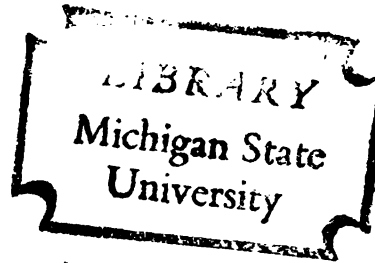INFORMATION CONTROL BEHAVIORS
AND THE POLITICAL EFFECTIVENESS OF
LOW INCOME URBAN BLACKS
THESIS FOR THE DEGREE OF Ph. D.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
JOHN ELLIOTT BOWES, II
1971

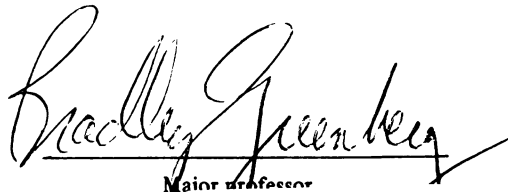This is to certify that the

thesis entitled

INFORMATION CONTROL BEHAVIORS
AND THE POLITICAL EFFECTIVENESS OF
LOW INCOME URBAN BLACKS

presented by

JOHN ELLIOTT BOWES, II

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

____Ph.D.____ degree in __Communication__

_____
Major professor

Date _August 23, 1971_

O-7639

ABSTRACT

INFORMATION CONTROL BEHAVIORS
AND THE POLITICAL EFFECTIVENESS OF
LOW INCOME URBAN BLACKS

By

John Elliott Bowes, II

The primary research question of this study was to isolate factors which accounted for effective use of political information coming into urban black neighborhoods. It was reasoned that mass media, interpersonal contacts and organizations constituted the primary channels through which such information from the general society entered the black community. Prior evidence indicated that while these channels are effective carriers of political and other specialized information for the middle class individual, they tend to be unpredictable carriers for the inner city black despite their high level of use. Consequently, we developed independent variables characterizing basic modes of information gathering and use to see the extent to which they covaried with or were predictive of dependent political effectiveness measures.

Variables characterizing information use were (a) the diversity or variety of inputs used, (b) selectivity or the extent to which one focuses on politically relevant information, and (c) mass media credibility. These three variables were hypothesized to relate positively to dependent political effectiveness measures of political activity, knowledge, and efficacy. A fourth independent variable, amount of input, was treated in interaction with the previous three. In

these latter instances, it was reasoned that high amount alone would bear a null or negative relationship with dependent measures. However, under conditions of high selectivity, diversity or credibility, the amount of input would be predictive of higher political effectiveness.

Hypotheses were tested by multiple regression with a probability sample of low income urban black residents, following data collection by personal interview in Cleveland, Ohio. Briefly, the following results were obtained. Diversity of mass media inputs and organizational membership ties were significantly related in the predicted direction to at least one of the dependent political effectiveness measures. Selectivity demonstrated in news-public affairs use of the mass media and in interpersonal selectivity shown by a high proportion of political conversation contacts, was also related as hypothesized. Mass media credibility related positively and significantly to at least one of the dependent measures. Finally, the interaction of interpersonal and organizational selectivity with input amount was significantly associated with at least one of the dependent measures.

Overall, seven of the ten original hypotheses were partially or wholly confirmed in this investigation. Dependent measures of political knowledge and activity were best predicted by the independent information control variables. Political efficacy (the attitudinal component of political effectiveness) evidenced a relationship only with mass media credibility. Contrary to expectation, amount of information input, in several instances, showed strong positive associations with dependent measures, with the information control variables of selectivity, diversity and credibility held constant.

INFORMATION CONTROL BEHAVIORS

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A THESIS

Submitted to

Michigan State University

in partial fulfillment of the requirement

for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Communication

1971

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER I

RESEARCH PROBLEM AND HYPOTHESES

INTRODUCTION

    This dissertation is composed of two basic parts: first, a

conceptual framework for analyzing certain patterns of communication

behavior and their relationship to political effectiveness among low

income minorities, and secondly, an empirical study of the relationship

of several communication patterns to the political effectiveness of

low income blacks living in Cleveland, Ohio.[1]

    The importance of viable communication between the black community

and the majority society and its government is almost self-evident.

Dissatisfaction with the ability of government and the political system

to respond effectively to the needs of low income minority neighborhoods

has been a recurrent theme in the news of recent years. Similarly,

this dissatisfaction has also received considerable, if not effective,

attention from government and private agencies. The result has been

a plethora of programs directed at the black community, often with

disappointing results.

    The desired effects of these programs, of course, have ideally

been betterment of living conditions based on increasing the

_____

    [1]In particular, our concern was for low income blacks living
in mostly black neighborhoods among people of roughly the same income
level and social status. In less precise terms we were interested
in black ghetto residents. Cleveland suited this purpose well, because
its sizeable black population is largely located in dense, crowded
low income neighborhoods.

individual's ability to control conditions which affect him--so-called

self-sufficiency. Unfortunately, their results, particularly in terms

of generating traditional political enthusiasm, have had mixed effects.

Riesman & Glazer (1950) found, for example, that attempts to politicize

Harlem residents repeatedly failed. Limited education and communication

skills undercut self-confidence and social skills which seemed necessary

for active political participation. Other investigators (notably

Douvan & Walker, 1956; Easton & Dennis, 1965 and 1967; Greenstein,

1965; Siegel, 1965; and Jennings & Numi, 1968) offer similar conclu-

sions. These investigators basically agree that problems of political

apathy are components of a self-perpetuating poverty cycle whereby

the physical and emotional difficulties of ghetto life are reflected

in political ineffectiveness and "passed on" to future generations.

Meanwhile, civil rights groups, the poverty worker and, increas-

ingly, government have labored to improve conditions. On paper at

least these agencies offer a variety of services, e.g., employment

counseling, health care. Private organizations also promote civic

participation on a neighborhood level or provide legal or health aid.

Yet with frequent good reason, and with almost certain frustration

of the officials involved, the services often are not effectively

offered, are ill used, or are viewed with suspicion and rejected out-

right (Clark, 1967; McIssac & Wilkerson, 1965).

Prior poverty research offers limited help in explaining the

ineffectiveness of political aid or information programs directed

at the low income minority community for several reasons: First,

and most basic, studies dealing with poverty and communication as

covariables are few (see Greenberg & Dervin, 1970). In particular,

analysis of personal effectiveness in dealing with the environment
together with a consideration of an individual's communication behaviors
has received little attention in low income black neighborhoods. Nearly
absent is information concerning interpersonal communication among
low income minorities, mass media exposure, attitudes toward the media
and media credibility. Nor is much known about how ghetto residents
seek out advice on matters beyond their experience, either from "out-
side" experts or from organizations within the minority community.

Secondly, the bulk of poverty research expends considerable
energy in describing the cyclical nature of poverty--essentially non-
coping reactions to bad circumstances which simply perpetuate that
state. The problem is that while the cycle itself is adequately demon-
strated, relatively little attention is devoted to the variability
of behavior within the poverty subgroup responsible for the cycle's
maintenance. Obviously, ghetto residents are not equally victims
of apathy and a sense of political ineffectiveness. Activism in the
inner city has been increasingly visible. However, while the frequent
demographic comparisons made between class levels have generally served
to illustrate basic divisions in total range of society, they may
have aided the stereotyping of each of those divisions. This may
be especially true of the poor, since they are usually most remote
from the scientific and reporting community.

Finally, communication and various types of personal efficacy
both as theoretical concepts and as operational variables have been
often considered at a comparatively simple level of analysis. Principal
reasons for this state, in part, hinge on the comparative difficulty
of conducting field research in low income minority areas. Concepts

and operations designed for a general middle class sample often seem

inappropriate to the ghetto circumstances. Wording and administration

of items become more problematic; this often results in simplification

to expedite field operations or contentment with simple demographic

correlates of political activity. The price, of course, is less precise

theoretic and operational criteria for implementing study design.

Perhaps at the root of this confusion, compounded by the research

shortcomings just described, is a notion that consumption of information

somehow is beneficial to the consumer. McCombs (1968), for example,

implies that parallel increases in black media use and political activ-

ism are related. Orum (1965) posits a similar relationship between

black ogranizational participation (conducive to information gathering)

and political activity. Yet in these instances there is little explana-

tion as to how this information input promotes political efficacy.

Beyond these specific cases, two broad areas of research have supported

the information--efficacy relationship.

Demographic analysis of middle and upper class community influen-

tials (Lane, 1959; Milbrath, 1965; Berelson, Lazarsfeld & McPhee, 1954)

repeatedly show that politically active community influentials are

heavy consumers of the mass media and have extensive interpersonal

contacts, often with other influential persons. Complementing these

data is evidence from studies of "modernization" and diffusion of

innovations largely conducted in less developed countries. These

are concerned largely with basic agricultural practices and community

participation. Almond & Verba (1963), for example, relate high mass

media use to an elevated sense of local political effectiveness in

five developing nations. Lerner (1963) hypothesizes that mass media

and modernization--indicative of increasing political awareness--
jointly develop, each reciprocally advancing the other.

Unfortunately, the analogy of increased communication and advanc-
ing modernization may not be so easily transferred to the U.S. urban
ghetto, sharing as it does some of the qualities of a less developed
nation. Yet the little available evidence on this relationship gathered
among the U.S. poor is contrary to the media-to-modernity hypothesis.
Donohew & Singh (1968), for example, find that high television users
were the least receptive to poverty program services and showed a
greater sense of powerlessness. Case studies of ghetto communication
behavior, especially among children, typically find that the high
levels of communication have either a neutral or negative effect on
one's ability to cope with conditions, political and otherwise (Liebow,
1967; Chilman, 1966; Minuchin, 1967).

Possible reasons for this reversal are not beyond speculation.
Middle and upper class influentials, the base of many demographic
analyses, usually have an educational and socialization history far
more conducive to political development than is available to the inner
city resident. Innovative farmers or progressive peasants in less
developed countries, in the aggregate, reflect the attainment of educa-
tion and a sense of political effectiveness as they modernize. Both
situations differ from the U.S. urban ghetto. The U.S. middle class
influential and the ghetto resident share the same basic media system,
but probably differ greatly in their ability to make effective use
of it. Also, the middle class subject is privy to well educated peers,
often experts and specialists far removed from the daily interpersonal
world of the ghetto black. The peasant in less developed lands, while

not possessing the educational and political sophistication of the
U.S. middle class (or, perhaps, for that matter the ghetto resident),
may be aided in his modernization efforts by rural extension workers
or by specialized media instruction. Such help is frequently unavail-
able or unacceptable to the urban black. Too, the base from which
the peasant must evidence progress is usually far more rudimentary
and simple when compared to the highly specialized, technological
society faced by the U.S. urban black.

The key to the discrepancy between the effects of information
use in the ghetto and its use in the contrasting situations mentioned
possibly lies in how individuals sort out and make sense of the informa-
tion they are presented with--how they "control" or manage the informa-
tion coming to them. The middle class person has his educational
and social experience to help him in this process, while the rural
peasant often has outside help or has only comparatively easy tasks
to cope with. However, the urban black, equipped with poor educational
and social skills, faces a complex, often hostile society. A sophisti-
cated communication situation surrounds him, seemingly with little
positive effect. Figure 1 summarizes this problem in relationship
to the several research areas discussed above. Its purpose is to
contrast differences made by information control characteristics upon
consequent political and personal effectiveness. The balance of this
chapter will consider in detail the communication environment of the
low income black and the explanatory power of several information
control characteristics associated with variations in political effec-
tiveness. In particular, our attempt will be to isolate communication
variables which improve explanation of ghetto political effectiveness

over the present level of generalizations.

Population	Information Input	Information Control Characteristics	Efficacy
Studies of U.S. influentials and middle class	High levels of media and interpersonal information input	Present due to educational and socialization history	High
Diffusion or modernization studies on innovative peasants	High information compared to peers or baseline undeveloped society	Present due to greater education in comparison to peers, change agent help, special media programs	High
U.S. low income blacks	High media and interpersonal contact	Absence of those pertinent to middle class or modernizing cultures, or unknown	Low

Figure 1. Comparison of hypothetical media input, information control characteristics and efficacy across several research populations.

THEORETIC RATIONALE

The emphasis of this study rests on how individuals gather and interpret information and their success in the environment as a result. A person's ability to obtain needed services from government is deeply involved in this process. The individual who has little information on what he can do to correct abuses or to seek help will not benefit much from the protection and services government offers. Politically effective attitudes and behaviors, to the contrary, depend on some skill in utilizing available information inputs.

Political effectiveness and its relation to communication typically is viewed as part of a larger theoretical background concerned with general differences in human effectiveness. A recurrent theme in literature on this subject is that information acquisition and its proper use are basic to effective human functioning. Berlyne

(1966), for example, theorizes that information seeking is an instinc-
tual response of all successful organisms to their environment. Others
(Ascroft, 1969; Cofer & Appley, 1964; Dervin, 1970; Rotter, 1966)
discuss information seeking and evluation as fundamental to human
success. Information provides the base for effectiveness; it alerts
the individual to dangers which must be avoided and to benefits which
will improve the quality of life.

However, several theorists (Ackoff, 1958; Dervin, 1970) stipulate
the need to control or manage information input. Essentially, an
individual must be able to discriminate among and evaluate each of
the various information inputs he perceives. Awareness of alternative
actions available, their outcomes, how the outcome can be reached,
and which action is best in which circumstances are all necessary
kinds of information which allow the individual to achieve effective
control in the environment.

The inability to process information and its consequences for
political effectiveness is clear in several studies (Douvan & Walker,
1956; Mussen & Wyszynski, 1952; Rotter, 1966). Here it is apparent
that the politically ineffective is also one unable to use information
effectively and consequently sees the world as oppressive and uncon-
trolled. Feelings of political ineffectiveness are part of this larger
sense of chaos. Withdrawal, fatalism and inability to associate behav-
ior and reward are products of this condition.

Deficiencies in education and environment which face the inner
city resident offer some explanation for this state. Descriptions
of the arid educational climate of the inner city are plentiful.
Reisman & Glazier (1950) noted, for example, that low energy levels,

limited and ineffective formal education in this setting, result in political apathy. Easton & Dennis (1965) conclude that the low income child has a retarded sense of political effectiveness which becomes worse with age. Minuchin et al (1967) found that ghetto children suffer from memory problems, poor time orientation, and limited perceptual skills—all conditions which increase the difficulty of recognizing and dealing with problems. Douvan & Walker (1956) noted that feelings of incompetence experienced by ghetto residents in one area or activity tended to generalize and become a segment of this incompetence these individuals generally felt in most areas of life.

The ability to function effectively based on proper information use is not, however, strictly a function of the individual. Simply put, the individual is dependent upon information available from the social system. Others, be they television announcers or neighbors, are components in an information delivery network operating for each individual. Because this system is responsible for presenting behavioral alternatives and information concerning their outcomes, its openness to new alternatives is a measure of its success. Closed social systems which restrict the flow of information in a manner analogous to their biological counterparts are unable to adapt to changes or improve existing conditions and eventually fail (Ascroft, 1969; Miller, 1965; Roling, 1970; Watzlawick et al, 1967).

The urban black ghetto is by no means a closed information system. However, it is one where only a limited range of inputs are present, and thus shares some of the qualities of the closed system. Basic reasons are not hard to find.

Communication in the inner city seems to center upon two

disjointed, non-complementary systems. The mass media system serving
as the primary conveyor of "outside" information into the ghetto,
generally is oriented toward a white middle class consumer society,
not the needs and culture of the inner city. The interpersonal network
of the low income black, on the other hand, typically, is restricted
to a tight circle of family and friends who disregard or disdain infor-
mation that is unfamiliar or comes from white dominated sources.
This disjointed pattern stifles the effective flow of information
between a technical and affluent general society and a ghetto community
which lags in this development. Deprived of vital information from
society and government, political effectiveness has little basis for
development.

BASIC RESEARCH CONCEPTS

Four basic information control characteristics are hypothesized
to be essential to how well the ghetto black overcomes this disjointed
situation and its negative consequences for political effectiveness.
Essentially, it is reasoned that they intervene in the presentation
of information from the mass media, interpersonal, and organizational
sources, and the utilization of this information to political advantage.
These characteristics comprise the independent variables of this study:

I. Diversity: A variety of information inputs is necessary
to gather sufficient information to improve control over
rewards. In a sense specific to politics, a variety of infor-
mation inputs maximizes coverage of political events and
minimizes potential bias due to the input of one specific
viewpoint.

II. Selectivity: Even in the relatively isolated climate of

the urban ghetto, potential information input can be massive.

Television is ubiquitous and supplies an outpouring of infor-

mation having little specific political bearing. Interpersonal

contacts, also can supply massive input, and if traditional

characterizations of ghetto communication are accepted, this

communication tends as well to be homogeneous and apolitical.

In this situation to effectively utilize the political content

available, the individual must sort, accepting some inputs

and rejecting the rest. This sorting procedure places strong

responsibility on the individual's ability to handle informa-

tion. Television and typical interpersonal communication

behavior in the ghetto provide few or no cues as to which

inputs are important and which are not. Organizations ideally

assist the individual to obtain political information, under-

stand it, and provide social support for its utilization.

Moreover, they can perform this function in a manner consonant

with the culture and interests of the inner city black man.

However, some kinds of organizations may merely serve a kill-

time function, forestalling political action.

III. Credibility: Credibility of information sources is probably

of greater concern in the ghetto than in the balance of the

population. "Outside" media and interpersonal information

sources face suspicion of bias and self-interest from the

black community.. However, "credibility" may imply uncritical

acceptance of content leading to fantasy and escape, rather

than critical analysis of content and enhanced political

effectiveness as a result.

IV. Amount: Amount is simply an indication of the quantity of

information one has contact with within a period of time.

It connotes no effort to be selective or to maximize some

sort of goal in attending this information. In the ghetto,

"amount" tends to be considerable, equalling and in some

cases surpassing the communication activity of middle class

individuals. Television consumption, for example, is consid-

erable, gregariousness frequently is high within a circle

of friends and family, there is evidence of growing organiza-

tional membership and press consumption is good. Whether

"amount" contributes or detracts from political effectiveness

may in good part depend on the presence of the other control

characteristics.

The dependent variable of this study, political effectiveness,

has been operationalized in numerous ways, of which three seem most

common. At an attitudinal level, political efficacy concerns the

individual's subjective feeling that his actions are effective in

making the government consider his needs. High "efficacy" notes that

the individual feels himself to be politically proficient, even if

in reality he is not (Campbell et al, 1954; Robinson, 1968). A second

approach gauges the degree of political involvement evidenced by one's

overt behaviors. In this sense, the person who, for example, runs

for office or gives money to a party, shows greater effectiveness

than the individual who merely votes or does nothing (Campbell et al,

1954; Matthews & Prothro, 1966; Robinson, 1968). A third variant

concentrates on one's <u>knowledge</u> <u>of</u> <u>the</u> <u>political</u> <u>system</u>. Here individuals with high levels of factual recall of such things as names of governors or current events are considered more politically effective (Matthews & Prothro, 1966; Robinson, 1967).

Realizing the diverse human attributes subsumed under "effectiveness," several researchers have combined these elements into comprehensive indices (for example, Matthews & Prothro, 1966; Litt, 1963). Political effectiveness as conceptualized in this study will include these three components, attitude, behavior and knowledge, which are discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

INTERRELATIONSHIP OF CONCEPTS

Because of their mediating position between sources of information, and consequent effectiveness, information control characteristics are involved in a number of relationships. These are illustrated in the paradigm below.[1]

Information Inputs	Information Control	Criterion
A. Interpersonal contacts	1. Diversity	<u>Political effectiveness</u> Attitudes (efficacy) Political knowledge
B. Mass Media 4. Amount	2. Selectivity	Political behaviors
C. Organizations	3. Source credibility	

Figure 2. Illustrating information control variables with respect to information inputs and the criterion, political efficacy.

For example, information presented by the mass media, to have any effect on efficacy must of course be attended to. Since this is true

[1]The paradigm presented here has causal implications. For example, selective media use appears to lead to heightened political effectiveness. However, the "one time" nature of this study and its reliance on correlational technique for hypothesis testing voided causal testing on an empirical level.

of the other information inputs, "amount" serves to qualify or mediate

the effect of the other three principal control variables; hence,

its position in the paradigm.[1] Given that there is some non-zero

amount, diversity, selectivity and credibility then affect the degree

of political effectiveness.

Though not directly considered in this study, the paradigm also

implies that information control variables, besides "amount," may

interact with each other to collectively affect political efficacy.

For example, a diverse array of interpersonal contacts might only

be effective if they are chosen in a selective manner. Otherwise

considerable energy may be wasted in contacting a great number of

incompetent or uninformed sources. The same factors are likely to

affect organizational membership since the ability of the organizations

one attends to affect political activity and attitudes hinge partly

on how well chosen they are and how they complement one another.

Similarly, the credibility of a given information source may be based

on careful judgment or on an uncritical belief in what is largely

fantasy content. Thus, one of the major points of the paradigm is

to show that political effectiveness is affected by a complex of infor-

mation control variables.[2]

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[1]To an extent, too, amount is related to diversity and selectivity
in that if there is zero amount, then obviously there is no information
input upon which information control characteristics such as diversity
can be demonstrated. This phenomenon is compensated for in analysis.

[2]Not all control characteristics need apply to all inputs, how-
ever. In particular, given certain operational constraints in the
study design, source credibility was impractical to assess for organiza-
tional and interpersonal inputs. In the case of organizations, credi-
bility had poor operational independence from "amount." It would
be unlikely that one would join organizations whose informational
services were not to some extent believed. Thus, the totality of
groups belonged to likely represents those that are credible information

The present study, though, limits its inquiry to the primary relationship of the three conceptually simple information control variables and their interactions with a fourth, amount, in terms of their consequences for political effectiveness. Doubtless, other interactions such as those suggested above as well as more complex predictive combinations of variables (such as the combined effect of diversity, selectivity and amount upon political effectiveness) could be examined. The difficulty, however, lies in the lack of a strong theoretical base on which to make more complex hypotheses and the consequent risk of capitalizing on chance data fluctuations in verifying them. Such extensions may be a logical continuation of the present study and are discussed in Chapter IV.

HYPOTHESES AND RATIONALE

The initial set of hypotheses together with their justifications deal with the relationship of information control variables to political effectiveness. A second, later set concerns the relationship to effectiveness of three control variables, diversity, selectivity and credibility, in interaction with a fourth, amount. Our purpose in this second instance is to test the traditional notion that more information inputs are conducive to greater levels of political effectiveness against other information control variables which may offer more explanation.

----

sources for the individual as well. Much the same argument applies to interpersonal contacts where credibility has poor operational independence from selectivity. It would be unlikely, for example, for one to seek "expert" advice from a non-credible source.

Further, time considerations brought on by the volume of contacts specified by each respondent ruled out collection of interpersonal contact credibility data from a procedural standpoint. Credibility is, however, evaluated in terms of the mass media since these sources seem to be the ghetto's primary means of contact with the white majority society.

Diversity and Political Effectiveness

Diversity refers to the variety of different interpersonal and
organizational information sources one uses in daily life. The emphasis
here is not on amount or number of information sources, but rather
their ability to reflect varied political opinion and advice. Most
inner city evidence shows that diversity is limited.

A number of studies characterize the ghetto resident as one
having homogeneous, unvaried interpersonal contacts limited to family
and close-by friends. While gregariousness is high, conversations
tend to be limited in scope and avoid matters of achievement or advance-
ment. The literature also suggests that contacts tend to be more
casual and spontaneous, less tied to goals and personal gain than
in middle class society. Essentially, information stressing change
and self-accomplishment has little chance of passage through this
tight, homogeneous network resulting in apathy and low achievement
(Liebow, 1967; Epstein, 1961; Chilman, 1965). Though none of these
studies reflect specifically on the consequences their findings have
for political effectiveness, the association they make of homogeneous,
non-achievement oriented contacts to an atmosphere of apathy and with-
drawal shows relevance for political effectiveness.

