A COMPARISON OF THE CONTENT OF THE RADIO AND TELEVISION DAYTIME SERIALS

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

Jill O. Carlson

1965

ABSTRACT

A COMPARISON OF THE CONTENT OF THE
RADIO AND TELEVISION DAYTIME SERIALS

by Jill O. Carlson

Problem

Daytime serials have been popular with American housewives for over three decades. Experts believe that serial content is a principal factor in their popularity. In 1941 Rudolph Arnheim conducted a content analysis of the radio soap operas; the problem of this thesis was to determine the extent to which the content of television's daytime serials has changed since the days of radio and since Arnheim's study.

This thesis includes (1) a study of the development of the radio daytime serial, (2) an analysis of the audience studies concerning effects of the audio soap operas, (3) an examination of radio production techniques, (4) a brief history of the televised daily drama, (5) a content analysis of a representative group of video daytime serials, and (6) a comparison of the data gathered in this contemporary television study with the data provided in Arnheim's early radio study.

Procedure

Background material for this thesis was gleaned from numerous books and periodicals. To secure the necessary data, a monitor report was completed for each television serial episode observed. The reports served as the basis for the content analysis of the daily television dramas. Categories under consideration were (1) characterization, (2) serial problems, (3) moral self-evaluations of characters. (4) problem solutions, and (5) treatment of specific topics including "women", "experts", "learning", "neighbors", "newspapers", "politics", "illegitimacy", and "divorce".

This analysis was conducted in a manner similar to that followed by Arnheim; the results of this study were then compared to his 1941 conclusions.

Conclusions

The resulting comparison disclosed a number of definite differences between audio and video serial content treatment. Several points remained unchanged; but more differences than similarities were disclosed.

It was found that (1) video serial characters are no longer clear-cut villains or heroes; good people can do evil, and bad people can do good, (2) today's serials are set in small cities; radio favored a small town locale, (3) a

majority of the main characters are professional people; radio serials concentrated on housewives, (4) bad trouble-makers are victimized more often than they were in radio, (5) video women are less omnipotent than were their audio sisters, (6) today's experts and formal learning are more important than they were two decades ago, (7) the stigma of privacy invasion by neighbors and newspapers has been lessened in television, and (8) two new categories, "illegitimacy" and "divorce" bring happiness to no one.

A COMPARISON OF THE CONTENT OF THE RADIO AND TELEVISION DAYTIME SERIALS

By

Jill O. Carlson

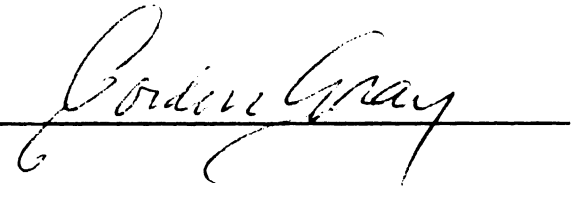
A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Television and Radio

1965

Approved by 

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I wish to express my thanks to Dr. Gordon Gray, who advised and guided the development of this thesis.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

INTRODUCTION

Statement of Purpose

For over thirty-five years, the daytime serial has been an integral part of the lives of American housewives; its appeal is unquestionable. But over the years, these daily dramas seem to have undergone a number of gradual changes. In 1941, Rudolph Arnheim conducted a content analysis of forty-two popular daytime serials. The results of his study are interesting, but are they indicative of the content of today's television serials?

The writer hypothesized that alterations in serial content have occured during the transition of soap opera from the audio medium to the video. Therefore, the major purposes of this study were (1) to examine the development of the American daytime serial, and (2) to compare the content of the radio and television serials using Arnheim's 1941 study and a contemporary parallel study of the television serial.

Limitations of This Study

This study is concerned with the daytime television serial, familiarly known as the "soap opera".

This study is not concerned with serial production, per se. The basic feature of this study is an analysis of

video soap opera content, using Arnheim's early radio studies as a point of departure. Five serials, chosen because of their contribution to a balanced pattern, were used for the period of data collection.

Justification for This Study

Daytime serials are as American as apple pie, the factory assembly line, and baseball. These daily dramas, popularly known as "soap operas", have become an integral part of the lives of homebound Americans, especially women. Two media, radio and television, have lent themselves well to daytime serials. For almost three decades, audio serials echoed in millions of American homes. The appeal of these dramas was paramount; their position in daytime radio was unshakeable. Salty tears mingled with dishwater as "Helen Trent" waged her battle against advancing age; whirring vacuum cleaners were hushed as "Our Gal Sunday" sought happiness as the wife of one of England's most handsome and wealthy lords; and cries of joy resounded as "Ma Perkins" bested Rushville Center's elements of corruption. Listeners were urged to tune in tomorrow, same time, same station, for further adventures; and they did tune in.

In the serial transition from radio to television, millions of radio serial addicts transferred their allegiance from the audio dramas to the video.[1] How many feminine fingers have been burned while ironing is forgotten while Bob and Lisa from "As The World Turns" engage in a vociferous spat. How many times has the dishwater grown cold as "The Doctors" struggle with their life and death battles. How many linoleum floors have remained grimy as viewers have watched with breathless anticipation as the unsavory schemes of Arthur Rysdale from the "Secret Storm" unravel slowly and deliberately. One must agree that the daytime serials have an unmistakable appeal to the housewives of America.

What is the magic of the daytime serials? Its appeal is elusive. Many factors, such as ego involvement, escapism, and personal fulfillment, are present; but experts theorize that a definite factor in serial popularity is the content of these dramas.[2] A new generation with new ideas are the primary soap opera viewers. Has the serial content changed accordingly over the years? If so, how?

[1]Bette Greene, "There's No End to Those Soap Operas", Coronet, III (February 1965), p. 146.

[2]John K. Hutchens, "Are Soap Operas Only Suds?", New York Times Magazine, March 24, 1943, p. 36.

Procedure

First was the establishment of the background material of the daytime serial; then the writer concentrated on the accumulation of data for the content analysis and comparison.

The procedure for this study was adapted from Arnheim's observation of 1941. To obtain the necessary material, Arnheim assigned forty-seven student listeners to the task. Each student listened to a particular serial for three weeks;[3] each installment and its action was noted in an individual monitor report. From these reports, Arnheim extracted a number of points concerning characterization, serial setting, problem creators and victims, character morality, and treatment of specific topics.[4]

In contrast, the writer of this present study served as the total research team and concentrated upon five television daytime serials for approximately two weeks. The quintet's titles and the justification for their selection are as follows:

[3]Some overlapping was evident here. Arnheim's students were allowed to choose a specific serial presented at a convenient time between 8:00 a.m. and 6:00 p.m. Consequently, some percentage of ambiguity resulted.

[4]These topics included "women", "experts", "learning", "neighbors", "newspapers", and "politics".

1. "As The World Turns", CBS, 1:30-2:00 p.m.: This serial was chosen because of its unusual success in popularity according to the Neilson ratings:

Season	Rating
1957	8.4
1958	11.5
1959	11.0
1960	10.6
1961	11.0
1962	12.6
1963	15.3
1964	16.5
1965	13.5[5]

2. "The Doctors", NBC, 2:30-3:00 p.m.: A growing trend toward medical-doctor-hospital serials is evident in the programming schedules of the three networks. ABC presents "General Hospital"; CBS presents "Search For Tomorrow"; and NBC presents "The Doctors". The serial under study is representative of this medical trend; it also has an unique feature--female doctors instead of housewives are presented as heroines.

3. "Moment Of Truth", NBC, 2:00-2:30 p.m.: The main reasons for the selection of this serial are two-fold. First, its leading character is a clinical

[5] Variety, 1957-1965.

psychologist; second, its setting is a small college campus. Both of these situations are not typical of the usual soap opera picture; could this have been a spin-off from the successful evening drama "Mr. Novak"?

4. "Edge of Night", CBS, 3:30-4:00 p.m.: This drama deals substantially with the life of a criminal lawyer. Since the hero is concerned with public service, it is imagined that the program would often delve into state and local political activities. An "unmedical" format also provided for a wider and deeper viewpoint of serial content.

5. "Secret Storm", CBS, 4:00-4:30 p.m.: The problems and the consequences of a lack of parent-child communication are readily noted in the "Secret Storm". This is the main reason for its appearance in this select group. A secondary reason for its inclusion is the fact that this serial dealt with "the birth of a politicial candidate"; this broadened the scope of televised serial content.

An individual monitor report was completed for each serial segment viewed. The monitoring methodology was divided into three major areas:

1. Pre-broadcast activity. Adjusted environmental and technical conditions and completed the daily informational section of the report.

2. Broadcast time. Entered the names of the characters as they appeared; ascribed pertinent action and reaction into the separate categories (conflicts, character evaluation and topics) with an abbreviated entry.

3. Post-broadcast activity. Reread the report to evaluate its accuracy; eliminated unimportant information and cleared up cloudy or ambiguous points. Transferred the information onto a master data sheet to be used as a reference in the video content analysis.

In the ten weeks following the period of data collection, bi-weekly checks were conducted in order to observe plot developments and to note the direction of video trends.

This empirical study resulted in a sheaf of monitor reports; from these reports it was possible to create a number

of trend conclusions which are open to more ambitious and sophisticated study. To accumulate this pertinent data, passages were extracted that referred to single conflicts or problems that formed the plots of the serials, references to actions and reactions of the single characters, evaluations of the characters given or implied during the program, and references to specific topics, such as "women", "experts", "learning", "neighbors", and "politics". Two new categories not included in Arnheim's study are "illegitimacy" and "divorce".

Plan of Organization

Chapter I contains background material concerning the development of the radio soap opera, including (a) early serial development, (b) early serial authors, (c) the peak of serial popularity, and (d) the decline of the daytime serials.

Chapter II includes a description of the composition and production of the radio daytime serial. Covered are (a) serial characterization, (b) serial problems, (c) serial setting, (d) slow-plot development, (e) problems of serial dialogists, and (f) studio production.

Chapter III deals with the audience effects of the serials by dividing the material into three categories: (a) negative serial effects, (b) positive serial effects, and (c) a conclusion.

Chapter IV contains the main portion of this study. Presented are: (a) history of the television serial, and (b) the data. The data is divided into five major categories: (1) characterization, (2) problems, (3) moral evaluations, (4) problem solutions and completions, and (5) treatment of specific topics.

Chapter V, the conclusion, includes a brief summary, a comparison of serial data, and a number of suggestions for future study in this area.

CHAPTER I

HISTORY OF THE RADIO DAYTIME SERIAL

Probably no other form of radio entertainment has been more popular, more scorned, and more enduring than was the daytime serial, inelegantly defined as the soap opera.[1] These somber dramas were the most ubiquitous form of mass entertainment ever devised.[2] For nearly three decades, the soap operas ruled daytime radio. (See Appendix Table 1) In the era of serial supremacy, an estimated audience of twenty million listeners were exposed to these programs from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m., Monday through Friday. They were presented on all four major networks with NBC and CBS producing the majority of shows.

Early Serial Development

Although the daytime serial originated in the Midwest, an accurate record of its inception is somewhat vague.[3] One of the early developments in domestic programming was "The Smith Family", created by James and Marian Jordan and presented over WENR in 1925. Although the evening program

[1] Irving Settel, A Pictorial History of Radio, p. 115.

[2] "The Soap Operas", Fortune, XXXIII (March 1946), p. 119

[3] James Thurber, The Beast in Me and Other Animals, p. 193.

was not an actual serial, it provided the basis for a format which evolved around a homely situation.[4] A more successful family drama, "The Rise of the Goldbergs", was first presented in an evening schedule on November 20, 1929.[5] Gertrude Berg, author and star of the program, encouraged realism and a simple family life for her radio "relatives."[6]

The development of a sequential programming technique was initiated by a pair of "song and chatter" entertainers, Freeman Godsen and Charles Correll. Their daily fifteen minute program, "Amos and Andy", was introduced on August 19, 1929; it achieved great success and it proved that the American daytime audience enjoyed a continued story presented daily.[7]

While these programs appear to have fostered the radio serial, a noted announcer from the early days of radio, the late Norman Brokenshire, claimed to have planted the seeds of interest which sprouted into this popular form of

[4]Settel, ibid.

[5]Rudolph Arnheim, "The World of the Daytime Serial", Public Opinion and Propaganda, p. 243.

[6]Katherine Best, "Literature of the Air; Radio's Perpetual Emotion", Saturday Review of Literature, XXI (April 20, 1940), p. 12.

[7]Robert McDonough, "Radio's Heart Throbs", Commonweal, XXXI (January 26, 1940), p. 299.

entertainment. In the early 1920's, Mr. Brokenshire was ordered to compose a half-hour program for a free time-slot in the evening schedule of a metropolitan station. Although he had but several hours to do so, he arranged a simple show using several actors. Air-time arrived but the performers had not; Mr. Brokenshire ad-libbed for several minutes but his cast did not appear. He noticed a book of short stories lying on a table in the studio; he picked it up and began to read one of the stories aloud. In several minutes, the actors arrived and the program began. However, the next day hundreds of letters arrived at the station, requesting that the story be finished on the air.[8] Mr. Brokenshire therefore contended that the response to his ingenious reading of "Fish Head" created the trend of the continued story.[9]

Regardless of its specific source, the daytime serial first appeared in Chicago. In an attempt to ease the financial strain of morning musical programs and to alleviate the lack of Midwest talent, radio producers cast about for

[8]Thurber, op. cit., pp. 236-237.

[9]Norman Brokenshire, This is Norman Brokenshire, p. 88.

an economical, interesting morning show.[10] An accomplishment of the 1930's had been the development of special techniques for the adaptation of program materials to the radio medium. Radio, largely a synthetic medium, adopted and adapted the basic communication forms of the other media.

At first, radio merely imitated stage performances; however, it was soon realized that the visual loss of drama could be offset through the use of coordinated music, sound effects and imaginery in production while capitalizing on the intimacy of the medium.[11] The American audience appeared to approve of a sequential program form and appeared to enjoy a story concerned with domestic activities.

Dramatic scripts suitable for serialization, such as "Real Folks" (August 9, 1929); "Little Orphan Annie" (1931); and "The Goldbergs" (1931) were developed. The first really identifiable soap opera on radio was Irna Phillips' "Painted Dreams" aired by WGN in Chicago in 1930. "Just Plain Bill"; "Vic and Sade" (1932); "Myrt and Marge"; "Ma Perkins" (1933); and "The Romance of Helen Trent" (1933)

[10]McDonough, op. cit., p. 12.

[11]Sydney Head, Broadcasting in America, pp. 139-140.

were later scripted and most of them achieved rapid, escalating popularity.

News of this novel and successful program type traveled quickly. The serial idea began in local stations, spread to the local networks, and soon encompassed the daytime productions of the national networks.[12]

New York, an entertainment mecca superior to Chicago radio production in financial backing and talent, was quick to attract the producers of the new and growing daytime serial. By the middle 1930's, most of the soap opera pioneers were based in New York; Chicago was no longer the center of the daytime dramas--it was simply another outlet.[13]

Radio Serial Authors

The creative individuals who first experimented with serial narrative became the royalty of soap opera. From various mundane occupations, (magazine and newspaper reporting, teaching, advertising), evolved the infamous and lucrative profession of serial writing.

Most noteworthy of this aggregation were the Hummerts, Frank and Anne. Frank, a former employee of the Blackett and Sample Advertising Agency, and Anne, his assistant and

[12]Best, op. cit., p. 12.

[13]Thurber, op. cit., p. 204.

secretary, established a unique form of serial production on an assembly line. The Hummerts conceived the story line for each of their dramatic shows by defining the plot and suggesting dialogue and characterization. This skeleton was then sent to a subsidiary organization, Air Features Incorporated, where a number of anonymous dialogue writers expanded the framework into usable scripts. The narratives were sent to the Hummerts for a final check and then returned to Air Features for casting and production. This efficient "soap opera mill" produced twelve daily serials at its zenith.[15] In 1940, their serials included "Just Plain Bill", "John's Other Wife", "David Harum", "Lorenzo Jones", "Young Widder Brown", "Backstage Wife", "Stella Dallas", "The Romance of Helen Trent", "Our Gal Sunday", "Doc Barclay's Daughter", "Amanda of Honeymoon Hill", and "Ma Perkins".[16]

The most outstanding employee of the Hummert machine was dynamic Charles Robert Douglas Hardy Andrews, a former reporter on the Chicago Daily News and a former editor of the Midwest magazine. He could develop five serial scripts per day; the two most illustrious soap characters of his

[15]"The Hummerts Super Soaps", Newsweek, XXIII (January 10, 1944), pp. 79-80.

