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NEGRO-ORIENTED RADIO

IN

MICHIGAN - 1969-1970

By

Alan Labovitz

A THESIS

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ABSTRACT

NEGRO-ORIENTED RADIO IN MICHIGAN - 1969-1970

By

Alan Labovitz

Racial problems have been plaguing America for centuries. These problems do not only concern black people, they are of concern to all Americans. Communication between peoples has been seen as a step toward solution of some of these problems. One medium of communication of special interest with regard to these problems is Negro-oriented radio.

There have been relatively few academic studies concerning this medium of communication. This study examined the five Negro-oriented radio stations in the state of Michigan in order to define them operationally, and to evaluate the service to black people in the communities in which they broadcast.

Several research methods were used to collect the data. Personal interviews were conducted with the management of the stations involved in order to gain information concerning ownership and management, programming, sponsorship and audience, technical information and public service information. Eight hours of air checks were also recorded for each of the stations and were carefully analyzed in terms of announcers, music, commercials, programs, public service, news, and jingles.

In order to determine criteria for evaluating the public service aspects of the stations, many authorities were consulted. These included the Federal Communications Commission, community leaders within the black communities, well-known black broadcasters, social psychologists who have published information about ghetto life, and lastly, a prominent member of

the Federal Communications Commission, who has written and spoken about the problems and possible solutions concerning black-oriented broadcasting.

Two sets of nine criteria were developed in this study. The first set concerned general public service for a community and the second set concerned specific services for the black people in a community.

While no specific definition of Negro-oriented radio has been attempted, it was found that all of the stations in this study had some things in common. The same type of music was played on all of these stations. This has been referred to as "soul" music or rhythm and blues. A dialect and the use of "slang" expressions or, what has been referred to as "patois," was used by most of the announcers on the stations. The word "soul" could be heard on all of these stations, either spoken by the announcers, or used in the jingles. This word was used quite often in the forms "Soul 70's," "Soul Radio," and "Soul music."

Evaluation of the public service of the stations showed an average of 9.6 per cent of the sample time for all of the stations was devoted to news and public service announcements. The range was from 5.2 to 13.2 per cent. On the average, the stations measured up in public service in 5.8 of the eighteen criteria developed in this study. The highest number of criteria for which any one station measured up was eleven and the lowest was three. Over-all, the service rendered for black people in the communities involved was found to be poor as measured by the criteria.

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I would also like to thank the members of my guidance committee: Professors Leo A. Martin, David C. Ralph, Arthur F. Weld, Jr., and James B. McKee, for the help which they have given in guiding me through the doctoral program.

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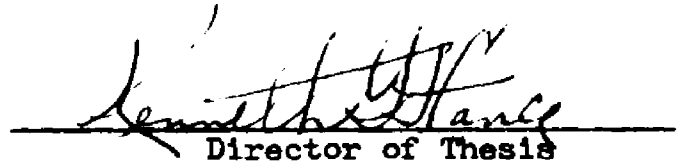
Accepted by the faculties of the Department of Speech and the Department of Television and Radio, College of Communication Arts, Michigan State University, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree.



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INTRODUCTION

Purpose of Study

Since Colonial days in this country, there have been problems between the white and black races. These problems have become worse instead of better over the years, until, at the present time, relations are greatly strained. A recent event lends credence to this information. As a result of a police raid on a Black Panther headquarters in Chicago recently, two of the Panthers were killed. Following the raid, one group of black people in Chicago, according to the news media, has issued orders that no white people would be allowed to enter black neighborhoods after 6:00 p.m.

This set of reactions is certainly one which, if not already violent, is potentially violent. One of the problems which has added to an explosive situation is a lack of communications. Jack Lyle, a professor of Journalism at the University of California, has said,

> Communication, in its broadest form, is perhaps the most important foundation of a harmonious society. The information theorists tell us that the purpose of an information exchange is to reduce the uncertainty in a given situation. And while they are generally speaking of machine situations, the social psychologist would add that this statement can be generalized to human communication.[1]

It is proposed in this study to examine some of the workings of a form of communication between people which could be of some value in resolving the problems existing between the races. This form of

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[1]Jack Lyle, ed., The Black American and the Press (Los Angeles, California: The Ward Ritchie Press, 1968), p. x.

communication is Negro-oriented radio.[2] Two questions are pertinent here: What is Negro-oriented radio? Is it serving the interests of black people in the community?

Limitations

For practical reasons, limitations need to be placed on this study. In the past, there have been only a few academic studies completed in this area of interest, the most significant of which was a broad, general study of Negro radio across the country. While this type of study is necessary, especially if it can be done in some depth, this writer believes that unless studies exist which have been completed in some depth covering a smaller geographical area, a really meaningful in-depth study of national scope would be fairly difficult to complete. Therefore, this study will be limited to the examination of Negro-oriented radio in the state of Michigan.

Since radio is a form of communication, it is necessary to examine it in the light of what is known about communication. It has been described as a process.[3] A process is something which is a continuous and on-going operation. If Negro-oriented radio is considered to be a part of the process of communication, then it, also, is a continuous and on-going operation. This medium of communication had a beginning; and at the present time, it continues to operate without

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[2]The terms "Negro," "black," and "Afro-American," have all been used to identify Americans with these racial characteristics. Some people have taken offense with the use of one or another of these terms. The writer has meant no offense with the use of any of these terms. He uses them solely for identification and literary variety.

[3]David K. Berlo, The Process of Communication (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960), p. 24.

stop. As a process, it is continuous. However, in order to study it in depth at a given point in time it is necessary to stop its operation (in a manner of speaking), in order to examine the process.

While a historical perspective could be taken in a study of this sort, (and perhaps would be quite useful), the present study will examine the process of this medium at the present time (late 1969 and early 1970).

Scope

Two sources have been consulted in order to determine which stations in Michigan are involved with Negro programming. They are Broadcasting Yearbook for 1969 and the 1969 Negro Radio Directory, published by Greener, Hiken, Sears, a radio station representative. According to these sources, there are six stations in Michigan which broadcast Negro programs: WAMM, Flint; WCHB, Inkster; WCHD-FM, Detroit; WWWS-FM, Saginaw; WJLB, Detroit; and WGPR-FM, Detroit. One other station in Michigan, WERX, Wyoming, is listed as broadcasting Negro-oriented programming. However, according to these sources, this station broadcasts only five hours weekly of Negro programming; and for the purpose of this study, the writer believes it should be omitted because the amount of Negro programming is virtually negligible.

Discussion

The question concerning the nature of Negro-oriented programming is a seemingly easy one. One could say, for example, that Negro-oriented radio is that radio which is oriented toward Negroes. However,

this answer is unduly simplistic since there is no one identical group of Negroes. It is as dangerous to generalize about Negroes, as a group in America, as it would be to do so about most other ethnic, national, or racial groups in this country. Differences among Negroes exist socially, occupationally, economically, and educationally. One can also assume then, logically, that there are also vast differences among Negroes in desires for programming in radio.

While several definitions of Negro radio have been presented, they seem to be either too general, or, upon close examination, erroneous. Some, for example, stress "format;" others, "content" in general; others, the nature of the music; and still others, the relationship to the community.

Regarding format, Richard S. Kahlenberg has said,

> The "format" of the broadcast day on a Negro station is normally that of any standard popular music station. It consists of several consecutive disc-jockey shows of two or three hours' duration, punctuated by frequent commercial announcements with news or featurettes every hour or every thirty minutes. Late evenings are often devoted either to slower "blues" music or serious jazz programs.[4]

As he wrote about this type of radio, Kahlenberg took the position that all of the stations were rather similar. He said that all of the stations were programmed for Negroes by pattern, ". . . approximately as follows: sixty to seventy per cent music (rhythm and blues), ten to twenty per cent religious, five to eight per cent news, five to eight per cent public service."[5]

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[4]Richard S. Kahlenberg, "Negro Radio," Negro History Bulletin, March, 1966, p. 127.

[5]Ibid.

Another source seems to be in agreement with this basic idea. Sponsor magazine, which publishes an annual report of Negro radio, has said that music and disc jockey programming is on the upswing in Negro radio. According to the survey in this magazine, sixty-five per cent of all Negro radio programming is music and disc jockeys.[6] In this same issue of Sponsor it also says that, "Today Negro stations devote an increasing amount of time to rock 'n' roll. This puts many Negro appeal stations in close competition with 'Top 40' general appeal stations since featured artists and tunes are often the same."[7] Also, according to Sponsor, religious music is losing appeal in Negro radio. If we accept this definition, we soon discover that Negro-oriented radio is actually not much different from general-appeal radio which plays primarily popular music.

Although Kahlenberg did indicate his belief in the similarity in the format of Negro-appeal radio to that of general-appeal radio, he said that the music on this radio is much different.

> The music in Negro radio differentiates it most dramatically from other types of broadcasting. It is difficult to describe a sound with words if the reader has little or no experience with other similar sounds as a basis of comparison. Negro music of the type now being broadcast on Negro stations has only recently made any inroads into the consciousness of a large, white audience. Whites generally think of Negro music as being Dixieland jazz and spirituals. These two genre are not the basis of Negro radio today. The new music is a very intense, direct and earthy sort of rhythmic ("rhythm") or ballad ("blues") style of song. Negroes call these latter forms "soul" music.[8]

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[6] "Negro Radio Attracts Madison Ave. Attention," Sponsor, July 25, 1966, p. 37.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Kahlenberg, "Negro Radio," p. 127.

A rather lengthy analysis of "Negro music" has been written by Charles Keil, who in Urban Blues writes specifically about different styles of music and singing.

> Falsetto singing comes directly from Africa, where it is considered to be the very essence of masculine expression. The falsetto techniques of a West African cabaret singer are sometimes indistinguishable from those employed so effectively by Ray Charles, B.B. King, or the lead voice in a gospel quartet.[9]

Thus, according to Keil, falsetto singing originated in Africa and is now an American Negro style of vocalizing. However, if one is familiar with singing styles, it becomes obvious that this style is not exclusive with Negroes. For many years, falsetto singing has been traditional in barbershop quartet harmony. Within the past ten years, several popular singing groups, (quartets - non-Negro) have been using falsetto in their harmony. These groups include The Four Freshmen, The Hi Lo's, and The Four Seasons. Perhaps these groups (and any others) have copied this particular singing style from the Negroes. While this is certainly a possibility, it is not really important to make this distinction. The important point is that falsetto singing is not exclusive with Negroes.

In addition, Keil discusses different styles or divisions of music in his book.

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[9]Charles Keil, Urban Blues (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1966), p. 27.

> In Afro-American music in the United States, three broad subdivisions or genres may be distinguished. In order of stylistic conservatism, these are: sacred music--spirituals, jubilees, and gospels; secular music--blues (country and urban) and most jazz before World War II; "art" music or jazz since 1945. In the past decade a synthesis of jazz, blues, and gospel forms has emerged and this fusion, "soul music," can be considered a fourth stylistic stream in its own right. Although the blues and the sacred forms are slowly declining in popularity, soul music continues to gain favor among Negroes, particularly with the younger generation. If present trends continue, it may not be long before Negro music will be characterized by the interpenetration of two musical genres; a music of the people (soul styles), and a music for listeners only (advanced jazz styles).[10]

It appears, therefore, that Keil has set down some guidelines which could be helpful in determining what could be considered Negro (or soul) music. However, farther along in his book, where he writes about listening to music on the radio, his comments were not as reassuring.

> Listening to the "big beat" radio stations, I find it increasingly difficult to separate white and Negro performers, largely because many Negro stylists have eliminated some of the coarser qualities from the blues and gospel styles they draw upon for material while a number of white performers have perfected their handling of Negro vocal accent, inflection patterns, and phrasing.[11]

While this would confirm the previous discussion concerning falsetto singing styles, it may not be as confusing as it seems. What this seems to imply is that "soul" may not really be a product of a specific race. If white and Negro performers can sound alike, then perhaps what we are talking about is not a racial attribute but a style of performing. In support of this thesis, the manager of one of the stations in this study mentioned to the writer that there were two white disc jockeys on his station; and he continued by saying that the race of the announcer is not a factor to be considered -- the only question is: Can he do a "soul" type of program. Again, it seems that race, itself,

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[10] Ibid., p. 32.

[11] Ibid., p. 47.

is not the key here, but that "soul" is a style of performing which can be imitated by people of any race.

Above, we noted that Keil appears able to describe, at least in words, what "soul music" is. On the assumption that soul music plays a large role in Negro-oriented radio, one aspect of this study will consist of a description of the types of music heard on the stations in this study.

Certainly, much has been written about a particular Negro music. One writer has said,

> The heaviest growls, the biggest truths, always come together to make the strongest art forms, and I believe that the Blues or Rhythm and Blues, as popular art forms amongst Black People, have kept us sane as a mass, as opposed to the maudlin weeping of a white folk form like country and western music--though both musics, the folk Black and the folk white, deal with the same areas of challenge, death, natural disaster and anguish.[12]

Music, however, is only one element in radio. There are other elements, which might include announcers (what they say, how they say it), actual programs, commercials, and over-all station personnel. While at first thought, some useful distinctions might seemingly be made in terms of these elements, upon second thought, few differences might be discerned. Certainly, the similarity to general-appeal radio may be great. In terms of professionalism, the following comment appeared in a 1964 issue of Sponsor:

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[12]Stanley Crouch, "The Big Feeling," Negro Digest, July, 1969, p. 46.