Little information is available concerning variability in the
different media used by ghetto residents. Since television ownership
and consumption is nearly universal, it is doubtful that use of this
medium, excluding the question of how much it was used, would evidence
much variability. However, the findings of several studies suggesting
that the broadcast media imparts little useful information to the
inner city resident, indicate that use of the press may be more relevant

to political effectiveness (Wade & Schramm, 1969; Block, 1970). Press use, too, is not a universal phenomenon and may well evidence variability across ghetto households. Roughly half of the inner city families in one study read the general circulation press in a regular basis, but thorough reading (entire paper) occurred only in 17 percent of the cases reported (Greenberg & Dervin, 1970). Black press readership, while respectably high shows variation in the several studies measuring this phenomenon. Lyle (1967) found, for example, that over 70 percent of Los Angeles blacks regularly read the major Negro weekly. On the other hand, a sample of Detroit rioters, showed only a 16 percent readership of the major black weekly (Singer, 1967). The black press particularly seems capable of providing political content attuned to the sympathies of the ghetto. In the recent past, comment emphasizing civil rights has increased while mention of whites correspondingly has gone down (Rosen, 1964). Also, perceived need for such publications is reported highest in the inner city (Frazier, 1965; Lyle, 1967). Thus the individual who uses the full range of media inputs, particularly other than television, may likely evidence a greater degree of political efficacy as a result.

There is little direct evidence, too, that inner city residents belonging to a more diverse array of organizations are essentially more politically effective. However, according to Lane (1959) and Berelson et al (1954), group membership generally supports three political activities. First, in joining, the individual gives support intentionally or otherwise to the group's political activities. Secondly, the group provides a channel of communication from the individual to certain elites often used to pass on political messages and attitudes

to government authorities. Finally, the organization provides a plat-

form and social support for the individuals own political opinions.

The intuition from this would be that varied organizational membership

would offer more opportunity for political expression and transmission

of political feelings to governmental authorities; hence, greater

political effectiveness.

Support for this intuition is indirect and tentative. For exam-

ple, several studies (Rogers, 1966; Menzel & Katz, 1955) and others

find those with extensive cosmopolite, specialized contacts, including

organizations, tend to be more innovative in their profession. Parker

and others (1968) find a positive relationship between the diversity

of information scientists are exposed to and their level of research

output. Jain (1970) found weak indication of such a relationship

among agricultural extension professionals. Though these studies

do not directly confirm the importance of organizational diversity,

they seem sufficient justification for testing the proposition, given

the faults of generalizing findings from scientists and professionals

to the political effectiveness of the ghetto resident. These findings

also, of course, lend general support to the viability of interpersonal

contact and mass media diversity as information control variables.

Essentially, it seems likely that the ghetto resident with a

more diverse array of interpersonal and organizational information

sources would be better equipped to make useful, coping political

decisions. These hypotheses were tested:

H_1: Interpersonal contact diversity of low income urban blacks
is positively related to their level of political effective-
ness.

H_2: Diversity of mass media used by low income urban blacks
is positively related to their level of political

effectiveness.

H$_3$: The organizational membership diversity of low income urban blacks is positively related to their level of political effectiveness.

Selectivity and Political Effectiveness

Selectivity refers to one's ability to choose information from that available which maximizes his political effectiveness. Since considerable information of a diverting, entertaining sort competes for the individual's time and attention, his ability to minimize time spent on these inputs and concentrate on more politically useful ones is a basic criterion of selectivity. In the ghetto, this ability is hard to come by. Dervin (1970) concludes in a review of poverty research that:

> "...the high use of television (with its homogeneous, non-means oriented content) and the high use of in-ghetto interpersonal ties (also homogeneous and non-achievement oriented) leave the American urban poor in an information void."

Several studies (Wade & Schramm, 1969; Block, 1970) suggest that the principal media of the inner city--radio and television-- are not those which clearly impart useful information. Essentially, then, politically useful content in the mass media may well be "lost" in a distracting outpouring of entertainment content. Under these circumstances, not only is the politically useful content (news, public affairs, editorial) not effectively used, but the time spent displaces other activities which might be of more direct political benefit.

This problem might not be as salient were it not for the considerable time spent by the ghetto resident with television in particular. Ghetto TV consumption is massive, moreso in fact than for any other sector of the population (Greenberg & Dervin, 1969; U.S. Government, 1968). Though there is some indication that discretion is exercised

in what is viewed, more often program selection appears haphazard
and unplanned (Allen, 1968; Greenberg & Dominick, 1968).

In the case of radio and the press there is little information
in terms of what content is preferred and selected out. Radio may
largely serve as background music. Allen (1968), for example, found
"anything" cited as the most preferred radio programming among black
respondents. Some preference was found among adult females and children
for popular or gospel music and among men for sports. Favored press
content seems limited to scanning of the headlines and want-ads. Only
17 percent of low income black respondents in one study indicated
that they read the entire paper (Greenberg & Dervin, 1970). This
evidence, in view of typically homogeneous, entertainment based radio
programming and the presence of and preference for considerable non-
editorial content of the press, possibly indicates limited acquisition
of political information from these media.

The political consequences of selectivity exercised in joining
organizations has a more developed body of theory. Based on this,
the position taken in this study is that the ghetto resident who belongs
to civic action or other need-oriented organizations will evidence
higher levels of political efficacy than those who do not. However,
membership in other types of organizations directed toward religious
or entertainment activity would at best offer little support to politi-
cal activity or at worst displace political activity and reduce conse-
quent effectiveness.

A number of studies offer support. Traditional views of ghetto
organizational life classed residents either as "isolated," feeling
no need in their apathy to join groups, or "compensating" by busily

forming groups, imitating established groups in the general society but having little political power (Orum, 1965; Axelrod, 1956; Komarovsky, 1946; Frazier, 1965).

More recent studies (Orum, 1965; Marvick, 1965) show that blacks are increasingly joining political organizations to serve political ends. Low income blacks in one study showed a rate of 12 percent among a control group of low income whites, an advantage that the author contends came about in the past 20 years (Orum, 1965).

Selectivity considered in light of interpersonal contacts centers usually on one's propensity for seeking out expert advice and help. Particularly in a ghetto setting, problems are severe and complex, often needing above average expertise to solve. The network of homogeneous, low need achievement contacts that exists for the typical inner city resident has little to offer in this regard. Further, a ghetto norm of reciprocal exploitation spurred by financial insecurity makes a friend's advice often suspect. Advice from outside agencies and experts, particularly from the white community, are viewed with suspicion or rejected outright. Many inner city residents believe, with some justification, that welfare workers and allied advice givers merely want their clients to accept middle class values or be content with the status quo. Thus with an underlying feeling of interpersonal mistrust and a disdain for "outside" advice givers, expert advice, no matter how well meaning, is usually shunned in preference to the less expert counsel of friends (Clark, 1967; Liebow, 1967; Henry, 1965).

It would be erroneous to characterize selective information seeking by all low income blacks in light of this basically pessimistic

assessment. In the main, it represents a modal, stereotypical view.
The contradictions present in the discussion, particularly those dealing
with organizations, are perhaps indications that not all inner city
residents are cut off from beneficial, expert information or organiza-
tional channels through which they can voice their political opinions.
Moreover, accounts of ghetto political activism in the popular press
and increasing self-help efforts indicate a growth of political exper-
tise. The following hypotheses are designed to relate this expertise
or effectiveness to selective information control behaviors:

H_4: Selectivity by low income urban blacks in the use of politi-
cally relevant mass media content is positively related
to their level of political effectiveness.

H_5: Selectivity evidenced by low income blacks in their member-
ship in politically active organizations is positively
related to the individual's level of political effectiveness.

H_6: Selectivity evidenced by low income urban blacks in the
use of expert advice or contact with political information
sources is positively related to their level of political
effectiveness.

Credibility of Mass Media Inputs and Political Effectiveness

For information to be politically useful, it must have the confi-
dence of the consumer. In the black community especially, suspicion
of racial bias extending from distortion of news events to omission
of black personalities and events in the news seems to dilute the
value of media information. A number of studies (Lyle, 1967; Ingram,
1969; CBS, 1968; Geiber, 1960) point out the suspicion blacks hold
for the mass media, particularly the general circulation press. Several
accounts of black feeling toward the media (Lyle, 1967; Frazier, 1965)
also report that the black operated press, while not suspected of
racial bias, appears to distort and sensationalize news about the
black community. Perhaps as a consequence of these negative feelings,

one study (Greenberg & Dervin, 1970) reports that low income blacks far more than whites prefer "other people" rather than the mass media as local news sources. While there is no direct evidence on the effects of low media credibility upon political effectiveness, disbelief of press content cuts off an important source of political information. Therefore we hypothesize:

H$_7$: <u>Perceived media credibility is positively related to the level of political effectiveness for urban low income blacks</u>.

Information Input Amount and Political Effectiveness

Information input amount refers to the quantity of information an individual acquires through various interpersonal, organizational and media channels. It does not take account of whether this information comes from diversified sources, or whether the sources are carefully selected or believed. Input amount merely indicates the total information inputs the individual is exposed to in a period of time.

Earlier we made extensive reference to the quantity of past research which related information input amounts to various criteria of effectiveness, political and otherwise. The prime complaint expressed was that these analyses left little grounds to explain why this relationship has not been adequately sustained among U.S. low income samples. The hypotheses stated above tested the relevance of several information control variables for political effectiveness. Essentially, our purpose now is to gauge their importance for the amount of information input present in terms of consequent political effectiveness. We are proposing interaction hypotheses which imply that a large amount of information input can only be effective politically in the presence of operative information control characteristics. Therefore:

H_8: <u>For low income urban blacks, information input amount inter-</u>
<u>acts with input diversity to explain significantly more</u>
<u>variation in political effectiveness than both conditions</u>
<u>alone.</u>

H_9: <u>For low income urban blacks, information input amount inter-</u>
<u>acts with input selectivity to explain significantly more</u>
<u>variation in political effectiveness than both conditions</u>
<u>alone.</u>

H_{10}: <u>For low income urban blacks, media information input amount</u>
<u>interacts with media credibility to explain significantly</u>
<u>more variation in political effectiveness than both condi-</u>
<u>tions alone.</u>

H_8 and H_9 posit that the relationships hold for media, organizational

and interpersonal inputs. They are illustrated in Figure 3 in terms

of the several information inputs which apply to each. For example,

interpersonal "amount" will be gauged in terms of "gregariousness"

or number of contacts made during a sample period of time. The two

information control characteristics which apply to this situation,

diversity and selectivity, will then be tested for their ability to

explain, together with amount, variation in political effectiveness.

In conclusion, it should be pointed out that a number of the

independent variables employed in this study, both conceptually and

operationally, bear resemblance to those of other analyses. For exam-

ple, diversity as conceptualized in this study partly approximates

"cosmopoliteness" measures of Rogers (1966) and others. Measures

of organizational membership approach those commonly employed as a

predictor of upper and middle class political "influentials" (Lane,

1959). Selectivity of news consumption, too, has been employed in

studies of this genre, particularly in terms of the relative use of

one mass medium compared to another (Allen, 1968). Finally, credibil-

ity has been conceptualized as a mediator of information or communicator

effectiveness in a variety of contexts (Lane, 1969).

INPUT	MEASURE OF AMOUNT	INFORMATION CONTROL CHARACTERISTIC	
1. family-peer, interpersonal network	gregariousness or number of contacts made in a period	(H_8)	diversity of contacts or variation in terms of race, occupation, etc.
		(H_9)	selectivity or use of expert, specialized information sources
2. organizational membership	number of organizations belonged to	(H_8)	diversity or number of categorically different organizations belonged to
		(H_9)	selectivity or membership in political organizations
3. mass media (press, broadcast)	time spent viewing or reading	(H_8)	diversity or total kinds of media regularly used (TV, radio, general circulation press, ethnic press)
		(H_9)	selectivity or proportion of news-editorial content consumed
		(H_{10})	credibility or perceived freedom of medium from racial bias

Figure 3.   Elaboration of hypotheses 8, 9 and 10 in terms of information inputs and measures which apply to each.

However, the present adaptation of these concepts to inner city
communication problems has changed them substantially. Diversity,
for example, does not only concern distance of contacts (as "cosmopo-
liteness" in diffusion/modernization studies), but also measures a
respondent's ability to surmount the racial and social isolation of
the inner city. Organizational membership, while seemingly a clear-
cut contributor to political effectiveness in middle class society,
has traditionally a much more ambiguous position in the black community.
Clearly the question whether organizations generally or particular
ones contribute to or negate black political effectiveness is far
from answered in past studies. Selectivity of mass media news consump-
tion concerns here more the relative importance of selective information
use in a particular medium (such as proportion of TV viewing devoted
to news) rather than the more traditional notion of relative importance
to political effectiveness of a particular medium's use (such as high
television consumption contrasted to high magazine use). Credibility,
finally, has also been changed in that it is framed specifically in
terms of the perceived racial bias of a source rather than the tradi-
tional view of its relative trustworthiness or expertise.

Chapter II will describe in detail these operationalizations
and the measurement model used to empirically test the above hypotheses.

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The present study was conducted as part of a larger field study
which examined the communication behaviors of low income blacks, partic-
ularly in relationship to their consumer behaviors, political effective-
ness and general ability to cope with their surroundings. This chapter
describes the research design used, the nature of the research setting,
sampling procedures, the operationalization of the main variables,
data collection methods, reliability and validity of measurement,
and the statistical analysis used in the study.

The Research Design

The basic design employed was a field survey conducted in densely
populated urban low income black neighborhoods. The goal for using
this approach was to chart the nature and effectiveness of ongoing
communication patterns in their natural setting with minimal interven-
tion by the study's instruments or research personnel.

This design, too, was a "one time only" method, meaning that
we were not able to establish cause and effect types of relationships
between communication patterns and consequent political effectiveness.
Thus, our efforts were limited to describing the nature of relationships
which _might_ exist in a causal sense.

Field designs also suffer from an inability to control extraneous
variables. In the present study, we attempted control in two ways:
(1) we attempted to select our samples so as to hold constant possible

confounding variables (e.g., race, locale), and (2) some variables
were controlled statistically by partialling out their contribution
to variance demonstrated by the hypothesized relationships (e.g.,
age, income, education, sex).

The Research Setting

The site for the research study, Cleveland, Ohio, was chosen
for several reasons. First, it constituted a sizeable urban area
of approximately 800,000 residents, of whom 25 percent were black.
Census information showed that the black population was relatively
confined to all-black neighborhoods, not evenly distributed throughout
the city. Secondly, Cleveland at the time of the field research (8/69)
was one of the first major cities to have a black mayor, a factor
we considered indicative of significant variation in black political
activity. For these reasons, this city seemed favorable to the research
goals of this study.

The sampling frame was located entirely within the Cleveland
standard metropolitan statistical area (SMSA). Several sources of
information then were used to define areas of predominantly low income
blacks including census tract data compiled by the Welfare Federation
of Cleveland and block data from the 1960 U.S. Census of housing.
The basic criteria used are listed in Figure 4.

The goal in sample frame selection was to locate census tracts
which showed the poorest social environment and the highest density
of black persons. With only a few exceptions, eligible areas had
to have a non-white household density of 75 percent or better.

Additional screening information on eligible tracts was obtained
from Mack Clemmons & Associates, a market research organization familiar

CRITERION	DATA SOURCE
a. aid to dependent children, rate per 1000 families	WFC
b. general relief cases, rate per 1000 families	WFC
c. illigitimate births per 100 live births	WFC
d. incidence of male juvenile delinquency, rate per 1000 males, age 12-17 years old	WFC
e. proportion of deteriorated and dilapidated housing	Census
f. proportion of homes having incomplete or inoperative plumbing	Census
g. proportion of non-white occupancy	Census
h. proportion of crowded homes (more than 1.01 person/room)	Census
i. assessed valuation of owner occupied dwellings	Census
j. fewest average number of rooms per dwelling	Census

Figure 4. Criteria used to define low income black sample frame and source of data for selecting census tracts into sample. (WFC = Welfare Federation of Cleveland, Census = U.S. Government, 1960 census of housing)

with Cleveland's black neighborhoods. Immediately prior to field operations, visual checks of the sampled area eliminated some vacant or burned out blocks, commercial or industrial areas, or white, middle income areas not detectable in census data.

Sampling

An area cluster sampling design was used to locate respondents within the sampling frame. Basically, this method consists of random selection of blocks or primary sampling units (PSU's) within a frame and then systematic selection of households and respondents within households once the blocks have been determined. The point of the procedure is to select enough PSU's to secure adequate representation of the area within the frame, yet not so many that costs rise due to interviewer time spent traveling to dispersed blocks. Initially a total of 40 blocks were selected randomly.

From each block, five "clusters" of three households each were selected systematically, meaning that every nth household from a random

starting position constituted the first household in a cluster.[1] In

terms of cost of interviewing and representativeness of the sample,

the compromise between number of blocks and households sampled on

each was considered an optimum balance for this survey situation.

In considering the size of the sample, an "ideal" compromise

of cost of interviewing versus precision was estimated to be a sample

of 350 completed interviews or a precision of ± 5 percent in 95 samples

out of 100, given an equal probable estimated outcome. Some 600 house-

holds were originally selected to provide in addition to the 350 homes

to be interviewed, 250 households to serve as replacements.

However, an extremely high number of not-at-home respondents,

vacant dwellings and presence of some ineligible upper income black

respondents soon exhausted the original and replacement addresses

of the first sample. This situation made necessary a second sample

to provide additional low income black replacements. The supplementary

sample was selected from a relatively confined area lying completely

within the geographical bounds of the original sample frame. Procedures

for selection of blocks, households, and respondents within both frames

were identical. In the second frame, a total of 150 households or

10 blocks were listed to provide replacements (the precise disposition

of households is shown in Table 3). Thus, across the two samples,

a total of 750 households were selected by random methods.[2] A map

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[1]n was equal to the number of household units on the block minus
15, divided by 5. See Appendix B for details.

[2]But disproportionately. The disproportionality was due to
the second sample frame, meaning that blocks (and ultimately respon-
dents) from some census tracts had better than equal chance of inclu-
sion. The bias introduced by this procedure tended to emphasize the
very low income blacks in the frame. Consequently, the respondents
were probably more homogeneously low income than would have been the
case with equal probability or simple random sampling.

of the sample frames, blocks selected and the census tracts involved
are included in the appendix (see Appendix I).

Comparison of basic housing characteristics for the entire
Cleveland metropolitan area to the sampled blocks is given in Table 1.
Here the relatively deteriorated housing conditions, low assessed
valuation, higher incidence of renter occupied housing and density
of black residents in the areas sampled is clearly seen.

Once an interviewer had a list of 15 households systematically
sampled from each selected block, she contacted them in their order
of listing. If no one answered at a listed household, the interviewer
selected a replacement from the "extra" replacements incorporated
into each block, the five extra blocks incorporated into the first
sample, or the second supplementary sample.[1] If contact was made,
non-blacks, minors, and those with severe language problems were
screened out. Of the eligible respondents remaining, interviewers
were instructed to try to secure interviews with males, if possible.
This procedure was used to compensate for the relative abundance of
cooperative, at-home females. As a consequence, a comparatively bal-
anced (60.7% female, 39.3% male) sex split was maintained.

Respondent Characteristics

Descriptive statistics of respondent characteristics show (see
Table 2) a fairly typical portrait of the inner city resident. High

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[1]These replacement procedures were employed in this order with
the interviewer first attempting to secure replacement households
from the block originally selected. Call-backs to not-at-home or
uncooperative addresses were attempted only when a definite appointment
could be made with the householder for a more convenient time. Concern
for interviewer safety ruled out evening interviews, a time when call-
backs usually are most successful. All interviewing was limited to
the normal working day of 9 a.m. to 5 p.m.

Table 1. Characteristics of the sample as finally constituted, the City of Cleveland, and for an average sampled block.**

	Cleveland	Final Sampled Blocks*	Average per Sample Block
Total Population	790,000 (approx.)	20,810	594.57
Total Housing Units	282,914 (100%) 269,891 (occupied)	6,105 (100%)	174.43
Total Deteriorating & Dilapidated Housing Units	50,436 (17.8%)	2,079 (34.1%)	59.4
Total Renter Occupied Housing	148,668 (55.1%)	4,282 (70.1%)	122.34
Total Black Households	67,464 (25.0%)	5,102 (84.4%)	145.77
Total Housing Units with 1.01 persons or more per room (crowding)	27,686 (10.3%)	1,317 (21.6%)	37.62
Value-- Owner Occupied Housing	$14,300		$10,014.00 (70% of city average)

*includes only those blocks where interviews were completed.
**data from the 1960 U.S. Census of Housing.

Table 2. Characteristics of sampled households.

Variable	Description of Variables*	
1. Sex	Males	39.3%
	Females	60.7
2. Age	21-30 years	30.3%
	31-40	26.5
	41-50	23.5
	51 or more	19.7
3. Family income	$25 or less/week	5.9%
	26-50	12.7
	51-100	32.6
	101-200	33.3
	201 or more	15.5
4. Sources of income in household**	Wages and Salaries,	75.5%
	Welfare, Unempl. Comp.	34.4
	Social Security	11.7
	Other	19.2
5. One parent households	Have only one parent (mother or father)	40.3%
6. Respondent's formal education	range	1-16 years
	mean	10.02
	standard deviation	2.51
	mode	12
7. Adults per household	range	1-5 adults
	mean	2.01
	standard deviation	0.84
	mode	2
8. Children per household (18 years old and under)	range	0-11 children
	mean	2.18
	standard deviation	2.33
	mode	0

 *base: n = 366
**households may have indicated more than one source.

incidence of one-parent families, a relatively high proportion of

families receiving some money from unemployment compensation or welfare,

and a below average level of formal education mark this situation.

The comparatively moderate figures for children and adults per household

belies the frequently crowded conditions. The averages in this instance

conceal a wide variation in family size across respondents sampled

and, of course, take no account of the often substandard living quarters

which would crowd even an "average" sized household. A similar conceal-

ment occurs for income. While figures here are only slightly below

average, this amount of pay represents the sum of family income. Fre-

quently, three to four family members' work was required to bring

home an "average" paycheck. Basic demographic data are presented

in Table 2.

Field Personnel and Interview Procedure

Actual interviewing of respondents took place during the last

two weeks of July and the first week of August, 1970. Some 14 black

women who had prior census and city directory survey work were located,

hired and trained as interviewers. These individuals were all residents

of the survey site and were familiar with interviewing in low income

black neighborhoods, a research situation having many unique pitfalls.

Prior to actual survey work, interviewers attended a two day training

session to familiarize them with certain sampling procedures and admin-

istration of the questionnaire. In practice, questionnaire administra-

tion took approximately 55 minutes.

Respondents were paid $2 for their time; a procedure which past

experience showed necessary in many instances to secure cooperation.

Interviewers were instructed not to mention the inducement prior to

completion of the interview unless it became necessary as a last measure
to gain the respondent's cooperation. Interviewers also gave the
respondent letters indicating the organization (Michigan State Univer-
sity) directing the study. These were designed to ease respondent
suspicions and hostility. A copy of the letter used is contained
in Appendix A.