[16]Best, op. cit., p. 13.

inventive mind were "Just Plain Bill", a masculine Pollyanna, and "Ma Perkins", often described as Bill in skirts. Each of these tenacious dramas ran approximately twenty-five years and attracted a loyal, large following.

Irna Phillips was originally an instructor in Dayton, Ohio, and became interested in radio production while touring the facilities at station WMAQ in Chicago. Abandoning her teaching, Miss Phillips achieved lasting success with her serials "Woman in White", "Right to Happiness", "Guiding Light", and "Lonely Women".

Another woman who found success in the world of soap operas was Mrs. Elaine Carrington, a magazine writer whose career had declined with the Depression. Her prime contribution was "Pepper Young's Family"; "Rosemary" and "When A Girl Marries" were less enduring.

Other pioneers whose success was measured by a single series were Mrs. Gertrude Berg and Paul Rhymer. Mrs. Berg's simple drama about Jewish family life was aired for over twenty years;[17] Mr. Rhymer's humorous "Vic and Sade" broke the typical serial's cardinal rule of "no humor, please" for thirteen years.[18]

[17] Thurber, op. cit., pp. 193-196.

[18] Maurice Zolotow, "Washboard Weepers", Saturday Evening Post, CCXV (may 29, 1943), p. 17.

Once the basic formula[19] of the daytime serial was discovered, the American daytime audience was deluged by a "cloudburst of bubbles." Advertisers were eager to sell their products and the ubiquity of the daytime serial resulted in little lack of sponsorship for the soap operas. In the 1939-1940 broadcasting year, a peak season of serial popularity, manufacturers of soap and cleansing agents presented over 49% of the programs; breakfast food makers sponsored almost 20% of the soap operas; and drug producers supported 10% of the shows. An interesting phenomenon of block sponsorship--the consecutive presentation of several serials by the same advertiser--resulted. Therefore, as the popularity of the soap operas increased, the number of sponsors decreased. For example, in 1936, thirty-one advertisers bought 152 quarter hours per week; in 1939, twenty-three sponsors purchased 249 quarter hours per week.[20]

[19]The soap opera formula is simple and almost inevitable. A character is maneuvered into trouble. The problem is to get him out of it before submerging him in more of the same. Frequently, the bout involved the Eternal Triangle (man plus woman plus X): because of the feminine audience to which the serial was addressed, the troublemaker was usually a man and the trouble shooter was usually a woman - Hutchins, op. cit., p. 19.

[20]Merrill Denison, "Soap Opera," Harpers, CLXXX (April 1940), pp. 498-499.

The biggest sponsor of radio serials was Proctor and Gamble. In 1939, Proctor and Gamble bought $8,765,135 worth of time from NBC, CBS, and MBS.[21] Lever Brothers was a close second.[22]

Peak of Serial Popularity

The World War Two years were indeed fruitful for the American daytime serials. In June, 1940, the four networks provided listeners with fifty-nine and one-half daytime hours of sponsored programs weekly. Of these, fifty-five hours were devoted to soap operas.[23] Between two and three hundred dramatic serials were aimed weekly at the American housewife in 1941. Evidently the sponsor's message was communicated effectively because $30,000,000 of the soap companies' annual income was conceded to serial sponsorship.[24]

Wartime rationing of gasoline and tires began to keep people at home and the daytime serial audience increased 13% in 1942. But statistics compiled by Matthew N. Chappell of the Hooper Rating Service showed that serial listeners spent 20% less time following the trials and tribulations of their favorite characters than they did in 1940--perhaps the clouds of war billowing across Europe stirred Americans'

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ben Gross, I Looked and I Listened, p. 157.

[23] Charles Lindsey, Radio and Television Communication, p.80.

[24] "Dream Bubbles in Soap", Newsweek, XVII (June 2, 1941) p. 51.

interests in war reports and news broadcasts.

Therefore, in late 1942, CBS, in an effort to expand its audience, began programming several of its soap operas into its evening schedule. For nighttime fans, CBS set aside one half-hour weekly (Monday 10:30 - 11:00 EWT) to display some of its daytime wares in the hopes of attracting more serial listeners. Gilbert Seldes, CBS' critic-author, spent two weeks listening to all of its daytime network dramas before choosing fourteen CBS serials to entice night listeners. Included were samples of daytime classics such as "Big Sister", "Second Husband", "Bachelor's Children", "Joyce Jordan, M.D.", and "Pepper Young's Family".[25]

In 1943, NBC and CBS devoted 79% of their daytime commercial hours to soap operas;[26] their estimated combined income from the sale of air-time for the five-day-a-week dramas was approximately $25,000,000 annually. It was at this point that the Office of War Information showed an interest in the soap operas. The opportunity of reaching a vast audience and the possibility of using the serials as patriotic message-bearing vehicles could not be ignored.

[25]"Daytime Classics", Time, XL (November 30, 1942), p. 45-46.

[26]"Question of Soap", Time, XLI (June 7, 1943), p. 66.

The OWI's "allocation announcements" (special bulletins on rationing and fuel) were broadcast regularly and successfully. Special versions of leading serials, written and produced particularly for OWI, were offered outside of their regularly scheduled time on the networks and in recorded form on local stations. The wartime spirit even infected some of the trouble-laden heroines--Joyce Jordan went to work in a war plant and Stella Dallas entered a munitions factory.[27]

The four major networks offered a total of thirty-nine soap operas in 1945. This represented approximately 66% of the daytime revenue of CBS and NBS ($30,000,000), about 22% of their total revenue, or over 15% of the gross of all network broadcasting.[28] Serials took up over half of the daylight time of the two leading networks; NBC presented twelve and CBS scheduled eleven.

The year 1946 brought no alteration in the number of shows broadcast over the national networks. Serials comprised a total of ten hours per day in comparison to six and one-half hours of popular and familiar music; five hours of children's serials and other dramas; and four and three-quarter hours of cultural and religious programs.[29]

[27]Hutchens, op. cit., p. 36.

[28]Lindsey, op. cit., p. 80.

[29]Fortune, op. cit., p. 148.

With the end of World War Two, experts theorized that the soap opera would fall victim to the changing times and would be replaced by good musical programs, variety shows, or comedians. This proved to be fallacious, and post-war radio did its best to present "every grief--crazed widow, snide lawyer, and embezzler who had ever crept into the hearts of the pre-war public."[30]

The soap opera "factories" were still in successful operation in 1947 and 1948. In an effort to pare production costs to a minimum, the advertising agencies had turned serial scipting into a "sweatshop assembly line" operation reminiscent of pulp magazine production.[31] The unusual technique of serial multi-scheduling was evident during the pre- and post-war years. For example, "Vic and Sade" could be heard on one station at 8:30 a.m.; by the use of mechanical reproductions, the identical episode might be broadcast at 2:45 p.m. on another station. Another unique aspect of serial production was the fact that the

[30]Edwin O'Connor, "The Fairly Merry Widow", Atlantic Monthly, CLXXVII (June 1946), p. 134.

[31]Llewellyn White, "The Shortcomings of Radio", Atlantic Monthly CLXXVIII (April 1947), p. 64-65.

writers who specialized in the endless slippery dialogue numbered less than 100 for the entire country.[32] Sponsors, producers, writers, and listeners believed that the soap opera's popularity would extend into infinity. But in 1949, the new medium of television appeared. Although television did not affect the world of the daytime serial immediately, radio executives began to experience a vague uneasiness about the new competitor. Gradually, radio began to lose its glamour, its listeners, and its advertisers. Network programming began to decline. Local stations' inexpensive formats of recorded music, news, and sports began to attract some of the vast audience; network time sales started to drop drastically; and radio talent began to abandon the audio medium for the video.[33]

In 1950, housewives could still follow the adventures of their favorite soap heroines in the thirty-odd network serials,[34] but by 1955, fewer and fewer soap operas were offered. Producers seemed to decide that the busy housewives now had no time to listen to the serials and that the lazy housewives were not worthy of such effort. In any case, the

[32]Denison, op. cit., p. 503.

[33]"The State of Radio", Time, LXV (May 9, 1955), p. 70.

[34]Wilfred Parsons, "Daytime Radio", America, XCIV (February 18, 1956), p. 552.

attractiveness of television could not be ignored.[35]

The Death of a Serial

Because of a lack of network sponsorship, NBC discontinued most of its fifteen minute serials in October, 1955; in their stead were scheduled more disc-jockeys and spot commercials.[36] CBS clung tenaciously to its daytime dramas--in 1960 it was still possible to tune in every weekday afternoon to hear "Woman in My House", "Pepper Young's Family", "Helen Trent", "Ma Perkins", "Young Dr. Malone", and "The Right to Happiness".[37] Unfortunately, for the afficinado of the daytime radio serials, the days of these stalwarts were numbered. On November 26, 1960, after nearly thirty years of broadcasting, the few remaining daytime serials bid a teary and poignant farewell to their audiences--the era of the radio soap opera was at an end;[38] the expanding medium of television had completely absorbed the inhabitants and problems of Rinsoville, Ivorytown, Anacinburg, and Crisco Corners.[39]

The life of the soap opera, from its birth in Chicago during the "roading twenties" to its demise in the "space-

[36]Hugh Dickinson, "Soap Operas Down the Drain", America, XCIV (October 29, 1955), p. 127.

[37]Settel, op. cit., p. 118.

[38]George Willey, End of an Era; the Daytime Radio Serial", Journal of Broadcasting, V (Spring 1961), p. 98.

[39]Thurber, op. cit., p. 208.

age sixties", may be subdivided in a chronological manner:

1930-37: The Age of Experimentation. Due to a Mid-West lack of financial resources and talent, a basic serial formula was developed and popularized by pioneers such as Frank and Anne Hummert, Elaine Carrington, Irna Phillips, Gertrude Berg, Charles Hardy, and Paul Rhymer.

1937-45: The Explosive Era. Soap operas had captured the fancy of audience and sponsors alike; the result of this was the rapid multiplication of the serials and their consequent domination of day-time radio schedules.

1945-49: The Age of Complacency. The number of serials had stabilized and their eternal popularity was predicted by post-war optimists.

1949-55: The Era of Waning Popularity. A formidable competitor, network television, arrived on the scene; radio's glamor diminished as television enticed its listeners away. Televised serials were introduced in this era and were not unkindly received.

1955-60: The Age of the "Bursting Bubble". Radio serials' days were limited. Their number dwindled until the final episodes of the few survivors were presented on November 25, 1960. Television had absorbed and adapted the soap opera to fit the visual medium.

CHAPTER II

COMPOSITION AND PRODUCTION OF THE RADIO DAYTIME SERIAL

"A soap opera is a kind of a sandwich;" stated James Thurber, "between thick slices of advertising, spread twelve minutes of dialogue; add predicament, villainy, and female suffering in equal measure; throw in a dash of nobility; sprinkle with tears; season with organ music; cover with a rich announcer sauce; and serve five times a week."[1]

Although this tasty definition sounds facetious, the formula of the typical soap opera was not unlike this recipe. Ardent defenders of the radio dramas granted that the serials did not contribute to the world's greatest literature; the soap opera was simply a piece of storytelling for wide popular consumption. In narrative form, the daily drama was a first cousin of the eternal newspaper comic strip; in tone and content, it was a counterpart to the "pulp" magazine story.[2] Its principal theme was trouble--its prevailing sound effect was the barely repressed sob.[3]

Several cardinal rules formed the guidelines along which the radio serials were developed. Some characteristics of the radio soap operas were:

[1]Thurber, op. cit., p. 191.

[2]A periodical usually devoted to lurid and sensational stories.

1. Characterization: A female lead who was superior to her masculine counterpart in intelligence, devotion, nobility of character, and capacity for sacrifice;[4] a benign matron filled with free advice and problem solutions; and a weak man who easily succumbed to womanly wiles and did not grasp the real meaning of life were included.

2. A medical emphasis: The natural predilection of women to linger over the details of operations and illnesses was fulfilled.[5]

3. Scheduling: The serial plot was dovetailed into the unique listening habits of the American housewife with her unavoidable household tasks and routine interruptions.[6]

4. Dialogue: The story line was carefully constructed to flatter the feminine egos in the audience. A preponderance of misery was evident, for it was

[4]Denison, op. cit., p. 500.

[5]Zolotow, op. cit., p. 46.

[6]Seldes, op. cit., p. 113.

believed the "grief is constant; happiness is fleeting."[7]

5. Frills: An organist whose instrument set moods, constructed bridges, and added dramatic emphasis; and an announcer who invariably established present serial developments and reconstructions of past events were necessary.[8]

Serial Characterization

The main characters of the radio soap opera generally remained constant from month to month and from year to year. This stablization, this eternal permanence of unchanging characters in a changing world, gave the audience a feeling of reassurance particularly during the turbulent years of World War Two.[9] These characters were of three miens--very good, very bad, or very weak.[10]

[7]Max Wylie, "Washboard Weepers", Harper's Magazine, 185 (November 1942), p. 635.

[8]Thurber, op. cit., p. 221.

[9]David Mackey, Drama on the Air, p. 90.

[10]"Soap Operas", Fortune, XXXIII (March 1946), p. 120.

The good people who dominated the serials were middle-class, conservative, intuitive, philosophical, benevolent, virtuous, sympathetic, ageless, and unaging.[11] They did most of the suffering and were usually the individuals about whom the format evolved and developed. They created trouble by deceiving others for their own good, accused themselves of crimes in order to shield others, and usually surmounted the unbelievable odds dealt them by life. Because of the housewives' identification with the heroine, these ideal women could not be developed as human beings. These Pollyannas were endowed with complete moral, physical, and intellectual perfection; their greater virtues included strong character, high fortitude, unfailing capability, innate goodness, and impregnable chastity.[12] They neither smoked nor drank, for coffee and tea were the strongest spirits required in tense situations. Two radio queens, "Ma Perkins" and "Helen Trent", were excellent examples of the typical soap heroine. "Ma", carefully constructed to

[11]Thurber, op. cit., pp. 214-216.

[12]Seldes, op. cit., p. 116.

flatter the feminine ego, never partook of alcoholic beverages, never contaminated her lungs with cigarette smoke, and never indulged in affairs with men.[13] "Helen", a beautiful, poised, glamorous costume designer, was invincibly pure, consistently humorless, modestly dressed, relentlessly viceless, and extremely unemotional, much to the dismay of her numerous rich, handsome, weak suitors.[14]

Bad people were the real trouble makers. These minor characters provided the contrast needed to define and delineate the innate righteousness of the good people.[15] Drinking, smoking, and affairs with the opposite sex were common traits among the villains and villainesses. An example of this type, "Helen Trent"'s perennial arch-rival Daisy Parker, demonstrated her low moral stature with her fondness for gossip and her weakness for "martinis on the rocks with no olive."[16] Most of the villains came from the

[13]"Life With Ma", Time, LXX (August 26, 1957), p. 42.

[14]"Ageless Heroine", Time, LXVIII, (August 6, 1956), p. 48.

[15]Arnheim, op. cit., p. 250.

[16]Time, August 6, 1956, ibid.

cities; gangsters, white collar criminals, designing women, unnatural mothers, cold wives, and ruthless millionaires made up the tourist trade of Rushville Center or Hartville. Their prime goal appeared to be the destruction of Soapland's serene world; they acted without motive but rarely fell victim to their own plots. These unsavory individuals were usually confronted by the good characters whose innate shrewdness deleted them or whose kindness transformed them into useful citizens.[17]

A third group of characters also existed. They were the weak people who excelled in unpleasant qualities such as jealousy, vindictiveness, lack of balance, deceitfulness, and selfishness.[18] Their will was atrophied; torn by indecision, they were at the mercy of events. Although their actions were often violent, they acted out of weakness, not strength. Since these weaknesses were the result of bad experiences or lack of control and since the individual's nature was not of an inborn evilness, he was usually shown the harmfulness of his actions and led from darkness into day by the heroine.[19]

[17]Thurber, op. cit., p. 210.

[18]Arnheim, ibid.

[19]Op. cit., p. 247.

Serial Society

The leading roles in the serials were dominated by professional people and housewives. Businessmen, local governmental officials, and society leaders were often represented, but mundane wage earners in the form of factory workers, miners, and unskilled laborers were never developed as leading characters. Although few heroes ever appeared to work at their professions, a lack of financial security seldom occurred. Character social stratification contained doctors, nurses, homely philosophers, attractive women dedicated to the art of discouraging marriage-minded suitors, and "Cinderellas" (young matrons whose husbands were financially and socially above them).[20]

Serial Problems

The basic plot of the daytime serial was simple to the extreme. Weak people, invariably trouble-laden because of the machinations of the bad ones, were eventually saved by the good characters.[21]

[20]Thurber, op. cit., pp. 214-220.