> Negro-appeal radio today, as one veteran broadcaster proudly told Sponsor, "is as good as any radio anywhere." One Negro-appeal station, in Memphis, was recently approached by ABC Radio, which wished to discuss a possible affiliation deal. Another station, in San Francisco, originates sportscasts fed to a 15-station network in two states. Still another, located in New York's Harlem area, covered the recent riots for out of town stations as far away as Paris, France, and has had its documentaries aired by as many as 50 stations, many non-Negro.[13]

The above instances show that this type of radio not only is similar to general-appeal radio but also is not inferior in its operation.

Whereas in the past, Negro-oriented radio featured such names as Loyd Fat-Man or Frantic Ernie, according to reporters, the times have changed.

> The days of deejays called "Big Daddy" and "Dr. Jive" are largely gone. Most Negro-appeal radio stations, anxious to promote higher education and "better living" for the Negro, have improved their programming. "Prestige" is not a widely-used word when it comes to Negro-appeal programming, but the word is sure to take on added meaning as time goes on and the upgrading process continues.[14]

Other questions which might be asked about Negro-oriented radio are: What is the racial composition of the personnel? Are these stations composed entirely of Negroes? What about management? Kahlenberg, in his study, wrote about this. "There is another, less tangible factor at work. Most of the all-Negro stations have Negro management and mixed staffs. It is generally felt that mixed staffs function more effectively than all Negro staffs."[15]

Another aspect of radio which is certainly pertinent in our system of broadcasting is the nature of commercials. Are there differences

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[13]"Air Media and the U.S. Negro Market - 1964," Sponsor, August 17, 1964, p. 31.

[14]"Negro Radio Attracts Madison Ave.," p. 35.

[15]Kahlenberg, "Negro Radio," p. 142.

in the types of advertisers using general-appeal radio and Negro-oriented radio? Two psychiatrists have written about this topic as it pertains to the print media.

> Publications designed for Negro audiences have always found a certain group of advertisers eager to purchase space. These are the merchants of bleaching creams. The buyers are promised that the cream will make them "two or three shades lighter." The advertising space and the prominent display of these items in neighborhood stores provide objective evidence of what every ghetto dweller knows. Black women have spent fortunes trying to be white.[16]

This writer remembers listening to Negro-oriented radio years ago (early 1950's) and hearing such advertising for the first time. Another type of product advertising heard often at that time was hair straighteners. It is entirely possible that such products have become less prevalent at present, due to the emphasis on "Afro" styles, and the "black is beautiful" movement among Negroes.

D. Parke Gibson, an advertising consultant, has written about the spending habits of urban Negroes.

> Urban Negro families continue to spend a higher percentage of their income for personal care, food (to be consumed at home), clothing, alcoholic beverages, and household furnishings than do average white urban families. Negroes have over the years spent less on automobile expenses, various types of recreation, and medical care. This is expected to change as Negro incomes continue to rise.[17]

Certainly, a description of the types of commercials aired on the stations in this study will be of interest. All of the aspects mentioned thus far should be examined as parts of Negro-oriented radio, and included as part of the description of the stations.

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[16]William H. Grier and Price M. Cobbs, Black Rage (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1968), pp. 45-6.

[17]D. Parke Gibson, The $30 Billion Negro (London: The Macmillan Company, 1969), p. 79.

Methodology

The methods used to gather this information can be outlined as follows: Air checks were tape-recorded and listened to by the writer. The reason for the air checks was that none of the stations under study can be heard in the geographic area where this writer presently spends most of his time. It was also felt that a permanent record can be maintained of the air checks, which would be made available to other researchers and students of this area of broadcasting.

In determining the days and times of the air checks, it was assumed that, in general, radio, as a process of communication, goes on from day-to-day with relatively few major changes in format or service to the public within relatively brief time periods such as that of this study. For this reason, approximately nine hours of air checks within a week's period were taken for each of the stations under study. It was felt that this should be enough of a sample to describe adequately the contents of programming. Air check times for each of the stations was as follows:

WJLB - Monday, 8-9 a.m., 10:30-11:30 a.m., 4-5 p.m., and 8-9 p.m.
Wednesday, 7:30-8:30 a.m., 12-1 p.m., and 7-8 p.m.
Friday, 8-9 a.m., 3:30-4:30 p.m., and 8-9 p.m.

WWWS-FM - Monday, 7-8 a.m., 3-4 p.m., and 7-8 p.m.
Wednesday, 7:30-8:30 a.m., 4-5 p.m., and 8-9 p.m.
Friday, 8:30-9:30 a.m., 3:30-4:30 p.m., and 8:30-9:30 p.m.

WAIM - Monday, 7-8 a.m., 11-12 a.m., and 3-4 p.m.
Wednesday, 8-9 a.m., 1-2 p.m., and 4-5 p.m.
Friday, 9:30-10:30 a.m., and 2-3 p.m.

WGPR-FM - Monday, 8-9 a.m., 10:30-11:30 a.m., 4-5 p.m., and 8-9 p.m.
Wednesday, 7:30-8:30 a.m., 12-1 p.m., and 7-8 p.m.
Friday, 8-9 a.m., 3:30-4:30 p.m., and 8-9 p.m.

WCHD - Monday, 8-9 a.m., and 10-11 a.m.
Wednesday, 3-4 p.m.
Friday, 7-8 p.m.

WCHB - Monday, 8-9 a.m., 10:30-11:30 a.m., 4-5 p.m., and 8-9 p.m.
Wednesday, 7:30-8:30 a.m., 12-1 p.m., and 7-8 p.m.
Friday, 8-9 a.m.

The contents of these air checks were carefully noted. The elements which were considered important were announcers, music, commercials, programs, public service, news, and jingles. Each of these elements are described by the writer.

In the analysis of the announcer, several distinct points were emphasized. If it is possible to determine his race, either by what he says, or by how he speaks, this would certainly say something about this type of radio. Whether he speaks in a "patois" or pattern which could be identifiable as a "Negro speech pattern" is important. His style of delivery, or the way in which he conducts his program, was an important part of this element. What he says (content) was most important, since it would have some importance in the elements listed above also.

The music played was an important element in determining the type of radio. Several types of music including "soul," "top forty," "gospel," or jazz were heard. It was interesting to determine if any or all of the stations in the study play music and formats which are very similar, or if the stations differ widely.

The commercials which are aired on a station of the type under study were carefully analyzed because of their importance. Certainly, it was pertinent to determine if there are some products which are advertised exclusively on this type of radio. The writer also listened for other information concerning the commercials. Were they delivered and written locally? If they were from an agency, who was the talent? Were there special products being advertised such as hair straighteners or skin lighteners? Were there racial overtones in the message? These

questions and the answers would help to determine if there are any special differences in this type of radio.

Under the topic of "programs," format would be the main, important item in modern radio. The writer is interested in determining if the format is simply music and news, similar to many of the "top forty" formats, or if there are any special programs. If there are, the types and how they are presented would be of interest. The writer is also interested in determining if there are any different types of news programs or presentations.

The topic of "public service" was of importance in listening to the air checks. Here, content of all of the elements was important. The writer listened for announcements, programs, and general comments. The emphasis was placed on the kinds of public service and how much is being done. The question of whether the public service is specialized by any racial means was also very important.

All of these factors should be of help in a general description of this type of radio in Michigan. This information was compiled and written about in separate chapters on each of the stations in the study. The result is a small case study of each of the stations.

The final part of the problem in this study was to determine if the stations in the study are serving the public interest and needs of the communities to which they broadcast. Criteria concerning these interests and needs were determined in various ways, and these criteria were used to make the determinations of the individual stations in the study. There have been various articles written about this type of radio and about individual stations around the country. Some of these

articles mention different types of services performed by stations. Also, sociologists, urban planners, and other social scientists have described some types of things which would help to change society for the better in the area of racial relations. The writer also questioned leaders of the communities involved in the study for their ideas on what should be expected of the types of radio stations under study. In these ways, a compilation of criteria was made.

Organization

The organization of the study is as follows: Chapter One is a survey of the literature and a philosophical rationale for the study. Chapter Two is a background and brief history of Negro radio programming in the country. Chapter Three is a compilation of criteria used for determining the extent of service the stations render to the people in their communities. Chapters Five through Eight are profiles of each of the stations, including ownership information, analysis of programming as described above, rationale of owners for programming Negro broadcasting, and discussion of public interest value of programming and of station activity in the community. Chapter Nine consists of a summary, a statement of conclusions, and suggestions for further study.

CHAPTER I

PHILOSOPHICAL RATIONALE AND SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE

Philosophical Rationale

A major problem has been plaguing this country over the years. Since 1955, when a woman refused to give up her seat on a Montgomery, Alabama, bus, thus launching a revolution for civil rights for American Negroes, this problem of racial strife has been an open wound in the flesh of America. An American author has recently stated:

> From 1967 onward, open and covert conflict, not consensus, will dominate the relationships between Negro and White [sic] America, as well as the relationships between Negroes and Negroes, in the struggle for equal rights, opportunities, and progress. For if Negroes in the slum ghettos are to achieve genuine progress it will mean that whites must deliberately divest themselves of certain political, social, and economic advantages for redistribution among black have-nots.
>
> Moreover, as the aims of Negro leadership become more radical, partly in reaction to white backlash and partly by practical necessity, fewer traditionally white liberals will support militant Negro actions.[1]

This problem is not only a Negro problem. It is also a white problem. In fact, there are those who would say that this is exclusively a white problem. Certainly one can see that originally, black people did not ask to be brought to this country as slaves. Over the years, problems have emerged because of white dominance in social relations. The Kerner Commission has put the blame for this problem specifically on white America:

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[1]Arnold Schuchter, White Power Black Freedom (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968), p. 10.

> . . . certain fundamental matters are clear. Of these, the most fundamental is the racial attitude and behavior of white Americans. Race prejudice has shaped our history decisively in the past; it now threatens to do so again. White racism is essentially responsible for the explosive mixture which has been accumulating in our cities since the end of World War II.[2]

Lerone Bennett Jr., a noted reporter of racial problems in this country, has written much on this topic. Among other things, he has said that both Negro and white Americans were taught to hate each other, with the process continuing for more than one hundred years. Over this period, the Negro family was virtually destroyed, and Negro workers became excluded from one skilled trade after another.

> Nor did white men escape. They saw, dimly, what they were doing to themselves and to others and they drew back from themselves, afraid. But they did not stop; perhaps they could not stop. For, by now, racism had become central to their needs and to their identity.[3]

And so this racism continued, and still continues today. One of the most widely quoted sentences from the Kerner Commission report has been from the Introduction. The Commission stated its basic conclusion that, "Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white--separate and unequal." The Commission went on to say further that, "To pursue our present course will involve the continuing polarization of the American community and, ultimately, the destruction of basic democratic values."[4]

Five years ago, Charles E. Silberman, a timely critic of this problem, wrote that we must face the truth immediately, while there is still time.

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[2]U.S. Riot Commission, Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (New York: Bantam Books, Inc., 1968), p. 203.

[3]Lerone Bennett Jr., "The White Problem in America," in The White Problem in America, ed. by Ebony magazine (Chicago: Johnson Publishing Co., Inc., 1966), p. 9.

[4]U.S. Riot Commission, Commission on Civil Disorders, p. 1.

> It is never too soon for a nation to save itself; it can be too late. For a hundred years, white Americans have clung tenaciously to the illusion that if everyone would just sit still--if "agitators" would just stop agitating--time alone would solve the problem of race. It hasn't, and it never will. For time, as Rev. Martin Luther King points out, is neither good nor bad; it is neutral. What matters is how time is used. Time has been used badly in the United States--so badly that not much of it remains before race hatred completely poisons the air we breathe.[5]

Why is this problem so critical in this country? What makes it so difficult to solve? One of the major difficulties is the complete lack of communication between the races. How much do white people in America know of the hardships of Negroes forced to live in slum ghettos with little or no education or training and very poor possibilities for employment? Are many white people aware of the social classes of Negroes in America? Michael Harrington, writing about Harlem, spoke of the social classes:

> . . . you can judge the social class of a street in Harlem by its stoops and gutters. Where the residents are struggling upward, the gutters are not filled with refuse, and there are signs in front of the neat brownstones, "Positively No Loitering or Sitting on Rail or Stoop." But these are the oases of a middle class. For most of Harlem, the reality is one of streets filled with litter and men.[6]

The problems of American racism are innumerable. They encompass poor housing, poor educational facilities, a lack of job training, mental problems, poor health, infant mortality, and--especially--poorly adjusted children, not familiar to the ways of the white middle-class world. It is certainly enlightening for the white world to understand the problems of these children. Charles Silberman reported on this particular aspect of racism several years ago.

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[5]Charles E. Silberman, Crisis in Black and White (New York: Random House, 1964), pp. 3-4.

[6]Michael Harrington, The Other America (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1963), p. 68.

> For the youngster growing up in Harlem or any other Negro slum, the gates of life clang shut at a terrifyingly early age. For one thing, the children become aware almost from infancy of the opprobrium Americans attach to color. They feel it in their parents' voices as they are warned to behave when they stray beyond the ghetto's wall. They become aware of it as they begin to watch television, or go to the movies, or read the mass-circulation magazines; beauty, success, and status all wear a white skin. They learn to feel ashamed of their color as they learn to talk, and thereby to absorb the invidiousness our very language attaches to color. White represents purity and goodness, black represents evil. The white lie is the permissible misstatement, the black lie the inexcusable falsehood; the black sheep is the one who goes astray (and when he goes astray, he receives a black mark on his record); defeat is black (the stock market crashed on "Black Thursday"), victory white.[7]

One can see then, that there is more than enough reason for hatred to be present between the races. There is a lack of understanding by white America of the major problems of black people caused by discrimination and prejudice in this country. Two Negro psychiatrists have written about this lack of understanding.

