. Participants included: Dr. Jerry Hodan, child psychologist; Jacqueline McCarter, science teacher, grades 5-12; Rita Gross, teacher aide in the reading program, grades 5-12; and Dorothy LaPage, director of the school.

Most of the Indian children in the school were heavy watchers of television, the participants stated. Most of their homes had a TV even when they didn't have a phone. The drawing by the children of "Albert the Alleycat," of "Charlie Brown" and of Indian "bow and arrow" stereotypes reflect this viewing.

The old Hollywood reruns have helped to create a gap between the Indian



child and his heritage, they felt. Few programs have been designed to combat this. Few programs deal with the urban Indian child and his problems (and, as was previously noted, more than 40 percent of today's American Indians live in urban areas). Even Sesame Street and The Electric Company ignore the Indian.

However, this lack of Indian characters on educational children's TV does not seem to bother the children. They watch it, learn from it, enjoy it. The absence, probably, is no more than they expect from a white-controlled medium.

There is a need, they felt, for programs dealing with the actual Indian heritage and with modern-day Indian life--in the cities and on the reservations. Health care, they felt, is one of the major problems for Indian youth and programs designed to improve health care would be of great service.

Pierce, a professor of education and psychiatry at Harvard Medical School, has criticized TV in two separate articles. In one, he expresses the view that television may pre-condition black youth to accept drugs.<sup>1</sup> Pierce says that "A chief etiological agent in drug addition for blacks is the disrespect and indignity they suffer from the majority which expects and insists that blacks be deferential, defeated and demoralized. One training site that prepares both blacks and whites to accept this proposition is television. . . .some television habitues may become especially prone to capitulate to drugs

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1. Pierce, Chester M., "Race, Deprivation and Drug Abuse in the USA," Anglo-American Conference on Drug Abuse. (April 17, 1973), 69-76.

because the content of the medium trains people to sustain certain negative communications about each other. . . ."

In the other article, Pierce analyzes the Harlem Globetrotters Popcorn Machine cartoon series.<sup>1</sup> He says:

"What the children of the nation see week after week is that a group of black men are controlled and directed by a small, feisty, white grandmother. Thus, hour after hour, emotional and psychological sets are being molded whereby blacks and whites can accept as usual and routine that even a senescent white woman can boss around, direct, and guide capable black men. All these and countless other examples show blacks as accommodating, controlled, dependent, and of course, not creative or original in their thought."

Billingsley, a Howard University expert on the Black family, makes the following comments on commercial television programming.<sup>2</sup>

"What is most distressing about television programming, in addition to its general decadence, is that the producers and the networks seem to have an absolute aversion to showing the life of representative Black families. Not one national series on Black people presented a complete Black family until the 1973 season. Until then, none of the white or Black oriented programs managed to have a Black husband and wife with children presented on the screen in regular interaction, comic, tragic or otherwise."

With reference to programs aimed at children, he has the following comments on the Jackson Five cartoons:

"It is sad. . . that despite the fact that the Jackson Five are Black, the world around them in this series is almost completely white. It is as if the Jackson Five are taken completely out of context. The height of this subtle racism

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1. Pierce, Chester M., "Psychiatric Problems of the Black Minority," American Handbook of Psychiatry, Silvano Arieti, editor-in-chief. New York: Basic Books, 1974; vol. 2, chapter 33, 512-533.

2. Billingsley, Andrew, Black Families and the Struggle for Survival. New York: Friendship Press, 1974.

was perhaps the Saturday morning when in the cartoon the Jackson Five went "Back to Indiana." Imagine our [his family's] distress when in the cartoon, the Jackson Five arrived in Gary to greet the Mayor and the picture showed only the desk and hands of the Mayor. Even then, the Mayor's hands were white. Now, there has never been a white Mayor of Gary, Indiana, since the Jackson Five became famous."

Billingsley compliments "Soul Train" and the Johnson Hair Products Company advertising. He also praises Sesame Street and The Electric Company because "they show Black people in everyday roles in life, interacting with themselves and with white people on altogether honorable and dignified terms. If these relationships are often a bit contrived and fairytale-like, they are nevertheless altogether positive and constructive as well as entertaining."

The major criticism of both the funding agencies and educational television was their failure to encourage the growth of well-trained minority researchers and of minority production companies. Cliff Frazier of Third World Cinema in New York said that the major problem is a lack of minority input in the conceptualization of the entire product from beginning to end. It is impossible for a white person--no matter how liberal--to immerse himself in the needs and psyche of the minority person. In fact, his liberalness (and it most often is a "he" when you talk either about research or production) sometimes gets in the way of his dealing with reality. A child sometimes has to be disciplined and guilt feelings might cause a white liberal not recognize this.

Florynce Kennedy said that the media need to have women and non-racists

go over the scripts prior to shooting. The producer will bring his or her values to the program, she felt. One, therefore, needs to examine the filmmakers' values closely and select people on the basis of their values and not solely on the basis of their technical competence and/or costs.

Ms. Kennedy also felt that more shows ought to be produced by children themselves. Fernando Fuster didn't go this far but he did feel that the children of the target audience should be involved in the filming process from beginning to end. In his own films, for example, he has children read the script and correct his "50s language and concepts of reality."

St. Claire Bourne, New York filmmaker for Chamba productions, echoed Mr. Frazier's suggestions. Minority participation is needed, he felt, at two levels--during the development of educational guidelines and at the point when these guidelines are being translated into film. Black production companies should be given full production contracts from concept to screening. Most contracts go to independent filmmakers who are primarily young, white males. He related a particular instance when he was given the run-around by a New York agency that had asked for bids on a program aimed at improving the self-image of black youth. They asked for--and lost--his film, interviewed him several times and finally sent him a letter acknowledging his expertise as an "editor." Mr. Bourne, one of the original writers of Black Journal, commented, "I'm a writer, a director and a producer. I never said anything to them about being an editor."

The Mexican-American panel felt that programs aimed at Mexican-American youngsters should employ Mexican-American specialists to prevent accidental errors and unintended reinforcement of stereotypes. They also felt that the program--especially those on commercial broadcasting--should pay great attention to casting. Having a Puerto Rican play a Chicano (as in "Chico and the Man") is "not satisfying our needs," they agreed.

#### Alternative Delivery Systems

I am not fully convinced that the television ought to be the only delivery system used. The small percent of minorities employed in commercial and in public television (10% and 9% respectively in 1972)<sup>1</sup> makes me feel that there might be some resistance to airing serious programs aimed at Black, Spanish-origin or American Indian children on any kind of a sustained basis. Consequently, I feel that a number of alternative modes of delivery ought to be explored. The most obvious of these would be making the programs available to schools and/or community centers in video-tape and/or 16 mm form. Radio programming, records, comic strips and children's books offer other alternatives. All ought to be explored.

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1. Jennings, Ralph M.; Kerr, Marcella; & Parker, Truman E., Public Television Station Employment Practices and the Composition of Boards of Directors: The Status of Minorities and Women. New York: Office of Communication, United Church of Christ, January 1973.

The article also indicates that only 5.9% of the top three employment categories (officials and managers, professionals and technicians) in public TV stations were minority group members and that 42 percent of these stations had no minority group member in these upper categories sitting by the door.

Recommendations

Barrow and Westley have stated that the effect of a television program is a function of the potency and comprehensibility of the program to its audience.

Potency--the program's ability to attract and hold the attention of an audience-- and comprehensibility--the understandability of the program--are functions not only of characteristics of the stimulus but of characteristics of the target audience. What might be perfectly clear to and attractive to one audience might well be misunderstood and repulsive to another. It is, therefore, obvious that if one plans to build programs to attract and influence minority children that one needs to design procedures to discover the relevant characteristics.

The persons interviewed for this study by and large felt that it was not enough to hire just anyone to do the research and programming, that it would be necessary to hire sensitive, minority researchers and producers to do the job.

Before someone says "I'd be glad to do so but I don't know where to find them," it should be pointed out that professional organizations such as the Minorities and Communications Division of the Association for Education in Journalism and non-profit organizations such as The American Indian Press Association of Washington, D. C., and the Cablecommunication Research Center of Washington, D. C. and Palo Alto, California, would be happy to be of assistance. (Cablecommunication recently received a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health to investigate the area of the effect of television on

Blacks.) In terms of television and film personnel, a number of competent minority firms have indicated an interest in projects of this nature. These include:

Wantu Animation, 342 Madison Ave., N. Y., N. Y., 10017,  
James A. Simon, President.

Synthesis Organization, c/o Reginald Bryant, Producer,  
Black Perspective on the News, WHYY-TV 12, 4548 Market  
St., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 19139.

Chamba Productions, Inc., c/o St. Clair Bourne, Producer-  
Director, 230 W. 105th St., N. Y., 10025.

Third World Cinema Productions, 62 W. 45th St., N. Y.,  
10036, Clifford Krazier, Administrator.

In addition, Charles Hobson, Director, Mass Communications, Clark College in Atlanta, Ga., (30314) and the Institute of American Indian Arts (Cerrillos R., Santa Fe, New Mexico, 87501) have indicated great interest. Prof. Hobson is a former New York film producer who produced two films for children's TV and who is writing children's books for Harper and Row on Black music. The Institute of American Indian Arts has "a deep concern for involving Indian people in the media production world" and has worked on five different TV programs.

Thus, it appears that what is needed is the desire to make an effort and the funds with which to implement that desire. The type of program being recommended would involve:

1. Some initial meetings around the country to locate other interested personnel.
2. The establishment of one or more research programs to do:
  - a. basic research on minority children and the effects

that mass conveyed messages might have on them.

- b. summative research on specific programs designed on the basis of the research devised in 2a and other programs being designed to reach and affect minority children.
3. The establishment of one or more training programs to:
  - a. train competent program producers to work with the researchers, and
  - b. train researchers to work with program producers.
4. The letting of contracts to minority firms whose personnel have either undergone the training, or whose current output indicates a willingness and an ability to work as part of a research-production team, to produce programs for actual airing and for research purposes.

#### Costs

Costs are a bit difficult to estimate at the moment. The research and training program should be funded for a minimum of five years at approximately \$400,000 to \$500,000 a year--exclusive of production costs.

Pearce<sup>1</sup> indicates that the networks pay slightly more than \$1,000,000 "for 17 original negatives when they buy from the leading suppliers of cartoons; thus each negative costs the network \$62,000." Since

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1. Pearce, Alan, The Economics of Network Children's Television Programming. Washington, D. C.: Federal Communications Commission, July 1972, pp. 10-11.



they play each one six times over a two-year period, this averages out at "just over \$10,000 a showing," according to Pearce.

Children's Television Workshop programs are "similarly expensive," Pearce says. The Electric Company cost "around \$8 million for the first 160 half hour shows," or about \$50,000 per half hour, and Sesame Street costs "roughly \$5 million for 160 one-hour shows--an average cost of \$31,250 per hour." CTW, incidentally, includes all of its costs--including research and administration--in its program budget, a practice not followed by the commercial networks, according to Pearce. The use of animation by The Electric Company, Pearce says, is the reason why it is so much more expensive than Sesame Street. Pearce also says that CTW pays \$4,000 a minute for animation which is higher than network costs because the networks "buy in bulk and because they (the networks) often cut costs on animation by ordering fewer frames per second, producing jumpy movement."

With reference to costs for this project, no production costs should be incurred during the first year which should be devoted entirely to research and a shakedown training exercise.

During the second year, experimental programs should be produced and tested prior to airing. If programs on the order of an Electric Company or a Sesame Street are envisioned, then obviously costs in the same neighborhood (\$5 to \$8 million a year) should be contemplated for the remaining three years of the project.

## The Geographically Isolated Child

### The Author

Dr. Louis A. Bransford is Director of Utilization, Satellite Technology Demonstration (STD), Federation of Rocky Mountain States. He is responsible for the development, implementation, and monitoring of STD field services. As a Professor of Education at the University of New Mexico, he developed a training program in Special Education and established the first Chicano studies program in the Southwest. He has served on the National Advisory Council for the Developmentally Disabled and the Executive Board of the Council for Exceptional Children. He has been a consultant to a USOE project, Technical Assistance Development System, at the Frank Porter Graham Child Development Center in North Carolina; to the President's Committee on Mental Retardation; and to the National Advisory Council on Services for the Developmentally Disabled.

### The Paper

In the following paper, "Impact of Television on Children and Youth in Geographically Isolated Areas," Bransford examines the needs of the non-urban child that might be served with appropriate television programming and delivery systems. His paper is followed by an addendum wherein he states his judgments on eight specific questions that were stimulated by his original paper.

**IMPACT OF TELEVISION ON CHILDREN AND YOUTH  
IN GEOGRAPHICALLY ISOLATED AREAS**

by

**Louis A. Bransford  
Director of Utilization  
Satellite Technology Demonstration  
Federation of Rocky Mountain States  
Denver, Colorado**

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Submitted to:

**Institute for Communication Research  
Indiana University  
Bloomington, Indiana 47401**

IMPACT OF TELEVISION ON CHILDREN AND YOUTH  
IN GEOGRAPHICALLY ISOLATED AREAS

Most youngsters today cannot recall a time when television did not comprise a vital part of their lives. It has been said that a child born in the United States today will spend more time in front of the television screen than in any other activity except sleep--this, of course, includes school. Obviously, television significantly affects the lives of children in this country, yet relatively little empirical evidence exists that determines just what this effect is, especially on children and youth in geographically isolated areas. This report attempts to shed some light on the impact of television on the rural isolated child, and the role the Federal government should play in providing television programming for such children.

When we speak of rural populations, we generally think of communities with populations under 2,000, based on census criteria. However, any analysis of rural youth must include such factors as limited accessibility to conventional modes of transportation to population centers and limited accessibility to communications systems, including television. An analysis of the effect of television on the behavior of rural youth must also consider the many changes that have taken place in our society over a period of time. Relevant information would include changes in child-rearing practices, size of families, and the child's role in the family; the mobility of our population, which can manifest demographic distribution patterns; the changes in our educational system; the effect of the Civil Rights movement, the changes in the kind of television programs offered; and the structure of social programs for children (i.e., Little League, Scouts, Y.M.C.A. programs)

that may dictate the daily life style of children. The tremendous changes that have taken place in our society may lead researchers to question the validity of many studies on children's television behavior that have been made during the 1950's and 1960's.

To gain some insight into these matters, Table I provides a summary of the U. S. population with a breakdown of urban and rural populations. Data for 1950, 1960, and 1970 are included to compare changes in the population over a 20-year period. An additional column has been included to reflect the percentage of homes in the United States with television sets during this 20 year period.

TABLE I

	<u>Total U.S. Population</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Rural</u>	<u>% Distribution</u>		<u>% Homes With T.V.</u>
				Urban	Rural	
1970	203,211,926	149,324,930	53,886,996	73.5	26.5	96
1960	179,323,175	125,268,750	54,054,425	69.9	30.1	28
1950	151,325,798	96,846,817	54,478,981	64.0	36.0	2

Appendix A provides a breakdown of urban and rural populations in selected regions of the country and Appendix B categorizes rural and urban populations by age and school enrollment. For purposes of comparison, the Rocky Mountain and Appalachian regions, and the state of Alaska were selected, since the remaining regions of the country appear to follow overall U.S. patterns closely. Before we analyze data on the selected areas, let us look at some statistics on rural populations as a whole.

The 1970 census listed over 50 million people living in rural areas. It is estimated that 11.5 million of the rural population live in sub-standard homes. Figures also reveal that almost 45 per cent of the nation's poor live in rural areas. In fact, Gordon Cavanaugh, in testimony before the U. S. Senate Committee on Housing and Urban Affairs, stated that there are more television sets in rural homes than any other electrical appliance. More rural homes have television than indoor plumbing (one rural home in four has no indoor plumbing) and when ethnic variables are added to the model, the statistics are magnified.

The Corporation for Public Broadcasting estimated that 80 per cent of the country is served by one or more public television stations with Grade A coverage. If Grade B coverage, cable systems, and/or translator systems are considered, it is estimated that over 95 per cent of the country has some access to television. However, we have not found data showing a breakdown for rural and urban audiences. Moreover, the Nielsen ratings data show no such breakdown. Therefore, it would be difficult to determine exactly how many rural versus urban homes have access to some television. We do know that it is not unusual to see a television in an urban classroom today. However, it is still unusual in most rural classrooms. From available data, the three geographic areas composed of many rural isolated communities and which will be studied here have the least access to television, particularly public television.

A 1972 survey of the Rocky Mountain region by the Federation of Rocky Mountain States revealed that of 1,078 districts in the eight-state region, public television was available in 322 of the 820 districts that responded to the questionnaire. These 322 school districts, with an enrollment of 1,309,673 pupils,

represented 39 per cent of the school districts. The 498 districts without access to public television and with an enrollment of 378,139, represented 61 per cent of the school districts. The obvious conclusion is that school districts in geographically isolated areas with limited enrollment have less access to public television than larger school districts. Moreover, the mere fact that PTV is available does not guarantee its use in the schools. Less than 15 per cent of those school districts with access to PTV reported that it was used as an ongoing facet of the curriculum.

An analysis of the availability of public television in the Rocky Mountain States is found in Table II:

TABLE II  
PUBLIC TELEVISION AVAILABILITY BY SCHOOL DISTRICTS IN THE  
ROCKY MOUNTAIN REGION

	<u>Number of Districts</u>	<u>District Enrollment</u>	<u>Per Cent of Enrollment</u>	<u>Per Cent of Districts</u>
PTV Available	322	1,309,673	77.6	39
PTV Not Available	498	378,139	22.4	61
Total	820	1,687,812		

The states of Montana and Wyoming do not at the present time have public television stations and must rely on neighboring states to provide them with television via cable or translator systems. If ethnic group comparisons are made, the limited accessibility to public television is even more evident.

Appendix C includes an ethnic breakdown and the percentage of PTS available for the Indian, Black, Chicano, and Anglo populations in the Rocky Mountain States.

Census data reveals that the majority of the Black population in the Rocky Mountains live in urban areas and the majority of our Indian population continue to live on reservations, supporting the findings from the survey. A quick analysis of Indian reservations in the Rocky Mountain region reveals that of 76 reservations, less than 1/3 have access to public television. See Appendix D for list of reservations and their PTS coverage.

Accessibility to television in a community, however, does not necessarily assure its availability to a school or reservation. For example, the Broadcasting Cable Source Book for 1975 reveals that only a small percentage of the community served by cable actually subscribe. If we consider the cost of installing cable lines and the economic constraints of many of our rural communities, we would find a significant disparity between the population and cable subscribers in the majority of our geographically isolated communities. This disparity could take on sociological implications, since a cable company will generally lay cable in areas of the community that will provide a high density of subscribers. In many cases this excludes the poor and the ethnic population who could possibly benefit most from educational television. Examples of cable coverage in selected rural communities are shown in Appendix E.

A breakdown by race for urban and rural populations in the three selected areas studied in this report is included in Appendix F. The Rocky Mountain region is the most diverse of the three regions, being composed of a wide range of cultural groupings. Fifty per cent of the American Indians live in the area, the majority on reservations; thirty per cent of the Americans of Spanish or Mexican descent live in the region; Black Americans are represented, but primarily in the urban areas. There are a considerable number of people, particularly on the Navajo



Indian reservation, who have not experienced electricity in the home, and certainly no television. Quite clearly, these geographic, cultural and social conditions result in severe problems for delivery of quality education and social services.

Alaska has a population somewhat over a quarter of a million, of whom approximately one-fifth or 53,000, are natives. Almost one-half of the state's population is located in or near Anchorage; almost two-thirds if Fairbanks is included.

Alaska is a rural state with only 0.5 people per square mile; over half of the native population live in villages with 500 people or less. Access to many settlements is only by air, or seasonally by boat, snowmobile, or dog team.

Only 23 of these native villages have telephone service. Communication with most villages is by two-way high-frequency radio. Only the larger cities have radio and television service, with cable television available on a limited basis in only a small number of rural communities.

The overall median education level is slightly above 12 years. However, the median school years completed by native Alaskans range from 1.6 years in the Southwest to 9 years in the Southeast, whereas the median educational level for white Alaskans is 12.4 years. Most village adults have less than an elementary education and many have no formal education at all.

Few rural native Alaskans can attend high school in their home towns; in fact, most native students never finish the eighth grade. School is a strange, confusing, and often irrelevant experience. If the native Alaskan furthers his secondary education or even higher education, he will have experienced a deculturation from the life styles of his parents and native traditions.

Contact with Western culture has brought about radical changes in native life style. New problems have arisen -- epidemics, alcoholism, suicide, etc. Civil Rights efforts that have so greatly affected other minority groups have now reached the native Alaskan. They are now demanding an improved standard of living, better communications and education, and a fair share of Alaska's employment possibilities.

Attempts have been made through satellite programs to further the educational level of the native Alaskans while trying to preserve, at least in part, the native culture. Selected villages have been provided with transmitters and receivers. Daily morning and evening broadcasts carry village news, cultural programs, teacher exchanges, and other programs designed to link the participating villages in a functional relevant network.

The Appalachian region stretches over 13 Eastern states from Southern New York to Northeastern Mississippi. The region has long been characterized by geographical isolation, a low public tax base, and high rates of unemployment. In the 1960's there were over three million illiterate adults in the region. Mirroring these general conditions, Appalachian school districts have drop-out rates two to three times the national average. In a survey conducted by the Appalachian Regional Commission in 1970, it was shown that Appalachia has twice as many uncertified teachers as the rest of the nation. Many of the schools in the area are one-room schoolhouses and, in general, the schools are in desperate need of repair and modernizing. Educational services such as remedial reading and inservice programs for teachers are generally nonexistent. Severe weather, transportation problems, and abject poverty keep many children away from school.

The American Research Bureau reports that 89 per cent of Appalachian households have television, compared to the 96 per cent average for the nation. However, the mere existence of television sets does not necessarily mean they are in use. As in many areas with limited communications and educational services, when electrical equipment of any kind breaks down, it is often not repaired or replaced. Thus, the 89 per cent figure may not reflect reality and the unavailability of more detailed breakdowns makes it difficult to determine just what television access is in Appalachia. The Broadcasting Yearbook for 1974 provides the number of television households for each of the dominant television markets, broken down by county, but again, no data are provided for rural versus urban households or for the number of rural households with television sets actually in use. It is known that both commercial and public television usage in the Appalachian region has grown prodigiously during the last five years. Yet because of the isolation and extreme poverty, many Appalachian children have had little exposure to television. Cable and translator systems that would make television available to this mountainous region are too expensive for many poverty-stricken communities to support. The Appalachian Education Satellite Project, which was initiated in the 1974-75 school year by a group of Federal and State agencies is probably the first educational exposure via television that certain communities had experienced. The program was designed to improve the effectiveness of the classroom teacher by providing in-service training and to provide reading instruction and career counselling programs for in-school use. It is still too early to tell just what effect the introduction of television by satellite has had on Appalachian children and youth, but preliminary indications reveal that teachers and students involved are most enthusiastic.

A review of previous investigations on the effects of television on children and youth provide limited information on rural populations. The 1961 Schramm, Lyle, Parker study did include one small community in the Rocky Mountain West in their extensive investigations; however their findings would be questioned today because of the tremendous changes that have taken place in the past fifteen years. This is true with many other investigations that have been conducted to study the effects of television on children. The most recent Children's Television Workshop study, although current, did not include populations from geographically isolated areas but limited their sample to the urban disadvantaged. Although the authors reported that "Sesame Street" did have a marked effect on the learning of pre-school children from widely diverse backgrounds, only inferences can be made about children from rural isolated areas.

Ratings such as Nielsen's, although valuable for commercial interests, basically provide information on which programs are viewed. Although children's shows rank high, Nielsen surveys do not usually provide information as to who is watching, nor does it differentiate between urban and rural audiences. A special Nielsen's viewing analysis in 1970 estimated that children from 6 to 11 years of age averaged over 25 hours of viewing per week, the average child between 2 and 5 watched as much as 30 hours per week.

A Harris survey in 1971 revealed that there was at least one working television in 96 of every 100 households in the U.S.A. The Television Fact Book for 1973 estimated that 98,600,000 televisions were in use, or one set for every two persons. No mention is made of differences between urban and rural populations, although it is presumed to be higher in the urban areas.

The numerous Witty studies found little relationship between the amount of television viewing and academic success, but again no rural population was included in the study. The previously mentioned Schramm, Lyle and Parker study found no evidence that television improves school performance, with one exception. When they compared one of their experimental sites to a small community in Canada that had no access to television, they found that those having access to television had higher vocabulary scores than those who did not.

In West Virginia, the Appalachian Regional Commission developed an early childhood program series in 1970 designed to provide home-oriented television instruction for pre-school children and parents. It consisted of 30-minute television lessons broadcast into homes. The evaluation of this program series showed an increase in language development in vocabulary and social skills on the part of both children and parents; however, no generalization could be drawn from this regarding urban and rural differences.

Dallenback studied the effects of in-school television on gifted fifth and sixth-grade students in rural Northeastern Minnesota. He reported that students exposed to television programs achieved greater gains than the control group of students on four of the nine variables. In five other instances, however, the control students made greater average gains. Again, it is difficult to draw inferences from such findings regarding the effects of television on children and youth in geographically isolated areas.

Of course, the above-mentioned studies were not specifically designed to study the effect of television on rural youth. The only study that we have found which specifically addressed the viewing habits of children in different population

settings is one by Jose Cordova. Cordova studied the television viewing habits of special education and regular education children in five New Mexico school districts in 1973. His study was conducted to determine what the viewing habits were of children from different ethnic backgrounds and what the television viewing habits were of children living in different population settings. The findings revealed no significant differences between the viewing habits of children in special and regular education. In addition, no overall differences resulted when ethnicity was compared as shown in Table III.

TABLE III  
VIEWING HABITS OF ETHNIC GROUPS

<u>Students - Program</u>	<u>Daily Avg. Viewing Hrs.</u>	<u>Daily Avg. PTS Hrs.</u>
Anglo-American regular education	3.29	.73
Anglo-American special education	3.24	.79
Mexican-American regular education	3.22	1.04
Mexican-American special education	3.35	.73

There were slight differences when population settings were compared. The findings revealed that children in large urban and metropolitan areas view more television than any other population as illustrated in Table IV.

TABLE IV

Television Viewing Habits - Regular Education

<u>Population Setting</u>	<u>Daily Avg. Viewing Hrs.</u>	<u>Daily Avg. PTS Hrs.</u>
Metropolitan	3.54	.85
Urban - Large	3.39	1.47
Urban - Small	2.19	.57
Rural	3.07	1.45
Rural Isolated	3.26	.41
All Areas	3.26	.98

It appeared that the city, while seemingly providing leisure activities of many varieties, still allowed more time for children to view television. Perhaps the additional responsibilities of school children living in rural communities reduced the television viewing time. It is also postulated that the variation in picture quality between urban and rural areas contributed to the difference. The fact that many of these youngsters in rural communities spend considerable time on buses going to and from school is another factor to consider. Of interest is the fact that no differences were found across ethnic groups or across programs. Mexican-American children watched as much television as their Anglo classmates. This supports the findings of Children's Television Workshop evaluation showing that "Sesame Street" had a positive effect on youngsters from diverse and disadvantaged backgrounds.

The fact that there is almost no difference in the viewing habits of the children when considered as groups indicates, according to Cordova, that television



has an appeal for children regardless of their location or their ethnic background. Specific differences may be the result of home responsibilities, economics, isolation, and reception quality.

More recently the Advisory Council of National Organizations (ACNO) to the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) created four task forces to study the use of television and radio for educational purposes and to submit recommendations for CPB action. The ACNO task force members represent the country geographically and include minority and majority interests. A status report presented at the annual NAEB conference in Las Vegas, Nevada brought out several recommendations with implications for geographically isolated areas. The final report will be completed by April, 1975.

The Stanford University Institute for Communications Research has conducted several communication studies in rural education. Their work in this area, however, is predominantly in foreign and/or developing countries with only limited application to geographically isolated areas in the United States because of the vast differences in program emphasis and resources. The planning, development, and evaluation procedures utilized in their studies, on the other hand, do provide valuable information on communications technology in general.

The Division of Industrial Economics of the Denver Research Institute is now in the process of completing a report which studies television distribution to rural isolated areas through various transmission systems, including satellite. The report, underwritten by the Office of Telecommunications Policy, is not for public release at the present time, but should be available in the near future. Their preliminary report in Broadcasting (January 13, 1974) does not support



the immediate use of satellites for television distribution, but recommends other existing methods. The report also mentioned that practically all states, except the smallest, have television white areas, some where there is no service at all.

Perhaps before the Denver Research Institute report on satellite distribution is submitted to FCC by OTP, an update on a project that is using communication satellites to demonstrate the feasibility of such a delivery system in rural areas might neutralize the reaction. One of the more innovative ways of delivering educational services to rural populations has been in operation since the fall of 1974. The Satellite Technology Demonstration, through the Federation of Rocky Mountain States which is also headquartered in Denver, Colorado is presently serving eight Rocky Mountain States via the ATS-6, a communications satellite launched in May 1974. The STD is distributing career development programming for junior high school students, in-service training for teachers, evening programs for adults, and filmic programs to participating schools. The capabilities utilized in this project also have applicability to urban populations as well through the 12 participating regional public television stations.

Satellite capability has as a minimum the distribution capability existing in current cable and translator systems. It has also brought live interaction to reality to certain of the sites in the eight states enabling them to "talk back" to the program originators or to other sites via another satellite. This same satellite will be used later in the year to receive digital data from the sites through a central computer in Denver. For the future, satellite distribution of programming can include interspersing short program segments with live interaction. The interaction, therefore, will be more meaningful and immediate for the students and will even give the presenter, if it is live, the opportunity of revising and modifying his presentation during the course of the lesson.

Satellite capability makes it possible for the world itself to be a live classroom, making available experts from all over the world to students in remote, isolated areas as well as urban areas. The initial findings of the STD reveal that the technological and programmatic capabilities of the project are meeting with success. The majority of students and teachers involved in the STD are accepting and supportive of the programs that are being transmitted to rural schools, and if given a choice, they would continue to use the system in subsequent years and in a variety of subject matter areas. The effectiveness of the STD reflects partly on the quality of program but also on the reliability of the delivery system. The STD data base, therefore, may question the conclusion and recommendation of the Denver Research Institute study on the use of communication satellites in education.

What is evident after an extensive review of the literature on the impact of television on children and youth in geographically isolated areas is that there is a paucity of information on the subject. The literature that does exist clearly reveals that there are unique needs in rural areas that have been indentified and that can be addressed through media technology.

What are some of the major problems that affect children and youth in rural isolated areas? The fragmentation of educational services in rural areas appears to be the most serious problem. Services are generally piecemeal, limited and singular. Mediated instruction, when used, is often not integrated into the ongoing courses of study because of time, staff, and space constraints. Generally speaking, geographically isolated areas have no comprehensive services, no pre-school programs and a significant drop-out rate. Kindergarten programs have been available in the Rocky Mountain West, but on a limited basis. Only in the

last several years have kindergarten programs received state support. Head Start programs reach only 20 per cent of those in need. The overall funding of school programs is limited because of limited populations and excessive cost for implementation of innovative programs utilizing technology. As a result, the traditional programs have been perpetuated. Ironically, a few rural areas, because of recent funding sources; i.e., oil and gas, have an abundance of dollars and are making substantial changes in their curriculum. The results have not yet been evidenced. What is evident is that traditional faculties, staff training, and priorities will need to be considered and modified before significant educational changes come about. The mere fact that monies are available does not assure better education. In regard to public television services in many of our rural communities, even those with sufficient funding resources, they must first of all gain access to public television.

Demographic studies clearly reveal that a larger number of minority children and youngsters from low economic backgrounds reside in rural areas. It is also evident and accepted that these youngsters have unique life styles that have led to cultural conflict with existing school curriculum. Factors such as bilingualism, cultural differences, poverty, unemployment, and less access to information also need to be considered in the educational process. More than 2,000,000 Mexican-American students are enrolled in public schools in the U. S. Over 70 per cent attend school in Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico and Texas. Census data no longer includes this population as a separate ethnic category; therefore, available data is fragmented. Over 50 per cent of the country's 800,000 Indians are found in the Rocky Mountain area. The majority live on reservations which are geographically isolated and which have very limited resources. The major migrant

population flows through many of our less populated regions of the country. Data on this unique population is also very unreliable. The data bank in Little Rock, Arkansas, probably is the best source of information on this population.

The inability of the educational system to be responsive to individualized requirements has affected minorities significantly. This problem is magnified when they reside in geographically isolated areas with limited educational services. Although Civil Rights efforts and special programs for low-income families and for areas with substantially large ethnic populations have provided supportive services, many gaps still exist and indicate the need for more effective distribution and delivery of services. Unfortunately, many of the Civil Rights legal efforts expended in recent years have not accomplished long-lasting change. In most cases, responses on the part of the school system are more of an interim or temporary nature. In some school districts, such efforts must be given priority, thus diminishing consideration for other curricular innovations such as media technology.

The negative feeling of many educators and consumers toward technology-based programs also contributes to the ineffectiveness of our educational system in general and to small rural schools in particular. It appears that a disproportionate number of such educators are employed in small geographically isolated school systems. Although this observation is not documented, it only requires a comparison of school programs in schools with varying enrollment. Obviously, school resources are also responsible for certain differences.

Funding patterns at the local, state, and federal level are another concern. For instance, on a local level, small communities generally have more limited economic bases, bonding problems, and proportionately higher transportation costs

than larger communities. More specifically, smaller schools are forced to spend a higher percentage of their budget for certain services than a school with a much higher enrollment. In turn, a larger school district might allocate five per cent of their support budget for media technology and be able to purchase a comprehensive closed-circuit television system for one of their schools. A similar investment in a smaller district could absorb the total budget.

Revenue sharing, from all indications, has not significantly affected small school systems. Training programs for professional personnel in geographically isolated areas are limited at best. Employment moving toward specialization of a highly technical nature, economic trends changing daily, boom towns developing overnight, recent migration by urban dwellers to rural areas (who demand services from schools and communities which were previously available to them), transportation and communication innovations, all contribute to the disparity between urban and rural school system resources.

It is pointless to use media technology in delivery and distribution of educational services unless it will accomplish specific goals more effectively and efficiently than could be done otherwise. However, many geographically isolated regions have special problems that school systems must deal with and which can be addressed through media technology. Media technology can support professional staff in rural areas, who because of their relative isolation, may not be aware of, or have access to, existing resources. Technology can also assist many rural communities that are economically dependent upon agriculture, which have intense seasonal demands and require long-distance travel to schools; problems directly affecting educational opportunity. As

was discussed earlier, a large percentage of children in rural isolated schools have a first language other than English. Many children are also from migrant families who travel with the season from crop to crop and from school to school.

A combination of satellite and terrestrial delivery of social and educational programs can reach areas which are otherwise inaccessible. Enrichment programs could be broadcast to schools to augment presently limited courses of study. Pre-recorded programs could be prescribed based on individual interest or ability. The child could elect to watch selected programs providing a way for schools with limited resources to bypass the major responsibility of developing individualized curriculum. Teachers could be relieved of the extra pressure of developing special programs for the one or two students who may need additional support in coping with the ongoing curriculum. This could include youngsters with limited intellectual development or youngsters with diverse behavioral disorders. Home-bound students could also be served through media technology. Migrant children could receive a whole series of televised programs broadcast in a sequence throughout the region.

Children whose first language is not English could be accommodated by providing specially designed cultural programming that could alternate with or complement English-speaking programs using multiple audio channels to transmit in a second language.

Commercial satellites and new cable systems have the capacity for two-way transmission of programs enabling a child in geographically isolated areas to converse with experts many miles away. They also provide an opportunity for small schools to interconnect with major schools and universities which may have ongoing television-based programs. The in-service training possibilities in

rural communities for personnel at all levels and in many disciplines would upgrade the skills of professional staff and provide training for others in diverse subject matter areas. The "Open University" concept which has proven successful elsewhere could be one model to consider in augmenting training services in rural communities.

The major problems in geographically isolated areas can be compressed into one -- limited access to services. Since most people in rural areas are not going to move, it will require that certain tradeoffs be made between transportation to educational services and telecommunication, weighing such factors as time, natural resources, energy requirements, human and non-human resources, delivery systems, local, state and national priorities, and finally dollars. The discussions continue, but the evidence appears to be in favor of telecommunications, with television as the vehicle.

Media technology should be an integral facet of all existing and proposed programs in rural isolated areas. However, the mere existence of technology does not make it either acceptable or effective. It will require the coordinated efforts and resources of governmental, educational, and broadcasting disciplines. Without this concerted effort, it will be virtually impossible to judge the effects of television on children and youth in contrast to the effects of the social and economic climate on children and youth. These elements are difficult to define in isolation. Perhaps it's more than a causal relationship!! Regardless, it is evident that the large number of children and youth living in geographically isolated areas are a group much too large for the Federal Government to ignore in their planning, development, and delivery of health, social, and educational services.



SUGGESTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. Support the design, development and promotion of programs using telecommunication technology for children and youth in geographically isolated areas.
2. Support the continued investigation of telecommunications projects designed to demonstrate that geographically contiguous communities can be effectively served by media technology.
3. Promote increased user participation in decisions that affect the educational, health and social services in geographically isolated communities and provide greater equalization of opportunity for populations in communities with diverse economic and geographic characteristics.
4. Support the research and evaluation of user acceptance models in the delivery of social services and the cost of the various delivery modes.
5. Support the evaluation of existing children's television programs to determine their relevance for geographically isolated children and youth.
6. Maintain and expand efforts to demonstrate the feasibility of using communication satellites in the delivery of health, education, and social services to geographically isolated areas.
7. Support the study and development of educational and health programs in rural areas using two-way audio and video interaction available by satellite or by cable.
8. Support the study of alternate techniques for developing content based on cultural and ethnic universals relevant to minority populations in geographically isolated areas.
9. Study and consider the subsidizing of production by public and private television facilities for developing programs specific to populations in geographically isolated areas.
10. Study and consider the subsidizing of local cable television systems or community translator systems enabling them to serve geographically isolated areas presently not receiving television programming.
11. Promote the local distribution of selected television programs by combination of cable and translator to schools, community centers, hospitals and other community gathering centers.
12. Promote the development and implementation of school-related media technology programs and activities in concert with local colleges and universities enabling professional staff to receive inservice credit for participation.



SUGGESTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: (continued)

13. Support the study of population movements from urban to rural areas to determine trends, patterns, needs, services, and their relationship to television programming.
14. Support the investigation and analysis of differences between rural isolated populations and those in specific urban areas (ghettos, barrios, etc.) who may be just as isolated and who might also benefit from television-based enrichment programs.
15. Promote the study and development of telecommunication consortia designed to maximize media technology resources in rural areas.
16. Encourage better utilization and application of mediated instruction in geographically isolated areas.
17. Gather and analyze information demonstrating cooperative efforts between and among federal, state, and local governmental agencies to improve services to geographically isolated areas.

POLICY CONSIDERATIONS:

1. Need for information to guide policy and resource allocation decisions for programs designed for rural areas, including terrestrial and satellite telecommunications systems.
2. Need for additional information on the utilization of communication satellites and low-cost ground terminals for geographically isolated areas.
3. Need for improvement in educational, health, and social programs and services across geographic barriers and within varied cultural groups. These services should include training for professional staff at remote areas while providing culturally relevant curriculum to students.
4. Need for a user involvement in the design, implementation, and evaluation of educational, health, and social programs and services in rural isolated areas that reflect the unique characteristics in the area and the population. This should include a comprehensive needs assessment reflecting resources and constraints indigenous to rural areas.