[21]Op. cit., p. 213.

Several types of plot arrangement were evident. One form consisted of guidance by a male or female leader chosen because of his admirable personal characteristics. In this case, the unruly individuals, as well as their specific type of difficulty, varied from episode to episode. The second form of arrangement was concerned with a group situation. A number of people, usually a family, faced disaster after disaster. If the family were expanded to include friends, relatives, and fiances, new victims for new troubles were never lacking.

The problems faced by the characters included difficulties concerned with courtship, marriage, family, friends, crime, occupations, accidents, and public affairs.[22] Special illnesses affected the inhabitants of Soapland. Amnesia, paralysis, strange fevers, temporary blindness, dizzy spells, severe headaches, pneumonia, and gland maladies struck with some regularity.[23] These difficult situations were governed by a perfect type of justice found

[22]Arnheim, op. cit., pp. 252-253.

[23]Thurber, op. cit., p. 208.

only in the world of the soap opera. No specific principles of jurisprudence were evident in the narrative, but all characters received their just rewards; unfortunately, the supreme authority from whom these happy endings evolved remained a mystery to the listening audience.[24]

Serial Setting

Most of the serials were set in misty, unreal middle-sized and small towns; since a majority of the audience did not reside in an urban locale, the serial producers favored good, clean, little communities over the cold, cruel metropolitan centers--small towns were moral; cities were immoral. Although the audience was permitted to realize that all sudsy action took place somewhere in the United States, specific states in which High Falls or Hartville were located were conveniently anonymous,[25] with the exception of Black Swan Hall Estate, Virginia, the abode of "Our Gal Sunday" and spouse.[26]

[24]Arnheim, ibid.

[25]Thurber, op. cit., p. 208.

[26]"The End of Our Gal", Newsweek, LIII (January 5, 1959), p. 64.

The characters' homes were set in a sterile environment. Rarely did neighbors, community workers (mailmen, policemen, and milkmen), or door-to-door salesmen enter the serials' sphere of action. A majority of the interminable serial action took place in the living room of the principal character's house where no sounds of community life (automobile horns, shouting children, or barking dogs) penetrated.[27]

Soapland was indeed a peaceful world. Although it was filled with dastardly deeds and abusive actions, it was a politicial and economic Utopia. Crisco Corners or Rinsoville was a typical American small town without international unrest, menace of fission, threats of inflation or deflation, unemployment, Communism, and racism.[28]

Drama In Slow Motion

The whole idea of the daytime serial was predicated upon the knowledge that listeners could not attend to them exclusively. Housewives, the majority of serial addicts,

[27]Thurber, op. cit., p. 210.

[28]Op. cit., p. 213.

had work to do. They could not concentrate on work and listen simultaneously, so radio broadcasters designed this type of dramatic fare so that the action could be followed even if predispositions occurred. This concept was the basis of everything that was produced in the serial vein.[29] Busy, yet devoted, serial followers tuned into their favorite programs approximately three days out of five. At first, the characters' dialogue related the things that actually happened to them that day, but dissention from the audience showed that the plot advanced too rapidly.[30]

To rectify this unhappy situation, the dramas' writers slowed movement to a glacier-like flow.[31] The immediate and not-so-immediate past was reconstructed regularly; each event was sub-divided so that the thread of events could be replucked with a minimum of effort.[32] Little conversation took place, musical bridges flowed effortlessly, commercials were frequent, and plot recapitulation was eternal.[33] Nothing was left to the imagination; no

[29]Albert Crew, Radio Production Direction, pp. 467-471.

[30]Thurber, op. cit., p. 212.

[31]Ibid.

[32]Seldes, op. cit., p. 114.

[33]Op. cit., p. 116.

implications to hurry action and to add depth were evident. Telephones, telegrams, and office intercoms extended the actionless variety and gave some plausibility to the numerous repetitions. But such recapitulations often bordered on the ludicrous and strained the surface plausibility of the story. Hugh Dickson's caricature of a section of dialogue from "Lorenzo Jones" illustrates this point:

> Dennis Scott: "Belle Jones, do you see that house?"
>
> Belle Jones: "Yes, I see that large, grey stone house standing on a cliff, with a fifty-foot drop to jagged rocks below, and surrounded by impenetrable forests with not another house for miles and miles around. This is not the road to the church where I am to remarry my husband, Lorenzo Jones. Why have you brought me here, Dennis Scott?"

The static situations that resulted from talking a subject to death deleted two important dramatic ingredients--humor and suspense--from the typical serial's composition. It was the peculiar triumph of soap opera that make all action "past action."[34] This feature was a prime target for anti-serial criticism; an excerpt from Hamlet, Act III,

[34]Dickinson, op. cit., pp. 128-129.

Scene II, is applicable here: "Suit the action to the word, the word to the action....Now this overdone or come tardy off, though it make the unskillful laugh, cannot but make the judicious grieve."[35]

Nothing happened between acts; nothing was compressed, inferred, or foreshortened. The interminableness gave the serials a strange kind of realims; long pauses, speech hesitations, repetitions, flashbacks, and irrelevances to permit procrastination contributed to the postponement of forward progress. The characters were supposed to be recognized as old friends by the audience. Old friends were not expected to be dramatic or amusing at every encounter; their mere presence provided contentment. If old friends were not seen for several days, one was eager to hear about his most recent activities. If he were a little repetitious, it was perfectly acceptable and natural.[36]

Production of the Radio Serials

It is believed that machine-made popular art forms, (television, radio, cinema, the press), reflect the very

[35]Peter Alexander, William Shakespeare, The Complete Works, p. 1048.

[36]Seldes, op. cit., p. 114-115.

society that created it; this feature adds to its popularity the asset of a mass audience. If this is so, none were more machine-made, standardized, and popular than the daytime soap operas.[37] Like most successful mass production businesses, serial development was conducted along methodical lines. The majority of these programs were created, written, and produced by advertising agencies and delivered to the broadcasters for presentation.[38]

Problems of Serial Dialogists

Soap operas were prepared by shrewd craftsmen. The first desideratum was a good story line,[39] charted six to eight months in advance and later dissected into small segments.[40] From this birth of a bubble evolved scripts which were a deft merger of soothing syrup, folksiness and heartbreak.[41]

[37]Dickinson, ibid.

[38]Op. cit., p. 127.

[39]Some serials were inventions; some came from adaptations of comic strips, continuous books, or plays...Hutchens, op. cit., p. 19.

[40]Ibid., p. 36.

[41]Gross, op. cit., p. 157.

Several problems and taboos confronted the serial writers:

1. Names for the hundreds of serial characters were necessary. Frank Hummert, head of the gargantuan Hummert Radio Productions, stated that the material for his characters' baptisms followed this system: "I just go out and copy names from shop signs."

2. Keeping the dialogue from becoming stale was another difficulty. A soap writer, exuding nearly half a million words per year (the equivalent of twenty full-length stage plays) was apt to "slip out of the groove and into a rut." When a writer reached a point of redundancy, he was shifted to a new story or released.

3. The endless stories could not end. Once an insoluble conflict was established, it was stretched as far as its snap would allow. Unfortunately, this was sometimes impossible. For example, an early Hummert vehicle, "Betty and Bob", depended on an unsteady, jealous relationship

between the main characters. The story reached a climax when the couple had a baby, but it ended when listeners would not longer accept the fluctuating relationship between a married couple with a child.[42]

4. Sex had to be handled delicately. The strict daytime morality of the heroines, therefore, featured the good women as coy, impregnably chaste, and nobly aided by a Freudian censor who would knock at doors or send telegrams at crucial moments.[43] Normal marital relationships were impossible; convenient cases of amnesia, jobs, errands, telephone calls, and ailing relatives led to marriages presented as pure social arrangements.[44]

5. Any mention of tobacco or alcoholic consumption could not be associated with the heroine--this showed moral depravity and was reserved for evil characters only.

[42]Newsweek, January 10, 1944, ibid.

[43]Seldes, op. cit., p. 218.

[44]Op. cit., p. 117.

The pattern of the daytime serial was an endless sequence of narratives, the cohesive element of which was the eternal pressures upon its principal characters. A story sequence extended from eight weeks to several months.[45] The script writer worked only two or three weeks in advance of the performance of his narrative so the plot could be altered if necessary.[46] His ingenious dexterity was constantly taxed to move the serial logically and to permit the basic denouement to provide the longest suspense. Scripts were fashioned so Friday's chapter left the listener in a state of excited anticipation over the weekend while awaiting Monday's episode.[47]

Studio Production

Serial production and direction were simple. The same director handled the daily show; the script writers were constant; the same crew was assigned; and the program was broadcast from the same studio.

[45]Thurber, op. cit., p. 209.

[46]Hutchens, op. cit., p. 36.

[47]Ibid.

Little script editing was necessary. First, the writer was a highly skilled craftsman who knew the medium intimately so that the common errors found in a free-lance script were mainly absent. Second, the author had created the characters and was familiar with them as well as with the unchanging format of the show. Third, because a majority of all such programs were agency-produced, the agency's radio executives checked the scripts thoroughly in advance.

Since the continuous story retained a constant basic set of characters, the same actors portrayed the same basic parts week in and week out. Talent was a problem only if the agency became dissatisfied with an actor's character interpretations or with his personal behavior. The listening serial audience was large, loyal, and quick to announce their dislike of a plot or actor; so it was a rare but major operation to recast a leading character. Naturally, the sponsor's large investment in the program made him rather sensitive to negative reactions, so major auditions were conducted with considerable thoroughness and serious deliberation. Minor casting problems were always present. New characters constantly introduced had to be cast, and the dramatized commercials had to be produced.

Staff needs, studio needs, and studio layout were almost as constant as the cast. Special effects were few and simple, sound effects were uncomplicated and obvious, and music consisted of a standard theme and bridge.[48]

Time was the only real problem. If the writer were careless in this vein, cuts or inserts were made to standardize the program's length during rehearsal time. Three readings took place--one for interpretation, one for timing, and one for a dress rehearsal.

The actual playing time of the dialogue was nine to ten minutes, with five to six minutes devoted to announcements, commercials, and music.[49] The weekly production cost of the average fifteen minute serial was $2,000; with radio time costs included, the total price of a network hookup was almost $11,000 per week.[50]

Review

Soap opera was unique. Its melodramatic incidents, its strict characterization, and its slow-motion life

[48]A bridge is a musical span across dramatic scenes which provides a transitional link and encourages format continuity.

[49]Crew, Ibid.

[50]Hutchens, ibid.

combined to make the serials a novel and unusual art form.

Since the early days of the radio soaps, various writers and performers have vied for the honor of serial progenitor. Unfortunately, it appears that this distinction cannot be bestowed upon any of these combatants. The credit belongs to Viktorien Sardow.[51] In 1895, years before the serials were fabricated, George Bernard Shaw unknowingly described the serial essence in this bit of "constructive" criticism:

"Sardou's plan of playwriting is first to invest the action of his piece, and then to carefully keep it off the stage and have it announced merely by letters and telegrams. The people open the letters whether they are addressed to them or not, and then talk about what the letters announce as having occurred already or about what they intend to do tomorrow in consequence of receiving them. When the news is not brought by post, the characters are pressed into service."[52]

The similarity is unmistakable and remarkable.

[51]Viktorien Sardou, 1831-1908, a French dramatist.

[52]Dickinson, op. cit., p. 127.

CHAPTER III

SERIAL EFFECTS

"Pandering to perversity and playing out destructive conflicts...the serials furnish the same release for the emotionally distorted that is supplied to those who derive satisfaction from a lynching bee, who lick their lips at the salacious scandals of a "crime passionnel", who in the unregretted past cried out in ecstasy at a witch burning," cheerfully stated Dr. Louis I. Berg, former physician of the New York Department of Health at Welfare Island.[1]

Such vehement reaction to the radio soap operas was evident during most of the serials' existence--critics raged and learned professors wrote scholarly tomes "proving" that this form of entertainment was a menace. A prolonged diet of such pap, they warned, would surely undermine the mental health of the American female. The soap crises of bigamy, wife desertion, or brain surgery would produce a race of neurotic women. Their afflictions would range from

[1]Thurber, op. cit., p. 252.

advanced hypochondria to an irresistable impulse to escape from reality.[2]

Negative Serial Effects

Critics stated that at its best, soap opera was tedious bilge; at its worst, the serials contained revolting morbidity.[3] Unfortunately, the housewives were conditioned to demand more serial fare even as they forgot what they had already absorbed. Gilbert Seldes, CBS critic, believed that soap operas were compelled by their own nature to create works that were promptly forgotten; the work of art as an imperishable object was foreign to them.[4]

The infamous Dr. Berg, soap opera's most violent critic, presented his views in a 1942 pamphlet with the impressive title of "Preliminary Report; A Study of Certain Radio Programs and Their Effects upon the Audience, Especially Adolescents and Women in Climacterium."[5] He

[2]Gross, op. cit., p. 157.

[3]Fortune, op. cit., p. 119.

[4]Dickinson, op. cit., p. 130.

[5]One of Dr. Berg's female patients suffered a psychological relapse; the cause, he discovered, was the woman's exposure to daytime serials. In order to educate and enlighten the world, he developed this report.

believed that serials such as "Women in White" and "Right to Happiness" encouraged a breakdown of the average woman's nervous system. The soap operas, he advocated, reeked with morbid and twisted suggestions; serial authors had screened emotional sewers and had drained emotional swamps for much of their material.

"What will happen to a woman[6] if she listens to serials all the time," said Dr. Berg, "is that she will experience increased blood pressure, nocturnal frights, vasomotor instability, vertigo (dizziness), gastro-intestinal disturbances, profuse perspiration, tremors, and a slight touch of tachycardia (swift heart). It totals a very pretty fatigue syndrome.[7] The constant serial listener can become as morbidly fond of her fantasy world as the use of opium brings momentary surcrease with drugged dreams. This anxiety is similar to that encouraged by enemy propaganda; it lays the groundwork for civilian panic in emergencies and

[6]To determine this, Dr. Berg listened to forty episodes of ten serials. He took notes on his pulse beats and blood pressure before and after listening to each episode. The serials raised his blood pressure and increased his pulse.

[7]A fatigue syndrome consisted of malaise (indefinite body discomfort), insomnia, inability to concentrate, emotional instability, depression,and all sorts of phobias...Zolotow, op. cit., p. 16.

saps the productive energies of the afflicted individuals in their essential efforts."[8]

Gilbert Seldes inveighed against the myth world of the soap operas--he feared that the unrealistic adults in the audience would find consolation in the low pitched, agonized falsifications of the daytime serials. They appeared to render the fans unable to face reality, which was unlike and less attractive than the imaginary soap world. Facing reality was a shocking experience and was, therefore, avoided. He believed that the serials diverted, deceived, and prevented the development of mature, responsible citizens.[9]

In the area of serial programming, Edgar A. Grunwald, American trade journalist, conducted a series of national interviews with over three hundred regional station executives. He reported that these executives believed that the serials ruined the initiative of the local production staffs, alienated the more intelligent class of listeners,

[8]Hutchens, op. cit., p. 36.

[9]Joseph Klapper, The Effects of Mass Communication, pp. 169-175.

and made the presentation of regional educational and cultural programs virtually impossible.[10]

In view of these facts, the daytime serials indeed appeared to be despicable with their depressing stories, tedious plot development, schedule domination and mental health hazards.[11] Where, critics demanded, would these maudlin epics and their detrimental effects lead? When would the serial audience abandon their "washboard weepers"?

Positive Serial Effects

Psychological Effects

Curiously enough, the American housewives turned a deaf ear to the gloomy warnings of the critics and appeared unconcerned about their mental balance despite the doleful syndromes supposedly produced. Apparently impervious to nocturnal frights and vascomotor instability, they continued to buy the sponsors' products and to listen to the daily immersions into soap.[12]

[10]McDonough, op. cit., p. 300.

[11]Wylie, op. cit., pp. 633-634.

[12]Zolotow, op. cit., p. 16.

Serials made the listener feel at home by offering her a world which outwardly resembled her own and in which people made themselves and others suffer by committing familiar mistakes and by displaying familiar shortcomings of character. She was encouraged to view failure as happening only to other people and was confirmed in her belief that her suffering was not caused by herself, but by the imperfections and villainy of others.[13]

The typical soap fan usually identified herself with at least one of her favorite serial characters. Her reaction to the three basic types of people presented in the serial was as follows:

1. The Weak Character had a large share of guilt in the uninterrupted series of life's daily catastrophes, but was not inherently evil. The portrait offered by the weak character was an unpleasant one with which the housewife did not desire identification. Resonance, a form of sympathy, was the usual reaction provoked by the weaklings; to enjoy this resonance, it was necessary for the housewife to disassociate herself with the weak people.