> The growing anger of Negroes is frightening to white America. There is a feeling of betrayal and undeserved attack. White people have responded with a rage of their own. As the lines become more firmly drawn, exchange of information is the first casualty.
>
> If racist hostility is to subside, and if we are to avoid open conflict on a nationwide scale, information is the most desperately needed commodity of our time.[8]

In order for information to flow between people, there must be open channels of communication. If one accepts the idea that as long as words are exchanged between people, blows will not be, then it is obvious that oral communication is important for the solution of the problems of mankind. However, there has been a lack of this type of communication over the years in the area of racial problems. The white communities have not been made aware of the problems of the black communities.

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[7]Silberman, Crisis in Black and White, pp. 49-50.

[8]Grier and Cobbs, Black Rage, p. 4.

> One of the sources of the failure in reporting the Negro problem stems from previous ignorance or lack of concern about the Negro community. In terms of the usual operational criterion for news selection outlined above, little has been happening in the Negro areas. Economically, these are the most stagnant areas of our cities, locally. Politically, minority groups have been the most apathetic segments of the population and it is only in recent years that candidates and political writers have shown awareness of "the Negro vote." The centers of cultural activity are generally elsewhere. Even Negro crime tends to be ignored. Crime is such an everyday, everywhere occurrence that it is news only when prominent persons are involved or it is carried out on a particularly large scale or in an unusual manner. Traditionally, then, Negro areas have not been considered newsworthy. Reporters rarely ventured into the Negro ghetto, rarely wrote of its problems. Thus it was easy for the majority of the population to plead ignorance of these problems.[9]

This ignorance of the problems becomes very important in terms of being able to solve the conflicts between peoples. At the present time, the problem of communication seems to be getting worse instead of better. One author has said, "The intensification of racial separation and of Negro concentration in the central cities, and the related lack of Negro-white communication and interpersonal relations, is increasing, not lessening."[10]

Not only are white people unwilling to listen to the black population, but also Negroes are becoming unwilling in some areas to trust white people. This seems to be a natural reaction caused by a refusal of the white population of this country to listen to the problems which Negroes have been talking about. In the Spring of 1969, a network television (NBC) news reporter, (Lem Tucker), who happens to be a Negro, visited the campus of Central Michigan University to speak about the communication breakdown between the races. He mentioned that for years

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[9]Lyle, ed., The Black American and the Press, p. xiii.

[10]Schuchter, White Power Black Freedom, p. 13.

black people have been shouting the message to the white community of discrimination, prejudice, poor education, poor housing, and all of the other problems which Negroes have been facing. He said that white people have not heard the message; and because of this, some of the black population have stopped trying to communicate. Those who have stopped, have either tried other means (including violence) for gaining rights which should have been birthrights, or have retreated behind the walls of the ghetto.

> The BLACK GHETTO is isolated from society by a historic wall of discrimination; by the Negro's image of society and himself; by the cumulative images of degraded existence from childhood to manhood; by images that resist change fiercely because they are formed by one of the most consistent, persistent, and complete educational systems in the world: the black ghetto.[11]

While there is a great deal of misunderstanding about ghetto life, this misunderstanding is beginning to be diminished because of communication. For instance, several books with wide appeal have helped to bring more understanding to the white community. Claude Brown's, Manchild in the Promised Land, is one such book, as is also, The Autobiography of Malcolm X. These books may assist in clearing up some misconceptions because the authors were able to tell first-person stories based on real life. However, other types of communication have caused misconceptions. A writer telling of such misconceptions has said, "Another factor which contributes to misunderstanding of ghetto life is the way ghetto living has been dramatized in literature, in the theater and on the screen as a homogeneous style of life."[12]

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[11] Ibid., p. 3.

[12] Karl R. Rasmussen, "The Multi-Ordered Urban Area: A Ghetto," Phylon, XXIX (Fall, 1968), 284.

In this statement, one notices mention of several forms of communication. Of great significance is the absence of any mention of radio even though it is a recognized form of communication, and a pervasive one. One of the major general texts in American broadcasting, published in 1963, mentioned that ownership of radio sets in America has reached approximate total saturation. "More than 98 per cent of American homes have at least one radio set, although the 1960 census indicated that only 91.3 per cent of homes have a set that is actually in working order."[13] This source also noted that Americans spent a great deal of time listening to radio. "Radio, with its unique ability to entertain and inform individuals while they are engaged in some other activity, has become the 'companion' of the American individual, following him from room to room, to public places, and on the highway."[14]

Radio, with its pervasive impact, could be a key factor in improving communication. However, some observers have reported problems in the medium which appear to prevent the operation of this desirable feature. A journalism professor at a major California university wrote about the 1965 Watts riot and the surprise that the population exhibited by it.

> How,. . . could the population as a whole be so taken by surprise? The answer in a word was ignorance. The organized channels of information--the journalistic media of newspaper, magazine, radio, and television--had failed to perform adequately their function of helping citizens maintain surveillance on this important part of their environment.[15]

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[13]Giraud Chester, Garnet R. Garrison, and Edgar E. Willis, Television and Radio, (3rd ed.; New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1963), p. 5.

[14]Ibid.

[15]Lyle, The Black American and the Press, p. ix.

Perhaps a reason for these problems is that modern radio programming, that is, the type of programming which grew during the late 1950's when the network programs began to disappear, has not been widely studied. Very little has been done in the manner of studying the disc jockey formats which are prominent today, although one study was done recently at Michigan State University which had to do with the meanings people have for radio.[16] There have not been many other studies completed on this topic.

Radio is one method of communication which could help to solve the communication gap. Another is a specialized medium, the Negro press, which has been communicating to black communities, and in some cases to some of the whites in communities for many years. Criticism of this form of communication, however, has come from E. Franklin Frazier. Some years ago he said:

> The Negro press is not only one of the most successful business enterprises owned and controlled by Negroes; it is the chief medium of communication which creates and perpetuates the world of make-believe for the black bourgeoisie. Although the Negro press declares itself to be the spokesman for the Negro group as a whole, it represents essentially the interests and outlook of the black bourgeoisie. Its demand for equality for the Negro in American life is concerned primarily with opportunities which will benefit the black bourgeoisie economically and enhance the social status of the Negro.[17]

In other words, Frazier was saying that the Negro press was not doing anything for the average man in the ghetto, but was interested in bringing more opportunity to the lesser, by far, number of people in the Negro middle class.

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[16]Verling C. Troldahl and Roger Skolnik, "The Meaning People Have for Radio Today," Journal of Broadcasting, XII (Winter, 1967-68), 57-67.

[17]E. Franklin Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957), p. 174.

While the Negro press has been largely owned by black people, this has not been the case with Negro-oriented radio. There are presently fewer than twelve radio stations licensed to Negroes in the United States. Of course this does not mean that Negro-oriented stations do not communicate effectively to both black and white people, as it is possible for stations licensed to white corporations or individuals to be programmed by Negroes for the black community.

Specific services such stations could perform for black people are many. For instance, Grier and Cobbs wrote about the "patois" or speech patterns of blacks in their book, Black Rage. They said this developed during slavery as secret language with double meanings for conspiracies and escapes.

> Still driven to this verbal depreciation, the black man puts the patois again to his own uses. The "jive" language and the "hip" language, while presented in a way that whites look upon simply as a quaint ethnic peculiarity, is used as a secret language to communicate the hostility of blacks for whites, and great delight is taken by blacks when whites are confounded by the language.[18]

Although this may not sound beneficial to society in general, it actually does have some desirable outcomes as far as black society is concerned. The authors further explain the use of this patois. "Thus," they say, "the patois and the other demeaning attributes are turned to a positive and elevating use, and continue to bind black people together with a sense of identity and group solidarity."[19]

Another use of Negro-oriented radio for the benefit of the society might be the dissemination of various forms of black art. This

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[18]Grier and Cobbs, Black Rage, p. 125.

[19]Ibid., pp. 126-7.

too, could be instrumental in building group solidarity among black people. One author speaks of black art in a special way.

> Black art is a particular way of giving expression to Black energy; an artistic putting down of what is actively going on in the lives of Black people. It's asking Black people to dig themselves as they are, to be themselves, and to be more. The new Black art seeks to divorce itself from Western art's "art for art's sake" and participate in the effort to build a community of strong people, a nation with its own institutions embodying its own cultural values.[20]

Music, one of the arts included in the above, plays a large part in modern radio. On Negro-oriented radio, one would think that music which is essentially Negro-oriented would be heard. Grier and Cobbs have commented on this aspect of musical culture.

> Black musicians have always sought to express something uniquely black and to express it in a way which leaves whites dumfounded and excluded. Most popular music in America expresses this progressive change in the manner of expression of black musicians. No sooner have some whites learned the special techniques than Negro musicians develop a new, more difficult technique, and when that too can be shared by whites, another more complex idiom is developed. Any student of contemporary music can follow this evolution and will be impressed by the technical and theoretical developments black musicians have moved toward in response to the drive for a unique and ethnically singular method of expression.[21]

It seems that the "patois," black art, and black music which authors have written about have the effect of uniting black people and giving them a sense of identity. Some sociologists have said that this is beneficial to society and that it will help to solve some of the problems which exist.

Other ways in which Negro-oriented radio can help solve racial problems in society might include presenting information about many things needed for city living such as employment opportunities, data

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[20]Sherry Turner, "An Overview of the New Black Arts," Freedomways, (Spring, 1969), p. 156.

[21]Grier and Cobbs, Black Rage, pp. 125-6.

about job training, international, national, state and local news, as well as specific community news which relates to the needs of black people. This type of radio has the potential for much good for society. About it, Federal Communications Commissioner Nicholas Johnson has said:

> No institution in our land, inside or outside of government, can match the power of minority radio stations to administer day-in, day-out therapy to the root cause of the worsening malaise of our cities. No institution can do as much to banish the habit of despair and replace it with the habit of democracy.[22]

Of course, one of the things that Negro radio can do, and is doing today--which most radio in America is also doing--is to advertise consumer goods. In the American system of broadcasting, the advertiser pays the way with commercials. While this is not necessarily a benefit to society, it is also not necessarily a disservice. Depending on the way it is used, radio advertising can either be a public service to a community or it can exploit a community. In a book called The $30 Billion Negro, D. Parke Gibson, who heads a consulting firm for advertisers, has explained for American advertisers some of the problems and some ways to adjust to them.

In this book, Gibson discussed some of the characteristics of the Negro Market.

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[22]Nicholas Johnson, Speech to Negro and Spanish Speaking Market Radio and Today's Urban Crisis Conference, May 16, 1968, at the Americana Hotel in New York City.

> There is little likelihood that in the near future the Negro community in the United States will be absorbed into the white community, as the white cultural subdivisions in America have been, and this is the basis upon which business and industrial management will have to operate in the sale of goods and services to this expanding market segment.
>
> The fact that Negroes have billions of dollars to spend and that they can be influenced to buy a wide range of products and services through positive programs that recognize them as consumers, identify with them to buy, is a fact that is gaining increased interest and action from American businessmen.[23]

Although Gibson does not often differentiate between printed media and radio in this book, his advice can be used by either of them. He makes the point that the media offer communication; and that through the use of this communication, the businessman can increase sales.

> Negro-oriented media offer communication with the Negro market, and their use gives messages conviction and believability that usually cannot be achieved in any other media. White-oriented media continue to ignore vital dimensions in the lives of non-white Americans, and almost without exception these media talk <u>about</u> Negroes and not <u>to</u> them.[24]

Gibson discusses in this book the characteristics of Negro-oriented media. He explains the major differences between them and the general media of communication.

> Negro-oriented media talk <u>to</u> Negroes, and thus no adjustment is required as they participate in this media involvement. It is important for management and marketing executives to understand that Negro-oriented media are also "messages in themselves" to the millions of Americans who are not white.[25]

Gibson, who incidentally is himself a Negro, is interested in communicating advice to advertisers about selling to the Negro market. He almost paraphrases Marshall McLuhan's words about the medium being the message. It seems as though Negro-oriented radio, just being what

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[23]Gibson, <u>The $30 Billion Negro</u>, p. 9.

[24]<u>Ibid</u>., p. 149.

[25]<u>Ibid</u>., p. 151.

it is, is a message to black Americans. Credibility, then, is high among Negroes if the message appears in one of the Negro-oriented media.

Although Negro radio can be of benefit to society, it has not always been so. There have been critics of Negro radio.

One critic has said:

> Very seldom are broadcast owners, white or Negro, seeking to use radio for special pleading or agitation on behalf of the Negro. Indeed, far from being a medium for communicating a specifically Negro viewpoint to a white audience, radio has become, because of its commercial nature, a medium by which the white establishment, through advertising is actually seeking to sell its values to the Negro.[26]

While this critic puts the blame for his criticism on the commercial nature of the medium, others would disagree. They would say that it is quite possible to serve the interests of a public even while selling goods.

Another critic, rather well known, is comedian and civil rights activist, Dick Gregory. At a convention of the National Association of Television and Radio Announcers (The Negro counterpart to AFTRA), in August of 1969, Gregory spoke out about Negro radio.