Completed questionnaires were checked with the interviewers
as they were turned in to resolve illegible coding, missing answers
or clarify ambiguously worded responses. A subsample of completed
interview schedules were selected for validation. Of the total of
366 completed schedules, portions of 78 of them (21.3%) were selected
for this purpose. Interviewer performance was individually checked
in this way an average of four to six times depending on the number
of days worked by each.

Validation consisted basically of a telephone check on (a) whether
the designated respondent had been interviewed, including a check
on the respondent's age and sex, and (b) a check on the answers of
four randomly selected items from the questionnaire drawn each day.
On both criteria, the extent of confirmation on the validation check
was satisfactory (93.6% agreement in terms of name, sex, etc., and
94.7% agreement within ± 1 point on a response scale in terms of the
four randomly chosen items).

Considering the nature of the setting and the length of the
questionnaire, refusal rate was relatively low. The principal diffi-
culty, as indicated in Table 3, was the level of "no answer" respondents
or "vacant" addresses selected. The exact procedure by which inter-
viewers replaced "no contact" homes is detailed in Appendix B.

Table 3. Disposition of sampled households.

a. Households included in both sample frames   750 (100%)

b. Households screened out due to burnt out blocks, urban
   renewal, etc.   44 (6%)

c. Interviews completed at origianl sample households   170 (22%)

d. Interviews completed at replacement households   196 (26%)

e. Not-at-home respondent households, vacant households   258 (34%)

f. No eligible adult (too old, young, white, deaf, can't
   speak English)   42 (6%)

g. Refusals   40 (6%)

Questionnaire Development

        Questionnaire design evolved over a period of four months prior

to the survey. During this period, draft copies were pretested twice

on an urban black sample in Lansing, Michigan, using both black and

white student interviewers. The goal during development was, of course,

to minimize the difficulty and threat of the interview process for

the respondent and to modify questions which resulted in ambiguous

responses. Careful attention was paid to the necessity of minimizing

order effects and loaded wording of items. The comparative lack of

difficulty encountered by interviewers during the actual survey was

in good part a result of these efforts.

        The questionnaire also included many items which were not central

to this particular study. For the most part, they concerned financial

and consumer knowledge in an effort to tap other aspects of the respond-

ent's ability to cope with his environment. A copy of the complete

questionnaire is in Appendix C.

Operationalization of Variables

In the last chapter, political effectiveness was used as a common dependent variable across all of the ten hypotheses being tested in this study. Four basic classes of independent variables were formulated in terms of three basic forms of information input for all but one case, credibility (see Figure 2, page 13). Based then on the hypotheses listed in the previous chapter, the variables of primary interest are:

1. Political effectiveness

2. Diversity
   - of interpersonal contacts
   - of organizational affiliation
   - of media inputs regularly used

3. Selectivity
   - of interpersonal information contacts
   - of organizational membership
   - of exposure to mass media content

4. Amount
   - of interpersonal contact (gregariousness)
   - of organizational membership
   - of mass media exposure

5. Credibility of mass media content

Political Effectiveness

Political effectiveness is defined as a complex of attitudes and behaviors indicative of belief that one is effective in gaining services from government to answer his needs. In order to assess this concept, three scales were used. Respectively, they concerned: political efficacy, political knowledge, political participation.

Political efficacy represents an attitudinal component that reflects the feeling that one is politically effective, even if in reality he is not. Numerous attitudinal measures have been developed in past years to measure phenomena of this kind, ranging from the specific attitudes of "political efficacy" to the broader implications

of "alienation" or "fatalism." Our problem in assessing the suitability of these scales for inclusion into the study centered on which scale items would be (a) specific to politics, (b) particularly relevant to low income ghetto respondents, (c) unidimensional with other scale items assessing this attitude.

Two basic screening procedures were used. Items drawn from a variety of political and general scales of effectiveness were included on a face validity basis into the pretest questionnaires. Through the pretesting procedure, items which were clearly inappropriate, confusing, or showed no variation were excluded.

Following actual execution of the study, the remaining six scales were factor analyzed to check the item's unidimensional structure.[1] A clearly "political" factor resulted, and only one scale item was dropped as a result of this procedure. Scale items ultimately used to compute political efficacy, their origin, and the kind of data yielded are given in Figure 5. The items, compared to their original form, were simplified somewhat in their wording to make them more appropriate in a lengthy interview with low income respondents.

The second political effectiveness component, political activity, is determined by the number of common political behaviors a respondent evidences. Campbell's (1954) political activity scale was the basis used for construction of the activity index. Several items from the original scale were replaced or modified when pretest results indicated their inappropriateness to the present situation. Items finally used are listed in Figure 6. The purpose, of course, in creation of

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[1]Insufficient subjects in the pretests did not permit factor analysis at that time.

Data Yielded	Origin	Items Used to Obtain Data
Likert Item: 4 = agree a lot 3 = agree a little 2 = disagree a little 1 = disagree a lot	Srole's (1965) Anomie Scale	Q: City officials are not interested in most people's problems.
4 = agree a lot 3 = agree a little 2 = disagree a little 1 = disagree a lot	Seeman's (1959) Powerlessness Index	Q: It really doesn't matter whether you vote or not.
4 = agree a lot 3 = agree a little 2 = disagree a little 1 = disagree a lot	Campbell's (1954) Political Efficacy Scale	Q: People in this neighborhood don't have much of a chance to say how things should be run.
4 = agree a lot 3 = agree a little 2 = disagree a little 1 = disagree a lot	Troldahl & Powell's (1965) Short Form Dogmatism Scale	Q: Most of the ideas which get printed aren't worth the paper they're printed on.
4 = agree a lot 3 = agree a little 2 = disagree a little 1 = disagree a lot	Haer's (1956) Attitudes towards Source of Power Index	Q: The police courts are unfair to people in this neighborhood.

Item dropped in factor analysis was Q: "Sometimes government seems so complicated people can't really decide what's going on." This item loaded highly on a general "control" factor (after Rotter, 1966), indicative of one's feelings of fatalism.

Figure 5. Items included as an index of political efficacy, their source, and the type of data yielded.

Data Yielded	Origin of Item	Item Used to Obtain Data
Dichotomous Response 0 = No 1 = Yes	Campbell's (1954) Political Activity Index	Q: Did you vote in the last Presidential election?
0 = No 1 = Yes	Campbell's (1954) Political Activity Index	Q: Have you ever written or gone to see the mayor, governor, or other public officials?
0 = No 1 = Yes	Campbell's (1954) Political Activity Index	Q: Have you ever campaigned for a politician or talked to people to get support for a political candidate?
0 = No 1 = Yes	New Replacement	Q: During the Presidential election last November, did you watch the election returns on TV?
0 = No 1 = Yes	New Replacement	Q: Have you ever worked with anybody to get the city to improve conditions in your neighborhood?
0 = No 1 = Yes	New Replacement	Q: Have you ever participated in marches, sit-ins, or other kinds of demonstrations for civil rights?

Figure 6. Items included to form an index of political activity, their source and the type of data yielded.

"original" items was to make the scale more relevant to political

activity in the ghetto and more sensitive to minimal political activi-

ties (e.g., watching election returns on TV). Suggestions for these

items came as a result of pretesting and through discussions with

low income black people.

The third component of political effectiveness, political knowl-

edge, was also based on a pre-existing scale which was modified to

suit the circumstances at hand. The changes involved increased emphasis

on local political personalities, which seemed appropriate in light

of Cleveland's black mayor and congressman from one of the ghetto

area districts. As finally constituted, the knowledge index developed

into a person identification test. Questions which dealt with knowledge

of civil rights actions, racial disturbances, and partisan political

stands showed little variation across pretest respondents or, as was

more commonly the case, significantly raised the level of respondent

antagonism and suspicion toward the interview procedure. The items

finally included for the political knowledge index are shown in Figure

7.

Several difficulties arise in the use of the above three scales

as component measures of political effectiveness. Though in certain

respects different, the three scales should show at least moderate

and consistent intercorrelations if they are to be considered as homo-

geneous components of political effectiveness. As Table 4 indicates,

these criteria were not met. Consequently, analyses were performed

individually upon the three component scales as well as the combined

"summary" index described.

Another problem is that the three scales when combined as an

Data Yielded	Origin of Item	Item Used to Obtain Data
Correct = 2 Incorrect = 0	Matthews & Prothro (1966) Political Information Scale	Q: Can you tell me who the governor of this state is?
Correct = 2 Incorrect = 0	Matthews & Prothro (1966) Political Information Scale	Q: To what political party did President Franklin Roosevelt belong?
Correct = 2 Incorrect = 0	New Replacement	Q: Can you tell me the name of the Congressman in Washington elected by people in your home area?
Correct = 2 Incorrect = 0	New Replacement	Q: Can you tell me the name of one of your Senators in Washington?

Figure 7. Items included to form an index of political knowledge, their source and the type of data yielded.

Table 4. Intercorrelations of 3 component scales comprising political effectiveness and the summated political effectiveness index.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1. Political Knowledge	1.0			
2. Political Activity	.17	1.0		
3. Political Efficacy	.18	.04	1.0	
4. Political Effectiveness	.69	.62	.63	1.0

(r_{12} of .095 is equivalent to $p \leq .05$)

index of political effectiveness differ in their units of measurement, the range of values they encompass and the number of items in each. Thus, it did not seem appropriate to "add" the scores to arithmetically construct a summary index. Instead, each respondent's total raw scores were determined separately for each of the three indicies by adding item values. Summed values from the political efficacy (attitude) scale were reflected (inverted), since high values indicated on this scale were indicative of less rather than more political effectiveness. These raw scores were then transformed to standardized "z-scores"[1] which allowed their addition to form an overall index of political effectiveness. Political effectiveness then represents an equal, balanced weighting of political attitudes, behaviors and knowledge conducive to one's productivity in dealing with government.

Measures of Diversity

Diversity measures basically determine, for each of three categories of informational input, the number of dissimilar or varied inputs one is exposed to. They are discussed individually below in terms of the kind of information input applicable.

a. Diversity of Interpersonal Contacts:

Diversity of interpersonal contacts was assessed from two basic groups of individuals. The questionnaire provided a detailed sampling of up to six contacts which the respondent had made "yesterday," as well as three "experts" he might regularly contact for advice and help in (respectively) political matters, financial matters and personal

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[1]The standardized score is determined by:

$$ Z = \frac{\text{scale raw score total} - \text{mean}}{\text{standard deviation of scale raw score total}} $$

problems. If a respondent was able to specify more than six contacts for the previous day, the interviewer sampled these contacts as equally as possible from morning, afternoon and evening periods. Since these two groups of contacts were listed for different time bases and purposes, their initial analysis was handled separately.

Diversity of these two groups was considered along three dimensions. Deviation in the occupational prestige of contacts from the respondent's own was considered partly indicative of his ability to cross the confines of homogeneous peer and family contacts. For the most part, the deviation measure showed the respondent's contact with those of higher social status, since the occupational prestige of the respondent was typically low.

Prestige in each case was measured along a twelve point occupational prestige continuum developed by Troldahl (1964) for field use (see Appendix D for a description of the scale). The difference between the respondent's prestige and a contact's were summated across all contacts sampled, then divided by the number of contacts.[1] This procedure yielded an average diversity of contact occupational prestige scores for each respondent.

Diversity was also assessed for interpersonal contacts in terms of their average distance from the respondent. In a manner parallel to measures of "cosmopoliteness" employed in many diffusion studies (see Rogers, 1966), it was reasoned that geographically dispersed contacts would be indicative of a respondent's ability to go beyond

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[1]In formula form:

$$\text{Diversity occupational prestige} = \frac{\text{sum occupational prestige differences}}{\text{number of contacts}}$$

neighborhood and immediate family for personal contact. Thus, the distance of each contact in the "social" and "expert" groups from the respondent was also estimated in city blocks, largely limited to the city of Cleveland and its suburbs. Distances for each contact were summed and divided by the number of contacts yielding an average distance for the "social" and "expert" groups.

Finally, interpersonal contact diversity was assessed in terms of race, considered indicative of, again, an ability to break with homogeneous family---peer interpersonal networks. Race was recorded in each of the nine possible contacts discussed above. In each case, contact with a black person was assigned a zero and contact with another race (white, predominantly) was assigned a one. Separately for "social" and "expert" contacts, these values were summed and divided by the number of contacts in each group. Consequently, an index of mean racial diversity for interpersonal contacts was developed.

The several indices used to indicate interpersonal contact diversity are indicated in Figure 8. Because each dimension of diversity was expressed in different units comprising a different range of values, the six measures of diversity (2 subsamples X 3 dimensions) were converted to standardized z-scores and then summed to provide a composite interpersonal contact diversity index for each respondent.

b. Diversity of Organizational Membership:

Diversity of organizational membership was determined by summing the number of different types of organizations the respondent belonged to according to the categories given below.

1. sports teams or leagues

2. social groups or fraternities like Masons, Eastern Star

3. school organizations like the PTA

4. church groups

5. political parties, organizations or street clubs

6. civil rights or community action groups like the NAACP

7. unions or work organizations

8. home owner's or neighborhood groups

Data Yielded	Description of Item Used to Obtain Data
Mean Diversity: occupational prestige for (a) social and (b) expert contacts	Diversity Occupational Prestige: (for each contact) "What kind of job does this person have and what kind of place does he work at?" (from this information, coders assigned each contact and the respondent to one of twelve occupational prestige levels).
Mean Diversity: distance for (a) social and (b) expert contacts	Diversity Distance: (for each contact) "About how many miles is it from your home to where this person lives?" (if the respondent indicated miles, they were converted to blocks in terms of 1 mile = 15 blocks).
Mean Diversity: race for (a) social and (b) expert contacts	Diversity Race: (for each contact) "Is this person (contact) black, Mexican, white, or what?"

Figure 8. Indices used to compile an overall index of interpersonal contact diversity.

c. Diversity of Mass Media Exposure:

Diversity of mass media exposure centered on the number of different media a respondent had available. Basically, this measure consisted of estimating the respondent's access to the hardware of electronic media, to the press and to black publications. The specific items used are indicated in Figure 9. An index of media diversity was formed by summing the affirmative responses ("1") to each item. This total constituted the index for each respondent.

Data Yielded		Description of Item Used to Obtain Data
can't watch, no working sets	= 0	Q: "What channels are you able to watch on your
working sets	= 1	television set?"
never listen	= 0	Q: "Now let me ask you about radio. On an ordinary
listen	= 1	day, about how many hours do you listen to the radio?"
never read	= 0	Q: "Some people read a newspaper every day; others
some reading	= 1	don't because they get their news from radio or TV. About how often do you read a newspaper?" (Question applied to general circulation daily newspapers.)
never read	= 0	(Same question as above, but data here applies
some reading	= 1	to general circulation weekly newspapers.)
never read	= 0	Q: "Do you read any newspapers or magazines that
some reading	= 1	are mostly about blacks?" (Question applies to ethnic publications.)

Figure 9. Questions used as a basis for assessing diversity of mass
media exposure.

Measures of Selectivity

Selectivity measures basically assess the respondent's ability
to select media programs, groups and individuals which will maximize
the political information and activity for him. The three basic mea-
sures of concern here are discussed below:

a. Selectivity of Interpersonal Contacts:

Two approaches were used to assess an individual's selectivity
in making interpersonal contacts. The first dealt with a general
characteristic of seeking out specialized experts or agencies for
help as opposed to using probably more familiar, but less expert,
contacts like friends, family and co-workers. The second approach
was concerned specifically with political contacts by asking the respon-
dent to estimate the number of people he talked to about political
and civic matters.

As was stated in Chapter I, low contact with and trust in experts
was characteristic of inner city blacks and probably contributed to
the void of skilled information in this setting. The point of the
first approach was to estimate the extent to which each respondent
violated this situation. Our basic procedure was to ask for a variety
of possible sources whether each was used frequently, infrequently
or not at all. The basic format of this question and the sources
represented is illustrated on pages 48-49.

Information types which are asterisked (**) indicate those not
considered to be specialized, expert or institutionalized sources.
The selectivity index was thus basically a proportion of expert (non-
asterisked) source types to the total of sources indicated. However,
as indicated in the example, this process automatically weighted source
types according to their approximate frequency of use (since greater
use of a source would result in a higher value, e.g., a "3" instead
of a "2"). Consequently, the index of contact selectivity is a weighted
proportion of experts to total contacts used for help or information.[1]

> "Sometimes when we want help or information about something
> we need, we go to people we know. Are there any (information
> source type) around here that you've gone to for help or infor-
> mation about something you need? Have you ever gone to.....

**...neighbors?"	(If yes) "How
	often have you
**...friends?"	gone to (informa-
	tion source)
**...relatives not living with you?"	for help or infor-
	mation?
...preacher or pastor?"	

---

[1]For example, the individual who had sought out friends, neighbors
and co-workers "a lot" and teachers and lawyers "a little" would have
a total source type sum of 3+3+3+2+2 = 13. The sum of values for
expert contacts here would be 2+2 = 4 and the weighted proportion
of expert contacts would be 4/13 or .31.

...teacher?"

...a lot?" = 3
...a little?" = 2

...civil rights leader or black leader?"

(haven't gone = 0)

...lawyer or legal aid society?"

...doctor?"

...public housing (authority)?"

...social worker, case worker or welfare
   department worker?"

**...someone you've worked with on a job?"

...public health or dental clinic?"

The second approach, more exploratory in nature, investigated

the amount of political discussion contacts the respondent had as

a proportion of the number of conversation contacts he made the previous

week. We reasoned that this measure would provide some indication

of the importance political and civic matters held in talking with

others. The question used was:

Q: "In the past week, about how many people did you talk with
    about politics, neighborhood problems, civil rights...things
    like that?"

The total from this item was divided by the amount of interpersonal

contacts the respondent indicated "last week" (the items used to esti-

mate "amount" are shown in Figure 10). The resulting figure is a

proportion estimate of political conversation contacts.

b. Selectivity of Organizational Membership:

Selectivity of organizational membership is defined as the propor-

tion of political organizations belonged to based on total organiza-

tional membership. To form this index, the roster of organizational

types discussed previously with diversity of organizations was used

as a basis for estimation. Categories of organizations considered

politically relevant were (a) school organizations (like the PTA),

(b) political parties, (c) street clubs, (d) civil rights or community

action groups and (e) home owner's or neighborhood groups. For each

category of organization and individual belongs to, he was assigned

a "one," otherwise, a "zero." Values were summed for politically

relevant organizations and again across all organizational types.

These components formed the proportion serving as an index of selectiv-

ity of organizational membership.

c. Selectivity of Mass Media Exposure:

Selectivity of mass media exposure is defined as the proportion

of media time or content devoted to news-editorial content to which

the respondent is exposed. Two media, television and the general

circulation (daily) press, were used as a base for this estimate.

For television, respondents indicated on a TV log the programs they

had watched the previous day. For each respondent, the time devoted

to viewing regularly scheduled local and national news and educational

programs with political bearing was estimated from the completed viewing

log. This figure was then divided by the total time spent viewing

during the sample day to yield the proportion of time spent viewing

news-editorial content.

Much the same method was used to estimate the proportion of

news-editorial content regularly consumed in the daily, general circula-

tion press. Respondents were asked to list in their own terms sections

they read "every time they read a newspaper." Coders later content

analyzed each subject's responses, separating out those indicative

of news-editorial readership. The following responses were considered

to indicate this kind of readership:

1. news in general

2. headlines

3. front page

4. local news

5. community page, black community page, black news

6. state news

7. national news

8. international news

9. financial news, stock market, tax news, business news

10. editorials and editorial columnists, (e.g., George Condon, Cleveland editorial columnist)

11. political news and columnists

The number of sections from a given respondent's list which matched

these categories was divided by the total number of sections he read

to yield the proportion of news-editorial readership.

Because these two measures of mass media selectivity were uncorre-

lated (r_{12} = -.01), and therefore could more likely represent distinctly

different relationships with the dependent variable, they were not

"averaged together" to provide a summary index of mass media selectiv-

ity.

Measures of Amount

Amount of information input is defined as the quantity or volume

of information an individual is exposed to. It does not, of itself,

imply the presence of other information control characteristics. Amount

was calculated for the three basic information inputs, which are speci-

fied individually below:

a. Amount of Interpersonal Contact:

Amount of interpersonal contact is operationally defined as

the respondent's estimate of the number of individuals he talked to

in the past week. This information was gathered across four questions

specified in Figure 10. The estimate of amount consisted of the total

contacts across these four questions.

Data Yielded	Description of Item Used to Obtain Data
number of people	Q: "How many people living on this block or across the street have you talked with in the last week?"
number of people	Q: "How many close friends do you have that you have talked with in the last week?"
number of people	Q: "How many relatives who don't live with you do you see or talk to almost every week?"
number of people	Q: "On the usual working day, about how many people do you talk to on the job more than to just say 'hello'?"*

*On the job contacts, since they frequently were the same day-to-day, were estimated only for a "usual day" period.

Figure 10. Questions used as a basis for assessing amount of inter-personal contact.

b. Amount of Organizational Participation:

Amount in this instance consists simply of the sum of individual (not categorial) organizations to which the respondent belongs. These data were gathered from a listing of the respondent's membership ties.

c. Amount of Mass Media Input:

Amount of mass media input is defined as extent of exposure by the respondent to television, radio, general circulation newspapers and black publications. For each of these media, a separate item was needed to make up a total exposure estimate. They are in Figure 11. Because each item of the index represents a different unit of measurement or a different range of values, the raw values were transformed to standardized "z-scores." This procedure permitted the results of each item to be added, forming a cumulative index of mass media

Data Yielded	Description of Items Used to Obtain Data
count of different magazines listed	Q: "Do you read any newspapers or magazines that are mostly about blacks?"
frequency of newspaper reading	Q: "Some people read a newspaper every day; others don't because they get their news from radio or TV. About how often do you read a newspaper?" (six categories ranging from "never" to "every day")
number of hours viewing TV	Q: "Did you watch television at all yesterday?" (Summation of viewing period durations indicated by respondent on TV log for "yesterday.")
number of hours listening to radio	Q: "Now let me ask you about radio. On an ordinary day, about how many hours do you listen to the radio?"

Figure 11. Questions used as a basis for assessing amount of mass media exposure.

input amount.[1]

A problem with amount does occur in analysis. Essentially, at zero values of amount, there is also a zero value of diversity and selectivity. One simply does not avail himself selectively of diverse information inputs if he has none at all. In terms of the first seven hypotheses which posit zero order correlations between various indicants of diversity and selectivity and dependent measures of political effectiveness, a necessary question becomes to what extent does a zero level of amount affect the relationship hypothesized? Since operationally, we have attempted to keep selectivity and diversity distinct from "amount" measures, this potential confounding had to be controlled. A control was used to statistically hold the dichotomous condition versus some amount constant in computation of the correlation

[1]In computing "amount" for use with television or press selectivity, only television or press amount was calculated. The cumulative index was not used.

coefficients.[1]

This same difficulty also troubles the analysis of hypotheses 8 and 9, since the two predictive variables involved with each (diversity or selectivity and amount) would to some extent be non-independent. An analysis method was used which compensated for (partialled out) the potential correlation between the independent variables.[2]

These several control procedures are roughly analogous to testing hypotheses involving diversity and selectivity only for those showing a non-zero level of amount. In practice, such controls affect about 5 percent of subjects in hypotheses involving the mass media and interpersonal communication and 23 percent in hypotheses dealing with organizations.

Credibility of the Mass Media

Mass media credibility is operationally defined as a subjective judgment of fairness in television and the general circulation press toward racial issues. Two questions were used (Figure 12). An index of media credibility was formed by summing the two responses.

Control Variables

Earlier in this study it was pointed out that a prime disadvantage of the field survey is an inability to control extraneous variables which might influence hypothesized relationships under test. In order to minimize this defect, we controlled statistically several potential sources of extraneous influence. The method in which control variables were selected and the hypotheses to which they were applied are outlined

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[1]This procedure involved removing from the variance of diversity or selecting that portion which could be attributed to some versus no amount. This method is described on pages 57-58.