[13]Arnheim, op. cit., pp. 253-254.

2. The Good People fulfilled the housewives' need for identification. It provided a safe platform from which she looked down upon the weak character's unfortunate experiences with aloofness and complacency. It allowed her to associate herself with a woman who was always good, right, virtuous, energetic, helpful, and authoritative. The heroine appeared as a woman desired by handsome suitors, a wife, a mother, a friend, or a professional woman. Consequently, this identification provided reparation for the "passive and subordinate role" that the housewife played in real life.

3. The Bad People threatened the security of the characters with whom the listener was linked with resonance and identification. The good woman would help her weak associates, but the bad people, her devout enemies, received the brunt of her shrewd, adaptable battle tactics. No identification existed between the bad characters and the listeners; no understanding for the villain's motives existed or was desired. They were evil; they provoked fear and resentment and attacked innocent victims

> because of their inherently evil nature. This personification of evil often confirmed the housewife's personal attitude toward her own serious threats or adversaries.[14]

Material Expressions

Millions of listeners took the anguished lives of their favorite characters to heart and wrote them letters of advice and encouragement and sent them gifts when births, weddings, and other happy occasions in the story warranted them.[15]

Most listeners had sharp ears. If a performer were granted a temporary or permanent vacation, many housewives were quick to note any change in the voice quality of the

[14] Op. cit., pp. 256-258.

[15] Settel, op. cit., p. 117. When Ruth and John Wayne of "Big Sister" were married on the air, three delivery trucks of wedding gifts (ties, cufflinks, handkerchiefs, china, lingerie, end tables, slippers, cigarette cases, floor lamps, a portable radio, and three carving sets) were sent to the studio by unknown admirers who evidently visualized the newly weds as real people. The networks could not return or keep the gifts, so they sent them to the Red Cross, hospitals, orphanages, and other charities..Best, op. cit., p. 11.

character.[16] In one case, the hero of "Pepper Young's Family" was replaced by a man with a remarkably similar voice. Unfortunately, the resemblance was not perfect; a number of indignant letters questioning the moral turpitude of the Youngs' personal life were received by the show's producers.[17]

Results of Professional Studies

The nature of the soap operas was subject to more flattering analyses than those previously noted. Columbia University's staff psychologist Herta Herzog was subsidized by the Rockefeller Foundation to determine the "lure of the serials". Surveying the reaction of New York women, Herzog discovered that the audience appetite for the soap operas was enormous. The average number of serials followed was 6.6, but an interesting correlation was evident--if a listener's problems became more complex, she listened to more programs. The extremes ranged from a woman who needed

[16]Thurber, ibid.

[17]Ibid.

only two shows per day to a domestic on a twenty-two per day diet. Herzog believed that the daily theme of "in trouble and out again" appealed to the dialers' insecurity and provided them with solutions to their own problems.[18]

Paul Lazarsfeld, director of the Office of Radio Research at Columbia University, reached remarkably similar conclusions. His study revealed that women apparently received two gratifications from listening; first, an escape or day-dreaming that carried them away from their daily lives,[19] and second, a source of guidance in their private lives.

A study compiled by the Women's Institute of Audience Reaction revealed more specific positive factors. The women questioned stated that they listened to the serials because the daily dramas:

1. Made work seem lighter.
2. Provided guidance, helpful philosophy, and inspiration.
3. Supplanted reading and saved time and eyes.
4. Provided pleasant escape from personal troubles.

[18]"Dream Bubbles in Soap", Newsweek, XVII (June 2, 1941), p. 31.

[19]Hutchens, op. cit., p. 36.

5. Created pleasant anticipation and suspense.
6. Satisfied a natural appetite for entertainment, particularly dramatic.
7. Helped dispel loneliness.[20]

Professors W. Lloyd Warner and William E. Henry delved deeply into the elusive quality of serial identification for CBS. They studied "Big Sister", Robert Newman and Julian Flint's serial, which dealt with a triangle composed of Ruth Wayne, the big sister; Dr. John Wayne, her husband; and Dr. Reed Bannister, the disquieting factor. A number of interesting conclusions were noted. The serial:

1. Aroused normal adaptive anxiety in its female listeners.
2. Condemned neurotic and non-adaptive anxiety and functioned to curb such feelings in the audience.
3. Provided moral beliefs, values, and techniques for solving emotional and interpersonal problems for its audience.
4. Directed the private reveries and fantasies of the listener into socially approved channels of action.

[20] Ibid.

5. Increased the women's sense of security in the world they felt was often threatening by reaffirming the security of the marriage ties and accentuating the security of the husband's position.
6. Demonstrated that those who behaved properly exercised moral control over those who did not.
7. Showed that iniquitous behavior was punished.
8. Dramatized the significance of the woman's role in basic human affairs.
9. Increased the woman's feeling of importance by emphasizing her role in family affairs.
10. Showed that the listener had control over the vicissitudes of family life.

In short, the serial decreased the feeling of feminine futility and made women feel essential and desirable through their identification with the heroine Ruth.[21] Was this harmful?

[21]Thurber, op. cit., pp. 254-255.

A Slippery Issue

The virtues and vices of the daytime serials were a moot question. Individuals unassociated with radio production criticized the shows; radio's executives, writers, and sponsors defended the serials. To educators and intellectuals, the number and nature of the serials served as examples of the social irresponsibility of commercial sponsorship. To critics, soap opera was a waste of the medium[22]; radio should have been educational and enlightening.[23]

[22]Although the soap operas were ridiculed for their plots, characters, and slow pace, a number of these narratives were very good. Gertrude Berg's "The Goldbergs" contained well-delineated characters depicting warmth and humor; Paul Rhymer's "Vic and Sade", once called the best American humor of its day by Edgar Lee Masters, was filled with humorous, shrewd and unpretentious dialogue..."Vic and Sade", Time, XLII (December 27, 1943), p. 42; Sandra Michael's literate and war-conscious "Against the Storm" won the 1942 Peabody Award for radio excellence from the University of Georgia..."Scented Soap", Newsweek, XXII (July 5, 1943), p. 110; and Carleton E. Morse's venerable "One Man's Family" saga about the Barbour family was natural and realistic..."Life in 'One Man's Family' Will Continue Over Air Waves for Seven More Years", Newsweek, XIII (February 6, 1939), pp. 32-33.

[23]Denison, op. cit., p. 512.

Radio executives staunchly defended serial presentation. Storrs Haynes, radio director of the Compton Advertising Agency, stated: "What the critics of daytime radio don't seem to grasp is that we've tried other forms of entertainment, and women don't want them. We've had shows like Dr. Dafoe giving hints on raising children, Beatrice Fairfax with advice to the lovelorn, book reviews, astrologers, and George Rector with kitchen suggestions. The best of these shows can achieve a Crossley rating[24] of one or two, whereas at least fifteen of the serials have a similar rating of eight or better."[25]

It was the ethical versus the mercenary; it was either rinse the suds down the drain or whip them to a froth. Both viewpoints were logically and earnestly presented--it was impossible to declare impartially which side was right. To listen or not to listen; this depended on the personal desires and tastes of the American housewife.

Never before did a mass communication entertainment form follow such a meteoric career. The effects of the soap

[24]A Crossley was the popularity average of a radio show based on a survey of telephone calls made at random. If a program had a Crossley of nine, 9% of the radio sets in operation were tuned to that program.

[25]Zolotow, op. cit., p. 17.

operas never appeared to be acute, since the female suicide rate did not rise alarmingly during the serials' life. These programs simply combined and multiplied the number of fictions about life in the United States. The major moral of the serials was to worry about one's private life and to leave inflation, atomic bombs, and school bond issues to the experts. Although the serials were well received in their transition to television, their popularity and audience size have never reached the stature of the radio soap operas.[26].

[26]Harold Mehling, The Great Time Killer, pp. 96-98. Radio boasted of a serial audience of twenty million listeners; television's serial addicts range from eight to nine million viewers.

CHAPTER IV

THE DAYTIME TELEVISION SERIAL

While the man of the house is busy at his daily occupation, his abode often becomes a "hotbed" of intrigue, marital infidelity, and financial chicanery. Clandestine love affairs are carried on in his living room; nefarious plots to defraud widows of their inheritances are hatched under his rooftree; and the anguished cries of unwed mothers reverberate against the knotty pine panels of his recreation room. The daytime serials have passed successfully from radio to television.[1]

Serial Transition from Radio to Television

During the transition era from radio to television, the serial sponsors and producers questioned the listeners' reaction to the new medium. Radio, an audio medium, permitted a free sense of identification and imagery--how would the daytime viewers respond to the video medium of television in which their favorite characters could be seen as well as heard?[2]

[1]Weare Holbrook, "The Wring Cycle," Detroit Athletic Club News, January 1963, p. 189.

[2]Thurber, op. cit., pp. 257-259.

In the days of radio, the housewife could do housework for her real family while listening, with one ear, to the complicated and cluttered lives of her radio families. With the advent of television, the variety of problems faced by the characters could often be expressed by a simple facial gesture or shoulder shrug. Attentiveness as well as involvement would be necessary to the understanding of television's soap heroes, heroines, and antagonists.[3] It appeared that difficulty would arise in the capture and retention of serial viewers; work would keep the women out of the range of the television set and the dual process of housework; watching the daytime serials seemed to be quite problematic.[4]

Television Serial Scheduling

Nevertheless, on December 11, 1950, Proctor and Gamble unveiled its contribution to CBS network daytime television, "The First Hundred Years".[5] The serial, concerned with the trials and tribulations of Chris and Connie Thayer, over-estimated itself fifty times--it left the air after two seasons.[6]

[3]Greene, ibid.

[4]Leo Bogart, The Age of Television, p. 74.

[5]"Bigger Suds", Newsweek, XXXVI (December 18, 1950), p. 54.

[6]Gilbert Seldes, "Darkness Before Noon", Saturday Review, XXXVI (December 5, 1953), p. 53.

To meet the challenge, in 1951, NBC presented "Martinsville, U.S.A.", and "Hawkins Falls"[7] for the housewives' enjoyment. But these serials, too, did not achieve the degree of success anticipated by early television executives.

Undaunted by these minor details, producers refused to admit defeat.[8] The year 1952 brought an unusual development. One of CBS' top radio serials, "The Guiding Light", was transferred to the "young giant of entertainment."[9] The radio and video episodes were identical; the producers, actors, scripts, and even the organ music were the same.[10] Other 1952-1953 soap operas included CBS' "Love of Life" and "Search for Tomorrow" and NBC's "Hawkins Falls".

Six was the magic number in 1953. Additions to the daytime schedules of network television were "Three Steps

[7]"Hawkins Falls" was not a typical soap opera. Gordon Gray, drawing on his personal contacts with the producers, informed the writer that the producers of this serial sought to elevate it above the usual daytime serial. Realistic plots, natural characters, and interesting dialogue combined to dissolve the soap in this soap opera in its first several seasons.

[8]"Televised Suds", Newsweek, XXXVI (July 30, 1951), p. 60.

[9]i.e., television

[10]"Same Old Story", Newsweek, XL (July 14, 1952), p. 85.

to Heaven" (NBC) and televised episodes of radio's "Portia Faces Life" (CBS).[11]

A cloudburst of weepers descended upon the serial audience during the 1954-1955 season. Fifteen serials were scheduled to fill the daytime programming schedules. Several more radio serials, such as "One Man's Family", had little script alterations in their switch to television. They brought before the cameras the same collection of woes which had benumbed the radio listener of two or three decades previously.[12] The "serial score" at this point: NBC-seven, CBS-eight.

It appeared that such a large number of serials was not the best possible plan of action to follow in daytime programming; in the 1955-1956 season, the number of serials had lessened. Although soap opera did not have quite as firm a hold on television's daytime hours as they did during the prior season, there were nine serials available to the housewives.

[11]Gilbert Seldes, "New Bubbles for Soap Opera", New York Times Magazine, September 12, 1954, p. 25.

[12]Gross, op. cit., p. 158.

The 1956-1957 season brought eight daytime dramas; 1957-1958 and 1958-1959 daytime scheduling included nine soap operas. An even dozen serials were presented during the seasons encompassing 1959-1961.

The number of daytime network serials remained unstable as the seasons progressed. The 1961-1962 season brought eleven dramas; 1962-1963 produced nine serials; 1963-1964 dropped to eight soap operas; and eleven such dramas are on the air in 1964-1965. (See Appendix, Table 2, page 2.)[13]

Serial Production Highlights

New York is the center for the televised soap operas. The series, each resembling a never ending drama with an average of 250 installments, cost approximately $34,000 per week, as compared to radio's $2,000 (network time not included.)[14] Although the serials are performed live, these descendents of radio's soap operas are most commonly presented on video tape for reasons of economy.[15] Sponsors

[13]New York Times, 1950-1965.

[14]Greene, op. cit., p. 148.

[15]Edward Stasheff and Rudy Bretz, The Television Program, p. 44.

of the daytime serials have remained relatively loyal. Proctor and Gamble is the undisputed "king of the advertisers", with Lever Brothers, Standard Brands, and American Home Products contributing lesser shares. A recent trend in sponsorship has been that of participation (multi-sponsorship) because of increased production costs due to program lengthening and continuing format complexity.[16]

The daytime television audience has yet to equal the number of the radio serial listeners reached during the peak World War Two years. Although the daily soap opera attracts an average audience of eight million viewers,[17] radio boasted of approximately twenty million listeners per average popular serial.

Chips of Soap

Several spin-offs have been released by the daytime televised soaps. ABC's night-time "Peyton Place", based on Grace Metalious' controversial novel of life in a typical

[16]Variety, July 1964.

[17]Greene, ibid.

New England town, is a bi-weekly serial achieving astounding success...(Nielson Rating: 25.4). This "hothouse mock passion flower of pseudo sex and romance"[18] blossomed forth so profusely that its seeds were blown into the other networks and are consequently sprouting there. CBS has recently presented initial episodes of "Our Private World", a spinoff from the popular daytime show "As the World Turns". The quasi-villainess of the afternoon drama will now be able to stimulate the emotions of her evening viewers.[19]

Not to be outdone, NBC is now developing a night-time soap opera, "The Duffield Story", which will deal with the activities of a famous stage actress and her eighteen-year-old son in Manhattan and Connecticut.[20]

Other, more racy, serials under consideration for future evening programming include: "West Wind", the tale of two

[18]A title bestowed upon "Peyton Place" by New York Herald Tribune critic John Horn.

[19]Frank Judge, "New Soap Opera Trend Puts Daytime Star on Night Shift", The Detroit News Television Magazine, March 21, 1965, p. 2.

[20]Larry Wolters, "Peyton Place Sets Pace for New Shows", Chicago Tribune, January 27, 1965.

small town families intertwined in illustrious illicitness; "Days of Our Lives", a "Peyton Place" styled drama; and "The Long, Hot Summer", a sex saga of the deep South.[21] These programs will no doubt raise literate, uncomplimentary, and profuse criticism.

A Brief Review

At the beginning of the transition to the video medium, soap opera was given a slim chance for survival. Experts doubted that conversational plots heavily laden with disaster, despair, and dauntlessness could be transplanted from their native radio to the new medium and hold an audience. Housewives would not leave their vacuum cleaners to watch Portia face life and her problems. But the experts were wrong--women do look at television in the daytime and they do want their "washboard weepers."[22]

Evening spinoffs are being well received by the nighttime audience thus far--their length of life appears to depend upon the point of serial saturation and the uniqueness of plot. The success of the evening soap operas will be interesting to watch.

[21]Gail Cameron, "Soapy Sex Moves to Prime Time", Life, LVII (December 4, 1964), p. 17.

[22]"Soap in Your Eyes", Newsweek, XLIII (February 1, 1954), p. 74.

The Data

The content analysis data, covering five daytime serials, was gathered from April 22 to May 7, 1965. For each daily episode viewed, a monitor report sheet was completed. A sample of a typical monitor report is presented in the Appendix, page 3.

To complete one of these forms, the following procedure was utilized:

1. Pre-broadcast activity. First, the monitor entered the daily information required, such as title, date, network, program length, and air time. Second, technical accuracy was assured by adjusting the picture and sound to the best degree possible. A favorable environment was encouraged by deleting all forms of "noise."
2. Broadcast time. Names of the characters involved in the daily episode were entered as they occurred. Pertinent information was entered in the categories on the monitor reports, such as "conflicts," "character evaluations" (female or male), and "topics" (verbal expressions and behavioral expressions). Complete sentences were not used

in these reports; a clear personal type of speed writing or phraseology was used to insure complete coverage.