> I have seven black kids, and radio has more of an influence on them that I do. I hope you understand what you're doing with your power; if you blow that power, baby, you're in trouble. As disk jockeys, you're playing a sound, not a record. And after you get rid of all those . . . commercials for used cars and shoddy merchandise at high credit rates , you'd better inform me. You'd better give us an attitude, a direction. We're not worried about your communications. You must inform that white boy who owns that station you work for what you must do in programming . You ain't in show business no more, you're in a revolution.[27]

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[26]Kahlenberg, "Negro Radio," p. 127.

[27]"Backroom Politics Dominate NATRA," Broadcasting, August 25, 1969, p. 44.

It has been shown that there is a need for more and better communications between the races in order to build better harmony. It has also been shown that there is a need for more and better communication within the black community to provide information necessary for self improvement, and for more unification and solidarity. It has been suggested that Negro-oriented radio is a good channel for such communication. To date, there have been very few studies of this type of radio (or of any type of modern radio). The writer believes that for the above reasons, this study is a justifiable one to add knowledge to the field.

Survey of the Literature

After a careful search of published and unpublished materials, the writer has found very little information in print about Negro radio. Five pertinent academic studies are reviewed here. The first is a master's thesis written at the University of Wisconsin in 1960.

In "Negro Radio Broadcasting in the United States," Cloyte Murdoch studied the national industry of Negro radio in general. She began the study by mentioning the origins and the reasons why this type of radio was started. She said there was a need for such a service because the Negro was being ignored by radio and television in general. She said that the Negro markets were growing larger and larger and that these markets were certainly something that businessmen did not want to overlook.

> . . . their [Negroes] significance as potential markets for merchandise had already begun to impress some radio broadcasters. Market researchers were even then [1950] suggesting that these Negro citizens were prosperous and somewhat prodigal, brand-and status-conscious, and, consequently, worthy subjects for attention on the part of advertisers. Furthermore, scarcely a Negro family lacked a radio.[28]

With this aspect of the Murdoch study in mind, the writer believes it is obvious to the student of the American system of broadcasting why it is important for the businessman to be interested in the Negro for a start to take place in this type of specialized communication. Radio in America, except for educational radio, is a business venture. It is necessary to show the financial ability to operate a station before one can obtain a license from the federal government.[29] It is also necessary for the licensee to have a knowledge of business operations in order to stay in business.

Miss Murdoch also wrote of the state of Negro radio.

> Today [1960] there is an American Negro radio industry. Certain facts are known about it: (1) it is extensive, although no one is certain about its exact dimensions; (2) it is lucrative, possessing great "selling power" and great attraction for advertisers; (3) it is getting bigger all the time.[30]

In her study, Miss Murdoch did not attempt to determine the unknowns mentioned above. What she did attempt to do was to answer the following question:

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[28]Cloyte Murdoch, "Negro Radio Broadcasting in the United States," unpublished master's thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1960, p. 9.

[29]Walter Emery, Broadcasting and Government (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1961), p. 182.

[30]Murdoch, "Negro Radio Broadcasting," pp. 9-10.

> In what ways has Negro radio broadcasting served the people who compose its market? More specifically, an attempt will be made in this paper to determine whether the emergence of Negro radio broadcasting has been accompanied by any of the phenomena that were envisioned by the crusaders of the 1940's.[31]

She then listed five types of service that might be of benefit to Negro communities. The first of these was the participation by Negroes in ownership and management. Next she was interested in determining if increased employment of Negroes in production, sales, and technical positions in Negro radio was taking place. She was also interested in looking for the creation of programs which would acquaint Negro listeners with achievements and contributions of their people to the welfare and progress of the nation. Another interest mentioned was to determine if there was a presentation in this type of radio of white-oriented programs that would portray the Negro in a manner which would enable white Americans to understand the black man's problems and goals. Finally, Miss Murdoch was interested in whether Negro-oriented radio stations scheduled any diversified programs of particular interest to Negro audiences in different areas of the country.

The information from this study was obtained partly from a mail questionnaire survey and partly from the annual report by Sponsor magazine on Negro radio. In the survey, Miss Murdoch received a small return but one which could be considered fair for a mail questionnaire.

Miss Murdoch concluded in this study that Negro radio was mostly white-owned and that Negroes were mostly employees. She mentioned that there were no legal obstacles preventing Negroes from applying for station licenses but seemingly many had not done so. She reported that

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[31] Ibid., pp. 10-11.

only four stations in the country were licensed to Negroes: WEUP, Birmingham, Alabama; WCHB, Inkster, Michigan; KPRS, Kansas City, Missouri; and a fourth station which did not respond to her questionnaire, WERD, Atlanta, Georgia.[32] Although there were very few Negro licensees, Miss Murdoch concluded that there had been a significant rise in Negro employment in every capacity of radio including management.

One of Miss Murdoch's conclusions was that ". . . Negro programming is stereotyped. Radio has found yet another profit-making formula, and the formula has achieved wide, although not universal, acceptance and utility."[33] Another conclusion, perhaps even more important, that she was able to draw from her study was that ". . . from the point of view of what is good for the Negro, radio stations addressing this market have thus far contributed relatively little through their on-the-air efforts."[34]

In the course of this study, Miss Murdoch defined Negro programming.

> Negro programming is an all encompassing term referring to any type of material broadcast over the air that a radio station specifically designs or presents in order to attract a predominantly Negro audience. This type of programming is sometimes called "Negro-oriented" or "specialized audience" programming.[35]

Another study pertaining to "Negro radio" was a master's thesis completed at Brooklyn College in 1964--"A Descriptive Analysis of the

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[32] Ibid., p. 97.

[33] Ibid., p. 115.

[34] Ibid., p. 117.

[35] Ibid., p. 12.

Three Negro Oriented Radio Stations in New York City," by Harry Leibowitz. Leibowitz's methods of study were a mailed questionnaire and personal interview.

Leibowitz's expressed purpose was to:

> . . . describe the functioning of the three radio stations which are located in New York City, and program primarily or in large part specifically for the Negro audience. To be more specific, this study is concerned with the history, ownership, management, technical, personnel, advertising, programming and other aspects of radio stations WLIB-AM, WWRL-AM and WADO-AM.[36]

The research design which Leibowitz used included a questionnaire, of fifty items in length, distributed to the general managers of the three stations, plus personal visits to two of the stations. Leibowitz did not say which of the two stations he visited, nor did he give a reason for not visiting the third. In addition to the use of the survey method, Leibowitz made use of little background literature. The principal printed source was an annual issue of Sponsor magazine, which concerned itself with the Negro radio market on a national scale.

This was a small study (only sixty-four pages including appendixes and bibliography) with just five chapters. The first was a summation of a Pulse report on population statistics including a demographic breakdown, followed by three chapters, one each (with all of the information mentioned in the statement of the problem) for each station. There was a final chapter stating conclusions.

A pertinent bit of information in this study was Leibowitz' comment concerning the difference between Negro radio and general radio.

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[36]Harry Leibowitz, "A Descriptive Analysis of the Three Negro Oriented Radio Stations in New York City," unpublished master's thesis, Brooklyn College, 1964, p. 1.

> The one thing which makes Negro radio so obviously Negro is not necessarily the records played, for these can be heard on any one of a dozen other stations in the area. It is what is said before and after the music that counts. This is generally in a deep southern drawl with an obviously Negro accent. In addition, the emphasis is on the use of the vernacular, and on news and public service features of particular interest to the Negro community.[37]

Leibowitz concluded that the programming on the Negro-oriented stations in his study was not much different from that on the general appeal stations.

> The Negro audience is fed a regular diet of rock-n-roll, rhythm and blues, or jazz. The only thing which may appear on the Negro stations which is absent from the general appeal station is gospel, and it is the general opinion that the gospel audience is slowly disappearing.[38]

From this comment, it can be assumed that Leibowitz spoke of programming in the sense of music alone. However, music is not the sole element of radio programming. Other elements include programming features such as commentary about music, talk or discussion programs, commercials, public service announcements, community features, religion, sports, farm or agricultural information, and still others. It would seem that there must be something other than gospel music which would differentiate Negro-oriented radio from general appeal radio. One of the aims of the present study is to determine the differences in programming.

Another study which has at least limited applicability to the one being written presently is a master's thesis completed at American University in 1956 entitled, "An Inquiry into the Integration of Negroes into Television Station Operations," by Charles H. Davis. The problem of the study, according to Davis, was to determine the employment

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[37] Ibid., p. 42.

[38] Ibid., p. 43.

situation of Negroes, on an integrated basis, throughout the country, in administrative and/or technical jobs in television stations at the time of the survey. Three supporting problems were mentioned by the author. They were: (1) to determine the extent of integration at the local level in non-service jobs exclusive of talent; (2) to find reasons for the present extent of integration and opinions of station executives as to why there is not more, and (3) to compare the amount of integration in radio in a particular period to television in a comparative period.

The methodology used in this study, similar to that of the Murdoch study, was a survey by mail and the analysis of the returned questionnaires. The percentage of returns in this study (24%) was slightly higher than that of the Murdoch study and could be considered a fair return for a mail survey.

Davis proposed three hypotheses: (1) the number of Negroes employed in television stations, in non-service jobs, represents only a small percentage of the total number of employees in that category; (2) there will be little evidence which points to an increase in the present percentage of employment for Negroes in non-service jobs in television stations, and (3) there will be some evidence that more Negroes have been hired in non-service jobs in television than were hired in radio, in a comparable period of time. The conclusions were that hypotheses one and three above were proven correct and that hypothesis two was proven incorrect.

Most of this study concerned employment practices in television. There was one small paragraph concerning radio which had some direct relevance to the present study.

> Employment for colored people in radio, suddenly jumped upward in 1946 and 1947. Radio stations all over the country began programming to the Negro market. They were employed mostly as disc-jockeys and time salesmen, although other jobs, such as program directors and secretaries were filled with a few too.[39]

The relevance of these comments is that they reinforce the information in the Murdoch study concerning the growth of Negro radio in 1947 and 1948.

There are two remaining studies of some relevance to the present study, both of which are related to each other to the extent that they deal with the depiction of Negroes in the mass media. The first study to be discussed here, which concerns Negroes as they appear in more than one medium, is an unpublished doctoral dissertation completed at the University of Denver in 1959 by Daisy F. Balsley and entitled "A Descriptive Study of References Made to Negroes and Occupational Roles Represented by Negroes in Selected Mass Media."

As the title implies, this is a descriptive study. The author described what she saw in selected media, such as motion pictures, magazines, television programs, novels and non-fiction. Radio was not included. At the very end of this study, the author drew some conclusions from the data described.

This study was organized into five chapters. The first chapter stated the problem and defined terms. Chapter two included a review of the literature, while chapter three defined the procedure and the criteria for judgment. Chapter four outlined results, and the final chapter included a summary and conclusions.

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[39]Charles H. Davis, "An Inquiry into the Integration of Negroes into Television Station Operations," unpublished master's thesis, American University, 1956, p. 64.

> The problem was to describe analytically the references made to Negroes and to classify by occupation the roles in which Negroes were represented as shown by an examination of selected motion pictures, magazines, novels, non-fiction books and television shows.[40]

In writing about the importance of the study, Balsley was concerned, among other things, with the stereotyped image which the public has about Negroes, and the role of the mass media in this respect:

> . . . movies, best selling books, magazines, radio and television shows make up a considerable part of the "semantic environment" of the "average American citizen." Their crucial importance can be guaged from the fact that they make up that part of the semantic environment which the average citizen, himself, determines.[41]

Another idea which concerned the author in this study was "latent learning:"

> The significance of any appearance of a Negro, when evaluated as a "social message" has to do with the process of "latent learning." Basic to practically all learning theories is the postulate that a certain amount of learning takes place during the course of any experience, even though it may be latent in that it may not find expression in behavior immediately. The implication here is that latent learning may occur, although the audiences may not be aware of what is happening, when they are exposed to images of, let us say, Negroes and whites fraternizing without self-consciousness, or read references to Negroes free of inferiority implications.[42]

This idea certainly has some relevance to the present study. The idea of communicating information to society, in general, about black people today in order to create better understanding between the races, was posed at the beginning of this chapter. While some people may say that this information might not be absorbed, however, the idea of "latent learning" as described by the author above would refute that. It is

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[40]Daisy F. Balsley, "A Descriptive Study of References Made to Negroes and Occupational Roles Represented by Negroes in Selected Mass Media," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Denver, 1959, p. 3.

[41]Ibid., p. 6.

[42]Ibid., pp. 15-16.

certainly possible that learning can take place without a person's being aware of it. It would seem that advertisers use this knowledge by the repetition of their message in the different media. Who has not seen and heard a young child singing a commercial jingle? This writer's own three-year old son, when taken shopping at the supermarket, has asked for such items as Rollaids and Alka Seltzer, commodities not normally consumed by children.

The author defined her criteria for the aspects of "roles" and also for the aspect of "references," The definitions for roles were obvious but for reference criteria, her definitions were somewhat complex. These definitions are shown below.

1. A cognitive reference was identified as a statement in which the Negro was perceived as: threatening or non-threatening; inferior or equal in status; inferior or equal in intellectual potential; inferior or equal biologically; impulse-gratifying or nonimpulse gratifying; seclusive or non-seclusive; intrusive or non-intrusive; negative or positive in activity characteristics; negative or positive in physical characteristics; classifiable or non-classifiable only in terms of group membership; presenting a salient problem or not presenting a salient problem with regard to personal and national welfare; victimized or not victimized by intergroup injustices.