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APPENDIX A  
U.S. POPULATION BY REGIONS - 1970

REGION	% OF TOTAL POPULATION	
	URBAN	RURAL
Northeast	80.4	19.6
North Central	71.6	28.4
South	64.6	35.4
West	82.9	17.1
<b>SELECTED RURAL AREAS</b>		
<u>Rocky Mountain:</u>		
Montana	53.4	46.6
Idaho	54.1	45.9
Wyoming	60.5	39.5
Colorado	78.5	21.5
New Mexico	69.8	30.2
Arizona	79.6	20.4
Utah	80.4	19.6
Nevada	80.9	19.1
Alaska:	48.4	51.6
<u>Appalachia:</u>		
Virginia	63.1	36.9
West Virginia	39.0	61.0
North Carolina	45.0	55.0
South Carolina	47.6	52.4
Georgia	60.3	39.7
Kentucky	52.3	47.7
Tennessee	58.8	41.2
Alabama	58.4	41.6
Mississippi	44.5	55.5

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APPENDIX B

1970 UNITED STATES POPULATION - RURAL AND URBAN

Age Group	Total Population	No. Enroll. in School	% Enroll.	Urban Population	No. Enroll. in School	% Enroll.	Rural Population	No. Enroll. in School	% Enroll.
5 - 6	17,779,803	5,630,803	72.4	5,571,481	4,240,340	76.1	2,208,322	1,390,463	62.9
7 - 13	28,915,640	28,122,578	97.3	20,563,756	20,064,121	97.6	8,351,884	8,058,484	96.5
14 - 15	8,310,919	7,973,102	95.9	5,860,466	5,653,641	96.5	2,450,453	2,319,451	94.6
16 - 17	7,804,905	6,971,465	89.3	5,530,927	4,982,518	90.1	2,273,978	1,988,947	87.4
18 - 19	7,278,137	4,117,303	56.6	5,612,323	3,289,213	58.6	1,665,814	828,090	49.7

APPENDIX C

PERCENTAGE OF AVAILABILITY OF PTS BY ETHNIC GROUP  
FROM A SAMPLING OF SCHOOL DISTRICTS, BY STATE

	Indian		Black		Chicano		Anglo	
	PTS Avail.	PTS Not Avail.	PTS Avail.	PTS Not Avail.	PTS Avail.	PTS Not Avail.	PTS Avail.	PTS Not Avail.
Arizona	76.3	23.7	93.2	6.8	82.4	17.6	86.4	13.6
Colorado	91.3	8.7	99.4	.6	91.2	8.8	94.4	5.6
Idaho	85.8	14.2	96.5	3.5	89.4	10.6	80.8	19.2
Montana	2.8	97.2	20.5	79.5	19.4	80.6	28.8	71.2
Nevada	81.0	19.0	98.2	1.8	75.7	24.3	87.7	12.3
New Mexico	94.9	5.1	64.0	36.0	73.5	26.5	74.0	26.0
Utah	77.6	22.4	99.9	.1	99.1	.9	99.3	.7
Wyoming	89.2	10.8	96.6	3.4	79.0	21.0	81.0	19.0
Regional	76.0	24.0	91.9	8.1	82.0	18.0	87.2	12.8

RESERVATION NAME	TRIBE	PUBLIC TELEVISION COVERAGE AT TRIBAL HEADQUARTERS	POPULATION
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ARIZONA:

Akchin-Maricopa	Papago	Ak Chin Community PTS - Tucson	230
Colorado River	Mojave & Chemehuevi	Parker No PTS	607
Apache	White Mountain Apache	Whiteriver, no PTS	5,855
Fort McDowell	Mojave, Apache & Yavapai	Scottsdale, PTS - Phoenix	339
Gila River	Pima & Maricopa	Sacaton, PTS - Phoenix	7,555
Havasupai	Havasupai	Súpai, no PTS	278
Hopi	Hopi	Oraibi, no PTS	5,876
Hualapai	Hualapai	Peach Springs, no PTS	1,030
Paiute	Paiute	Fredonia, no PTS	140
Navajo	Navajo	Window Rock, no PTS	115,546
Papago	Papago	Sells, no PTS	6,216
Salt River	Pima & Maricopa	Scottsdale, PTS - Phoenix	2,282
San Carlos	Apache	San Carlos, PTS - Phoenix	4,672
Yavapai	Yavapai	Prescott, PTS - Tucson	86

RESERVATION NAME	TRIBE	PUBLIC TELEVISION COVERAGE AT TRIBAL HEADQUARTERS	POPULATION
<u>COLORADO:</u>			
Southern Ute	Ute	Ignacio, no PTS	596
Mountain Ute	Ute	Towaoc, no PTS	1,143
<u>IDAHO:</u>			
Coeur d'Alene	Coeur d'Alene	Plummer, PTS - Spokane	523
Fort Hall	Shoshone & Bannock	Fort Hall, PTS - Pocatello	3,038
Kootenai	Kootenai	Bonnors Ferry, PTS - Spokane	69
Nez Perce	Nez Perce	Lapwai, PTS - Moscow	5,089
<u>MONTANA:</u>			
Blackfeet	Blackfeet	Browning, no PTS	6,220
Crow	Crow	Crow Agency, no PTS	3,842
Flathead	Salish & Kootenai	Dixon, no PTS	2,825
Fort Belknap	Gros Ventre & Assiniboine	Harlem, no PTS	1,688
Fort Peck	Assiniboine	Poplar, no PTS	6,000
Northern Cheyenne	Northern Cheyenne	Lame Deer, no PTS	2,487
Rocky Boy's	Chippewa & Cree	Rocky Boy's, no PTS	1,510



RESERVATION NAME	TRIBE	PUBLIC TELEVISION COVERAGE AT TRIBAL HEADQUARTERS	POPULATION
<b>NEVADA:</b>			
Battle Mountain Colony	Shoshone	Battle Mountain, no PTS	59
Carson Colony	Washoe	Carson City, CATV	129
Dresslerville Colony	Washoe	Dresslerville, no PTS	153
Duck Valley	Shoshone & Paiute	Owyhee, no PTS	980
Duckwater	Shoshone	Duckwater, no PTS	63
Elko Colony	Shoshone	Elko, PTS - Salt Lake City	140
Ely Colony	Shoshone	Ely, no PTS	31
Fallon Colony & Reser.	Paiute & Shoshone	Fallon, CATV	188
Fort McDermitt	Paiute & Shoshone	McDermitt, no PTS	353
Goshute	Goshute	Ely, no PTS	109
Las Vegas Colony	Paiute	Las Vegas, PTS - Las Vegas	
Lovelock Colony	Paiute	Lovelock, PTS	136
Moapa	Paiute	Moapa, no PTS	75
Pyramid Lake	Paiute	Nixon, no PTS	359
Reno-Sparks Colony	Paiute	Reno-Sparks, PTS - Reno	537
South Fork	Shoshone	Lee, no PTS	102
Summit Lake	Paiute	None Listed	
Walker River	Paiute	Schurz, no PTS	375



RESERVATION NAME	TRIBE	PUBLIC TELEVISION COVERAGE AT TRIBAL HEADQUARTERS	POPULATION
<u>NEW MEXICO (continued)</u>			
San Felipe Pueblo	Keresan	San Felipe Pueblo PTS - Albuquerque	1,340
San Ildefonso Pueblo	Tewa	San Ildefonso Pueblo, no PTS	218
San Juan Pueblo	Tano & Tewa	San Juan, no PTS	653
Santa Ana Pueblo	Keresan	Santa Ana Pueblo, PTS - Albuquerque	400
Santa Clara Pueblo	Tano & Tewa	Santa Clara Pueblo, no PTS	493
Santo Domingo Pueblo	Keresan	Santo Domingo Pueblo PTS - Albuquerque	1,940
Taos Pueblo	Tano & Tigua	Taos Pueblo, no PTS	869
Uesu Que Pueblo	Tano & Tewa	Tesuque Pueblo, no PTS	135
Zia Pueblo	Keresan	Zia Pueblo, PTS - Albuquerque	350
Zuni Pueblo	Zuni	Zuni, no PTS	6,123
<u>UTAH:</u>			
Skull Valley	Goshute	Graysville, PTS --Salt Lake City	30
Unitah & Ouray	Ute	Fort Duchesne, no PTS	1,274
<u>WYOMING:</u>			
Wind River	Shoshone & Arapahoe	Riverton, PTS - Denver	4,062

APPENDIX E

CABLE COVERAGE IN SELECTED RURAL COMMUNITIES

<u>Region &amp; Community</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>No. Subscribers</u>
<u>Alaska</u>		
Barrow	1,314	90
Juneau	15,000	1,800
Sitka	6,109	987
<u>Rocky Mountain</u>		
Show Lou, Arizona	2,223	740
Montrose, Colorado	6,496	1,390
Glasgow, Montana	5,870	1,600
Gillette, Wyoming	8,500	2,131
Gallup, New Mexico	14,900	4,025
Kalispell, Montana	18,500	4,830
Montpelier, Idaho	2,600	300
<u>Appalachia</u>		
Bluefield, West Virginia	15,000	4,845
Pulaski, Virginia	10,250	1,400
Bennettsville, South Carolina	8,000	1,610
Maysville, Kentucky	7,411	2,874

APPENDIX F

RACE BY URBAN AND RURAL

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>URBAN</u>	<u>RURAL</u>
United States	203,212,877	149,334,020	53,878,857
Rocky Mountain	8,281,562	6,063,724	2,217,838
Appalachia	31,458,444	16,886,807	14,541,637
Alaska	300,382	146,529	153,853
 <u>Black Population:</u>			
United States	22,549,815	18,338,421	4,211,394
Rocky Mountain	178,416	168,918	9,498
Appalachia	6,595,133	3,782,227	2,812,906
Alaska	8,860	7,085	1,775
 <u>Spanish Heritage Population:</u>			
United States	9,249,509	8,156,583	1,137,926
Rocky Mountain	1,142,592	853,125	289,467
Appalachia	164,917	130,561	34,356
Alaska	6,279	4,096	2,183

ADDENDUM  
IMPACT OF TELEVISION ON CHILDREN AND YOUTH  
IN GEOGRAPHICALLY ISOLATED AREAS --  
LOUIS A. BRANSFORD

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Question #1 - To what extent is current CTV programming responsive to the needs and problems identified in the initial report?

Current CTV programming is addressing several of the concerns identified in the report:

- a. The Emergency School Aid Act television series is providing and will provide in the next two years, programming in areas relating to cultural diversity, bilingualism, tension and conflict reduction programs, special math programs, and historical programs reflecting the major minorities in the country.
- b. Local public television stations have developed and broadcast a variety of programs on subject matter at all levels. The questionable quality of such programs many times has limited their distribution.
- c. The Alaskan Health Care Delivery Experiment is addressing health problems alluded to in the report, but only on a limited basis.
- d. At the present time there are no programs specifically designed for migrant families.

Overall, the current CTV programming is not adequately meeting the needs of rural populations, but has the potential with creative use of existing and filmic materials and judicious planning in new program productions to serve children and youth in geographically isolated areas.

Reasonable objectives that might be considered in meeting the needs outlined in the report would include:

1. The use of videocassette recorders on buses for students traveling long distances to school. Existing film and tape materials could be used.
2. If long distance is a factor, not requiring students to be in attendance at school on a daily basis; rather transmitting school programs to a local facility enabling the students to maintain continuity with the activities of their respective class. A certain number of days of school attendance should be required to provide students with socialization experiences.
3. Migrant families if a monitoring system were implemented could be followed as they travel through the region, enabling schools to provide an ongoing continuous program. Traditionally, migrant families do not announce that they are leaving an area and secondly, most often do not notify schools of their arrival. As a result, many days elapse before youngsters are identified and provided educational services. The transfer of school records presents an additional problem. If invasion of privacy is overlooked, perhaps an electronic sensor monitoring system might provide an ongoing surveillance of our migrant populations.

A more acceptable system would be to reimburse migrant families for notifying the schools of their arrival and departure. Post cards could be provided and upon receipt of the post card, some monetary reimbursement would be provided. In this way a continuous educational program either by television or by traditional means can be provided to migrant children.

4. An expansion of the present E.S.A.A. television series to address the remaining needs and problems is also recommended.

Question #2 - What criteria would you suggest be utilized to support the investment in TV as opposed to some alternative form of service?

The criteria that I would suggest be utilized to justify television as an alternate form of service is economic, primarily based on effective use of manpower. It will require that we reduce the "run-away" labor intensive organization in our schools, where approximately 80 per cent of instructional budgets are ear-marked for salaries. This is higher in rural areas. Perhaps the use of mediated instruction with television as the vehicle would reduce this labor intensive problem in rural schools. Although it might be an unpopular suggestion since it might reduce manpower, it is not intended to replace teachers but rather to provide a more comprehensive curriculum in schools that cannot afford specialists. It is, also, an alternative that would probably make better use of traditional generalists in the schools. This alternative would obviously be contingent on access to existing filmic materials.

Question #3 - What might be the most useful means of acquiring good data on needs assessment, viewership, and impact from rural groups that would be interpretable and useful?

A number of research studies need to be conducted that systematically compare rural audiences with urban audiences. Rural audiences in many cases have had limited experiences with public television and have limited basis for making decisions on instructional programming. Many times perceived needs and actual needs are incongruent. Any study will first of all need to identify and validate the needs of rural communities and consider such variables as hours viewed, type of programs viewed, and changes in behavior or knowledge as a result of their participation.



Question #4 - In your judgment can television be more responsive to individualized requirements than the traditional educational system?

I believe that television has the capability of being responsive to needs of individual children, particularly in rural areas which presently have resource constraints. A series of films and tapes on some specific subject matter can provide an enrichment experience in a rural classroom that would not be otherwise available. It is unrealistic to expect teachers who may be responsible for teaching in several disciplines to individualize the subject matter to meet the needs of all students in their class. On the other hand, a Britannica film series developed by specialists reflects extensive planning and development -- much more planning time than any teacher in isolation has. The use of such a series could provide the teacher release time which would enable her to give certain children with special needs more individual attention. The teacher could also localize and reinforce the program through field trips and print media. To illustrate further, there are still many rural schools where one teacher is responsible for several grade levels. This presents problems at any level, but is much more serious at the junior high school level where subject matter becomes more specialized. What is even more devastating is a mediocre teacher. Students not willing to sit through another year of frustration may elect to drop out. Such a situation could be alleviated through mediated instruction that would provide students with some variety in their educational program.

In recent years, the Ford Foundation Small Schools Project developed extensive print media which could be used to augment a class utilizing a television series as its primary base. Reports from participating schools indicate

the project has been successful. What is of paramount importance in such an arrangement is the need for a responsive mechanism. Just watching the program does not assure assimilation or accommodation of the subject matter. The localizing and interactive capability of the teacher must complement mediated instruction of all kinds. A possible exception might be Computer Assisted Instruction (CAI). Although this program has a built-in response mechanism that provides immediate reinforcement to students, its high cost limits useage. A more realistic cost-effective trade off will be the utilization of mediated instruction in concert with people.

Question #5 - Would something along the lines of the Australian "outback" radio system be applicable, for example, for the Rocky Mountain region?

The Australian "outback" system using radio has demonstrated tremendous success over the years. This, however, might not be the case in the United States. The difference between Australia and the United States is one of acceptance. The continental United States has been saturated with television -- not necessarily high quality television and in many cases, no public television; but television is reaching almost all people. It is also known that people will select television over the printed word or radio when given a choice. Exceptions, of course, are the use of the automobile radio and very specialized programs such as those broadcast by National Public Radio. What might be of particular value in the use of radio would be the interactive capability that could be used to supplement other filmic or printed materials. In many of our rural communities in the Rocky Mountains, many local radio stations, because of their low wattage have limited transmitting capability, particularly after dark; yet through cable or translator systems, these communities may have access to television.

Question #5-b - Have multiple audio channels been explored beyond the idea stage for meeting special needs of geographically isolated children?

Our STD project has explored the use of multiple audio channels for transmission of programs in other languages or dialects. We elected not to utilize this capability with the present programs because of limited resources and because of the level of our STD programs. It was felt that the translation of career education programs into Spanish would not assure content relevance at the junior high level in career education. The language that is presently used to teach classes in the United States at the junior high school level is English. Voice over of any program in another language does not make it relevant. It was decided that if the multiple audio lines were used to transmit in a second language, the success or failure of our Demonstration might be based more on the language element than on the delivery system or the subject matter. The capability is there, and hopefully in future programs, will be utilized in appropriate areas.

The existing bilingual television programs that are available through the public television stations are demonstrating interest and acceptance of a second language in our English-speaking schools. Ironically, there seems to be as much or more interest in Villa Alegre on the part of our non-Spanish speaking populations as from those who speak Spanish. This could be indicative of the new social climate which has demonstrated greater sensitivity for the culturally different. Perhaps this is also a reflection on many of the present bilingual programs which have been provided to Spanish-speaking youngsters in a remedial mode, many times impugning the language rather than creating a greater

feeling of pride and interest in the knowledge of their native tongue. As has been mentioned several times, public television must first be available before people can benefit from such programs as Villa Alegre and Carrascalendas.

Question #6 - Do you have any data or opinions on satellite cost-effectiveness?

The cost-effectiveness of satellite distribution has not yet been demonstrated. The front end costs are high, the life span of the satellites is short, and the present use of communication satellites is limited. Previous satellites have required high-powered, expensive receiving systems. The ATS/6 is a high-powered satellite which requires relatively inexpensive ground receiving terminals. However, there are only 130 terminals presently being used. If amortization and mass production were considered, the cost per unit obviously would be reduced.

Western Union recently conducted a cost study comparing their WESTAR satellite with the telephone distribution. For their uses, they demonstrated cost-effectiveness, but their findings would be difficult to apply in a broad-based distribution system because of present satellite limitations. The cost for use of satellites in the future, particularly domestic satellites providing service on a tariff basis, will be determined on channel capability, number of users, and traffic models. All these factors must be taken into consideration before satellite use is cost-effective. In the meantime, it is apparent to me that the federal government must continue to subsidize satellite demonstrations.

Question #7 - What implications do the findings revealing no significant differences across ethnic groups or across programs have on proposed policies toward CTV?

I must caution the reader on interpreting the findings that revealed no differences across ethnic groups or across programs in the Cordova study. This study was only concerned with hours of viewing time. What must be taken into consideration, are attitudes and knowledge gains as a result of television programming. This will require additional study. On the other hand, because of the saturation of commercial television, we have a much more sophisticated population, even in rural areas. If this is the case, perhaps more programs that have a universal base might be appropriate for both rural and urban audiences and should be developed. This is yet to be determined. Obviously, the important element will be programs that are socially and educationally relevant and that reflect the urban and rural dimensions. Another factor that is somewhat difficult to measure but permeates much of the experience in geographically isolated areas, is a rural mentality. This phenomenon should also be studied.

Question #8 - What is meant by the causal relationship between geographically isolated areas and television?

The causal relationship refers to the problems and needs in geographically isolated areas and the fact that providing television programs will not necessarily alleviate or alter the situation. There are too many intervening variables that also must be considered.

What I have attempted to do in this addendum is to clarify certain points raised in the initial report. This addendum, for the most part, reflects personal biases and value judgments. They are intended more for discussion purposes and for stimulating further study.

## The Handicapped Child

### The Authors

Dr. Carolyn J. Nygren is a researcher in the Education and Behavioral Sciences Research Section of the Center for Improved Education at the Battelle Memorial Institute, Columbus, Ohio. Previously she was Research Associate at the Central Institute for the Deaf in St. Louis. Papers and publications include "Observational Research on an Educational Program," Proceedings of the Forty-Sixth Meeting of the Convention of American Instructors of the Deaf, 1974, 438-442.

Dr. Frank B. Withrow is a Battelle Institute Fellow on leave from the Bureau for the Education of the Handicapped, U. S. Office of Education. He has published many articles on the deaf and instructional technology for the handicapped, including "Educational Technology and the Future," Update 74: A Decade of Progress, American Annals of the Deaf, 119(5), October 1974. Mr. Withrow is a member of the American Speech and Hearing Association and the Council for Exceptional Children.

### The Paper

In the following paper, "Handicapped Children and Television," Nygren and Withrow first identify the special problems in various categories of handicap that might be appropriate for television to address. They then examine the appropriateness of children's television programming for both normal and handicapped children, indicating that consultant experts among the handicapped might help influence existing programming into more useful forms. Their recommendations include original programming for the handicapped for cable distribution, and special adaptations of existing children's programs.

FINAL REPORT

on

HANDICAPPED CHILDREN AND TELEVISION

to

INDIANA UNIVERSITY  
INSTITUTE FOR COMMUNICATION RESEARCH

by

Carolyn J. Nygren and Frank B. Withrow

February 12, 1975

Battelle  
Center for Improved Education  
505 King Avenue  
Columbus, Ohio 43201

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## FINAL REPORT

on

## HANDICAPPED CHILDREN AND TELEVISION

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### INTRODUCTION

Conservative estimates indicate that the average American child spends five hours of each day watching television. The success of Sesame Street, Mister Rogers' Neighborhood, The Electric Company, Zoom, Vision On, Fat Albert, and other quality programs which have a high entertainment value as well as informational value has demonstrated that children will choose such programs when they are available. There is good evidence that not only do children choose to watch the programs, but they also learn from them. The results of the pre- and posttesting of the skills taught by Sesame Street indicate that disadvantaged children, the target population, learn as much as advantaged children do if they watch the same amount of programming. The testing showed that all children learned from the program, leading researchers Ball and Bogatz to observe, "that many children need compensatory education, including a larger proportion we fail to recognize when we conventionally think of the term 'compensatory'".

Although the term "compensatory education" has been used to describe the need of the disadvantaged child, it perhaps better describes the need of the handicapped child. While the disadvantaged child may not come from a background that would expose him to activities that would increase his likelihood of learning skills taught in schools, there is little reason to believe that he does not have the same capabilities of responding to those activities if exposed to them. Although T.V. has been found to provide good exposure to materials for the disadvantaged child, it is not clear that it is as good a vehicle for the handicapped child who may not have the same sensory or physical capabilities.

There is little available information about the usefulness of television to handicapped children. The first half of this report will try to identify which problems of handicapped children television programming might be expected to reduce. It will then deal with the appropriateness of present programming to both normal and handicapped children and then discuss the alternatives possible to increase effectiveness.

LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

Communication skills are problems to most handicapped children. Communication involves knowledge of a communication system (spoken language) and then a reading and writing system based on that language. It also involves a knowledge of the world in order to have something to communicate. To see how these two kinds of knowledge build on each other we should look at the language development of the normal child.

There is little evidence that in normal children there is conscious teaching of language at any stage. The actions of adult caretakers can best be described as attempts to communicate with the children. They speak to them in short, simple sentences. As the child's language develops, the adult's language seems to stay just slightly ahead of the child's in complexity. Whatever information the child doesn't get from the language is supplied by non-linguistic means, by gesture or by manipulation so that the child can begin to match the situation he already knows with the language he is just learning. Not all language the child is exposed to becomes data for his learning. Only that which he can attach a meaning to can possibly help him to learn language. He must understand enough of the language to be able to supply the meaning of what he doesn't know by being able to understand the situation or the gesture used by the person communicating with him. When communication of the adult to the child is successful, the child has a bit of meaningful data about language. When the child tries to communicate with his parents, he experiments with using his language and becomes more and more proficient.



A child may receive a message by using the language alone, but it is more likely that a young child receives a message because he was helped by a gesture or by the fact that he understood the situation being referred to. For the normal child who gets constant exposure both to situations in which he learns about the world and also to language, there is probably an increase in the abstractness of the units for which he needs to rely on situational or gestural clues until he is able to rely completely on the language.

The child must have three capacities in order to learn language in this natural way. He must have intact sensory mechanisms in order to receive the sound of the language, the physical capabilities to experience the environment the language describes, and the ability to generalize his experience with language. The reason the handicapped child may not learn language spontaneously the way his peers do is that he either lacks the sensory or physical capabilities to make use of the natural situation for language learning, or he lacks the ability to generalize from the few examples of each language concept the natural situation provides him. Reading and writing skills must be based on language skills. Even if language skills are present, physical limitations such as blindness may prevent the acquisition of reading and writing skills.

Materials to teach communication skills to children with one handicapping condition may be very different from those designed to teach communication to children with another. Those with sensory deficits (deaf, blind) cannot learn the normal communication systems easily because of their sensory deficits, but not because of any intellectual inability to do so. Those with intellectual deficits may also be unable to learn the normal communication systems easily, but since their senses are intact, materials to help them to learn to communicate should be at least conceptualized as being different from that for the child with a sensory deficit.

If the primary problem in learning the language system is sensory, and not the lack of access to situations in the real world (deafness) then early training would be on language as structure. If the

problem is access to the real world, but not sensory access to language (blindness, orthopedically handicapped), then more attention would be paid to normalizing their experiences. If because of retardation the problem is not physical access to either the real world or to language, but lack of ability to use effectively what the child is exposed to, then the materials would focus on teaching or helping the child to learn both language structure and information about the real world. The language "curriculum" for the handicapped child has to be determined by where the interaction between the real world and language structure breaks down. The building of communication skills and increasing information about the world are areas television has addressed itself to in children.

#### CHILDREN WITH LANGUAGE HANDICAPS

The children to be considered in this report are those whose conditions make them eligible for help from the Federal government as authorized in the Education of the Handicapped Act (P.L. 93-380) which defines handicapped children as those who are "mentally retarded, hard of hearing, deaf, speech impaired, visually handicapped, seriously emotionally disturbed, crippled or other health impaired children who by reason thereof require special education and related services". (1)\* More information about the nature of each handicapping condition and what communication problems are common for them are important in deciding whether television programming can be of use.

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\* References appear in the List of References.

### Hearing Impairment

Medically significant hearing losses occur in about 1 out of every five children. Seven persons per thousand have bilateral auditory insensitivity of a degree which has been described as being socially and educationally significant.<sup>(2)</sup> In terms of a person's ability to function, a division is made between those who are hard-of-hearing and those who are deaf. Hallowell Davis has suggested that the dividing line is at 92 dB. (ISO)<sup>(3)</sup> Since the hearing impaired child is handicapped by having less access to the sound of his language, a functional distinction can be made by how the child seems to be learning language - whether by auditory or nonauditory means. If a child functions as a hard-of-hearing child, he is likely to have a very different educational career from a child who functions as deaf.

"The hard-of-hearing child learns language in the usual way, i.e. through the auditory processes, and in time approximates normality, in linguistic and academic competence provided guidance, differential educational attention, stimulation, and tutoring are utilized from very early years of life. The deaf child, in contrast, acquires language by use of non-auditory processes, and may characteristically fall short of linguistic and academic normality, with the same amount of time and effort exerted.

Typically, the hard-of-hearing child is linguistically and academically behind but not to the extent that the deaf youngster is (Berg, 1970). Under present educational programming in the United States, 60 percent of all students 16 years of age or older in schools for the deaf have been found to read at grade level 5.3 or below (Boatner, 1965; McClure, 1966). Only 5 percent read at tenth grade level or better, and most of these hearing impaired students either have had normal hearing during spoken language development, or are hard-of-hearing."<sup>(4)</sup>

## Mental Retardation

Mental retardation is described by The American Association on Mental Deficiency as "subaverage intellectual functioning which originates during the developmental period and is associated with impairment in adaptive behavior". (5)

It is estimated that 3% of the population, about 6 1/2 million people are retarded, (about 2,800,000 under age 21). They are divided into 4 groups.

### Severely and Profoundly Handicapped

Five percent of the retarded population fall into one of these two categories. The IQ of these persons as measured on The Stanford Binet is 35 or below. These persons would be expected to have a degree of independence only in a controlled environment.

### Moderately Handicapped

Six percent of the retarded population are classified as moderately retarded. IQ Scores are between 36 to 51 on The Stanford Binet. These persons are described as being able to "be trained to communicate and to look after their personal needs on a daily basis - but have poor social awareness and adaptability". (6) They need a partially sheltered environment.

### Mildly Handicapped

Eighty-nine percent of the retarded population are classified as mildly retarded in the 52 to 67 range. These persons are considered able to work in competitive employment and live independent lives. (7)

One problem in determining actual incidence of retardation is that most standardized tests used to determine retardation are unfair to minority segments of the populations. Verbal intelligence tests (such as The Stanford Binet cited in the figures above) are likely to put people who are not part of the majority culture at a disadvantage. Jones showed that although Blacks and Mexican-Americans comprise 21% of the pupils enrolled in California, they are 52% of the children labeled retarded. (8) California, as of January, 1975, discontinued the use of IQ tests to place children in educably mentally retarded classes until pending court action determines the status of such testing.

Most studies have concluded that mentally retarded persons have problems with language-vocabulary, morphology and syntax. (9) Since IQ tests are highly verbal, a language problem is likely to be the most important factor in placing children in classes for the retarded.

#### Crippled and Other Health Impaired

The term crippled refers to the absence, paralysis or other impairment of the limbs, back, or trunk. The term "other health impaired" covers a range of conditions which are relatively long-lasting and may involve the heart, blood, respiratory, or digestive systems. Although a child who is only physically handicapped would have no difficulty in learning language and reading, many children who may have one of these conditions as their major handicap have other handicapping conditions as well which results in insufficient communication skills. Retardation is a common secondary handicap. A significant problem arises in the education of the cerebral-palsied child. Because of the lack of motor control, the child may be unable to form recognizable words or demonstrate he has understood the language of others. The lack of control also means learning to write is difficult. It is estimated that in 1970, 1,676,000 children could be classified as crippled or having other health problems. 320,000 were estimated as being substantially handicapped by cerebral palsy. It is likely that the cerebral-palsied population may be larger



than the estimate given due to misdiagnosis of some persons as retarded.

### Visual Impairment

The usual definition of legal blindness is that corrected visual acuity is no better than 20/200 in the better eye or the angle of vision subtended is no greater than 20°. In 1970 there were 32,000 youths aged 0 to 21 who were legally but not totally blind, and about 13,000 totally blind youths. In terms of determining whether a person is handicapped and to what degree a definition in terms of ability to function is more desirable. One of the most important ways a visually-impaired person may be handicapped is in his ability to use the most common methods of communicating information in academic settings - reading and writing. A person declared legally blind may be able to read by the usual method even if it is necessary to hold the print closer. If not, he may be very handicapped educationally. Inability to read newspaper print, a deprivation of approximately 20/70 describes the state of about 193,000 persons between 0 and 21. (10)

### Specific Learning Disabilities

Those with specific learning disabilities are included as one of the target populations of the proposed Developmentally Disabled Assistance and Bill of Rights Act of 1974. "By including persons with specific learning disabilities, the Committee is including a population which is by far the largest of any category of persons with developmental disabilities constitute 10 percent or more of our school age population." (11) Although this act does not define specific learning disabilities, it was defined in Public Law 93-380, the Education of the Handicapped Act,



The term "children with specific learning disabilities" means those children who have a disorder in one or more of the basic psychological processes involved in understanding or in using language, spoken or written, which disorder may manifest itself in imperfect ability to listen, think, speak, read, write, spell, or do mathematical calculations. Such disorders include such conditions as perceptual handicaps, brain injury, minimal brain dysfunction, dyslexia, and developmental aphasia. Such term does not include children who have learning problems which are primarily the result of visual, hearing, or motor handicaps, of mental retardation, of emotional disturbance, or of environmental disadvantage. (12)

The broad language of the definition has allowed for very different interpretations on the part of individuals doing the diagnosis. This has meant that there is little consensus on the 10% percent of incidence attested to by the Developmentally Disabled Act. Senf reports that estimates of incidence rates range from less than 1% to greater than 30%. (13)

#### Emotional Disturbances

The Education of the Handicapped Act encompasses all types of conditions that might be referred to as emotional disturbances. In 1970 it was estimated that 1,500,000 persons from 0 to 21 suffered from emotional disturbance. The Developmentally Disabled Assistance and Bill of Rights Act refers to the specific disability of autism, and estimates that 80,000 persons might be called autistic.

The cause of autism is a subject of controversy. While many authorities are coming to the conclusion that autism is caused by a biochemical problem, others believe that a cold home environment is the key factor. The impossibility of determining a cause for autism and the realization that the labeling of a child as being autistic is often as serious a problem as the handicap itself is, have led many professionals to refer to "autistic-like behaviors" rather than to an "autistic" child.

The diagnosis is made by observation of behavior. "Autistic children, of course, show the characteristic from which the condition takes its name, namely extreme withdrawal and failure to relate to other persons. In addition, these children have a tendency to stereotyped and

ritualistic forms of behavior, motor mannerism, inappropriate responses to sensory stimuli, and language impairment or complete lack of speech. Indeed, the most frequently noted feature of this condition is the severe language impairment." (14)

Autistic behavior represents one of the most severe conditions of emotional disturbance. Some of the more moderate forms of emotional disturbance show histories of children who prior to the onset of their problem functioned adequately within their family and school. Many emotionally disturbed children will be returned to normal life patterns after intense therapy.

#### Speech Impairment

Conditions that might be labeled speech impairment range from the relatively mildly disabling condition of poor articulation in the first grader, to the very disabling condition of cleft palate or the absence of a larynx. In between the two extremes may be the very different problems of stuttering and delayed speech. In 1970 there were an estimated 2,200,000 persons between 0 to 21 with some form of speech impairment.

#### Language Impairment

Since IQ tests given to most children are highly verbal, it is difficult to determine if there are children who have a language problem, but have normal intelligence. That there are such children is supported by the results of some clinical testing of children who had been identified by an experimental screening instrument as using unusually simple language structures. Performance on an imitation test of sentences with varying complexity was found to relate to verbal IQ scores on the Wechsler Preschool and Primary Scale of Intelligence (WPPSI), but not to performance scores for eight children who were given a full battery of tests. Two children who had performance scores within the normal range had verbal scores that would have made them eligible for classes for the retarded in most schools (79 or below).

The concept of having a language problem independent of a cognitive one is not understood or even fully accepted. Progress toward deciding whether that distinction is real is the development of tests which do not handicap the child who speaks a dialect other than standard English. The new concern about misdiagnosis of minorities and interest in establishing culture-free tests as well as the movement towards the reduction in use of the standardized tests may result in reducing the misdiagnosis. This will affect current incidence rates of mental retardation and open the door for careful investigation of the idea of language impairment.

The total number of handicapped children who are served by educational programs is complicated because of the differences in definition among states and the Federal definition of handicaps. The following data which was published by Weintraub<sup>(15)</sup> in 1971 provides reasonable estimates of the different proportion of school-aged children classified by disabilities. This report indicated that 40%, or 2,366,000, of these children were receiving some special education. Data received by the Bureau of Education for the Handicapped (BEH), United States Office of Education, as of December, 1974, from state education agencies indicates a total of 6,210,962 handicapped children under 21 years of age of which 3,805,161 are receiving service and 2,405,801 who are unserved by special education. It is estimated by BEH that the preschool handicapped population is 1,000,000 children, thus the total 0-21 age handicapped population is slightly more than 7,000,000.

TABLE 1. SCHOOL-AGED HANDICAPPED CHILDREN IN THE UNITED STATES (16)

DISABILITY CATEGORY	NUMBER OF CHILDREN	PERCENT OF TOTAL
TMR - trainable mentally retarded	191,063	3.2
EMR - educable mentally retarded	1,147,803	19.4
HH - hard of hearing	260,981	4.4
D - deaf	45,681	.7
SI - speech impaired	2,145,647	36.2
VI - visually impaired	64,718	1.1
ED - seriously emotionally disturbed	749,441	12.6
C - crippled or orthopedically handicapped	183,802	3.2
OHI - other health impaired (includes learning disabled)	1,089,147	18.6
MH - multiply handicapped	35,838	.6
TOTAL	5,914,121	100.0

SEA's estimates of served and unserved handicapped school-aged children in the United States.

Total handicapped children	6,210,962
Served	3,805,161
Unserved	2,405,801

State Education Agency (SEA) report to the Bureau of Education for the Handicapped, United States Office of Education, December, 1974. This year's report did not include a breakdown by disability category, however it is assumed that the proportional relation is comparable between 1971-1974. (17)

EFFECTIVE PROGRAMMING FOR NORMAL CHILDREN

Much of the current programming is designed to build language and reading skills and to provide information about the world - just the areas that the handicapped child needs most. Before answering the question of how effective the programming is for the handicapped child, we must first answer the question of how appropriate the programming is for the normal child. Friedlander's research has shown that primary aged normal children do not understand much of what is presented to them. He suggests that much of the difficulty in every day life is hidden because, for example, the children may be responding appropriately to a command because of their understanding of the situation rather than their understanding of the language. He reasons that much of what children from 4-9 see on T.V. or hear from a fast talking teacher is not understood.

"Television instruction, involving relatively fine-grained information, which fails to take this difficulty into account on the basis of systematic analysis is highly vulnerable to communication failure and incomprehensibility.

The extensive behavioral learning that children obviously pick up from broadcast T.V. is confined almost exclusively to gross behavior, attitude modeling, and mimicry. And, while children obviously retain large amounts of rote material (commercial jingles, alphabet songs, etc.) this retention tends to be confined almost exclusively to materials which are presented with endless repetition. There is no conflict whatever between the observations that young children can learn from T.V. cartoons, dramas, and commercials, yet often fail to absorb the kinds of information presented in unsystematized non-repetitive instructional programs." (18)

Even the teaching of vocabulary through much repetition may not always be successful. Eve Clark has presented evidence that there are three stages in the acquisition of the meaning of the words before and after.

Stage One

Children will use an order-of-mention strategy to understand a sentence. Regardless of which of the words is used, and regardless of in which of the clauses the word appears, the child will assume that the first event mentioned was the first event to occur.

- a. After he went to the store, he went home.
- b. Before he went to the store, he went home.
- c. He went to the store after he went home.
- d. He went to the store before he went home.

For a child at this stage, the person in question went to the store first in all of these statements, even though to the adult this is true of only a and d.

Stage Two

The child will interpret the sentences with before correctly, but not those with after. - He might use an order-of-mention strategy for after or he might seem to be interpreting after as he does before.

Stage Three

Children understand before and after as adults do.

Clark's results show a distinct increase in knowledge about before and after between age 3 and age 5, when the system seems to be known completely. (19)

One of the objectives of Sesame Street for 1974-75 was to teach the concepts of before and after. In terms of the age range of Sesame Street's audience and the age range of the learning of the words before and after found by Clark, it would seem that these concepts might be reasonable to attempt to teach. But careful research should take place to determine (1) that the children need the material, (2) that they learn what is presented, (3) whether only the older children learn the material. Pre- and posttesting of the words should be completed using all the environments used in Clark's study. Both testing and programming should include

both words used in sentences in which they introduce the first clause and in sentences in which they introduce the second clause. A large age range of children should be included in the testing to span the years indicated as the range in which the learning of these words takes place spontaneously. If children of three learn before and after in all positions, this would be of interest to Eve Clark. If they do not, her results might help T.V. producers understand why they did not. Research of this intensity is necessary to test whether the simple vocabulary goals are appropriate and are being reached. There is no evidence that such research is now being done.

#### Analysis of Effective Programming

Friedlander points out that there is little evidence about the most effective programming for children at different ages.

"There is little or no hard knowledge, there is only lore, about what constitutes effective programming for given types of information intended to specific groups categorized by age, intelligence, language mastery, socio-economic status, and other significant variables. The lore is based on the highly subjective impressions of producers and teachers.

Although there are more than 100,000 educational films in use in schools, as far as is known not a single one of them has ever been subjected to detailed analysis of children's comprehension of the visual/auditory contents at the time of presentation.

One of the ironies of contemporary T.V. production practice is that techniques employed to gain one aspect of communicative effectiveness may actually inhibit a more important element of effectiveness. Specifically, the high-speed pace and frequent scene changes which some programs employ may be highly suited to mobilizing children's attentional gaze. However, there are ample grounds for the hypothesis that such techniques impede their comprehension." (20)



EFFECTIVE PROGRAMMING FOR HANDICAPPED CHILDREN

There are problems with current television programming for normal children with the choice of units when the goal is the teaching of language and reading; problems with the language to be used when the goal is to convey knowledge; and problems with the method to use when attempting either. The problems are multiplied when dealing with television for use with handicapped children. Children whose major handicap is language are likely to have more trouble understanding the information to be transmitted than the normal children.

It is likely that the world of a young child is simple enough that the young deaf child need only learn the language to match situations he already knows. The world of the hearing adolescent and adult is complicated. There is evidence that older deaf children because of their limited language ability and therefore limited ability to interact with the complex world, do not have the background to handle sophisticated concepts either verbally or nonverbally. Patricia Looney showed the movie, "The Refiner's Fire", to hearing impaired children aged 9-18. The nonverbal film was made by three high school students after the Washington, D.C., riots in 1968. Moving squares and circles of two colors tell the story of the realities of prejudice. Although the film was nonverbal and therefore perhaps ideal for hearing impaired students, it was found that few students derived any abstract meaning from it. After seeing the film, the students were asked to write what each thought the idea of the movie had been. Most students wrote about the movements of squares and the circles. Only two children perceived the film as being about the problems of being different.

"Understanding of even nonverbal films depends upon the non-linguistic experiences of the observer at that time. Most hearing impaired persons are deprived of the same nonlinguistic experiences as their hearing peers. Because their experiences differ, their concepts also differ. Yet, it appears that hearing impaired persons do develop similar concepts as they get older perhaps after having more of an opportunity to have the same kinds of contacts with reality as hearing persons.



Understanding depends also on the association of socially standardized word-labels with these nonlinguistic categories of experiences. Again, because the experiences of hearing impaired individuals were limited the word-labels used to express the meaning of the concept were also limited." (21)

Looney makes the following educational recommendation.