[2]This method is described more fully on page 58.

in Chapter III.

Data Yielded	Description of Item Used to Obtain Data
all of the time = 5 most of the time = 4 some of the time = 3 rarely = 2 never = 1	Q: "Some people feel that blacks aren't treated fairly on television; others think they are. What do you think -- are blacks treated fairly on TV?"
all of the time = 5 most of the time = 4 some of the time = 3 rarely = 2 never = 1	Q: "Some people say that blacks aren't fairly treated in the regular daily newspapers; others think they are. What do you think -- are blacks treated fairly in the regular daily newspaper?"

Figure 12. Questions used as a basis for assessing the relative credibility of television and the general circulation press.

Reliability of Measurement

Any study, particularly field research conducted under poorly controlled environmental conditions, must be concerned with the reliability of its measures. The validation procedure described earlier in this chapter was one check on the consistency of field interviewers. It was reported then that some 94.7 percent of the items checked by a second interview matched the original within plus or minus one attitude scale point. Some 86.6 percent of the items checked exactly.

However, a second aspect of reliability involves the coding process once the questionnaires have been completed. Basically, this procedure is necessary to interpret the respondent's replies and assign them to categories which may be addressed numerically for machine data processing. Several generalities can be made regarding this procedure in the present study:

1. Coding of all free responses (open-ended) questions was based on a category scheme developed from the responses from all

of the 366 respondents involved in this study. This procedure
is in contrast to the more common practice of basing a category
or content analystic scheme on only a sample of respondent
replies. This more thorough procedure was necessary due
to the complexity of the responses made.

2. Coding was completed by a team of 13 coders and two supervi-
sors, all with prior experience in working with quantitative
data. This process was completed question by question to
insure consistency, with each coder working on about 1/13th
of the questionnaires at a given time. Training was given
prior to the coding of each question.

3. The reliability of coding was checked by randomly selecting
a 16 percent sample (n = 60) of coded questionnaires and
having them coded a second time by different individuals.
If, on a particular item, the intercoder reliability[1] dropped
below 90 percent, this item on all 366 questionnaires was
recoded after coders had received additional training. Follow-
ing this, a second reliability check was performed on 11
percent of the questionnaires.

4. The reliability criterion was a "point agreement" or exact
code agreement measure for all variables. However, this
rule was relaxed for several variables where a good deal

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[1]Reliability measures were computed with the Percentage Agreement
Index:

$$\frac{\text{number of times 2 coders agreed}}{\text{number of reliability subsamples}}$$

of calculation or coder judgment was involved. Usually this
"relaxation" meant that agreement within plus or minus one
point on a lengthy continuum was acceptable.

5. The reliability of coding for each item used in this analysis
   was at a time greater than 85 percent intercoder agreement
   and for the most part better than 90 percent, a relatively
   high figure.

Statistical Analysis

Responses on questionnaires were translated by coders into cate-
gories which could be numerically addressed by machine. These data
were then encoded onto punch cards for computer analysis. All coded
and punched data were verified, checked for inconsistency and other
common encoding errors. For examination of the ten hypotheses in
the present study, the following statistical procedures were used.

1. Hypotheses 1 through 7:

   a. We computed zero order product moment correlations between
      the independent variable and the dependent variable in the
      hypotheses to determine the nature and extent of their rela-
      tionship.

   b. In order to control for certain extraneous variables which
      could affect the hypothesized relationships, we used Wards
      (1962 and 1963) method for isolating the contribution of
      a given predictor variable. Briefly, it tests the difference
      in variance accounted for by a restricted and an incremented
      multiple regression equation. The difference between the

two lies solely in the presence or absence of the independent variable; control variables are common to both. The effect is equivalent to a part correlation which partitions from the independent variable that variation induced by confounding factors.

c. Zero order and controlled relationships were tested for their statistical significance from zero at a p .05 or better level. In instances where controlled and zero order relationships differed, the hypotheses were accepted or rejected on the basis of the controlled condition.

2. Hypotheses 8 through 10:

Since these hypotheses posited an interaction relationship between amount and other information control variables, a modification of the method just discussed was used. These modifications, basically the addition of a term to the regression to express interaction and the use of additional restricted regression equations, allowed separation of the necessary components of variance. This method is applicable to continuous independent variables and adjusts for their possible intercorrelation. Further, it allows covariables to be used to adjust for extraneous influences. The method, by analogy, is equivalent to analysis of covariance with "least squares" correction for disproportionality (Halldorson, 1969; Cohen, 1968; Kelly, 1969).

The results of these analyses and a discussion of their significance is presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER III

FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATION

The purpose of this chapter is to present the findings and discuss
their importance in light of the ten hypotheses tested.

However, there are several necessary preliminary notes to be
made before discussing the results. It will be recalled that the
component scales of political effectiveness--political knowledge,
activity and efficacy--could not be legitimately combined and examined
solely as a summary index of effectiveness. Consequently, analyses
were performed separately for each component. Verification of hypothe-
ses must then be in terms of each. For example, mass media diversity
may show--as it does--a significant correlation with one component,
political knowledge (and the summary index of effectiveness), but
not with the other two, political activity and efficacy. The hypothesis
in question, then, would be substantiated for political knowledge,
and the effectiveness index but not for activity and efficacy.

In several instances (mass media and interpersonal contact selec-
tivity), the independent variable has also been partitioned into compo-
nent scales because its components intercorrelated weakly and inconsist-
ently. Mass media selectivity, for example, is examined separately
for the press and for television. Consequently, in these cases, the
hypothesis is operationalized and tested in alternative ways.

Finally, secondary analyses were performed, holding constant
several control variables which past research has shown to strongly

relate to both independent and dependent measures used in the present study. Further, other similar control procedures were necessary in certain tests to factor out zero levels of organizational and mass media amount (see page 53). Thus, in some instances, two "control" conditions are presented together with the basic (zero order) analysis.[1]

Control variables (other than zero mass media and organizational amount) chosen for the present study were age, sex, income and years of formal education.[2] Their operationalization and the data each yielded are shown in Figure 13 below.

Data Yielded	Description of Item or Method Used to Obtain Data
a. years of formal education	Q: "What was the last grade you finished in grade school or high school?...Have you had any college? How many years?" (Years totalled across both questions.)
b. income	Q: "Each week, about how much income does your family get from all sources?"
c. age in ten year intervals	Q: "What is your age?"
d. respondent's sex	(At the conclusion of the interview, the interviewer indicated on the questionnaire the respondent's sex.)

Figure 13. Summary of control variables used, their method of determination and the data yielded.

Control variables, if they are to be meaningful (and used) in the present analysis, should bear a statistically significant

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[1] Where controls are present only for zero amount, acceptance of an hypothesis is based on these results. When results controlled for other covariables, acceptance of an hypothesis is based on these results since they subsume the controls for zero amount as well.

[2] Lane (1959) and Robinson (1968) discuss the relationship of these control variables to both information control and political attitude and activity measures.

relationship (p$\leq$.05) with <u>both</u> the independent and dependent variables under test. The correlation of age, sex, education and income with the independent and dependent variables of this study are shown in Appendices E and F. There is also a list of the control variables involved for each hypothesis.

Specific findings of this study are presented and discussed under each of the primary independent variables outlined in Chapter I: (A) diversity of information input, (B) selectivity of information inputs, (C) credibility of mass media and (D) the interrelationship of amount of information input with the other three information control variables.

Diversity of Information Inputs and Political Effectiveness

A. Diversity of Interpersonal Contacts:

In Chapter I, we hypothesized that:

H_1: <u>Interpersonal contact diversity of low income urban blacks is positively related to their level of political effectiveness</u>.

To test this hypothesis, we computed a zero order correlation between the diversity of a respondent's contacts and component and summary measures of political effectiveness. As Table 5 shows, the correlations do not differ from zero at significance of $p = .05$ or better for any of the components of political effectiveness. No control variables correlated significantly with both the independent and dependent variables in this test. Consequently, they were excluded.

There are few comparable studies with which to contrast these null findings. Studies of organizational communication patterns have found relationships between an individual's productivity or peer evaluated job competence and his exposure to diverse audiences and peers

Table 5. Zero order product-moment correlations between interpersonal
          contact diversity and the component and summary measures
          of political effectiveness.

Dependent Variable	Correlation Coefficient (r)
Political Knowledge	.0306
Political Activity	.0355
Political Efficacy	.0294
Political Effectiveness	.0491

(see Jain, 1970; Hawkins, 1964). But diverse contacts in this setting

seem to be quite job or task specific (e.g., related largely to the

variety or range of professional colleagues contacted). The dependent

measures, too, (competence) are also closely job related. The inter-

personal diversity measures employed in the present study, on the

other hand, are not restricted to "political" contacts, but assess

diversity across all individuals a respondent sees in a specified

period. Perhaps this operational difference is one cause for the

dissimilarity in findings.

     The present results also contrast with the findings of "cosmopo-

liteness" measures commonly used in diffusion-modernization studies

(cf. Rogers, 1966, 1968; Keith et al, 1968), a meaningful difference

in that the present measure of interpersonal diversity is similar

in operational terms to many cosmopoliteness measures. Cosmopoliteness

studies, typically done in less developed lands, usually find a pattern

of increasingly dispersed contacts related to a personal syndrome

of modernization (which includes, often, increasing political effective-

ness). But some sharp differences between the present study and diffu-

sion research may account for the disparity of findings. For example,

it is likely that the change in personal attitudes and behavior under-
lying the modernizing peasant's increased diversity of contacts is
far greater than that which motivates the U.S. ghetto resident to
visit another part of the city, or to converse with those of a different
race or social status. The U.S. urban black ghetto is technologically
and economically dependent on contact with the larger community, if
not psychologically and emotionally. Residents depend on it for jobs
and commodities. The traditional rural peasant village, however,
is usually a self-sufficient unit distant from more affluent or simply
different people. There is usually little pressure on a day-to-day
basis of basic survival to extend beyond its limits. Thus, the inter-
personal diversity measure employed in the present setting may well
have been too insensitive to the subtle distinction between necessary
or forced contact by ghetto residents with the larger community and
willing contact.

Consequently, the first hypothesis, relating interpersonal contact
diversity to political effectiveness, is not confirmed.

B. Diversity of Mass Media Use:

In Chapter I, we hypothesized that:

H_2: Diversity of mass media used by low income urban blacks
is positively related to their level of political effective-
ness.

In order to test this hypothesis, we computed zero order product moment
correlations between the diversity of the respondent's mass media
inputs with dependent measures of political effectiveness. We also
computed controlled correlations, adjusting in one case for the correla-
tion of diversity and amount at zero levels of amount, and in the
second case for other confounding variables specified in Table 6.

Table 6. Zero order and controlled product-moment correlation coeffi-
          cients between diversity of mass media inputs and dependent
          measures of political effectiveness.

Dependent Variable	Zero Order Correlation	Controlled for No Amount	Covariables Controlled (r)	Covariables
Political Knowledge	.2930***	.2722***	.2003***	Education, Amount mass media
Political Activity	.0193	.0428	.0630	Amount mass media
Political Efficacy	.0223	.0287	--	None
Political Effectiveness	.1720**	.1766**	.1068*	Education, Amount mass media

p .05 = *; p .01 = **; p .001 = ***

As Table 6 shows, one component, political knowledge, and the summary
index of political effectiveness were significantly related to mass
media diversity. Though lowered somewhat by partialling out the covari-
ables of education and mass media amount used, the relationships still
were maintained at an acceptable level of statistical significance.
Thus, H_2 is supported for political knowledge (and the summary effec-
tiveness measure) and not supported for political activity and efficacy.
The lowered significance of the summary measure reflects the averaging
of the component indices.

        These results do have a few parallels in the literature. Lane
(1959) in summarizing the effects of mass media on political understand-
ing and knowledge, points to the importance of diverse mass media
inputs, particularly magazines. Rogers (1968) and others found a
strong positive relationship between media exposure (measured largely
in terms of different media used) and the political knowledge evidenced

by South American peasants. In quite a different context, Parker

(1968) found that the channel diversity of information inputs to a

researcher positively relate to his research productivity. It should

be noted, however, that Jain (1970) failed to substantiate Parker's

finding.

The restriction of significant findings to political knowledge

seems reasonable. Characteristically, politicians and the general

circulation media which relay and analyze them rarely take strong

partisan stands or openly advocate concerted political action (Lane,

1959). Thus, there seems little content to motivate political action

even from a diversified perusal of common media inputs. There is

also little evidence to suggest that simply exposure to a more diverse

array of mass media improves one's feelings of political efficacy.

C. Organizational Membership Diversity:

In Chapter I, we hypothesized that:

H_3: <u>The organizational membership diversity of low income urban
blacks is positively related to their level of political
effectiveness.</u>

To test this hypothesis, we computed zero order correlation coefficients

between the diversity of the respondent's organizational ties and

measures of political effectiveness. We also computed controlled

correlations, in one case to adjust for the correlation of diversity

and amount at zero levels of amount, and in the second case for other

confounding variables specified in Table 7. Table 7 shows relatively

strong correlations, initially, between political knowledge and activ-

ity, and one's diversity of organizational membership. However, when

particularly amount (and to a far lesser extent, age) were held con-

stant, these two relationships were essentially reduced to null. The

Table 7. Zero order and controlled product-moment correlation coeffi-
          cients between diversity of organizational membership and
          dependent measures of political effectiveness.

Dependent Variable	Zero Order Correlation	Controlled for No Amount	Covariables Controlled (r)	Covariables
Political Knowledge	.1496**	.1751**	.0243	Age, Amount organizational participation
Political Activity	.4498***	.3338***	.0000	Age, Amount organizational participation
Political Efficacy	-.0265	-.0095	--	None
Political Effectiveness	.2949***	.2674***	.1043*	Age, Amount organizational participation

p .05 = *; p .01 = **; p .001 = ***

effect of age as a control was slight since it had only marginal corre-

lations with organizational diversity (r_{12} = .169) and dependent effec-

tiveness measures (r_{12} of .142, .153 and .032 for political knowledge,

activity and efficacy respectively).

What seems at the base of the problem is amount, reflected in

the manner by which people seem to choose organizational ties. To

start with, the zero order correlation between organizational diversity

and amount is r_{12} = .97, indicating that the two variables, while

conceptually different, are in practice the same. Diversity was assess-

ed by the number of categorically different organizations (e.g., church

groups vs. street clubs, etc.) the respondent belonged to and organiza-

tional amount by the simple total of groups or clubs. The findings

show that respondents rarely indicated belonging to more than one

organization in a given category. Indeed, a review of the raw data

showed that an average of only 1.3% of the respondents indicated

belonging to more than one organization per category. Understandably, organizational amount shows a near mirror image of the results for diversity shown in Table 7 (amount had a zero order correlation of $r_{12} = .47$ with political activity and an $r_{12} = .16$ correlation with political knowledge).

In light of this virtual identity of organizational amount and diversity, we must conclude that H_3 is supported strongly for political activity and moderately for political knowledge. The summary index, political effectiveness, reflecting the averaging of its component scales was also significantly related to diversity (or amount). We must also conclude that the distinction between organizational amount and diversity cannot be supported in this study; that in terms of the results, amount is in effect diversity.

These findings are in essential agreement with Orum's (1965) contention that political activity (voting behavior in this case) and organizational membership among low income blacks are increasing and related. In summary, Orum states:

> "If the early experience of other ethnic groups in America can be considered a useful guide, the participation of Negroes in associations represents a significant step toward integration. In this respect, the most important consequence of activity in associations is a kind of civic education. Ideally, if not always practically, voluntary associations are models of coopera- tive effort; decision making follows discussion, debate, and the reaching of a consensus among the members. Participation in associations thus offers Negroes an opportunity to acquire an understanding of the processes of cooperation and compromise that are the foundations of democratic living.
>
> "In the area of pure political activity, the increase in voting turnout of Negroes may be due to a greater awareness among Negroes of the effectiveness of organized political efforts....."

The present findings and Orum's conclusions contradict traditional "compensatory" and "isolationist" theories of black organizations

which allocated these groups politically powerless functions of enter-
tainment and replacement for associations denied in the white community
(Myrdal, 1944; Frazier, 1965; Orum, 1965).

Selectivity of Information Inputs and Political Effectiveness

A. Selectivity of Mass Media Use:

In Chapter I, we hypothesized that:

H_4: Selectivity by low income blacks in the use of politically
relevant mass media content is positively related to their
level of political effectiveness.

This relationship was tested separately for television and the general
circulation press (major dailies). Due to the low intercorrelation
of these two aspects of media selectivity, they were not combined
to form a summary index. To test the hypothesis, we computed zero
order product moment correlations with the dependent political effec-
tiveness variables for both television and press selectivity. These
analyses were repeated, controlling for the correlation of selectivity
and "amount" at zero levels of amount. The analysis was performed
a third time for press selectivity, holding constant amount of press
use and respondent education for all dependent measures except political
effectiveness. As Table 8 indicates, significant relationships were
found between TV selectivity and political knowledge and activity
which were lowered when controls were imposed. A slightly higher
relationship was found between political knowledge and press selectivity
when controlled for zero "amount." By controlling for amount and
education, the correlation improved slightly to $r_{12} = .1617$.

Again, as with media diversity, we find selective media users
have a slightly greater level of political knowledge and activity.
There is some corroborating evidence from other investigations.

Table 8. Zero order and controlled product—moment correlation coeffi-
cients between press and television news content viewing/
reading selectivity and dependent measures of political
effectiveness.

	Dependent Variable	Zero Order Correlation	Controlled for No Amt.	Covariables Controlled (r)	Covariables
TV	Political Knowledge	.1465**	.1196*	--	None
	Political Activity	.1396**	.1263*	--	None
	Political Efficacy	.0273	.0171	--	None
	Political Effectiveness	.1611**	.1175*	--	None
PRESS	Political Knowledge	.2180***	.1427**	.1617**	Education, Amount mass media
	Political Activity	-.0475	-.0491	-.0811	Education, Amount mass media
	Political Efficacy	.0634	.0466	--	None
	Political Effectiveness	.1203*	.0721	.0660	Education, Amount mass media

p .05 = *; p .01 = **; p .001 = ***

Chaffee's (1970) study of teenage political socialization found causal evidence linking television public affairs content use (as opposed to entertainment content) to political knowledge. This effect was only partly apparent for newspapers since entertainment use was also related, though less strongly, to political knowledge. However, Chaffee's findings did not find consistent parallel findings for political activity. As he concluded:

> ".....our data point to the inference that mass communication plays a role in political socialization insofar as political knowledge is concerned, but its influence does not extend to overt behavior such as campaigning activity."

Jennings and Numi (1968) see public affairs use of the mass media as part of a developing pattern of political socialization which continues to grow well into adult years. It is interesting in this light that among low income blacks in the present study where such development has been considered invariably low, that variation in public affairs media use is present and appears to contribute to political knowledge and possibly to political activity.

In conclusion, our findings show statistically significant support for H_4 in terms of political knowledge for both press and television and for political activity in the case of selective television use. The summary political effectiveness measure also showed a low but statistically significant correlation with selective television use.

B. Selectivity of Organizational Membership:

In Chapter I, we hypothesized that:

H_5: Selectivity evidenced by low income blacks by their membership in politically active organizations is positively related to the individual's level of political effectiveness.

To test the hypothesis, we computed zero order and controlled product moment correlations between the dependent political effectiveness

variables and the respondent's proportionate membership in politically
active or civic organizations. In computing this relationship a second
time, the confounding of organizational selectivity at a zero level
of amount of organizations was controlled. A third analysis was per-
formed, also holding constant the covariables indicated in Table 9
below. None of the control variables correlated significantly with
both political efficacy and organizational selectivity. Consequently,
this calculation was omitted. As Table 9 indicates, controlling for

Table 9. Zero order and controlled product-moment correlations between
          selectivity of political organization membership and dependent
          measures of political effectiveness.

Dependent Variable	Zero Order Correlation	Controlled for No Amount	Covariables Controlled (r)	Covariables
Political Knowledge	.0250	.0141	.000	Sex, Amount organizations
Political Activity	.2531***	.1177*	.0793	Amount organizations
Political Efficacy	.0022	.0274	--	None
Political Effectiveness	.1421**	.0820	.0137	Sex, Amount organizations

p .05 = *; p .01 = **; p .001 = ***

zero organizational amount and subsequently for the full range of
amount and sex as covariables obliterated the significant correlation
of organizational selectivity with political activity. The problem
here is reminiscent of those which occurred earlier with organizational
diversity and the intervening effects of amount. Simply put, it appears
that as one joins more organizations (amount) the chance also seems
to increase that they will be political or civic action oriented (e.g.,
selectivity). This supposition is reflected in the rather high

correlation between selectivity and organizational amount ($r_{12} = .39$).

However, since this correlation is far from unity, we can only state

that there is some tendency for selectivity to increase as amount

increases. Consequently, H_5 cannot be confirmed, even indirectly.

This hypothesis is also not confirmed for the other component political

effectiveness measures.

The tendency for increasing amount of black organizational parti-

cipation to also imply selective participation in civic and political

groups is partly substantiated by Orum (1965). Comparing low income

blacks to low income whites, he found that the black group was far

more likely to join political organizations, and about equally likely

to join civic groups, as the white controls.

Possibly, the failure of organizational selectivity to account

for much variation in political effectiveness can be traced to diffi-

culty in determining the political activity of a group through categor-

ical labels. Church groups in the present study, for example, were

consigned to a non-political, non-civic action status. Yet in recent

times, some church groups have served as a locus of black political

activity and civic improvement. Conversely, street clubs and neighbor-

hood groups, considered in the present study to be political or civic

action oriented, may in many instances serve a merely social function.

In sum, the form of classification used may well have been inappropriate

to variation in the political activity of organizations.

Finally, organizational participation, regardless of kind of

group considered, may be conducive to greater levels of political

effectiveness. In this perspective, the group would serve as a social-

izing agent, one which would open the respondent to the fundamentals

of issue formation and the collective power of group activity.

C. Selectivity of Interpersonal Contacts:

In Chapter I, we hypothesized that:

H_6: <u>Selectivity evidenced by low income urban blacks in the use of expert advice or contact with political information sources is positively related to their level of political effectiveness</u>.

This relationship was tested in two somewhat divergent ways. First by computing correlation coefficients between the use of expert infor- mation sources relative to total sources used for "help and information" and the dependent measures of political effectiveness, we tested the political consequences of a general pattern of seeking expert help. The second method attempted to test the hypothesis in a specifically political context by estimating the proportion of average weekly con- tacts used for political discussion and information gathering. In neither case was it necessary to control for the "built-in" correlation between zero interpersonal contact amount and (therefore) zero contact selectivity since every respondent reported having some interpersonal contact "in the past week." However, the relationships were controlled for the covariables shown in Table 10. As can be seen here (Table 10), interpersonal selectivity measures in terms of proportion contact with experts showed no significant relationship to dependent political effectiveness measures. Contrary, those who reported a high proportion of political conversation contacts did evidence higher levels of polit- ical knowledge and particularly activity. Controlling for education however, left only the relationship with political activity viable. <u>Thus, we must conclude that H_6 is supported only for political activity as predicted by proportion of political conversation contacts</u>. Politi- cal effectiveness, the summary index, is also significant under the

Table 10. Zero order and controlled product-moment correlation coeffi-
cients between selectivity of interpersonal contacts and
dependent measures of political effectiveness.