2. An affective reference was identified as a statement expressing friendliness or unfriendliness; fear or non-fear, trust or distrust; disgust or non-disgust; sympathy or non-sympathy for the Negro.

3. A conative reference was identified as a statement reflecting the disposition or desire to: exclude or include Negroes from varied degrees of social relations; to withdraw or not withdraw from varied degrees of social contact with the Negro; to enforce or not to enforce varied status differentials; to give aid or not give aid to the Negro.[43]

This study, called by its author a descriptive study, contained an analysis of selected segments of a varied sampling of the mass media,

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[43] Ibid., pp. 175-7.

including motion pictures, magazines, television programs, novels, and non-fiction. (It did not include an analysis of radio.) As a result of the study, the author came to some general conclusions:

1. The results obtained from applying the reference criteria to the study material showed that with regard to the media under study, references to the Negro were more often favorable than unfavorable.

2. The "unfavorable" attitude was not proportionally represented among the three dimensions. The statements which expressed some "percept" or "belief" about the Negro numbered high among the negative references. The statements which expressed a desire to see the condition of the Negro improved and/or equality of treatment accorded, numbered high among the positive references.

3. The application of the role criterion to the study material showed that in the symbolic universe of the selected mass media, the great majority of Negroes were represented as private household workers.

This fictional representation of the Negro does not equate in terms of percentage with the statistics of the 1950 census of population. A table quoted by Jessie Bernard showed that in 1950 only .7% of the non-white population in the United States was employed as private household workers.[44]

There is a relationship between the Balsley study and the present one. The Balsley study has analyzed samples from several media to determine the ways in which Negroes have either been depicted or referred to. In the present study, an analysis will be made of one particular medium, Negro-oriented radio, to determine several different types of information, among them, what this medium is doing for the communities involved.

The last study under consideration here is one which analyzes the depiction of the Negro in a single radio series. It is an unpublished master's thesis by Jack D. Summerfield, completed in 1954 at the

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[44] Ibid., pp. 372-3.

University of Texas, with the title "The Negro in Radiobroadcasting: A Program Content Analysis." According to the author, "The principal objective of this thesis is to describe the contents of 'The Beulah Show,' [sic] one of four network radio-broadcast series which currently and regularly depict Negroes."[45]

The study is organized into five chapters, as follows: Chapter One is a statement of the problem and how the author chooses to study it. Chapter Two is a rationale for the study, describing social, economic, and political settings of broadcasting and government, industry, and standards of measurement for program content. Chapter Three is a review of stereotypes and status of Negroes in America, and Chapter Four contains the results of the descriptive analysis of Beulah. In Chapter Five ". . . some of the possible and the probable causes and effects of these broadcasts are evaluated."[46]

Two hypotheses were postulated by the author:

> (1) In its portrayal of the Negro American, "The Beulah Show" tends to confirm and perpetuate commonly held beliefs about the characteristics and statuses of the Negro. (2) These broadcasters fail to fulfill their stated objectives of presenting an accurate picture of the Negro and of not deriding this racial group on the air.[47]

In this study, Summerfield makes mention of some topics which have a direct bearing on the present study and which invite other studies in the area of Negro radio.

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[45]Jack D. Summerfield, "The Negro in Radiobroadcasting: A Program Content Analysis," unpublished master's thesis, University of Texas, 1954, p. 1.

[46]Ibid., p. 2.

[47]Ibid., p. 3.

> . . . with the advent of television and the concomitant redistribution of broadcasting income it has become important to study the ways by which network and local broadcasters may revise their programming policies in order to compete for the advertiser's dollar. For instance, what is the extent of the "Negro market?" What are Negroes' listening habits compared to others? What is the best means of reaching them? Are Negro radio stations making a specialized appeal which may eventually contribute more to intergroup antipathy than cooperation? Do all Negro stations perpetuate segregation in the interests of their owners? Do they provide the best or the only training ground for Negro broadcasters toward subsequent employment by white broadcasters and eventual integration into more general broadcast activities? How does competition for the advertising dollar by organizations making a direct appeal to minority audiences affect the rest of the industry?[48]

Obviously, these questions need to be answered. While some of them already have been answered to some extent, relatively little research has been done in this area of communication; and there are many unanswered questions. These are important questions for broadcasters, advertisers, other related communications media, and the general public.

The conclusions reached by Summerfield in this study are set forth in Chapter Five. His thematic and character analysis produced four categories of data pertinent to the validity of the hypotheses which show how the Negro is portrayed. These were economical, social, educational, and ". . . with regard to personal traits and characteristics."

> In the first three categories named, all dealing with relative status, Negroes in "The Beulah Show" are depicted as being inferior to whites. In the fourth category, directed more to individual differences, Negroes are portrayed in a sometimes favorable and sometimes unfavorable light. Considering all four categories, Negroes are usually but not always presented in a manner which confirms the stereotyped beliefs held about them by many Americans. The characters are often portrayed inconsistently.[49]

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[48] Ibid., pp. 5-6.

[49] Ibid., pp. 215-6.

With respect to the hypotheses suggested by the author, Summerfield said that there was not enough evidence to support the second. "The inaccuracies of portrayal found in this study were nothing more than variegated expressions of generally inconsistent, over-simplified and fragmentary dramatic characterizations. Hence, the second hypothesis is rejected."[50]

Concerning the first hypothesis, Summerfield observes:

> . . . the broadcasts contained images sometimes nullified by inconsistency but more often depicting Negroes as inferior and subordinate to whites in their socio-economic statuses and as the possessors of many personal traits and characteristics which Americans normally attribute to Negroes as a group. Beulah's easy laughter, Oriole's stupidity and boisterousness, their roles as maids and housekeepers, the preponderance of scene-settings in the kitchen, are only a few of the images which serve to confirm and perpetuate the Negro stereotype and which thereby rationalize the generally superordinate status held by whites even in a predominantly Negro world. The results of this analysis of "The Beulah Show" make it impossible to reject the first hypothesis.[51]

It is appropriate to examine both the Balsley and the Summerfield studies here. The depiction of Negroes in the mass media, both in 1954 and in 1959, as shown by these studies was more in accordance with stereotyped ideas of white America than with actual fact. There have been very few studies completed concerning Negro-oriented radio. The studies reviewed here provided relevant and useful information and it is hoped that the present study will also add useful knowledge to the field.

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[50] Ibid., pp. 238-9.

[51] Ibid., p. 239.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY

How did this industry begin? One of the few studies published about its beginnings was done by Richard S. Kahlenberg. In it he says, "There is general agreement among Negro broadcasters that Jack L. Cooper was the first Negro to perform on radio. This was in 1924 over WCAP in Washington, D.C."[1]

Another study which is both historical and descriptive is the master's thesis completed in 1960 at the University of Wisconsin, to which reference has been previously made. In this study, Cloyte Murdoch affirms that over the years there has been quite an extensive Negro radio industry.[2] This has been documented in several different sources, one of the latest of which is D. Parke Gibson's book, The $30 Billion Negro, published in 1969. Gibson, a Negro, operates a consultant agency for advertisers, the sole purpose of which is to help major businesses reach Negro markets. In his book, he writes:

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[1]Kahlenberg, "Negro Radio," p. 128.

[2]Murdoch, "Negro Radio Broadcasting," pp. 9-10. Very little has been published of a historical nature about this topic. Miss Murdoch, who, because of employment there, had access to the files of the Johnson Publishing Company, was able to write a short historical chapter in her study. Much of what appears in the present study is taken from the Murdoch study.

> No medium geared to the interests of Negroes has grown as fast as did Negro-oriented radio. Hundreds of stations across the United States now program fully or partially to the Negro community. Because of its daily and, for many stations, twenty-four-hour coverage in the Negro market, radio has gained a stature for news, music, public service, and community-interest activity that few white-oriented media could even begin to achieve among Negroes.[3]

According to information in the Murdoch thesis, in 1922, WNOE, New Orleans, Louisiana, began scheduling Negro programming. However, Miss Murdoch does not mention whether or not this programming was being performed by Negroes. It would seem highly unlikely, however, that Negro programming would be performed by other than Negroes. While Kahlenberg does not give a specific source for his information, he does cite specific interviews in footnotes later in his paper. Miss Murdoch cites Sponsor magazine as her source, but she does not give specific information concerning the issue in which this appears.

According to the survey which Miss Murdoch used to obtain some of her information, KDIA, Oakland, California, reported that it was the oldest station to program Negro radio, beginning in 1935. Apparently, the management of that station was not aware of the information supplied by the Murdoch study. This helps to point to the need for a definitive historical study in this area.

There does not seem to be any discrepancy about which station was the first in the country to program 100 per cent Negro radio. This was WDIA, Memphis, Tennessee, which, according to Miss Murdoch, is the most powerful of all of the Negro programmed stations and the only 50,000 watt station of this kind. Since its beginning, it has had consistently high ratings. This information is reenforced by the following report:

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[3]Gibson, The $30 Billion Negro, p. 152.

> WDIA is owned and managed by white people; but of its 42 employees, one-third (including the entire performing personnel) are Negroes. The station . . . is the principal source of information and communication for the Negro community, not only of Memphis, but of the surrounding territory which includes that part of eight states calling itself the Midsouth. Almost 1,300,000 Negroes live there.[4]

This same source also mentions the economic ability of this station. "Because Negroes make up 37.4 per cent of the population of Memphis--even more in the areas to the south and west--WDIA is the biggest and most profitable radio station in the Midsouth."[5]

According to Miss Murdoch, 1949 was the next important year in the history of the development of Negro radio. In that year, WEDR, Birmingham, Alabama, began calling itself the first station in the Deep South to be entirely staffed by Negroes. In the beginning of its operation, this station underwent a great deal of harrassment by the Ku Klux Klan. However, it managed to succeed despite this harrassment. Also, in 1949, WERD, Atlanta, Georgia, became the first Negro-owned and operated station in the country, calling itself, "The Voice of Progress."

> Subsequently, other Negro-owned stations were established; but Negro-ownership is still so unusual a circumstance that some colored citizens have expressed alarm about this lack of participation and suggested that perhaps the FCC should "do something." In the summer of 1959 . . . the FCC heard a statement by the president of a national Negro women's club, the Links; the spokesman, Mrs. Pauline F. Weeden . . . declared that fewer than six radio stations in America are Negro owned. This writer has been able to establish the existence of only four: WERD, in Atlanta; WCHB, in Detroit; KPRS, in Kansas City, Missouri; and WEUP, in Birmingham, Alabama.[6]

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[4]"WDIA: It Made Good Will Pay," Coronet, February, 1957, p. 146.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Murdoch, "Negro Radio Broadcasting," pp. 29-30.

Kahlenberg mentioned two others: WMPP, Chicago Heights, Illinois, and WCHD-FM in Detroit.[7] This was in 1966. This writer knows specifically of two others. They are WWWS-FM in Saginaw, Michigan, and WGPR-FM, in Detroit.

One factor making it extremely difficult to obtain information about the race of the licensees of radio stations is the absence of FCC records of this type. Also, while information concerning the transfer of licenses is reported in Broadcasting magazine, the business weekly of the broadcasting industry, data pertaining to race are not necessarily provided and only surmises may be made. One issue of this magazine reported that WEBB, in Baltimore, Maryland, was sold to James Brown, a rhythm and blues singer who, although the article did not so state, is generally known to be a Negro. The same article also said that Mr. Brown has controlling interest in WJBE, Knoxville, Tennessee, and WRDW, Augusta, Georgia.[8] This situation points out how difficult it is to obtain information concerning race and how incorrect any estimate might be. This writer has been able to document the ownership by Negroes of only eleven radio stations. While there may be more, out of the thousands of stations licensed in this country, it is not likely that the number of black-owned stations is proportionally high.

In the early and middle 1950's, according to Miss Murdoch, many stations began changing from general formats to Negro programming. Those named in this source included the following: WFEC, Miami, Florida, which was founded in 1949 as a general appeal station and was switched to an

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[7]Kahlenberg, "Negro Radio," p. 142.

[8]"Changing Hands," Broadcasting, December 15, 1969, p. 50.

all-Negro format in 1950; WVOL, Nashville, Tennessee, which was founded as WSOL, and began in 1951; KWBC, Ft. Worth, Texas, which began broadcasting Negro programming in 1953; WCBR, Memphis, Tennessee, which began in 1954 and was the second Negro station for Memphis; and WGEE, Indianapolis, Indiana, which started twenty-nine hours per week of Negro programming in 1955.

Thus, it can be seen that it was in the early 1950's that this new type of radio began to expand. Soon, the ownership patterns of these and other stations began to group together as corporations began to acquire more than one station. In the Murdoch study, many group ownerships were mentioned and described. However, information about group ownership of stations licensed to Negroes, or programming for Negroes, is difficult to find. In fact, this writer was unable to find new information of this type. Perhaps this information is available in the files of Johnson Publishing Company. However, a letter written to this company on July 24, 1969, requesting information about Negro radio remains unanswered.

Seven group ownership units were mentioned in the Murdoch study, the first of which was Continental Broadcasting, with O. Wayne Rollins as president. The stations included WNJR, Newark, New Jersey; WBEE, Chicago, Illinois; KATZ, St. Louis, Missouri; WRAP, Norfolk, Virginia, and WGEE, Indianapolis, Indiana. All but WGEE were 100 per cent Negro--WGEE was forty per cent.