"In order to remediate these deficiencies, sequencing learning experiences should receive more attention earlier. Failure to understand and/or learn concepts can be frequently attributed to the inadequate mastery of prerequisite concepts. The more complex the task, the more important sequencing is as a teaching variable." (22)

In determining the content of instructional programming to teach specific language and reading skills, one serious question is whether the learning patterns of normal children should be used as a guide to the teaching of the same skill to handicapped children. Educators should at least be aware of the patterns of learning of normal children, although they may decide their task is unrelated.

At the very least the educators may decide that they know that since before and after in some positions seem to be understood before they are in others, teaching materials should encompass all possible environments for the words.

The use of the knowledge of the stages in the acquisition of before and after is more controversial. Herbert Clark has presented the hypothesis "that the child acquires English spatial expressions by learning how to apply them to his prior knowledge about space, and that he acquires English temporal expressions in turn by extending the spatial terms in a metaphor about them". (23) As the child learns more about his world, he learns the words which apply to it. It seems plausible to Clark that the child learns before prior to after because he is designed to see what is in front of him rather than what is behind him, and he extends what he knows about space (front and back) to a knowledge of time. All of the words associated with spatial relations seem to be learned by about five. If the deaf child does not begin learning these

before age six, will he have to go through the same stages as the hearing child did at an earlier age? Do we assume that he already knows the spatial system and will begin to learn both words with equal ease? If we assume the deaf child will have to go through the same stages when he begins to learn the words, will it help to teach to the stages? Since before seems to be understood prior to after by the hearing child, perhaps it is only before that should be introduced at first. These questions will have to be decided in some fashion before decisions can be made about the specifics of what should be taught.

Although there is no available information about the use of nonmodified instructional television with handicapped children, evidence does exist that Sesame Street modified specifically for the deaf is successful.

In a project reported on by David Sylves, 17 teachers of the deaf identified 74 segments of the first year programming of Sesame Street as being potentially suitable for deaf children, twenty-five with no modifications, forty-nine with minor modifications. Twenty mini-tapes of between 11 and 18 minutes each were distributed to 70 teachers of 8 schools who used the materials with 449 students. Results indicated that the students who were exposed to the mini-tapes which contained segments of all the Sesame Street formats (live, puppet, animation, film) with some segments captioned learned significantly more of the target materials than a control group who saw none of the materials. (24)

At least one possible use of regular broadcast material may be successful. Much programming if supplemented by guides and materials might be appropriate. Such projects are now being done with nonhandicapped children.

Post-Newsweek stations attempted an innovative reading experiment during October. Jacksonville, Florida sixth and seventh grade students received a script of a 1934 episode of "The Vanishing Shadow", which was to be serialized over a fortnight on WJXT-TV. Teachers were provided with instructional materials for in-class follow-up using worksheets based on the previous night's screening. TV techniques,

including animation, freeze-frame, slow motion, and repetition, were used to interpret and clarify the meaning of unfamiliar words and phrases. (25)

Some may doubt the value of the use of broadcast materials with handicapped children. It may be argued that the money and effort for the modifications or extra materials necessary for some handicapped children to use regular television broadcasting could be better used in providing more suitable materials. One factor, however, indicates that at least some regular broadcast materials should be encouraged, even for the blind. Television is the most common entertainment medium. Ninety-six percent of all homes own at least one T.V. set. Nearly ninety percent of homes in which the yearly income is \$5,000 own a set. The sense of being able to participate in a common activity of daily life cannot be discounted as an important factor to consider when making decisions of what policy should be adopted regarding television for the handicapped. Indeed, not having access to television and all that that implies is an important way in which some of these children are handicapped.

Besides the use of programs broadcast for the normal population supplemented by materials for the handicapped, another option might be programming that directly answers some of the educational needs of handicapped children. If language is a problem area then programming in language might be thought appropriate to all handicapped children. Perhaps it might be thought that programming for the low level reader already on television on The Electric Company could be adapted for the handicapped. This would assume that if the problem is language or reading, the same instruction is appropriate. There is some evidence that this is not the case. Nygren (26) in testing both hearing impaired and "reading impaired" children with a test of the passive, found that the two groups responded very differently to some parts of the test. Fifteen of the thirty-two hearing impaired children always interpreted agent deleted passives such as,

The boy is being kicked,

as agent-action sentences,

The boy is kicking.

Only 1 of the 16 "reading impaired" children did this. It would seem instruction on the passive voice would have to be very different for the two groups. It is a common practice that materials for low-level readers and the deaf are interchanged. Project Life<sup>(27)</sup> designed for the deaf is being used with low-level hearing readers, while Edmark,<sup>(28)</sup> a program for low-level readers, is being used with the hearing-impaired. Although this might be appropriate at lower levels, it might not be when the children are learning to read more sophisticated language.

The recommendations of the Sylves study seem most appropriate.

- "1. That personnel with expertise in the area of deaf education be consulted in the original production of Sesame Street shows. This could result in modification of the original shows so that they would be more beneficial to a deaf audience" (29)

Current programming involves the use of many techniques. Some can be more useful than others to handicapped children. Some Sesame Street segments designed to teach vocabulary are presented completely auditorially or the words are flashed on the screen. Chances are that the hearing-impaired viewers can make use of the second technique but not of the first. Slight modifications might be suggested by advisors that would not interfere with the programs for the normal child and make them more useable by the handicapped child.

For the retarded child, perhaps the grouping of all sequences dealing with one concept would be desirable. There is no way this could be done on regular broadcast material. There are likely to be many kinds of skills for which the sequences might be useful, but in a different format. For these cases, the second recommendation is also desirable.

- "2. That more recent Sesame Street segments (i.e., from years II and III) be made available for modification for specific audiences" (30)

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY: FEDERAL PROGRAMS FOR THE HANDICAPPED

There are three educational issues which face the U.S. Office of Education with respect to the support and funding of children's television and/or other educational media for the handicapped child.

1. How effective is children's television which has been designed for the average child with handicapped children?
2. How much adaptation through such techniques as captioned television for the deaf child or expanded programming for the mentally retarded is required to provide reasonable opportunities for handicapped children to learn through children's television?
3. How much new program material is required which is designed primarily to meet the needs of handicapped children?

The discussion of these issues and the recommendation for policy positions by the U.S. Office of Education requires an examination of legislative history and the administrative policies which have implemented this legislation. In addition to the historical tradition in this field decision-makers need to be able to predict the technological advancements in design, production and distribution of educational materials which have a high probability of taking place over the next decade.

Justification for Federal participation in the development of educational materials for the handicapped can be made on the basis of three factors, (1) economy of scale, (2) the limited market represented by the diverse requirements of the most severely handicapped populations and (3) the effectiveness of mediated materials.

The total school-aged population of handicapped children is estimated at 7,000,000 children by the Bureau of Education for the Handicapped (BEH). Such a target population would normally be a sizable market for an educational materials producer, however the different needs of each handicapped group makes it a high risk market which few producers have entered. The high cost of talking books for the blind and captioned films for the deaf have inhibited both commercial producers and state agencies from entering this market. The Federal government is the sole producer of such materials at this time.

Severely handicapped groups such as the deaf/blind require complex and expensive materials which are essential to their educational progress. The total national population of such children is less than 5,000, therefore it is unlikely that any agency other than the Federal government will develop materials for their needs.

The effectiveness of mediated materials may be even more essential for the handicapped learner than the normal child. Television or other forms of mediated instruction can provide the repetition and the separation of the whole into parts which are needed by some handicapped learners.

Federal participation in the production of materials for the handicapped learner has been a reality for over a century. Federal support for the creation and distribution of materials for the handicapped was first established by the funding of the American Printing House for the Blind (APHB). This agency was established in 1858 in Lexington, Kentucky and since March 1879 the U.S. Congress has supported this agency through a perpetual fund for the purpose of (aiding the education of the blind in the United States of America. (31) In addition to ~~the~~ perpetual fund, Congress makes a direct annual appropriation to the printing house. Congress also supports "Talking Books for the Blind" through the Library of Congress. It is obvious that Congressional interest in this area was responsible for the formation and continuous operation of a direct educational service to blind learners.

A century after the establishment of APHB, Congress enacted in 1958 a comparable service to deaf people in the Captioned Films for the Deaf Act, P.L. 85-905 (32) to provide a free loan service of captioned films for deaf people. The original law authorized the adaptation of films; subsequent amendments to this act authorized research, development and production of new materials as well as adaptation and distribution of materials. In addition, the authority has been expanded to include all individuals included under the definition of handicapped in the Education of the Handicapped Act, P.L. 93-380. These media services and captioning



programs are now Part F of the Education of the Handicapped Act; however the authorization for this part remains in perpetuity as it was in the original P.S. 85-905. Therefore, even though appropriations for this operating service are on a periodic basis, the authority does not expire as in other parts of the act.

P.L. 91-61 created the National Center on Educational Media and Materials for the Handicapped.<sup>(33)</sup> One of the prime functions specified in the law is for the Center to coordinate and systematize the services involved in educational technology for the handicapped.

In recent years these programs have, in cooperation with the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) and the National Bureau of Standards (NBS), developed television programming for the handicapped. Both "open" and "closed" captioning of a wide range of programs have been made available on an experimental basis through PBS. Cooperation with such commercial interests as ABC Evening News have expanded this system to reach more deaf people. Special programming for the handicapped learner has been a part of the Mr. Roger's Neighborhood series and the National Theatre of the Deaf has appeared on a number of Sesame Street programs. Support for these television programs has primarily been in the form of providing captioning for the deaf viewer. Some contracts have been awarded for the basic support of production costs for broadcast programs concerning the needs of the handicapped learner.

Congressional intent, legislative history and administration of these programs has clearly established the operating and service nature of the support of educational media and materials for the handicapped. There is a clear history of production, adaptation and distribution of mediated cultural and educational materials. The future alternatives open to such a program will depend in part upon the technological developments of the immediate future. Already there has been a shift from primarily captioning films to captioning television.

TELECOMMUNICATION FUTURES

Tressell, et al., in The Future of Educational Telecommunication, a planning study for the Office of Planning, Budgeting and Evaluation, U.S. Office of Education, in August, 1973, found that "the current combination of instructional broadcasting service with public cultural broadcasting is largely a marriage of convenience. Over the next few years it seems likely that instructional technology will continue to develop and that broadcasting will be only one of the distribution alternatives. At the same time the role of public broadcasting as a cultural and educational milieu will continue to mature and complement the world of formal instruction. Yet the two represent different orientations, and it is enlightening to separate their goals." (34)

Instructional television is defined in this report as that portion of television which is a service to the formal educational community. It must be flexible enough in its scheduling to adapt to the individual classroom and teacher needs. In its most sophisticated form it must be flexible enough to respond to the needs of the individual learner.

The report cites examples of demonstration programs which are currently responding to the flexible needs of instructional television which include the use of Computer Assisted Dial Access Video Retrieval System (CADAVRS). With this system a teacher can select television materials from a catalog in advance of the scheduled use. Such programs are fed as off-hours transmissions to the teacher's classroom where it is automatically videotaped and ready for the teacher to use at the desired time.

In addition to the above mentioned technology, the FCC had by the end of February, 1973, approved 18 construction permits for specialized common carriers throughout the nation. These resources will increase the possibilities of specialized transmission services.

Video recording is undergoing a wide variety of new developments in both video discs and tape. Prototypes of a number of disc systems have been demonstrated, however, at this time there is no



widespread application or marketing of these systems. Videotape, on the other hand, has been able to permeate the market at a cost effective level with good quality reproduction.

Cable television, in August, 1973, was providing services to 6,041 communities. (35) In April, 1973, the FCC indicated that cable television was reaching about 6,084,834 homes, or about 10% of the T.V. homes. Our estimate is that at this time 15% of the T.V. market is covered or close to 10,000,000 homes are cable subscribers. Most state facilities for the handicapped have some form of "closed" or cable television available to handicapped persons in residence. These systems frequently record broadcast materials and replay them at a more advantageous time. Many of the schools, hospitals and residential care facilities originate programs which are based upon the community and individual needs of the institution. Some, like Gallaudet College, Washington, D.C., and the National Technical Institute for the Deaf, Rochester, New York, have their own color studio and create original programs as well as adapt films and videotapes. The Gallaudet College library lists more than 500 titles of video cassettes which are available in either captioned or sign language formats. These can be viewed on either an individual basis within learning resource centers on the campus or can be scheduled for transmission via the cable system. While Gallaudet College and NTID may have two of the more modern and sophisticated systems, many other programs for the handicapped have similar facilities.

Tressel, concluded that the most feasible alternative distribution system of the next decade will be the developing commercial and private (institutional) cable systems. Satellites, video discs, laser and fiber optic systems are all interesting and promising technologies but they will not be widely available within the next decade or to the degree that they will offer viable alternatives to film, videotape, broadcast and cable distribution systems. (36)

The current distribution system used by Federal programs for the handicapped is film delivered by the U.S. Postal Service. In the immediate future it is likely that this system will be converted to

videotape and distributed through various specialized common carrier to local cable systems. In addition, some adapted programs, i.e., "closed captions" will be broadcast via the PBS or in some instances commercial networks.

We have spent time building the case for such a future distribution system, since it is our judgment that all other phases of the system ultimately relate to the distribution system. Consequently, our policy recommendations with respect to U.S.O.E. funding and administration of educational media and materials for the handicapped are based upon the transition from a film distribution to a video distribution system.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

Our recommendations are grouped into four general areas, (1) production, (2) adaptation, (3) evaluation, and (4) administration.

1. Production - There is a need for complete design and production of some specific programs for handicapped children. There are some concepts which are so complicated that detailed cognitive and linguistic modifications and design must be made for handicapped children. Existing programs simply cannot be adapted to teach these concepts.

Production support should be provided to develop broadcast and cable quality television programs that meet the needs of handicapped children. Technical quality should be comparable to that demonstrated by the Children's Television Workshop. Professional quality should be enhanced by including specialists from the area of the handicapped, curriculum designers, cognitive psychologists, linguistics and other relevant specialists. Production grants should be of a size and scope that can assure quality products.

2. Adaptation - There are two basic forms of program adaption for the handicapped, metastatic and supplemental expansion. Metastatic adaptors change coded information from one sensory system to another such as the captioning of speech for the deaf viewer or changing print into recorded speech for the blind. Supplemental expansion requires that additional materials be developed so that a retarded child can benefit from the program. This may be done within the broadcast program or by providing the viewer with additional materials.

The Federal program for the handicapped should continue developing and expanding its captioning programs via "closed" and "open" captions with PBS. It should also provide support to children's television programming such as Sesame Street, The Electric Company, Mr. Roger's Neighborhood, Villa Alegria, Zoom, etc., in the form of initial advisory input to include, where feasible, the interests of handicapped children.

In effect this recommendation calls for handicapped specialists to participate in the design phase of all children's television. Obviously, highly specialized needs cannot be incorporated into the general programming, but input by such specialists will assure that programming meets the needs of mildly handicapped children and consequently programming for all children will be better.

3. Evaluation - There must be clear criteria for the development of both production and adaptation program support which delineates and justifies the choice of specific cognitive and linguistic qualities of programming. Clear, measurable objectives must be established for each target audience and data must be obtained which measure the effectiveness of the program materials with the intended audience.

Continuous evaluation techniques will ultimately become the basis for needs assessments which will shape future production efforts.

4. Administration - Success in creative efforts and in operational service programs have seemed to flourish under systems such as those designated within the DHEW/USOE system as special institutions. Currently, Gallaudet College and its Kendall Demonstration Elementary

School and the Model Secondary School for the Deaf, the National Technical Institute for the Deaf at the Rochester Institute of Technology, Rochester, New York, Howard University and the American Printing House for the Blind have all become national assets under this type of administration. The U.S.O.E. grant to the Children's Television Workshop has functioned administratively much like a special institution. Such administrative management allows for the blending of private as well as public resources to meet the national objectives of such programs. The American Printing House for the Blind, for example, distributed in 1973 products valued at \$5,300,000. Whereas their Federal appropriation was \$1,817,500.<sup>(37)</sup> The total expenditure, was made up of distribution of materials for the Library of Congress and commercial publishers such as the Reader's Digest. The semi-private public nature of special institutions allows for the development of capital production from foundations and commercial interests as well as the Federal government.

We recommend that DHEW/USOE establish the National Media Center on Educational Media and Materials for the Handicapped and all of the concomitant research, training, production, adaptation, regional resource centers and distribution system activities to the status of a special institution which works in conjunction with the American Printing House for the Blind and the Talking Books for the Blind unit of the Library of Congress. This would provide the freedom of continued operations of the Congressionally mandated service program and assure creativity in quality production of educational media for handicapped individuals on a cost-effective and validated basis and avoid costly duplication of effort and limited resources. It is assumed that this administrative style can be established within the Bureau of Education for the Handicapped in the same liaison structure that the Bureau has with the other special institutions such as the National Technical Institute for the Deaf and the Model Secondary School for the Deaf.

The educational media program for the handicapped is an operational program which parallels the service offered through the American Printing House for the Blind.

SUMMARY

The 0-21 aged handicapped individual represents a diverse and complex target population which can benefit from children's television. This target group represents at least 7,000,000 children depending upon the definition of handicapped. The scope of this paper because it has concerned itself with Federal programs has taken the more restrictive definition as used in Federal legislation. Within this population there are those who have sensory handicaps and those who have delayed developmental intellectual functions. A common problem exhibited by most handicapped children is a delay or inadequate development of language skills. We have postulated that some of these barriers can be overcome through bypassing the sensory area that is defective such as captioned television for the deaf and talking books for the blind. For those with cognitive or emotional barriers, their language may also be limited but the design of materials may require very different approaches.

Our review of studies of both normal and handicapped children with respect to children's television leads us to feel that most justification is based upon empirical data. Programming seems to be effective for some normal children and some handicapped children, however production needs to be guided by more basic research in cognitive and linguistic growth among both normal and handicapped learners.

The legislative history of the U.S. Congress for more than a century indicates strong support for a Federally fostered production and distribution of educational materials for the handicapped. Recent and future technological developments indicate that this program will use both broadcast and cable television as a prime means of reaching the intended target group.

For some handicapping conditions, children's television as it is designed for the average child will be beneficial. Recommendations

are that all such programs should have handicap consultants in their initial formative stages so that maximum benefits can be obtained for both the normal and handicapped child.

For certain handicapping conditions such as deafness the Federal government should continue and expand both "open" and "closed" captioned services by adapting existing programs.

For severely handicapped children it will be necessary to produce new materials which are designed to meet their specific needs. Such production should maintain the highest level of technical and professional quality.

All mediated materials should be evaluated on the basis of their effectiveness in increasing the learning rate or skill of the target population of learners.

If a program such as has been recommended here is implemented, it will be necessary that DHEW/USOE administer the program in such a manner as to assure creativity and quality over the products produced. To accomplish this it is recommended that the educational technology program be established as a special institution via the National Center on Educational Media and Materials for the Handicapped.

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## Sexism in Television

### The Author

Dr. Muriel G. Cantor is Chairperson and Associate Professor of the Department of Sociology at The American University in Washington, D. C. Previously Dr. Cantor was a lecturer in Sociology in the Women's Study Program at George Washington University. She is a consultant to the National Organization for Women (NOW) and the National Media Task Force. She was a contributor to the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee report on Television and Social Behavior--"The Role of the Producer in Choosing Children's Television Content." Other publications include a book, The Hollywood TV Producer: His Work and His Audience, and "Comparison of the Tasks and Roles of Males and Females in Commercials Aired by WRC-TV" in Women in the Wasteland Fight Back, a NOW publication. Professional and university presentations include such topics as "Producing Television for Children," "Woman's Image in the Media," and "Communications Behavior and Bureaucratic Control."

### The Paper

In the following paper, "Children's Television: Sex-role Portrayals and Employment Discrimination," Cantor explores and elaborates two basic arguments. One is that the frequency and breadth of roles for female portrayals on television are both low, and that this is dysfunctional in the socializing of young girls. The second is that women and female viewpoints are underrepresented in the television industry, and that this underrepresentation is a factor in the current status of female portrayals on television. She concludes with several suggestions for research and social action.

Children's Television:

Sex-role Portrayals and Employment Discrimination

Muriel G. Cantor  
American University  
Washington, D. C.

March, 1975

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## INTRODUCTION

This paper has two related purposes. The first is to examine how women (and girls) are presented in children's television programming. The second is to explore the status of women in the various broadcasting organizations responsible for producing, selecting, and presenting the programming being made for children viewers. The specific programming is not purely instructional nor is it merely entertainment but rather a combination of both. Children's television being discussed is specifically designed to teach cognitive skills and/or pro-social behavior through entertaining content.<sup>1</sup> Several of the programs are designed to reach disadvantaged minorities and to "meet special needs incident to the elimination of minority group segregation and discrimination..." (see Title VII, Public Law 92-318).

The intent of the children's programs, therefore, is to aid both pre-school and school age children in overcoming educational disadvantages related to minority group status as well as supplementing the learning process for all children. Females have long been recognized as a disadvantaged group (Myrdal, 1944; Lipman-Blumen & Tickamyer, 1974). Since the publication of the Feminine Mystique (Friedan, 1963), there has been an increased interest in the problems of sex discrimination and sexual inequality. More recently, feminist groups, educators, and social scientists have begun to

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<sup>1</sup>Commercial television programs (either syndication or network) are not being considered at this time except for comparative purposes. The focus of this report is on the programs broadcast over the Public Broadcasting System Interconnection and/or are currently in production and financed by the Office of Education under the Emergency School Aid Act (P. L. 92-318).

examine sex discrimination (sexism)<sup>2</sup> in the content of various media and in the employment practices of media-producing industries.

The question for this paper is not whether sexism exists in the society at large but rather how it exists in noncommercial television programming being produced for children. In order to find out if such programming is sexist, the programs must be described and analyzed. The analysis will focus on the status of females and males, to see how they are portrayed in comparison to each other. In this comparison the roles assigned to males and females, both in the home and out of the home, will be examined. The place of each sex in the power structure as portrayed in the programming is also of concern. There is agreement that in commercial and noncommercial programs of all types, including children's programs, females and males are present in different numbers; in some programs there are no females; and in those where females are present, they are a distinct minority. Also, males are more likely to be shown in positions of importance (power). Females are likely to be shown in domestic or romantic roles, while males are active participants in the labor force.

Secondly, the program analysis will be related to the selection and production of the content. This section of the paper will examine some, but

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<sup>2</sup>Sexism is a word which refers to discrimination against individuals or groups because of their sex. When the term "sexism" is used, both in scientific and legal sense, it usually means discrimination against females, not against males. However, there is no reason, as several authors have suggested, that if men are discriminated against because of their sex, then this too should be considered sexism. According to Stoll (1973) the word "defines a society's discriminatory ideologies and practices as they are reflected in the opportunities given to individuals for self-expression, with sex being the basis for selective acceptance or rejection. Like the term racism, it was coined by those who question that the dominant group's-- in this case male--standards, values, goals, and strategies are the best, if not the only worthwhile ones, for members of a society." (p. 1) Sexism for this paper refers specifically to sex-role portrayals and to employment discrimination.

not all, of the complexities of the employment problems of women in television. Because the selection process is very complicated, it deserves an independent study. While a great deal has been written on children's television, its goals and effects, very little has been written on people responsible for this content. For instance, discrimination in employment is legally considered sexism and is separate from the issue concerning the images and portrayals that appear on the screen. A review of the literature and personal research indicate that some media people (both men and women) hold certain stereotypes of women and women's role in society.<sup>3</sup> Only recently have women journalists and other media people become cognizant of sexism in content, and many are becoming committed to changing the content in this regard. Because the content being examined in this paper is presented on public television and because several of the programs are funded by government agencies, the role of the government agencies in selecting content will also be explored.

The third part of the paper will be directed to the description of the actual audience--sex, socio-economic status and the target groups to whom the content is specifically directed. Finally, there will be a section devoted to theoretical and policy issues.

BACKGROUND OF THE PROBLEM

Research into the question of whether or not children learn sex role behavior and attitudes from television is limited. Only recently have investigators become interested in this issue (see Sternglanz & Serbin, 1974;

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<sup>3</sup>Stereotype in this content means "a category that singles out an individual as sharing assumed characteristics on the basis of his group membership." (Vander Zanden, 1966, pp. 80-81; also see Broverman et al., 1972, for an explanation of sex-role stereotyping.)

Fruéh & McGhee, 1975). The more general question of the effects of television on children has been researched continuously for several decades. However, it is still a controversial area of inquiry. The knowledge has increased with the popularity of the medium. Research seems to support the conclusion that television can influence social behavior and attitudes (Leifer, Gordon, & Groves, 1974, p. 213). Children who watch programs depicting interpersonal violence display increased aggressiveness. Television also encourages social valued behavior. Moreover, children change their attitudes about people and activities to conform to those encountered in television programs. The authors of this article state that television is not only entertainment for children but is a socializer of children.

These conclusions are similar to those reached by the feminist groups in the United States. Social action groups such as the National Organization for Women, Action for Children's Television, Women's Equity Action League and many others have taken the position that because television shows women in limited roles and activities it contributes to the negative influences on children (especially girls) as they learn appropriate role behavior. Television, as well as other media, has been criticized because the content stymies the quest for self-actualization. The media, in general, and television, in particular, are male-oriented and male-dominant. Lipman-Blumen & Tickamyer (1974) summarized the feminine critique by noting:

Feminist writers stress the covert psychological barriers inculcated in women, as well as the more overt structured forms of discrimination. More explicitly, in addition to concrete job discrimination, legal inequalities and the like, there is the vast area of sex role stereotyping and socialization which narrowly defines womanhood. (p. 25)

Three uses of the term "sex-role" occur in the literature: 1) position refers to normatively appropriate expectations for males and females; 2) behavior refers to what males and females are and do; and 3) relationships

which details the process of role-taking. Clearly, any given actor performs in a multiplicity of roles and relationships among these roles, and this is an important element in role analysis (Lipman-Blumen & Tickamyer, 1974, p. 12; Merton, 1957). It appears to be a universal social fact that the sexes are differentiated by status and function to some degree in every society. However, anthropologists and sociologists have established that there are a variety of behaviors, relationships, and positions which have been labeled masculine and feminine at different times in history, in different places and in different groups (Mead, 1935; Hall, 1963).

The sex role and socialization literature is so vast and varied that a separate specialized review would be required to do justice to all positions, findings, and complexities. However, the evidence is that learning sex roles is a cognitive process (Money, 1963) and that much, though possibly not all, of what is called masculine and feminine is culturally and socially determined (Bardwick, 1971).

Sex role research is designed to explain how children learn social roles. Most theorists, including Freud (1933), Mischel (1966) and Kohlberg (1966) emphasize that children learn appropriate sex role behavior by observing male and female role models. Modeling is considered to be an influential source of behavior acquisition, and a highly effective method of teaching behavior. Lesser (1974) explains the position of those who believe that children model behavior from what they view on television.

What psychologists call "modeling" occurs simply by watching others, without any direct reinforcement for learning and without any overt practice. The child imitates the model without being induced or compelled to do so. That learning can occur in the absence of direct reinforcement is a radical departure from earlier theories that regarded reward or punishment as indispensable to learning. There now is considerable evidence that children do learn by watching and listening to others even in the absence of reinforcement and overt practice. Opportunities for modeling have been vastly increased by television. (p. 23)



However, to believe that children learn sex roles only from television is simplistic. Models for sex role behavior appear in many forms: nursery rhymes, books, phonograph records and, of course, the day to day behavior of parents, teachers and friends.

Most of the sex role research done by sociologists has been from a functional perspective in the larger context of how people learn all social roles. Functionalists generally define sex roles in terms of differentiation, that is, within the family and the economy. Epstein (1971), Oppenheimer (1968) and Bernard (1971, especially pp. 103-146) show that while women make up over half the population and forty percent of the work force, they tend to congregate in jobs which are sex-typed. Several functionalists (Gross, 1968; Parsons, 1942) have suggested that women are likely to be found in expressive roles (that is, nursing, teaching and social work) while men are found in instrumental roles. This assertion justifies the position of women in the labor force because of societal "need." According to some, the positions women fill are inherently feminine. Yet the kind of work which is highly valued in an industrial and technological society involves analytical ability, the ability to make relationships rather than physical strength or aggressiveness. A very cursory review of the educational literature shows that men and women have equal ability to make relationships, learn cognitive skills and appear to be equally analytical (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974). Bernard (1971, p. 9) points out that the evidence is growing to show that there is greater variation among individuals in the same sex than between the sexes.

However, the above message has not reached, or is slowly reaching, the important groups in the society who contribute to the socialization of children. Only recently have educational counselors, textbook writers and publishers, school teachers, social scientists and media producers become aware of sex discrimination and sex role stereotyping. Because this paper is

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primarily concerned with children's television, the focus will be on the message that is reaching children through that medium. The question can be asked whether or not girls, in particular, are becoming aware through television of the wide variety of occupational choices available to them.<sup>4</sup> Are they becoming aware of the probability that they have other choices than becoming only wives and mothers? Does television present women as first class citizens who will contribute to the decision making process through government and community efforts; or are women presented only in roles which relate to their sex as these roles have been stereotyped? In other words, are the roles presented only those traditionally seen as feminine? The basic position of all feminists, whether radical or liberal in their ideology, is that the message which is presented through television limits the freedom of choice in females to develop their human potential.

#### PROGRAM CONTENT

In order to document that in television programming males outnumber females and that males are presented in more major roles and in a greater variety of roles than females, the content of commercial television has been analyzed rather thoroughly in recent years. Admittedly much of this research has been undertaken by feminist groups who wanted data in order to justify their position that television along with textbooks, magazine stories, movies and the novel show women (and girls) in limited roles, as passive rather

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<sup>4</sup>Content analyses of prime-time series show many people are portrayed as having no discernible occupation, and those who do have assigned roles are presented in only a few occupations. Therefore, boys also are not presented with a wide variety of occupations (role models). However, men and boys are shown in many more occupational roles than women and girls. This has changed little over time and will be detailed in the section of this paper devoted to programming content. (See Head, 1954; De Fleur, 1964; Gerbner, 1972; Sternglanz & Serbin, 1974.)

than active and as sex symbols rather than independent women who in many cases have to earn livings for themselves and their families. The most complete of these recent content analyses have been done by women's groups in order to document the legal argument concerning the treatment of women and women's issues on television as part of license renewal challenges.<sup>5</sup> Several of these have been published and widely circulated. Special attention has been given to portions of these studies devoted to television commercials. Courtney and Whipple (1974) compared four different analyses of women in television commercials. Two of these were originally part of license challenges (Cantor, 1972a; Hennessee & Nicholas, 1972). Although each of the studies can be rightfully criticized on methodological grounds, the consistency of the findings among them tend to mitigate the methodological issue. Courtney and Whipple conclude that the four studies provide evidence that women are not portrayed as autonomous, independent human beings, but are primarily sex-typed. They go on to say that if the results are viewed from the perspective of the feminist movement, the criticisms are justified. Moreover, women's roles in society continue to change and expand at a faster rate than the advertisers' response during that time period covered by the studies (1972-74). Advertisers are lagging far behind role changes in their portrayal of women.

There is evidence that in all programming females are outnumbered by males and given limited roles. In dramatic programming, for instance, women and men are presented according to patterned expectations. The content

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<sup>5</sup>There have been a number of petitions to deny licenses of commercial stations filed with the Federal Communications Commission by feminist coalitions: WABC in New York City, WRC in Washington, D. C., and all three commercial network affiliates in Los Angeles, California have had their licenses challenged.

analyses done by the Cultural Indicators Project at Annenberg School of Communication (see Gerbner, 1972; Tedesco, 1974; Gerbner & Gross, 1974) show that sex, age and occupations in prime-time series add up to a complex dramatic demography (Gerbner, 1972, p. 47). In the cast of characters analyzed three-quarters are male, American, middle and upper class, unmarried and in the prime of life (p. 45). Women typically represent romantic or family interest, close human contact and love. Males can act in nearly any role, but rare is the female part that does not involve at least the suggestion of sex. Most women who are cast in other than romantic or family roles are marked for impotence or death (pp. 45-46). Those involved in this project have been analyzing prime-time series since 1967. In a summary article of the data, Tedesco (1974) reports that during the years 1969-1972 there were 556 male leads and 219 female leads in the prime-time series. Male-female differences in employment and marital status are striking. More than half the females are married, compared with less than one-third of the males. Almost two-thirds of the female major characters have no discernible occupation. Females are presented as lacking independence. They are not usually found in adventure situations; they are younger than the men, more likely to be married, and less likely to be employed. She concludes:

The focus on the different dramatic functions and other dissimilarities based on sex alone makes it difficult for men to view women as equals, for women to view themselves as equal to men and both sexes not to view the male role as necessarily the more active, powerful and independent role. (pp. 119-121)

### Children's Programming

There have been extensive and thorough analyses of Saturday morning commercial television. Many social action groups have required program analyses to substantiate their claims that content may be harmful to children. In particular, those interested in the effects of commercial adver-

tisements and violence (Action for Children's Television, Council on Children, Media and Merchandising) have been examining this content for several years (see Barcus, 1971). The National Organization for Women (NOW) and other women's groups have monitored children's programming presented by the commercial networks as part of their larger interest in how women are being presented on television (Hoffman, 1972; Hilliard, 1972). The results of these consistently show there are fewer females than males and usually these few females are portrayed in domestic roles. Two recent analyses have been done as part of academic programs. In order to fulfill the research requirement for advanced degrees, Busby (1974) and Dohrman (1974) examined the way sex roles are presented to children. Busby looked at only commercial television; Dohrman both commercial and public television. Another recent analysis of commercially produced children's programs has been done by Sternglanz and Serbin (1974) who examine sex-role behavior rather than role-types.

Busby (1974) found there are thirty-four major male characters as compared to fourteen female characters and sixty-six minor male characters to seventeen minor female characters in the cartoon shows examined (p. 70). The major male characters are shown in forty-two different occupational roles while the females are shown in only nine. The married women in the cartoons are never shown in jobs outside the home. The few women who did work for a living are clearly identified as single (p. 96). Her findings are similar to those of Hilliard (1972), Hoffman (1972), and Barcus (1971). Barcus only examined sex role differences in the commercial advertisements shown during children's programs on Saturday morning:

Dohrman (1974) investigated the symbolic message presented on a number of children's programs. Her sample included programs she has labeled "variety-educational" shows: Sesame Street, Mister Rogers Neighborhood, Electric

Company and Captain Kangaroo. These shows are specifically relevant to this report because they are both entertainment and instructional. Three, Sesame Street, Electric Company and Mister Rogers Neighborhood, have been funded in part by the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Her overall findings show that the male sex predominates; seventy-eight percent of all characters are male as compared to twenty-two percent female. Moreover, those characters with ascribed power or authority are most likely to be male. In the abstract of the thesis she states that:

The most significant findings of the study were two: 1. not even the much lauded variety-educational programs such as Sesame Street and Electric Company were free of sexism and in some cases were the worst programs... 2. portrayal of the male child as exhibiting only the "good" active mastery behaviors... The child male was almost significantly more masterful than the adult female...

As evidence of her first finding, Dohrman (1974) indicates that the number of male characters always outnumbers the female characters whether the characters are real human beings, animals or fantasy characters such as puppets. For instance, there are eighty-eight males compared to twenty-five females on Sesame Street, and on The Electric Company there are thirty-three males compared to fifteen females (p. 230).

Dohrman (1974) also reports on the number and kinds of occupational roles presented on children's television. Again her findings show sex discrimination. Of the seventy-two different kinds of jobs in all programs, sixty-five are held by males. In the variety-educational programs, only five are held by females. Overall, females are concentrated in indoor non-authoritarian occupations such as dancer, teacher and nurse. Only one female job, museum curator, is not sex-typed (p. 162). Seven females are shown doing homemaking activities, such as shopping and caring for children, but no males are shown doing these tasks (p. 163). Four of the seven house-

wives appear in the variety-educational programs. She concludes that the message to girl viewers both inhibits a career choice and limits selection of an occupation to those already held by women. Males, on the other hand, have a wide career choice and can imagine themselves as prestigious doctors and powerful politicians, strong outdoorsmen, aggressive law enforcers, or daring professional athletes.

Sternglanz and Serbin (1974, p. 714) found that males and females are present "in dramatically different numbers." Half of the most popular children's programs had to be discarded from the sample because they did not portray any females. Even with a sample selected for the presence of females, the females are a distinct minority, ninety-two males and forty-five females. Their analysis is different from the others reported because they measure behaviors in order to see how appropriate sex roles are presented to the child viewer. Males are significantly more likely to be aggressive, constructive and succorant. Females, on the other hand, are significantly more likely to be shown as deferent and as being punished for displaying a high level of activity (p. 713). They conclude that commercially produced television programs viewed by American children do indeed carry different messages about the appropriate behavior for males and females.

#### Children's Programming - Noncommercial

As part of a larger study being undertaken by the Women's Task Force of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB), which will be discussed in greater detail in subsequent sections, the images, position and sex-role assignments of male and female characters are being examined and compared. The Task Force has collected data on all children's programming that came over the Public Broadcasting System (PBS) Interconnection during the week of January 19-26, 1975.



Because of the previous work on dramatic programming, both for children and adults, and the analysis of television commercials, it was expected the results of this study would show females as unequal to males, both in the number presented and roles assigned. Dohrman (1974) found this to be the case. Indeed, the preliminary results indicate men and women, boys and girls are clearly sex-typed on public television. Also, the findings show that male characters are more likely than female characters to be given occupational roles which have higher status and assumed power. Moreover, the males are assigned a greater variety of roles even when the numbers of each sex are controlled. However, in absolute numbers there are many more males than females. The ratio is approximately two males to every female. This is true for all children's television which is presently being shown on public television. Also, in those shows which present letters and numbers as spot segments, similar to commercial advertisements, the voice-overs are very likely to be masculine. This is one of the consistent results of all monitoring and content analyses; when voice-overs are used, a female is unlikely to be given that role. In Sesame Street, Villa Alegre, and Electric Company approximately three-quarters of the voice-overs are male. In commercial advertisements, Dominick and Rauch (1972), Cantor (1972a), Screen Actors Guild (1974) report approximately ninety percent male voice-overs. Thus, the children's programs are an improvement over commercial advertisements.

The major emphasis in the Task Force analysis is the role assignments for male and female characters in order to see if public television also sex stereotypes and narrowly defines masculinity and femininity in the same way commercial television does. In this analysis occupational, familial and other social roles are scrutinized to see if traditional roles and sex-typed occupations, such as secretary, teacher and nurse, are assigned to females



while males are assigned the more powerful roles with higher status. The programs being analyzed are: Sesame Street (five episodes), The Electric Company (five episodes), Zoom (four episodes), Mister Roger's Neighborhood (five episodes), Villa Alegre (five episodes), and Carrascolendas (one episode).

Sesame Street is an hour-long daily television program designed to instruct preschool children, particularly the disadvantaged. Eight million dollars were spent to create and produce the series. This money was contributed by the Carnegie Corporation, the Ford Foundation, the United States Office of Education and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. From its inception there has been criticism from feminists because the programs do not show sex role diversity; males are stereotyped as dominant and aggressive, females as traditionally homemakers (Gardner, 1970; Cathey-Calvert, undated; Bergman, 1972; Lesser, 1974, p. 198-200). In answer to this criticism, Lesser has stated that Sesame Street stresses the importance of strong male identification figures for inner-city children (p. 199). Also, according to him, Sesame Street shows men as having warm, nurturing relationships with young children but not at the expense of misrepresenting or excluding feminine models. However, he goes on to say that it is necessary to make some trade-offs, and the show could not be everything to everybody (p. 200). The content analyses indicate that the trade-off seems to be in favor of the male disadvantaged child, not the female child.

Other programs funded by the United States Office of Education appear to subscribe to the same philosophy. Villa Alegre and Carrascolendas are funded under the Emergency School Aid Act. Their purpose is to appeal to Hispanic (Chicanos, Cubans, Puerto Ricans, etc.) and Anglo children; both programs are bilingual, part English and part Spanish. Villa Alegre is modeled after Sesame Street with modularized segments. Each show consists

of perhaps a dozen different elements, many musical, half film, half live on tape. It is intended for children from three to nine years old. A cursory review of the monitoring data shows it also presents females with limited choices and limited acting roles.