3. Post-broadcast Activity. The report was reviewed immediately to evaluate its clarity and accuracy, to eliminate unimportant data, and to develop any related ideas. Specific pertinent information was transferred from the monitor reports to a master data sheet; see Appendix, page 5, for a sample of this master report.

The quintet of serials studied were chosen after thorough deliberation; each helped contribute to a balanced pattern of data collection. The following programs were covered in the survey:

1. "As The World Turns"
2. "Moment of Truth"
3. "The Doctors"
4. "Edge of Night"
5. "Secret Storm"

Normally, television's daytime serials are presented in either fifteen or thirty minute installments every weekday except Saturday. The serials in this study all fell into the

half-hour category. Within the test period, twelve episodes of each serial could have been viewed. Network pre-emptions did occur, so this goal was not reached. On the average, 11.6 installments were viewed. The total number of episodes covered was fifty-eight.

Although a much large sample might prove more conclusive, this small sample was thought to be sufficient for the creation of trend conclusions and for the creation of sound hypotheses for more ambitious and sophisticated study. Also, there is one distinct advantage. The single monitor situation reduces to zero the problem of adjusting for monitor bias; the multi-monitor situation which prevails in the more sophisticated study requires carefully controlled monitor training and supervision.

However, it was possible to extract from the monitor reports passages referring to:

1. Conflicts or problems that formed the plot of the serials.
2. Actions and reactions of single characters presented or implied during the program.
3. Specific topics, such as "women," "experts," "learning," "neighbors," "newspapers," "politics," "illegitimacy," and "divorce."

In the time following the period of data collection, bi-weekly checks were conducted in order to observe plot developments and to note the direction of video trends.

These checks were conducted on Mondays and Wednesdays for ten ensuing post-study weeks. These days were chosen for specific reasons. First, Monday was selected because of its position in the week. Some form of plot recapitulation was usually evident in the quintet and a hint of the week's dramatic trend was occasionally presented. Wednesday was also selected because of its position in the week. It appeared that this mid-week segment was usually concerned with the evolution of the basic plot; the characters were often in the midst of some type of action related to the basic problem. In some serials this occurred; in other serials it did not.

At various points throughout the succeeding data, occasional revised references are made in specific situations.

Characterization

Locale

One's place of resident is very important in the development of the fictional serial character. An urban

locale seems to denote a sophisticated character; a rural locale seems to denote an unpretentious individual. For a rought classification of soap opera settings, see Table 1, page 73. A majority of small towns were evident in the radio serials; this does not hold true for the televised daily dramas. Small cities predominate over towns and rural areas; large cities and their suburbs are new classifications not recognized on radio. The trend to urbanization has been reflected in the daytime serials. Two or three decades ago, small towns contained the majority of the radio audience, and the radio serial was set in the small town. Today's television serial focuses on the small city. Producers seem to operate on the assumption that viewers prefer dramas which reproduce the framework of their own life, rather than permitting access to a less urban way of life.

One category of serial locale seems to be very unusual. A relatively large percentage of resort settings was evident in the serials studied, with a particular preference for Florida. This indeed is odd because television producers generally adhere to a small number of inexpensive sets.[23]

[23]This is done in order to lower costs; the resort settings in the serials observed did not show action occuring on the beach or in a swimming pool. The primary features of such sets were several canvas lawn chairs, a small round table, and a branch or two of a palm tree.

TABLE I

LOCALE OF SERIALS

RADIO-1941*

Locale	Percentage of Settings
Large cities	27%
Towns, medium and small	42.1%
Rural communites	10.3%
Combinations	--
Other cases	10.3%
Doubtful	10.3%
	100%

TELEVISION-1965**

Large cities	14%
Small cities	43%
Suburbia	14%
Towns	7%
Rural communities	7%
Doubtful	--
Combinations	--
Resorts	15%
	100%

*Arnheim Radio Study

**Carlson Television Study

Two possible reasons for this representation may be ventured: First, the serial citizenry may have responded to the beckoning call "Come on Down to the Sunshine State!"; second, the period of data collection may have been an atypical cycle. Further study of this area would be necessary in order to present any definite conclusions.

The serials of tody and yesterday both encourage the patriotic phrase "See America First." All video and audio episodes were set in the United States. This again indicates the producers' assumptions that the serial audience enjoys a familiar environment, rather than one which permits or demands that the viewer imagine what could happen in a foreign setting.

Specific states in which video action took place were usually unnamed; the anonymous state was also a charactersitic of the earlier radio serial. However, one difference is evident. Discussions of past, present, or future events in today's serials did mention particular states. The suffering heroine of "The Doctors" plans to return home to Montana; the quasi-villainess of "As the World Turns" left Oakdale to seek work in Chicago. But, as in radio, the states in which the residents of Monticello, Oakdale, and Carlisle lived and worked were conveniently anonymous.

Social Status of the Main Characters

Table 2 shows the occupations of the central, plot-sustaining groups of characters. Arnheim's categories were left unexplained; for the purposes of this current study, the following operational definitions were used:

Society people:	An individual with an income or inheritance that removes the need to work for a living, and a person who belongs to the "elite" of his community.
Big business:	An individual who delves into the art of high finance; he may be the head of a corporation, the owner of a number of small businesses, or a stock market investor.
Public servants:	High officials included a mayor, a governor, or a state representative; lesser officials included a justice of the peace, or a member of a law enforcement agency.
Professionals:	An individual whose college education specifically prepared him for his occupation, such as a doctor, lawyer, nurse, teacher, or editor; and some others, such as a public relations director, who might not always be included in such a category.
Housewives:	A wife and/or mother whose primary career is the home.
College students:	An individual presently attending a college or university.
Small business:	The owner or manager of a small local business establishment, such as a book store or a gas station.

TABLE 2

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF MAIN CHARACTERS

RADIO-1941*

Occupational Status	Percentage of Settings
Society people	8%
High officials	8%
Big business	12%
Professionals	21%
Housewives	26%
Small business	13%
Wage earners	8%
Destitute people	5%
	100%

TELEVISION-1965**

Society people	10%
Big business	6%
Public servants	
High officials	3%
Low officials	2%
Professionals	32%
Housewives	16%
College students	8%
Small business	7%
Wage earners	8%
Retired people	2%
Children	5%
Destitute people	1%
	100%

*Arnheim Radio Study
**Carlson Television Study

Wage earners:	"White" or "blue collar" workers who are employed but who are not concerned with the executive segment of their occupation.
Retired people:	An individual of sixty-five or over who is no longer occupied with his business or profession.
Children:	The off-spring of the serial couples.
Destitute people:	An individual totally bereft of financial means or resources.

In the radio serials, the status of the main characters clustered at the middle of the social scale with professionals and housewives most frequently represented. The regular appearance of housewives was rationalized by the predominance of these women in the audience. The large percentage of professional people was justified by the speculation that such individuals were indispensable in the plot's trials and tribulations.

Like radio, the majority of the video characters cluster at the middle of the status scale, with professional people more frequent, and housewives less frequent. The importance of specialists trained to aid or promote life in contemporary America may be the reason for their serial domination. Housewives are presented less frequently; perhaps producers believe that the women in the audience do not wish to watch feminine

characters clean their homes since they need only look about them to be reminded that the linoleum needs scrubbing or that the walls need washing.

Arnheim noted that the 1941 radio serials ignored the working class proper; there was a complete absence of factory workers, miners, or laborers. As in the radio era, a lack of working class characterization is evident in today's soap operas. Although Arnheim made no reference to race in his study, the writer did note that there is a preponderance of Caucasians in the televised serials--no Orientals were presented during the study, and the only Negro introduced was a minor elementary instructor on "The Edge of Night".

In conclusion, the major difference between radio and television is the reversal of the status of housewives and professionals. Perhaps the importance of trained specialists in today's world prompted the swtich.

Leaders

Radio serials in 1941 greatly stressed the qualities of leadership. This leadership was due equally to personal qualities or to a professional position. For this distribution of importance, see Table 3. In large cities, professional leaders prevailed; in small towns, individuals influential

TABLE 3

LEADERS IN COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES

RADIO-1941*

Type of Leadership	Locale: Large cities	Towns, small and large	Rural community	Others
Professional	85%	64%	15%	33%
Personal	15%	36%	85%	67%
In community	(--)	(7%)	(71%)	(--)
In private groups	(15%)	(29%)	(14%)	(67%)
	100%	100%	100%	100%

TELEVISION-1965**

Type of Leadership	Locale: Small cities	Suburbia
Professional	48%	60%
Personal	52%	40%
In community	(23%)	(20%)
In private groups	(29%)	(20%)
	100%	100%

*Arnheim Radio Study

** Carlson Television Study

in local schools, business, or government were deemed leaders; in rural areas, characters possessing personal efficiency and helpfulness were leaders in their community. Often individuals of low social standing but great personal merit were better leaders than were those upon whom society had conferred the prestige of official leadership.

Two video differences are evident. First, unlike radio, the television serials developed no leaders in the rural communities and small towns because these settings are not presented. Second, little importance appears to be placed on the merit of society's leaders on today's daytime dramas; much emphasis was given these characters in radio. But regardless of their muted state, video leaders are present. The influential individuals from the small cities and "suburbia" are evenly divided between the professional and the personal. Interestingly enough, personal leaders are often the same individuals who achieve professional leadership. This seems to emphasize the value of learning; education can help one with both his public and private problems.

It also appears that an emphasis on independent thinking may have decreased the necessity for leaders who solve the characters' problems. Much of this independent

thinking seems to be absent in the radio serials studied by Arnheim.

The Problems

The Role of the Problems

Radio serial difficulties in 1941 stemmed from disturbances of static life situations, rather than from obstacles to the accomplishment of goals. The attitude of the serial characters was essentially passive and conservative; human existence was pictured as being continually threatened by catastrophe. Approximately one problem for every four installments was presented on radio.

Two basic types of serial composition were distinguishable. In one, a leader guided the other characters through their personal troubles. The "conflict-carrier," as well as the type of problem, varied from episode to episode. In the second category, a group of people, generally a family, was confronted by diaster after disaster.

Unlike the static radio situation, the television serial plot may be compared to a stream hampered by a dam; obstacles to goal attainments such as a happy marriage ("As the World Turns"), a college education ("Secret Storm" and "Moment of

Truth"), or a successful career ("The Edge of Night") are evident. As in radio, the attitude of the serial characters is rather passive and conservative; "When in doubt, say nothing," stated Phil Capice of "The Edge of Night". One basic problem appears to be the nucleus of the serial plots; subordinate "stretcher" difficulties revolve about it constantly. Approximately one video problem for every three segments was presented in comparison to one audio problem for every four installments.

Only one basic type of television serial composition is evident--the situation based on a group situation. Life's problems deluge the Hughes family ("As the World Turns"), the Wallaces ("Moment of Truth"), the compatible staff of Hope Memorial Hospital ("The Doctors"), the Karr family ("The Edge of Night"), and the Ames family ("The Secret Storm").

Content of the Problems

Constant problems were the main ingredients of the radio serial. See Table 4 for a classification of these basic difficulties. Radio's problems were predominantly concerned with personal relations; they concentrated on marriage, courtship, family, and friends. The economic and professional

TABLE 4

DISTRIBUTION OF KINDS OF PROBLEMS

RADIO-1941*

Kind of Problem	Percent of all 159 Problems
Personal Relations	47%
Courtship	(16%)
Marriage	(18%)
Family	(10%)
Friends	(3%)
Economic and Professional	22%
Crime	9%
Illness, accidents	9%
Public Affairs	10%
Others	3%

TELEVISION-1965**

Kind of Problem	Percent of all 76 Problems
Personal Relations	55%
Courtship	(4%)
Marriage	(17%)
Family	(24%)
Friends	(10%)
Economic and Professional	18%
Crime	7%
Illness, accidents	17%
Public Affairs	3%

*Arnheim Radio Study
** Carlson Television Study

problems dealt with the occupational or financial difficulties of individuals; and the corrupt officials who dominated the public affairs category were shown damaging single persons, not society in general. Therefore, Arnheim concluded, the world of the radio serial was clearly a private world in which the interests of the community faded into insignificance.

This feature of the radio serial has made the transition to television with no apparent modifications. Problems presented in the televised soap operas are still mainly concerned with personal relations. Only minor alterations are present. An interesting note is the reversal of the emphasis placed on marriage and family, i.e. radio dramas dealt more heavily with marriage and the present television serials emphasize family difficulties.[24] This may be the result of the present trend toward "family fractionization"; for example, Mother goes to club meetings, Father belongs to

[24]The writer distinguishes "marital" and "family" difficulties in this manner. Marital difficulties are concerned largely with husband-wife relations; family difficulties evolve from parent-child conflicts.

a bowling league or two, Junior is on the varsity basketball team and must practice very evening, and the youngsters are with members of their peer group. The disintegration of the family unit due to a diversification of interests and a lack of communication is presented with some regularity.

Economic and professional problems have lessened with serial evolution. A greater emphasis is presently placed on illnesses and accidents in conjunction with increasing numbers of medical characters. Crime rates and public affairs scandals have remained stationary over the years.

One final basic feature of radio problems has remained unchanged in serial transition to television. To paraphrase Arnheim's conclusion: Individual difficulties are more important than the public welfare.

Causes of Different Kinds of Problems

Radio problems in 1941 were more often created by the very people who had to suffer from them, rather than by other persons, or by any general social, economic, or political conditions. To note this distribution, see Table 5. Disturbances of a personal relationship were usually created by members of the group concerned; disturbances of a public nature were usually created by an outsider; socially

TABLE 5

CAUSES OF DIFFERENT KINDS OF PROBLEMS

RADIO-1941*

Kind of Problem Presented	People Themselves	Others	Non-personal Forces	Doubtful	
Personal Relations					
Courtship	73%	19%	4%	4%	100%
Marriage	86%	11%	--	3%	100%
Family	50%	44%	--	6%	100%
Friends	20%	80%	--	--	100%
Economic, Professional	23%	45%	20%	12%	100%
Crime	13%	67%	--	20%	100%
Illness, Accidents	7%	--	93%	--	100%
Public Affairs	13-1/2%	69%	12-1/2%	6%	100%
Others	50%	25%	25%	--	100%

TELEVISION-1965**

Kind of Problem Presented	People Themselves	Others	Non-personal Forces	Total
Personal Relations				
Courtship	78%	22%	--	100%
Marriage	73%	20%	7%	100%
Family	80%	13%	7%	100%
Friends	100%	--	--	100%
Economic, Professional	44%	44%	22%	100%
Crime	50%	50%	--	100%
Illness, Accidents	57%	--	43%	100%
Public Affairs	--	--	--	---
Others	100%	--	--	100%

*Arnheim Radio Study
**Carlson Television Study

unapproved relationships were usually caused by the individuals involved; and illnesses or accidents were usually caused by non-personal forces.

As in radio, television's problems of life are caused largely by the shortcomings or corruption of individuals. A majority of these video difficulties concerned with personal relations appeared to be caused by the people themselves--categories showing increases in this area include "friends," "courtship," and "family." Many of these unhappy situations seem to spring from a lack of communication; in the "Edge of Night", Mr. and Mrs. Pollock are extremely worried about their youngest daughter. The girl is secretly married to an "objectionable older man," and rather than exposing the marriage, she avoids any communication with her parents. In another representative case, the Wallaces on "Moment of Truth" are having serious difficulties with their daughter Sheila, who simply ignores any sound advice from her parents.

Causes of economic and professional problems are evenly divided between "people themselves" and "others." Non-personal forces rarely enter the picture; foolishness about money matters or personal dissatisfaction with an occupation created the disturbances in this area.

As in radio, community affairs are virtually ignored on television; video problems confronting individuals or small groups are of far greater frequency. Little crime was presented on the serials observed; petty larceny and the discussion of a distant murder case constituted the only criminal activities.

Illnesses and accidents are caused by both personal and non-personal forces. Accidents are usually unavoidable, but illnesses are another story. In several cases, the ailing individual complicated his sickness by working himself into an unhealthy state of mind, such as Susan Dunbar in "The Secret Storm" and Jackie Ricardo in "The Doctors".

The ratio of problem causers has varied only slightly since soap operas began. As in radio, the problems of Soapland are caused mainly by individuals rather than by direct economic, political, or social situations. It still appears that the serial audience prefer seeing its favorite characters surmount their private difficulties, rather than solving the problems of society.

Moral Evaluation

Radio soap opera characters were neatly defined in terms of moral evaluations--they were good, bad, or weak. It was

simple to discover the specific moral level of an individual; the announcer and fellow-characters were unusually outspoken in their opinion of him.

Moral Evaluation of Characters who Create Troubles

See Table 6 for the moral self evaluation of characters who created troubles. Weak people evidently excelled in this art; good people created trouble to bring peace or joy to others; and bad people often created serious trouble for others.