This group, according to the 1969 Broadcasting Yearbook, has been renamed as the Rollins Stations with O. Wayne Rollins as the president. The stations listed are WNJR, Newark, New Jersey; WRAP, Norfolk, Virginia (both listed as carrying 100 per cent Negro-oriented programming); WBEE, Harvey, Illinois, which is listed as carrying 101

hours per week of Negro-oriented programming; and WGEE, Indianapolis, Indiana, which is listed as carrying forty-five hours of Negro-oriented programming. WGEE-FM is also listed in this group, but the type of programming is not specified. Three additional stations are listed as part of the group: WAMS, Wilmington, Delaware; WCHS, Charleston, West Virginia, and KDAY, Santa Monica, California. However, the type of programming is not specified.

Another group listed in the Murdoch study was the Ebony Radio Group, John H. McLendon, President, with the following stations: KOKA, Shreveport, Louisiana; WENN, Birmingham, Alabama; WOKJ, Jackson, Mississippi, and KOKY, Little Rock, Arkansas--all 100 per cent Negro.

The 1969 Broadcasting Yearbook does not, however, list an Ebony Radio Group. KOKA, Shreveport, Louisiana, is licensed to KOKA Broadcasting Company, which acquired it in 1964; and the station does not list Negro-oriented programming. WENN, Birmingham, Alabama, is licensed to the Jomac Birmingham Corporation, John H. MacLendon, President, which lists fourteen hours a week of Negro-oriented programming. WOKJ, Jackson, Mississippi, is licensed to the Jomac Jackson Corporation, John H. MacLendon, President; but it does not broadcast Negro-oriented programming. KOKY, Little Rock, Arkansas, is licensed to Midwest Broadcasting Company, which acquired it in 1966, and is not listed under group ownership. This station does list 100 per cent Negro-oriented programming.

The Speidel Broadcasting Corporation, Joseph Speidel III, President, is the next group listed in the Murdoch study. The following stations, all in South Carolina, were listed: WPAL, Charleston; WOIC, Columbia; WYNN, Florence, and WWBD, Bamberg, the last of which programs for general audiences.

In the 1969 Broadcasting Yearbook the Speidel Stations are listed as follows: WPAL, Charleston, South Carolina; WYNN, Florence, South Carolina, and WSOK, Savannah, Georgia, all listed as programming 100 per cent Negro-oriented programs; WOIC, Columbia, South Carolina; WHIH, Portsmouth-Norfolk, Virginia; and WTMP, Tempa, Florida, all listed as not programming for Negroes.

Another group shown in the Murdoch study is the United Broadcasting Company, Richard Eaton, President, with the following stations: WOOK, Washington, D.C.; WSID, Baltimore, Maryland; and WYOU, Newport News, Virginia, with all-Negro programming; WJMO, Cleveland, Ohio, primarily Negro; WINX, Rockville, Maryland; and WANT, Richmond, Virginia, general audience stations.

A group named the United Broadcasting Stations, Richard Eaton, President, is listed in the 1969 Broadcasting Yearbook with the following stations: WOOK, Washington, D.C., and WSID, Baltimore, Maryland, both listed with 100 per cent Negro-oriented programming; WMJO, Cleveland Heights, Ohio, with 161 hours of Negro-oriented programming; WFAB, Miami, Florida, and KALI, San Gabriel, California, both listed as primarily Spanish broadcasting and no Negro-oriented programming; and WINX, Rockville, Maryland, which does not broadcast Negro-oriented programs.

Another group mentioned was Rounsaville Radio Stations with Robert Rounsaville, President. This group was listed as follows: WCIN, Cincinnati, Ohio; WLOU, Louisville, Kentucky; WMBM, Miami-Miami Beach, Florida; WVOL, Nashville, Tennessee; WYLD, New Orleans, Louisiana; and WTMP, Tampa-St. Petersburg, Florida, all 100 per cent Negro.

The R.W. Rounsaville stations were shown in the 1969 Broadcasting Yearbook with the following stations: WVOL, Nashville, Tennessee (Berry Hill), and WYLD, New Orleans, Louisiana, both with 100 per cent Negro-oriented programming; WCIN, Cincinnati, Ohio, with 131 hours of Negro-oriented programming listed; WLOU, Louisville, Kentucky; WDAE, Tampa, Florida, and WFUN, Miami, Florida, all listed as not carrying Negro-oriented programming.

The Sonderling Stations was another group mentioned by Miss Murdoch, with Egmont Sonderling, Richard Goodman, and Mason Loundy, as the owners. This group included the following stations: WOPA, Oak Park, Illinois; WOK (TV), Chicago, Illinois; KDIA, Oakland, California, and WDIA, Memphis, Tennessee. WOPA was listed as having sixty hours of Negro programming, and the other two stations were listed with 100 per cent Negro programming.

The Sonderling Stations, Egmont Sonderling, President, were listed in the 1969 Broadcasting Yearbook with the following stations: KDIA, Oakland, California; WDIA, Memphis, Tennessee; WWRL, New York; and WOL, Washington, D.C., all 100 per cent Negro-oriented programming; WOPA, Oak Park, Illinois, with 20 hours of Negro-oriented programming; and KFOX, Long Beach, California, with no hours listed as Negro oriented.

The final group listed in the Murdoch study was The OK Group, Jules J. Paglin, President, with the following stations: WJOK, New Orleans, Louisiana; KYOK, Houston, Texas; KAOK, Lake Charles, Louisiana; WXOK, Baton Rouge, Louisiana; WLOK, Memphis, Tennessee; and WGOK, Mobile, Alabama.

The OK Group was not listed under group ownership in the 1969 Broadcasting Yearbook. However, all but two of the stations were shown as programming 100 per cent Negro-oriented programming and with Jules J. Paglin as President. KAOK, Lake Charles, was no longer owned by Paglin and did not list any Negro-oriented programming. WLOK, Memphis was still owned by Paglin but did not list any Negro-oriented programming.

Only one station was owned by a newspaper publisher, that being WJLB, Detroit. This station is included in the present study and is owned by the Booth Newspaper chain, licensee, John L. Booth.

There were several networks of Negro programs available to broadcasters during the early 1950's, one of which, the Keystone Negro Network being mentioned in the Murdoch study. This network represented the advertising interests of approximately 390 stations in thirteen southern states.

Two networks which began in 1954 and ended very quickly the same year were the National Negro Network and Negro Radio Stories. The latter was a transcription service which faded out of existence very rapidly. The former, according to an article in Newsweek in 1954, was inaugurated on January 18th of that year by Leonard Evans, who was quoted in the article as saying, "Most of the 270 Negro radio stations in the country just play blues, pops, and spirituals. But the Negro also wants network quality shows of his own."[9] The article goes on to say, "The network, which will reach some 40 cities with large colored populations, will have a potential audience of 12,000,000 of the 16,000,000 Negroes in America (who earn $15,000,000,000 a year). Evans casts an optimistic eye at his sponsorship prospects."[10] Evans was quoted further as saying that this

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[9]"Away From the Blues," Newsweek, January 18, 1954, p. 51.

[10]Ibid.

was strictly a business prospect. "We're out to move tonnage, to sell merchandise. If we do help race relations, it's incidental."[11] This network, while it did broadcast one or two programs, went out of business very shortly after getting started.

Primarily, it appears, therefore, that Negro-oriented radio in this country, has been confined to the pop music format such as disc jockey programs of recorded music and short newscasts every hour. To this writer's knowledge, there has been very little deviation from this formula over the years. In addition, while there does seem to be a recent trend for more licensees to be issued to black people, there has been no real significant increase. In 1960 four stations were reported as being owned by black people, and today only eleven have been discovered as being in existence.

Another report, appearing in 1967 in Newsweek indicates that there were about 100 soul stations beamed to Negroes across the country.

> A few years ago, they were funky as gospel, homely as grits and limped along on ads for skin lighteners and lucky oils. Today, such stations still feature the Negro patter of deejays . . . . But there is a new slickness. The soul stations strive to imitate white pop radio, from their bleeped news headlines and staccato jingles to sweatshirt gimmickry. And they're doing a business of $20 million a year. In fact, at least four Negro stations--in Washington, Memphis, Chicago and Los Angeles--are at times the most listened-to in town, black or white.[12]

It appears that this is a typical characterization of Negro radio today in the United States. The purpose of this study is to try to determine whether this is an accurate characterizatior of Negro radio in Michigan today.

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[11] Ibid.

[12] "Negro Radio," Newsweek, December 11, 1967, p. 113.

CHAPTER III

DEVELOPMENT OF CRITERIA

Introduction

One of the purposes of this study is to determine the extent of public service which the stations under study perform for the communities in which they broadcast. In order to do this, criteria must be developed so that judgment may be made of the service performed in the areas of needs, and interests of these communities. The method proposed to determine these criteria is to examine ideas of various sources who might be considered knowledgable in this area of information. It is hoped that with the views of these sources some meaningful criteria might be developed with which to make the judgments relating to the service performed by the stations in the study.

Federal Communications Commission

Standard AM, FM, and TV broadcasting stations in the United States are licensed by the Federal Communications Commission to broadcast in the "public interest, convenience or necessity." The meaning of this phrase has been interpreted in different ways by different people. Some people, including past and present members of the Federal Communications Commission, have said that it is unclear and, therefore, the broadcasters should be responsible for the interpretation. Others, including the

Federal Courts, have said that the Commission has the responsibility to decide the meaning of the phrase according to the programming of each station.

Within the past twenty-four years, two major policy statements have been published by the Federal Communications Commission dealing with public service and programming. The first of these publications, which became known in 1946, is entitled Public Service Responsibility of Broadcast Licensees. This has been commonly known as The Blue Book. In 1960 The Blue Book was superseded by the Report and Statement of Policy re: Commission en banc Programming Inquiry FCC 60-970 July 29, 1960. The editor of Documents of American Broadcasting, one of the places in which this statement is published, wrote that this is the present policy being adhered to by the Federal Communications Commission.[1] One of the important parts of this document states:

> . . . the broadcaster should consider the tastes, needs and desires of the public he is licensed to serve in developing his programming and should exercise conscientious efforts not only to ascertain them but also to carry them out as well as he reasonably can. Particular areas of interest and types of appropriate service may, of course, differ from community to community, and from time to time. However, the Commission does expect its broadcast licensees to take the necessary steps to inform themselves of the real needs and interests of the areas they serve and to provide programming which in fact constitutes a diligent effort, in good faith, to provide for those needs and interests.[2]

This 1960 Programming Policy Statement of the Commission goes on to mention the major elements usually necessary to meet public interest. They are:

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[1]Frank J. Kahn, Ed., Documents of American Broadcasting (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts Division of Meredith Corporation, 1968), p. 207.

[2]Ibid., p. 219.

(1) Opportunity for Local Self-Expression, (2) The Development and Use of Local Talent, (3) Programs for Children, (4) Religious Programs, (5) Educational Programs, (6) Public Affairs Programs, (7) Editorialization by Licensees, (8) Political Broadcasts, (9) Agricultural Programs, (10) News Programs, (11) Weather and Market Reports, (12) Sports Programs, (13) Service to Minority Groups, (14) Entertainment Programming.[3]

While this report mentions that it is not necessary for all of these areas to be a part of the programming of every station, at least some of them should be. This is not a rigid policy with which each station must adhere, but a suggestion to be used by each licensee depending on his location and audience. It would certainly seem logical that some of these elements would be necessary for Negro-oriented stations in order to perform public services in their locations and that these would be considered general criteria for public service broadcasting. A suggested list of these criteria would include the following: (1) local self-expression, (2) the development and use of local talent, (3) children's programs, (4) religious programs, (5) educational programs, (6) public affairs, (7) editorials, (8) news, and (9) sports.

Community Leaders

Besides the general criteria mentioned by the Federal Communications Commission for public service, there should be other criteria with which to determine whether a Negro-oriented station is adequately serving the needs and interests of the black community. In order to select these criteria, two methods are suggested. The first is to ask community leaders what suggestions they might offer. In an effort to do this,

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[3] Ibid.

letters were sent out to many of the community leaders in the three cities involved in this study (Flint, Saginaw, and Detroit). Only three replies were received. One reply was from the Program Co-ordinator of the Saginaw County Community Action Committee, Incorporated, who wrote:

> I received your letter concerning the role of the Black Radio in the community. We have just begun a station in Saginaw, and have mix [sic] emotions and ideas on the station. If you have the opportunity to come to Saginaw for anything, we would take the time to let you talk personally to those at the station and others more familiar with it.[4]

Since the object of the request was to speak with someone <u>other</u> than those connected with the station, this reply was of little help. Another reply was from the Director of Special Services and Research of the Detroit Urban League, Incorporated, who said, in part,

> The consensus of opinion is that Negro radio should be judged by the same standards as so called "white" radio. Service should be to <u>the</u> community. As long as we continue to designate - black - or - white - we contribute to the widening gap between the Negro and most other groups in America.[5]

She went on to say that radio, as a news medium, has a twofold responsibility: (1) covering news items with understanding and clarity and (2) having programs which reflect good judgment and taste. Also mentioned was the following:

> Many of the bigger stations, particularly the educational networks, are carrying more and more programs dealing with the history, culture, and contributions of Negroes in the American scene -- the so-called Negro oriented stations can do no less, or they will lose their discriminating listeners, and may not survive.[6]

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[4]Letter from Robert Viera, Program Co-ordinator, Saginaw County Community Action Committee, Incorporated, October 15, 1969.