Carrascolendas deals with cultural pride, the environment and with the challenges children face in the process of living and in the challenges of growing up (Teacher's Guide, undated, p. 1). The show features a female detective, Pepper. However, Senorita Hernandez, the school teacher, is being replaced in the second year's production, forty episodes, by a male who was described as being very "masculine." The rationale for this is similar to that given by Lesser (1974) for having a male school teacher on Sesame Street; this character will provide the males with a role model which diverges from the usual occupational stereotype for teachers. While no one can object to having male role models which open up occupational choices for young boys, it appears that this is done by limiting female characters who are already unequally presented. Even though the cast of characters appear to be evenly divided between the sexes, males are predominant on the screen. The major problem for all programs appears to be institutionalized and unconscious sexism, perhaps more so for Villa Alegre and Carrascolendas because of the pro-male bias in the Hispanic cultures.<sup>6</sup>

Public television was established as an alternative to commercial programming so that a "wide variety of programs of excellent quality would be made available to all Americans, and that Federal commitments would be made

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<sup>6</sup>There are ten series presently in production which are authorized under the Emergency School Aid Act. Their purpose is to support desegregation and to help meet problems incident to minority group isolation. I was able to view two episodes of two different series, Mundo Real and Getting Over. One segment of Mundo Real features a strong, young female (Puerto Rican) who shows independence and courage. When these are finished they should be monitored to find out if there have been overall changes.

to ensure adequate financing of such activities" (Lee and Pedone, 1974, p. 1). Originally public television was envisioned as both entertaining and instructional. It was hoped that the medium would provide diversity, raise standards and tastes, and provide information that would lead to greater satisfaction from work and play (The Report of the Carnegie Commission on Educational Television, 1967, p. 14-15). There is no question that public television's programming for children is superior to that presented on commercial television. It is more diverse; it presents educational material in an entertaining way; and there is much less violent content and no commercial advertisements. However, it does appear that public television does not meet the goals for children in the presentation of role models. Because of the low frequency of female characters and because there are so few role models shown, public television is as narrow and limited as commercial television.

#### WOMEN IN PRODUCTION

Along with the analyses of children's programming, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting's Task Force is investigating and will make recommendations concerning three distinct, but complementary areas: (1) achieving an honest and well-rounded image of women in all programming; (2) integrating women into all areas of the broadcast media; and (3) striving for thorough coverage of issues pertinent to women (see Media Report to Women, January, 1975). Essentially the task force is examining both programming and employment.

As far as can be discerned at this time, this study is the first that addresses the issue of women in public television in a systematic and organized fashion. Simultaneously a study of women (and girls) is being conducted by the United States Civil Rights Commission and directed by Helen Franzwa, who is examining the participation of minorities and women in radio

and television from the standpoint of equal economic and employment opportunity rights. The primary focus of the study will be an in-depth look at the whole decision-making process and the decision-makers that will provide significant insights and useful information about the origins of imagery which offends and may be socioeconomically harmful to women and minorities (see Media Report to Women, September, 1974, p. 5). As part of this study, the portrayal of women and men, both minority and white, in commercial and public television will be investigated along with discrimination in employment (Letter, January 27, 1975 from Helen Franzwa, Project Director).

The apparent reason for the neglect until now of the decision-making process of public television appears to be obvious. Public television is assumed to be more liberal in its policies concerning women and minorities. Also, the audience for public television has traditionally been considered negligible compared to the audience for commercial broadcasting. As will be shown in the forthcoming section on the audience, this is not true for children's programs in particular. However, as the figures for the employment of women become available and as the audience for public programming, especially for children's programs, has grown, there has been an increasing interest in the decision-making process and how the images come on the screen.

There are few studies on how children's programming is produced and selected. Those available, as with most of the research on television, concerns either advertising or the selection of violent content (see Leifer, Gordon, & Groves, 1974; Melody, 1973; Cantor, 1972b). The Cantor study is the only one which has any relevance to the topic under discussion. During the interviewing of producers and writers of the animated shows made especially for Saturday morning television, it was discovered that the Sesame Street animated segments were subcontracted for production by Children's

Television Workshop. Also at that time few women were in positions which allowed them creative control. Although there have been few systematic studies since then, evidence is that there has been no significant change (interview with Screen Actor Guild official, July, 1973).

### Employment and Public Television

In public television males far outnumber females by a large margin in all higher ranked job categories. The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) has collected employment data from television stations for four years (see Appendix A for information concerning Federal Law on employment). The United Church of Christ has compiled these statistics and issued several annual reports. The following is from "Preface" of the 1974 report (Jennings and Jefferson, 1974, p. ii):

...the 122 non-commercial stations in the four year comparative analysis showed an increase in full time employment. In 1974, the proportion of minority group employees at non-commercial stations was 12%, roughly equal to that found at commercial stations. In 1971, the proportion was 9%; in 1973, 11%. However, these increases occurred mainly in large metropolitan stations.

The proportion of women employed full time by non-commercial stations was greater than that of commercial stations, increasing from 28% in 1971 to 30% in 1973 to 31% in 1974.

As in commercial television, the non-commercial stations increased the employment of minorities and women in the upper three job categories: Officials and Managers, Professionals and Technicians... In 1971 the proportion of minority group members in these upper-level positions was 6%. In 1973 and 1974 the proportion was 9%. The proportion of women in these three categories was 6% in 1971, 9% in 1973 and 11% in 1974.

...Eight stations (6%) had no women on their full time staffs and 21 (16%) reported none in the upper three job categories. Eighteen stations (14%) reported no women and no minorities in the upper three job categories.

This report calls two things to the attention of the reader. The first is that there is no independent verification of the information that is supplied by the station. Secondly, the report shows a startling increase in

upper level jobs for both minorities and women and a decline in clerical and service positions. Jefferson and Jennings (1974) raise two questions: do more executives need fewer clerks to serve them? Do larger staffs need less janitorial service? They believe that the FCC should investigate these questions because it appears to them that broadcasters reclassify low level workers into the upper job categories.

The Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) also has reported on the employment patterns of minority groups and women among 128 public television licensees that have been in operation in the United States during 1971-1974 (CPB Report, 1975). The total number of women has increased from 28.5 percent in 1971 to 30.4 percent in 1974. The proportion of females in full-time employment was 28.5 percent in 1971 and 29.8 percent in 1974. During the four-year period, all female full- and part-time employees increased by 18.6 percent, while male employees increased by 8.3 percent. This employment pattern was also true in full-time employment. The increase for females was 18.3 percent and for males it was 11.1 percent during the same period. The proportion of female workers is much greater among minority employees than among total employees. In managerial positions the number of female employees has decreased during the four year period.

The figures, by occupation, are not available for 1974. In 1973 there were only three female general managers as compared to 118 male general managers. In the four top paying occupations, general manager, station manager, operations manager and program manager, males appear to receive better pay than females. For instance, the average salary for male program managers is \$16,001, and for females with the same job title the salary is \$13,086. This, of course, could be a function of length of service on the job and is presently under investigation.

In actual production jobs where presumably decisions are made about content for programs, there are 80 female producer-directors as compared to 429 males and only one female film director as compared to 75 males. There is a catch-all category, "all other professionals," which has 266 females and 248 males. It is unclear what these people do. It is unknown whether this includes writers, for instance.

The employment patterns for secondary organizations which produce shows for public broadcasting, such as Children's Television Workshop, makers of Sesame Street and The Electric Company, and Bilingual Children's Television, Inc., makers of Villa Alegre, are not known.

It was noted earlier in the section on programming that there are fewer female than male characters in all children's television programming and that male characters are likely to be shown in more active, important roles. Clearly, the sex of the major producer does not seem to make a difference in this regard, since both Sesame Street and Carrascalendas were originated and produced by women. Therefore, one could argue that the employment of women in decision-making and with creative responsibility would not guarantee that programming would be less sexist. In a study of prospective journalists and broadcasters, Orwant and Cantor (1974) found that women (journalism students) hold the same stereotypes as men concerning the kinds of entertainment and news women want to read or view. Although the number of studies of communicators is increasing, no one has addressed the question of whether or not women are more likely to produce and create non-sexist programs. However, there are some very encouraging indications of change. More women in communication appear to be concerned with the changing roles of women, both their own and others. However, the present situation is such that women are not likely to be found in positions of power and very few are responsible for programming decisions. Those who



have responsible positions do not have the social support necessary to change what appears to be a general pattern in all media: males are favored over females.

#### THE AUDIENCE

Ninety-seven percent of American homes have one or more television sets which are viewed on the average of 26 hours, 15 minutes per week (Lyle, 1974, p. 4). Women spend the most time viewing, 30 hours, 22 minutes, followed by children who view 26 hours, 01 minutes. Teen-agers spend the least amount of time at the sets. A consistent finding over the years is that the peak year for viewing is around 12 for children. Television viewing is one activity which cuts across all age groups, all socio-economic and ethnic groups. In 1974 public television was provided to 210 markets by 245 stations. As of that time public television's potential audience was limited by the fact that somewhere between twenty and thirty percent of the nation's homes were beyond the reach of usable off-the-air signals for public stations. Further restrictions are imposed on public television because 151 of the 245 stations operate on UHF channel locations which limits the available audience.

Who is watching public television? As stated above, the potential audience is limited by the availability of the programs because of the nature of public television. Yet during the course of a week in 1973-74 broadcasting season, television sets in some twenty million homes were tuned to public television at least once, roughly the same number reached by a popular prime-time program on a commercial stations. This estimate is based on data from the A. C. Nielsen Co.'s national sample of metered homes (Lyle, 1974, p. 6). Prime time consists of the evening hours, generally 7:30 p.m. to 11:00 p.m.



More important than the prime-time audience is the growth of children's audience since the inception of public television and especially the impact of the children's programs provided by the national interconnection of the Public Broadcasting System (PBS). It is indisputable that these programs have provided public television with its greatest "success" to date. In a four week period during the winter of 1974, Sesame Street reached almost a fourth of the nation's television households (23.3 percent); Electric Company reached 14.5 percent and Mister Roger's Neighborhood reached 10.5 percent. Combined these three programs account for 26.6 percent of public television households, 17,609,000 homes. Obviously there was a great overlap of the audiences of the three individual programs. They were the only public television programs reaching 9.6 percent of the nation's television homes, and account for almost a fourth (twenty-three percent) of public television's audience in this period (Lyle, 1974, p. 14-15). The most successful of the children's television programs is Sesame Street, but others are successful as well. Zoom is designed for the 9-12 year old audience and is distributed by PBS during prime time. It reaches one of the very largest individual audiences among prime-time national public television offerings. Only Masterpiece Theatre surpassed the weekly average of homes reached by Zoom over the four week period, Jan. 28 - Feb 24, 1974 (Lyle, 1974, p. 16, and figure 8). Not only is the audience large, but the Nielsen data indicate that its audience is overwhelmingly composed of children under 12 for whom the program is intended.

According to Schramm, Lyle and Parker (1964) in 1961, the presence of blue collar families in the educational television audience was an exception. Watching educational television was much more common and, apparently, more approved and valued behavior among better-educated, high socio-economic groups. Ten years later this is no longer true because of the

children's programs, especially Sesame Street. Large sample surveys in a dozen markets of varying sizes have shown that public television audiences do include large proportions of lower socio-economic groups, measured by such indicators as educational attainment and occupation (Lyle, 1974, p. 21). For instance, in a large sample survey done in the Boston area in 1973, children's programs alone accounted for 53.7 percent of the public television homes where the head had not finished high school, contrasted to only 2.6 percent of those where the head had finished college. A New York study done in 1972 showed that 64.5 percent of public television homes where the head of household had not finished high school named only children's programs in contrast to 38.8 percent of those where the head had finished college. In Denver, education showed little difference in the patterns of public television usage (Lyle, 1974, p. 23a).

Not only are public television programs reaching a relatively large portion of the lower socio-economic groups, but this includes various minorities as well. The large sample studies of various cities show that the overwhelming amount of minority viewers are watching children's programs, not prime-time public television. Because the target audience for Sesame Street is the disadvantaged children, it can be said that the program is a success. However, the sex ratio of the minority audience for the children's programs is not known because Nielsen ratings and other surveys do not break the audience down by sex below the age of twelve.

Less recent and less complete data indicate that among older children, girls watch television more than boys. Stein and Friedrich (1972) found that the average viewing time of nursery school age boys was 34.56 hours as compared to 32.44 hours for girls. Chaffee and McLeod (1972) found that junior high school and high school girls watched more than did boys of the same age group. Lyle and Hoffman (1972 a & b) also reported similar findings

although their data show less differences between the sexes and fewer hours of television viewing for all children. Regardless of the study, there seems to be general agreement that young children (under twelve) watch more television than do adolescents and that there is a sex difference in program preference between the sexes, especially during adolescence and early adulthood.

### Learning from Television

The evidence as to whether children learn sex role behavior from television is indeed limited. Only Frueh and McGhee (1975) have reported findings related to this question. There is not space to review the disparate findings from a number of sources to show that children learn and are socialized from television. There have been several kinds of issue oriented research each with its own assumptions. Most of the attention has been given to the issue of violence on film and television. Another issue area of inquiry has been instructional television. Originally the question was asked if face-to-face instruction was more effective than learning from audio-visual materials. More recently, those involved in educating the young seem to accept the importance of both and have been concerned with the kinds of audio-visual material that can attract audiences and make learning more effective (see Lesser, 1974; Lumsdaine & May, 1966). A third major area of inquiry has been how children learn political behavior. Media, and television in particular, are seen as only one kind of many possible political socializers (Hyman, 1959; Greenstein, 1961). More recently the effects of commercial advertising (Ward, 1972) and the presentation of minority groups have been researched. These areas mentioned are not necessarily mutually exclusive nor all inclusive.

Three major emphases in this research stand out: one is how children

model their behavior (socialization); a second is how children learn cognitive skills, information and knowledge; and the third examines the choices of media and how various media are used. The methodologies vary in the multitude of studies relating to children and television from the controlled experiment to the observation of children in their natural setting. Children have been surveyed, and the results of educational programming have been evaluated to find out what, if anything, children learn from particular programs (Ball & Bogatz, 1970; Bogatz & Ball, 1971; Paulson, 1974). Few of the studies have considered sex-role behavior or learning as the dependent variable (see Frueh & McGhee, 1975). Almost everything that is said about learning sex roles from television (and other media) is conjecture. There is no question that this is a neglected area of research and has been recognized as such by researchers for some time (see NIMH, 1972; and Rubenstein, 1974).

A study, presently in progress, does address the issue. Leslie A. McArthur at Brandeis University (see That 51 Per Cent, p. 29) is examining the effects of television and books on sex role beliefs and behavior of nursery school children. Her goal is to determine what factors generate the stereotyped beliefs people hold regarding what constitutes "sex appropriate" and "sex inappropriate" behavior as well as to discover means of broadening people's conception of behavior permissible for each sex. As of now her results are unpublished.

When researching the relationship of television viewing and behavior, sex is often considered atheoretically, even though it is reported and appears to be conceptualized as a major independent variable. Reasons for the differences between boys and girls are usually explained by commonly held stereotypes or not explained at all. As an example see Bailyn (1959) which is discussed below.

Several of the studies relating violence on television to aggressive behavior have looked at the differences between boys and girls. Two studies done a decade apart correlate viewing habits with the attitudes that result from the viewing. Bailyn (1959) found that boys and girls who viewed a large amount of programming preferred programs with aggressive content. However, she found that boys who viewed aggressive content reacted differently from the girls. This finding is a complex one which suggests to Bailyn that girls are more conforming and rewarded for this conformity. The function of mass media for the child is reflected in his psychological predisposition and influences his modes of behavior. For the girls, this is not so. Therefore, one might conclude that television is not the culprit but predispositions, family characteristics and sex itself.

Dominick and Greenberg (1972) report different findings. They found that preteen girls who were more regularly exposed to television violence expressed more willingness to use violence than did those less exposed (p. 327). Their main finding is that family attitudes toward aggression, as reported by the child, showed the most persistent relationships to the child's aggressive attitudes, but television exposure also made a consistent, independent contribution to the child's notions about violence. Girls, as well as boys, who expressed attitudes which favored violent solutions to problems had high exposure to violence on television. The vast number of studies which gathered data on girls should be systematically analyzed for sex differences in relation to media use and exposure.

The findings of seven different studies done over a period of several decades show that boys are more interested in news and history, girls in literature and home-type books (Hyman, 1959). Greenstein (1961) considers these findings are due to "psychological" differences in boys and girls. However, he makes it clear that these differences may be learned and not

inherently masculine or feminine. He states that adult sex differences in political behavior have roots in early pre-adult variation in exposure and response to media characteristics. Family status and characteristics of parents are also important. The media studies point out almost consistently that there is a sex variation in media preference (also see Schramm, Lyle, & Parker, 1964; Lyle & Hoffman, 1971 a & b). Greenstein attributes this to the need to conform to cultural definitions of masculinity and femininity.

There is little doubt that the content of children's television has defined femininity narrowly, thereby perpetuating possible antiquated cultural definitions of masculinity and femininity. In a recent study Frueh and McGhee (1975) found that there is a relationship between high amounts of television watching and traditional sex role development. In their brief research note, they suggest a causal connection between the two variables because the content of television portrays both female and male roles as traditionally sex-typed. While television alone cannot account for sex differences in behavior, a case can be made that content which provides unrealistic or few models of women's changing structural position, both in the labor force and the home, does contribute to the socialization of women and narrowly defines her role. The idea of deeply ingrained sex role behavior, especially in politics, leads Greenstein (1961) to suggest that sex differences in political behavior will not disappear unless all the various agents of socialization (family, school, church, media, etc.) no longer define women's and girls' roles as subsidiary to men.

#### CONCLUSION -- THEORETICAL AND POLICY CONSIDERATIONS

With the rebirth of feminism in the 1960's the role of women in American society has become a major public issue. Historically, American women have played a more active part in the growth and development of the nation than

one would realize from the way they are portrayed in all television programming. Presently, if one watched the programs designed for children, the picture of the sexes that emerges is inconsistent with changes females have experienced in the last decade, and in no way reflects the female position in the social structure. At the present time over forty percent of the work force are women, many of whom are married with children under six. It is estimated that many young girls in high school today, 1975, will be a part of the labor force for 35 years. Their work expectations are not much different from their male contemporaries. The television programming these female high school students have seen (an estimated 13,500 hours by the time they are twelve) has presented them with a view of the world that is not only unrealistic but which may have affected their psychological outlook (Steinfeld, 1973). Though the evidence is mostly conjecture from studies addressed primarily to cognitive learning of basic skills and to the relationship of violent content to aggressive behavior, it appears that children do model behavior from television content. Therefore, if television programming has affected the female's self concept, she will be more likely to have conflicts about her choice of occupation and the relationship of work to her role as a wife and mother. Moreover, she is likely to consider males the superior sex who are able to do many more things than she and who will dominate in the work world. Her occupational choice will be limited to traditional roles, such as teacher, secretary or nurse, regardless of her talent and ability.

For the above reasons, feminists and, more recently, social scientists have protested the way females and males have been portrayed in television programming of all types. Social action groups are convinced that not only is the changing role of women being ignored but that all young chil-



dren, both males and females, are being presented with content that limits their choices, and thus they are less likely to become self-actualized, productive members of society.

There appears to be little recognition that one-half of all minority group children are girls and that these girls will become women who are very likely to have to earn a living, support themselves and possibly head a family unit. In March, 1972, there were 6.2 million families headed by women, and twenty-five percent of these were black (Department of Labor, 1973). The number of female heads of households has increased in the last decade and there is no reason to believe that this trend will reverse. The role models being presented through the medium of television not only limit choices and ability to self-actualize, but may even be dysfunctional for the larger society because talents and abilities will not be developed. This is speculation; except for the Frueh and McGhee study (1974), little research on this subject has been done. If the justification is correct that violent content leads to aggressive behavior, then there is no reason to doubt that television content also can help shape sex-role conceptions and behavior (see Bandura, 1969; Liebert, Neale, & Davidson, 1973; Lyle & Hoffman, 1972 a & b; Leifer et al., 1974; Lesser, 1974).

#### Research Suggestions

Because of the lack of knowledge about how television viewing influences sex-role behaviors and attitudes, more research is necessary. As far as can be ascertained at this time, only one project is being funded which directly addresses this topic; McArthur at Brandeis University is studying the effects of television and books on sex role beliefs and behavior of nursery school children.



The call for research on this topic did not originate with this report. The National Institute of Mental Health Research Workshop, TV and Social Behavior Workshop (NIMH, 1972) recognized that studies of racial and sex role stereotypes should be encouraged. Also, Rubenstein (1974, p. 86) states that "research should investigate the ways television reinforces social stereotypes: the role of women, the attributes of ethnic groups, the characteristics of people in different social classes."

The purpose of this report is not to delineate a specific research agenda but to call attention to how little is known about the various elements of the communication process as this relates to sex role imagery and portrayals. Research on this topic should include the whole communication process, not just the effects on children.<sup>7</sup>

(1) There is need for more research on how the values and beliefs of the communicators influence the communication process; on how programs are formulated, produced and finally broadcast. There have only been a very few studies addressing the questions relating the interaction of the television communicators and the system in which they work (Gans, 1970; Cantor, 1971; Cantor 1972b, Baldwin & Lewis, 1972; Elliot, 1972; Melody, 1973). None of these consider the values of communicators in relation to their sex or their beliefs about sex-roles. This can be explained because females were not involved in the production, selection and broadcast of the content being investigated. Though they are few in number, there are women involved in all phases of children's programming on public television.

Related to this, there is more research needed on work itself in production companies, the secondary organizations which are responsible for producing shows for children, in order to find out how women and minorities

<sup>7</sup>The following research might be supported by Title IV of the Education Amendments of 1974 (Women's Educational Equity).

are recruited and the kind of work assigned to them. Will the content change as these organizations, licensees and production companies employ and utilize more females in the actual creative work? There is an opportunity for applied and pure research to be done in this unexplored area. The question of social support for minority employees, including women, and impact of this on the selection of content is not only a question for those interested in equal employment but also for those interested in the larger questions of work and the manufacture of cultural symbols.

(2) There should be continuous research on the content that comes over the air. The programs provide a rich data source for those who are interested in social and cultural change. Further on a suggestion will be made for continuous monitoring for the specific purpose of calling attention to sex role stereotypes. Thus this research, as well as the research on the communicators and communicating organizations, will have both policy and theoretical implications. Gerbner (1972) and Wormley (1974) believe television content is an indicator of popular cultural trends and symbol systems. Also, through monitoring, social relations and how these relations are structured can be analyzed. Content analysis serves several functions. It can be used to alert people to negative and positive images as well as provide material which gives information about the dominant social myths.

(3) Obviously more information is needed on the effects of the content on children and their parents. Leifer et al. (1974) say that there is enough research to suggest that televised violence contributes to aggressive behavior in children and adolescents. Only one study is available which shows how televised social stereotypes might contribute to the attitudes, beliefs and values of children (Frueh & McGhee, 1975). Research is needed on how content affects the self-image and self-concept children have of themselves; how television contributes to the modeling of behaviors and roles as this

relates to the portrayal of the sexes.

(4) Research is also needed on parental attitudes, beliefs and values as this relates to sex-roles. This report has neglected the influence of educators and parents on television viewing and their possible reinforcement or counter-influence on the child. There is clear consensus throughout all the literature that television supplements both education and child rearing practices. While televiewing is not often conceptualized as a primary socializer by most researchers, several have noted its independent effects. However, it is clear that parental guidance and their viewing habits are very important in what children see and how much they watch. Our knowledge is limited about the relationship between the combined roles of television, the home and school in child development (Leifer et al., 1974, p. 237).

(5) The question of how critical feedback, especially in the criticism from organized pressure groups, affects the creators of content appears to be of little concern to researchers. Producers of evening series and Saturday morning cartoons tend to ignore critical letters regarding content. They claim that the networks are responsible for negative effects (Cantor, 1971, 1972b). Also, Lesser (1974) clearly is not impressed by the critical appraisals of Sesame Street. However, he is concerned about negative effects using the high target audience appeal and the evaluation results as feedback information which shows that the program is meeting its intended goal. Leifer et al. (1974) report that Zoom was kept on the air because of Zoomalert, a campaign to influence the CPB.

A relatively new "feedback" mechanism is the use of license challenges by social action groups in the society. The effect of such challenges on the communicator has not been explored. This relates directly to the issue of sexism since so many of the license challenges of commercial stations have been undertaken by feminist groups who have been dissatisfied with the

way females are presented through the medium.

### Policy Considerations and Suggestions

It is not possible to end discrimination in content and employment easily because the inequality of the sexes is a long standing historical reality. However, there are a number of things that could be undertaken immediately which would facilitate equal employment and equal presentation of the sexes on the air. In order to improve research on and knowledge of the audience, Nielsen and other survey organizations should start reporting the sex composition of the audiences at all ages. This is clearly possible and should be simple to do. No doubt for Nielsen families, the data exist. When new audience surveys are undertaken, this neglect should be remedied.

Public television presently devotes twenty-seven percent of broadcast time to children's programming (Katzman, 1974). Along with others, I advocate that commercial television should increase the number of hours of children's programming, and this programming should not be interrupted by commercial advertising. The FCC has within its powers the ability to regulate the number of hours devoted to such programming. It clearly has chosen not to do this. If there were more hours available, then more diverse programming would be possible.

Leifer et al. (1974) have suggested that more commercial time should be given to the replacement of product advertisement with educational spots and public service announcements which teach both cognitive skills and pro-social behavior. This is happening with network productions such as Multiplication Rock, Grammar Rock, as well as the Office of Education sponsorship of thirty public service announcements concerning human relationships between children and adolescents of various social and ethnic groups. The basic purpose of the latter is to end minority and racial isolation and to counteract negative stereotypes held by different groups in society.

The government supports the production of a number of public service announcements in diverse areas such as alcohol education, recruitment to the military services and drug control. "Commercial spots" could be developed to show children of both sexes and their parents about the changing social world in the areas of education, work and civic opportunities. Also, Maccoby and Jacklin's book, The Psychology of Sex Differences, (1974) could be serialized in commercial style to show that commonly held myths are not always substantiated in research. For instance, it could be shown that girls and boys are concerned with people; that both are able to abstract ideas; and that girls believe they can influence their own fate. Their material would provide a rich source for at least thirty such announcements, equaling the number available on racial isolation and ethnic relations contracted under the Emergency School Aid Act. Such a series of announcements would contain both lessons in social psychology and would counteract sex role stereotyping. In these an equal number of girls and boys should be shown. The educational value for parents and teachers is obvious. If they are presented in an entertaining format, children will also be attracted to them. This could be done without offending any social class, racial or ethnic group. In fact, all groups and both sexes should benefit.

The Corporation for Public Broadcasting should set up a permanent advisory board which will carry out the suggestions that will be forthcoming from the Woman's Task Force. Among its duties, the advisory groups could supervise continuous program monitoring and develop guidelines for producers. The purpose of this monitoring would be advisory only. Broadcasters and production houses may be unaware of how they are presenting sex roles and sex-inappropriate behavior. It is clear from the monitoring that has been done, from private conversations and other research that sex role stereotyping is so prevalent it is probably unconscious. Many producers and writers

might not realize when they are being sexist. This is not being suggested to limit individual freedom of speech but rather to enhance consciousness. No broadcaster or producer would be obligated to change content because of a negative report on their programs. These reports could be available to teachers and parents and would help them select programs that meet their individual needs. This could be further developed into a rating service.

The three commercial networks subscribe to the television code of the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB). The code has been revised several times since it was adopted, but its essential function is to keep governmental regulations minimal by avoiding program practices that offend interest and pressure groups. Each network program division has a section to approve or disapprove the content of shows, called a "continuity acceptance" or "broadcast standards." While I am not recommending that the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) emulate network policy, it is unusual that the commercial networks can control content while public broadcasting cannot. Guidelines for screening content for sexism could be developed. Models of such guidelines are available from textbook publishers, Scott, Foresman and McGraw-Hill. These guidelines would be similar to the NAB code, especially section II [Responsibility to Children] (Cantor, 1974, pp. 119, 219-223).

The need for guidelines has been recognized by a number of different groups. For instance, the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence suggests guidelines for television broadcasters, especially in presentation of news. The Office of Education has prepared guidelines, not yet adopted, for broadcasters in regard to employment practices. The Women's Equity Action League is preparing guidelines to help broadcasters eliminate sexism in all content, including children's programs. Also, psychologists have made specific recommendations for the elimination of sex-role stereo-

typing in programs developed by the Children's Television Workshop. While these have not been incorporated into either Sesame Street or Electric Company, they are available as an additional source for writing of guidelines (Know Inc., undated). Even the United States Congress has suggested broad guidelines, to help film makers and broadcasters eliminate racial, religious and ethnic stereotypes. In 1971 the following resolution was passed:

...producers and distributors of motion pictures and television and radio shows should cease the production and distribution of those films and programs which defame, stereotype, ridicule, demean or degrade, ethnic, racial or religious groups. (United States Congress, 1971, p.22).

Not only should that resolution be amended to include sex but the resolution should be translated into a usable code to guide the creators of content.

Possibly when more is known about the effects of content which portrays females in so few roles and in such small numbers as compared to males, educators and parents together will work for change. In the meantime, roles given to females and males should be expanded so that more role models are provided to all children in order that individual growth is not dependent on out-moded definitions of masculinity and femininity.

## APPENDIX A

### FEDERAL EQUAL OPPORTUNITY OBLIGATIONS FOR PUBLIC TELEVISION (Derived from: Public Broadcasting Service Handbook 1974)

Virtually all public television broadcasters come under the jurisdiction and the broad investigative and enforcement powers of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). Also, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) rules impose significant "affirmative action" employment obligations on all public broadcasters. The basic federal EEOC legislation is Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) and other federal agencies having EEO enforcement responsibilities have relied extensively on the provisions of Title VII in drafting their own anti-discrimination rules and regulations. Title VII prohibits discrimination in employment on the basis of "race, color, religion, sex or national origin." Since March 1974, the EEOC itself can commence a lawsuit where its investigation of a complaint results in a finding of reasonable cause of belief that discrimination has occurred. The FCC has adopted its own EEO rules, as part of its broad power to regulate broadcast activities, to serve the public interest, convenience and necessity. All broadcast licensees, regardless of number of employees, are covered by the FCC anti-discrimination policy. Title VII does not require affirmative action but the FCC does. In a recent opinion, the FCC explains Affirmative Action.

Affirmative action requires licensees to do more than ensure employment neutrality with regard to race, color, religion, national origin or sex. Affirmative action requires licensees to make additional effort to recruit, employ and promote qualified members of minority and women groups. (Memorandum Opinion and Order, 444 FCC 2d, 734, 736, 1974)



In enforcing its equal employment opportunity rules, the FCC possesses an overriding power that the EEOC does not, the power to deny the original grant or renewal of a broadcast license. Though it has not yet done so, the FCC may impose fines for violations of EEO rules. Also, the FCC can order licensees to take corrective action. The FCC has in recent months ordered corrective measures against both public and commercial licensees. Every station must file an annual employment report on FCC Form 395 showing total male and female employment by job level. It was from the completion of such reports that the figures reported in the employment section became available. Also, every public and commercial station must file for renewal every three years. As part of their license renewal application (in Section VI of FCC Form 342) each station submits a comprehensive written affirmative action program, a detailed report on the implementation of the station's EEO program and its effect on the hiring of minority-group and female applicants. Also, each station must file a description and status report on all complaints of employment discrimination brought against the station with any federal state or local agency. With respect to the license granting and renewal process, to date the FCC has neither denied a broadcast license because of discrimination in employment nor required a full hearing on charges of discrimination.

Besides Title VII of the Civil Rights Act and the FCC rules on non-discrimination, many public television licensees, several of the supporting organizations and all producers of programs contracted under the Emergency School Aid Act are subject to anti-discrimination requirements imposed on federal contractors by Executive Order No. 11246. The Executive Order requires that all federal contracts and subcontracts in excess of \$10,000 include an EEO clause by which the contracting organization promises to "take affirmative action to insure that applicants are employed,

and that employees are treated during employment, without regard to their race, color, religion, sex or national origin." Moreover, contractors with 50 or more employees and with contracts totaling \$50,000 or more, must meet the exacting formal affirmative action standards of Revised Order No. 4 of the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, the enforcement agency for the federal contractors EEO program.

The Office of Education, when granting contracts for series, can and does require that the production companies comply to the above regulation. However, the Office of Education or any other federal agency cannot control content nor decide whether a female employee favors content which presents a broad and diverse view of the female role in society.

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## Diversity of Interests in a Mass Medium

### The Author

Dr. Harold Mendelsohn is Professor and Chairman, Department of Mass Communications, University of Denver. He is a member of the Denver Council for Educational Television and the Research Advisory Board of the Educational Technology Demonstration, Federation of Rocky Mountain States. Dr. Mendelsohn's consultancies have included, among others, the Ford Foundation, Theta-Com, Inc., the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, Columbia Broadcasting System, National Instructional Television, the Federal Trade Commission, and the President's Commission on Drug Abuse. He was a contributor to the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior. Dr. Mendelsohn has done experimental work in reaching disadvantaged sub-populations via television dramatizations, notably "Operation Gap-Stop," and he was instrumental in the development and evaluation of the Cancion de la Raza series, the first major television series directed to the mass education and social amelioration of disadvantaged Mexican-Americans. His major publications include Mass Entertainment (New Haven: College and University Press, 1966).

### The Paper

In the following paper, "The Mythic Functions of Television and the Pressures for 'Reality,'" Mendelsohn addresses at a theoretical level a most difficult question for purposive television: can television accommodate extant and potential purposive "missions" and advocacy groups and still function as a mass medium? He examines the functions media have historically served, as contrasted to the modern electronic media, taking issue with social activists who would re-form media content into positive and/or "realistic" images appropriate to their cause, because it is incompatible with the "mythic" orientations of television as a mass medium.

The Mythic Functions of Television and the Pressures for "Reality"

Harold Mendelsohn, Ph.D.  
University of Denver

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A paper prepared for the Indiana University's Project on the Federal Role in Children's Television Programming.

Every human being has aesthetic urges; a receptivity to symbolic expressions of his wishes and fears; a demand for both knowledge and what might be called anti-knowledge (or wish fulfillment) about his society and a desire to spend free time, if such exists, in ways that diverge from his work routine.

Therefore, every society must provide art, entertainment, and information for its members.

Herbert Gans (p.580)

## From Princes and Dragons to Just Plain Joe and The System

Underpinning all human societies are its myths and fables. These mythic materials are designed to integrate society and to maintain social consensus regarding norms, mores, and values. In simple societies they are transmitted by "live" dramas, songs, ritualistic dances, medicine men, storytellers, and wandering minstrels. In more complex societies they are transmitted by intricately structured and functioning institutions of education, organized religion, art, literature, and drama, and the mass media.

Throughout western literature and drama the mythic thrust is seen as basically fantastic rather than realistic. Until the eighteenth century we find an almost total absence of "realism" from the great literary epics of the West - the Iliad, the Odyssey, El Cid, and Beowulf being cases in point. Then, heroes were much "larger" than life could ever possibly be; villains were monstrously evil; and the conflicts around which events turned were focused on man's struggle with the divine and unknown. Rather than reflecting the realities of society as it then was, classical Western literature reenforced the magic and superstition that permeated it without offering anything resembling life as it actually may have been. Yet, the "classics" performed essential societal functions.

First off they provided attendees with needed diversion. Second, they defined good and evil. Third, they pointed to both the rewards that were available for conformity and the punishments that would be meted out for deviance. And finally, they indicated the possibility of good ultimately triumphing over evil. Western literary output prior to the positivistic revolution was neither designed to reflect the realities of social organi-

zation; nor were they meant to be instructional in the formal sense. Most of the public at the time neither had access to it; nor could most read them if they did find literary materials available.

Until the eighteenth century there was no public market for literary works, and for the most part writers were supported by wealthy patrons in whose graces authors strove to remain lest they starve. It is inconceivable that the patrons who supported writers remained neutrally aloof from demanding special literary consideration as far as it concerned their own personal vanity, self-interests, ideologies, and idiosyncracies of thought and taste. Basically, a patron-oriented literature was a censored literature. It must be remembered that it was not until 1695 that censorship was abolished in England. Until that time the pressures on writers from government, the church, and wealthy patrons were powerful and supported by law. Because literary output was patron-oriented, it reflected the wishes of those patrons, and the pre-18th century "classics" which are revered today were produced mostly in response to those wishes. Thus, from the very beginning of literary endeavor, "He who paid the piper called the tune."

Because writers could not afford to offend their sponsors, they clothed their works in parables, fables and myths and produced heroes, villains, and fools unlike those who might ever be encountered in real life. These mythic and stereotypic attributes of pre-positivistic Western literature served as a protective shield for writers against the abuses that disgruntled patrons might hurl at them. After all, they could argue persuasively, they were only telling a story.

The techniques developed by the classicists to protect themselves

from outside pressures and criticisms produced a literary and dramatic style which has been carried over into contemporary times. It combines fantasy with stereotypes and is concerned not with life as it actually is; but rather, with life as it might be. As Ortega Y Gasset put it in his The Dehumanization of Art, "the person portrayed and the portrait are two entirely different things."

The events of the French and American 18th sie. revolutions produced, among other consequences, fundamental changes in the arts. Two developments are particularly noteworthy here. First, the revolutions legitimized the emergent middle-class as a powerful societal force worthy of equal literary attention with the aristocracy and the clergy. Second, economic power rapidly shifted away from the aristocracy and the clergy to this new class. For the first time in Western history it was now possible for authors to directly address relatively large literate publics who in turn could support them through the direct purchase of their output. No longer would writers be exclusively beholden to wealthy patrons who wielded the power of censorship over them. Rather than being patron-oriented, the literary world rapidly became consumer-oriented. It has remained so to this day for the most part.

As literary endeavors turned aside the pressures derived from affluent patrons they became enmeshed in a web of new pressures. Now writers had to please the middle classes if they were to sell their wares. As Western literature shifted away from the supernatural and mysticism, it still maintained its normative thrust. The 18th sie novel was addressed primarily to middle-class interests, life styles and concerns. "Their purposes were avowedly moral; they taught men to know themselves and the proper 'spheres' and

\*] appropriate manners." For a time satire and comedy were the chief devices by which the "sensitive" aspects of life were portrayed - not realism. Stereotypes of the London drawing-room romantic hero together with his delicately beautiful heroine; the money-grubbing selfish villain; and the country-bumpkin fool quickly became stock characters and remained so for more than a century. If controversial social relations provoked fear of new revolutions and could not be openly discussed, they could at least be laughed at. Often what we fear we make fun of.

It was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that a new social force made its impact felt on Western literature, and in its emergence brought new pressures to bear on Western literature in terms of its focus, plots, and characterization, and consumption. Where middle-class man came into his own as a consequence of the political revolutions of the 18th sie., working-class man was a product of the 19th sie. Industrial Revolution and of its excesses as well.

The new technologies springing from the Industrial Revolution made possible the widespread distribution of information, ideas, and entertainment via inexpensive newspapers and magazines as well as books. The emergence of the penny newspaper and the dime novel broadened the audience base substantially, and resulted in the relatively recent phenomenon of a "mass audience." No longer could writers ignore the interests, concerns, and tastes of what was quickly becoming the numerically predominant proportion of their market. It was no accident that Dickens' novels of social

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A.C. Baugh, ed. A Literary History of England, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. 1948. p.950.

protest first appeared in newspaper serial form. The proletariat demanded it be heard, and the pressure it brought to bear upon the world of literature and journalism resulted in the emergence of the literary era of the common man.

No longer were giant heroes engaged in death struggles with evil monsters. The new hero now was "just plain Joe" fighting the villainous "system" which sought to manipulate and exploit him. And the fools were those who manifested a lack of knowledge about and interest in the ways and styles of the common folks. Stereotypes all.

Although the audience base had expanded from miniscule elites to the inclusion of the middle classes and the proletariat, the "mass media," capable of reaching vast numbers of people simultaneously, did not arrive on the scene until well into the 20th sie. Until then the "media" were confined to newspapers, books, and magazines which were oriented to specific homogeneous audiences who shared common social attributes, interests, and tastes. The "realities" that were portrayed were essentially confined to those segments of society who were consumers of particular fare, and very little effort was put into reflecting social realities in toto. As audiences were segmentalized so were the media. Varied interest groups thus found expression and gratification in the sub-population-serving specialized media, and if their interests and tastes were not served by any one particular vehicle, they would simply turn to one that did. So long as given media vehicles met the needs of given self-serving interest groups, they received very little general criticism and pressure to do otherwise.

By mid 20th century yet another social force came to the fore in America, a force representing the interests and concerns of those elements



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of society which considered themselves to be exploited and victimized by extant social institutions. This contemporary social force seeking its own place in the sun is composed mainly of disgruntled "minorities" who seek social recognition and what they claim as a "fair share" of the rewards that historically have been bestowed upon the upper, middle, and working classes. Ethnic and racial groups, women, the afflicted and handicapped, and the impoverished make up the core of this newly emerging social force with sundry religious (e.g. Jesus 'freaks'), cultural (e.g. gay liberationists), and political (e.g. the Weathermen), sub-sets serving as peripheries surrounding the core. On the outer fringes are the "concerned" intellectuals. Because this social force is fragmented and shares no common ground other than mutual feelings of social victimization, it has not as yet coalesced into either a solidified social organization or a social class. Because this new "minority" movement lacks cohesion and universal recognition it has chosen the mass media as suitable vehicles whereby these goals might be achieved. It appears that among all the available media television has been singled out by "minorities" as the focus of these attempts, and currently the pressure they apply to network and public television alike is becoming more vociferous and sustained. As illustration consider issue Number 3 (January, 1975) of Access, a publication of the newly formed National Citizens Committee for Broadcasting which contains a recent partial roundup of citizens' activity in challenging television station licenses in just one state, California. The report notes that:

In Berkeley, the Community Coalition for Media Change petitioned against San Francisco's KQED for allegedly not offering enough local and national black programming.