An unusual situation is present in the majority of the television serials studied. Characters are no longer cleanly cut, i.e., good people are capable of causing trouble, and bad people are not completely devoid of humane impulses. In the "Secret Storm", the hero is guilty of interfering in the lives of his children; in "As the World Turns", the quasi-villainess loves her son dearly and never deceives him. The crisp black and white of radio characterization has melted into a mosaic mixture of shades of gray shot with occasional streaks of black and white.

This mottled picture may be the result of an attempt of serial producers to ingrain realism into their dramas. Rarely does one meet an individual who does not possess human weaknesses such as jealousy and fabrication; therefore, rarely does one meet a morally perfect television serial soul.

TABLE 6

MORAL SELF EVALUATION OF CHARACTERS WHO CREATE TROUBLE

RADIO-1941*

Troubles Created For	Moral Self Evaluation of Characters				
	Good	Bad	Weak	Doubtful	Total
Themselves	29%	13%	55%	3%	100%
Others	9%	57%	23%	11%	100%

TELEVISION-1965**

Troubles Created For	Moral Self Evaluation of Characters				
	Good	Bad	Weak	Doubtful	Total
Themselves	29%	25%	38%	8%	100%
Others	19%	43%	38%	--	100%

*Arnheim Radio Study

**Carlson Television Study

Nevertheless, weak characters still retain the title of chief problem makers bestowed upon them in radio. Video characters generally categorized as bad and those characterized as good rank second and third with roughly similar percentages. Minor television differences include an increase in troubles created for others by "good" people and "weak people", and an increase in the troubles created by "bad" people for themselves.

Moral Evaluation of All Sufferers

In the radio serials of 1941, good and weak people were shown as doing most of the suffering--see Table 7. Conversely, bad people were rarely the victims of trouble.

Although this generally holds true for television, a tendency toward a more equal distribution of suffering is evident. The good people suffer somewhat less; the bad and weak characters suffer somewhat more.[25]

[25]The theory that evil-doing results in punishment for the villains and villainesses is quite obvious in the television serials. Janet Torgeson of the "Secret Storm" lost the only man "she ever loved" because of her malicious actions; Lisa Hughes, the quasi-villainess of "As the World Turns" lost her husband due to her unsavory "battle tactics."

TABLE 7

MORAL SELF EVALUATION OF ALL SUFFERERS

RADIO-1941*

Moral Self Evaluation by Character	Percent of Sufferers
Good	62%
Bad	5%
Weak	27%
Doubtful	6%
	100%

TELEVISION-1965**

Moral Self Evaluation by Character	Percent of Sufferers
Good	46%
Bad	11%
Weak	34%
Doubtful	9%
	100%

*Arnheim Radio Study

**Carlson Television Study

As in radio, the community is never described as the sufferer. This deliberate omission appears to encourage the impression of privacy in the world of the daytime serials. The only important threats are those that touch upon one's private worlds; difficulties confronted by society appear to be of little concern to the residents of Oakdale or Woodbridge.

Moral Self Evaluation of Men and Women Who Create Trouble

The radio serials of 1941 catered mainly to a female audience. Table 8 shows that men appeared considerably more often as trouble-makers than did women. This referred particularly to the cases in which trouble was created for others. The male trouble-makers were usually evil or weak and were infrequently of good character. Among the women, the weak characters' trouble-provoking tendencies exceeded those of the good and bad females. The difference in the sex distribution was most striking for the evil people; bad trouble-makers were masculine in a ratio of approximately 2:1.

An interesting contrast is apparent in the television serials. A tendency on the part of women to distrust members of their own sex is evident in concern with trouble-makers.

TABLE 8

MORAL SELF EVALUATION OF MEN AND WOMEN
WHO CREATE TROUBLE

RADIO-1941*

Moral Self Evaluation by Characters	See Themselves as		See Others as		Total	
	M	W	M	W	M	W
Good	30%	28%	10%	18%	56%	44%
Bad	11%	13%	59%	47%	69%	31%
Weak	56%	53%	23%	18%	59%	41%
Doubtful	3%	6%	8%	17%	46%	54%

TELEVISION-1965**

Moral Self Evaluation by Characters	See Themselves as		See Others as		Total	
	M	W	M	W	M	W
Good	20%	36%	27%	18%	42%	58%
Bad	10%	36%	18%	64%	20%	80%
Weak	70%	28%	55%	18%	68%	32%
Doubtful	--	--	--	--	--	--

*Arnheim Radio Study
** Carlson Television Study

Contemporary good women create more trouble than did their audio ancestors; bad women are overwhelmingly evil; and weak men cause twice as many problems as do weak women.

As an interesting correlation to this theory, Jane Avery, the feminine half of the partnership who creates the "Secret Storm", stated her viewpoint in the February 1965 Coronet magazine; "The reason that there are more wicked women than men in serials is because the audience is predominantly a female one and women tend to distrust their own sex more than the opposite one."

Moral Self Evaluation of All Men and Women Who Suffer From Problems

For a distribution and moral evaluation of male and female sufferers, see Table 9. In the radio soap operas, men and women were equally the victims of troublesome situations. Good women suffered slightly more than did good men, and bad and weak women suffered less than did their masculine counterparts.

In the adaptation of serials to television, several of these radio features remained stationary. Good women still suffer more than good men, and weak men suffer more than weak women.

TABLE 9

MORAL SELF EVALUATION OF ALL MEN AND WOMEN
WHO SUFFER FROM PROBLEMS

RADIO-1941*

Moral Self Evaluation by Characters	Men	Women
Good	48%	52%
Bad	56%	44%
Weak	63%	37%
Doubtful	33%	67%

TELEVISION-1965**

Moral Self Evaluation by Characters	Men	Women
Good	40%	60%
Bad	22%	78%
Weak	67%	33%
Doubtful	--	100%

*Arnheim Radio Study
**Carlson Television Study

One striking video difference is evident. Bad women are far more evident on television than they were on radio. These evil females seem to enjoy making life miserable for their better-tempered friends and relatives; as a result, they often experience traumatic and ego-shattering situations. Examples of this include the rejection of the quasi-villainess by her ex-husband from "As the World Turns" and shrewish Susan Dunbar's loss of her family's patience and affection in the "Secret Storm". Happily, these unscrupulous females suffer approximately thrice more than do the daytime villains.

The Solutions of the Problems

The radio serials were governed by perfect justice; this provided the audience with reassurance and pleasant compensation. Plans to create trouble for other people or for the trouble-makers themselves were permitted to develop, but rarely to be consummated.

The perfect justice that ruled the serials was of a curious type. There was a reason for its existence, but it had no sufficient cause for its being. Whether a person was punished or rewarded was explained by the sort of ethical evaluation of his deeds that were expected from the average

listener. But there was no indication of a principle that brought about justice. Virtuous and efficient persons were shown to help innocent sufferes and to fight male-factors. But who provided these helpers? Who assisted them in succeeding? Who sent a convenient paralytic stroke to the villain? This was unexplained. God could have been this principle, but He was seldom mentioned. There was no casual explanation for the high correlation between what people deserved and what they got. Radio serials procured the satisfaction created by a rule of ideal justice, but producers did not bother to explain to whom the listener was indebted for such a perfect state of affairs.

Today's problem solutions are less elusive than they were in radio. But, unfortunately, the television serials studied contained problems so lengthy that many were not consummated in the two week period. In one case, a weak man and his estranged "strong" wife on "As the World Turns" was reunited after a lengthy separation, only to be alienated before the final embrace. Continuing problems such as these prevent definite conclusions. The underlying problem of "The Edge of Night" is the relationship of a secretly married couple, but this, too, was not solved. A similar unsolved tryst was presented on the "Secret Storm".

Fortunately, two serials arrived at solutions during the period under study. Marital troubles of a young couple caught in a "Moment of Truth" ended with the premature birth of their baby. The proud new father is entirely involved with his wife and new baby. Consequently, the present threat of the other woman faded.

The future of a pregnant female doctor deserted by her husband on "The Doctors" was stabilized for the present when her father came to "fetch her for a nice long rest" to their ranch in Montana.

God is mentioned as governing the lives of man more frequently on television than He was on radio. The good dowager of the "Secret Storm" comforted her distraught grand-daughter by telling her: "God shows His doings in many ways."

It appears that the solutions of serial problems have changed over the years. The perfect, enigmatic, shining type of radio serial justice has become tarnished with the advent of televised daytime dramas and their emphasis on realism. An interesting topic for further research would be a more involved and lengthy study of the evolution of soap opera solutions.

Treatment of Specific Topics

It was possible to extract a number of generalities or trends concerning various specific video topics from the monitor reports. Arnheim's study covered six topics; they were "women", "experts," "learning," "neighbors," "newspapers," and "politics." The writer compared present trends to those proffered by Arnheim and included two new topics, "divorce" and "illegitimacy", since these subjects are of contemporary popularity.

Women

A radio woman was strong, brave, and serious. Her importance as a leader in her family, in her circle of friends, and in the community was constantly emphasized. Men were fully conscious of their wives' importance and women were eager to reform their weak or evil husbands. "The ideal man and the perfect husband are not always one and the same person; but give a woman a few years, and they will be."[26]

The serial writers made constant efforts to prove that a middle-aged woman was still desirable and to present mother and daughter pairs appearing as comrades or competitors.

[26]Excerpt from the Moorcroft, Wyoming, Leader.

The audio role of womankind sounds much like the essay "Of Marriage and Single Life" by Francis Bacon. Mr. Bacon concluded that.."it is often seen that bad husbands have very good wives, whether it be that it raiseth the price of their husbands' kindness when it comes or that the wives take a pride in their patience..". Arnheim's long-suffering heroine seems to fit this description.

Women presented on the video soap operas are less omnipotent than were their audio sisters. Females are now more dependent upon their men. Penny Hughes Wade, a female Cassius from "As the World Turns", was reconciled with her embittered husband, Neil Wade, by informing him that she would never stop his world again.[27] Pauline Rysdale, a well-meaning meddler from the "Secret Storm", sagely advised her estranged niece, Amy, to "try very hard to get Kip (her husband) back again; the Rysdale men rule the lives of the Rysdale women and nothing is worse than a home without a man."

[27]Some explanation is needed to lend meaning to this cryptic phrase. Neil was trained in medicine; he could not face life; he became a salesman in a book store. He met Penny and courted her; she discovered that he was a doctor and refused to marry him until he returned to the world of medicine. He complied with her wishes and they were wed; but he was unhappy with his unchosen profession and wanted to return to his private world of literature.

As a doctor again, Neil faced death again during his residency. Instead of helping the man, Neil ran away. Guilt feelings and a shattered ego combined to make Penny the "scapegoat" in this situation. He blamed her for forcing him back into medicine and for smashing his private world. Hence Penny's vow.

Career women are usually admired, praised, and accepted, but even they need a man to shoulder responsibilities. Maggie Hansen Van Allen, a member of the staff of "The Doctors", is skilled, respected, and successful; but she believes that "women are happiest in a home caring for a dozen children." Ellen Lowell Cole of "As the World Turns" enjoys her teaching career, but her Grandfather is an incorrigible Cupid; he insists upon introducing her to numerous young lawyers from his law office, hoping to end her widowhood.

Women are usually level headed if not astonishingly strong. They are often presented as loving help-mates to their husbands, such as Nancy Karr in "The Edge of Night" and Valerie Ames in the "Secret Storm". Mrs. Karr stated her position in life simply: "All women want is security, children, and a good man."

Good, bad, and weak television women like to gossip; in the days of radio, this "vice" was often reserved for less perfect females. Possessiveness is another quality retained by a number of serial females. Vince, a Carlisle faculty member on "Moment of Truth", bitterly voice his feelings about the wife who will not divorce him: "Once you admit your love for a woman, she thinks she owns you... you lose all human traits and become an inanimate object."

The home is the television heroine's native habitat. Although the "houses" of these women are spotless, the video "hausfraus" are rarely shown seriously wielding a dust mop or scrub brush. The most common homely duties appear to be food preparation, dish washing, and mending. Perhaps a cleaning woman is employed, but she is never shown and she is rarely mentioned.

Therefore, as in radio, television serials seem to promote the role of wife and mother as the pinnacle of female aspirations. Careers are fine, but caring for a home and family are of greater importance.

Two video counter-tendencies are present. First, some television heroines are not above using a bit of humor upon occasion. Second, audio mothers and daughters were often presented as comrades or competitors. None of this was present in the serials viewed; in no daytime drama did the plot show a man pursued by a mother and daughter duo for collective or individual purposes.

Experts

Arnheim concluded that plain, intelligent people in the the 1941 daytime radio serials were usually able to do almost anything better than could trained specialists or experts.

Illnesses were more frequently and more correctly diagnosed by untrained individuals than by medical personnel; private individuals were better detectives than were the police.

Unlike radio's ineffectual specialists, video experts are usually portrayed as competent and authoritative in their professional lives. Physicians are all-knowing. Doctors Cassin, Stewart, and Hughes from "As the World Turns" are dedicated to the welfare of their patients; Dr. Field, a psychiatrist on the same drama, is the man to whom hysterical Lisa turns when her ex-husband rejects her for a second time. The staff of "The Doctors" is equally dedicated. Dr. Matt Powers is "a great healer of men" as well as being compassionate, understanding, and skillful; Dr. Steve Lloyd shows great concern and skill in caring for a neurotic patient; and Dr. Maggie Hansen Van Allen states that she will "be lost without Hope Memorial Hospital and the world of medicine" while she awaits the birth of her baby. Dr. Bob Wallace, a clinical psychologist from "Moment of Truth", is trained to read things into other people's ideas. His success is so great that only he is able to divine the true meaning of a note written by a young wife presumably bent on

self-destruction.[28] A distraught Carlisle co-ed, Diane Bowen, cannot quell her amorous feelings for a married man and pleads for maternal consent to seek professional help. Mrs. Bowen rebels; she is one of the few serial characters unimpressed by the title of "Doctor"--she declares that psychiatrists tell the whole world a patient's innermost thoughts; private problems are turned into public gossip.

Mrs. Bowen's view that not all medical specialists are noble and ethical is supported by the script writer. A juvenile court psychological consultant from "Moment of Truth" seeks revenge for his dismissal from the staff of Carlisle College. To accomplish this, vindictive, sadistic,

[28]To illuminate this plot, further explanation is necessary. Mrs. Carol Wilson was a neurotic young woman. She was estranged from her husband; she suffered from guilt feelings after the death of the father whom she has always rejected. After considerable deliberation, she and her husband agreed to a reconciliation. Her husband leaves to fetch his luggage from a near-by hotel; while he is gone, Carol leaves a note saying "I have gone to be with Father" and departs. Everyone believes that she plans to commit suicide except Dr. Wallace. He surmises that she was not psychologically capable of suicide at this moment, and he is correct. They find Carol at the grave of her father, making her peace.

paranoic Dr. Bennett[29] vents his wrath on the Wallace's young daughter by unjustly placing her on probation. Fortunately, this type of individual is the exception, not the rule.

Other experts are generally given an importance equal to that of the medical profession. Chris Hughes, an experienced lawyer from "As the World Turns", is respected and praised by friends and family alike. His father, affectionately known as "Grandpa", observed that wherever Chris is, he is needed. Another successful criminal lawyer is Mike Karr from the "Edge of Night". Although he was not shown performing in court during the period of data collection, his importance as a community and personal leader is obvious. He is the one to whom troubled individuals hurry with their confidences.

Ann Wicker, a local television personality on the "Secret Storm" is an excellent public relations executive and a skillful political campaign writer. Her value as an important cog in the local political wheel is evident.

[29]This string of adjectives was furnished by Dr. Wallace, the hero of the serial and the enemy of Dr. Bennett.

Press releases are short, crisp, and precise; campaign slogans are explosive and effective. She is the one upon whom the would-be candidate depends.

But a most unhappy and inconsistent feature is present. The professional careers of the experts are placid when compared to the turmoil and disaster that wrack their private lives. Divorce, an illegitimate son, and the death of a loved one are burdens laid upon the shoulders of the medical men on "As the World Turns"; and guilt feelings, desertion, and more divorce face "The Doctors". Bob Wallace, the "white hope of Carlisle College" from "Moment of Truth", is the father of a snippy, uncontrollable pre-teen daughter; Russell Wingate, a department head in the same serial, controls a staff of teachers satisfactorily but cannot curb the financial habits of his extravagant wife; and Ann Wicker of the "Secret Storm" finds herself helplessly falling in love with the candidate (a married man) for whom she is working.