	Dependent Variable	Zero Order Correlation	Covariables Controlled (r)	Covariables
	Political Knowledge	-.0880	-.0368	Education, Age, Sex
PROPORTION CONTACT WITH EXPERTS	Political Activity	.0054	.0205	Age
	Political Efficacy	-.0206	-.0205	Sex
	Political Effectiveness	-.0533	-.0531	Sex

p .05 = *; p .01 = **; p .001 = ***

	Dependent Variable	Zero Order Correlation	Covariables Controlled (r)	Covariables
	Political Knowledge	.1113*	.0887	Education
PROPORTION POLITICAL CONVERSATION CONTACTS	Political Activity	.2373***	.2290***	Education
	Political Efficacy	.0102	--	None
	Political Effectiveness	.0848	.1632**	Education

p .05 = *; p .01 = **; p .001 = ***

controlled condition, and may represent largely the influence of the

political activity component.

The contrast between the results of the two selectivity measures

is interesting in that higher contact with experts, implied by the

first measure, seemed to have little effect, while political conversa-

tion contacts (who need not be expert) implied in the second measure

did. Thus it appears, to some degree, that talking about politics

with others appears to be more important to political activity than

whether contacts show one's willingness to seek out expert help.

Mass Media Credibility

In Chapter I, we hypothesized that:

H_7: Perceived media credibility is positively related to the
level of political effectiveness for urban low income blacks.

To test this relationship we computed zero order correlation coeffi-

cients between the respondent's judgment of television and press freedom

from racial bias and the dependent measures of political effectiveness.

Also, we computed these same basic relationships but held constant

several covariables which are indicated in Table 11. The results

of the analysis show a significant relationship between feeling of

political efficacy and a positive appraisal of mass media racial fair-

ness. This result is somewhat unique in that it constitutes the only

information control variable which relates to political efficacy.

Since our appraisal of efficacy was set in terms of feeling able to

deal with the political status quo and the measure of credibility

in terms of perceived racial fairness of the media, blacks who generally

sense less racial oppression may respond to both these measures in

the same way. In other words, the factor supporting the correlation

in this instance may be a general positive feeling of racial fairness

Table 11. Zero order and controlled product-moment correlation coeffi-
cients between perceived credibility of the mass media
(press and television) and dependent measures of political
effectiveness.

Dependent Variable	Zero Order Correlation	Covariables Controlled (r)	Covariables
Political Knowledge	-.0305	.0116	Age, Sex, Amount mass media
Political Activity	-.0910	-.0939	Age, Amount mass media
Political Efficacy	.2604***	.2414***	Sex
Political Effectiveness	.0717	.0939	Sex, Amount mass media

p .05 = *; p .01 = **; p .001 = ***

in the social system. Having a sense of political effectiveness,

relatively speaking, may imply less perceived hostility from white

dominated media.

However, it is clear from the data, that this positive outlook

did not, if present, extend to the other political effectiveness compo-

nents. Indeed, a somewhat surprising deviation is the lack of any

media credibility relationship with political knowledge, the prime

correlate of selective media use discussed earlier. One would expect

that under conditions of low credibility, the information presented

by the daily press and television would have little effect upon politi-

cal knowledge and an enhanced positive effect under high credible

conditions. Our data, of course, did not support this supposition.

Political activity, though not significantly related to media credibil-

ity, almost attained this status in a negative direction. On a specula-

tive level, this negative correlation could suggest that perception

of racial bias from the community and the media may act as a spur

to black political activity. Finally, the summary index of political

effectiveness showed a nearly significant relationship with media

credibility, probably reflecting an averaging of component effectiveness

measures. On the basis of these data, H_7 is supported for the efficacy

component of political effectiveness.

Information Input Amount and Political Effectiveness

The purpose of these remaining hypotheses is to test the possible

mediating effect the information control variables have upon information

input amount. In Chapter I we discussed the seemingly high but unpro-

ductive (in a political or self-help sense) volume of communication

in the inner city. For example, several studies discussed earlier

had found that while interpersonal communication is high, it tended

to be non-achievement oriented. Also, it was engaged in with primarily

family and close friends who pass on little new advice or expertise

to address to basic living problems. Equally constraining conditions

had been discussed for the mass media and organizational participation.

Given these circumstances, it was reasoned that high information input

to an individual would be of little benefit, possibly harmful, in

addressing basic living and political needs. However, if this input

came selectively, from a diverse array of sources or was perceived

as credible (free of racial prejudice), higher amounts of information

input could well encourage political effectiveness.

Basically, we have advanced interaction hypotheses which posit

that high information input level under conditions of high information

control is conducive to higher levels of political effectiveness.

The independent contribution of this interaction free of main effects

(and sometimes other control variables) was tested for diversity,

selectivity and mass media credibility. For diversity and selectivity

the interaction with amount was tested for mass media, interpersonal

contacts and organizational participation. Credibility was tested

in interaction only for mass media amount. For each of these instances,

we have also computed the information input amount main effect for

purposes of comparison with the interaction analysis. Our earlier

discussion suggests that amount of information input alone has a null

or negative effect on political effectiveness. The results of these

analysis are given below.

A. Diversity and Input Amount:

   In Chapter I, we hypothesized that:

   H_8: For low income urban blacks, information input amount inter-
        acts with input diversity to explain significantly more
        variation in political effectiveness than both conditions
        alone.

We tested this hypothesis by means of multiple regression, a procedure

which allowed us to isolate the amount of dependent variable variance

accounted for by the interaction of diversity and amount beyond that

accounted for by both variables alone. The results are presented

in Table 12 under the "no control" condition. The analyses were repeat-

ed, holding constant covariables which showed significant correlation

($p \leq .05$) with either of the two independent and the dependent variables.

Covariables used in each instance are indicated in Table 12. An exami-

nation of the table shows that in one instance the interaction of

diversity and amount attained statistical significance under either

the no control or controlled situation. Consequently, H_8 is supported

for the summary political effectiveness index by present data. However,

we find this one result difficult to interpret since no component

efficacy scale attained a statistically significant level. Possibly,

Table 12. F ratio[1] of diversity and input amount interaction for dependent political effectiveness measures under condition of (a) no controls and (b) covariable control. All significant F ratios indicate a positive correlation.

Amount X Diversity For	Condition	Interaction F Ratio with:			
		Political Knowledge	Political Activity	Political Efficacy	Political Effectiveness
Interpersonal Contacts	No Controls	0.0004	0.0882	1.1021	0.1370
	Controls	0.2430	0.0789	0.9424	0.0262
	(Covariables)	Education Age Sex	Age	Sex	Education
Organizational Membership	No Controls	1.6879	0.6602	3.4491	1.7329
	Controls	2.0208	0.5538	--	2.0356
	(Covariables)	Age	Age	None	Age
Mass Media Use	No Controls	0.3153	1.8698	2.9497	3.5396
	Controls	0.5112	1.6767	--	4.5473*
	(Covariables)	Age Education	Age	None	Age Education

p .05 = *; p .01 = **; p .001 = ***

[1] F ratio represents the test for significance of the interval between squared incremented (with interaction term) and restricted (interaction term dropped) multiple regression coefficients. The difference between the two squared coefficients constitutes the variance in political effectiveness accounted for by interaction. The value for F was yielded from the squared correlation ratio (eta) for the interval with df = 1/361 (approximately).

the finding is the result of error reduction due to the presence of covariables.

In most instances the null findings above can be explained in view of our earlier results. Interpersonal contact diversity, for example, showed no significant relationship with any of the dependent political effectiveness measures, nor did interpersonal contact amount. Thus two predictors, essentially uncorrelated with the criterion and with each other (r_{12} = .03) offer little hope of yielding a significant interaction. Organizational membership diversity was earlier found to be positively and nearly perfectly correlated with amount of organizational membership. Two variables that are so highly correlated in this way are not likely to interact significantly. Finally, media diversity earlier did show a significant relationship with political knowledge and the summary effectiveness index. However, the interaction of amount and media diversity showed little relationship to political activity or any of the other political effectiveness measures.

Contrary to our initial expectations, the main effects of information input amount showed several positive relationships with political effectiveness measures. Organizational amount demonstrated significant positive correlations with dependent effectiveness measures shown in Table 13. To a great degree, these findings reflect the strong relationships observed for organizations in our test of H_2, somewhat reduced by the partialling out of diversity. However, in conformity with expectation, mass media amount showed a significantly negative relationship with political efficacy. Remaining media amount relationships and interpersonal contact amount showed no significant relation with political effectiveness measures. These findings, for

interpersonal contacts and especially media use, are in contrast to

the positive associations typically found for middle class populations.

Table 13. F ratio of information input amount main effect, controlled
          for diversity of input, the interaction of diversity and
          amount, and other covariables (where applicable[1]).

	Amount Main Effect F Ratio for:			
Amount of:	Political Knowledge	Political Activity	Political Efficacy	Political Effectiveness
Interpersonal Contacts	1.8481	3.3276	2.4567	0.2610
Organizational Membership	0.2351	5.8882*	6.4824*	7.7462**
Mass Media Use	0.1809	0.2075	4.7959* (-)	3.4789

p .05 = *; p .01 = **; p .001 = ***

[1]Covariables correspond to those indicated in Table 12.

(-) indicates a negative relationship of amount to dependent measures.
All remaining significant F ratios test positive relationships.

B. Selectivity and Input Amount:

    In Chapter I, we hypothesized that:

    H_9: For low income urban blacks, information input amount inter-
           acts with input selectivity to explain significantly more
           variation in political effectiveness than both conditions
           alone.

We tested this hypothesis by means of the same multiple regression

method used above. As before, it allowed us to test the interaction

of selectivity and input amount, after partialling out their main

effects. The results are presented in Table 14 under the "no control"

condition. Analysis was repeated in each case holding constant covari-

ables which showed significant correlation with either of the two

independent variables and the dependent variable. Covariables used

in the "control" condition are also indicated in the table. It will

Table 14. F ratio of selectivity and input amount interaction for dependent measures of political effectiveness under conditions of (a) no controls and (b) covariable controls. All significant F ratios indicate a positive correlation.

Amount X Selectivity For	Condition	Interaction F Ratio with:			
		Political Knowledge	Political Activity	Political Efficacy	Political Effectiveness
Interpersonal Contacts (Experts)	No Controls	0.5857	0.0382	2.7158	1.2919
	Controls	1.3492	0.0015	2.2675	2.3088
	(Covariables)	Education Age Sex	Age	Sex	Education
Interpersonal Contacts (Political Conversation)	No Controls	1.3021	6.9369**	0.5967	2.2969
	Controls	1.3269	6.9209**	0.6108	2.3421
	(Covariables)	Education	Education	Education	Education
Organizational Membership	No Controls	2.7676	0.2909	5.4529*	5.9420*
	Controls	3.0569	0.3628	--	6.4194**
	(Covariables)	Age	Age	None	Age
Mass Media (Television)	No Controls	0.6373	1.2539	0.4315	1.8191
	Controls	--	--	--	--
	(Covariables)	None	None	None	None
Mass Media (Press)	No Controls	0.8727	0.0000	0.0276	0.3166
	Controls	0.4423	--	--	0.0798
	(Covariables)	Education	None	None	Education

p .05 = *; p .01 = **; p .001 = ***

be recalled that interpersonal and mass media selectivity were assessed in two variant ways. Interpersonal selectivity was measured both in terms of general contact with experts and proportion of political conversation contacts. Media selectivity was assessed separately for television and the press.

Selectivity's influence on the political importance of information input amount is restricted to two instances. First, one's selectivity in seeking political conversation contacts is apparently important to political activity as his circle of contacts increases. Secondly, selectivity shown in joining political or civic action oriented groups bears a relationship to political efficacy as one joins more organizations. Thus, selectivity does have a meaningful effect in combination with amount, but apparently not alone. However, one important question remains unanswered in any correlational analysis, principally whether selective. membership in a widening circle of organizations is cause or product of political efficacy.

The trend for organizational membership is also reflected in the summary index of political effectiveness. Controlling for covariables affected these relationships only slightly. Consequently, we must conclude that H_9 receives limited support in specific instances of organizational membership and interpersonal contact selectivity.

Perhaps the greatest rebuke to expectation occurred in the case of the television consumption. Indeed, it was expected that selectivity and high viewing amount would interact strongly in terms of political knowledge. Present and earlier analyses in this study of television selectivity and amount with political knowledge show positive and significant correlations. Their interaction, however, seems to offer

little additional explanatory power.

Selectivity shown in seeking interpersonal expert contacts here, as earlier in this study, failed to account for any appreciable variation in the dependent variables. Press selectivity, though significantly related to political activity in earlier analyses, also failed to gain appreciably in predictive power in interaction with amount of press use.

As before, the amount main effect did not conform in all cases to our expectation of null or negative relationship to the dependent measures. Table 15 shows that amount of organizations is related to political activity to a highly significant extent. This result reflects confounding of organizational amount with diversity and selectivity discussed earlier, but particularly diversity, since the contribution of selectivity to this association has been controlled.

Amount of television use, too, shows a significant relationship with political knowledge, activity, and the summary effectiveness measure. Together, these findings clearly demonstrate that amount, free of mediating selectivity, is important to political effectiveness. However, for political conversation contacts, selectivity seems to be an essential adjunct of amount. While Table 14 shows a substantial relationship of the amount X selectivity interaction with political activity, Table 15 indicates that amount alone is unrelated to political activity. Thus, our findings show support for the importance of selectivity to amount in this limited circumstance.

C. Credibility of Mass Media and Input Amount:

In Chapter I, we hypothesized:

H_{10}: For low income urban blacks, mass media information input amount interacts with media credibility to explain

Table 15. F ratio of information input amount main effect controlled
          for selectivity of input, the interaction of selectivity
          and amount, and other covariables (where applicable[1]).
          All significant F ratios indicate a positive correlation.

Amount of:	Amount Main Effect F Ratio for:			
	Political Knowledge	Political Activity	Political Efficacy	Political Effectiveness
Interpersonal Contacts (Experts)	1.0232	0.0232	2.1054	2.1187
Interpersonal Contacts (Political Conversation)	1.0501	0.0234	2.7419	1.7204
Organizational Membership	0.0231	17.7968***	2.7753	1.3858
Mass Media Use (Television)	18.1619***	6.2299*	1.1897	16.6157***
Mass Media Use (Press)	0.5169	0.5118	0.1386	0.6807

p .05 = *; p .01 = **; p .001 = ***

[1]Additional covariables correspond to those indicated in Table 14.

<u>significantly more variation in political effectiveness</u>
<u>than both conditions alone.</u>

This hypothesis was tested in a manner identical to the previous two.
Again, we isolated from main effects the additional predictive power
offered by the interaction of credibility and amount. The results
of this analysis are shown in Table 16. <u>Clearly, from these data,</u>
<u>H_{10} is not supported</u>. No condition showed a significant relationship
to the dependent variable. The presence of covariables made little
difference to the outcome of the test.

Table 16. F ratio of mass media credibility and mass media amount
for dependent measures of political effectiveness under
conditions of (a) no controls and (b) covariables control.
Significant F ratios indicate a positive correlation.

Amount X Credibility For	Condition	Interaction F Ratio with:			
		Political Knowledge	Political Activity	Political Efficacy	Political Effectiveness
Mass Media	No Controls	0.2575	2.3036	0.1008	0.1316
	Controls	0.2372	2.5361	--	0.1815
	(Covariables)	Age Education	Age	None	Age Education

p .05 = *; p .01 = **; p .001 = ***

A number of possible explanations for these null findings can
be found. Credibility, for example, is viewed here only in a very
specific light--perceived freedom from racial bias. While an individual
could rate a particular media source racially fair, it is also quite
possible that the source is regarded as incompetent, uninteresting
or irrelevant and of little consequence for political effectiveness.
In short, one problem may be with the present credibility measure.

Another possibility is that credibility may be important only
if media content is selectively consumed or gathered from diverse

sources. The effect on political effectiveness of perceiving <u>all</u> content as credible could well be null or negative. Essentially, information control variables for maximum political effectiveness may have to follow a sequence. For example, one might well have exposure to diverse inputs which are then viewed selectively. Finally, their content would have to be appraised as credible for the content to have any positive effects on political efficacy.

The main effect of mass media amount was significant for political activity in this analysis ($F = 5.3138$, $p \leq .05$), which does not conform to our earlier expectation. The remaining dependent measures were in conformity and did not relate significantly to mass media amount.

A Final Note on Amount:

In our analysis of these last hypotheses, amount has frequently shown predictive merit for political effectiveness independently of information control variables. Appendix F, showing the zero order correlations of amount with effectiveness measures, reflects much the same pattern noted in the controlled amount analyses above. The majority of these amount-effectiveness relations have occurred for organizations and the mass media, and, with few exceptions, have been positive, or contributing to effectiveness. Typically, for interpersonal contacts, there has been no positive amount-effectiveness relationship. Only one negative relationship was apparent, with covariables controlled, between media use amount and political efficacy (Table 13). In light of the generally strong positive correlations of television amount with political activity, knowledge and effectiveness shown in Table 15, this finding is somewhat difficult to interpret. While the result conforms to initial expectation of null or negative amount

effect in the absence of information control variables, the relation occurred for only one effectiveness component in opposition to the positive correlations of the remaining components with television alone. In part, this discrepancy may reflect the use of different covariables in these analyses and indexing differences between TV and mass media amount, but it also points out the general lack of consistency of efficacy with political knowledge and activity seen throughout this chapter.

In conclusion, the ability of information control variables to account for political effectiveness seems limited largely to organizational and interpersonal selectivity. Amount main effects, however, have shown a greater than expected ability to account for the dependent variables, particularly for the mass media and organizations.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The main objectives of this study were to (a) present a conceptual
framework for analyzing certain patterns of communication behavior
and their relationship to political effectiveness among low income
minorities, and (b) to empirically test these conceptualizations.

A Summary of the Conceptual Framework

The purpose of the framework was to provide a rationale for
politically effective information use. This rationale was structured
to detect variations in politically effective use among black inner
city residents. It was reasoned that the mass media, interpersonal
contacts and organizations provide the prime channels through which
political information from the general society enters into the low
income black community. Yet prior evidence showed that these inputs,
while they seem to function effectively for the middle class individual,
are unpredictable carriers of political and other specialized informa-
tion to the inner city. Communication in the low income neighborhood
seems to center on two non-complementary systems. Mass media, the
primary conveyor of "outside" information, is oriented toward a white,
middle class consumer society. In contrast, the low income black's
network of friends and family is typically restricted to a tight circle
who disdain or disregard information that is unfamiliar or comes from
white, "outside" sources. The role of black organizations seems more
ambiguous--from an accommodationist, entertainment function of black

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groups to a view of black organizations as a base of increased political

discussion and action.

However, one point was clear from past research evidence, that

these channels do provide a high volume of amount of information input.

Ghetto media use was found to be comparable to middle class samples

and in many cases surpassed them. Interpersonal communication—gregari-

ousness—was also high. Finally, evidence showed that low income

blacks showed a greater propensity to participate in formal organiza-

tions than did low income whites.

Despite this high information channel use, numerous studies

characterized inner city residents as apathetic and very low in politi-

cal activity. The prime research question became one of isolating

methods through which inner city residents maximize the political

effectiveness of the high quantity of information that does reach

them. The communication characteristics chosen were intended to show

the extent to which low income blacks deviate from circumstances which

make for low effective use of the information inputs they have. Basic

characteristics were:

I. Diversity: The variety of information inputs used by an

individual. A high level of diversity was considered necessary

to maximize the coverage of political events and to avoid

the bias implicit in the use of one or few information sources.

II. Selectivity: The extent to which the individual selects

out and focuses on politically relevant information in a

particular channel. An ability to sort out politically useful

content from entertainment was considered necessary to

political decisions and action based on accurate information.

III. <u>Credibility</u>: The extent to which a particular input is be-
lieved to be free of racial bias. In the present study,
use of this concept was limited to the mass media. Essen-
tially, it was reasoned that political information must be
perceived as free of bias to be of impact in the black commu-
nity.

These three characteristics were reasoned to have direct positive
consequences on politically effective use of information inputs. A
fourth characteristic, amount or quantity of input, was reasoned to
contribute to effectiveness with the presence of the other three in
an additive manner. If information control characteristics of diver-
sity, selectivity and credibility were not present, amount would have
less and possibly even a negative effect upon political effectiveness.
Political effectiveness summarized three component dimensions: politi-
cal knowledge, political activity and political efficacy (political
self-confidence). Each component was predicted to be affected positive-
ly and in the same manner by the information control characteristics.

There is, of course, the possibility of complex interactions
among information control characteristics variables beyond those exam-
ined in this study. Selectivity, diversity and credibility, for exam-
ple, may together affect political effectiveness. The empirical aims
of the present study, however, were limited to testing the lower order
relationships of each component.

Summary of the Empirical Study

The empirical study was part of a larger field study designed
to examine the communication behavior of inner city low income blacks,
particularly in relation to their consumer behaviors, political effec-
tiveness and general ability to cope with their surroundings. Data
were gathered from a probability sample of low income black residents
from high density black neighborhoods in Cleveland, Ohio, using a
pretested and structured interview schedule. The performance of inter-
viewers and the reliability of the measurement instruments were checked
by reinterviewing a portion of the original respondents. Coding and
data processing phases of this study were also checked for encoding
reliability.

Ten hypotheses, relating information control characteristics
to political effectiveness (and its components), were tested. Two
basic types of analysis were used:

(a) Relation of information control variables individually to
dependent measures of political effectiveness. The concern
here was to demonstrate the relationship of diversity and
selectivity in terms of interpersonal contacts, organizational
participation, and the mass media to the dependent variables.
Further, we wanted to test the relationship of mass media
credibility to the dependent variable.

(b) Relation of diversity, selectivity and media credibility
in interaction with information input amount and their conse-
quent effect on the dependent measures of political effective-
ness. Interaction hypotheses involving diversity and

selectivity were tested across the three basic types of
information inputs (persons, organizations, media). The
interaction of credibility and amount was tested for the
mass media only.

The summary results of these tests are shown in Figure 14. Where
necessary, tests were controlled for (a) an implicit correlation between
diversity or selectivity and amount (there being no diversity or selec-
tivity if there is no "amount" of an information input) and (b) covari-
ables of sex, age, income, education and amount (except when used
as an independent variable). In order for covariables to be used
in a given test, they had to correlate significantly ($p \leq .05$) with
both independent and dependent variables involved.

Thus, our analysis provides partial support for seven of the
ten hypotheses. However, in no instance was an hypothesis confirmed
across all dependent political effectiveness components. Mass media
and organizational diversity, mass media selectivity, selectivity
for interpersonal political conversation contacts, mass media credibil-
ity and the interaction of interpersonal and organizational selectivity
with amount showed significant relationship to at least one component
of political effectiveness. Dependent measures of political knowledge
and political activity were most frequently related to information
control variables.

Limitations of the Study

Amount of information input complicated several hypotheses,
especially those involving selectivity and diversity for organizational
and mass media inputs. Diversity of organizations so completely inter-
correlated with total number of groups belonged to (amount) that the

Figure 14. Main findings of study: Summary of hypotheses, method used to test each and outcome of the test.