In Los Angeles, "a coalition of Spanish-speaking people" (Chicano Coalition of Los Angeles County) filed against KNBC-TV for airing Chico and the Man "which Chicanos have rejected as perpetuating the tired old stereotype of the shiftless latino cowering to the anglo."

In San Jose the Committee for Open Media "is challenging two stations for their 'happy talk' ('tabloid news') formats."

In Los Angeles the Women's Coalition for Better Broadcasting filed against KNXT-TV, KLA-TV, KTTV-TV, and KCOP-TV for alleged lacks of women's programing.

In Los Angeles, the National Association for Better Broadcasting petitioned against KCOP-TV for violating agreements it had reached with previous citizens' groups.

The recent proliferation of minority interest groups competing with each other and others outside the minority category to make sure that the content they want is created underlines a fundamental dilemma for democracy in communications. Given the scarce channel and time resources that are endemic to network television, how can minority interests, concerns, and tastes be accomodated without the threat of censorship by a medium that is primarily a mass communications vehicle? Thus far, television has demonstrated that it cannot make a satisfactory resolution of the dilemma, and it is unlikely that it ever will be able to do so and still maintain its status as a mass medium.

## Types, Gripes, and Stereotypes

Fundamental criticisms levied against television by the newly emerged "minorities" is tv's alleged neglect of presenting these social sub-sets as well as presenting them in favorable terms. Although the criticism singles out tv as the one socializing influence in contemporary American society, disregarding the overriding importance of family, church and school, it nevertheless recognizes the important mythic societal functioning of television in presenting guidelines for identifying, coping with, and modeling after various social types that make up society.

It was the American sociologist George Herbert Mead who first pointed to the significance of role modeling in the socialization of the human organism. According to Mead, humans differ from other animals not only in their ability to communicate but in their ability to objectify themselves as well. Humans have the capacity to become unique individuals, and each of us experiences selfhood not directly through spontaneous insight, but indirectly as reflections of others - primarily others with whom we come into contact very early in life. Man becomes an individual "person", by taking on the attitudes of "significant others" towards himself within a variety of social communications situations in which they interact.

To Mead the process whereby we begin to develop selfhood is similar to the process by which players interact with each other as they stage a drama. Before an actor gestures, he does not know how it will "go over" until he receives feedback from his fellow actors and from the audience. It is only from the reactions of others in our environment that we derive both identity and social meaning. When our actions are well-received and the play continues, we are rewarded and we integrate them into our repertoire

of roles. However, when feedback is negative, and our actions no longer produce sought-for results, we are faced with the need to adopt or to develop new roles for ourselves. Witnessing dramas help us enormously in these essential socializing processes.

Throughout history literature and drama have served to both reenforce old roles and to introduce new ones to audiences. In so doing dramatic and narrative literature have concentrated not on the portrayal of the realities of social structure but rather on the possible roles that are available to members of various groups and various societies. In so doing dramatic and narrative fiction have accompanied their social role projection with indications of the rewards that are available for conformity with the norms that define given social roles and the sanctions that can befall deviants.

In sociological theory roles are nothing more than prescribed social behaviors that are responses to collective expectations. Such expectations and the responses they evoke are assigned to each individual in a society, and without such culturally defined modes, interaction and communication among human beings would be impossible. There can be no consciousness of self without consciousness of others. Another lesson we may learn from dramatic narrative fiction.

All social relationships require appropriate role-playing. As new relationships begin to develop, individuals must first learn what responses may be expected of them along with those which they can expect of others as well as the gratifications that may be involved. New role relations can and do produce anxiety when individuals are unsure of what specifically is expected of them. New role relationships result

in heightened self-consciousness. Dramatic and narrative fiction serve to blunt the edge of anxiety that new relationships may generate by portraying role expectancies yet to be encountered by audiences in real life situations. Drama and narrative lay the ground work and smooth the way for new social relationships. They allow audiences to "rehearse" and "play out" new role situations in their imaginations well before actual encounters occur. This process is called "anticipatory socialization", and it is perhaps the most important social function served by the dramatic fare offered by contemporary television.\*]

Dissatisfied with the prospect of going through life playing just one role, human beings are capable of playing many different roles (e.g. son, brother, husband, student, worker, citizen) either simultaneously or in progression. Each specific role we play represents a unique response to a unique social situation. For every social function, there is a social role. Role playing consists of living up to the obligations of the particular role one assumes at any particular time. Each of us has some idea of what constitutes appropriate lines of action for himself and others. Fundamentally, these ideas are derived from actual direct group experiences. Only secondarily are they derived vicariously from the arts and the mass media. Drama and narrative fiction allow us to transcend our actual roles and to "try out" a variety of roles in our imaginations without fear of retribution.

Orrin Klapp has expanded the role theory model by introducing the concept of social typing. His observations are most pertinent to our discussion.

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\*] For a detailed discussion of the anticipatory socialization function of the mass media see Mendelsohn, Mass Entertainment.

Klapp's presentation begins with the idea that in complex, mobile, democratic societies a variety of roles are available to all, and individuals in such societies attempt to type themselves according to the various societal positions they wish to occupy. Self-typing offers psychological support to the individual's quest for social status.

To a large extent, "finding oneself" requires building a social type for oneself which is satisfactory to him and which at the same time assures others of its propriety. The effort to type oneself includes the effort to type others. We are continually creating the other fellow. Normally we attempt to pigeonhole others according to the schemes from which our own self images were derived. At the same time other persons try to bring us into their schemes, which may or may not be congruent with ours.

Except on a conceptual level, we cannot separate the typing of others from the typing of oneself. We find in ourselves the responses of others, but it is not simply the response of the others that makes our individual "self". Without knowing the type of person the other is - is he a "good guy", "an egg-head", a "hard-hat"? - we cannot know what significance to attach to either his approval or disapproval of us or, for that matter, how to judge our own self by him. Without knowing the types of persons others are, we cannot know the type of person we are. The media offer us a veritable potpourri of social types from which to choose and judge.

The American social typology can be looked upon as a repertory of available stock roles for those who wish to act. However vivid, social types still remain abstractions. Unlike scientific observations, social types are based on practical experience, common sense, and judgement rather than logic. Their "truth" is akin to that of a proverb rather than a

theorem or proven hypothesis. Social types can be created and indeed are created through any medium which can evoke durable vivid images. Contemporaneously, films and television are particularly adept at doing just this.

Klapp views social types as representing a, "collective norm of role behavior formed and used by the group: an idealized concept of how people are expected to be or to act. The type may describe the way people should be, should not be or simply are predicted to be" (p.11). The author makes extremely important distinctions between social types and stereotypes:

Any extensive list of social types shows that they reflect dimensions of social life for which there are few equivalent - let alone more accurate - technical terms. What sociological or psychological concept could adequately replace crusher, hepcat, hot-rod, tightwad, goot-time Charlie, ladies man? Viewing the many slang words for which there are no substitutes, it seems to me we have little choice but to stay with the insight of the people, as it is crystallized in social types to understand what is going on in society...

Social types promote insights into relations within a society, whereas stereotypes hold people at a distance and portray outside groups in a negative way. Stereotypes emphasize error while social types represent real roles being played: stereotypes refer to things outside one's social world, whereas social types refer to things with which one is familiar: stereotypes tend to be conceived as functionless or dysfunctional (or, if functional, serving prejudice and conflict mainly), whereas social types serve the structure of society at many points. People often talk as if they would like to be rid of stereotypes but it is hard to conceive of society without social types." (pp. 11 and 16).

Through the process of social typing we pass judgement upon ourselves via three major processes - praise, condemnation, and ridicule. Three major social types appearing both in the arts and in the media serve as principal models for these processes - heroes who are "better than"; villains who are "dangerous to"; and fools who "fall short of" norm expectations.

Klapp continues,

These basic kinds of models are used by all societies to maintain the social system, especially to control persons and put on

significant dramas and rituals. Typing, then, holds up models for the way people should be and act. Ethically, the hero might be thought of as the bull's eye of a target, the ideal achievement of right conduct. He gives impetus to rise above the ordinary. Negative types represent deviations and failures important enough to be memorialized by society. An individual feels success to the extent that he lives up to heroes, and at least stays comfortably above the folly and wrongdoing represented by other extremes. The middle ground is 'safe'; but once a person leaves the ordinary role he has three main alternatives: to slay the dragon, stab Siegfried in the back, or fall off his horse, armor and all, onto the surprised dragon. (p. 17)

Critics of the mass media and of television specifically see only their dysfunctional potentialities and totally ignore their real social functions in helping society maintain its structure and orient its members to what society considers to be both socially acceptable and unacceptable. They confuse social typing with stereotyping, and they continue to pressure the media to censor themselves by substituting "positive" stereotypes for those that are allegedly "negative" in nature. As far as social typing is concerned it is totally irrelevant whether the hero is portrayed as being Black, Chinese, Greek, fat or hunchbacked. It is the quality of the heroic activity portrayed that is important for role modeling and not the peculiar characteristics of the hero. The same applies to villains and fools.



## The Unrealities of "Reality"

Because "minorities" are splintered and disorganized they have not formed into a critical mass requiring a fundamental reaction to their pressures from television. As a consequence network television has not altered its fundamental structure and functioning in response to minority pressures for censorship; but rather it has made sporadic cosmetic changes here and there by showing more black, chicano and Jewish faces; by launching ethnic and racial "situation comedy" programs; by featuring women as police officers and blacks as surgeons; by allocating "public access" channels; by hiring small numbers of women, the handicapped, and racial and ethnic minorities. Such gestures temporarily offer relief from minority pressures, but the fact remains that in its fundamental dramatic-narrative thrust network television has not changed much, nor can it really be expected to without submitting itself to the dangers of outside censorship.

Basically, television is a fantasy machine for our time as were classical drama and literature in their time. Just as the classicists could not afford to offend their affluent patrons for fear of destroying their sources of support, so too does television risk loss of mass viewer support if it offends its consumers. If television were to convey the realities of life as they actually are, it would risk offending large segments of the population who harbor their own subjective versions of the same realities. Thus, nothing about contemporary television - other than its unobtrusive simple camera coverage of actual events - is realistic. Television, whenever and however it intrudes itself is fundamentally unrealistic and mythic. Where classical literature reenforced fundamental magical and religious beliefs, contemporary television reenforces fundamental social myths. Rather than offering didactics on our contemporary social structures

and functioning, contemporary television serves the very same functions as were ministered to by the classics - providing diversion from reality, defining good and evil in socially acceptable terms; guiding audiences into the paths of social conformity and away from pitfalls of deviance; and offering assurances regarding the ultimate triumph of good over evil. A few hours spent with any western, crime, adventure, family relations, or mystery show any evening of the week should demonstrate the fact that network television dramatic and narrative fiction is basically mythic in structure and normative in function. This is how tv has managed to attract massive numbers of viewers from every conceivable walk of life without abusing significant segments of that mass audience.

Traditionally, network television has avoided the pressures of elitist, middle-class, proletariat, and minority critics by not trying to satisfy the unique needs of each specific sub-set; but rather, by not really satisfying any of them. What little social commentary it makes, network television does so through the vehicle of fable and myth (e.g. Gunsmoke's unending portrayal of the triumphs of law and order); whatever social criticism it makes it does so through the device of comedy and satire (e.g. All in the Family's portrayals of bigotry, liberalism, and women's rights); whatever corrections to negative stereotypes it attempts it does so via heavy-handed stereotyped role-reversal portrayals - female police officers; Black private detectives, surgeons, and judges; and Italian-named attorneys.

In making its sporadic concessions to "social reality," television drama and narrative continue to stick to their mythic formulas in their projections of life as it might be and not as it is. In drama, the formula calls for the portrayal of exemplary behavior on the part of stock heroes and

heroines who encounter stock conflicts in their contacts with deviant stock villains. Easing the surface tensions that evolve from these contacts are the stock fools who offer occasional comic relief. Conflicts are resolved in predictable fashion through the perseverance of heroes' determination to triumph over evil.

As a consequence, the dramas offered by tv revolve almost exclusively about social types who by virtue of their social and occupational roles alone encounter conflicts. For these reasons the mythic hero characters of television drama are concentrated in such potential conflict encountering roles as police officers, attorneys, teachers, physicians, private investigators, emergency personnel, military personnel, ranchers, and sheriffs. For the very same reason; that is, because their social and occupational roles normally do not result in conflict encounters barbers, typists, file clerks, bus drivers, meter readers, insurance salesmen, retail store clerks, farm hands, newspaper boys, plus an unending host of more commonplace occupational and social types are virtually absent as hero types in contemporary television drama.

The formulas adopted by network television fulfill its mass communications functions, and they are not too different from the devices appearing in classic literature in that they are unrealistic, easily grasped, diverting, predictable and inoffensive. Any attempt to grapple with reality on the part of network television would be severely constrained by the limited time available for the in-depth development of either subtleties in characterization or nuances in plot implementation that "realistic" portrayals would require. Consequently, the clarion calls for more "realistic" portrayals on network television are in themselves quite unrealistic.

When forced into the arenas of social commentary by pressure groups

seeking such content, television rarely accepts such a charge head-on. Rather, it gingerly circumvents important contemporary social issues by clothing them in humor. Here, we see, for example, the issue of women's rights projected in such comedy vehicles as Maude, Rhoda, and the Mary Tyler Moore Show; the issues of political conservatism and bigotry in All in the Family; black civil rights in Good Times and The Jeffersons; Chicano-Anglo relations in Chico and the Man. By surrounding so-called controversial matters with comedy, satire, and humor network television again avoids the risk of alienating its mass consumers. It appeals to the audience's 'sense of humor' - a trait that is highly valued in American society; rather than to its rational, cognitive processes. After all, network television can persuasively argue, it is only telling a funny story.

Were network television to attempt to inject "reality" into its dramatic characterizations by reflecting the actualities of "minorities" distributions it would have to drop its mass audience appeal. In so doing it would necessarily become a specialized medium addressed to the special interests of special audiences. Not only would it find itself attempting to accommodate itself to the demands of blacks, women, the poor, and the handicapped, but it would in all fairness, be forced to try to please other social sub-sets as well - sub-sets which under the First Amendment have an equally legitimate right to be seen and heard - fat people, Southern Baptists, lathe-operators, poker players, homosexuals, sailing enthusiasts, farmers, Mormons, cancer victims, subway train operators, pornographic film patrons, atheists, former owners of Lincoln Zephyrs, lovers of opera, Albanian-Americans, mid-gets, skittles players, vegetarians, cigarette smokers, Belgian waffle enthusiasts, rope-makers, Mennonites, collectors of pewter, and diabetics - to name

a mere handful. It is evident that each "minority" mentioned as well as the thousands not named has a legitimate complaint regarding network television's neglect in casting it consistently in heroic roles and at the same time it has a legitimate constitutional right to be seen and heard. Yet, under the Constitution television station owners and network officials at the same time claim the right to decide for themselves who and what will be shown, citing Benjamin Franklin's oft quoted retort regarding his newspaper, "My publication is not a stagecoach with seats for everyone."

Since there are no explicit criteria available for determining who shall be seen and heard on American television, these criteria are set by the broadcasters themselves within self-regulating codes which are in compliance with broad societal norms relating mostly to matters of morality. Other than fulfilling very minimum basic FCC requirements American television is not obliged to be either realistic, acceptable to everyone, fair, or even truthful. Historically, government, ever-fearful of being transformed into a censor has been most reluctant to intervene in the area of television content. For the most part government has adhered to the principle espoused by Justice William O. Douglas in his Fairness Doctrine decision regarding the Columbia Broadcasting System v. the Democratic National Committee:

I fail to see how constitutionally we can treat TV and radio differently than we treat newspapers... The Fairness Doctrine has no place in our First Amendment regime. It puts the head of the camel inside the tent and enables administration after administration to toy with TV or radio in order to serve its sordid or benevolent ends... Under our Bill of Rights, people are entitled to have extreme ideas, silly ideas, partisan ideas.

In reality the censorship pressures minorities have been putting on network television for recognition and realistic portrayals via governmental intervention in their behalf have not found much sympathy by government in

the past nor are they likely to in the future. For they pose an unreconcilable dilemma of the one attempting to accommodate itself equally and simultaneously to all without censorship. We have seen that as the mass audiences of the nineteenth century began to fragment themselves into specific sub-audiences, they turned to specialized newspapers, journals, magazines and books for news, information, ideas, and entertainment. Since no one medium was able at that time to reach all, each specialized medium was functionally equivalent to every other one. Contemporaneously, we are witnessing a similar fragmentation of audiences, a fragmentation which cannot be accommodated by a mass medium.

Although television is a medium which has the potentiality of reaching everyone (but not necessarily affecting or influencing them), it is not functionally equivalent to serious books, magazines, journals, or newspapers. Television is a unique mass medium serving unique and limited functions very much like those served by the story-tellers, players and dancers, and minstrels of days long gone by. Despite claims to the contrary by its critics, network television cannot serve as one giant substitute for all our socializing institutions. It cannot simultaneously serve as substitutes for family, church, school, museum, library, concert hall, lectern, and live theater for every conceivable public interest, concern, and taste in society as a whole. What network television can do is very limited - convey contemporary mythologies in diverting non-realistic ways - and this it does with some apparent success. In this regard network television is functionally equivalent to cinematic films and popular fiction and to nothing more.

Then why the pressures on network television on the part of minorities? The reasons are basically three-fold. First off, minorities apparently endorse the notion that their mere frequent appearance on television in

ever-increasing numbers will somehow enhance their status and fulfill their desires for both legitimacy and better social treatment overall. Secondly, frequency of appearance on television is apparently seen as a means for correcting the many social injustices allegedly endured by minorities. Thirdly, frequency of appearance on network television is seen as a vehicle for the widespread dissemination of minorities' propaganda.

Underlying each of these reasons for pushing for high frequency of portrayal of minorities on network television are two assumptions regarding the effects of mass communications - neither of which is sustained by hard evidence. Primarily, it is assumed that the media are extremely powerful while audiences are extremely weak. Therefore, simple exposure to the media is equated with direct effect. All one has to do, for example, is to show women in executive roles, and those viewing such portrayals will adopt appropriate positive attitudes regarding the executive abilities of women in American society without question. Social research over the past decades has shown that "conversion" rarely occurs as a consequence of simple exposure (Klapper, 1960). As a matter of fact, contemporary use-gratifications research in mass communications has pin-pointed the media as just one relatively weak cluster of factors operating within a highly complex nexus of factors which may impinge on the development or change of social attitudes and behaviors. Mass communications research has shifted its old-fashioned focus away from attempting to ascertain what the media do to people to a modern emphasis on determining what the people do with the media. And fundamentally what people do with the media is to reinforce already-held values, beliefs, norms, and attitudes.



Writes Herbert Gans:

Several studies have shown that people choose media content to fit individual and group requirements rather than adapting their life to what the media prescribe or glorify. They are not isolated individuals hungering for and therefore slavishly accepting what the media offer them, but families, couples, and peer groups who use the media when and if the content is relevant to group goals and needs. Thus the audience cannot be considered a mass. Moreover, people pay much less attention to the media and are much less swayed by its content than the critics, who are highly sensitive to verbal and other symbolic materials, believe. They use the media for diversion and would not think of applying its content to their own lives. (p.562)

Clearly, much more than frequent television appearances will have to occur in the total institutional structure of America before the goals of various minorities can be attained. The media reflect such changes after they take place not before as were the cases with the political revolutions of the 18th sie. and the industrial revolution a century later. The media have never been in the vanguard of social reform, nor can they be expected to be if they are to continue to serve as mass media.

The second assumption underlying minority pressures for more frequent portrayals of minorities on network television is a curious one indeed. Here it appears to be assumed that network television portrays "majorities" realistically, while, it presents "minorities" unrealistically, and even worse, "negatively." Given the mythic orientation of television, such an assumption is open to serious challenge. What, for instance, is realistic about-the businessmen (ruthless); politicians (corrupt); doctors (totally dedicated to patients); male parents (ineffective); lawmen and women (above the law); intellectuals (odd); farmers (stupid); blue collar workers (unsophisticated); home makers (drudges); young people (boorish) - who normally people tv dramatic offerings? Nothing. Television is unrealistic throughout, and given the constraints within which it must operate as a medium of



mass appeal, it resorts to portraying myths and fables via characters who are mythic in attributes and behaviors regardless of whether they represent so-called majorities or minorities. Stereotyping on television occurs because of its mass medium nature, and not as a result of conspiracy.

Let us return to the question of functional equivalence.

Failing in their early attempts to convert commercial television into educational institutions critics of commercial television succeeded in persuading government to allocate functionally equivalent channels for the specific purpose of "educating" mass audiences who were, it was claimed, being denied such an opportunity by network television. As things turned out night time "educational television" did not succeed in its idealized mission, for the large majority of viewers elected to stay with diversionary network television rather than avail themselves of the more "serious" options that "educational TV" afforded them. At best evening educational TV managed to attract miniscule isolated audiences of elitists who found ETV to be a convenience more than a source of genuine intellectual sustenance. Since the ETV experiment was underwritten by private funding, the public as a whole had very little input in determining ETV content and format. These were mostly determined by funding sources and self-proclaimed "educator" programming experts. No meaningful efforts to satisfy actual mass audience needs were made and consequently the masses for whom ETV was intended stayed away in droves. The disastrous ETV experiment dramatically demonstrated the dangers involved when a mass medium switches back to a patron-oriented system away from one that is consumer oriented. Another important lesson stemming from the demise of ETV demonstrates the futility of trying to make a mass entertainment and news medium like television functionally equivalent to serious educational and

literary institutions. Further, minorities who insist on highly specialized television programming face the prospect- as was the case in ETV - of losing the tremendous mass reach potential of the medium. Paradoxically, were minorities to succeed in saturating television with "realistic" portrayals mostly of blacks, the poor, the handicapped, and liberated females, very few outside each specific rubric would watch. At best it would result in a pyrric victory.

In the mid-1960's "educational television" gave way to a new publicly funded PTV system dedicated exclusively to serving "specialized" audiences. In urging a public television service be established under federal auspices the Carnegie Commission report proclaimed that network television "presupposes a single audience, where public television seeks to serve differentiated audiences." But, asks Steve Millard, director of publications for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, "what is a 'specialized audience' anyway?"

There are stock answers, the author continues. Children's programming (for various age groups), 'serious' drama programming and public affairs programming are among the broader ones; Yoga, chess and cooking programs are narrower; programs for minorities or women are among the more sensitive. But the wide diversity of these categories, the fact that one person could belong to almost all of them, and the fact that several of them are found on commercial television, all combine to suggest that it may be futile to carve up the world this way.--- a limited audience and a specialized audience are not necessarily the same thing. (p.51)

PTV, then, faces the very same problem confronting network television - the problem of using a mass medium to attend to the specific needs of diverse specialized audiences. According to Millard and other critical observers, PTV has as yet not succeeded in resolving the dilemma, and the critics have urged PTV to broaden its appeal rather than to narrow it down to special interests only.

The advent of PTV with its avowed policy of responding to every conceivable special interest has affected the pressures process in two significant ways. Because PTV is fundamentally tax supported (although not adequately so), every taxpayer in the land now has an equally legitimate claim to be acknowledged by the service he or she is directly supporting. As far as public television is concerned, the consumer has become the patron. Moreover, government itself has become a source of pressure on public television by virtue of its control over funding. Rather than being an unobtrusive protector of the public's interest, the mischievous meddling of government in PTV under the Nixon administration, an administration which sought to ban "controversy" on PTV and succeeded in doing so to a surprising degree, has amply demonstrated that government cannot be relied on to support true independence for the mass media. In fact the potentialities of intervention on the part of government in serving its own selfish ends poses a far more serious threat to free expression and to liberty itself than any other source of pressure imaginable.

If history indeed prologues the future it can be expected that the minorities will eventually coalesce on the issue of "realism" in television and will represent a powerful consumer force which the medium will be unable to disregard. At the same time it is unclear how either network or public television can possibly accommodate the innumerable diverse and often conflicting interests of all the sub-sets comprising the new minorities.

Technological developments in laser and cable communications offer the prospect of unlimited channel capacity. But minorities have been loathe to use even the limited number of "public access" channels now available to them. They desire the clout that a nation-wide dissemination system allegedly affords. What then will happen when 200, 500, or even 5,000 local and

national channels are made available to every home in America? One thing for certain, audiences for any one channel will be reduced considerably. No longer will "mass audiences" be attending television in large aggregates. TV will go the "specialized" way of formerly mass circulation magazines, cinematic films, and network radio. No longer will it serve the pleasurable mythic societal functions that were once provided by the story teller, player and dancer, and minstrel. Rather, it will be relegated almost exclusively to the relatively mundane roles once performed by the town crier and the sentry perched atop the stockade.

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## Relationships with Commercial Television

### The Author

Herman W. Land is President of the H. W. Land Corporation, Consultants in Communications. He is also President of the Association of Independent Television Stations, Inc., and of the newly established non-profit National Center for Media Advancement, Inc. Mr. Land has served as consultant to the ABC Television Network; Group W - Westinghouse Broadcasting; Taft Broadcasting Company; the National Association of Broadcasters; National Educational Television; and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, among others. As consultant to the Long Island Educational Television Council, he was instrumental in bringing Channel 21 to the air, heading the management of that project. In 1972 he prepared a report for the National Center for Educational Technology entitled "The Children's Television Workshop: How and Why It Works."

### The Paper

In the following paper, "Federal Government Involvement in Commercial Television for Children," Land explores the limited and delicate relationships that might be workable between the Federal Government and commercial television in the area of children's programming. Included among the many possibilities explored are: Federally-funded spot announcements either carried free as public service or carried on Federally-purchased air time; Federal sponsorship of entire commercial programs; Federal support of an independent agency to provide research and program development services; and satellite interconnection among syndicated commercial stations.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT IN  
COMMERCIAL TELEVISION FOR CHILDREN

by

Herman W. Land

These thoughts are based on extensive professional experience in and with commercial and public radio and television, conversations with network, station and advertising executives, and considerable thinking about the subject of government-media relationships over the years. I have not engaged in any formal or comprehensive survey.

My basic observation: government has a potential, though limited, role to play in the commercial medium. To do so most effectively, it must work within the structure, and in tune with the dynamics of the commercial system, appreciating the constraints which bind it and its built-in limitations.

As a result of public and political pressures, and its own maturing, the commercial medium is now in a period of new growth where children's television is concerned. Recent



seasons have witnessed an increase in programs of quality covering a wide range in subject matter.

The ABC Television Network schedule affords an example. Its executives point to a series of afterschool specials, one hour in length, which deal every other week with problems that the contemporary child faces: violence, death, divorce, sexism, etc. Now in its third season, the series has won the Peabody, Emmy, Christopher and other awards. Educational consultants are employed.

On weekend mornings, with the emphasis on Saturday, the network airs a series of three-minute segments of instructional material wrapped in an entertainment format called "Schoolhouse Rock." These program inserts deal with mathematics, grammar, civics and the American heritage. Segments bear such titles as "Multiplication Rock," "America Rock," and so forth. The Bank Street School of Education acts as the educational consulting group.

Similarly, the CBS Television Network airs ambitious specials. The current season's group of four, scheduled in the afternoon weekdays and Sundays, covers a wide range of cultural matter: "The Festival of Lively Arts For Young People," "Ailey Celebrates Ellington," "A Child's Christmas in Wales," "Harlequin" (ballet), "Danny Kaye Looks In At The Metropolitan Opera."

On NBC Television's animated "Emergency Plus Four," youngsters assist paramedics. Another Saturday program, "Go," tries to provide a first person experience for older children via the mobile camera, covering various subjects: underwater shipwrecks, the zoo, a Bi-Centennial celebration, space, skiing, etc. The network is planning a series of specials for next season.

This expanded activity leaves little room for additional programming for which government might be responsible. The commercial dynamics of the network system orient the schedule toward adult viewing during most parts of the day, except Saturday morning when, presumably, television participates in what amounts to a national "children's hour." There is little network opportunity for children's programming on a daily basis, as a consequence.

Even if the schedule had many openings, networks and stations would find it difficult to break the audience-flow pattern, without harm to the viewing numbers which are needed to obtain advertising support. This is particularly the case in the post-network afternoon period, when the schedule returns to the affiliate, which tends to program feature films, talk shows, or off-network series with records of popular success, followed by local newscasts, and finally, at 7:30 P.M., the half hour of "Access Time."

The late afternoon/early evening period is known as "fringe time," to distinguish it from "prime time." Its significance for this discussion is that it represents the most important revenue-producing portion of the total schedule for the station. The affiliate, true, is paid by the network for the programs it carries as fed nationally, but this portion of its income is secondary. The largest portion of the station's revenue is derived from the 30- and 60-second announcements it carries for national and regional "spot" and local advertisers in this time segment.

Efforts to schedule educational programs for children tend to run against the commercial grain of the affiliate system. This is not to say children's programming in the afternoon or early evening is ruled out, as the networks' success in clearing the needed time for their afternoon specials demonstrates. The stations may be irritated by the breaks in their own schedules, and the loss of advertising revenue; they appear to be willing to accept the network program, however, as part of the overall public service that is a condition of their licenses.

The adult orientation of the system simply reflects advertiser requirements, which, in recent years, have tended to concentrate, in the main, on women 18 - 49 years of age, the group in the home-and-family building period of life, and

therefore presumably the consumers most likely to be the best sales prospects for the varied goods promoted through television.

Years back there were many children's program blocs on affiliate afternoon schedules. For the most part, however, these stations have abandoned such programming in the search for higher volume adult advertising. In their place, the independent stations have largely taken over the children's programming function for Monday-through-Friday afternoons. They have found in such programming a way of competing for audience with the affiliates and establishing themselves in their communities. Children's blocs have played a significant role in the development of the UHF independent stations, in particular. Changes are occurring in this segment of the spectrum too, in response to FTC and FCC moves which are restricting advertising to children. Advertisers who heretofore have depended primarily on children's programming to air their sales messages are examining other portions of the schedule in an effort to find "family" periods when their messages will be appropriate.

~~There appears to be~~ some decline setting in in the amount of children's advertising available to the independent station. This is leading some of them in the direction the

the affiliates took years back, away from children's, toward adult, programming. These problems are especially pressing for the independents, for they tend, as a group, to operate on a lower financial level than the affiliates. Indeed, the UHF independents, as a group, suffered substantial losses in 1973.

Despite the counter business pressures leading stations away from children to the adult audience, there may be some growth in midweek programming for youngsters during the next few years, on both the affiliated and the independent stations, as a response to FCC and public group pressures. The FCC has taken a major step in establishing new guidelines for the medium.

FCC Policy Statement of October 24, 1975: The statement takes the position that the broadcaster has a license obligation to program for children. "One of the questions to be decided here is whether broadcasters have a special obligation to serve children. We believe they clearly do have such a responsibility... Further, because of their immaturity and their special needs, children require programming designed specifically for them."

The statement maintains that children's programming should not be aired solely on weekends but also throughout the week,

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that some provision should be made for the special needs of preschool children, and that some of the programming should be educational/informational in nature.

Some portion of the new programming can be expected to be educational-informational. Under the guidance of its pragmatic new Chairman, the Commission has learned how to use the license renewal form to accomplish its programming aims. Thus, already, the newly revised forms incorporate questions concerning the volume of advertising the station has been carrying in children's programming, using the self-established industry norms adopted in 1974 as the practical equivalent of government regulations.

From the standpoint of government agencies, which must follow specific mandates to educate or inform, what is most significant about the guidelines and public and political pressures, is their concern with the substance of programming. As the earlier noted examples of network programming suggest, the new program thrust is toward the program that contributes to cultural or educational development. This trend toward "upgrading" can be expected to continue. Wall Street Journal reporter Liz Roman Gallese writes in the August 5, 1974 edition: "Largely because of pressure from ACT and like-minded consumer groups, the individual networks have also taken the initiative in upgrading children's

shows. They have each appointed a top executive to oversee children's programming. Bit by bit, they have eliminated most violent shows, added a better mix of live and animated fare, and are producing more shows of the sort likely to win ACT's stamp of approval.

"The emphasis has shifted as a result of pressure from ACT," says a top CBS official. "Networks used to consider children's programs as a prime profit center. But they now realize they must provide some "good" but expensive fare as a cost of doing business."

The stations are moving in the same direction.

This general process indicates a developing national consensus. Children are being perceived as a special audience case, with private and public sector values tending to merge. Implicit in this merging is a parallel movement toward similar objectives, which seems likely to result in some expanded activity of government in commercial television. Under the new conditions of children's programming, it should be noted, the propelling force can not be solely financial gain. Program quality does not come easily or cheaply; the more ambitious the program, the more laudable its purpose and standards, the more the effort and talent that must go into it, and therefore the more costly it must be. Networks and stations will continue to look for advertising support,



of course, but it will be limited, with the institutional advertiser probably becoming important in the future.

In effect, the children's program is being transformed into the equivalent of a public service show, with all of that category's negative financial characteristics. The medium as a whole, therefore, should, in the future, become increasingly receptive to the prospect of being able to televise quality programming consistent with the developing value consensus that it can obtain at low or no cost. This will be less true of the network than of the station, for the obvious reason that it is better equipped to do major-scale programming, which, on the station level, is virtually ruled out as a practical matter by cost and talent considerations.

It might be argued that government has some responsibility to the medium to assist it in achieving nationally acceptable goals, since the direction in which the industry is being forced is a direct consequence of government pressures, in large part. There is little reason to doubt that federally-funded educational/informational programs of demonstrable excellence and appeal would find a ready acceptance among broadcasters at large as the schedules adjust to the new guidelines. It appears to this writer that the next half-dozen years or so will offer some new opportunities for cooperative endeavors between the federal government and the commercial system that have not been available heretofore.



No one can foresee precisely how the future government-broadcast relationship, if any, will work. At the present time, one can only point to a number of factors which government agencies would be well advised to take into account as they plan television projects.

The first has already been mentioned -- the system's limited capacity, which is a function of a time-based schedule. There are, after all, only so many broadcast hours in a day. At best, we must anticipate that the commercial medium will be able to allocate only a limited portion of the schedule to the kind of children's programming being discussed. Even the non-commercial system has to contend with time limits. This built-in hour limitation has important consequences for federal planning. Early in any planning, the question should be addressed whether the commercial system has, or can be expected to have, the capacity for incorporating the project. Schedules and industry plans should be reviewed, and discussions held with industry representatives before program development is seriously advanced. This holds true for both commercial and non-commercial medium projects. An otherwise worthy project may well be abandoned as a result, saving precious

talent, time, and dollars. Only those projects which appear likely to find a place in the system, other things being equal, should be approved. In other words, schedule-feasibility should be made a requirement for project rationale at an early stage.

Industry First Amendment Concerns:

One frequently encounters a commercial practitioner view that government has no business being in commercial television at all. This stems from a deeply held belief that government and commercial television are mutually exclusive worlds. The hand of government, it is held, has no place in a medium whose function is journalistic in whole or in part.

The medium, it is argued, must not be beholden to government for any portion of its financing; otherwise, there is danger of a loss of control, albeit subtly. The fear of a government-managed medium whose ultimate function is that of national "brainwashing" may or may not be justly grounded -- it is quite real, a condition of mind that calls for continuing sensitivity and understanding on the part of funding agencies.

Regardless of funding source, what is concretely at issue is who is to control program content. The networks are absolutely firm in their insistence that they must retain final right of approval.

This issue becomes most pressing when subject matter veers from the "soft" to news and public affairs. Network policy demands that such material be produced in-house, by network staffs. Outside producers may be permitted to work in non-controversial areas, such as nature, science, etc., but only network employees may be responsible for programs dealing with politics, economics, the social sciences, international affairs, and the like.

Leaving aside for the moment the question of whether government is capable of producing first-quality programming, it is clear that this general network policy limits what is possible from the Federal standpoint.

Since July, 1972, the CBS Television Network has been airing a series of "What's It All About?" specials dealing with public affairs subjects, designed for youngsters. Subjects covered: the Presidential Conventions, elections, taxes, the skylab, the energy crisis, the Supreme Court, impeachment, the Middle East, inflation. The series is produced by CBS News. Under no conditions could the network

be expected to permit government agencies to produce or have control over such television programming: What is seen by a Federal institution or agency as information or education tends to be perceived by the medium as propaganda. Moreover, from this standpoint, government intrusion, overt or indirect, is ultimately unavoidable, given subject matter which lends itself so easily to controversy. One need only imagine a Senator watching a Federally funded program devoted to his chamber of the Congress, presenting aspects of his function in a manner with which he may take issue, to appreciate the broadcaster's fear that he will be finally unable to resist the temptation to comment to the particular agency concerned. Thus are future constraints upon the freedom of treatment born, it is alleged. This concern, incidentally, is shared, and perhaps even more strongly felt, in the Public TV sector. It is, indeed, the fundamental reason for the creation of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, an institution conceived as a buffer between government and the non-commercial medium.

It may be difficult for the dedicated public servant to see himself in this unflattering light, since he knows his cause to be good and his mandate congruous with accepted

national goals. Nevertheless, it is a factor that should not be forgotten when attempting to work with, and within, the commercial system.

Until such time as mutual faith and confidence mark government-media relations, prudence suggests selection of non-controversial subject areas for Federal involvement with either the commercial or the non-commercial medium. In grey areas which touch on matters socio-political-economic, the intervention of a non-governmental, non-profit entity with full content responsibility, which is in a position to receive a grant with no strings attached, would appear to be advisable. This suggests that some funding could take the grant form.

In any event, a network can be expected to insist on right of approval of key program elements, such as concept, writer and director, and key major roles, regardless of where the production assignment is lodged.

There is no unanimity of opinion on this question on the network level. At one network, for example, one can find high-placed executives who are almost automatically opposed to any government involvement in programming whatsoever. At another, there appears to be no opposition at all; indeed, its highest executives seem prepared to consider a government-financed or produced program along with any other, on its merits.

Network suspicions of government notwithstanding, the record shows that when the production relations are correct, Federally sponsored material has a reasonable chance to reach the air. A good example is the experience of the Office of Child Development with "Captain Kangaroo." Sutherland Associates produced fifty-one two-minute program segments for the CBS Television Network program dealing with children's health and career awareness. They have been highly lauded to this writer by ACT head, Peggy Charren,

but attacked by one New York newspaper critic because of their government financing -- why didn't the network produce segments itself?

According to the producer, the Office of Child Development paid only for direct production and overhead, not for the producer's or administrator's time and ideas. No profit was involved. The segments were given free of charge to CBS for "Captain Kangaroo" for the first two years, with a provision for a modest royalty for future use. The Office of Child Development shares in television sales and retains sales rights for the schools, that is, the non-television circuit. The producer has the rights for television syndication, now handled by the commercial company, Viacom. Television syndication, to date, has produced a

minimal return, not enough to justify another such effort, according to those involved. Encyclopedia Britannica Educational Corporation is distributing in the schools.

The arrangement has been criticized. There are those who argue that it is wrong for government to underwrite a project which can lead to private profit. The criticisms seem ill-founded to this writer. The simple fact is that this innovative project made it possible to achieve important national exposure for educational material. It was an imaginative undertaking that even had built into it some means for government recoupment of expenditure. The profit complaint is poorly based, since the private earnings are apparently meager. This was only to be expected.

More to the point is why the experience has not been duplicated. A second producer effort came to naught. It takes six months to a year, apparently, to develop a project of this type, a lengthy period in which the production group earns no profit. There is a great deal of reporting to government, inspection, supervision, an entanglement which tends to discourage production talent.

This was a sole source contract situation. It seems that the sole source contract has fallen into disrepute owing to alleged abuses in the recent past on the government

side. From the point of view of the talented innovator, however, this form of arrangement serves to protect the original idea. There is something unacceptable to those who make their living from their ideas in a process which opens an original idea to universal bidding. Moreover, such bidding, while presumably serving to protect the public's funds, disregards the uniqueness of talent in an esthetic enterprise. It is simply not the case that replication is readily achieved in television programming simply because paper qualifications are met. Ultimately, a program is a unique blend of talents, sensitivities and points of view; often, indeed, its success is entirely dependent on a single individual. This has long been recognized in the theatre and motion picture field, where a play or film will be attempted only when a certain performer or director becomes available.