Thus comes the irony. Although these experts from "video-land" are qualified to dabble in the lives of others, they cannot keep their private lives in order. They are more respected than they were in radio, but their intricate private lives are developed more fully and disparagingly.

Learning

> Up! up! my Friend, and quit your books;
> Or surely you'll grow double.
> Up! up! my Friend, and clear your looks;
> Why all this toil and trouble?[30]
>
> ...William Wordsworth, "The Tables Turned".

The role of learning in the radio serials was an insult to the educated. Learning was often presented as a "whimsical hobby horse"--something in contrast to what made the real qualities of a man or woman. On the rural level, the hero or heroine proved their outstanding human qualities in spite of incorrect English and poor spelling. On higher levels, the authors granted the listeners a feeling of superiority over educated individuals when, for example, a professional writer misspelled common words.

Subordinate characters were often presented flaunting bits of high education in a humorous way. When the fragments of knowledge failed them, the radio character usually showed warm insight and understanding when he relied on his

[30]Andrew J. George, The Complete Poetic Works of William Wordsworth, p. 83.

inborn simple wisdom. It was not learning that counted in these 1941 dramas. Why was this done? Arnheim decided that if the average radio serial listener lacked higher education and felt socially inferior, she would have welcomed any devaluation of learning. When the heroine from "Vic and Sade" indignantly opposed a motion that the members of her Sewing Club should study Portuguese, she was sure of the support of the listeners.

Learning in television's serials is no longer degraded as it was in radio. Perhaps the preponderance of trained specialists in characterization naturally develops the insinuation that formal schooling is necessary for a successful career.

To illustrate the abundance of experts in the video serials, the following table is presented:

Table 10 - VIDEO EXPERTS

Profession	Number of Characters	Schooling Beyond High School
Doctors	12	7 years plus
Lawyers	5	7 years
Teachers	2	4 years
Miscellaneous College Graduates (Editors, writers, etc.)	5	4 years
College Students	4	2 years plus

A medical career appears to be of special importance. Doctors Cassin and Stewart from "As the World Turns" agree that great strides have been made in medicine but researchers have just "scratched the surface". The chief of staff of "The Doctors" rationalized the addition of a research laboratory to Hope Memorial Hospital to an affluent board member by explaining that preventive medicine is of greatest importance in illness prevention.

In another vein, several children from the serials are planning medical careers. One teen-age boy is planning to specialize in research; another eight-year-old calls himself "Young Doctor Hughes".

To seek knowledge is better than to have knowledge.[31] More evidence of the importance of learning is the emphasis placed on the characterizations of college students. Kip Rysdale, a weak but brilliant young man from the "Secret Storm", refuses to enter the business world under the guidance of his millionaire father; he is determined to take up medicine and "to make it by himself." Helen Gould, a co-ed from the college-oriented "Moment of Truth", believes that her life is shattered because she must drop

[31]David Starr Jordan

out of school and care for her father who was recently strickened by a heart attack.

A neurotic young female patient cared for by "The Doctors" was a high school dropout. Consequently, she now believes that she is out of time with life because she did not complete her education. To quote Miss Ricardo's philosophy of life: "The whole crummy world is full of losers like me...there's nothing in life for me." Fortunately, a determined young doctor forces her to adopt a more optimistic view. He tells her, for example, about the advantages of night school; she leaves the hospital a happier and more determined young woman.

Learning does indeed present a more flattering picture on television than it did on radio. From this fact, a simple deduction concerning the educational level of the audience may be developed. If Arnheim is correct in assuming that the devaluation of learning flattered the uneducated listener, may one suppose that the elevation of learning recognizes the rapidly increasing trend toward higher education for more people? The television producers seem to be reflecting the changing times in their shift of attitude toward the well educated serial character.

Neighbors

On radio, a person or a family had friendly relations with others, but this was a relationship between individuals. However, Arnheim believed that there was little indication of a healthy individual attitude towards the community; the walls of the heroine's house were the borders of the 1941 serial world. When this community was present, the neighborhood was usually described as an enemy; it was a hostile block of people who wanted to know and publicize one's private affairs. In the world of the daytime serial, life was composed of a sequence of private problems, and the community was identical with the threat of scandal.

An excerpt from G. K. Chesterton's "The World State" restates the good neighbor policy of the radio serial in a more poetic fashion:

> The villas and the chapels where
> I learned with little labor
> The way to love my fellow-man
> And hate my next-door neighbor.[32]

The video treatment of neighbors is both like and unlike the picture presented on radio. First, as in radio,

[32]G.K. Chesterton, The Collected Poems of G.K. Chesterton, p. 15.

the community rarely enters the scene. Neighbors are mentioned upon occasion, but these characters appear on the screen infrequently. Second, unlike radio, neighbors are presented as a friendly, helpful segment of the populace instead of a despicable enemy.

Fellow Oakdale residents of the Hughes family from "As the World Turns" are spoken of with some affection. Mrs. Kopecki, an ethereal elderly "lady down the block" has become extremely friendly with Grandpa Hughes; their dinner meetings, coffee chats, and leisurely strolls are discussed with some regularity. Eight-year-old Tom, a child of divorced parents, is frequently without playmates because of his unstable state of residency. He is encouraged to play with children from the neighborhood because "he needs friends his own age, and these children are so nice."

The "Secret Storm" is another daytime drama that deals with neighbor relations. The girl in the adjacent apartment or the couple next door were scripted into this serial more frequently than in any other daily dramas observed. Connie, a close friend and neighbor of a young woman facing divorce, offers advice. In one instance, she counsels the distraught wife to emphasize her present platonic relationship with a

former beau; her estranged husband will become jealous, according to the plan, and want her back again. Although the feasibility of this scheme is questionable, the suggestion to ease the situation was given in an effort to be helpful.

In another scene, a dissatisfied wife seeks sympathy by berating her husband's personal activities and political aspirations to a neighbor. The neighbor has nothing but praise for the husband and urges the woman to "open your eyes and see that your husband loves you." This advice, too, is given in an effort to help.

Mr. and Mrs. Ames, the hero and heroine of the same serial are planning the construction of their new house. In one episode, they had just returned from the lot upon which their bungalow will be placed. The wife was in high spirits for two reasons. First, the sub-division was ideally located and modestly priced. Second, the couple living next door were "most charming and so hospitable". Although the expression sounds somewhat affected, the point in question is present.

Another brief reference to neighborhood relations is noted in "Moment of Truth". At 2:00 a.m., Dr. Bob Wallace received an emergency call from one of his patients; he and

Nancy, his wife, had to leave their two children unattended, so Nancy took advantage of a type of reciprocal babysitting. She and a neighbor watch each other's children when any such emergency arises.

In conclusion, the lot of the serial neighbor appears to have improved in the transition of the serial from radio to television; this element of the population now appears friendlier, more helpful, and "human."

Newspapers

The fear of publicity determined the role attributed to the press in the 1941 radio serials. Quite often, Arnheim discovered, reporters and newspapers were presented as a menace to social prestige. Reporters provoked fear and resentment for the serial characters; once "those hounds" were on the scent of a story, nothing could entice them away from their trail. A similarly unpleasant picture resulted when the press was described as a powerful tool in politics. Occasional exceptions, such as the pleasant female reporter who wrote a series of articles on food in national defense, were neither sufficiently frequent nor prominent to alter this image essentially. When the newsman appeared as a good person, his function in the play was generally not determined by his profession, but by his personal qualities as a friend or leader.

The only television serial substantially concerned with newspapers and reporters was the "Secret Storm"; Peter Ames, the hero, is a newspaper editor. In this drama, the manner in which newspapers are presented depends upon individual emotions and thoughts. This is contrary to the audio view that presented the print medium as a threat to everyone. Susan Dunbar, the emotionally disturbed wife of political hopeful Alan Dunbar, sees such publicity as a threat to their young son. "Petey will become over-excited by all of this publicity; it'll be no good for him," she stated adamantly. Susan refuses to be interviewed, and she is cold and stiff in campaign pictures. Her husband Alan holds the opposite opinion. He believes that public acceptance of his political aspirations is largely due to a series of favorable newspaper articles written by Editor Ames. Naturally, the rival publication presents a less benevolent picture, but this controversy was presented only briefly during the period of data collection.

Brief references were given to the image of the press in the "Edge of Night". A minor character owns and edits a newspaper "that always tries to present both sides of a story." The impartiality seems fair and decent.

Although newspapers were not granted a prominent role in the serials studied, their influence upon society in general appears to be more benevolent and less threatening than it was on radio.

Politics

Arnheim discovered that references to domestic or foreign events of general importance were rare at the time of this study.[33] When radio serials referred to politics, they generally meant individual corruption in Congress and municipal administration; the picture that they exhibited on such occasions was disgraceful. Political corruption was shown as caused by individual villains or by the collective villainy of politicians in general. Two prevalent types of soap opera politicians produced the repugnant effects. First, was the reckless gangster who fought for power and wealth by killing, stealing, lying, and ruining the happiness, prestige, and careers of others. Second, was

[33]This seems unusual because these were the years clouded by World War Two; perhaps foreign events were ignored because the United States had not yet entered the war.

the honest, weak type who had made one mistake and was consequently blackmailed by the unscrupulous into doing more unpleasant tasks. It presented a very discouraging picture.

Television has changed the political scene of "Soapland". Unlike radio, television serials ignored all types of governmental corruption during the period of data collection.[34] The "Secret Storm" was the sole serial concerned with any type of political activity. Alan Dunbar, a reformed gangster-alcoholic, is under consideration as a candidate for the state assembly. Nothing derogatory can be drawn from his picture. His image is favorable; he is public-spirited and dedicated to the improvement of society. Most of the script concerning politics dealt with the social amenities of political life, such as cocktail parties, publicity photography sessions, and campaign dinners. Short discussions of campaign strategy were occasionally presented. Three points of "campaign battle tactics" were brought forth:

[34]With the world situation as it is, it is remarkable that political affairs are touched so lightly. Perhaps this has been an atypical period in serial treatment of politics.

1. A nice family is a valuable asset, especially if members of the family are attractive and compatible.
2. The voters like a reformed character to run for public office; it shows that good can triumph over evil.
3. Domestic difficulties or a marital triangle can ruin a campaign; the opposition will capitalize on anything.

Beyond this, politics were virtually ignored; male-female relationships appeared to be of greater video importance.

Two catagories untouched by Arnheim's 1941 study were "illegitimacy" and "divorce." The inclusion of these two topics is justified by their frequent appearance in the serials observed. Illegitimacy and its consequences were dissected rather regularily on "As the World Turns" and the "Secret Storm". Serious and lengthy discussions about divorce and its effects were presented on "As the World Turns", "The Doctors", "Moment of Truth", and "Secret Storm"; the sole abstainer was "Edge of Night".

Illegitimacy

There can be no comparison of audio and video treatements of this topic since this category was not covered by Arnheim.

Several aspects of this socially unapproved condition were discussed on "As the World Turns". Neil Wade is a confused unhappy young man. His personal life has been shattered; his "private world" is out of orbit because Dr. Doug Cassin told Neil that he is his illegitimate son. His reaction to this disillusioning experience is four-fold. He alienates himself from his mother, from his step-father, from his wife, and from his real father. More trouble evolves from this immoral act. Mrs. Cassin learns of the Neil-Doug relationship and becomes quite perturbed. She is jealous of Doug's involvement with his illegitimate son; she wants to know if she is more important to Doug than is Neil; and she tells Doug that she will leave him if he ever tries to communicate with Neil again. However, this situation did not arise during the period of data collection or during the periodic spot checks.

There is one more instance of illegitimacy in "As the World Turns". Ellen Lowell Cole has an illegitimate son

living in Oakdale.[35] Ellen is in constant agony whenever references to the boy are voiced. Although she loves her son deeply, Mrs. Cole stated that she "will not try to see Danny (her son) again; only unhappiness would result from such a meeting."

A different treatment of illegitimacy is evident in the dialogue of the "Secret Storm". Amy Ames Rysdale is another serial character who had a child out of wedlock, but she kept the baby. A former "beau" married her and gave the child his name, but they are now having marital troubles. To complicate the situation, the baby's real father is now divorced and has returned to Woodbridge in order to marry Amy and adopt Lisa.

As previously stated, illegitimacy is a serial problem that was absent in Arnheim's audio study. Two video treatments of this problem were evident in "As the World

[35]A further explanation may be of interest. Ellen had a son out of wedlock and made him available for adoption. The baby's father became divorced and married her, but it was too late to adopt the child. Tim Cole, Ellen's husband, soon died of leukemia. Through a series of coincidences and circumstances, Ellen discovered that her baby had been adopted by an associate of her step-father; they are living in Oakdale. From this stage, the plot becomes more involved, but it is of little importance in this section.

Turns" and the "Secret Storm". In one major case, the baby was made available for adoption; in the other two instances, the child was kept by the mother. Both situations caused heartache, frustration, and unhappiness; perhaps television serial producers are trying to emphasize the unhappy aftermaths of illegitimacy.

Divorce

Divorce is the second important television topic not mentioned by Arnheim in his 1941 study. Some aspect of the dissolution of marriage vows was presented in 80% of the serials studied; the only forbearer was the "Edge of Night". During the period of data collection, "As the World Turns" dealt heavily with discussions of divorce. Bob and Lisa Hughes have been divorced for a number of years; much sorrow has resulted from this separation. Unhappily, their son Tom is the victimized party. He believes that Bob and Lisa will reunite, regardless of the emotions of his parents. Unfortunately, any chance of a reconciliation was shattered when Bob announced his intention to marry Sylvia Hill, his nurse-receptionist. Lisa, in a fit of rage and frustration, exploded verbally at Sylvia; now these marriage plans have collapsed. Bob now thoroughly hates Lisa, "even if she is the mother of my son"; Lisa stated that she won't ever allow

herself to love a man again after Bob rejects her because her "private world has stopped"; and "Tom will suffer from all this hatred," stated Grandpa. "Look what happened to Ellen (Cole). She was a child of divorce and see how unhappy she has been. She has had no real home life, even as an adult."[36]

Another couple from the same serial, Neil and Penny Wade, is experiencing marital difficulties. Penny's over-ambition helped to drive Neil away from her; she is now repentant and vows "never to stop his world again", but Neil will not believe her. Penny is miserable and "the sooner she's a wife again, the better it will be," stated Grandpa Hughes.[37]

Brief references to divorce were made on "Moment of Truth". Jack and Carol Williams were on the brink of divorce, but the premature birth of their baby dissolved

[36]Perhaps no correlation exists here, but Grandpa Hughes is the "sage of Oakdale", and his opinion should be noted.

[37]Post-data collection checks were made on the five serials twice a week for ten weeks. A happier situation is now evident; Penny and Neil resolved their difficulties and are again man and wife.

these difficulties. Their estrangement ended in a happy reconciliation--both realized their weaknesses and both promised to try to make their marriage work.

Vince, a college instructor in this daytime drama, has been separated from his wife for seven years. "It was never a real marriage," he stated, "and it kept me from becoming involved with another woman. I like a bachelor's life." Now he has fallen in love with a woman from Carlisle; he wants to make his separation legal in order to marry her; but his "possessive" wife refuses to free him. His wrath is great, but he has no feasible plan of operation to snip the ties that bind.

"The Doctors" is another soap opera that deals with divorce. Dr. Althea Davis divorced her husband Dave so that he could marry another woman. His second marriage was unsuccessful and now he wishes to remarry Althea. Although he is in the process of obtaining his second divorce, Althea is reluctant to rewed Dave. He vows that he still loves her and that the children are suffering because their parents are separated. Althea loves her children, but she recalls their first marriage and refuses to be pressured into repeating their vows. As of this date, this problem is unsolved.

Two cases of divorce were present on the "Secret Storm". One concerns the Rysdales. After the birth of her illegitimate child, Amy Rysdale refused to accept her responsibilities as a wife and mother. Kip, her husband, sought companionship elsewhere and initiated divorce overtures. Amy realized her error too late; although Kip no longer loves the "other woman," he believes he is drained of all emotion and incapable of loving anyone. Periodic progress checks of the problem show that Kip and Amy have not reconciled. He has gone to study medicine in Vienna after telling Amy to discuss their divorce procedures with a lawyer.

The other divorce difficulties involve Alan and Susan Dunbar. Susan is driving Alan away; she is cold, sarcastic, jealous, and overprotective of their son.[38] "There is trouble on both sides, but Sue and Alan should try to make their marriage work for Petey's sake," stated Peter Ames, Susan's father. They do not try. Divorce proceedings and a custody suite are presently imminent.

[38]Alan then buried himself in his work and turned to another woman; this enraged Susan even more.