Hypotheses	Test	Outcome
H1: Interpersonal contact diversity is positively related to political effectiveness.	Zero order correlation for: Component and summary measures of political effectiveness	Null for all dependent measures
H2: Mass media diversity is positively related to political effectiveness.	Part correlation for: Political Knowledge / Political Activity / Political Efficacy / Political Effectiveness	Confirmed / Null / Null / Confirmed
H3: Organizational membership diversity is positively related to political effectiveness.	Part correlation for: Political Knowledge / Political Activity / Political Efficacy / Political Effectiveness	Confirmed[1] / Confirmed[1] / Null / Confirmed[1]
H4: Selective use of political mass media content is positively related to political effectiveness. (for Television)	Part correlation for: Political Knowledge / Political Activity / Political Efficacy / Political Effectiveness	Confirmed / Confirmed / Null / Confirmed
(for the Press)	Part correlation for: Political Knowledge / Political Activity / Political Efficacy / Political Effectiveness	Confirmed / Null / Null / Null
H5: Selective membership in politically active formal organizations is positively related to political effectiveness.	Part correlation for: Component and summary measures of political effectiveness	Null for all dependent measures
H6: Selectivity in the use of interpersonal information sources is positively related to political effectiveness. (for Contact with Experts)	Part correlation for: Component and summary measures of political effectiveness	Null for all dependent measures
(for Political Conversation Contacts)	Part correlation for: Political Knowledge / Political Activity / Political Efficacy / Political Effectiveness	Null / Confirmed / Null / Confirmed
H7: Mass media credibility is positively related to political effectiveness.	Part correlation for: Political Knowledge / Political Activity / Political Efficacy / Political Effectiveness	Null / Null / Confirmed / Null
H8: Amount of input interacts with diversity of input.	Analysis of variance for: Component and summary measures of political effectiveness across mass media, organizational and interpersonal inputs	Null for all dependent measures
H9: Amount of input interacts with selectivity of input for:	Analysis of variance for:	
Interpersonal Contacts (Experts)	Component and summary measures of political effectiveness	Null on all dependent measures
Interpersonal Contacts (Political Conversation Contacts)	Political Knowledge / Political Activity / Political Efficacy / Political Effectiveness	Null / Confirmed / Null / Null
Organizational Membership	Political Knowledge / Political Activity / Political Efficacy / Political Effectiveness	Null / Null / Confirmed / Confirmed
Mass Media (Television)	Component and summary measures of political effectiveness	Null for all dependent measures
Mass Media (Press)	Component and summary measures of political effectiveness	Null for all dependent measures
H10: Amount of mass media use interacts with media credibility.	Component and summary measures of political effectiveness	Null on all dependent measures

[1]Confirmed as described on p. 65-66.

two variables were essentially synonymous. Similar but less severe
problems occurred with selectivity of organizational membership and
media diversity and selectivity. Partialling out "amount" reduced
some initially substantial relationships to a marginal status. In
all these cases, problems occurred mostly with measures of political
activity and knowledge. Though we were able to control the effects
of amount in testing hypotheses, its persistent positive correlation
with political knowledge and activity does question a basic contention
of this study. While we have advanced that organizational and mass
media amount would show null or negative relations with political
effectiveness measures, much the opposite seems confirmed. Amount,
with few exceptions in these instances, appears to have significant
positive relationships, even with other factors controlled. However,
in two instances, (amount x selectivity of organizations and amount
x interpersonal conversation contacts), the original contention was
affirmed, namely that the interaction of the information control vari-
ables with amount was significant, while the main effect relationship
of amount was not.

Also, quite apparent in this study was the inconsistency of
political effectiveness measures. While our hypotheses were framed
in terms of equivalent effects for the three political effectiveness
components, this hypothesized uniformity did not result. For example,
while political knowledge showed a relationship to media selectivity
and diversity, political activity and especially political efficacy
did not correlate strongly, or, in many instances, at all. Conversely,
mass media credibility showed a significant relationship with political
efficacy, but not with knowledge or activity.

These difficulties can be traced to several problems. First, the conceptual basis for political effectiveness is far from established or clear in the measurement literature (see Robinson, 1968; Neal & Rettig, 1967). While there is some rationale available to expect the diverse behavioral, attitudinal and knowledge components of political effectiveness to relate uniformly to the hypotheses, it is also possible that they could be contradictory in a relationship. For example, while one could feel politically effective (attitude) he might objectively be ineffective (in terms of his behavior). There is, however, little theory on which to base these non-uniform expectations.

A second problem can be traced to the difficulties of measuring political effectiveness in the inner city environment. Most of the effectiveness indices used in this investigation were adapted from those used on predominantly white, middle class populations. Little content in either the present activity or efficacy component measures strongly dealt with extreme militant civil rights action or movements for black separatism. One can reason that individuals of this persuasion likely would feel ineffective or evidence little activity in terms of the more traditional items used. Indeed, they are not well accounted for by our measure. Finally, our measure of political knowledge concerned only the identification of political figures. Though potential respondent hostility and suspicion restricted our ability to include items dealing with knowledge of current civil rights events and local racial controversy, items might have been developed which would have assessed the respondent's knowledge in dealing with hypothetical race and low income related political situations.

There are other principal limitations to the present study which were better known at the onset. Perhaps the most obvious and constraining is the lack of a white low income control group. While we have created a conceptual and in many instances an operational basis for isolating information control characteristics of particular applicability to the low income black community, we have no white comparison group to substantiate their unique properties. Indeed, some of the findings do not appear to be unique from the standpoint of past research. For example, the "amount" variables in the present analysis, except those for interpersonal contact, showed significant positive correlations with the political effectiveness measures (see Appendix F), much as they do with a middle class white population. Mass media seem to have approximately the same positive effect on political knowledge for black residents as it did in Chaffee's (1970) general population teenage sample. The positive political consequences of organizational membership also seem about the same for whites as for blacks. The likely occurrence is that though the direction of the relationships is consistent with white groups, there well may be a "levels" or magnitude difference. For example, though there is a positive relationship for both whites and blacks of organizational membership to political effectiveness, the level of membership for one group may be greater. The problem, of course, is lacking a white comparison group, we can only speculate on probably differences.

Another difficulty is that while we have posited a time order theoretical model, the measurement model (correlation) and the type of survey method (one time only) do not permit testing in a causal or time relation sense. The problem of time order is seen in the

contrast of political activity measures to attitudinal political efficacy. On an intuitive level, political activity seems the overt <u>result</u> of some motivating force such as mass media content or organizational social pressures. On the other hand, the basic predispositions implied in political efficacy would seem to be the <u>cause</u> of various behavioral states. In our analysis, however, we cannot test this distinction.

Finally, for the sake of testing primary relationships and the lack of appropriate theoretical bases, we have ignored several higher order interactions of information control variables. This, of course, means that the conceptual basis of this study is not completely exploited by its operations.

Contributions of the Study

The conceptual framework advanced by the present study suggests a closer examination of media organizational and interpersonal information sources in isolating the determinants of politically effective behavior. Traditionally, the contribution of these information sources to political effectiveness has been viewed in light of their magnitude or amount. The present study suggests an alternative stance; that information sources should be examined in light of how they are viewed or used. This position was underscored by our examination of diversity, selectivity and credibility as mediators of input amount.

Secondly, the selection of information control variables and the manner of their operationalization have been adapted to black inner city residents. The dependent variables of political effectiveness have also been adapted as measures to inner city conditions. Though parallel concepts have been tested and interrelated for general population samples, the present study represents an attempt to direct them

toward variance within the inner city. In doing so, the study has demonstrated that there is significant variation in black political activity and communication behavior and that these two conceptual domains are related. All too often, traditional, middle class biased operations have characterized this setting as homogeneously alienated, apathetic and devoid of politically productive communication.

The operationalization of political effectiveness has rarely been elaborated among low income populations in terms of the multi-dimensional approach used in the present study. Studies of these groups have typically dwelt upon alienation or anomia attitude measures with little attention to behavioral or knowledge components. The present study suggests that the prime effect of information inputs may be upon behavioral and knowledge components, such as awareness of government representatives, petitioning local government for aid, and voting.

Finally, at a conceptual level, we have posited a simple model emphasizing time order importance of information control variables. It allows for other information control practices, such as the use of institutionalized information sources (public or private) versus personal sources, or the centrality the respondent occupies in an interpersonal communication network, to be added and tested as further mediators of information input. Moreover, the model can be expanded to test the effect of higher order (complex) interactions among information control components.

At an operational level, the present study suggests information use or control criteria which can be used to identify politically effective low income blacks. Too, it suggests methods to detect how

the mass media might be used to disseminate political and civic self-help information. For example, one effectiveness measure of media programs which promote civic and self-help knowledge would be the extent to which they displaced strictly entertainment content and increased their own audience (selectivity). For organizations, the study suggests that by increasing the group participation opportunities of the ghetto resident (diversity) political activity will likely also be enhanced. Also for organizations, we have found evidence which contradicts the "compensatory" theory that black voluntary organizations serve a politically dysfunctional use. However, the importance of media credibility and political conversation contacts to political effectiveness remains questionable, since there is little intuitive reason to see these factors as more causal than a product of political effectiveness.

Suggestions for Future Work

Given the restraints of the present study and the general lack of communication-poverty research, it is a near understatement to suggest that much additional work remains. However, in terms of what this study suggests, there are several areas worthy of particular attention.

Previously, we outlined a causal or time order process model, but were unable to test it within the scope of one-time-only sampling and a correlational analysis. This restriction left us with only the ability to support causal relationships on an intuitive or theoretical basis, not an operational one. A study design to make operational conclusions of a causal nature must measure at least at two time points in an ongoing process to show that "cause" preceded "result" in time

order. Chaffee (1970), for example, employed a "cross-lagged" correlational method comparing data taken six months apart to demonstrate the effect of selective media use upon political activity and knowledge at election time a half-year later. This method could be used in much the same manner to test the causal sequence of other information control characteristics.

The list of information control variables considered in the present study could well be expanded to include others. For example, the ghetto resident's centrality in the interpersonal communication network which surrounds him may well influence how well in touch he is with prevailing political opinion and activity. The kinds of individuals selected by the inner city black community as opinion leaders and how they affect political activity in this setting also needs investigation. Do residents tend to heed highly vocal militants, are they attracted by the opinions of successful middle class blacks, or do they prefer individuals like themselves? What aspects of political life do the opinion leaders easily effect and what matters are relatively immune to their advice? More, too, needs to be known about how inner city residents verify rumors and other questionable political information. Are friends and neighbors called upon, is verification sought from the mass media, or is inaction the most probably result?

Higher order interactions of information control variables also need more attention. In the framework of the present study, for example, credibility of the information source may have a positive consequence for political effectiveness only when it is preceded by diverse and selective selection of the information input. Attaching high credibility to information poorly chosen and of dubious political

value could well harm one's ability to cope politically. The version
of credibility employed in this study--perceived racial fairness--
since it does not consider the expertise of the source would be partic-
ularly vulnerable to this situation.

With little doubt, political effectiveness measures need further
refinement, particularly in the construction of instruments suitable
for low income, non-white populations. In the present study, for
example, black militancy was not directly tapped. Existing scales
also need clarification in terms of their dimensional structure.
Too often, indices like political efficacy bear nearly total operational
overlap with conceptually different indices such as dogmatism, control,
fatalism, self-esteem, alienation and anomia. Different political
effectiveness measures, other than traditional attitudinal Likert
techniques should be considered as well, such as hypothetical problem
solving situations in which the respondent is asked to find solutions
to common, troublesome political problems (see Mathiason, 1970).
Behavioral inventories (like the political activity scale used in
the present study) could be expanded to look intensively at involvement
in a greater range of inner city activities, such as the nature of
civil rights activities one engages in (as opposed to simply some
kind of political activity). Steps such as this, while they run the
risk of making scales less useful among diverse comparison populations,
offer promise of better sensitivity to ghetto political behavior differ-
ences. Also, part of any effort to increase scale sensitivity would
have to critically review the middle class political biases and assump-
tions which may be present in existing scales, and undertake an effort
to better find out the characteristics of ghetto political _savoir-faire_.

Behaviors and methods generally shunned in middle class political circles might well epitomize effectiveness in the inner city political environment.

Research also might direct attention toward points of discrepancy or breakdown between outside information sources which serve the black inner city and the inner city resident. One possible method to accomplish this is the coorientation paradigm used by Grunig (1970) to show discrepancies between black low income residents and a government housing agency. In this instance the method showed differences in outlook towards common problems and assessed how well each party involved understood the feelings and outlook of the other.

Finally, little attention has been directed toward message strategies which will increase political effectiveness. Indeed, the present study as well as the bulk of poverty-communication research is concerned with field descriptions of the status quo. Far greater research effort must be directed toward experimental designs which will isolate methods capable of holding interest and motivating greater levels of effective inner city political behavior. Which agencies, persons or media hold most promise for this kind of task, and what are the most visible and effective kinds of programs to promote political interest--for what kinds of problems? How expensive are they? How will effective methods be guarded from abusive use? All are questions of growing importance as one moves from description to experimentation with alternative communication strategies. Indeed, potential questions easily outweigh answers and will do so increasingly as more is known of inner city communication and political activity.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Letter of introduction handed to respondents prior to onset of the interview.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY EAST LANSING · MICHIGAN 48823

COLLEGE OF COMMUNICATION ARTS · DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATION

July 1969

This is to introduce _____,

an official interviewer for Michigan State

University. We are conducting an opinion

study in Cleveland. If you have any questions,

please call the Michigan State University

Cleveland headquarters at Holiday Inn, 3614

Euclid Ave. (phone 432-1130).

Mack Clemmons & Associates, Inc.
M.S.U. Survey Project

APPENDIX B

Sample selection and not-at-home household replacement procedures.

1. An initial sample frame was compiled according to the criteria outlined in Chapter II.

2. Within this frame, initially 40 blocks were randomly selected.

3. Household selection on a given block proceeded in the following manner:

   a. A team of interviewers listed all households on a given block.

   b. This total less 15 homes was divided by 5 to yield the number of households which should be skipped between each of the five household clusters of three homes.

   c. A corner of a given block was randomly selected as a starting point and a value within the range of 1 to the skip interval was selected as the starting house of the first cluster to be interviewed. Interviewers proceeded around the block after the travelling direction (clockwise or counterclockwise) was randomly determined, counting off homes sequentially until the start household of the first cluster was reached. Interviewers were instructed to secure respondents at the next two adjacent households in the cluster. Using the skip interval to count off homes between clusters, the interviewers proceeded around the block until they had completed interviews at the 15 listed addresses.

   d. Ideally, had every selected household in each cluster responded, only ten interviews or 3 1/3 clusters per block would have been necessary. However, the high rate of vacant homes or "not-at-home" respondents made it necessary for interviewers to utilize the full 15 households listed for each block.

   e. These 5 extra replacement respondents per block were not adequate to meet the non-response rate. Consequently, five extra blocks (PSU's) which had been randomly drawn into the original sample were used to secure additional subjects.

   f. Both of these replacement procedures were not enough to compensate for non-responses. Further, it was necessary to screen out several blocks from the original sample due to urban renewal and the presence of clearly upper income families. Consequently,

a second sample, lying entirely within the frame of the first was selected. The frame for the second sample constituted a much more confined area limited to the most crowded, low income blocks. A map of the first and second sample frames and sample blocks selected is contained in Appendix I.

g. Procedures in securing households were the same in the second sample.

APPENDIX C

Copy of the complete questionnaire used in the present study. The
television log shown on the second page was changed each day of inter-
viewing to correspond to programs aired the day before, the period
for which television viewing was sampled.

Person contact sheets found near the middle of the questionnaire were
used for up to six contacts the respondent had indicated talking to
the previous day.

1/

1. We'd like to start by asking you some things about television. First, what are your favorite TV shows?

> TAKE DOWN ALL SPECIFIC NAMES OF TV SHOWS. GET SPECIFIC NAMES, NOT CATEGORIES OF SHOWS. PROBE WITH: "ARE THERE ANY MORE?" TO OBTAIN AT LEAST THREE SHOWS.

1) ____________________ 4) ____________________

2) ____________________ 5) ____________________

3) ____________________ 6) ____________________

2. How many television sets that work do you have in your home?

_____ NONE (0)

_____ # of working sets (1-8)

What channels are you able to watch on your TV set? /CIRCLE ANSWERS BUT DO NOT READ LIST BELOW/

3 WKYC (NBC) 5 WEWS (ABC) 8 WJW (CBS)

25 WVIZ (NET) 43 WUAB 61 WKBF

Others: ____________________

3. We'd like to know what programs or shows you watched on television yesterday. Did you watch TV at all yesterday?

_____ NO (00.00)

/GO TO QUESTION 4/

_____ YES (00.25-24.00)

I have a list here of all the shows that were on TV yesterday. Did you watch any TV yesterday morning? When did you start watching TV?

> USE THE TV SCHEDULE. CIRCLE ALL SHOWS WHICH RESPONDENT WATCHED YESTERDAY MORNING. USING SAME QUESTION FORMAT, CONTINUE THROUGH YESTERDAY AFTERNOON AND THEN YESTERDAY EVENING

Channel 43
PORTRAIT OF A SINNER
8:30 TONIGHT

		WKYC-3 NBC 696-1100	WEWS-5 ABC 432-1500	WJW-8 CBS 861-6080	WAKR-23 ABC 1-762-8811	WVIZ-25 NET 398-2800	WUAB 43 UAB 845-6043	WKBF-61 KAISER 486-4000
7	:00	Today		CBS News				
	:15	"; News		"				
	:30	"		"				
	:45	"		News., Wea.				
8	:00	"	Clubhouse	Captain				
	:15	"; News	"	Kangaroo				
	:30	"	Cartoon	"				
	:45	"	Time	"				
9	:00	Mike	Uncle	Cartoons				
	:15	Douglas	Al	"				
	:30	"	Romper	Hillbillies	Cartoons			
	:45	"	Room	"	"			
10	:00	"	Paige	Love of	Jack			
	:15	"	Palmer	Life	LaLanne			
	:30	Concentrate	Graham	Edge of	Women's			
	:45	"	Kerr	Night	Page			
11	:00	Personality	Joan	Andy	"			
	:15	"	Rivers	Griffith●	"			
	:30	Hollywood	That	Dick	Ann			Jack
	:45	Squares	Girl	Van Dyke●	Sothern			LaLanne
12	:00	Jeopardy	Bewitched	City	Bewitched		Bugs and	Cartoons
	:15	"	"	Camera	"		Friends	"
	:30	Eye Guess	News	Search for	That		Under	"
	:45	"; News	Fuldheim	Tomorrow	Girl		Dog	"
1	:00	It Takes	Dream	Divorce	Dream		Lucy	Movie
	:15	Two	House	Court	House		"	"Private
	:30	Putting	Make	World	Make		Farmer's	Affairs of
	:45	Me On	a Deal	Turns	a Deal		Daughter●	Bel Ami"
2	:00	Our	Newlywed	Splendored	Newlywed		Movie●	"
	:15	Lives	Game	Thing	Game		"Monsoon"	"
	:30	Doctors	Dating	Guiding	Dating		"	"
	:45	"	Game	Light	Game		"	"
3	:00	Another	General	Adventure	General		"	Mr.
	:15	World	Hospital	Road	Hospital		"	Ed●
	:30	Don't Say	One Life	"	One Life		Bugs and	Capt.
	:45	"	To Live	"	to Live		Friends	Cleveland
4	:00	Match Game	Dark	House	Dark		"	"
	:15	"; News	Shadows	Party	Shadows		"	"
	:30	Movie	Password	Steve	Greatest		Astro	5th
	:45	"About	"	Allen	Show	Giant●	Boy●	Man●
5	:00	Face"	What's	"	Three	Film	Speed	Dennis●
	:15	"	My Line	"	Lives●	"	Racer	"
	:30	"	D. Fuldheim	"	Spts., Wea.,	Misterogers●	Batman	Flintstones
	:45	"	Spts.; Zames	"	News	"	"	"
6	:00	NBC	David	City	Frank	Yoga●	Gidget	Martian
	:15	Newsday	Frost	Camera	Reynolds	"	"	"
	:30	"	"	CBS News	Lone	Evans-Novak	Patty	F Troop●
	:45	"	"	"	Ranger●	"	Duke●	"
7	:00	"	"	Truth	Cisco	Circle	Gilligan's	Lucy●
	:15	"	"	, Consequences	Kid	"	Island	"
	:30	High	Make	Wild	Make	Insight●	I	Pay
	:45	Chaparral	a Deal	West	a Deal	"	Spy	Cards
8	:00	"	Run	"	Summer	NET	"	Perry
	:15	"	For	"	Focus	Festival●	"	Mason●
	:30	Name Of	Your	Gomer	"	"Double	Movie●	"
	:45	Game	Life	Pyle	"	Concerto"	"Portrait of	"
9	:00	"	Football	Movie●	Football	Sound of	A Sinner"	Allen
	:15	"	Preview	"Man in	Preview	Summer	"	Ludden
	:30	"	Football	The Middle"	Football	"Boston	"	"
	:45	"	All-Star	"	All-Star	Pops"	"	"
10	:00	Saint	Game	"	Game	"	"	News; Wea.
	:15	"	"	"	"	"	"	Sports
	:30	"	"	"	"	"	Unt'chables●	Ludden
	:45	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
11	:00	Dominic	"	Adair, Ross	News	Sign Off	"	Step
	:15	Wea.; Graner	"	God'd, Martin	Wea.; Spts.		"	Beyond●
	:30	Carson	"	Nixon	Joey		Movie●	Movie●
	:45	"	"	Special	Bishop		"	"

All programs are subject to change.

FRIDAY
AUG. 1

NEXT PAGE FOR SELECTIONS

MOVIE PAGES: 27, 28 30

PERRY MASON

FRIDAY, AUGUST 1, 1969 5

4. How often do you talk with other people about TV shows.....*(READ RESPONSES)*

   1 ___ never
   2 ___ once in a while
   3 ___ couple times a week
   4 ___ everyday

5. Do you watch the same TV shows every week or do you skip around to different ones? Which would you say.....*(READ RESPONSES)*

   5 ___ never skip around
   4 ___ skip around occasionally
   3 ___ skip around some of the time
   2 ___ skip around most of the time

6. Let me ask you about news programs on television. In general, how often do you watch news programs on TV.....*(READ RESPONSES)*

   1 ___ less than once a week
   2 ___ about once a week
   3 ___ every few days
   4 ___ one news program a day
   5 ___ more than two a day

7. In general, do you think the ads on TV tell the truth.....*(READ RESPONSES)*

   4 ___ all of the time
   3 ___ most of the time
   2 ___ some of the time
   1 ___ not too often

8. How often do you buy things advertised on TV that you want to buy? Would you say.....*(READ RESPONSES)*

   4 ___ all of the time
   3 ___ most of the time
   2 ___ some of the time
   1 ___ not too often

9. Some people feel that blacks aren't treated fairly on television; others think they are. What do you think—are blacks treated fairly on TV.....*(READ RESPONSES)*

   5 ___ all of the time
   4 ___ most of the time
   3 ___ some of the time
   2 ___ rarely
   1 ___ never

Can you tell me how you think blacks are treated unfairly on television? *(PROBE: ANYTHING ELSE?) (RECORD VERBATIM)*

_____

_____

10. Now, let me ask you about radio. On an ordinary day, about how many hours do you listen to the radio? *(READ IF NECESSARY)*

   ___ Never listen to radio (01.00)

   ___ hours a day (00.25-24.00)

Do you have a favorite radio station—one that you listen to most of the time? *(READ RESPONSES)*

   1 ___ no
   2 ___ yes

Do you think the shows on this station are mainly specially for blacks? *(READ RESPONSES)*

   1 ___ none of them are for blacks
   2 ___ some of them
   3 ___ most of them
   4 ___ all of them

In general, how often do you listen to news programs on radio? *(READ RESPONSES)*

   1 ___ less than once a week
   2 ___ about once a week
   3 ___ every few days
   4 ___ one news program a day
   5 ___ two news programs a day
   6 ___ more than two a day

Go to QUESTION 11

11. Now we'd like to know a little about the people you talk to. Let's say you wanted to get some information about buying a TV set. Where would you go or who would you talk to for information about buying a TV set? *PEOPLE OUTSIDE THIS "HOUSEHOLD"?*

ITEM	WHERE WOULD YOU GO OR WHO WOULD YOU TALK TO FOR INFORMATION?
Buying a TV set	
Getting a car loan	
Finding a new place to live	
Finding the best place to buy groceries	

12. How many people living on this block or across the street have you talked with in the last week? *ASK A NUMBER ANSWER*

_____ people (00-98)

13. How many close friends do you have that you have talked with in the last week? *ASK A NUMBER ANSWER* *IF RESPONDENT TELLS ANYONE IN THE HOUSEHOLD, SAY "WOULD YOU CALL ___ ONE OF YOUR CLOSE FRIENDS."*

_____ people (00-98)

---

14. How many relatives who don't live with you do you see or talk to almost every week? *ASK A NUMBER ANSWER*

_____ people (00-98)

15. Do you work at a job?
 1 no   2 yes

On the usual workday, about how many people do you talk to on the job more than just to say "hello"? *ASK A NUMBER ANSWER*

_____ people (00-98)

About how many blocks or miles is it from your home to the place where you work? *ASK A NUMBER ANSWER*

_____ blocks or _____ miles

16. Do friends, neighbors, or relatives come to your home to visit? *(NO ANSWER?)*
 0 no   yes

About how often does this happen?
 1 less than once a month
 2 about once a month
 3 about once every two weeks
 4 once a week
 5 couple times a week
 6 almost everyday or more often

17. In the past week, about how many people did you talk with about politics, neighborhood problems, civil rights....things like that? *ASK A NUMBER ANSWER*

_____ people (00-98)

18. When talking to people about politics, neighborhood problems, or civil rights, how much do you talk? *READ RESPONSES*
 1 not at all
 2 hardly at all
 3 a little
 4 quite a bit
 5 a lot

6/

19. Is there anyone you like to talk to about politics, neighborhood problems or civil rights?

1 no → GO TO SECTION 20

2 yes

INTERVIEWER WHEN MORE THAN ONE PERSON, ASK ABOUT INDIVIDUAL HELPS TO PERSON R TALKS TO MOST.