[5]Letter from Anne A. Lewis, Director, Special Services and Research, Detroit Urban League, Incorporated, October 7, 1969.

[6]<u>Ibid</u>.

It seems that this person is suggesting that these stations should serve the entire community, not just the black people. The suggestion about carrying programs dealing with the history, culture, and contributions of Negroes in the American scene seems to indicate a desire to educate both black and white people about these matters.

The last reply was from the Detroit Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. As a result of this correspondence, an interview took place with Mr. William Penn, the Executive Secretary of the organization.[7] During the interview it was ascertained that Mr. Penn felt that radio should offer more services which offer helpful information to people. At present, he said, these services are offered only on Sunday mornings and that they should be offered throughout the week during prime time.

Among the things that Mr. Penn would like to hear more of on the radio are:(1) consumer information which could help the shoppers understand how not to be taken advantage of by unscrupulous merchants, (2) more employment services such as help for finding jobs, and for finding companies which will hire black people, (3) more programs which advance racial pride such as black history and cultural achievements, (4) more radio stations cooperating with F.H.A. and using their materials as help in finding financing for housing, as well as having stations provide listings of available rental or sales housing. In the area of education, he said he would like to hear programs similar to "Sesame Street" for radio, and also would like to see a stress on improving the quality of

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[7]William Penn, Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, personal interview, January 9, 1970.

education. When asked about editorials, Mr. Penn said that stations should take strong stands on their own personal views and then offer other sides the opportunity to present their views. He said that there should be only one standard by which to judge black-owned stations and white-owned stations doing this type of programming. Because he believes that this is a business and that the owners are in it to make money, he maintains that a black man should not be expected to overlook this any more than a white man should.[8] He was asked, since there are all different tastes in music and in other areas of radio programming among Negroes, if he believes that this should be reflected in the programming of these stations. His answer indicated that each station manager should program what he wants. Finally, in response to the question "whether black stations are necessary" he said "yes" for two reasons: (1) black men, as well as white men, should be able to own stations; (2) these stations do allow the black people a chance both to present and to hear views which are sympathetic to them.

While this interview was fairly helpful in developing some criteria for public service programming, much of the information came after suggestions were offered by the interviewer. The letters sent to the community leaders stated the purpose and asked for a personal interview. Only three replies were received. It would seem then, that there was either not much interest in this matter from these leaders, or that they were too busy to answer. (The latter reason is not logical since most administrators have access to secretarial help. An answering letter

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[8]This assumption is not necessarily true. Broadcast licenses are issued in the "public interest, convenience, or necessity," primarily, and the broadcaster's ability to make money is considered secondary by law.

could have been sent in most cases.) Of those responding, the answers were not generally specific since the people responding did not seem to have enough knowledge of the medium to answer satisfactorily.

Authorities From Other Parts of the Country

Kenneth Clark

The second suggested method for developing criteria for judging the public service record of the stations involved is to find out what knowledgeable people in other parts of the country have said. In order to know how to serve a community in this respect, one must be aware of the problems of the community. One of the authorities on these problems is Kenneth B. Clark, in whose book Dark Ghetto, he wrote:

> The privileged white community is at great pains to blind itself to conditions of the ghetto, but the residents of the ghetto are not themselves blind to life as it is outside of the ghetto. They observe that others enjoy a better life, and this knowledge brings a conglomerate of hostility, despair, and hope. If the ghetto could be contained totally, the chances of social revolt would be decreased, if not eliminated, but it cannot be contained and the outside world intrudes. The Negro lives in part in the world of television and motion pictures, bombarded by the myths of the American middle class, often believing as literal truth their pictures of luxury and happiness, and yet at the same time confronted by a harsh world of reality where the dreams do not come true or change into nightmares.[9]

These conditions help to foster bitter feelings among black people since they have become aware of luxury around them and have not been able to achieve any of the benefits of the society surrounding them. Psychologists and sociologists have studied the phenomenon of the ghetto conditions and have concluded that much of the cause can be contributed to a form of racism.

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[9]Clark, Dark Ghetto, p. 12.

One aspect of this racism in America which seems to be changing, especially during the past five years, is what psychologists have called the concept of "self-hate," and the "self-fullfilling prophecy."[10] An example of this concept is that if a person has been labelled a certain way for any length of time, he begins to believe that he is what he has been labelled. Before long, he then becomes what he has been labelled. Kenneth Clark, writing about Negroes in the ghetto, had this to say:

> The preoccupation of many Negroes with hair straighteners, skin bleachers, and the like illustrates this tragic aspect of American racial prejudice -- Negroes have come to believe in their own inferiority. In recent years Negro men and women have rebelled against the constant struggle to become white and have given special emphasis to their "Negroid" features and hair textures in a self-conscious acceptance of "negritude" -- a wholehearted embracing of the African heritage.[11]

This aspect has shown up in advertising in the media specifically aimed toward Negroes. One of these media is discussed by Dr. Clark.

> The Negro press is, in character, very different from the white-owned press, but it also has power. If a Negro newspaper is to be successful it must reflect the atmosphere of the ghetto it serves and at the same time express both aspiration and protest. The Amsterdam News [Harlem's Negro newspaper] has to make money like any other paper to survive, and therefore addresses itself, through flamboyant headlines, makeup, and front-page articles on crime and scandal, to those it considers its audience, thereby ironically reinforcing the white stereotype of the Negro, against which it argues vehemently on its editorial page. Many of its local advertisements are devoted to fortune telling, the sale of dream books and skin bleaches, exploiting the misery and fantasy of ghetto life.[12]

While this statement was made in 1965, and it is possible that some of these remarks are not true today, the point is that advertising

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[10]James W. Vander Zanden, American Minority Relations, Second edition, (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1966), pp. 153-58.

[11]Clark, Dark Ghetto, p. 64.

[12]Clark, Dark Ghetto, p. 168.

in the media may be a factor in positive or negative service to the community. A Newsweek article mentioned radio advertising.

> Advertising . . . is a fact of radio life. And many national sponsors sell with a Negro twist that is inoffensive. When Colgate-Palmolive, for instance, hired blues singer Lou Rawls to sell a detergent called Cold Power ("Sock some Cold Power to it, baby"), the company found a thriving business among Negro women whose homes do not provide hot water. More often, advertisements on Negro radio are just plain shoddy. Local merchants, peddling everything from $13.95 sewing machines to family Bibles, prey on installment-prone Negroes with a vengeance.[13]

Perhaps this is a suggestion that a positive approach to advertising is necessary as a service to black communities, such as not advertising products which tend to demean the racial pride of black Americans.

Another problem is outlined briefly in this excerpt from Kenneth Clark's book, Dark Ghetto.

> Another important aspect of the social dynamics of the Northern urban ghettos is the fact that all are crowded and poor; Harlem houses 232,792 people within its three and one half square miles . . . . There are more than 100 people per acre. Ninety percent of the 87,369 residential buildings are more than thirty-three years old, and nearly half were built before 1900. Private developers have not thought Harlem a good investment: Few of the newer buildings were sponsored by private money, and almost all of those buildings erected since 1929 are post-World War II public housing developments, where a fifth of the population lives.[14]

Certainly, this suggests that any information about housing, whether it concerns additional housing in the same area or more housing available in neighborhoods which previously had been "off limits" to black people, is necessary. Along with this would be information about available credit or mortgage information to supply capital for needed housing.

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[13]"Negro Radio," Newsweek, December 11, 1967, p. 113.

[14]Clark, Dark Ghetto, p. 30.

Dr. Clark also cited some other problems in the ghetto areas, among them being:

> The physical health of the residents of the ghetto is as impaired as one would expect based on knowledge of its housing conditions. The best single index of a community's general health is reputed to be its infant mortality rate. For Harlem this rate in 1961 was 45.2 per 1,000 live births compared to 25.7 for New York City . . . . Poor housing conditions, malnutrition, and inadequate health care are undoubtedly responsible; where flies and maggots breed, where the plumbing is stopped up and not repaired, where rats bite helpless infants, the conditions of life are brutal and inhuman. All are symptoms of the underlying fact of poverty. Perhaps even more extraordinary than the high rate of disease and death is the fact that so many human beings do survive.[15]

Although it certainly would not solve this problem, it would be a public service value for information to be broadcast concerning public health facilities which are available, either free, or at a very low cost.

It can be seen that some of these problems are due to something other than what they seem to be, and one of the largest of these is poverty. With poverty comes overcrowding, disease, and all of the other things mentioned, which would suggest another problem then, and Dr. Clark mentioned it in his book.

> About one out of every seven or eight adults in Harlem is unemployed. In the city as a whole the rate of unemployment is half that . . . . in 1960 twice as many young Negro men in the labor force, as compared to their white counterparts, were without jobs. For the girls, the gap was even greater--nearly two and one-half times the unemployment rate for white girls in the labor force. Across the country the picture is very much the same. Unemployment of Negroes is rising much faster than unemployment of whites. Among young men eighteen to twenty-four, the national rate is five times as high for Negroes as for whites.[16]

Certainly, then, it would seem that radio could be used partly as a clearing house for jobs. An employment service at certain times of the

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[15] Ibid., p. 31.

[16] Ibid., p. 34.

day letting people know what kinds and how many jobs were available, and where to go and who to see about them would be an invaluable service to the black community.

David Caplovitz

Another suggestion relating to this theme would be consumer education as a service. In The Poor Pay More, David Caplovitz wrote a great deal about the problems which prevail for consumers in ghetto areas. He said in part,

> Not having enough cash and credit would seem to create a sufficient problem for low-income consumers. But they have other limitations as well. They tend to lack the information and training needed to be effective consumers in a bureaucratic society. Partly because of their limited education and partly because as migrants from more traditional societies they are unfamiliar with urban culture, they are not apt to follow the announcements of sales in the newspapers, to engage in comparative shopping, to know their way around the major department stores and bargain centers, to know how to evaluate the advice of salesmen--practices necessary for some degree of sophistication in the realm of consumption.[17]

Caplovitz explains another problem of poor people, especially migrants from rural areas to the city; high prices. These are caused by many factors but some are not as obvious as others.

> The key to the marketing system in low-income areas lies in special adaptations of the institution of credit. The many merchants who locate in these areas and find it profitable to do so are prepared to offer credit in spite of the high risks involved. Moreover their credit is tailored to the particular needs of the low income consumer. All kinds of durable goods can be obtained in this market at terms not too different from the slogan, "a dollar down, a dollar a week." The consumer can buy furniture, a TV set, a stereophonic phonograph, or, if he is so minded, a combination phonograph-TV set, if not for a dollar a week then for only a few dollars a week.[18]

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[17]David Caplovitz, The Poor Pay More (London: The Free Press of Glencoe Collier-Macmillan Limited, 1963), p. 14.

[18]Ibid., pp. 15-16.

Caplovitz went on to explain further the pricing system in low income areas as follows:

> The system of pricing in the low-income market differs from that in the bureaucratic market of the downtown stores in another respect: in East Harlem there are hardly any "one price" stores. In keeping with a multi-price policy, price tags are conspicuously absent from the merchandise. The customer has to ask, "how much?," and the answer he gets will depend on several things. If the merchant considers him a poor risk, if he thinks the customer is naive, or if the customer was referred to him by another merchant or a peddler to whom he must pay a commission, the price will be higher.[19]

As can be seen from these references to a study on the consumer problems in low-income areas, the people usually pay more for the merchandise which they buy, even though this merchandise might be inferior to that which they could buy in other shopping areas. This certainly suggests that some consumer education information would be a service to this type of community.

Charles Keil

There are other areas certainly, where this specialty type of radio could be an excellent public service to the community. Another source, social scientist Charles Keil, wrote about the American Negro as having a culture. He refuted some anthropologists, sociologists and other authors who have said that the Negro must find an identification. Keil wrote about a Negro culture or domain.

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[19] Ibid., p. 17.

> This domain or sphere of interest may be broadly defined as entertainment from the white or public point of view and as ritual, drama, or dialectical catharsis from the Negro or theoretical standpoint. By this I mean only that certain Negro performances, called "entertaining" by Negroes and whites alike, have an added but usually unconscious ritual significance for Negroes. The ritualists I have in mind are singers, musicians, preachers, comedians, disc jockeys, some athletes, and perhaps a few Negro novelists as well. These entertainers are the ablest representatives of a long cultural tradition-- what might be called the soul tradition--and they are all identity experts, so to speak, specialists in changing the joke and slipping the yoke.[20]

What Keil was trying to say was that there is a Negro culture and that people, black and white, should be aware of it. He said further,

> The failure to recognize this culture and a reluctance to work with and within it account in large measure for the failures of the Black Muslims, the civil rights groups, and the warriors on poverty, none of whom have been able to reach the ghetto majority, much less effect any basic changes in its way of life.[21]

What needs to be done then, if Keil's ideas are to be followed, is to identify the culture and then make the information known to all. This would suggest that radio could be used to socialize people toward what the culture is, and give them pride in it and in themselves.

Del Shields

A letter was sent to Mr. Del Shields, who had been quoted concerning Negro radio in at least one national magazine. No answer was received from Mr. Shields, and another letter was sent to a different address (the radio station from which he had been broadcasting his nationally syndicated program "Night Call."). No answer was received, nor were the letters returned.

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[20]Charles Keil, Urban Blues (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1966), p. 15.

[21]Ibid., pp. 191-2.

All of the above ideas are suggestions which could be used for public service features by Negro-oriented stations in order better to serve the black communities in which they are licensed.