I would urge that serious efforts to work within the commercial system not be hindered by opposition to patterns of financing that provide incentives to individuals and organizations. The joining of public service and profit should not be rejected when the end result can be a major national educational/informational experience. Quite the



opposite is in order -- that is, government might well seek to encourage profit-making patterns to be developed and tested, with government playing a seeding role. Out of such undertakings may come methods of generating new funding, resulting at the same time in expanded distribution of the material -- meaning, therefore, an enlargement of the total audience. One can foresee a situation in which a syndicator successfully distributes a popular series to the commercial industry, returning enough royalties to the funding agency to enable it to embark on new ventures or to provide ancillary services.

Such an approach may run counter to the predispositions of those who believe that it is somehow immoral to expend public funds with profit making institutions, as well as to the feelings of those on the other side who regard government dollars as tainted. These are traditional attitudes which, one may suspect, are somewhat out of step with events. If we are justified as a nation in making a national commitment to our children as a matter of conscience and public duty and are prepared to expend considerable funds toward that end, then are we not equally justified in seeing how we can take advantage of the powerful commercial

process by entering into it, rather than opposing it, so long as we do so in a disciplined way? There is no inherent reason why the non-profit sector cannot be responsible for a program or series that combines popular appeal with sound educational content, a program that is able to compete on equal terms for audience in the open marketplace. We have the greatest of all modern examples before us: "Sesame Street."

Among the many lessons "Sesame Street" teaches us, perhaps the first is that it is necessary to reach for the stars. Sometimes we may succeed. The dreamers who launched the project set out, almost naively, to challenge the marketplace of entertainment with a series that would be capable of attracting an audience -- its success in so doing is history. It drew on highly experienced professionals fresh from the national television wars. The highest production standards were set -- and met. It was preceded by the most thorough and well-thought-out research and development process the medium had yet experienced.

I stress this experience because of the importance I place on the need for education to build on talent. Government should direct itself to that small pool of creative talent that is responsible for the best in our television system, at least to begin with. If there are

policy restrictions that, for political or other considerations, favor secondary talent, the effort should be made to change policy. Agencies should be free to seek out the best production and creative organizations and individuals who can bring imagination and originality to the task. If this means finding ways to overcome the limitations of contract bidding through legislation or administrative policy, those ways should be found.

The networks quite properly are entitled to insist on the highest demonstrable ability. They, themselves, are constantly on the hunt for the right talents.

The case of "Sesame Street" is doubly instructive because it occurred on the weaker medium, non-commercial television. Government, it should be noted, was only one of the funding entities, although an important one. Multiple funding sources have, from the beginning, enabled the Children's Television Workshop to maintain its independence and creative integrity. The experience suggests one model for funding that might be emulated in future Federal television involvements. Regardless of whether the non-commercial or commercial system be involved, a multiple funding pattern helps insure a healthy independence, acts as a barrier to the potential government intervention into content and treatment.

One of the questions asked is whether there are any conditions under which "Sesame Street" could, or should, be moved to commercial television. The assumption underlying this question is that some considerable benefits would be gained thereby, probably an increase in the size of the audience. It should be noted that discussion has occurred in the past between CTW principals and the networks.

As one network official put it: "We wanted to carry it, but it turned out to be impractical."

One of the major obstacles, of course, is the schedules of the networks themselves. Another is the problem of afternoon repeats, an important aspect of the total service which is possible on non-commercial television. Then there is the very high cost; which in part is a function of the CTW determination to keep the series fresh and current. Purely commercial considerations enter, as well, since network television would probably insist on some kind of advertiser involvement, to make the project as nearly viable as possible. Here we are talking about five hours a week, not an isolated special. For the management of the CTW to accept advertising involvement would require an immense emotional and intellectual wrench, a shift of perspective and value that some within it do not, at this time, feel capable of making, such is their commitment to

Public Television. There is, at the same time, some top-level inclination to accept such a wrench, if that would mean the program would be given a solid financial base and a guarantee of continuation on the desired level.

Perhaps the overriding consideration at this stage of media history, from the standpoint of government, is the national commitment to the Public Television system embodied in the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967. "Sesame Street" and "The Electric Company" remain the chief ornaments of Public Television, the continuing demonstration of what a non-commercial medium can do for the nation. Loss of "Sesame Street" to commercial television within the foreseeable future would be a severe blow to Public Television, which could be expected to fight to prevent such a loss.

The CTW and its government sponsors would have to contend with a public outcry. Undoubtedly, the halls of Congress would ring with impassioned speeches of outraged legislators. The political atmosphere alone would probably be such as to make such a move unlikely.

There is one set of conditions, however, under which a serious effort might be made to shift the program to the commercial system -- if the financial support by the public system diminished severely. Government might make up the

difference, but if that would mean giving it a dominant position as a funding source, CTW management might itself choose the commercial route.

Should this route be chosen, "Sesame Street" would still face the problem of distribution. Ideally, it would wind up on one of the three commercial networks. If that turned out to be impractical, it might have to go into syndication. This would entail individual station clearances across the country, and would involve shipments of tapes from station to station -- all the complex and costly logistics that form of distribution involves. Gone would be the time-and-date advantages of networking now enjoyed on PBS. There is no guarantee, moreover, that the CTW could achieve a syndication distribution comparable to that made possible by networking. Still, syndication remains a serious possibility.

That it is not impossible is demonstrated by the experience of "The Big Blue Marble," a series funded and created by ITT for children. This half-hour, once-weekly program which shows children how their counterparts round the world live, is carried, mostly on weekends, but occasionally in Access Time, on 110 commercial stations in the United States. Distribution is handled by a leading

independent media service, which specializes in the planning and purchase of media campaigns. A form of "barter" is involved. The station pays nothing for the program. Instead, it is given limited commercial rights. No commercial breaks are permitted inside the program. ITT is permitted one minute at each end for its institutional commercials. The station retains two minutes for sale to advertisers. The beginning-and-end commercials are grouped into two "clusters," for which special permission was obtained from the NAB Code Board.

This is not an isolated case. It illustrates one of the ways in which distribution for "Sesame Street," or any children's program, can sometimes be obtained in commercial television. "The Big Blue Marble", incidentally, is not a rating winner. Nevertheless, it is acceptable to the stations as a service vehicle which helps them to discharge their commitments to the children's audience. In part responsible for this distribution, no doubt, is the importance of the sponsoring company in the general television scheme, together with the position and influence of the media organization. The point is, there are limits to how far the barter approach can go, particularly if the program concerned is not one of great appeal.



Till now, we have talked about programming. The commercial structure permits another, and highly effective, form, the spot announcement. Its most common length, by far, is 30 seconds, with the minute length, once the norm, taking a less prominent position in the schedule. Actually, we have considerable experience as viewers with this form of education, for it is the primary method through which the country's public service organizations communicate with the audience. In 1971, this writer, following a study of the Children's Television Workshop for NCET through a BOCES contract, proposed that the "Sesame Street" use of commercial techniques to teach letters and numbers be adopted for other educational campaigns directed at children. My view was that, if conceived and prepared as quality efforts, and in line with the needs of the medium, such efforts would be welcomed by commercial television.

Recently, this concept has been put into practice by the Special Projects Branch, Equal Educational Opportunity, Bureau of School Systems, HEW, as part of a two-year television program authorized under precedent-making Title VII legislation. Some \$20,000,000 have been allocated for a variety of television projects, earmarked in the first instance for Public Television.



The educational material consists of a series of 30 and 60-second announcements dealing with minority group isolation. Within the Special Branch, Program Officer David Berkman had become convinced that such an announcement series would have a higher probability of running in both the commercial and non-commercial systems -- particularly the commercial -- than programs. Furthermore, industry experience showed that the larger children's audiences were generally to be found watching the commercial medium. The spot announcement form had, over the years, demonstrated its ability to convey information and learning.

Proposals were solicited from among non-profit institutions, in adherence with the provisions of the legislation. Public Television station WTTW Chicago, was awarded the production grant: to produce 30 one-minute announcements, each with a 30-second "liftout," and to dub 500 tape sets of each, for a total of 15,000. By the winter of 1974-75, these were being distributed in six waves to some 450 commercial stations, plus the 15 largest Public Television stations, the commercial networks, and American Armed Forces Radio and Television.

The announcement content was generated within the station through a special creative group which included a representative of the Grey-North advertising agency. Script ideas were put into storyboard form and submitted to a minority-constituted advisory board, which had final say. Most of the storyboards were revised as a result of this review. Next step was sound-filmstrip testing, using commercial testing techniques, by the Leo Burnett advertising agency. The public affairs departments of the Office of Education and HEW must approve the announcements for government distribution, but, as a matter of operational practice, actual content control is exercised in the field.

After viewing a number of the announcements, this writer concluded they would be well received by the commercial industry. Their quality is high. They are imaginative, well-thought-out, produced with skill and care, with an understanding of how to use television to convey ideas and affect attitudes. Neither heavy-handed nor crudely didactic, they appear to be excellently designed for their purpose.

Even more important, perhaps, is their public service character, which puts them conveniently and comfortably into the PSA schedule of the average station. A station will tend to perceive them as public service, rather than traditional

instruction. This particular set of messages would appear to be especially welcome because of its minority emphasis.

Early checks on usage by the Special Projects Branch indicate the stations are making use of the announcements. Broadcast Advertising Reports, which monitors commercial airings, was commissioned to monitor 200 stations in January, 1975.

An intelligent and intensive effort has been made to achieve distribution. Often, otherwise worthy ventures fail simply because of the naive assumption that distribution occurs automatically. It doesn't. Frequently, as much effort and expense are needed to obtain satisfactory broadcast usage as to produce the material in the first place. The Bureau tackled the publicity challenge aggressively, and with good results. It succeeded in obtaining a 13-minute segment on "Today." The UPI fed a national wire story to its customers. Information was sent to newspapers and trade publications. (Incidentally, there was newspaper questioning of the project as possible precedent for government brainwashing.) A screening was held for an executive of the National Association of Broadcasters,

which resulted in an announcement in an NAB newsletter. All school superintendents who had received ESAA grants -- about 800 -- were asked to call the stations on their list in their areas. Finally, a mailing went to station general managers.

How effective this campaign will turn out to be, awaits final evaluation, of course. At this stage, it can be said that the judgment which anticipated operational harmony between government and industry has proven sound. It seems to this writer, therefore, that the way is now open for others to put this technique to work for a variety of educational purposes.

Whatever subject areas are chosen in the future, however, it will be important to limit campaigns to those most likely to be perceived as falling within the public service category, as opposed to the instructional. The closer the material is to that category, the better its chances are of finding its way to the commercial screen.

I am not ruling out the instructional, since there is no real experience to go on. The material now appearing in the brief segments of "Schoolhouse Rock," on ABC Television

Network, Saturday mornings, suggests that much may be possible in the instructional area, on a regularly scheduled, if not PSA, basis. These entertaining, imaginative segments, like the minute "commercials" of "Sesame Street," are tremendously appealing -- a far cry from the classical didactic approach of tradition. It seems to me that an equally imaginative educational series cast in the one-minute form -- even the 30-second -- would find a ready welcome among the commercial stations.

There is, at the present time, no way of drawing a line between the educational and public service. Indeed, where children are concerned, broadcasting tends to fuse the two, opening up possibilities for an educational establishment not afraid of originality and fun. It is clear that more experimentation and research have to be done before we know just how valuable an educational instrument we have in the commercially-directed spot announcement, and just where its limits are.

One apparent limit -- but only apparent, since an effort to enlist the medium in a joint experiment just might be successful -- is once again, the medium's capacity. Since the PSA has proven to be so important to public communication -- and since it is free -- it has become the chief television

means of raising funds and winning support for virtually every national and regional and local institution whose need it is to reach the mass public. Consequently, stations and networks are flooded with requests for air time. There is competition for the best positions on the schedule. Not every organization can count on obtaining the quantity and quality of exposure it believes it is entitled to. An increase in government-funded PSA-type educational campaigns would simply add to the problem. It should be remembered, too, that PSA's are slotted in time normally reserved for commercials; the station is always balancing public service requirements with commercial requirements. These vary from season to season and by daypart.

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The Title VII legislation has a laudable purpose, to eliminate or prevent minority group isolation and improve the quality of education for all children. Here is a mandate that expresses a national consensus, at least on the surface. To have it embodied in law would appear to be a major step forward in developing a social consciousness that places individual human worth at the center. One can imagine a similar legislative enterprise directed toward the health of the American child, another toward the elimination of illiteracy, and so on, each funded separately under an appropriate agency. The bill's language, however, presents some problems.

To begin with, non-profit agencies only, may be awarded contracts. This restriction should be eliminated in any future bill, or loosened, to make it possible for the best creative and production organizations in the country to be able to participate. There is long precedent in the defense establishment. If, politically, it is not practical, then subcontracting to profit-making organizations and individuals should be permitted.

The legislation presumes prior government obligation to Public Television. I suggest that future language not necessarily adhere to this pattern, since the purpose of a particular project may be better served in a given instance through the commercial system. The way should be open for government to deal with the commercial medium as readily as the non-commercial, thus multiplying a project's chances for exposure to its intended audience. Moreover, whatever the merit of the thesis that government-sponsored projects belong, in the first instance, in the non-profit sector, the fact is that the Public Television system is itself suffering from schedule limitations. It is simply not the case that the non-commercial medium is waiting impatiently to embrace every series that emanates from government. In other words, it is important to distinguish between the aim of education and that

of building a Public Television system. The two are not necessarily interdependent at all times, however important education may be as a major service of the non-commercial medium.

Since the effectiveness of public education, like advertising effectiveness, is related to the number of individuals a campaign reaches and the frequency of the messages, there would appear to be limits to the kind of educational matter a PSA approach can be effective with, given the general kind of scheduling it should be expected to achieve. Thorough testing of the potential of the educational spot announcement, however, probably calls for more precise controls than are practical, given the operational procedures of commercial television under PSA conditions. I should like to suggest, therefore, that, at least for purposes of research, the announcement concept be expanded to incorporate the possibility of the purchase of spot time on an experimental basis.

Such purchase would permit the educational group that greater precision of control; it would be in a better position to determine just where and how often its announcements would be telecast. The media analysis called for resembles that of the advertising campaign, taking into account reach, frequency,



dayparts, demographics, editorial environment, rating levels, costs, and so forth. Television has developed into a complex medium with its own research and jargon, a professional specialization in its own right. The knowledge and skills it has developed should be put to use in the non-profit sector. To assist it in media planning and in purchasing of the time, selection of stations, etc., a government agency would do well to call in a professional media service or agency.

A modest project now at work in Texas is already exploring this area. It is being conducted by the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory in Austin, as part of the Early Childhood Education Project under the aegis of the National Institute of Education, (NIE). Its objective: to reach low-income parents through the media with educational messages concerning basic child-rearing skills.

Four small Texas markets are involved, each with three network-affiliated stations. Minute and half-minute announcements are being tested. Mail requests are being used as the measurement of effectiveness. The first part of the campaign utilized PSA's. According to project director Robert Collinson, the stations have been highly cooperative and generous with their time. The project has been able to identify which of the announcements have performed most

effectively, as measured by the mailed-in requests.

Part two was in the formative stage at the time of writing. This will compare a paid-time campaign with the PSA. Not only will television be employed, but radio, newspapers and billboards. The budget is reported to be small, "for practical reasons." A telephone survey is planned to determine how efficiently the target audiences are being reached. Metropolitan, medium-size and small markets are included in the test.

Without hard evidence on hand, one cannot be certain that a campaign based on purchased time, and therefore subject to more precise control than the PSA effort, will be inherently, or actually, more productive as an educational undertaking. Still, it is difficult not to believe that it will. Assuming that this be the case, new possibilities open for education via television. To begin with, it may be possible to conceive of specific campaigns which take on the character of courses of instruction, however restricted in scope, and to plan on the purchase of time on a planned basis, again, within the capacity limits of the system, to insure that they will be aired in the sequence and frequency desired, rather than be left to the random fate of the PSA.

This prospect -- indeed, its mere suggestion -- will undoubtedly appear highly questionable to some, perhaps many. Is purchase of broadcast time by government a proper expenditure of public funds, given the character of the medium as a private-profit institution with a license obligation to serve the public interest? Should government purchase time, or does it have a right to free time as representative of the public? Does the medium have the responsibility to educate, and should it, therefore, be obligated to contribute time for that purpose?

Those who espouse this point of view will hold that government funding of program development and production, or of spot announcements, is as far as federal involvement should ever be allowed to go; either because they are convinced that the medium's responsibility covers all the real possibilities, or because they fear government as a potential manipulator of the public mind.

A full discussion would be out of place here. It seems to me, however, that there is nothing inherently evil or immoral in Federal purchase of time to present an educational campaign, so long as the medium maintains proper

safeguards. Where the problem is really joined, I suspect, is in what can be defined as classically educational, and what is controversial. For example, educational material about environmental protection, once considered conventionally educational and therefore generally acceptable, might very well be viewed as controversial and therefore propagandistic, given the energy shortage. The off-shore oil drilling controversy is an example. Where does education stop and advocacy begin?

It may be that, in the final analysis, direct government involvement in television production of any kind should be ruled out by the medium in the light of the frightening lessons of Watergate; perhaps one must be wary to the end, even when a particular administration is benign. Still, I cannot help thinking that there is a valuable resource here to be used for the public good, and that if there are people and organizations of good will cooperating, perhaps in a time less tense than the present and recent past, some worthy things can be accomplished. Therefore, I should like to see some follow-up of the Texas experiment.

There is an institutional approach which can help raise the standards of children's television that avoids many of these problems and which government is in a position to apply: Research.

I propose that the Federal government, through an appropriate office of HEW, establish and fund a media research entity, whose purpose would be to provide a continuing cognitive and affective research service to both the public and the commercial broadcast systems (including radio). It would operate independently of government and the industry. Its personnel and resources would be available to networks, stations, government agencies, other institutions, engaged in educational broadcasting. It would participate, on request, in program conceptualization and development, pre-production testing, pilot testing, etc.. Its findings would be made available to the producers, who would have full control over their projects. In other words, the research organization's findings would not be binding in any way; the producers would be free to use them or not, at will. Producers would thus be in a position to have constructive research input from the very beginning of a project. They should be encouraged to involve the researchers from the outset and work closely with them throughout the various stages of a project's development, on the model of the CTW.

A nominal charge for out-of-pocket expenses and material produced would be in order. In order to encourage utilization of the service, however, it should be simply regarded as a national investment.

It may be argued that the industry is perfectly capable of conducting its own research and that government has no place in such activity. Broadcasting research, however, moves in quite different directions. By and large, educational research of the type under discussion goes against the commercial grain, for broadcasting is concerned with different things. It must never be forgotten that broadcasting does not consider itself to be basically in the business of education, regardless of how much educational material it may carry in its schedules. Its research is concerned with matters of audience size and makeup, and advertising research into the effectiveness of media delivery and whether and how well audiences -- particularly prospective consumers -- are being exposed to sales messages. I suspect, however, that occasionally, a network, station or station group may be willing to enter into a cooperative venture, if most of the financial burden is carried by someone else.

What kind of inducement could government offer to encourage the medium to undertake such research? One suggestion has been made that loans might be extended, or that some kind of financial rewards might be made available in cases of successful projects. The trouble with all these suggestions is that they do not take into account the nature of the commercial system; they are, in reality, suggestions that the medium depart from normal industry practice to adopt, in this one area, another field's operational mode. The independent research facility proposal, on the other hand, takes conventional industry practice for granted as a given condition.

Some missionary work would undoubtedly have to be done to acquaint broadcasters to encourage them to make use of the service. Since it calls for departure from broadcast norms, some resistance should be expected in the early stages, although once executives and producers understand they have a tool at hand which they can put to work to improve their programming to children and receive favorable attention thereby, those with the more ambitious and idealistic goals can be expected to make use of it. As one such network executive said to the writer: "I'd jump at the chance!"

A professional research organization, properly staffed and funded for longevity, would, in time, become an important repository of valuable information, perhaps the most important, concerning television and children.

It could be permitted by its enabling terms to engage in outside research on a fee basis, as non-profit organizations often do, with all proceeds to be turned back to the non-chargeable services. This would permit an enlargement of activity into the broader areas of concern, with problems not necessarily related to specific air plans that are possibly too large for any single commercial or public broadcasting institution to cope with. The research institution might undertake such a project and, on its own, seek industry and foundation grants for the purpose, along with government.

Once we leave the area of the spot campaign and research the potential for practical government involvement to any significant degree narrows considerably. We must continually remind ourselves that we are dealing with a relatively restricted volume of programming in a system that must balance public service responsibilities with commercial needs.



The question is asked, for example, whether a Federally sponsored commercial program development through "non-commercial" avenues is feasible, the suggestion being that when developed to a "commercially viable state," the commercial networks take over, with or without Federal strings attached.

On the surface, there is something attractive about a government-supported enterprise devoted to the development of children's programming. It could be a natural extension of the research institution, or separately established. To be acceptable to the industry, it would have to be created as an independent entity, free from government control.

Its end-products should be available to public, as well as commercial, broadcasting. A dedication solely to commercial broadcasting would be unacceptable to Congress and the public as an improper use of public funds.

Foundations and the commercial industry could share in its funding. Commercial grants have been made to Public Television. So far, so good.

The problem with the idea is the notion of "commercially viable." How do we define it? In terms of ratings? That assumes that television will not carry a children's program unless it can generate a predetermined high level of audience.

Naturally, the broadcaster hopes to reach the largest possible audience, but there is, by now, general industry appreciation of the fallacy of measuring cultural-educational value by ratings. Moreover, from the educational side, the test cannot be simply that of being commercially viable. It is precisely because there are other values to be served in a civilized society, that we have created the non-commercial broadcasting system. Were that system adequate to the total task, there would be no need to ask whether there are new possibilities to explore in the commercial system.

If the rating is not the measure, perhaps it can be the degree to which a program is capable of attracting advertising revenue. How such a measure squares with the purpose of television education is difficult to see. The trend, after all, is toward a decrease in commercial volume for children's programming. It is conceivable, indeed, that ACT's vigorous and continuing campaign may yet conclude with a commercial-less children's television, or, more likely, with a compromise which sees commercials removed from within programs and "clusters" at the beginning and end. "Commercially viable," under these conditions, is not the happiest of standards.

None of this should be misunderstood as an invitation to dullness, long an affliction of educational television round the world. Indeed, the most encouraging of signs is the willingness of educators in recent years to accept entertainment as a technique for teaching, particularly through the television screen. If the educational world looks to the commercial system for assistance on an important scale, it has the responsibility of respecting that system's built-in need to attract and hold large masses of people, of its economic need to survive in the competition for audiences.

Perhaps the best measure that can be suggested at the present time is a common-sense approach that attempts to bring to program evaluation, professional judgment aided by research. As Eddie Smarden writes in his Feb. 23, 1973 paper: "The True Problems With Kids' Television...And A No Nonsense Methodology For Improving The Medium," the "best judges of program content, prior to air, are broadcasters and advertisers."

A number of stations, or a network, might be prepared to participate in an on-air, laboratory situation, in which a program or series is put to the test, on an occasional basis, at least.

Not to be overlooked in any developmental effort are the problems of cost and talent. Scale is important, often decisive. It must never be forgotten that when we enter the world of television programming, we embark upon a perilous venture. It is the most competitive of arenas, where superior talent is scarce, in demand, high-priced, and usually concentrated in a few opportunity-rich centers; and where nothing can be certain except that failure is more common than success. A developmental institution, to be meaningful, would have to operate on the highest standards, for what comes out of it would have to stand up under conditions of the sheerest visibility and be compared with the very best of which this country has proven capable. Unless this be the level of ambition, the undertaking is hardly worth bothering with.

There is an important political implication here. Our most recent efforts to find an adequate funding base for the Public Television system of this country have been built around the concept of decentralization. Whatever may have been the political motivation, it clashes with the hard-won experience of an entire industry. Ultimately the programming we are here concerned with must be conceived and created and produced by the available talent and skills that alone

can make it mean anything. While this should not, of course, rule out grants and contracts to local institutions scattered about the country, it should not make such localism a matter of policy -- certainly not, in so far as commercial television is concerned! The rule is simple: in a world dependent entirely on talent, go where the talent is.

In short, the entire concept of attempting to develop programs through public moneys for commercial usage is open to serious question. A more attractive alternative, it seems to me, is to encourage the existing systems to develop further along the lines they are now following toward a higher level of children's programming.

Government has already acted in a major way to underwrite program development through creation and funding of the Corporation For Public Broadcasting. An important part of its mandate is children's programming. The CPB's founders understood that only a nationally organized and funded institution could conduct significant program development, and that government financing would be required simply because the non-commercial system was too poor to do the job by itself. There is little justification for attempting to duplicate that effort in a commercial context. Program

development of the type contemplated is more properly the function of the commercial networks and stations.

Government should not be called upon to do their work for them in this regard.

One political note: If one recalls the intense and endless controversy that raged about the establishment of the CPB and PBS, one is entitled to predict a similar, perhaps even more heated, dispute should government make a major effort to develop programming for the commercial system.

How, then, can government encourage the commercial system to produce and air quality children's programming without necessarily developing the program itself?

Probably the simplest and most direct way is to look at existing schedules, and planned programs and series, for those worthy of support, and come to their support through commercial-type sponsorship. This can take the form of payment for time and program in the old sponsor-style, now a rarity, or for purchase of spot announcement time, either in, or adjacent to, the program, depending on the state of the art at the time. From the standpoint of the medium, it is immaterial whether the advertisement come from business or government; the net effect on the financial condition is the same. In this way, a government agency



can accomplish two ends: 1) It can help sustain a program which itself is considered useful; 2) It can put announcement time to useful work.

Several agencies can pool their resources, or can cooperate if that is unfeasible, in purchasing a complete program, as some multi-product advertisers do, thus creating a controlled situation. This would ensure the educational messages being aired at the desired time and in a preferred program environment. At the same time, there should be no hesitation in being associated with conventional advertisers in announcement positions. That is the universal condition for the PSA.

Anything that cuts costs, of course, can be helpful in improving the general condition of production and distribution, particularly where syndication is concerned, as Eddie Smarden so soundly argues: How far unions and talent are willing to go in this direction, is an open question, but these groups tend to be responsive to calls to serve. They are justly concerned, however, that their responsiveness not be used to mask opportunistic exploitation.

Another suggestion ties a possible reduction of long-lines rates to the viability of children's programming. While special rates might be of some assistance in the rare case of a national program seeking nationwide exposure, a general reduction is not practical in view of the existing all-day contracts the networks have with ATT. This is a

period, moreover, when long-line rates are rising, jeopardizing the functioning of regional networks even for sports, which can operate on a presumably higher cost level than children's programming. A special rate consideration for children's programming would be helpful, as Smarden suggests; but as he recognizes, the concept calls for definition of what program is worthy of such rate reduction treatment, and that is a formidable challenge. However, it is not easy to see who would make this determination.

There is a new networking possibility, however, that is worthy of examination: the satellite. We have entered the earth station construction period, opened by the January, 1975 announcement by TVN, the independent news service, of its intention to build up to 100 earth stations across the country over the next two years. This will make possible an unlimited number of interconnections, involving two or more stations, in virtually any market pattern. The first usage of the system is expected to be news, obviously, followed closely by sports; then, as the operating pattern emerges, ad hoc advertiser-created networks can be expected to appear carrying varied schedules of entertainment and information. At the present time, the cost differentials seem to favor satellite over land lines for long distances.



There is considerable interest in this development on the station level, particularly among the independent stations, who are the chief station broadcasters of sports and who are the natural outlets for the ad hoc network programs to come.

For those interested in television as a means of communication, whether for education or entertainment, the earth station project has this significance: it represents the first potentially real expansion of the television system since the emergence of the independent station as a source of alternate programming. It may be seen, in part, as an aspect of the development of the non-affiliated system, now coming into its own as a viable and basic aspect of the television service of the country. As the total independent system grows stronger, so do its programming and resources for new programming, increasing its capability of competing on its own with what comes over the conventional network. What the earth station development can be expected to do, is hasten that growth. From the point of view of those concerned with children's television, this should mean some new opportunities, though the precise way in which they will appear is not easy to discern at this moment. I would recommend that attention be paid to the satellite-earth

station situation with the end in view of launching an experimental series, in combination with commercial interests, utilizing the new technology. This would be a complex undertaking, for it amounts to the creation of an ad hoc network. For such an experiment, it should be possible to obtain satellite time free of charge.

It might be worthwhile, too, to investigate the possibility of establishing a special satellite rate for children's service, since the rate structure of the new system is still in the making. The FCC might look kindly upon such a prospect.

Another possibility might be the allocation of one channel for children's programming on one or more satellites with sufficient channel capacity. If this notion seems radical, it should be noted that present experimental satellite operation allows for free use of channel time for research purposes.

Such a dedicated channel could serve commercial, as well as public, programmers; thus, as a nation, we would be offering a clear financial inducement to undertake television service to children. Such a system could perform a syndication service as well, which would simplify distribution and probably lower its cost. Certainly, there are difficulties to be anticipated,

but the possibilities are such as to seem to be worth looking into. It may be significant that there is already in existence the Public Service Satellite Consortium.

We are not dealing with a remote time here, but with the next two-to-three years. An investigation into the possible future, therefore, should begin soon, an investigation that could lead quickly to a specific program project. Space does not permit longer discussion. Let me say only that my own direct involvement in this industry development convinces me we are dealing with something very real, and not merely speculative.

The discussion does serve to highlight the problem of access in a system dominated by networks. It leads to the observation that for practical purposes, syndication in this pre-satellite age is probably a more promising road for government to travel than standard networking. Not only are the independent stations prime targets for such syndication; the affiliated stations, too, can play an important role, in view of their need to be responsible for their own service to children, regardless of what the networks do. Syndication is no final answer, however, for reasons already cited: the limits of station capacity and the commercial system itself. Syndication's great

contribution is that it offers access to the system. It offers opportunities to enter and compete for station time. It must therefore be considered a fundamental avenue to potential exposure for any government-funded program.

Should the government purchase programs which are meritorious but which, for one or another reason, are either not carried by the commercial system or dropped, for distribution through the PBS or syndication?

The first question to be asked in answer is, does the PBS want the programs?

The difficulty with this approach is that we already have in being a developing public system, one of whose functions is to find and air children's programs of merit. It is part of the CPB mandate to fund or purchase worthwhile programs the commercial system either does not want or cannot schedule. A new or existing government agency that inquired of the PBS and the stations about the desirability of commercially-originated shows and then arranged for their purchase and distribution through the public system would simply be duplicating the work of the CPB and PBS.

Government would be better advised to strengthen those public institutions financially, as originally envisioned.

by the Carnegie Report, before embarking on duplicative ventures. The public system has a long way to go to financial viability. Let Congress provide the funds and permit the system to make its own program judgments and purchase decisions. Some portion of commercially originated children's programming might very well find its way into public television as part of a total mix of self-produced and acquired materials, just as the system now carries notable examples of the best of British commercial adult programming, such as "Upstairs, Downstairs," and "A Family At War."

Finally, what are the prospects for making support for "good" commercial children's programming attractive to large corporations?

Such prospects exist. But business support is dependent on the same conditions that make for support of all public service, or semi-public service, programming. In the late sixties, the writer conducted a study of the potential for business support for the then-existing NET (National Educational Television). Our essential finding, based on confidential interviews with executives of leading American corporations, was that business support was dependent on how convinced the

corporation was, not that educational television was a worthy national enterprise, but that coming to its support would enhance the corporation's own ultimate marketing welfare -- that is, the medium was conceived as a political-public relations instrument. In recent years, a number of companies have found that it pays to be associated with the good works of Public Television, the oil companies in particular. This has been noted, sometimes critically, by the press.

Texaco, Inc.'s sponsorship of this Spring's telecast of "Danny Kaye's Look at the Metropolitan Opera" on CBS, and ITT's syndication of "The Big Blue Marble" are examples of how major corporations utilize children's programming to build good will where they think it will help them. We can expect more of this kind of advertiser involvement in the future. The question is, how much of it do we want?

To make children's programming attractive to advertisers, it is necessary to convince them there are valid company ends to be served. It is difficult for me to see government in the role of salesman, going to the advertiser who is in trouble with some government agency or is being soundly criticized in Washington for alleged monopolistic tendencies,

or whatever, and making out a case that association with children's television will help it in its government relations! Such selling is hardly the function of government.

This difficulty may possibly be avoided through the independent non-profit institution suggested earlier, which would act as a buffer between government and the television system. Much as the public medium goes about seeking business underwriting for programming, so could such an institution. Still, there should be no illusions. Corporate sponsorship will be undertaken for the political, public opinion reasons cited. One condition, therefore, that appears to be a requirement of sponsorship, is complete elimination of advertiser involvement in the development and production of the program. The models already exist in the policy of public television toward underwriting and of the commercial system toward news and public affairs.

As one looks ahead to a changing time with its continuing challenges, one is tempted to hope that there might be enough of a peace between the Federal establishment and the media to permit them to join together at times to serve the common good. I'd like to believe that there is more good will at work and harmony of motive in the places of power

than the cynics will accept. But perhaps they are right. Perhaps, our best course as a nation, in the long run, is to limit by design, with all deliberateness, how close together government and media can grow. Within those limits, though, it seems to me that there may be some valuable social ends to be served, and that we should not shrink from the gamble.



ADDENDUM

A.

Section 701 of Title VII of the Emergency School Aid Act (ESSA) reads:

"Sec. 702 (a) The Congress finds that the process of eliminating or preventing minority group isolation and improving the quality of education for all children often involves the expenditure of additional funds to which local educational agencies do not have access.

(b) The purpose of this title is to provide financial assistance:

(1) to meet the special needs incident to the elimination of minority group segregation and discrimination among students and faculty in elementary and secondary schools;

(2) to encourage the voluntary elimination, reduction or prevention of minority group isolation in elementary and secondary schools with substantial proportions of minority group students; and

(3) to aid school children in overcoming the educational disadvantages of minority group isolation.

"Sec. 711 (b) (1) The Assistant Secretary shall carry out a program of making grants to, or contracts with, not more than ten public or private non-profit agencies, institutions, or organizations with the capability of providing expertise in the development of television programming, in sufficient number to assure diversity, to pay the cost of development and production of integrated children's television programs of cognitive and affective educational value.

(2) Television programs developed in whole or part with assistance provided under this title shall be made reasonably available for transmission, free of charge, and shall not be transmitted under commercial sponsorship.

(3) The Assistant Secretary may approve an application under this section only if he determines that the applicant

(A) will employ members of minority groups in responsible positions in development, production, and administrative staffs;

(B) will use modern television techniques of research and production; and

(C) has adopted effective procedures for evaluating educational and other changes achieved by children viewing the program."

## Copyright Issues

### The Author

Eugene N. Aleinikoff, Esq., is a communications lawyer in the area of copyright issues in educational broadcasting. Currently, he is counsel to the Agency for Instructional Television, Bilingual Children's Television, Educational Development Center and the Public Broadcasting Service, among others. He is also a faculty lecturer on Copyright and Communications at Rutgers Law School of New Jersey, a member of the U. S. Copyright Office Copyright Revision Panel, and a member of the U. S. Department of State Copyright Advisory Committee.

### The Paper

In the following paper, "Rights, Residuals, and Royalties: A Legal Inquiry into Office of Education Grants for Educational Television Materials," Aleinikoff details the complex issues relating to copyright of television materials in general, and the even more complex, sometimes inconsistent, USOE regulations and guidelines for television materials. He builds a case that the public interest is best served through full copyright protection in the grantee's name, and suggests mechanisms for handling project-generated income. He also urges grants rather than contracts for USOE funding, as well as an increased Federal sensitivity to the unique complexities of television production.

Rights, Residuals and Royalties

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A Legal Inquiry  
into  
Office of Education Grants  
for  
Educational Television Materials

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By  
Eugene N. Aleinikoff, Esq.

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## I. Introduction.

As attorney for several recipients of Office of Education grants, as well as a one-time consultant to the National Institute of Education and a long-experienced public broadcasting lawyer, I have been intimately involved over the past several years in educational television projects financed wholly or partly by the Office of Education. In the course of this period, the Office of Education copyright and related policies -- to the extent that they have been developed and enunciated at all -- have shifted several times in scope, emphasis and substance. Too specific program regulations (e.g. the ESAA projects) have often been, and apparently continue to be, inconsistent with or contrary to the general Office of Education Regulations. Added to these difficulties are the multiple successive publications in the official Code of Federal Regulations (sometimes long after substantive amendment), the widely variant special conditions included in USOE grants (sometimes within the same project), and the differing general Terms and Conditions in the Appendix As attached to promulgated regulations (all numbered similarly but not the same in content) -- so much so that the USOE General

Counsel's Office has recently refused to venture an opinion as to which provisions actually govern an on-going project.

Part of this unsatisfactory situation undoubtedly stems from the varying statutory authorizations under which USOE television projects are funded. Another contributing factor is what seems to be a misguided attempt to regulate television series production in the same manner as more standard projects. And finally, there is an apparent insufficiency of television experience and expertise within the administrative staff at the Office of Education, which not only differs from Title to Title but is subject to frequent turnover within Titles.

The result has been an unfortunate lack of continuing, considered and consistent policy in the area of television rights, residuals and royalties. And there is no doubt that this has created serious problems for television grantees in the production, distribution and utilization of television series funded by the Office of Education.

## II. Scope of Inquiry.

As a preliminary matter, it is well to consider exactly what "rights, residuals and royalties" are involved in this inquiry.

Rights - Two types of television rights are often confused but must be distinguished -- namely, ownership rights and utilization rights.

1. Ownership Rights - the legal property rights in the series. These property rights, in turn, should be divided into (A) the intangible rights in the television content -- usually evidenced by the copyright, but also perhaps through contractual arrangements with content creators and participants (such as program writers and performers, film producers and movie libraries, "property" owners and literary publishers, photo agencies and music agencies etc.), and (B) the tangible rights in the television materials (such as the master and duplicating videotapes and film materials, broadcast and exhibition tapes and prints, videotape cassettes and audio-tape recordings etc.) -- usually evidenced by possessory documentation, laboratory arrangements or other contractual basis.

Under USOE grants, the intangible copyright rights may be non-existent (so that the series is in the public domain), fully copyrightable by the producing organization (and so protected for two terms of 28 years each) or partially copyrightable under limited permission from the Office of Education (for up to 5 or 7 years). Wherever copyrighted,



the Office of Education has invariably insisted on a full-scale royalty-free license for all governmental purposes.

Tangible master and negative materials rights have mostly been left to the producing organization for appropriate distribution purposes through normal channels. In early ESAA grants, however, the Office of Education has explicitly required delivery of a certain minimum number of television recordings, with the implicit assumption that the delivered recordings thus became USOE permanent property even if immediately authorized for outside distribution use. But it may well be that the ultimate possessory rights in these recordings has really not yet been finally determined, nor has there been any legal effort to assess the nature and extent of duplication and dubbing rights between the Office of Education, the producer, the distribution agency or others even if for proper uses as contemplated.

2. Utilization Rights - the permissible extent of distribution, broadcast, exhibition or other use. These utilization rights depend largely upon: (A) the underlying talent union arrangements -- including performers, directors, writers, musicians etc. -- which have been developed in both commercial and non-commercial television; and (B) copyright licensing arrangements -- primarily relating to published music, but also of importance in copyrighted books and per-

iodicals, films and photographs, fine arts and graphic illustrations.

Talent union arrangements differ greatly between commercial and non-commercial television due to the differences in program content, budget availabilities, producing organizations etc. Each union must be negotiated with separately and at periodic intervals, never longer than three years apart. All union agreements tend to be indecipherable except by specialized experts with historical knowledge and practical experience. The application of union rates and conditions to specific projects often requires additional discussions and understandings by the producers with the unions.

Copyright licensing operations are also complex. For example, music rights are customarily divided between (i) so-called "performing" rights licensed by ASCAP, BMI and SESAC for commercial television, but up to now exempted for non-commercial television, and (ii) so-called "synchronization" rights licensed directly by the publishers or through an agency -- both types of music rights being involved in the educational television series funded by the Office of Education. Literary rights are licensed by book and periodical publishers, if at all, on a case-by-case basis; photographs and film clips are available only by individual negotiation with the news agency or photographer holding the rights. In addition,

since stemming from an outdated 1909 law in the process of revision over the past twenty-five years, most copyright clearance procedures, practices and payments have devolved through industry patterns in the entertainment area rather than education field -- and "show-business" interests and school concerns are often very dissimilar.

The extent of broadcast and exhibition rights in a television series is often dependent upon the amount of payments to creative talent and copyright owners -- especially as professional talent and popular works become increasingly essential to program elements.