Think about the one person you talk to most about politics... what kinds of things do you usually talk about with this person? [PROBE: ANYTHING ELSE?]

Is this person.... [CHECK]
___ someone who lives in your house
___ someone you consider a relative
___ a relative
___ a member of an organization you belong to

Does this person work or have a job?

1 ___ no   2 ___ yes
What kind of job does this person have and what kind of place does he work at?

Kind of job _____

Kind of place _____

Does this person work at the same place you work?

1 ___ no   2 ___ yes

About how many blocks or miles is it from your home to where this person lived? [ASK FOR A LIKELY RESPONSE]

_____ blocks   OR   _____ miles

Let me check....is this person male or female?
1 ___ male
2 ___ female

Is this person black, Mexican, white or what?
1 ___ black
2 ___ Mexican or Puerto Rican
3 ___ white
4 ___ Indian (American)
5 ___ Oriental
6 ___ other

2/

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20. Some people read a newspaper everyday, others don't because they get their news from radio or TV. About how often do you read a newspaper? [READ RESPONSES]

1 ___ never → GO TO QUESTION 21
2 ___ less than once a week
3 ___ 1-2 times a week
4 ___ 3-4 times a week
5 ___ 5-6 times a week
6 ___ everyday

What are the parts of the newspaper that you read? [PROBE: ANY OTHERS THAT YOU READ?]

_____

What parts of the newspaper do you read regularly---every time you read a newspaper?

HAND IN SUBSTANCE OF INTEREST, LIKE COMICS, SPORTS, FRONT PAGE, LOCAL NEWS, ETC. PROBE SEVERAL TIMES UNTIL WHAT THEY GET OF INTEREST OF NEWSPAPER READING.

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

21. In general, do you think the ads in your newspaper tell the truth all of the time, most of the time, some of the time, or rarely?

```
4  all of the time
3  most of the time
2  some of the time
1  rarely
```

22. Do you read any newspapers or magazines that are mostly about blacks?

```
yes(1-8)
         Can you tell me the names of these newspapers
         and magazines? (REPEAT: ARE THERE ANY OTHERS?)
         _____
         _____
         _____

no (0) ──► [GO TO QUESTION 24]
```

23. Some people say that blacks aren't fairly treated in the regular daily newspaper, others think they are. What do you think....are blacks treated fairly in the regular daily newspaper....(GIVE THEM CHOICES)

```
4  all of the time
3  most of the time
2  some of the time
1  never
         Can you tell me how you think blacks are treated unfairly
         in the daily newspaper? (PROBE: AREN'T THERE ANY WAYS THEY
         LIVE IN SAY?)
         _____
         _____

[GO TO QUESTION 24]
```

24. We'd like you to think about all the people you talked to on the phone or in person yesterday.

Who did you talk to yesterday morning? We don't want to know exact names but we'd like a list of all the different people you talked to yesterday morning.

[START WITH MORNING AND GO THROUGH THE REST OF THE DAY. FOLLOW INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN BELOW. PROBE AT EACH TIME PERIOD. PROBE THROUGHOUT WITH "ANYONE ELSE?"]

	CONTACT #	IDENTIFICATION	Does this person live in this household?	
			yes	no
MORNING				
AFTERNOON				
EVENING				

NOW, we'd like to know a little more about these people. Let's start with the first person you listed for yesterday morning.....

[START FILLING IN CONTACT SHEETS....FOR EACH PERSON LISTED TRY TO DOES NOT LIVE WITH RESPONDENT. FILL OUT CONTACT SHEETS FOR A MAXIMUM OF SIX PEOPLE. FOLLOW INSTRUCTIONS FROM TRAINING SESSION.]

PERSON CONTACT SHEET   CONTACT # _____

1. Let me double check, is this person male or female?
   1 ___ male
   1 ___ female

2. When you talked to him (her) yesterday, what did you talk about?
   [PROBE: ANYTHING ELSE?]

3. Where were you when you talked to him (her)? [CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY]

   1   at own home   5   at bar
   2   at other person's home   6   at barber's/beauty salon
   3   at work   7   out on street
   4   out shopping   8   somewhere else

4. Is this person...? [CHECK]

   ___ someone you consider a friend
   ___ a relative
   ___ a member of an organization you belong to

5. Does this person work or have a job?

   1   no   2   yes

   What kind of job does this person have and what
   kind of place does he work at?

   Kind of job: _____
   Kind of place: _____

   Does this person work at the same place you work?

   1   no   2   yes

6. About how many blocks or miles is it from your home to where this person lives?
   [GET A SINGLE ANSWER]

   _____ blocks   or   _____ miles

7. Is this person black, 'Mexican, white, or what?

   1   black
   2   Mexican or Puerto Rican
   3   White
   4   Indian (American)
   5   Oriental
   6   other

PERSON CONTACT SHEET   CONTACT #

1. Let me double check, is this person male or female?
   1 male
   2 female

2. When you talked to him (her) yesterday, what did you talk about?
   [PROBE: NOTHING ELSE?]

3. Where were you when you talked to him (her)? [DO NOT READ RESPONSES]
   1 at own home   5 at bar
   2 at other person's home   6 at barber's/beauty salon
   3 at work   7 out on street
   4 out shopping   8 somewhere else

4. Is this person...? [MARK V]
   ___ someone you consider a friend
   ___ a relative
   ___ a member of an organization you belong to

5. Does this person work or have a job?
   1 no   2 yes
                What kind of job does this person have and what
                kind of place does he work at?

                Kind of job:
                Kind of place:

                Does this person work at the same place you work?
                1 no   2 yes

6. About how many blocks or miles is it from your home to where this person lives?
   [GET A DEFINITE ANSWER]
   ___ blocks   or   ___ miles

7. Is this person black, Mexican, white, or what?
   1 black
   2 Mexican or Puerto Rican
   3 white
   4 Indian (American)
   5 Oriental
   6 other

PERSON CONTACT SHEET   CONTACT #_____

1. Let me double check, is this person male or female?

   1 ___ male
   2 ___ female

2. When you talked to him (her) yesterday, what did you talk about?
   /PROBE: ANYTHING ELSE?/
   _____

3. Where were you when you talked to him (her)? /DO YOU MEAN SOMEWHERE/

   1 ___ at own home   5 ___ at bar
   2 ___ at other person's home   6 ___ at barber's/beauty salon
   3 ___ at work   7 ___ out on street
   4 ___ out shopping   8 ___ somewhere else

4. Is this person....? /CHECK V/

   ___ someone you consider a friend
   ___ a relative
   ___ a member of an organization you belong to

5. Does this person work or have a job?

   1 ___ no   2 ___ yes
                    |
                    → What kind of job does this person have and what
                       kind of place does he work at?

                       Kind of job: _____
                       Kind of place: _____

                    Does this person work at the same place you work?

                       1 ___ no   2 ___ yes

6. About how many blocks or miles is it from your home to where this person lives?
   /GET A DEFINITE ANSWER/

   _____ blocks   or   _____ miles

7. Is this person black, Mexican, white, or what?

   1 ___ black
   2 ___ Mexican or Puerto Rican
   3 ___ white
   4 ___ Indian (American)
   5 ___ Oriental
   6 ___ other

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25. People say they watch TV for different reasons. For example.....

Why watch TV.....	Is this one of the reasons why you watch TV?	
	yes	no
They watch TV because it's exciting.	2	1
They watch TV because they can learn from the troubles of others.	2	1
They watch TV because it shows how other people solve the same problems they have.	2	1
They watch TV because it gives them life to it for them.	2	1
They watch TV because they have nothing better to do.	2	1
They watch TV because it keeps their minds off other things.	2	1
They watch TV because they can learn a lot.	2	1

26. Now, we'd like to ask you a few questions about the kinds of things you do, where you've been, and so on. When was the last time you.....?

...went outside this neighborhood			
...went outside Cleveland to visit			
...traveled to other parts of Ohio than the Cleveland area			
...traveled outside the state of Ohio			

27. Sometimes when we want help or information about something we need, we go to people we know. Are there any neighbors around here that you've gone to for help or information about something you've needed?

	Have you ever gone to ...?		(IF YES) How often have you gone to ___ for help or information?	
	no	yes	a lot	a little
...neighbors	1	→	3	2
...friends	1	→	3	2
...relatives not living with you	1	→	3	2
...preacher or pastor	1	→	3	2
...teacher	1	→	3	2
...civil rights leader or black leader	1	→	3	2
...lawyer or legal aid society	1	→	3	2
...doctor	1	→	3	2
...public housing	1	→	3	2
...social worker, case worker, or welfare department worker	1	→	3	2
...someone you've worked with on a job	1	→	3	2
...public health or dental clinic	1	→	3	2

28. Do you think using credit for buying things on time is a good idea or a bad idea? /DO NOT READ RESPONSES/

3 good idea
2 so-so, depends, both
1 bad idea

29. Do you think borrowing money to buy things is a good idea or a bad
    idea? /DO NOT READ CATEGORIES/

    ___ 1 good idea
    ___ 2 good and bad, both
    ___ 3 bad idea

30. Say you wanted to borrow $200. Where could you go to borrow it?
    Please name all the places you know of to borrow $200.

    /DO NOT LIST ANY PLACE BEFORE RESPONDENT. CHECK (X) ALL PLACES NAMED.
    IF R NAMES ESPECIALLY GENERAL PLACE, PROBE WITH "CAN YOU TELL ME ABOUT
    THIS PLACE...WHAT KIND OF PLACE IS IT?" PROBE: "ANYPLACE ELSE?"/

    ___ bank (or savings and loan)
    ___ credit union
    ___ finance (or loan) company
    ___ friend or neighbor
    ___ by pawning something
    ___ relative

31. Say you wanted to buy a TV set on time or on credit. Where could you
    get it? Please name all the places you know of to buy a TV set on credit.

    /DO NOT LIST ANY PLACE BEFORE RESPONDENT. CHECK (X) ALL PLACES NAMED.
    IF R NAMES ESPECIALLY GENERAL PLACE, PROBE WITH "CAN YOU TELL ME ABOUT
    THIS PLACE...WHAT KIND OF PLACE IS IT?" PROBE: "ANYPLACE ELSE?"/

    ___ door-to-door salesman
    ___ department store
    ___ discount store

32. Do you have charge accounts at any stores?

    ___ yes
    ___ no (0)
                At how many stores do you have charge
                accounts? /ASK R TO NAME STORES/

                ___ stores (1-8)

33. If you wanted to get some information about borrowing money—to find
    out where to borrow, how much to borrow, or about interest—where would you ask or where
    would you go for information? /PROBE FOR DETAIL/

    Information sources | Have you ever gone to this person
                             | (or other) for information on
                             | borrowing money?
                             | No | Yes
    _____ |_____|_____
    _____ |_____|_____
    _____ |_____|_____
    _____ |_____|_____
    _____ |_____|_____

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34. I'm going to read a list of places where people borrow money or buy
    things on credit...a bank, a credit union, a finance company, and a
    department store.

    QUESTION BELOW:
      WHICH OF THESE PLACES WOULD GIVE YOU THE BEST DEAL? /ASK Q/
      WHICH WOULD GIVE THE WORST DEAL?
      OF THE TWO LEFT, WHICH WOULD GIVE THE BEST DEAL? /ASK Q/

    USE SAME FORMAT FOR EACH QUESTION BELOW.

	Bank	Credit Union	Finance or Loan Company	Department Store
Which would GIVE THE BEST DEAL—CHOOSE THE LEAST RISKY FOR BORROWING OR BUYING ON CREDIT? Best deal=rank #1 Worst deal=rank #4 Of the two left, best deal=rank #2				
Which would BE HARDEST ON YOU WHEN YOU CAN'T MAKE PAYMENTS? Hardest=rank #1 Easiest=rank #4 Of the two left, hardest= rank #2				
Which would BE FRIENDLIEST TO YOU IN GENERAL? Most friendly=rank #1 Least friendly=rank #4 Of the two left, friendliest=rank #2				
Which would be EASIEST TO GET CREDIT FROM? Easiest=rank #1 Hardest=rank #4 Of the two left, easiest= rank #2				

35. What's most important to you in choosing a place to buy something on
    credit or borrow money? Would you want that place to be.... /ASK Q/
    /READ LIST BELOW/

    ___ Friendly to you in general
    ___ Easy on you when you can't make payments
    ___ Have a good deal—charge less for borrowing
    ___ Easy to get credit from

    Which of these things would be most important to you? /ASK Q/
    Which of these things would be least important to you? /ASK Q/
    Of the two left, which would be most important? /ASK Q/

36. How much do you think the following places would charge you to borrow $200 for one year so you could buy a TV set?

How much would a ____ charge for borrowing $200 for one year?	RF/DK	Answer
...a bank		
...a credit union		
...a finance or loan company		
...a department store		

37. We'd like to ask you some questions about how you've borrowed money in the past. Your answers will help us know how much...and your answers will be put against and combined with those from lots of other people. Have you ever borrowed money from any of the following places?

	no	yes	About how many times have you borrowed money from ____ in the last 3 years?
...a bank or savings & loan		→	
...a credit union		→	
...a finance or loan company		→	
...friend or neighbor		→	
...pawnbroker		→	
...a relative		→	

38. Have you ever bought anything on credit...on time...from the following places?

	no	yes	About how many times have you bought anything on credit from ____ in the last 3 years?
...a door-to-door salesman		→	
...a department store		→	
...a discount store		→	

39. Now I'm going to read some things people say about TV. Tell me if you think these things are true or not true.

	DO YOU THINK THIS IS TRUE OR NOT TRUE?	
	True	Not True
Your favorite TV shows tell about life the way it really is.	2	1
The people in your favorite TV shows are like people you meet in real life.	2	1
The same things that happen to people on TV often happen to you in real life.	2	1
Families on your favorite TV shows are pretty much like families you see in real life.	2	1

40. Say you wanted to find a job for someone. Where would you go or who would you talk to for information? FREE ON EACH ITEM. "PROBE DEEPLY"

ITEM	WHERE WOULD YOU GO OR WHO WOULD YOU ASK TO FOR INFORMATION? PROBE: ANYONE ELSE?
Finding a job	
Buying a stove	
Finding a good doctor for yourself	

43. Is there anyone you go to to talk about these kinds of problems—problems with landlords, bill collectors, or taxes...or problems getting financial help?

```
1 ___ no        2 ___ yes
|                |
GO TO QUESTION   IF RESPONDENT NAMES MORE THAN ONE PERSON, ASK FOR
#44              INFORMATION BELOW ON PERSON S/HE TALKS TO MOST

                 What kinds of things 'n you usually talk about with this
                 person? (PROBE: ANYTHING ELSE?)
                 _____

                 Is this person.../CHECK (X)/
                 _____
                    someone who lives in your house
                    someone you consider a friend
                    a relative
                    a member of an organization you belong to

                 Does this person work or have a job?
                 1 ___ no    2 ___ yes
                  |               |
                  |          What kind of job does this person have and
                  |          what kind of places does he work at?
                  |
                  |          Kind of job: _____
                  |
                  |          Kind of place: _____
                  |
                  |          Does this person work at the same place you work?
                  |          1 ___ no    2 ___ yes
                  |
                  > About how many blocks or miles is it from your home to where
                    this person lives? /ASK FOR EITHER ANSWER/

                    _____ blocks    OR    _____ miles

                 Let me check...is this person male or female?

                    2 ___ male
                    1 ___ female

                 Is this person black, Mexican, white, or what?

                    1 ___ black
                    2 ___ Mexican or Puerto Rican
                    3 ___ white
                    4 ___ Indian (American)
                    5 ___ Oriental
                    6 ___ Other
```

44. Now, we'd like to ask you about some of the groups you belong to.

	Do you now belong to:		What is the name(s) of the group(s) you belong to?
	No	Yes	
A sports team or league?		↑	
A social group or fraternity, like Masons, Eastern Star?		↑	
A school organization, like the PTA?		↑	
A church group?		↑	
A political party or organization, or street club?		↑	
A civil rights or community action group, like NAACP?		↑	
A union or work organization?		↑	
A home owners or neighborhood group?		↑	

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45. Are there any shows in particular you're planning to watch on TV tonight?

_____

46. Are there any TV shows you usually talk about when you're with other people?

_____

47. Now, we have a few questions about politics. Some people spend a lot of time on political activities while others don't have time.

Can you tell me the last time you voted? _____

What was the election about? _____

	no	yes
...did you vote in the last presidential election?	1	2
...during the presidential election last November, did you watch the election returns on TV?	1	2
...have you ever worked with anybody to get the city to improve conditions in your neighborhood?	1	2
...have you ever written or gone to see the mayor, governor, or other public officials?	1	2
...have you ever campaigned for a politician ...talked to people to get support for a political candidate?	1	2
...have you ever participated in marches, sit-ins, or other kinds of demonstrations for civil rights?	1	2

48. If a friend or member of your family was picked up by the police for something he didn't do, could you see someone or do something to get your friend out of trouble or what? /PROBE: ANYTHING ELSE?/

_____

49. What is some friends of yours needed help pretty bad—the man is out of work and the children are hungry. Is there anything you would do about it....that is, could you see someone or do something to get your friend out of trouble...or what? /PROBE: ANYTHING ELSE?/

_____

50. Here are some ways people say blacks can get more civil rights.....
/READ LIST..../
  ___ government passing new laws
  ___ cooperation among blacks
  ___ marches and demonstrations

Which of these do you feel is the BEST WAY for blacks to get more civil rights? /RANK #1/

Which of these do you feel is the WORST WAY for blacks to get more civil rights? /RANK #3/

51. In general, do you think rioting has helped blacks, hurt them, or what? /DO NOT READ RESPONSES/

  3 ___ helped them
  2 ___ both
  1 ___ hurt them

22/

52. Now, I'd like to ask your opinion about a number of things. There are no right or wrong answers to these questions. We'd like to know what you think.

	DO YOU AGREE OR...		DO YOU DISAGREE	
	a lot	a little	a little	a lot
Effective leaders usually get the right things.	4	3	2	1
Sometimes government is so complicated people can't really decide what's going on.	4	3	2	1
People's troubles result from the mistakes they make.	1	2	3	4
These days it's hard to know who to count on.	4	3	2	1
Most people just don't give a "darn" for others.	4	3	2	1
The police courts are unfair to people in this neighborhood.	4	3	2	1
The only way you can know that's going on is to rely on leaders who can be trusted.	4	3	2	1
The present is all too often full of unhappiness.	4	3	2	1
Getting the good things in life has a lot to do with luck.	4	3	2	1
You worry about what other people think of you.	1	2	3	4

53. Now, I'd like to ask you about some people in the news. Can you tell me who the governor of this state is?

___ NA/DK   Answer: ___

54. Can you tell me the name of the congressman in Washington elected by people in your home area?

___ NA/DK   Answer: ___

55. Can you tell me the name of one of your Senators in Washington?

___ NA/DK   Answer: ___

56. To what political party did President Franklin Roosevelt belong?

___ NA/DK   Answer: ___

23/

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57. Finally, we'd like to ask a few questions about you and your family. How long have you lived in this city?

___ years (00-98)

58. How many different addresses have you lived at in this city?

___ different addresses (00-98)

59. Where were you born...in what state?

___ name of state

60. When you were a child, where did you live most of the time -- in a farming or rural area, small town, or suburb or city?

3 ___ in a city or suburb
2 ___ in a small town
1 ___ in a farming or rural area

61. What was the last grade you finished in grade school or high school?

___ grade (00-20)

AT GRADE 12? Have you had any college?

___ no   ___ yes
How many years of college did you finish?
___ years

62. Have you had any other kinds of schooling or job training?

___ no   ___ yes
What kind of schooling or job training?

GO TO QUESTION 63

How many years of this training did you complete?

___ months   ___ years

68. What is your age?

```
1 ___ 18-20 years
2 ___ 21-30 years
3 ___ 31-40 years
4 ___ 41-50 years
5 ___ 51-60 years
6 ___ 61 or more years
```

INTERVIEWER PLEASE INDICATE WHETHER RESPONDENT IS:

```
2 ___ male
1 ___ female
```

63. How many adults (including yourself) live in this house or apartment?

___ adults (00-15)

64. How many children (under 18 years old) live in this house or apartment?

___ children (00-15)

65. Would you list for me, please, all the people who live in this house or apartment?

PEOPLE LIVING IN HOUSE OR APARTMENT	WHICH OF THESE PEOPLE HAVE JOBS?(YES/NO)	What kind of job does he (she) have—and what kind of place does he (she) work at? (CHECK (X))	
		Kind of job	Kind of place
	→		
	→		
	→		
	→		
	→		
	→		

66. In the past year has your family—the people living in this house (or apartment) received any money from... (CHECK (X))

```
___ wages and salaries from jobs
___ unemployment compensation
___ social security
___ welfare
___ pension
___ rental income
```

67. Each week, about how much money does your family get from all sources?

$ ___ per week (000-200)

IF A FAMILY WEEKLY INCOME IN WEEKLY INCOME, PLEASE DETERMINE WHICH FIGURE IT (X) PROVIDE:

$ ___ every 2 weeks $ ___ every month $ ___ last year

APPENDIX D

Troldahl's Occupational Prestige Scale

The Troldahl scale is designed for coder use after the raw interview data has been collected. To make a judgment, a coder needs two pieces of information: (a) the kind of job the person has--the tasks he performs, and (b) the kind of place where the person works (e.g., a factory, an office, a restaurant, etc.). With this information, the coder makes a judgment of how much prestige the subject's job has in comparison with the list of jobs named on the scale. Each scale position has two jobs listed. The first indicates the top range of the scale interval; the second job indicates the bottom of the interval. To evaluate a person's occupational prestige, the coder starts at the bottom of the scale, asking himself for each interval if the person has more or less prestige than each job listed. In this manner, the coder is able to assign an individual a value corresponding to the prestige of his occupation in relation to the scale.