Divorce is a prominent video problem not present in Arnheim's study. An unusual feature of the serial divorce action studied is present. No one seems to find happiness after a divorce. Its consequences are varied and negative; only bitterness, hatred, suffering, and sorrow result. It appears that today's soap opera producers wish to present divorce as something that solves no problems. Is this an effort to "educate" the American housewives about the seriousness of divorce?

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Summary

In the pre-television era, housewives listened with rapt attention to the daily problems of "Ma Perkins", "Our Gal Sunday", and "Stella Dallas" on their wood-encased console radios. With the advent of television, critics predicted happily that the day of the soap opera was gone forever. Who, they asked, would be content to watch the unsophisticated and over-emotional heroines go through their endless trials and tribulations on the television screen? How many American women were naive enough to be intrigued by the repetitious, drawn out story lines, the familiar dialogue, the husbands with amnesia, the younger brother who was an alcoholic, and the sister-in-law going through a psychosomatic pregnancy? But these critics soon got their answer, as millions of female viewers turned from radio soap opera to television daytime drama.[39]

[39]Edna Sullivan, "As the Dial Turns", Ladies' Home Companion, III (August 1965), pp. 94-96.

With the advent of televised serials, the programs' format underwent a number of content changes. To note this alteration, the following material is presented.

Comparison of Serial Data

A number of basic comparisons between the radio daytime serials and their television progeny may be suggested:

1. Small cities and suburban areas are choice video serial locales; small and medium-sized towns were prime audio settings.
2. The social and occupational status of the television characters are mainly those of professionals and housewives; the status was reversed in radio days.
3. Television serials seem to stress individual thinking and have fewer leaders than did the radio dramas. The video leaders are often those who are considered important in both their professional and private worlds; radio leaders were rarely influential in both areas.
4. Televised problems deal frequently with personal relations, principally family matters; radio difficulties dealt with personal difficulties, mainly marital problems. Economic and professional difficulties on television have lessened since the days of the radio serial.

5. Serial problems presented on television are usually caused by individuals, rather than directly by economic, social, and political situations. This is quite similar to the problems of the radio serial.
6. A striking difference is noted in the moral evaluation of serial characters. Television roles are no longer as sharply defined (good, bad, weak) as they were on radio. Viewers today find that characterization is blended into shades of gray with streaks of black and white.
7. Good, bad, and weak people cause approximately the same amount of trouble on television as they did on radio. Only minor differences occur--the good and weak video troublemakers cause more trouble for others, and the evil characters cause more trouble for themselves.
8. Television has attempted to equalize the suffering; radio victimization was less uniform. Today, good people suffer less; bad individuals, especially villainesses, suffer more.
9. Television's chief troublemakers seem to be women; radio's most difficult characters were men. Why?

Perhaps today's producers believe that the feminine audience distrusts its own sex more than in years gone by.

10. Problem solutions on television attempt to be prompted by plausible events; problem solutions on radio relied upon an ethereal and undefined type of perfect justice.

A number of basic comparisons between the audio and video treatment of specific subjects are suggested:

1. Women: Although television heroines are less omnipotent than were their radio sisters, the video joys of domesticity are stressed as much as they were on radio. Careers are acceptable, but caring for a home and family is the pinnacle of feminine aspirations.
2. Experts: Video experts are usually portrayed as competent and authoritative in their professional lives; radio experts were woefully ineffectual. A bit of irony about these experts not noted by Arnheim is evident in the televised soap operas. Although these experts can bring peace or comfort to others, their personal lives are as calm as a whirlpool. Family difficulties cloud their happy

homes, and they are drawn into a "vortex of suds" as plots grow more complex. This situation appears to be purely a television trait.

3. Learning: Television presents education as a near-necessity of life; radio presented learning as something unnecessary, valueless, and unimportant.
4. Neighbors: In both media, neighbors were rarely scripted. But when the occasion arises, video neighbors appear to be friendly and helpful; audio neighbors were presented as a hostile group of nosey people who wanted to publicize one's private affairs.
5. Newspapers: The stigma of unfavorable publicity has lessened over the years. Television's treatment of newspapers in the observed serials encourages the view that the press need not be treated in the negative manner evident in the radio days.
6. Politics: No definite conclusions about politics could be drawn from the television serials since the video medium merely touched upon politics. No national or international government corruption was present as was true of radio. The sole video political indication was the launching of a new candidate for the state assembly. Conversely,

radio did present some individual corruption in state and local organizations; this produced a discouraging picture of political life.

7. Illegitimacy: No audio-video comparisons can be presented in conjunction with this topic; Arnheim did not include this feature in his 1941 study. However, the television serial presents it as an immoral act which results in sorrow and frustration.
8. Divorce: This is the second category not mentioned by Arnheim. It appears that the video treatment of divorce is simple to the extreme--a dissolution of marriage vows brings no one happiness.

Recommendations

Some areas for future study have been noted in previous sections of this study. These areas are incorporated with other recommendations in the following section and are grouped in major categories.

1. Content. A segment of serial locale needs further study. The unusually high percentage of resort settings (15%) was noted in the serials observed;

it was suggested that this denoted an atypical period of serial scripting. A more thorough study of this feature could illuminate this area. Perhaps the observation period was atypical or perhaps this is a new serial trend.

Politics is another area that needs further work. According to Arnheim, the radio serials dealt quite heavily with governmental corruption; little of this was presented in the television dramas observed. A more ambitious and sophisticated study of this portion of serial content could determine whether the video observation time was atypical or whether script writers are placing less emphasis on politics.

A third category is concerned with the evolution of problem solutions. Arnheim held that an unexplained and all-powerful force developed the audio solutions; the plot solutions of the five video programs seemed to be based on plausible actions or situations. An extensive study of this single serial factor could lead to a more authoritative conclusion.

2. The Serial Audience. The first area that needs future study is concerned with both the serial content and the serial audience. "Education" and "learning" were treated unfavorably in the radio dramas; Arnheim believed that this devluation of "learning" flattered the less educated audience segment. Today's video serials place "learning" in a more elevated position. If Arnheim is correct in deducing that the devaluation of learning was aimed at the less educated serial audience, is the present video trend toward the elevation of learning aimed at the more educated serial audience? Since mass media producers attempt to attract the largest audiences possible, has the video serial audience become more educated since the days of Arnheim's study? A thorough examination of this relationship may lead to a positive correlation.

Audience identification with video serial characters needs study. Audio audience identification was evident, Arnheim believed, and this phenomenon did occur with some regularity. With the advent of television, the free imagery permitted by radio was curtailed. Does video serial identification occur; if so, to what extent? To reach any definite

conclusions in this area, the researcher would need to conduct a study of some magnitude.

A number of radio serial studies by individuals such as Herta Herzog and Paul Lazarsfeld dealt with the psychological fulfillment transmitted by the audio soap operas to its audiences. A television study of some depth could develop a number of positive and/or negative correlations in this area. Do women watch the televised serials and receive the same gratifications that were received by the radio audience, or have alterations occurred over the years?

3. The Evening Serials. The last category deals with the television serials alone. The most recent major trend in serial production is the development of the evening soap operas, such as "Our Private World" and "Peyton Place". More programs in a similar vein are appearing in network fall schedules.

These "spin-offs" can become a fruitful area for a number of studies. First, a comparison of the content of the daytime and evening serials could be conducted to note any differences in scripting for a daytime or evening audience.

Second, a study of the audience acceptance and reaction to these evening dramas would illuminate the success of these unique programs. Is the daytime and evening audience one and the same? Do many men watch these evening dramas; if so, how do their reactions compare to feminine reaction? Also, what accommodations, if any, have been made for the male viewer?

This area does suggest several studies of some depth. Perhaps few alterations have been made in the evening serial production and perhaps the daytime audiences have simply enlarged their listening habits to include the new soap operas; or perhaps the two dramatic types are as different as day and night.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

Alexander, Peter. Willaim Shakespeare, The Complete Works, London: The English Language Book Society and Collins, 1964.

Bogart, Leo. The Age of Television. New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Company, 1956.

Brokenshire, Norman. This is Norman Brokenshire. New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1954.

Chesterton, G. K. The Collected Poems of G. K. Chesterton, New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1932.

Crews, Albert. Radio Production Directing. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Riverside Press, 1944.

George, Andrew J. The Complete Poetic Works of William Wordsworth, New York: Houghton-Mifflin, 1904.

Gross, Ben. I Looked and I Listened, New York: Random House, 1954.

Head, Sidney, Broadcasting in America, Cambridge Publishing Company, 1962.

Klapper, Joseph. The Effects of Mass Communication. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1964.

Lindsey, Charles. Radio and Television Communication. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1952.

Mackey, David. Drama On the Air. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1951.

Mehling, Harold. The Great Time-Killer. Cleveland: World Publishing Company, 1962.

Seldes, Gilbert. The Great Audience. New York: The Viking Press, 1950.

Settel, Irving. A Pictorial History of Radio. New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1960.

Stasheff, Edward and Rudy Bretz. The Television Program. New York: Hill and Wang, 1962.

Thurber, James. The Beast in Me and Other Animals. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1948.

Articles and Periodicals

"Ageless Heroine". Time, Volume LXVIII, Number 6, August 6, 1956.

Arnehim, Rudolph, "The World of the Daytime Serial", Public Opinion and Propaganda, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1954.

Best, Katherine, "Literature of the Air; Radio's Perpetual Emotion", Saturday Review of Literature, Volume XXI, Number 26, April 20, 1940.

"Bigger Suds", Newsweek, Volume XXXVI, Number 25, July 30, 1951.

Cameron, Gail, "Soapy Sex Moves to Prime Time", Life, Volume LVII, Number 23, December 4, 1964.

"Daytime Classics", Time, Volume XL, Number 22, November 30, 1942.

Denison, Merrill, "Soap Opera", Harpers, Volume CLXXX, April 1940.

Dickinson, Hugh, "Soap Opera Down the Drain", America, Volume XCIV, Number 5, October 29, 1955.

"Dream Bubbles in Soap", Newsweek, Volume XVII, Number 22, June 2, 1941.

Greene, Bette, "There's No End to Those Soap Operas", Coronet, Volume III, Number 2, February 1965.

Holbrook, Weare, "The Wring Cycle", Detroit Athletic Club News, January 1963.

Hutchens, John, "Are Soap Operas Only Suds?", New York Times Magazine, March 25, 1943.

Judge, Frank, "New Soap Operas Trend Puts Daytime Star on Night Shift", Detroit News Television Magazine, March 21, 1965.

"Life in 'One Man's Family' Will Continue Over Air Waves for Seven More Years", Newsweek, Volume XIII, Number 6, February 6, 1939.

"Life With Ma", Time, Volume LXX, Number 9, August 26, 1957.

McDonough, Robert, "Radio's Heart Throbs", Commonweal, Volume XXXI, Number 14, January 26, 1940.

New York Times, 1930--1965.

O'Connor, Edwin, "The Fairly Merry Widow", Atlantic Monthly, Volume CLXXVII, Number 6, June 1946.

Parson,s Wilfred, "Daytime Radio", America, Volume XCIV, Number 21, February 18, 1956.

"Question of Soap", Time, Volume XLI, Number 23, June 7, 1943

"Same Old Story", Newsweek, Volume XL, Number 2, July 14, 1952.

"Scented Soap", Newsweek, Volume XXII, Number 1, July 5, 1943.

Seldes, Gilbert, "Darkness Before Noon", Saturday Review, Volume XXXVI, Number 49, December 5, 1953.

_____ "New Bubbles for Soap Opera", New York Times Magazine, September 12, 1954.

"Soap in Your Eyes", Newsweek, Volume XLIII, Number 5, February 1, 1954.

Sullivan, Edna, "As the Dial Turns", Ladies' Home Companion, Volume III, Number 9, August 1965.

"Televised Suds", Newsweek, Volume XXXVIII, Number 5, July 30, 1951.

"The End of Our Gal", Newsweek, Volume LIII, Number 1, January 5, 1959.

"The Soap Operas", Fortune, Volume XXXIII, Number 3, March, 1946.

"The State of Radio", Time, Volume LXV, Number 19, May 9, 1955.

Variety, July 1964.

"Vic and Sade", Time, Volume XLII, Number 26, December 27, 1943.

White, Llewellyn, "The Shortcomings of Radio", Atlantic Monthly, Volume CLXXIX, Number 4, April 1947.

Willey, George, "End of An Era; the Daytime Radio Serial", Journal of Broadcasting, Volume V, Number 2, Spring 1961.

Wolters, Lawrence, "Peyton Place Sets Pace for New Shows", Chicago Tribune, January 27, 1965.

Wylie, Max, "Washboard Weepers", Harper's Magazine, Volume CLXXXV, Number 110, November 1942.

Zolotow, Maurice, "Washboard Weepers", Saturday Evening Post, Volume CCXV, Number 48, May 29, 1943.

APPENDIX

TABLE 1 - CHRONOLOGICAL SERIAL DEVELOPMENT - RADIO

Season	Number of Serials
1930-1931	1
1931-1932	2
1932-1933	5
1933-1934	6
1934-1935	9
1935-1936	18
1936-1937	24
1937-1938	42
1938-1939	43
1939-1940	60
1940-1941	61
1941-1942	57
1942-1943	44
1943-1944	46
1944-1945	39
1945-1946	36
1946-1947	32
1947-1948	33
1948-1949	33
1949-1950	33
1950-1951	30
1951-1952	31
1952-1953	28
1953-1954	28
1954-1955	24
1955-1956	18
1956-1957	15
1957-1958	12
1958-1959	14
1959-1960	7
1960	6
11/25/60	0

TABLE 2 - CHRONOLOGICAL SERIAL DEVELOPMENT - TELEVISION

Season	Number of Serials
1950-1951	1
1951-1952	3
1952-1953	4
1953-1954	6
1954-1955	15
1955-1956	9
1956-1957	8
1957-1958	9
1958-1959	9
1959-1960	12
1960-1961	12
1961-1962	11
1962-1963	9
1963-1964	8
1964-1965	11

MONITOR REPORT

Title: "Secret Storm" Date: April 27, 1965

Network: CBS Air Time: 4:00 p.m. E.S.T. Length: 30 min.

Characters presented in this installment:

Male: Paul Britton, Dr. Gordon, Alan Dunbar

Female: Amy Rysdale, Connie Thayer, Susan Dunbar

Serial Content

Conflicts

Amy faces inner conflict--Kip doesn't love her any more. Paul loves her very much. Can she learn to love Paul as she did Kip?

Paul faces conflict in his job. Dr. Gordon says people will not let him forget his past, but Paul doesn't care. His self-respect is of greatest value.

Character Self Evaluations

Male

Paul says he's repentent. Wants to mend all fences. He loves Amy and wants to marry her because her marriage is not working out.

Peter Ames raised his children in a santuary, said daughter Susan.

Female

Amy wishes she and Kip (her husband) were happy. She feels empty yet turbulent; she wants Kip but Paul confuses her thoughts and emotions.

Susan is overprotective of son Petey. Says she loves him; he is her "world". Hates her father for remarrying and

Topics

Verbal

Paul's Position

Paul tells Dr. G. he wants to be replaced on faculty of Woodbridge College. It was the scene of the crime (he fathered Amy's baby) and wants to make everything up.

Amy Rysdale

Paul tells Dr. G. he has made up with Amy. (he is now divorced).

Behavior

Goes to see dean, Dr. Gordon to get job back.

Paul will wait until a position is open.

Calls Amy to tell her of conference.

Departs for Amy's apt.

Susan-Alan verbal conflict; Al tells her he has decided to enter politics. She says "Good, now you can't interfere with Petey's life".

Says that she will be Petey's mother, and father so he'll be raised properly. She and son will not be ornaments in Alan's campaign. Alan warns her of poor judgment, but she tells him to get out. He does so, after he says "This won't be the end of this".

shutting her out. Vows Alan has deserted her as well as Petey. (She is VERY neurotic).

Paul tells Amy he wants to see Lisa (Amy's baby) Amy says he can see Lisa but he can come only as a friend.

Amy is thoughtful as she hangs up phone.

Master Data Sheet

Experts

Serial Title	Date	Reference to Experts By Whom	Reference to Experts To Whom
"As the World Turns"	4/26/65	Lisa Hughes	Dr. Field, psy. Calls him when her husband refuses her proposal of marriage.
"Secret Storm"	4/30/65	Alan Dunbar	Ann Wicker. She is great in campaign publicity work.
"Moment of Truth"	4/29/65	Nancy Wallace	Bob Wallce, psy. He is trained to read things into people's ideas.
"The Doctors"	4/30/65	Nora Hanson	Dr. Steve Lloyd Nora tells Steve that he is too concerned about his patients sometimes, but this makes him a good doctor.