Residuals - "Residuals" is the television trade term applied to additional payments due to creative talent and copyright owners with respect to repeated and prolonged exposure of a television series. Habitually, initial payments to performers, musicians, directors etc. permit only limited broadcast or other exhibition privileges (in commercial television, production payments usually cover only the first network release; in non-commercial television, initial compensation often covers only the first three-year period). For additional use, additional payment must be made -- either in advance at the time of original production or later at the time of extended use.

Similar patterns are not infrequently imposed by copyright holders. For instance, music recording rights are generally licensed for a limited number of years, and with varying royalties for commercial and non-commercial broadcasting; literary rights permissions are often conditioned on repeated payments for successive releases.

It is rare indeed to be able to clear unlimited and perpetual television rights on a "buy-out" basis at the time of production so long as talent unions have jurisdiction or copyright works are used. Future use requires further payments -- and those payments may be separate and accumulative for non-commercial and commercial television, theatrical and non-theatrical exhibition, cable television and video-cassettes etc. Without funding for additional payments, an entire series may become completely unusable at the end of the initial permitted period no matter how high the original cost or how desirable the continued usefulness. And failure to clear even one minor element for such additional use can invalidate an entire program, no matter how extensive the acquired rights for all of the other program content.

Royalties. "Royalties", as a generic term, includes all possible financial income from a television project once it has been produced and broadcast. Such income may be derived (i) directly, from fees for foreign broadcast, audio-

visual distribution, cable TV origination etc., or (ii) indirectly, from the sale of a record album, development of attendant educational material, permission to use title, format, characters or content for selected commercial purposes such as games, puppets etc. When the activity is engaged in by the grantee alone or in co-partnership with another organization, the earnings may be considered more specifically to be "related income"; when received by the grantee under a license to another organization, the earnings may generally be referred to as "royalties". The difference may be mainly semantic, but unfortunately "royalties" and "related income" (or even "unrelated income") may have different tax-exemption consequences, and seem to have been treated dissimilarly in past and present USOE regulations.

In essence, earned income presents two kinds of problems: First, what kind of commercial exploitation should be permitted and under what type of safeguards (ESAA requirements for commercial broadcast without charge may not be meaningful in terms of industry practice; grantee eagerness to license T-shirts or dolls may not be of assistance to series impact). Second, how should earned income be used and by which agency (grantee retention may not forward the project; payment to the U.S. Treasury may preclude valuable project assistance).

III. USOE Regulations.

Any attempt to compile the USOE regulations related to this subject-matter cannot guarantee total completeness nor even current validity. From the available documents published by the Office of Education, the following seem to be at least the principal items of interest:

1. The General Provisions currently attached to "Negotiated Cost-Reimbursement Contracts (OE Form 5213, 4/69) contains the following:

"12. COPYRIGHT AND PUBLICATION

a. The term "materials" as used herein means writings, sound recordings, films, pictorial reproductions, drawings or other graphic representations, computer programs, and works of any similar nature produced or specified to be delivered under this contract. The term does not include financial reports, cost analyses and similar information incidental to contract administration.

b. It is the policy of the Office of Education that the results of activities supported by it should be utilized in the manner which would best serve the public interest. To that end, except as provided in paragraph c, the Contractor shall not assert any rights at common law or in equity or establish any claim to statutory copyright in such materials; and all such materials shall be made freely available to the Government, the education community, and the general public.

c. Notwithstanding the provisions of paragraph b above, upon request of the

Contractor or his authorized designee, arrangements for copyright of the materials for a limited period of time may be authorized by the Commissioner, through the Contracting Officer, upon a showing satisfactory to the Office of Education that such protection will result in more effective development or dissemination of the materials and would otherwise be in the public interest.

d. With respect to any materials for which the securing of copyright protection is authorized under paragraph c, the Contractor hereby grants a royalty-free, non-exclusive and irrevocable license to the Government to publish, translate, reproduce, deliver, perform, use, and dispose of all such materials.

e. To the extent the Contractor has the right and permission to do so, the Contractor hereby grants to the Government a royalty-free, non-exclusive and irrevocable license to use in any manner copyrighted materials not first produced in the performance of this contract but which are incorporated in the materials. The Contractor shall advise the Contracting Office of any copyrighted material known to it not to be covered by such license."

2. Almost identical provisions are repeated in paragraph 11 of the current "Grant Terms and Conditions" (OE Form 5241, 1/72). In addition, a paragraph 23 has been added which includes the following for "Grant-Related Income":

"a. ...Income derived by the grantee from activities supported or funded by the grant, other than Investment Income and Copyright Royalty Income is termed "Grant Related Income".

b. Grant-Related Income shall be disposed of, at the discretion of the Commissioner, in either one of the following two ways:

- (1) By returning the funds to the Federal Government (a) by reducing the level of expenditures from grant funds in an amount equal to the Federal share of the Grant-Related Income, (b) by treating the funds as a partial payment to the award of a succeeding (continuation) grant, or (c) by payment to miscellaneous receipts of the U.S. Treasury, or
- (2) By using the funds to further the purposes of the grant program from which the award was made.

No definition or disposition of "Copyright Royalty Income" is provided, presumably leaving that to the USOE "Copyright Guidelines".

3. The "Guidelines on Authorizing Copyright Protection for Materials Developed under Project Grants and Contracts", first published on May 9, 1970, effective June 8, 1970, outlines the method by which grantees and contractors can apply for limited copyright protection by virtue of a special agreement between the USOE and the grantee or contractor. Section 1(e) specifically states that:

"...The Commissioner of Education may authorize the securing of copyright to protect the integrity of the materials during development or as an incentive to promote the effective dissemination of first materials developed with USOE support. Such authorization will



be conditioned upon the copyright being cleared only for a specified limited period of time ... a period of less duration than the statutory copyright term:"

Under Section 3(f), such copyright protection is

"...generally not to exceed five (5) years, upon a showing that the materials can best be disseminated under copyright..."

As to royalties, the "Copyright Guidelines" provide in Section 10:

"Section 10 - Royalties

(a) As a basic proposition it is contemplated that each cosponsor of a project, if there is more than one, is entitled to share in any royalties from published materials resulting from that project in proportion to the financial or equivalent contribution to the project by the cosponsor.

(b) The grantee or contractor shall remit royalties from the sale or rental of the copyrighted materials to the Office of Education for transmittal to the U.S. Treasury. However, the Commissioner may authorize the grantee or contractor to retain a portion of the royalty income to defray administrative expenses to the grantee or contractor resulting from its compliance with the procedures of these Guidelines, and as an incentive to induce the grantee or contractor to develop better materials and to obtain more effective dissemination. The sharing will be accomplished in the following manner: (The grantee or contractor may elect to retain an amount of royalty determined from one of the following two alternative approaches).

1. Fifty percent of the net royalty. (Net royalty is defined as that amount remaining after deducting any share of shares due to

a cosponsor or cosponsors, other than the U.S. Government or the grantee or contractor, as contemplated in subsection 10(a) above).

2. That percentage which corresponds with the financial contribution to the project by the grantee or contractor. (If the grantee or contractor elects this latter alternative the burden of showing such contribution will be upon the grantee or contractor. However, the Commissioner reserves the right to accept or reject such a showing, and to specify the share, not less than fifty percent of the net royalty, to be retained by the grantee or contractor.)"

The USOE "Copyright Program Information" pamphlet, first printed April, 1971 and revised in February, 1972, comments further as follows:

"Grant/Contract Related Income and Investment Income: Copyright royalties must not be confused with other types of income which might be generated through publication of materials developed under a contract or grant. Copyright royalties are monies paid by a publisher to an author for permission to publish the author's work under copyright. Other proceeds do not qualify as copyright royalties even though they may be termed royalties. The only proceeds with which the Copyright Guidelines are concerned are true copyright royalties derived from the publication of materials generated under a contract or under a project grant.

Income (other than investment income) derived by the grantee from activities conducted under the grant is termed "grant-related income". This includes royalties derived from publication of materials generated under a State-administered formula grant program. Such income may be produced also by the ser-

VICES of individuals or by employing equipment, facilities or general services of the grantee organization. Any such grant is to be used by the grantee to further the purposes of the grant program. If the income cannot be so used, it is to be paid by the grantee to the U.S. Office of Education. However, that portion of royalties authorized to be retained by a contractor or project grantee in accordance with the Copyright Guidelines procedures may be utilized in any manner which the contractor or project grantee chooses.

The disposition of contract-related income (other than royalty income) under a cost type contract, will be treated in the same manner as grant-related income, i.e., if it cannot be utilized for contract purposes, it will be remitted to the Office of Education."

4. ESAA Regulations promulgated under the Emergency School Aid legislation (45 C.F.R. Part 185, February 6, 1973), specifically provide in Section 185.72(c):

"(c) Television programs developed in whole or in part with assistance made available under this subpart shall be made reasonably available for transmission, free of charge, and shall not be transmitted under commercial sponsorship. An application for assistance under this subpart shall include an assurance that the procedures to be followed, and the standards or criteria to be applied, in making such programs freely available for transmission will be developed in conjunction with the Assistant Secretary upon completion of production of a designated portion of the proposed television programming. For purposes of this paragraph, where the costs of transmission are met by a commercial firm, a brief statement to that effect at the be-

ginning or end of such transmission shall not be considered commercial sponsorship. No television program developed in whole or in part with assistance made available under this subpart shall be used or transmitted in such a manner as to result in a financial benefit to any person or organization."

In addition, the ESAA Grant Terms and Conditions in Appendix A to the ESAA Regulations provide the following in Sections 11 and 23:

"11. Copyright and publication. (a) The term "materials" as used herein means writing, sound recordings, aims, pictorial reproductions, drawings or other graphic representations, computer programs, and works of any similar nature produced under this grant. The term does not include financial reports, cost analyses, and similar information incidental to grant administration.

(b) It is the policy of the Department that the results of activities supported by it should be utilized in the manner which would best serve the public interest.

(c) Where the grant results in a book or other copyrighted materials, the author or Grantee is free to copyright such materials, but the Assistant Secretary reserves a royalty fee, nonexclusive, and irrevocable license to reproduce, publish, or otherwise use, and to authorize others to use such materials for Government purposes."

"23. Grant related income and investment income.

\* \* \*

(b) Royalties received from copyrights and patents, funds received from sale of

products or services, fees received for personal services, where such funds are derived from activities supported or funded by the grant, are termed "Grant Related Income". Accountability for Grant Related Income shall be satisfied in accordance with the following requirements:

(1) Funds received from royalties on copyrights or patents during the grant period shall be retained by the Grantee and either (a) added to the funds already committed to the program, or (b) deducted from total project costs for the purpose of determining the net costs on which the Federal share of cost will be based.

(2) After termination or completion of the grant, the Federal share of royalties in excess of \$200 received annually shall be returned to the Assistant Secretary for deposit as Miscellaneous Receipts in the U.S. Treasury. The Federal share of royalties shall be computed on the same basis as the Federal share of the total project cost:

(3) All other income earned during the grant period shall be retained by the Grantee and shall be either (a) added to funds committed to the project by the Government and the Grantee and used to further eligible program objectives, (b) deducted from the total project costs which, for budgetary or other reasons, have previously been treated as non-reimbursable. Such income may not be used to reimburse the Grantee for unallowable costs."

Section 23 does not, however, contain any provision as to the disposition of non-royalty grant related income" which may be earned after the grant period.

5. The General Grant Terms and Conditions in Appendix A to the Revised USOE Regulations, 45 C.F.R. Parts 100-100c (November 6, 1973) provides in paragraph 10:

"10. Copyrights. a. Any material of a copyrightable nature produced under the grant shall be subject to 45 C.F.R. 100a. 219(a) (Copyrights). Materials produced by trainees or fellows are not considered to be produced under the grant unless they are produced at the direction of the grantee.

b. With respect to any materials for which the securing of a copyright protection is authorized, the grantee hereby grants a royalty-free non-exclusive and irrevocable license to the Government to publish, translate, reproduce, deliver, perform, use, and dispose of all such materials for governmental purposes.

c. To the extent the grantee has or acquires the right and permission to do so, the grantee hereby grants to the Government a royalty-free, nonexclusive and irrevocable license to use in any manner for governmental purposes, copyrighted material not first produced in the performance of this grant but which is incorporated in other materials so produced. The grantee shall advise the grants officer of any such copyrighted material known to it not to be covered by such a license.

The reference back to Section 100a. 219(a) (Copyrights) in turn states that:

"(2) Any material of a copyrightable nature produced by a recipient other than a State or local government with Federal assistance shall be subject to the copyright policy of the U.S. Office of Education set forth in

its "Copyright Guidelines" of May 9, 1970 (35 F.R. 7317) or any subfraction thereof in effect at the time of the award."

As to Program Income, paragraph 22 provides, simply for compliance with Part 100(a), Subpart M (Program Income). And Section 100a.234 of Subpart M also refers back to Section 100a.219(a)(2) which again refers to the Office of Education "Copyright Guidelines" as to disposition of copyright royalties during the grant period, without any provision for copyright royalties received after the grant period except for state and local governmental agencies. Section 100a.235 permits the recipient to retain all program income other than copyright royalties earned during the grant period for project purposes, but is silent as to all other program income earned after the grant period.

6. The proposed new rules for "Copyrightable Materials Developed Under Office of Education Program", published in the Federal Register on January 23, 1975 for possible subsequent adoption, contain similar but different versions, which would presumably also apply to ESAA Projects as well.

Proposed Section 100a.221-3 would define "material" simply as:

"any copyrightable work resulting from a federally-funded grant or contract."

As to such material, the proposed USOE copyright policy is set forth as:



"100a. 221-2 Copyright policy.

(a) It is the policy of the Office of Education that material resulting from Federally-assisted activities should be used in a manner which will best serve the public interest. This can be accomplished in some situations by distribution of the material without copyright. However, it is recognized that copyright protection may be desirable during development, as an incentive to promote effective dissemination, or otherwise in serving the public interest.

(b) Material which is subject to the provisions of this subpart shall not be copyrighted except as provided under this subpart.

(c) Arrangements for copyright of material for a limited period of time may be authorized by the Commission under appropriate conditions upon a showing satisfactory to the Commissioner that copyright protection will result in more effective development or dissemination of the material or would otherwise be in the public interest."

Proposed Sec. 100a.222-2 also states:

"a. The Commissioner may authorize a recipient to obtain publication under copyright and to claim the copyright for a specific period, generally not to exceed five (5) years, upon a showing that the material can best be disseminated under copyright."

Proposed Section 100a. 234 then provides with respect to copyright royalties:

"(d) During and after the grant period -- other recipients -- copyrights. (1) This paragraph applies only to copyright royalties. (whether received during or after the grant period) of recipients other than



State and local governments (except as provided in 100a. 221-1(b)).

(2) Each co-sponsor of a project is entitled to share in any royalties from published material (as defined in 100a.221-3) in proportion to the financial or equivalent contribution to the Federally-assisted project by the co-sponsor.

(3) (i) Except as provided in paragraph (d)(3)(ii) of this section, the recipient shall remit royalties from the sale or rental of copyrighted material to the Commissioner for transmittal to the U.S. Treasury.

(ii) The recipient may retain a portion of the royalty income equal to one of the following amounts, whichever is greater:

(a) Fifty percent of the net royalty ("Net royalty" is defined as that amount remaining after deducting any share or shares due to a cosponsor or cosponsors, other than the Federal Government or the recipient); or

(b) The percentage which corresponds with the financial contribution to the project by the recipient. (If the recipient elects this alternative, the burden of showing such contribution shall be on the recipient. The Commissioner reserves the right to accept or reject such a showing and to specify the share, not less than 50 percent of the net royalty, to be retained by the recipient).

(4) Contractors other than nonprofit organizations or agencies are not permitted to share in royalties under paragraph (d)(3) of this section. However, arrangements may be made to allow such contractors to retain royalties to defray administrative expenses, not otherwise recoupable under the contract, which are incurred in obtaining publication of this material under copyright in accordance with this subpart."

#### IV. Nature of Educational Television

The vastly different nature of educational television -- not only from textbooks and other print material, but equally from commercial television broadcasting and entertainment feature films -- cannot be overemphasized.

Development. Instructional television series are not born instantly, but must gestate for up to two years after initial inception to be healthy and hearty academic offspring. Recent experience has shown that the teaching curriculum must be carefully and systematically prepared, that instructional concepts must be conceived, critiqued and repeatedly revised, that television treatments must be thoroughly tested through assorted formative research methods, and that even completed programs must be painstakingly checked and re-checked before final approval for broadcast.

To get leading authorities in the educational field together to develop a course of study cannot be validly accomplished in less than six months to a year at the minimum, to meld educational authorities with media specialists for television translation must occupy at least a similar period. The first production efforts -- from writing to assembly -- can optionally be accomplished in a third six-months. All of these stages must be finished before a pilot (or pre-pilot, in many cases) can be put together, tested and re-done. And only

then can actual series production preparation be begun in any sensible fashion.

The great need for and value of this kind of thorough research and development -- both in subject-matter and presentation -- cannot be overestimated, whether in-school or at-home audiences are the target. The financial stakes are too high and the academic investment too large to permit lesser efforts to avoid increasing what are already the considerable risks in television enterprises.

Production. As contrasted with other educational media, an instructional television series is an enormously expensive, infinitely complex and extremely difficult undertaking requiring (i) a wide variety of skilled talents such as content authorities, media specialists, television professionals (including such diversified talents as film makers, directors, writers, composers, photographers, artists -- and also actors, musicians and other performers), (ii) large-scale technical facilities and services (including television studios, film laboratories, electronic and film editing services -- all serviced by crews, engineers and other technical personnel); and (iii) assorted advisory committees and consulting experts -- all under what must be an extremely competent management and continually serviced by accounting, legal and administrative staffs. Annual series may consist of as many as 130 separate hours of programming, a large-scale enterprise re-

quiring highly complicated coordination, unrelenting creative efforts, and increasingly expensive budgets. The operation can be expected to succeed only with ample preparation time, continuing basic staff, inspirational team leadership and adequate financial support -- together with a generous helping of organizational morale and functional independence.

Educational print and audio-visual materials are generally much smaller in scope and simpler in preparation. The textbook author works almost alone, perhaps with an illustrator; even the anthology publisher may not be a large-scale enterprise. Educational films and instructional film-strips usually can be produced by small and compact staffs, whose work product principally reflects their own personal efforts. Entertainment films and television programs clearly need no educational specialists nor professional acceptability by the school boards and college faculties across the country, but can be aimed solely to please and capture an admission-paying or advertisement-susceptible audience.

In short, an educational television series must meld the instructional and creative worlds in an intense and immense way encountered almost nowhere else. It therefore can never be simply the by-product of a research project, or but a minor part of an overall teaching program; by its very nature, an instructional television series must invariably be

the prime object of its own federal grant or contract specifically aimed at its production and distribution.

Distribution. Equally important are the distribution aspects of educational television. Telecourses are principally made available through broadcast over the non-commercial educational television stations which cover over 90% of the United States. They can reach those stations in a variety of ways: e.g. if aimed at a home audience, through the Public Broadcasting Service interconnection, Public Television Library circulation, regional network distribution etc.; if aimed at in-school utilization, through the Agency for Instructional Television, Great Plains Television Library, state educational television networks etc. Beyond ETV broadcast, instructional series may at times be carried on commercial television stations as a public service (not too often), over CATV educational channels (still in infancy), on established low-frequency or closed-circuit facilities (growing in importance) -- or most often for classrooms, distributed on 16mm films for direct projection or audiotape cassettes for electronic playback. And the eventual possibility of direct satellite transmission to both homes and schools should probably not be ignored.

The mere provision of distribution materials -- videotapes, films, cassettes -- in all of the necessary for-

mats is not an inconsiderable or inexpensive enterprise. Electronic and film transference requires high-cost technical equipment of several diverse types; dubbing and duplicating in quantity requires large-scale laboratory facilities which are not currently provided by many commercial or non-commercial institutions. The additional arrangements necessary for coordinated distribution is often time-consuming and patience-trying in the constantly changing educational television and audio-visual community.

Ancillary Materials. It can safely be said that all educational television series must involve related print and other materials in order to best attain their objectives. Instructional courses can seldom be fully utilized without teachers' guides and/or student workbooks; educational series have a pronounced tendency to branch out into related products such as books, games, records, dolls etc. -- for teaching and promotional purposes.

Merchandising efforts are, of course, not unknown in connection with commercial television programs or entertainment motion pictures. But there, again, the primary motive is commercial sales and profits. In the case of instructional television, financial gain must be balanced against teaching utility and can be outweighed by harmful effects. And the accompanying ancillary material is far more likely to

be built in as an integral part in the educational experience than merely be derived from a successful TV show.

In short, a television series alone can be expected to have but limited impact. Only when conjoined with related visual and aural materials -- whether books, records, slides etc. -- can full usefulness be achieved as an educational tool.

V. Copyright and Control.

Copyright is a method of protecting creative material from unauthorized exploitation. In the context of publicly funded television projects, copyright does not have merely the usual commercial connotation of rewarding authors for their work and protecting publishers in their investments, or providing private property interests in what might otherwise be freely available.

There is no question but that publicly funded educational materials should be the best that can be created and as widely used as possible for the benefit of the American public. The question remains, however, as to what copyright policies will further the highest-quality television production and the most extensive television use. Because of its inherent nature, full-term copyright -- subject to reasonable availability requirements -- would appear most advantageous in this regard.

There are two sides to the copyright interest: the necessity for copyright protection for creative activities and licensed content; and the desirability of copyright protection to prevent injurious exploitation and encourage desired exposure.

A. Series Production. The case has often been made that film makers, music composers, star performers, and



others are invariably unwilling to create material which will go to the public domain or compete unrestrictedly with other works they may have created or be used commercially without additional payment. These professionals are generally happy to contribute to a public-interest project, but are rightfully concerned about their own non-protection -- especially from what they would consider unwarranted commercial exploitation without due compensation.

By the same token, publishers and photographers, motion picture distributors and television production companies are even more unwilling to jeopardize their existing copyrighted works, or valuable properties otherwise protected by copyright, by authorized re-publication in a television series without copyright notice. There is considerable legal authority to the effect that re-publication without notice (whether the original or a new notice) can invalidate the original copyright even if in a later compilation or derivative work. It is no wonder that King Features requires copyright notices to protect "cameo" appearances of Superman, Captain Marvel et al on "Sesame Street", or that the lawyers for most literary agents and film distributors are deeply concerned about appropriate copyright protection for an episode from a play or segment of a movie shown on television.

Finally, the talent union residual structure must be remembered. For how can residual payments be calculated, let alone policed, if the overall vehicle is in the public domain and thus usable for absolutely limitless commercial as well as non-commercial purposes without legal or other restraint?

B. Series Use. A valid instructional television program must by definition be conceived and presented, like good classroom teaching, in an organized and logical fashion. To permit isolated portions to be taken out of context and exploited commercially would be a clear disservice to education. Indeed failure to copyright would be an open invitation to unscrupulous entrepreneurs to use bits and pieces for such undesirable purposes as television spot commercials, film footage libraries and toy viewing gimmicks.

Similar exploitative commercial piracy can be made of program titles and characters. The necessary litigation against unqualified "Sesame Street Nursery Schools" and shoddy "Muppet" puppets is a vivid indication of the ever-present dangers from television popularity. Such piracy cannot be ignored; nor can it be prevented successfully without at least overall program copyright protection.

There is also the matter of television distribution and licensing practice. Television stations must and

should always look to the program distributor to insure program clearances and rights; the distributor in turn looks to the program producer/owner for similar assurances. The program copyright is the best, if not only, evidence of ownership/control sufficient to assure the requisite warranties and indemnities. And without these warranties and indemnities, few if any commercial or non-commercial stations can broadcast without legal risk; indeed, television stations with broadcast insurance policies are specifically required to seek such warranties and indemnities on all outside programs (which are always, as a matter of fact, provided by the Public Broadcasting Service as well as by the three commercial networks, based upon underlying guarantees from program producer/owners).

Finally, there is the growing technical capability to duplicate television programs on-loan, off-air or otherwise unauthorizedly by videotape cassette and other devices. Under these circumstances, control of the original negative or master videotape is no longer an effective method of control without copyright protection as well.

The result of all of these factors has been apparent Office of Education approval of full copyright wherever so requested for the educational television series it has so far funded. And it is this copyright in the grantee's name

that has made national acceptance by the Public Broadcasting Service possible not only for "Sesame Street" and "The Electric Company" series, but also for "Villa Alegre" and other ESAA series. It is also of some interest to note that the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, in funding television production, has pursued a policy, at least up to now, of providing for copyright in the name of the producing station or organization, and that all of the other federal funding agencies -- such as the National Institutes of the Arts and of the Humanities and the National Science Foundation -- have followed the same course.

Hence, the question arises as to whether the USOE's general "Copyright Policy Guidelines" -- with its clear prejudice against producers' copyrights and voiced preference for limiting exceptionally approved copyright to five years -- should be applicable at all to television projects. It might be argued that copyright is never essential beyond the usable life of a series, and that in any event, removal from copyright even while usable might in the long run increase distribution and use -- on the theory that limited copyright might be sufficient protection for immediate distribution, but that later on the same considerations that preclude U.S. Governmental copyright altogether should apply. The short answer

is first, that the life of a television series is always difficult to estimate (viz. the current interest in the "silent" films of the 1910s and 1920s), and the end of the usefulness of some presently distributed telecourses has not been reached after 10 years or so. And second, it is just as, if not more, possible to reach the result of the widest possible distribution without sacrificing the maximum desirable protection through availability requirements rather than copyright limitations. In this respect, the ESAA statutory mandate that funded series be made "reasonably available without charge" appears to be a step in the right direction so long as "reasonably available" can be practically defined and "without charge" not interpreted too narrowly. And the willingness of the USOE ESAA regulations to permit unrestricted copyright by the grantee in furtherance of that objective seems easily superior to imposing arbitrary time limitations.

In other words, copyright is not necessarily a restrictive concept -- but instead can enable proper utilization in planned directions in place of aimless diffusion. Copyright should therefore be viewed much more as an aid rather than a hindrance to television dissemination -- however long the life of or wide the interest in the funded series. And so long as the pertinent distribution requirements ensure

that schools and students can easily obtain and make use of the produced programs at rates and fees which cover the distribution costs (including promotion and previewing, duplication and delivery, repair and maintenance, administration and servicing etc.) -- but do not overcharge for the production cost already funded by the federal government or collect an unconscionable profit for either a commercial or non-commercial enterprise -- the proprietor's copyright can in no way impede efficacious use while deterring improper misuse.

All of the foregoing is not to assert categorically that absolutely no educational television project can do without full copyright protection. There may be cases where the subject-matter is so general, the program content so public and the desired exposure so unexceptional that copyright may not be essential or desirable after a limited period, if at all. A possible example is the so-called "spot" inserts produced by Station WTTW in Chicago under ESAA funding -- but even there, however, the use of professional musicians would seem to negate any true "buy-out" of all A.F. of M. residuals, and the refusal of the Public Broadcasting Service to carry nationwide for reasons of government content control could appear to bespeak the desirability of clear station ownership and control (both of which can best be vouchsafed by

copyright ownership). And there is also the slight chance of public-service announcements or programs on health-care, consumer assistance, research material etc. which are analogous to many of the government publications printed at the General Printing Office and sold at minimal prices (but with no publicity, little direct availability outside of Washington, and long mail-delivery delays) with unrestricted opportunity for re-packaging, additional promotion and higher-price sale by commercial reprint firms.

But these possible exceptions should not be permitted to create a rule that substantially taxes every producer in effort and money and requires governmental administrative staff-time and decision-weighting -- all of which can better be devoted to project betterment. In effect, the better answer would appear to be to reverse the current USOE copyright posture for television projects. Rather than requiring all producers to apply in detail for copyright permission, the "Copyright Guidelines" might well be amended to automatically permit copyright registration for all television series as is currently provided in the ESAA Regulations, subject only to whatever copyright limitations may be specified in the Project Authorization --and, of course, to the Government's own royalty-free license (whatever its exact



scope may be). This procedure is clearly consistent with actual USOE past practice, and would eliminate unnecessary bureaucratic delays and difficulties -- while, at the same time, retaining USOE's opportunity to apply special safeguards where advisable.

Copyright preference in educational television would not do violence to public interest considerations, nor result -- as has been queried in the past -- in so-called "double" payment by the American people (presumably, the claim goes, once out of federal appropriated monies in funding production and again out of state or local educational budgets in licensing fees). Certainly, production costs should not be included in use-charges if already publicly funded -- and no responsible non-commercial educational distributor would suggest otherwise. On the contrary, the issue might be raised in reverse by commercial film distributors, on the ground that the government would be subsidizing competing instructional materials and making them available at reduced rates which must unfairly compete with commercial product. The seriousness of this argument should not be underestimated-- but its overall impact goes not so much to the copyright question but to the justification for federally-funded television material.



Nor can the problem be solved by compelling USOE television series to be disseminated through commercial distributors -- since the possibility of duplicate charges would then become even greater in the face of the clear undesirability of two different rate structures for potential users. The real answer can only be in taking as a basic assumption that USOE-funded materials are for specific purposes that would not otherwise be serviced by commercial or non-commercial sources -- and that their public availability must be under such conditions (including reduced rates reflecting only servicing costs) as will obtain widest possible use within available program rights.

## VI. Distribution and Residuals

There is no question but that obtaining unrestricted and unlimited use rights in all program elements would be the most advantageous way to ensure complete series availability when, as and if wanted. To a great extent these wide use rights can be obtained in personal releases, musical "needle-drop" licenses, library photo purchases and other more-or-less standard program items, as well as from animation artists and film makers who are specifically commissioned to produce and deliver their work for television. With respect to these program elements, then, there is no difficulty in distributing the series for any and all kinds of broadcast transmission, exhibition or other use without additional consents or payments. To that extent, the so-called "buy-out" of program rights is both possible and desirable -- and is easily accomplished in most educational films, film strips and recordings produced for school and home use.

But television is different. For it is equally unquestionable that repeated talent residuals and continuing copyright royalties have long been indigenous to television production. Early in the history of broadcasting, the talent unions became sufficiently aware of commercial re-broadcast potentialities to bargain successfully for additional com-

compensation for actors, writers, directors and musicians involved in program production. Even before that, broadcast music clearance had been conditioned on time and geographical restrictions. While at first limited to commercial broadcasting, similar re-use payment patterns -- somewhat eased in use coverage and fee payment -- have been adapted to non-commercial broadcasting as well. The result is that continuing exposure over both commercial and non-commercial television usually requires talent and copyright payments long after series production has been completed and distribution arrangements established.

The total amount of residual payments applicable to individual series may or may not be considerable depending upon the nature of the program content and the type of the creative contributions. But one fact of life is certain: while future usage payments can usually be made in advance, both talent unions and copyright holders will strongly resist "buy-outs" even for educational material of determinable utility.

Indeed, national broadcast patterns are quite the opposite. Commercial program performers receive per-broadcast fees up to a maximum number (usually seven) of runs; commercial spot fees are repayable to actors for each thirteen

weeks of use. In public broadcasting, actors and musicians are paid for successive three-year periods (with a limited number of "releases" during each three-year period for the former, and no permission at all after two three-year periods for the latter). Similar repeated payments are always sought and usually received by television writers' and directors' unions.

The effects of this residual payment situation are three-fold: First, initial production budgets must include advance payments for predictable future use (which must, of course, be balanced between talent desirability and budget allowances). Second, some provision must be made for whatever further use later turns out to be desirable (either through provision at the beginning or thereafter of a contingency fund or by passing the residual payments in some way over to the subsequent distributors and users). Third, residual fee amounts and possible use options must be established uniformly by the various USOE producers to the maximum extent and at the earliest time possible.

Advance payments, however, will generally not be calculated in production budgets -- especially by new or inexperienced production agencies -- unless specifically requested by the Office of Education at the time of the production grant. The result has often been the later discovery of

talent fee deficits of sizeable proportions, which either must be made up by increased payment out of other budget categories (to the detriment of series quality) or by reduced payment of subsequent use fees out of production funds (to the detriment of series use) -- unless unilaterally subsidized by the producing agency itself or additionally funded by the Office of Education (neither of which is really desirable or easily accomplished under most circumstances).

The only cure is for clear delineation of actual proposed use at the time of budget preparation, acceptance and approval. This proposed use must, in turn, be geared in to practical funding availabilities when inter-related with probably program content. More important, it must always accord with proposed distribution plans -- which therefore must be formulated and determined in the initial planning stages as part of the original proposal, and not at some subsequent stage after production has been begun. In short, distribution must be considered equally importantly with and as integral as production in project proposals -- from the point of view of both producing agencies and the Office of Education.

But substantial questions still remain as to how to manage residual payments even if actually determined prior to or during production. The most preferable course would clearly seem to be to withhold payment of required talent

residuals beyond program production payments until actually due -- as is the normal television operating procedure. But this is probably not practical in the case of USOE grants and contracts due to annual appropriations restrictions, finite funded amounts, and expenditure time limitations. Producer reservation of a contingency fund for up to ten years -- even if available in the grant amount -- is simply not practical in most cases. The only alternative under existing conditions would seem to be to assess probable series utility at the conclusion of the initially paid-up period, and then either provide a further grant out of a special USOE fund for that purpose (akin to the CPB/PBS "step-up" fund) or seek to have the program distributing agency or agencies take on the burden out of user-license fees (a difficult task, to say the least, since it may well necessitate increased fees for older materials).

Probably more important, therefore, is the possibility of reaching new accommodations with the various talent unions and chief copyright interests which would be specifically applicable to USOE-funded educational series apart from current commercial and non-commercial broadcasting patterns. This would not only serve to reduce the residual financial burden; it could also ease the virtually impossible task of pre-estimating series use and life, as well as permit uniform consistency of payment conditions for producing agencies across the country.

The talent unions and copyright interests have often expressed great sympathy for USOE aims and objectives -- and respect its attempts to encourage television and radio as teaching tools rather than merely as entertainment enterprises. It may well be a propitious time for the Office of Education, together with whatever commercial and non-commercial broadcasting agencies may be interested, to assemble an advisory group or consultative conference of talent union and copyright proprietor representatives to help work out residual payment practices of benefit both to series producers and program participants. This inter-discussion should, however, not be in the nature of union-management labor negotiations or proprietor-licensee copyright clearances, but rather a mutual attempt to ease the financial difficulties and administrative burdens presently inherent on both sides in wide-scale and long-lived use of USOE-funded projects.



VII. Incremental Uses and Income.

Incremental uses are standard for educational television, above and beyond the usual teachers' guides and student workbooks normally prepared for instructional series. While comparatively subsidiary to the main educational thrust of USOE television projects, these incremental uses have often in the past led to prickly problems in USOE-producer relationships.

Ancillary Uses. Other than its general copyright admonitions relating to commercial publication of research materials, USOE regulations do not appear to include Office of Education participation in, let alone direction of, supplemental uses of television series or ancillary adaptation of program elements. While this type of USOE control could presumably be included in the grant or contract special conditions or as a condition of USOE copyright approval, the Office of Education has apparently not developed any established policy on the preferably permissible auxiliary or ancillary uses -- educational or otherwise -- of funded television projects.

The additional exposure and exploitation possibilities are many. The series itself can be distributed to schools on 16mm film, sold on cassettes for home use, or redesigned for other instructional purposes; it can also be televised as-is in English-speaking countries or re-adapted



for foreign language broadcast in other parts of the world. Related audio-visual educational materials -- books, records, magazines, slides -- can be developed for students and teachers, children and parents, in school or at home, or both. Titles can become so well known as to constitute valuable trademarks; characters can easily be turned into three-dimensional dolls and puppets; formats can be the source of games and play-equipment.

Commercial television series have often given rise to attendant merchandising opportunities ranging from toys to T-shirts, from foods to fads, and from retail coloring books to company give-aways. And now this past reality of commercial life has begun to apply to educational series as well.

It seems clear, however, that careful safeguards are especially essential for government-funded series. In short, the grantee-contractor must be held responsible to ensure that (i) the authorized program uses in the U.S. and abroad advance the exposure of the series and are consistent with its aims and purport, rather than simply used as catalogue fill-ins, popular audience-getters, software come-ons for hardware sales, or otherwise for primarily commercial advantage; and that (ii) merchandising exploitation results in tested articles and approved adaptations that are superior in

design and quality, and look toward educational utility rather than merely entertainment value.

To a great extent, the non-profit institutional grantee or contractor should itself be expected to maintain the professional integrity of series use and program-related adaptation. For ancillary materials may not only be useful for educational augmentation or commercial consumption, but also as series promotional aid and as outside underwriting attraction. These determinations cannot easily or appropriately be made, or even supervised, in detail by the Office of Education, but are better left to the grantee/contractor with firsthand knowledge and intimate concern -- subject, perhaps, to broad USOE policy affirmations as to the general type of ancillary uses and adaptations deemed appropriate for federally-funded series.

These USOE ancillary use and adaptation policies should, it is suggested, be formulated not by the Office of Education alone but on the basis of proposals from and considerations of a representative panel of program producers, broadcasting organizations, educational associations, citizens groups and other interested institutions. Such matters as whether and what commercial advertisements should be permitted during or adjacent to series broadcast, whether and what program elements might be made available for product prem-

ium purposes, whether merchandising or subsidiary rights can be licensed on a non-exclusive rather than exclusive basis, what royalties ought to be charged and what kind of commissions should be payable etc. -- broad guidelines for all of these can be formulated within which producing organizations can successfully operate without infringing upon their primary responsibility or negotiation ability. In this way, no producer would have an unfair advantage over other USOE-funded series, since all would conform to the same general principles; at the same time, undesirable governmental control through ad hoc decisions by inexperienced personnel would be effectively avoided.

Disposal of Income. The various USOE regulations are not so silent about the disposal of "grant-related income" as they are about ancillary use authorization -- but they leave much to be desired in consistency:

A. USOE "Contract General Provisions" apparently are intended to leave income disposal provisions to the "Copyright Guidelines" governing the grant of copyright privileges. The "Copyright Guidelines" in turn, initially call for payment to the Office of Education but then permit the grantee or contractor to retain 50% (or) proportionately more, if the contractor or grantee has itself contributed more than 50% to the

project) of "net royalties" for whatever use -- in connection with the project or not -- the grantee/contractor desires. Under the "Copyright Program Information" booklet, contract-related income other than copyright royalties may be retained 100% by the contractor to further the project -- and only if not so usable is to be paid over to the Office of Education.

B. USOE "Grant Terms and Conditions" specifically reposes the distribution of grant-related income, other than the copyright royalties governed by the "Copyright Guidelines", in the Office of Education, which may decide that the grantee either (i) return all grant-related income (like "investment income") to the federal government -- either by deducting the amount from the grant or paying the amount over to the U.S. Treasury, or (ii) use the funds to further the grant program.

C. ESAA Regulations provide for payment of all copyright royalties received during the grant period to be retained by the grantee to be added to the project or credited as grantee's contribution to the project, and all other grant-related income received during the grant period either to be added to the project or deducted from non-reimbursable (but not "unallowable" -- whatever the distinction may be) project costs. After the end of the grant period, the federal share of royalties over \$200 must be paid to the Office of Edu-

cation for deposit in U.S. Treasury Miscellaneous Receipts, but no provision is made for other grant-related income after the grant period -- which can presumably be retained by the grantee without any conditions whatsoever.

D. The Revised USOE Grant Terms and Conditions repeat the "Copyright Guidelines" 50%-50% split between the government and the grantee of copyright royalties and permit retention of 100% by the grantee of other program income received during the grant period -- but makes no reference to royalties or other income received after the grant period.

E. The proposed new USOE regulations on "Copyrightable Materials" published on January 23, 1975 permits the grantee/contractor to retain 50% (or the percentage of the project contributed by the grantee/contractor, if greater) of all copyright royalties earned during or after the grant period. No mention is made of other income since not within the purview of the copyright rules.

If there is some logical thread to all of these various regulations, one or more of which may be concurrently applicable according to its or their terms -- it is difficult to find or justify. In television programs, the grant period applies to program production but not intended use -- which is expected to continue for many years thereafter, and in-

volves additional expense for maintenance, updating, residuals, etc. In series licensing, whether the receipts from ancillary uses are denominated as royalties and other income can usually be shaped either way in the legal documents without changing rights or obligations. But even more, in all broadcasting projects, certain types of extra income can probably be anticipated -- even though never in the quantities hoped for.

The trouble is that all of the varying USOE income payment and sharing conditions have been developed for projects where related income is more or less fortuitous and incidental. Neither 100% payment to the government, 100% retention by the grantee nor 50%-50% sharing can really logically or morally be defended on any ground other than expediency -- and the vacillations in USOE policy from time to time, program to program and project to project are prime evidence to that effect. Nor is there reason to distinguish between copyright and other income earned during and after the grant period/contract term, as some of the USOE regulations currently provide, albeit in contrary ways. It would seem, therefore, that a more sensible policy can and should be established for television projects, if only because of the singular nature and probable expectancy of product use.