The occupational prestige scale is illustrated below:

12 = more prestige than a lawyer

11 = lawyer (sociology professor)

10 = assistant public school superintendent (aircraft instructor for the Air Force)

 9 = consulting chemical engineer (high school teacher)

 8 = sales engineer for electronic parts company (purchasing agent for electric company)

 7 = soil conservation worker (automotive cost account manager)

 6 = credit manager for an advertising service (cost estimator for a glass company)

 5 = rate clerk for a transportation company (offset photographer)

 4 = auto mechanic (salesman for thread company)

 3 = boiler operator in pickle factory (service station operator)

 2 = waitress (newsstand operator)

1 = <u>bean and berry picker</u> (garbage collector)

0 = less pretige than garbage collector

Individuals who were unemployed, retired, living on social security, on welfare, or a student were assigned the mean occupational prestige value for respondents in this population.

APPENDIX E

Zero order correlations between independent and control variables for major hypotheses discussed in Chapter III.

Hypothesis and Independent Variable	Correlation Coefficients Between Independent and Control Variables					Control variables showing significant (p .05) correlations with independent and dependent variables
	Education	Income	Age	Sex	Amount	
H_1: Diversity Interpersonal Contact	.001	.604	-.040	-.062	.025	None
H_2: Diversity Mass Media	.195*	.032	-.070	-.092	.578*	Education; Pol. Knowledge, Political Effectiveness; Amount Pol. Knowledge, Political Effectiveness
H_3: Diversity Organizational Activity	.068	.111*	.045		.065*	Age; Pol. Know., Pol. Activity, Political Effectiveness; Amount Pol. Know., Pol. Activity, Political Effectiveness
H_4: Mass Media Selectivity (TV News)	.007	.013	.062	.025	.095	None
H_5: Mass Media Selectivity (Print)	.101*	-.014	-.052	.016	.27*	Education; Pol. Knowledge, Pol. Activity; Amount Pol. Know., Pol. Activity, Political Effectiveness
H_6: Selectivity Organizations	.020	.067	-.043	-.225*	.386*	Education; Pol. Know., Pol. Efficacy, Political Efficacy; Amount Pol. Know., Pol. Know., Pol. Efficacy
H_7: Selectivity Interpersonal Contacts (Crucial)	-.192*	-.038	.466*	.233*	-.088	Sex; Pol. Know., Pol. Efficacy; Age; Pol. Know., Pol. Activity, Political Effectiveness; Education; Pol. Know., Pol. Activity, Political Effectiveness; Amount Political Efficacy
H_8: ... Credibility	.118*		-.200	-.010	-.146*	Sex; Pol. Know., Political Efficacy, Political Effectiveness; Amount Pol. Know., Political Activity, Political Effectiveness
H_9: Mass Media Credibility	-.690	.113*	-.126*	-.169*	-.139*	Sex; Pol. Know., Political Efficacy; Political Effectiveness; Amount Pol. Know., Political Activity; Political Effectiveness

Hypothesis and Dependent Variable	Correlation Coefficients Between Independent and Control Variables					Control variables showing significant (p .05) correlation with both independent and dependent variables[2]
	Education	Income	Age	Sex	Amount	
$H_8 = H_{10}[1]$ Sex; Above[1] and Amount (Ref) Interpersonal Contact	.122*	.038	.148*	.297*	—	Sex; Pol. Know., Political Activity, Political Effectiveness; Age; Pol. Know., Political Activity, Political Effectiveness; Education; Pol. Know., Political Effectiveness, Political Effectiveness
Amount Mass Media	.248*	.031	-.165*	-.015	—	Age; Pol. Know., Pol. Activity, Political Effectiveness; Education; Pol. Score, Political Effectiveness; Political Effectiveness
Amount, Organizational Participation	.057	.100*	.200*	-.035	—	Age; Pol. Activity, Pol. Activity, Political Effectiveness
Amount Mass Media (Events only)	.267*	.163*	-.047	-.015	—	Education; Political Knowledge, Political Effectiveness
Amount Mass Media (TV only)	-.013	-.103*	-.056	.176*	—	Sex; Political Knowledge, Political Efficacy

* p .05 or better

[1] For two factoral tests (e.g., the interaction hypotheses, $H_8 = H_{10}$), control variables which correlated with either independent variable and the dependent measures were considered in covariate analyses.

[2] The correlation of the dependent political effectiveness variables with control variables is presented in Appendix V.

APPENDIX F

Zero order correlation coefficients between dependent political effec-
tiveness variables and control variables.

Control Variables	Political Knowledge	Political Activity	Political Efficacy	Political Effectiveness
1. Years Formal Education	.195*	.083	.094	.192*
2. Weekly Income	.031	.048	−.043	−.013
3. Age in 10 year Intervals	.142*	.153*	.032	.169*
4. Sex[a]	.171*	−.024	−.133*	.007
5. Amount Organizational Membership	.163*	.465*	.019	.333*
6. Amount Interpersonal Contacts (experts and political conversation contacts)	−.013	.072	−.117*	−.030
7. Amount Mass Media (summary index)	.211*	.122*	−.076	.132*
8. Amount Mass Media (press only)	.218*	.113*	.046	.194*
9. Amount Mass Media (television only)	.005	.064	.018	.044

* = p .05 or better

[a]Positive correlation indicates characteristic related to males
to a greater degree, less by females. Negative correlation indicates
characteristic related to females to a greater degree, less by males.

APPENDIX G

Intercorrelation matrix of major independent and dependent variables.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)
Political Knowledge (1)	1.0																			
Political Activity Z (2)	.17	1.0																		
Political Efficacy Z (3)	.18	.04	1.0																	
Political Effectiveness Z (Summary Index) (4)	.69	.62	.63	1.0																
Diversity Interpersonal Contacts (5)	.03	.04	.03	.05	1.0															
Diversity Organizational Membership (6)	.15	.45	-.03	.29	.13	1.0														
Diversity Mass Media (7)	.29	.02	.02	.17	.16	.12	1.0													
Selectivity Interpersonal Contacts (8)	-.09	.01	-.02	-.05	.07	.03	.01	1.0												
Selectivity TV News (9)	.15	.14	.03	.16	-.03	.12	.03	-.08	1.0											
Selectivity Press News (10)	.22	-.05	.06	.12	.11	-.06	.19	-.08	-.01	1.0										
Selectivity Organizational Membership (11)	.03	.25	.00	.14	.03	.42	.01	.05	.02	.02	1.0									
Credibility Mass Media (12)	-.03	-.09	.26	.07	-.05	-.03	-.06	-.05	.01	-.01	-.04	1.0								
Amount Organizations (13)	.16	.47	.02	.33	.12	.97	.10	.04	.13	-.03	.39	.01	1.0							
Amount Interpersonal Contact (14)	-.01	.07	-.12	-.03	.03	.07	.10	-.07	-.07	-.02	-.05	-.16	.07	1.0						
Amount Black Publications (15)	.24	.04	-.06	.12	.14	.09	.50	-.10	-.02	.14	.07	-.25	.07	.12	1.0					
Amount General:Weekly Press (16)	.22	.11	.05	.19	.11	.10	.46	-.09	-.04	.27	.11	.02	.09	.09	.28	1.0				
Amount TV Time (17)	.00	.06	.02	.16	-.09	-.06	.00	.00	.10	.09	.09	.05	-.06	-.04	-.04	-.08	1.0			
Amount Audio Time (18)	-.03	.04	-.16	-.08	.10	.03	.20	.02	-.00	-.01	.04	-.09	.02	.10	.08	-.08	-.07	1.0		
Summary Z Amount Mass Media (19)	.21	.12	-.08	.13	.10	.09	.58	-.08	.01	.18	.15	-.14	.07	.15	.64	.62	.32	.52	1.0	
Proportion Political Conversation Contacts (20)	.11	.24	.01	.18	.07	.13	.01	.01	.14	.15	.27	-.09	.12	-.15	.09	.07	.07	.02	.11	1.0

APPENDIX H

Summary of analyses of variance used in H_8 through H_{10}. Degrees of freedom for each F ratio, other than "controls" is approximately df = 1/361. The appropriate degrees of freedom for controls is approximately 2/360.

Hypotheses	Source of Variation	F RATIO for: Political Knowledge	Political Activity	Political Efficacy	Political Effectiveness
H_8: Diversity X Amount Interpersonal Contacts					
no controls	Diversity IP Contacts	.215295	0.466472	0.040176	0.240188
	Amount IP Contact	.073214	1.813775	4.976778*(-)0.343023	
	Diversity X Amount	.000362	0.088192	1.102100	0.136991
controls	Diversity IP Contacts	0.005775	0.591997	0.064983	0.166196
	Amount IP Contact	1.848184	3.327599	2.456739	0.260992
	Diversity X Amount	0.242986	0.078908	0.942443	0.026220
	Controls	17.654702***	10.461480**	3.631266	20.886244***
Organizational Membership					
no controls	Diversity Orgs.	0.859655	0.004629	14.776768***	0.000000
	Amount Orgs.	0.700598	7.090740**	6.482406*	9.755712**
	Diversity X Amount	1.687874	0.660185	3.409054	1.732862
controls	Diversity Orgs.	0.530056	0.030612		5.578308*
	Amount Orgs.	0.235160	5.888218*		7.746231**
	Diversity X Amount	2.020793	0.553803		2.035594
	Controls	4.747826*	1.660482		3.893634
Mass Media Use					
no controls	Diversity Mass Media	14.658846***	0.084569	5.027707*	2.504713**
	Amount Mass Media	0.083101	0.446216	4.795933*	2.650586
	Diversity X Amount	0.315308	1.869807	2.949722	3.539622
controls	Diversity Mass Media	13.329026***	0.191440		7.360566**
	Amount Mass Media	0.180878	0.207489		3.478949
	Diversity X Amount	0.511197	1.676729		4.547311*
	Controls	16.041774***	11.875811***		19.966235***
H_9: Selectivity X Amount Interpersonal Contacts Experts					
no controls	Selectivity IP Experts	0.565996	0.000364	0.482605	0.000729
	Amount IP Contacts	0.523583	0.003276	1.973164	1.134257
	Selectivity X Amount	0.585740	0.038223	2.715766	1.291864
controls	Selectivity IP Experts	0.048467	0.066467	0.09?31	0.109305
	Amount IP Contacts	1.023198	0.023151	2.105420	2.116550
	Selectivity X Amount	1.349212	0.001493	2.647476	2.308317
	Controls	17.044324***	10.311739**	4.638379*	21.590816***
Interpersonal Contacts Political Convers. Contacts					
no controls	Selectivity Contacts	0.831125	4.730007*	0.150367	0.823840
	Amount IP Contacts	0.360191	0.071654	1.987560	3.138815
	Selectivity X Amount	1.302060	6.933558**	0.596691	2.296869
controls	Selectivity Contacts	0.290003	4.366556*	0.025621	2.030291
	Amount IP Contacts	1.050171	0.022436	2.741923	1.720388
	Selectivity X Amount	1.326871	6.91???**	0.610012	2.342135
	Controls	12.973?14***	?.?????	4.????	11.?????***

APPENDIX H (continued)

Summary of analyses of variance used in H_8 through H_{10}. Degrees of freedom for each F ratio, other than "controls" is approximately df = 1/361. The appropriate degrees of freedom for controls is approximately 2/360.

Hypotheses	Source of Variation	F RATIO for: Political Knowledge	Political Activity	Political Efficacy	Political Effectiveness
Organizations					
no controls	Selectivity Orgs.	3.147577	0.545920	3.514338	2.639337
	Amount Orgs.	0.266992	20.632107***	2.775367	2.473291
	Selectivity X Amount	2.767555	0.270909	5.452941*	5.942028*
controls	Selectivity Orgs.	2.711414	0.702247		2.219522
	Amount Orgs.	0.023132	17.796816***		1.385839
	Selectivity X Amount	3.056882	0.362827		6.419354**
	Controls	4.592718*	2.573033		5.209049
Mass Media (TV)					
no controls	Selectivity TV	8.854914**	7.561232**	0.289712	10.574095**
	Amount TV	18.161856***	6.229902*	1.189749	16.615713***
	Selectivity X Amount	0.637285	1.253944	0.431479	1.819136
controls	Selectivity TV				
	Amount TV				
	Selectivity X Amount	(controls not applicable)			
	Controls				
Mass Media (Press)					
no controls	Selectivity Press	18.764481***	0.723861	1.528192	5.715075*
	Amount Press	0.832698	0.511839	0.128595	1.047917
	Selectivity X Amount	0.872713	0.000000	0.027649	0.316625
controls	Selectivity Press	16.027843***			4.147092*
	Amount Press	0.516862			0.620729
	Selectivity X Amount	0.442352			0.079817
	Controls	10.877314**			12.237970***

H_{10}: Credibility X Mass Media Amount

no controls	Credibility MM	0.000000	2.325892	24.866874***	2.934423
	Amount Mass Media	0.471368	4.274925	0.284935	1.309293
	Credibility X Amount	0.257489	2.303571	0.100817	0.131508
controls	Credibility MM	0.077272	3.721153		2.330731
	Amount Mass Media	0.414462	5.313846*		1.213640
	Credibility X Amount	0.237190	2.536153		0.181594
	Controls	17.240032***	13.320769***		20.003647***

* = p .05
** = p .01
*** = p .001

APPENDIX I

Map of Sample Frames, Blocks Sampled, and Census Tracts Involved

CLEVELAND POVERTY STUDY
LEGEND:

APPENDIX I: Map of Sample Frames,
Blocks sampled, and Census
tracts involved

a ▢ BLOCKS IN ORIGINAL SURVEY SAMPLE WHICH WERE INTERVIEWED

b ▢ BLOCKS IN REPLACEMENT SAMPLE WHICH WERE INTERVIEWED

c ▨ OTHER NOT-INTERVIEWED BLOCKS IN REPLACEMENT FRAME

d ▥ BLOCKS SELECTED INTO ORIGINAL SAMPLE WHICH WERE REPLACED

e ▨ BLOCKS USED FOR TRAINING INTERVIEWERS

▭ BOUNDARY OF ORIGINAL SAMPLE FRAME

MAP: U.S. CENSUS 1960

N

P1-2 a
P2-9 d
P4-1
P4-7

P5-14 a
P5-24 d
R3-8 a
R3-25 d
R3-37 d
R3-11, 12 a

L5-7 b
L1-3 a
L1-7R c
L4-4R c
L4-
L4-10R c
L4-11R b
L4-19
L4-20R c
L4-21R c
L4-2R c
L2-3R d
L2-7R c
L3-6R c

L4-7R c
L3-3 a
L4-16R c
L8-10a

R3-3 a
L9-13
H8-10 d
H8-12 c

H7-7
H7-8
H7-9
H7-10
H7-

L3-1R b
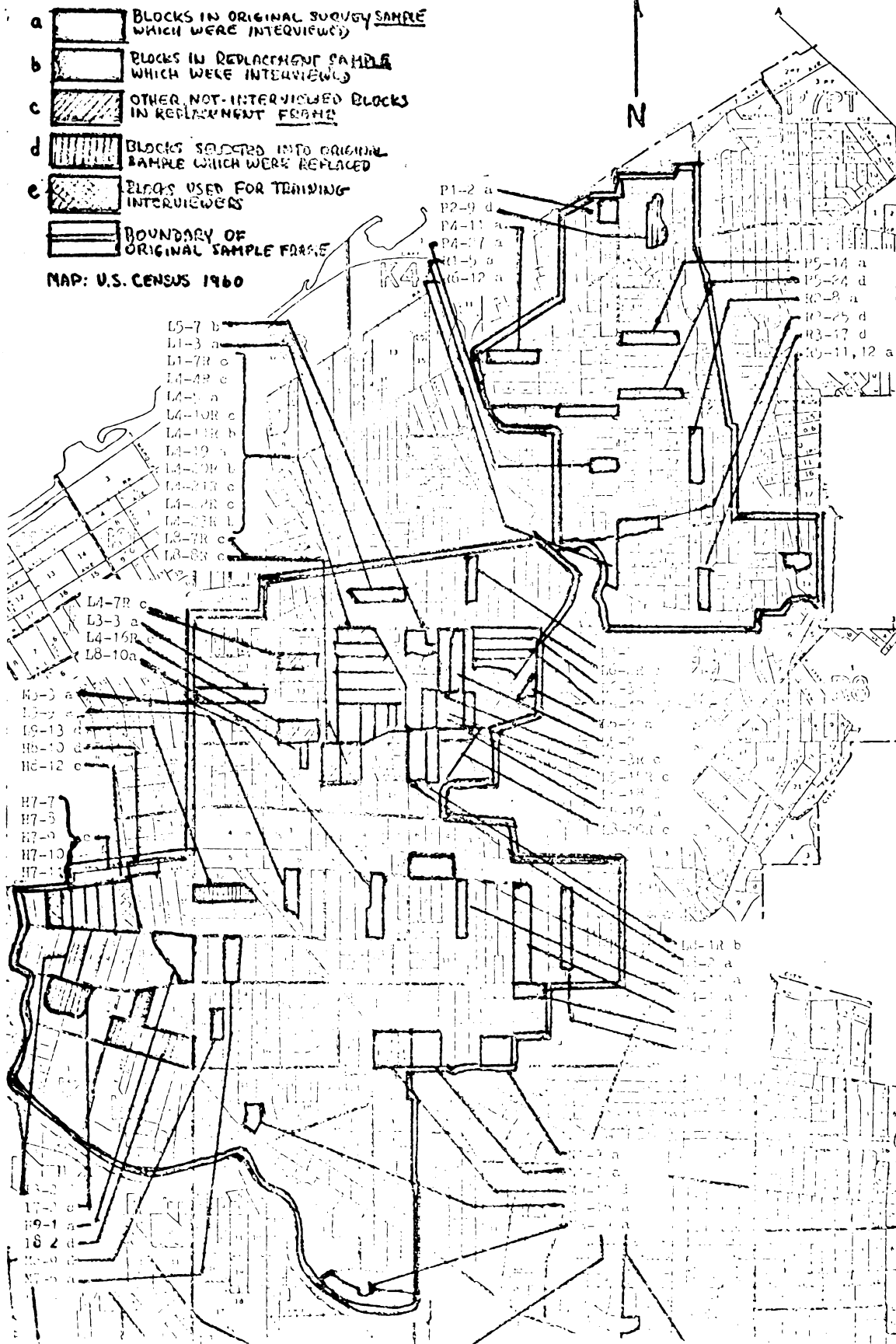
LETTER AND 1st NUMBER = CENSUS TRACT, LAST 2 DIGITS = BLOCK IN TRACT, SEE LEGEND, R=REPLACEMENT SAMPLE

APPENDIX J

Sampling Record by Blocks

Block*	# Questionnaires Completed	# Original Sample Households	# Replacement Households	REASONS FOR REPLACEMENT No Answer	No Eligible Adult	Refusal	Subject Numbers
L1-3	10	4	6	10	1	0	001-010
H9-1	10	2	8	9	3	1	011-020
L2-5	12	6	6	6	2	1	021-032
L3-3	10	1	9	9	0	5	033-042
L4-5	10	5	5	2	4	4	043-052
L4-11R	11	4	7	10	1	0	053-063
L4-19	10	5	5	10	0	0	064-073
L4-20R	10	2	8	11	2	0	074-083
L4-23R	11	6	5	9	0	0	084-094
L5-2	10	7	3	5	1	2	095-104
L5-7R	9	3	6	7	0	5	105-113
L5-19	15	14	1	1	0	0	114-128
L6-3R	13	1	12	10	4	0	129-141
L6-9	11	4	7	10	0	1	142-152
L8-1R	10	3	7	10	0	2	153-162
L8-2	14	9	5	5	1	0	163-176
L8-10	10	6	4	6	2	1	177-186
L9-9	12	7	5	3	1	4	187-198
M1-11	10	5	5	7	3	0	199-208
M3-3	11	7	4	7	1	0	209-219
M4-1	10	8	2	5	1	1	220-229
M7-6	10	3	7	12	0	0	230-239
N1-7	11	3	8	9	1	2	240-250
N1-9	10	6	4	8	1	0	251-260
N2-16	11	6	5	8	0	3	261-271
N3-19	10	1	9	13	1	0	272-281
P1-2	10	6	4	6	2	1	282-291
P4-11	12	6	6	2	6	0	292-303
P4-27	10	5	5	9	0	1	304-313
P5-14	10	7	3	4	1	3	314-323
R1-5	12	11	1	2	1	1	324-335
R2-8	11	5	6	9	0	1	336-346
R5-11/12	10	1	9	13	1	0	347-356
R6-12	10	1	9	13	1	0	357-366
34 blocks	366	170 (46%)	196 (54%)	258	42	40	

*first two digits = census tract; remaining digits = block number within tract indicated; R = block selected from second sample.

APPENDIX K. Means, standard deviations, range, mode and unit of measurement for independent and dependent measures employed in this study. These data are also noted for component indices comprising interpersonal contact diversity.

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation	Range	Mode	Description/Unit of Measure
Political Knowledge	2.514	1.311	0-4	3	correct answers
Political Activity	2.527	1.376	0-6	2	correct answers
Political Efficacy	12.802	3.124	5-20	14	level of agreement (high value = low efficacy)**
Political Effectiveness (z)	0.0	1.943	--	--	sum of Z scores
Diversity Interpersonal Contacts (Z)	0.0	2.939	--	--	sum of Z scores
(Component Diversity Measures)					
a. Occupational Prestige Social Contacts	0.864	1.214	0-8	0	mean prestige scale units deviation from respondent's prestige level
b. Occupational Prestige Expert Contacts	0.784	1.402	0-10	0	mean prestige scale units deviation from respondent's prestige level
c. Average Distance Social Contacts	63.730	122.116	0-521	0	city blocks
d. Average Distance Expert Contacts	3.735	12.896	0-63	0	city blocks
e. Race Social Contacts	9.519	3.708	0-20	10	low value = more black contacts
f. Race Expert Contacts	0.235	1.225	0-10	0	low value = more black contacts

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation	Range	Mode	Description/Unit of Measure
Diversity Organizational Membership	1.585	1.342	0-7	1	categorically different groups
Diversity Mass Media	3.582	0.696	1-5	4	different media used
Selectivity Interpersonal Contacts	64.194	5.963	50-80	66	proportion expert contacts of sources for help
Selectivity TV Use	10.555	19.663	0-100	0	proportion news of total viewing time
Selectivity Newspaper Use	21.527	14.973	0-66	16	proportion news-editorial content of total read
Selectivity Organizational Membership	33.904	37.506	1-100	0	proportion political organizations of total belonged to
Credibility of Mass Media	5.954	1.598	2-10	6	low value = unfair
Amount Organizational Membership	1.710	1.515	0-7	1	No. of organizations
Amount Interpersonal Contact	26.546	29.744	1-203	10	contacts/week
Amount Black Publication Use	2.158	1.321	0-6	2	No. publications regularly read
Amount Daily & Weekly Newspaper Use	1.366	0.639	0-3	0	No. papers regularly read
Amount Television Use	29.071	31.715	0-172	0	Use in No. of 1/10 hour segments
Amount Radio Use	35.082	37.367	0-240	0	Use in No. of 1/10 hour segments
Amount Mass Media Use (Z)	0.0	2.054	--	--	sum Z scores
Proportion Political Conversation Contacts	13.049	15.163	0-79	0	proportion political contacts/week

*Range and mode not computed for measures based on standardized (Z) scores.

**In correlational analyses and summary (Z) measures this scale was reflected.