A possible alternative course would appear more sensible: that instead of payment to the U.S. Treasury (and certain loss of the funds to the project) or retention by the grantee (and possible loss of the funds to the project), all project income be maintained in a special fund for furthering the distribution and use of the television series from which derived. This additional project assistance may take the form of more or better instructional attendant materials, of additional program duplication, maintenance and repair activities, or even more, of residual payments and content revisions, to permit extended usefulness.

Any such special project fund would seem best entrusted to the grantee/contractor as the responsible administrator and knowledgeable party, subject to USOE audit supervision and with definitive provision for final disposition if not devoted to the resulting series during its entire use period. Final disposition could, of course, take the form of application to another USOE television series or educational project, or even to other educational programs of the grantee/contractor acceptable to the Office of Education. But there is no reason why the special account cannot be jointly administered, or administered by a committee, on which the USOE is represented, to ensure continuing accounting protection to the Federal Government.



The suggested project fund would not only have the advantage of materially furthering the project where and when original grant funds can no longer be of assistance. It would also avoid the kind of USOE income-sharing determinations that in most cases far outweigh what is warranted by the actual amounts of realized funds. And finally, it accords completely with the legislative objective behind USOE television projects, and makes appropriated federal funds go much farther in reaching those goals.



VIII. Contracts/Grants and Subcontracts.

There are two related legal or semi-legal questions which have arisen in connection with Office of Education television projects, and bear consideration apart from direct relation to rights, residuals and royalties: First, whether USOE television funding should take the form of "contracts" or "grants"; and second, what production arrangements should be deemed "subcontracts" subject to general competitive bidding procedures and specific USOE approvals.

Contracts/Grants. In U.S. Government parlance, there has historically been a somewhat formal distinction between funding grants and production contracts. Needless to say, equally detailed and restrictive permissions may be attached to grants or included in contracts. But "contracts" tend to be viewed like government purchase orders, while "grants" are usually thought of in the context of government contributions to independent projects. A "contract" implies production for the government, with the resulting product shaped in accordance with strict specifications, and upon completion, owned lock-stock-and-barrel by the government. A "grant" implies production by the grantee through government assistance, with the resulting product planned and executed primarily by the grantee and upon completion, owned and

controlled by the grantee.

There are good reasons for funding educational television projects as "grants" rather than "contracts". A "contract" must inevitably imply -- both to USOE officials and to the outside world -- USOE control and ownership much beyond what is desirable for educational television projects. Not only is it standard USOE policy to restrain itself from educational content interference; it is also the policy of both the broadcasting and educational communities to be extremely wary of any television material which is subject to governmental direction.

The basic premise of all USOE projects is that education is a local affair and that federal control is inimical with American democracy. Indeed, almost all other USOE programs are funded through state and local educational agencies: educational television series should be no different, and should be financed through responsible agencies capable of maintaining educational integrity and television quality on their own and without any supervision by the Office of Education except for program delivery and fiscal accountability. Only in this way will USOE-financed series find acceptability in school systems and over broadcast outlets -- both of which have a deepseated suspicion of government information and federal propaganda, especially when aimed at children of school age.

Government ownership also presents practical difficulties. Since under federal law, government works are not susceptible to copyright, copyrighting USOE-owned series in the producers' name would be subject to serious question even if provided for in the contract. Nor, as a government agency, can the Office of Education provide the kind of legal warranties and indemnities most broadcast and audio-visual distribution agencies require. Producer ownership is, by universal agreement, a great deal more appropriate and desirable in both the educational and television areas -- and should not be denied on either bureaucratic or formalistic grounds.

Sub-contracts. While USOE grants and controls are normally subject to advertised competitive-bid procedures for sub-contract procurement, exceptions are permissible for sole-source availability, personal or professional services, and other similar reasons. Up to recently, public advertisement and competitive bid requirements had been thought limited to the technical facilities used in television production -- and even then on an informal proposal comparison basis, rather than through a formal competitive bid practice. Of late, however, the Office of Education has begun to take the position that creative components must also be subcontracted for under the same competitive bid procedures as have been developed for more usual government procurement.

But educational conceptualization and realization do not seem compatible with normal procurement methodology. No matter what objective criteria are artificially devised, the real decision about program elements must ultimately be subjectively made by those responsible for series design and execution. The creation and choice of all series content -- from title, to format, to segments, to characters, to music, to artwork and so on -- is the job of the production organization, and its production staff. And in television, the whole can be a valuable sum of all of the parts only if well inter-related and beneficially cross-supportive.

It is submitted that competitive bidding is simply not a realistic procedure for USOE television projects. The endless efforts, debilitating delays and inevitable complications involved in advertising notices, bid invitations, supplier selection etc. more than overbalance any slight possibility that such an open search procedure will result in the uncovering of new talent or even reduction in cost. Suffice it to say that it is the creative and artistic components of videotape segments, film inserts and animated episodes that must determine producer selection rather than price comparison, and that competitive bidding is therefore not only inappropriate but may be harmful in the production process.

That is not to say that multiple producers should not be widely investigated and carefully evaluated before entering into outside production controls. Nor that detailed competitive cost proposals should not be obtained for such production facilities and services as television studios and technical equipment, videotape stock and film processing, and other standard production items. But when it comes to actors and musicians, writers and directors, animation artists and film makers, more normal television procedures and patterns must be followed, irrespective of public funding, for successful results.

Author

Eugene N. Aleinikoff, Esq.

Member, New York Bar

Of Counsel:

Agency for Instructional Television  
Bilingual Children's Television  
Educational Development Corporation  
Television Arts Project  
Eastern Educational Network  
Public Broadcasting Service

Past Counsel:

National Educational Television  
Children's Television Workshop  
Corporation for Public Broadcasting

Author:

ERIC "Copyright Considerations in  
Educational Broadcasting"

Member:

U.S. Copyright Office Copyright  
Revision Panel  
U.S. Department of State Copyright  
Advisory Committee

Faculty Lecturer on Copyright and Communications at  
Rutgers Law School of New Jersey

## New Technology

### The Author

John P. Witherspoon is a planner and consultant in telecommunications. For the past year he has been working with the Advisory Council of National Organizations and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting on a study of the future role of media in education, and is currently working on the final report for that project. He is author of "State of the Art: A Study of Current Practices and Trends in Educational Uses of Public Radio and Television" (CPB, 1974). Mr. Witherspoon was the founding Chairman of the Board of Directors, National Public Radio. He is past Chairman of the Radio Division of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters and National Educational Radio, and has served as a member of the NAEB Executive Committee.

### The Paper

In the following paper, "Federal Investment in Television Programming for Children: Implications of Delivery Systems," Witherspoon examines commercial broadcasting, public broadcasting, cable, satellite, and hybrid systems of distribution for television programming. He concludes that "for the immediate future, the Federal government's most likely delivery system will remain public television. Other systems should not be ignored, and cable is likely to become very important, but public television combines substantial reach with basic commitment to service programming."



FEDERAL INVESTMENT IN TELEVISION PROGRAMMING FOR CHILDREN:  
IMPLICATIONS OF DELIVERY SYSTEMS

John P. Witherspoon

I. Introduction

The Federal government has been involved in children's television for several years. Sometimes this involvement has been experimental (early Sesame Street), sometimes it has been in pursuit of specific legislated social goals (ESAA programs), and sometimes it has provided continuing backing to a proven winner (current support to the Children's Television Workshop).

In the course of its experience with children's television, decision-makers in government have found themselves wrestling with many questions, some philosophical and some tactical. Among these questions are:

• What is the proper role of the Federal government with regard to the specific content of programming distributed via the telecommunication media to the public?

• How can worthy projects remain afloat once their early experimental or developmental period is complete?

• What should be the scope of projects intended for children, particularly children in school? Should utilization materials and promotion support be included?



. How can local decision-making, and local ascertainment of need, be protected while recognizing that some programming requires major national investments?

. Should Federal funds be used for classroom programming, for home programming, or for both?

. Should the Federal investment be used for programs per se, for enhanced means of reception, for technical development, for experimentation in form and content, or for a combination of these purposes?

. What rights should be acquired to the material? Should exclusivity be permitted in distribution?

. What commercial relationships are appropriate or lawful? And so on. A great list of issues could be compiled, and several will be referred to in the pages which follow.

Many of these issues are related in one way or another to the means of distribution. Different potentials and difficulties are involved in the use of commercial stations, public stations, cable, other new technology, or hybrid systems. It is the purpose of this paper to examine some of those systems as they relate to the question of Federal investment in programs for children.

As a matter of definition: it is observed that the question concerns Federal investment, not necessarily only the investments of USOE or even HEW. Agencies such as the National Endowments, NIH, and NSF should be kept in mind in reading what follows. However, most attention is devoted to programs related to education.

## II. Commercial Broadcasting Systems.

At seven o'clock on Saturday mornings, television viewers in San Diego have a choice of Bullwinkle, a local adult education program on nutrition, The Addams Family, Sesame Street, Yogi's Gang, and Brother Buzz. With variations, that sort of schedule continues until sports begin in the afternoon. A comparable schedule exists in many other cities. In a more limited version, such programming also occupies the early weekday mornings and the hours between the end of school and the evening news. In San Diego during the randomly chosen week beginning January 25, TV GUIDE listed approximately 125 commercial television hours from 12 stations devoted to programs aimed at children.

Many of those programs, and the commercials which accompany them, have come under severe criticism during the past few years. When in late February 1975 TV GUIDE began a multi-part series about the pressure groups which bear on television, Action for Children's Television was the major subject of the lead installment.

Among the proposals is one for an outright ban of commercials in certain types of programs. More commonly discussed are restrictions on the number of commercial minutes allowed and a code which would limit the commercial's identification with the program host and restrict the kinds of appeal which would be made to young viewers.

BROADCASTING MAGAZINE for February 24, 1975 reported a seminar sponsored by the Hollywood Chapter of the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences in part as follows: "Bob Keeshan (Captain Kangaroo) noted that five years ago Saturday morning was a major profit center for the networks. But not any more, he said, because the attacks on advertising in children's shows have impelled good advertisers to leave that time period. Sally Baker (Hobo Kelly of KHJ-TV Los Angeles) expressed fear that the movement to ban commercials on kiddie shows could be so counterproductive as to entirely dry up funds for that type of programming. What is needed, she said, is 'really stringent rules' for commercials in children's shows."

As one considers possible options for Federal investment, then, some basic dimensions are important. There are about a thousand television stations in the United States, and three-quarters of them are commercial. The actual situation is even more favorable to commercial television, since VHF commercial stations outnumber U's by two-and-a-half to one, while there are one-and-a-half times as many public UHF stations as public V's, and public television is seen only on UHF in such major cities as Washington, Detroit, and Los Angeles.

The most casual twisting of the dial indicates that commercial stations are interested in reaching children, and children reciprocate by spending more time watching television than attending school.

Material for commercial television is distributed on any of three major national networks, versus one for public television. Furthermore, a large number of commercial independent stations are programmed heavily from independent syndication sources, while virtually all public stations depend heavily on PBS as the major national program source.

In considering commercial television in terms of distribution for children's programming, the Federal government could examine policy alternatives based on this situation:

Commercial television involves nearly three-fourths of all television stations in the United States, and its share of VHF stations is even higher;

Commercial television is diversified, with its large number of stations providing bases for three national networks plus a large number of independents;

Commercial television is already interested in reaching children, devoting a heavy proportion of its weekday morning, Saturday morning, and late afternoon hours to programs for children; but

These programs are under fire both for quality of content and for commercial practices.

As a practical matter, it seems unlikely that commercials will be banned from children's television. It is possible, however, that there will be successful pressure to reduce the number of commercial minutes and increase (at least in showcase examples) the quality of the programs. From the standpoint of the commercial networks, this translates as a combination of declining revenues and increasing costs.

Given that situation, and setting aside contrary constraints

for a moment, the policy options for Federal investment in children's programming on commercial television are as follows:

1. Encourage higher quality of content by sharing costs with commercial advertisers;
2. Underwrite development costs of showcase programs that could subsequently be supported by advertising;
3. Sponsor a showcase directly, as the Ford Foundation sponsored Omnibus in the fifties;
4. Encourage further the use of Federally financed programs, such as the ESAA projects, on commercial television;
5. Continue to concentrate primarily on public television, with commercial carriage as an occasional adjunct;
6. Concentrate on development of public television with the hope of making it a more effective counter-force to poor quality material on commercial television;
7. Do not enter the program field directly, but support studies and experiments in the development of high-quality materials that suit the high-audience requirements of commercial television. Training sessions for producers and other decision-makers would probably be necessary also.
8. Support research and monitoring activities that would have the effect of keeping a spotlight on the area of commercial television for children.

It should be recognized at once that several of these options raise the questions of federal involvement in content, commercial

exploitation of public investments, and a proper division of labor between the public and private sectors. Nevertheless, it is true that commercial television is at something of a crossroads in children's television, and a Federal role might be seen as more appropriate than in past years.

### III. Public Television

In the context of the project inquiry, public television has a large plus and an equally large minus. The positive report is that the mission of public television makes it a natural vehicle for high-quality children's programs, even if those programs don't attract as many viewers as the commercial cartoons or Gilligan's Island. On the other hand, there is the melancholy fact that most cities have only one public television station, operating one channel. Cities with multiple channels don't have many more PTV programs; they show the same programs at alternate times.

Public television stations have a major commitment to children's programming. A third of a PTV station's schedule consists of programs for formal educational use. When one adds informal education -- such as the products of the Children's Television Workshop and Mister Rogers Neighborhood -- the share of the schedule jumps to as much as fifty percent.

The station receives its programming from several sources, including the Public Broadcasting Service, the instructional television

libraries, regional networks, commercial sources, and other less formal arrangements. These will be noted individually below. The important point, however, is that these sources represent alternative pipelines, but all pipelines lead to the same transmitter, and the clock is inexorable.

A. The Children's Audience for Public Television. For fifteen years a succession of audience analyses has shown the public television audience to be a bit older and somewhat higher in socio-economic status than the average television viewer. A new study, reported on February 24 by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, does not dispute earlier results, but it reveals that there are in effect two sets of PTV viewers: the adults who meet the familiar description, and a much broader spectrum of children. To quote from the research report:

"Two different types of demographic characteristics will be examined: (1) presence and age of children, and age of the head of the house; and (2) socio-economic status (SES) as indicated by the level of education and occupational status of the head of the house. The pattern for the first type indicates two opposing trends. Households with younger children and younger heads of the house are much more likely to watch children's PTV programs than adult PTV programs, while households without children and with older heads of the house are more likely to watch adult PTV programs. The pattern for the second type reveals skews in the same directions --but of very different magnitudes. Households with higher SES are somewhat more likely to view PTV children's programs than households with lower SES; and households with higher SES are much more likely to view adult PTV programs than households with lower SES. Thus, children's PTV programs attract a much broader audience than the adult PTV programs."

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<sup>1</sup>CPB Focus on Research #3, February 24, 1975. An insert in CPB Report, the Weekly Newsletter of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, Vol. VI, No. 8, February 24, 1975.



B. The Public Broadcasting Service. The Public Broadcasting Service is a non-profit membership corporation established by the public television stations (its members) with the support of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. A number of programs supported by HEW, including the works of the Children's Television Workshop, Villa Allegre, and Carrascolendas, have been carried by PBS during the current season.

PBS is not a producer of programs, but it is a programmer, representing its members to present a coherent schedule of programs. The basic relationships of PBS are on the one hand with the program producer, and on the other hand with the station member. In most cases the producers are also member stations.

Because federal funding is prominent in public television, PBS is particularly sensitive to charges that it is a government network, or that it is on call to provide transmission service for government programs.

With regard both to government funding and private underwriting, PBS must assure that the control of program content rests with the producer, and not with the funding agency. The implied guarantee to the viewer is that any PBS program is free of any bias related to the source of funds.

Another possible point of collision between public television and federal funding is in the matter of broadcast rights. What rights should be available to whom? Should public television have exclusive rights to certain material? The confrontation arises



as follows:

1. The Federal government holds in general that material paid for with public money should be readily available to the public. Therefore, although public television may be the primary means of distribution, commercial stations should be permitted--or encouraged--to carry the program.

2. Public television does not dispute that logic, but it adds another dimension. The individual stations and PBS also have made a substantial investment in order to carry the program. The prorated hourly cost of station operation, multiplied by the number of stations carrying the program, equals a very large sum which is raised by the stations for the carriage and promotion of the program. The stations are willing to make that investment, but it seems only reasonable not to expect the program to appear also on a local commercial station, where it will have the effect of diluting the audience for other worthy public television programs.

C. Library Services in Public Television. A number of public television program sources predate PBS, and they continue to provide specialized services.

Two instructional television libraries are especially well known. National Instructional Television, now a subsidiary of the Agency for Instructional Television, was a pioneer in consortium funding of instructional programming for use in elementary and secondary schools. The Great Plains National Instructional Television Library is more

inclined toward distribution of high quality programs which are applicable though produced originally for local use.

In addition to its interconnected network, PBS operates a tape distribution system, the Public Television Library. The library is now developing a system for distribution both to public television stations and to other users of program material such as cable systems. While some of the PTL material has applications in instruction, the catalog basically consists of listings for general audience programs.

Programming for children is also distributed by commercial firms such as Western Instructional Television.

The libraries deal with stations and educational entities one at a time, rather than in network fashion. Nor are their programs limited to public broadcasting transmission: they are seen on ITFS systems, closed-circuit systems, cable systems, or commercial broadcasting stations. For practical purposes, however, public television is their mainstay for distribution. In 1973, for example, programs from National Instructional Television were seen on five commercial stations, 22 closed-circuit systems or cable systems, 33 ITFS systems, and 215 public television stations.

This reliance on public television transmission is expected to continue for several years. Edwin G. Cohen, Executive Director of AIT/NIT, is concerned about the competition for channel time on public television stations. With an increasing number of programs, thanks to the AIT consortia, CTW, programs generated via ESAA, plus

the traditional sources of programs for children, public television stations may suffer an embarrassment of riches while still not serving all the major needs of its young audiences.

D. The Regional PTV Networks. Virtually every public television station is a member of a regional network. These networks, however, vary widely in mission and operations. The best known of the regionals is the Eastern Educational Network, which serves stations from New England to Washington. EEN operates its own interconnection system in parallel with the PBS system. It has an active instructional service based both on productions by EEN members and acquisitions from the ITV libraries.

By contrast, the Western Educational Network, serving the stations in Pacific states, acts more like a forum for members' broad concerns about public television. While there have been occasional program developments, apparently the distances are perceived as too vast and the constituencies too varied to foster an effective network operation.

The other PTV networks fall between these extremes.

From the standpoint of Federal support of programming for children, however, the lesson remains: the members of regional networks are also members of PBS, and they also work with the libraries, and so the regional network pipeline feeds the same transmitters as the others. Unless there is programming that is unique to children of a given region, or unless the stations

can realize economies through regional network distribution of a given program, there is no compelling reason to consider the regional networks as alternatives to other PTV distribution systems.

E. CPB and the ACNO Education Study. From its beginning, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting has wrestled with the question of its role in the field of education. CPB has long supported programming for children, notably including Sesame Street, The Electric Company, Mister Rogers Neighborhood, and Zoom. Its commitment to children's programming can hardly be questioned, but CPB has not had an overall perspective on its service for education. In February 1974, CPB commissioned its Advisory Council of National Organizations to conduct a study of the present status and perceived needs of public broadcasting and education, and to make recommendations for Corporation actions in this area. ACNO, through its Education Committee, established task forces for early childhood education, elementary-secondary education and teacher education, post-secondary formal education, and adult education. The work of the task forces was completed in December 1974, and the final report of ACNO was adopted by the ACNO membership and transmitted to CPB late in March 1975.

The thrust of the project's work is to turn away from the temptations of magic solutions, major new structures, or an agenda

of surefire new projects. Rather, the task forces emphasized support to education on a broad front, including such areas as utilization, research and development, technical policy, rights acquisition, and professional training, in addition to matters directly related to programs. A central theme was the need to bridge the gap between broadcasting and education, and a large number of specific activities were proposed.

Once the report is received, a period of CPB examination may be anticipated, including extensive review by elements of the public broadcasting system, by education, and by other interested parties including government. It seems reasonable to expect that the final ACNO recommendations will include matters of interest to Federal decision-makers as well as to CPB, and some of the options regarding Federal investment in children's programming will be described in that report.

To summarize relevant points as one considers a Federal investment in children's programs intended for public television:

1. New cooperative actions may become available as CPB acts on the ACNO study;
2. At least for the foreseeable future, public television can be thought of as a set of one-channel transmitters, usually one to a city. Programs arrive at the transmitter by one of a number of routes, but each transmitter is programmed separately and there are only so many hours available each week.
3. Public television is sensitive to charges that it is a conduit for government programs, and it guards against such an appearance.

4. Public television insists on the producing agency's responsibility for content.

5. Public television recognizes the funder's investment in a program, but it also recognizes that public television has an investment, and it believes that its investment should carry certain rights.

#### IV. Cable

Ralph Lee Smith's famed article "The Wired Nation" appeared in 1970. The cable industry was riding a wave of euphoria. The thought leaders (jargon leaders?) of the time talked of moving from this economy of channel scarcity to one of channel abundance. To many television broadcasters, cable seemed to represent a clear and present danger.

Then came a combination of economic downturn and scandals within the cable industry, with all-too-familiar charges of impropriety in securing local franchises. Furthermore, in spite of all the national speculation about the potentials of cable, the industry itself has shown relatively little imaginative leadership.

The gradually worsening economic conditions of the past three years have been very hard on cable. The business is capital-intensive: that is, a lot of money must be spent before any substantial return can be realized. High interest rates, combined with decreasing confidence, have drastically slowed the growth of the cable industry.

However, none of the current gloom can be read to imply that the earlier predictions of cable's potential were wrong. The timetable was wildly optimistic, but the basic ideas may well be valid.

It is appropriate, then, to look seriously at the present status of the cable industry and examine its implications as a set of local delivery systems for children's programming.

There are now approximately 3200 CATV systems in the United States, serving approximately seven thousand communities. Nearly 10 million homes are served by 180,000 miles of cable plant. Fourteen percent of television homes in the United States subscribe to cable services. Of the homes passed by cable, 55 percent are subscribers. Industry revenue in 1974 was in excess of 500 million dollars. The average monthly subscriber fee is \$5.50. Cable systems are found in all 50 states plus the Virgin Islands, Puerto Rico, and Guam. In six states, more than 25 percent of television households are served by cable. In two of these, West Virginia and Wyoming, the saturation is more than 40 percent.<sup>1</sup>

Of the 3200 cable systems noted above, 629 were engaged in local origination of programs in 1974. "Local origination" does not necessarily mean local programming, but rather that the system transmits material in addition to that which is relayed off the air from television broadcasting stations. There are 28 major program distributors and suppliers from which cable systems purchase an

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<sup>1</sup>Source for statistics: National Cable Television Association. Statistics reported to be current to January 1975.

average of 13.5 hours of syndicated material per week. In addition to program purchases, cable systems identify 65 suppliers of free program material. Public school systems and/or private schools are contributing programs to cable systems, and as of late 1974, 51 cable systems depended for local origination entirely on schools and colleges. In spite of the national economic difficulties, local origination is increasing among cable systems, and education's involvement is increasing even faster.<sup>1</sup>

Currently many cable systems are obliged by regulation to provide channels for education and for public access. No doubt many of the activities reported above derive from those requirements. The longevity of these regulations should not be taken for granted, however. There is a substantial national movement toward less regulation for cable, very possibly including the deletion of Federal requirements for specific channel applications. In 1974, shortly before the departure of Clay T. Whitehead as head of the Office of Telecommunications Policy, The Cabinet Committee on Cable Communications, chaired by Mr. Whitehead, proposed separating programming functions from system operations. One eventual casualty of this approach would be free channels for education. Educational interests would, however, be able to lease channels for the distribution of programs which they would produce or acquire. While the

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<sup>1</sup>Local origination information is from the National Cable Television Association's 1974 Local Origination Directory, copyright August 1974 by NCTA.



current thinking of the Federal Communications Commission does not go so far as to make these profound changes, Chairman Wiley has talked of easing the present rules substantially. For example, BROADCASTING MAGAZINE of March 3, 1975, reported Mr. Wiley as expressing the view that "(a) number of requirements scheduled to be imposed on cable by 1977 -- that they have 20 channel, access-channel and two-way capacity, among others -- should not only be deferred but 'substantially modified.'" (page 7, reporting Chairman Wiley's talk before the Georgia state cable association meeting.)

A substantial factor in cable's future is the concept of pay cable, by means of which subscribers pay directly for programs. A flat fee may provide a full menu of programs, or programs may be purchased one at a time, depending on the systems used. Pay cable presently exists, and it is not limited to movies and sports. Instructional programs and programs for children are being included, and system operators report difficulty in finding enough good program material in these areas.<sup>1</sup>

Pay cable could be a godsend for college and university extension services, which have been inhibited from effective use of television by the legal requirement that their programs must be self supporting. Television, having found a way to charge tuition fees by "selling tickets," may provide a viable way to move instructional services to students rather than insisting on student

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<sup>1</sup>One example came from remarks of Richard Peterson, Vice President of Channel 100, during a recent talk in San Diego. As a related matter, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting is currently undertaking a study of the implications of cable for PTV programming, including instruction.

attendance or correspondence courses.

Cable has been of interest to education from its earliest days. Organized education, particularly the National Education Association, has generally insisted that twenty percent of all cable channels should be reserved for educational use. In pursuit of this cable interest, the National Education Association has recently completed a paper entitled "Toward a Nationwide Educational Telecommunications Network: A Plan for Action." The paper, which embodies specific recommendations for action, responds to two resolutions adopted during the past two years by the NEA membership.

One of the most intriguing cable developments is interactive cable, or two-way cable. Ordinarily this does not imply video transmission in both directions, but rather conventional video downstream from the system's head end to the subscriber, with digital responses upstream from the subscriber to the system. The effect of this development is to marry the technologies of television and computers, with many obvious implications for education and other children's program forms. Games in which viewers actively participate, for example, could become a new form of television program. Existing cable rules provide that many systems must provide some interactive service within the next two years, although it appears that these provisions may be relaxed. Nevertheless, interactive cable is of interest because of major experiments being commissioned by the National Science Foundation. Grants are pending as of the date of this paper. Their implications should be watched carefully in the months ahead.

As one considers distribution of programs by cable, one of the long-range questions concerns channel operation. In simplest terms: if the Federal government supported production of programs to be distributed by cable, where should the producer send the tape? It has been noted above that 51 cable systems depend entirely on educational institutions for local origination. A great many others have alliances with education or other social service agencies that would affect their acceptance and scheduling of programs.

An alliance between cable and public broadcasting may emerge. For a decade some of the leaders of public broadcasting have been urging that public broadcasting stations should develop into community telecommunication centers, prepared to provide services not only via their broadcast transmitters, but by the most appropriate means at hand. In many cases, this would mean operation of cable channels. Such an alliance is logical, in that the charter of public broadcasting is to serve multiple small publics; they have a natural affinity for local service agencies, particularly education; and they are plagued by a lack of channel capacity. Furthermore, they recognize that many worthy services cannot be handled efficiently via broadcast channels.

At the present time cable is essentially a local service. There is no national interconnected cable network, although programs are syndicated to multiple cable systems and some operators own systems in scattered areas of the country. By and large, cable systems must be approached one at a time to carry programs.

Regional cable networks are now emerging, and they could be important to cable programming in the immediate future.

A number of leaders in the cable industry believe that there is a natural relationship between cable systems and satellite services. With appropriate system design, satellites could provide the trunk connections, transmitting programs into earth stations at many locations, for distribution to homes via cable systems.

One of the most imaginative leaders of the cable industry is Irving B. Kahn, late of Teleprompter Corporation, who was released from prison last fall after serving 18 months of a five-year sentence in connection with improper franchise activities. Mr. Kahn, with a hope that the cable industry will "credit my account with payment I've made for my debt to society," urged the industry late in February to stake a claim for a satellite-to-cable network now, or, he said, cable will find it has "slept through the development of what is going to be the next major communications revolution of this century."<sup>1</sup>

In considering its alternatives regarding the use of cable as a delivery mechanism for children's programming, the Federal government appears to have these matters to consider:

1. Cable is still an embryonic industry, reaching less than 15 percent of the television households of the United States.

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<sup>1</sup>Reported in BROADCASTING MAGAZINE, March 3, 1975, pp 7-8. A related anecdote: When asked at an FCC hearing what the Federal government could do to encourage the growth of cable in the United States, one cable official quickly replied, "Let Irving out."

2. National distribution mechanisms for cable have not yet emerged.

3. Cable is operated as a group of intensely local enterprises. Interconnections are being developed, but no national system is yet on the horizon.

4. The work of public broadcasting may be enhanced by the development of stations into community telecommunications facilities, but this cannot be said to be a trend at present.

5. Local educational entities are commonly involved in local programming operations of cable systems.

6. Federal regulations regarding cable systems are still in a state of flux, with a distinct trend toward less regulation, probably including less stringent requirements for local origination, reserved channels, and related services.

7. Pay cable carries positive implications for education and other special services.

What are the implications for new children's programming?

Several come to mind.

1. Any present cable investment must be considered in terms of the future, and not immediate high-impact service, since relatively few homes are reached and school service is spotty. Cable does, however, represent a genuine alternative to other distribution media, since the cable channels are new channels.

2. Given a relaxation of regulation in difficult times, there may be a tendency for cable operators to build systems with little

capacity in addition to that needed for re-transmission of broadcast television. If there is a Federal interest in assuring that cable service is available to provide substantial additional service, policy support in that direction may be important, although an intra-government fight would be in store.

3. Many of the services of interest to the Federal government are probably those that public television could render if only the channel capacity were available. One could consider a support policy that would encourage public television to develop along the lines of the community telecommunication center described above.

4. It is probably not wise to consider producing material to be distributed only via cable at this time, but it would be useful to assure that cable rights are secured for material which is distributed primarily by other means.

5. Experimentation should be considered in such areas as specialized services, some of which might be suitable for pay cable; education and other children's satellite services, particularly with an eye to future satellite-cable networks; and children's programming which is very local and very inexpensive, producible by local citizens including children, using local cable systems.

#### V. Satellite Applications

An event of potentially great importance took place on February 20, 1975. On that date it was determined that the Public Service Satellite Consortium will be incorporated, and that its work will begin at once. About thirty public service agencies, representing education, health care, government,

and public broadcasting signed preliminary pledges of membership. The importance of the event certainly is not in the formation of still another association, but in the fact that a community of users has been established with the expressed intention of defining the service it needs and working to see that the service is rendered at realistic rates.

To those interested in the implications for children of the ATS-6 experiments in Alaska, the Rocky Mountain states, and Appalachia, the importance of PSSC will be apparent immediately. The ATS-6 satellite is designed to permit the use of relatively small, low cost (under five thousand dollars) ground stations, rather than the more elaborate and costly (upwards of 100 thousand dollars) earth terminals necessary for present commercial satellites. Since these ATS-6 stations are inexpensive, it is feasible to have more of them and to put them in places that might otherwise go unserved. Thus, remote Alaskan villages and rural Rocky Mountain towns are receiving service.

The basic trade-offs center on the amount of power transmitted from the satellite. A high-powered satellite costs much more than a satellite radiating low power. But the earth terminals for a high-powered satellite cost much less.

If one is concerned with only a small number of terrestrial receiving stations, it makes sense to have minimum power in the satellite and spend more for each earth terminal. That is the situation facing most present carriers. They want to use the satellite as a trunk to major centers, then use existing earthbound networks to deliver the material to its eventual consumer.



If, on the other hand, one wishes to serve a large number of remote villages, or have direct links to hospitals, or provide inexpensive service to schools, or perhaps provide mobile educational service to children of migrant workers, the cost of the earth terminal is all-important. It is the difference between feasible and impossible.

The Public Service Satellite Consortium may turn out to be a satellite operator or a customer. In either event, its intention is to see that satellites are developed which will serve the public service needs of users, rather than requiring users to content themselves with services applicable to satellites designed for the purposes of others.

These satellites could put children directly in touch with one another. In a prototype development, ATS-1 is already being used to permit live crosstalk between teachers in Alaska and the Pacific islands, with an interlocutor in Washington, D.C.

The idea of satellites applied to the education of the children of migratory workers was first proposed five years ago, and it is still worth examination.

Satellites could provide basic public television service -- including instruction -- for children in deeply remote areas, and it could also provide specialized service which recognizes that those who live in remote areas have their own problems, and perspectives. Although the outside world may seem remote, communication with it is always important and sometimes crucial.



It will be seen, then, that satellites are not only a new kind of trunk line. Satellites, especially those designed to permit reception on inexpensive terminals, have unique and valuable characteristics:

1. It may be possible to provide communication to places where "conventional" communication is, for practical purposes, impossible.

2. Satellites are distance-insensitive. It costs precisely the same amount to deliver a message between earth stations located at any two points within the satellite's range.

3. Satellites can handle multiple channels and many kinds of communication format, from television to computer data to telephone service.

4. Satellites have proved to be reliable in space, generally exceeding their expected lives by substantial amounts.

5. It is still possible to design satellites to serve specific purposes, rather than tailor services to the offerings of a given carrier.

#### VI. Hybrid Systems.

Virtually all delivery systems are hybrids to some extent. The conventional television transmission is commonly hopped by microwave from the studio before it reaches the transmitter. National television networking is a hybrid of cable, microwave, and broadcast transmission.

Generally speaking, it occurs to us to call a system a hybrid only when a new combination is introduced. If a television library participated in a satellite-based network in order to feed children's programs to cable systems in some areas and television stations in others, a hybrid would have resulted. The Mailgram has been called a hybrid, since it makes the logical but undeveloped link between Western Union and the Postal Service.

Probably the most elaborate recent hybrid is that proposed by the Denver Research Institute in its study Broadband Communications in Rural Areas<sup>1</sup> prepared for the Office of Telecommunications Policy. In order to provide the benefits of local service as well as the economies of multiple channels from regional stations, the Institute proposed a rural system combining cable, translator, and microwave technologies, operated by a Regional Television Authority.

If high-powered satellites were developed, reception from that source might be integrated also.

Hybrid systems as a class have no specific programming impact. The Denver system of rural broadband communication could offer some of the specialized remote area programs that could be fed via satellite systems of the ATS-6 type. It could also transmit the very local, ultra-low budget programs which were proposed above for local cable use.

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<sup>1</sup>Bortz, Paul I., Spongberg, Robert C., and Venditti, Fred P. Broadband Communications in Rural Areas. Prepared for the Office of Telecommunications Policy, Executive Office of the President. Denver Research Institute, University of Denver, 1973.

Hybrid systems also must overcome their individual technical or regulatory problems. As the Denver group states, the execution of its proposals would depend upon changes in the present regulatory structure for television distribution. But such changes have been made, and solutions to technical problems have been found. The first requirement is to solve the larger questions, and hybrids are often involved.

### VII. Audience-Controlled Systems

There has been much speculation about audience-controlled communication systems. The trap in considering such systems is to avoid extremes in either direction. Present audience-controlled systems include phonographs, film projectors for classrooms or homes, videocassettes, and related devices. The phonograph, in tandem with radio, revolutionized the music industry. Some expected the film to revolutionize education, but it didn't happen.

Videocassettes have made possible a number of additional useful applications of television, but the big breakthroughs were projected to be the EVR (Electronic Video Recording) system of CBS, and the development of the videodisc. The EVR system turned out to be a disaster. The videodisc is still on the horizon, and it continues to show promise.

William J. Kessler, probably the most respected telecommunications engineer specializing in educational applications, has projected that

"Video discs, currently under development, will probably become the most exciting consumer item during the next ten years. Video discs resemble long-playing phonograph records in appearance and promise to do for video recording and playback what the long-playing record did for the phonograph industry approximately 26 years ago."<sup>1</sup>

Assuming that Mr. Kessler's prediction is accurate, what will be the programs to be bought via videodisc for home or school use? We can assume that the marketing arrangements will parallel those of the record industry. Will we be treated simply to the sight as well as the sound of current rock stars? Home entertainments approximating R-rated movies may be expected promptly. Will wholesome stories, Mister Rogers, or Sesame Street episodes make it? One can't know, although early encouragement seems a good idea.

With regard to specifics of programming for children, the further development of audience-controlled systems have the following characteristics:

1. The most likely audience-controlled systems carry a per-program cost to the home consumer in addition to those inherent in owning a television set.
2. There is great educational utility in the ability to build a program library and to use material when it is needed rather than when it is broadcast.

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<sup>1</sup>Kessler, William J. "A Preview of the Next Ten Years in the Technology of Audio and Video Recording, Playback, Storage and Retrieval." Paper commissioned for State of the Art: A Study of Current Practices and Trends in Educational Uses of Public Radio and Television. Advisory Council of National Organizations and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, Washington, D.C., 1974, pp. V 29-38.

3. Classroom use of technology has been inhibited by the complexity of the machinery. Videocassettes are doing modestly well because of their simplicity. Videodiscs promise to be still simpler.

4. A simple-to-operate, user-controlled system may make more feasible the classroom or home use of single-concept materials.

5. Assuming that new user-controlled systems are economical enough for the home market, their development should be seen in parallel with the rise in available leisure time. Materials concerned with hobbies, travel, sports, and other leisure activities should be successful.

How can the Federal government respond to these factors?

1. Determine the unique characteristics of user-controlled systems. What should they mean to the education of children?

2. Encourage the development of worthwhile materials as spinoffs of existing activities by permitting funded producers to retain rights for these purposes.

3. Encourage public libraries to build collections of video-discs (or whatever economical form emerges for home use), thus making material available to children at home at minimal cost.

4. As the technology emerges, commercial interests can be expected to develop material that will sell well and encourage purchases of equipment for homes. The Federal government could encourage experimentation in programming for education, concentrating on those areas where a user-controlled system is particularly important.

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### VIII. Some Issues to Consider

This paper presents a large number of options regarding Federal involvement in programming for children. Others in this series doubtless provide even more options, and in more depth. It is necessary to consider these options in the context of some continuing issues and constraints. Among these are:

1. What is the appropriate extent of Federal involvement in the content of material for distribution via the public media and/or for use in educational curricula? It is to be recognized that control of content may be exercised in many ways.
2. Education in the United States is essentially a state and local process, although it is widely recognized that many textbooks, films, and television programs are national in scope, application, and funding. Does Federal involvement imply a national curriculum?
3. Local broadcasting stations are responsible for determining the requirements of their own communities. The responsibility for meeting those needs belongs essentially to those stations. One way of applying local decision-making to national material is through the Station Program Cooperative which has been established by public television. The SPC uses a combination of local and national funding for its programs. There has been speculation about the development of more specialized program cooperatives, particularly for instruction. Should there be a Children's Program Cooperative, either for public television or for some combination of PTV, cable, and commercial interests?

4. Recent investments by the Federal government in programs for children suggest that classroom television has been written off, or at best treated as a desirable adjunct to home viewing. If this observation is accurate, is it a reflection of:

- a. A Federal interest in ratings?
- b. A belief that school television has failed?
- c. A belief that, contrary to the view of most educators, television programs are effective on their own, without utilization follow-up by teachers?
- d. A desire to circumvent local educational decision-making?
- e. A desire to encourage educational change by providing examples via television?
- f. A desire to provide direct educational service by the most economical means?

These questions are not intended to set off hostilities, but to invite attention to the interrelationships among the purposes of investments, the effects of distribution systems, and the established processes of education.

5. Public television, which traditionally has sought to encourage Federal program investments as an alternative to commercial influence, is becoming increasingly concerned about the prospect of government influence. Some government-funded programs may find themselves without an effective means of distribution.

6. Programming intended for classroom use must be supported adequately by utilization materials and by promotional activities. An instructional project is not complete without this support, which traditionally is the most difficult to achieve.

7. Questions of copyright and related issues -- subjects of more extended treatment in another paper -- are important to every production project. These questions often suffer from simplistic approaches, which will be increasingly unsatisfactory in the years just ahead.

Summary. The medium is not the message, and the specific delivery system is even less so. Nevertheless, each delivery system offers certain unique opportunities and individual problems.

For the immediate future, the Federal government's most likely delivery system will remain public television. Other systems should not be ignored, and cable is likely to become very important, but public television combines substantial reach with basic commitment to service programming.

The Federal government now has a substantial and worthy record in the support of programming for children. Not all philosophical issues have been resolved, and some difficult operational questions remain, but there can be no question that America's children are richer for the investments made by the Federal government in television programs for them.

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