Other persons have written and spoken about ideas for using this specialized radio as an aid in solving problems brought about by racism, poverty, and prejudice. One of these people, a present member of the Federal Communications Commission, is Nicholas Johnson, an outspoken critic of commercial broadcasters who has been criticized extensively by the trade press because of his liberal views about broadcast regulation. The major theme of his remarks has been that broadcasters are not adequately serving the needs and interests of the local communities within which they have been licensed. His criticisms have been so strong that many commercial broadcasters would like to see the day when he is no longer a member of the Commission.

For several years, dating back even before the publication of the Kerner Commission Report, Commissioner Johnson has been making speeches to broadcasters in which he has stressed the importance of including black people in all aspects of the communication process.

One speech, delivered to the National Association of Television and Radio Announcers (the Negro equivalent of AFTRA), contains a great deal of information relevant to the present discussion. Commissioner Johnson called this speech, Soul Music is Not Enough.[22] Although he was speaking primarily to a group of announcers, disc jockeys, and other

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[22]Commissioner Nicholas Johnson, Federal Communications Commission, speech delivered to the Annual Convention of the National Association of Television and Radio Announcers, Sheraton Four Ambassadors Hotel, Miami Florida, August 17, 1968.

non-managerial personnel, he stressed the idea that even though the principal responsibility for serving the public is that of management, responsibility still rests with each of us. He mentioned often that the most important ingredient for improving "soul radio" is imagination. He briefly summarized his message in the following way:

(1) Radio holds as much promise as any institution in our land for really reaching, and serving, and advancing the cause of the blacks in this country.

(2) Those stations which program nothing but music, talk, commercials, and rip-n-read news make a mockery of that potential. In the words of Ellis Hutchinson (youth organizer for FORCE) and his Dayton picket, "Soul music is not enough."

(3) The responsibility for your stations' programming, the responsibility for its contribution to <u>your</u> black community, falls squarely on your shoulders. In the words of Charles Evers, "We can't cuss white people anymore. It's in our hands now."

(4) Radio is the imaginative medium--the greatest. It not only plays upon the listeners' imagination, it also calls for the greatest imagination of which you are capable.[23]

In this speech, Johnson mentioned that the key to good, useful radio is <u>interesting</u> and <u>imaginative</u> programming. It was his feeling that if these elements are present, people would listen to informative programming. He was able to quote from surveys to reenforce his ideas.

> Don't tell me your audiences won't listen to useful and interesting information and discussion about what's happening, and how to better their lives. I've got the white man's figures to prove your black listeners are a whole lot more intelligent, upward-striving, and responsive to quality than many black disc jockeys and program directors think. (WDAS' Philadelphia survey showed what blacks said they thought most important to them was <u>not</u> soul music, but housing slums (37%), jobs and poverty (28%), and education and schools (14%). Think about it.) <u>Of course</u>, they won't listen to boring information or quality performances presented in an unimaginative way.[24]

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[23] <u>Ibid</u>.

[24] <u>Ibid</u>.

Johnson, stressing that this information must be presented in imaginative ways, suggested that if stations have a music-commercials-news format, listeners are already accepting interruptions, and that without disturbing the format to any great extent, information in packages of from ten seconds to three minutes could be inserted. He also suggested that a different programming format could also be used, such as programming segments of from 15 to 90 minutes of informative features such as discussion-interviews, lectures or speeches, public meeting confrontation-type programs, or investigative documentaries. He mentioned a Denver group which is using soap operas for communicating public information. He told his audience to "Experiment. Innovate. You may be the first in your market to find a program idea other than music-talk-commercials-news that really sells."[25]

> One of the most neglected areas of our nation's past is Negro history. I do not need to recount for you how Caucasion-dominated schools, textbooks, newspapers, television and radio have consistently avoided the attempt to educate all of our citizens on the important role blacks have played in the growth of the United States. Negro-oriented stations, along with many others, have identified this serious problem and campaigned vigorously for its correction.[26]

Johnson told his audience that there are some programming sources available which contain small historical vignettes of black historical figures, although only a very few stations in the country are making use of them. Mentioning that white-led educational television is programming black historical features, he suggested that the black broadcasters ought to be doing this type of thing. Besides the programming sources of national black historical features, he suggested that station personnel

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[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid.

should be doing research and producing similar vignettes of local black historical figures.

Another subject which Johnson mentioned for possible programming as a public service for a community is "black culture."

> Radio is an ideal medium for teaching foreign languages. WAMU in Washington has broadcast popular courses in a half-dozen or more languages. (WEVD, New York, regularly programs in thirteen different languages, including Japanese and Norwegian.) You might try it--as a new feature-length program, or as short inserts in your music format. (Gordon McLendon once put together a series of one-minute "vocabularly builder" programettes--in English, however, not Swahili.)[27]

Another suggestion along the lines of cultural information includes broadcasting more information about Africa.

> . . . I don't know why a group of black stations could not underwrite a correspondent in Africa. Goodness knows the United States could do with more extensive reporting out of Africa than the white press is providing, and there's no reason you shouldn't have the glory.[28]

Johnson also mentioned that people in educational radio still find that reading books on the air is a popular idea, and he pointed out that black people have written many fascinating books. "Educational station WPLN in Nashville is now presenting a six-part series on black authors prepared by WBCL. When was the last time you read--or even mentioned--a black author's book on the air?"[29] In addition, Johnson also asked why there is almost a total radio "blackout" on important musical and cultural achievements by blacks outside of the popular music field. He mentioned such performers as William Warfield, Leontyne Price,

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[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid.

or Grace Bumbry. Another area of cultural achievement which Johnson mentioned as properly being a part of radio programming includes dramatic works of men such as LeRoi Jones or James Baldwin.

Johnson made other suggestions about serving the needs of the black communities by radio. He spoke about the need for information about jobs, housing, welfare, etc.

> Many ghetto dwellers have difficulty getting information about bus schedules. They may not know how to go about getting a lawyer--or even what their legal rights are, and when and in what ways a lawyer can be useful. To get employment they may need some basic information about training programs, how to make a good impression during a job interview, how to take examinations, and what it takes to hold a job. More job announcements may not be enough.[30]

In the area of consumer information he asked,

> What have you done to help the housewives who listen to your music get a better shake at the supermarket? (Gordon McLendon also put out a series of one-minute programettes called "How to Save Money Hints." Have you?) Have you ever once mentioned to your audience the availability of Consumer Reports?[31]

Another area of public service which Johnson stressed was that of "community action." He mentioned investigative reporting, producing documentaries, and editorializing. He also suggested the idea of a radio "Action Line" type of service, which could receive, investigate, and report citizen complaints.

Not surprisingly, Johnson also stressed the need for more local programming other than recorded music. He suggested programming local black popular music groups in the community, local high school sporting events, and perhaps a local drama workshop. He asked the following questions: "Do you go down and listen? To the young 'militants' and new

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[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid.

political leaders as well as the more established and restrained voices? Is your station truly a means for local self expression . . .?"[32]

Commissioner Johnson said one other thing which struck this writer as an important idea in the area of public service by black broadcasters:

> It is tragic irony, I think, that many radio and television stations choose to do their local public service the way any other business-like an electric utility--might. They stage picnics, and parades, and work for the United Fund and Red Cross. They referee basketball games. They send boys to camp and set up scholarship funds. Certainly such efforts are not to be ridiculed. But the greatest local service that can be rendered by someone in the broadcasting business is the broadcasting business.[33]

While helping to start charity campaigns, refereeing ball games, working within the community, perhaps as part of the Chamber of Commerce work force, are all meritorious ways in which to serve communities, these methods are not doing anything to use radio as a positive force in a community. With this in mind, then, the criteria developed in this study to judge the service aspects of these radio stations will not include services performed "off the air," such as the above community activities.

Additional Factors

In addition to the ideas for criteria which have been discussed from the different sources mentioned, the writer believes that other factors are important. Regardless of what types of services are broadcast by a station, it is important to determine when these services are

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[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid.

broadcast. For if no one hears the information, they do not do any good. The writer believes that services for the public good, such as the types which have been mentioned would best be broadcast during the hours of heaviest listening, such as Monday through Friday from 7 a.m. to 9 a.m. and 3 p.m. to 6 p.m. These are considered to be the prime hours for radio broadcasting. Other hours which would be important would be any hours during the day or up to 9 p.m. Monday through Friday. Weekends would be considered to be poor times for broadcasting public service information, since the chances for large audiences would be considered to be not as great.

One other aspect of importance for these services is obviously that of quantity. The more information of a public service nature which a station broadcasts, the better for the community involved. This seems to be a logical conclusion. Therefore, if a station broadcasts one public service announcement an hour as an average, it would not be particularly noteworthy as a service function for the community.

Summary of Criteria

Based on the discussion above, there are precise criteria which can be used for evaluating the public service of a Negro-oriented station in Michigan. These criteria have been determined on the basis of what some of the community leaders have mentioned, and on what recognized authorities have written about ghetto problems and their possible solutions. There are also some general criteria used by the Federal Communications Commission in order to determine if stations, in general, are programming in the "public interest, convenience, or necessity."

The FCC criteria include a list of program types and also make mention of the fact that broadcasters should ascertain the needs and interests of the people in the community. The program types include the following criteria: Criterion 1: The station should include in its programming local self-expression. Criterion 2: The station should include in its programming the development and use of local talent. Criterion 3: The station should include in its programming children's programs. Criterion 4: The station should include in its programming religious programs. Criterion 5: The station should include in its programming educational programs. Criterion 6: The station should include in its programming public affairs. Criterion 7: The station should include in its programming editorials. Criterion 8: The station should include in its programming news. Criterion 9: The station should include in its programming sports.

The following list of criteria has also been determined to be of value in evaluating the specific service for black communities of the stations included in this study: Criterion 1: The station should include in its programming consumer information. Criterion 2: The station should include in its programming employment services. Criterion 3: The station should include in its programming information on black history. Criterion 4: The station should include in its programming information on black culture. Criterion 5: The station should include in its programming housing information. Criterion 6: The station should include in its programming educational programs such as "Sesame Street."

Criterion 7: The station should include in its programming advertising in a positive (non-racial) manner. Criterion 8: The station should include in its programming information on public health facilities. Criterion 9: The station should include in its programming community action such as investigative reporting, editorializing, documentaries, and radio "Action Line" type services. Finally the time of broadcast should ideally be during prime listening hours and the quantity of information should be an additional factor.

CHAPTER IV

WJLB, DETROIT[1]

Ownership and Station Organization

Station WJLB has been licensed to the same individual since 1939. The licensee, John L. Booth, who is not a Negro, is also the director of the Booth Newspaper chain, owns eighteen Community Antenna Television Systems, and also holds licenses to six other stations and seven FM stations. Among these other stations, two, WABQ, Cleveland, Ohio, and WKLR-FM, Toledo, Ohio, are Negro-oriented. None of the stations is affiliated with a network. Booth does not have any associations with other businesses than mass media.

The organization of this station, briefly, is not much different from that of other large stations. The President is Booth; the Vice President and General Manager is Thomas Warner, who supplied the information in this part of the chapter. There are also a Vice President and Sales Manager, a Station Manager, a Chief Engineer, a Program Director, and a News Director.

It has been mentioned that the owner, J.L. Booth, is not a Negro, nor is the next highest administrative person, Thomas Warner. While it

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[1]The information in this chapter was obtained from several sources including (1) a personal interview with the General Manager of WJLB; (2) a station rate card, and (3) ten hours of air checks recorded between January 21, 1970 and February 16, 1970.

seems that Booth is not generally present during the day-to-day station operations, Warner maintains constant contact with operations.

WJLB is represented in the advertising industry by Bernard Howard and Company in New York. The station is a member of only one professional broadcasting association, the National Association of Broadcasters.

Personnel

There is a total of thirty-eight people employed at the station in the following categories: Administrative and Executive, Performance, Production, Secretarial, and Engineering. The breakdowns by race are as follows: Administrative and Executive - four Negroes and three whites; Performance - ten Negroes and no whites; Production - no Negroes and seven whites; Secretarial - two Negroes and four whites; Engineering - three Negroes and five whites. The station does not try to maintain a racial balance, seeking to hire qualified people without considering race as a qualification.

The station requires some broadcasting experience of all of its employees. All engineers must have at least a Third Class Radio-telephone operator's permit with broadcast endorsement from the FCC. Transmitter engineers must have a First Class Radio-telephone license from the FCC. All of the disc jockeys have some broadcast experience, mostly from small out-of-town stations. They are recruited on the basis of ratings, the station checking radio station ratings and looking for people who can get and keep high ratings.

Upon request, data pertaining to the average annual pay scale for the different categories of employees were supplied for all but administrative and executive positions. Performers and production salaries ranged from $12,000.00 to $30,000.00. Secretarial salaries were given as $6,000.00, and Engineering salaries as $10,000.00.

According to the general manager, there are no unions represented in the station, and therefore, no union members. His explanation for this is that the personnel are well-paid and satisfied with their professional positions. The writer's impression of the station during a visit was that it is a very professionally operated business. The station broadcasts on 1400 kilocycles with 1,000 watts during the day and 250 watts during the night with a non-directional antenna.

Programming

For the past thirty years WJLB has been broadcasting Negro-oriented programming for at least part of the broadcast week. During the past twelve years, the station has devoted thirty hours weekly to Negro-oriented programming. As of June 1, 1969, the station began broadcasting 100 per cent Negro-oriented programming. Prior to the June 1st change in programming, WJLB also programmed ethnic programs and foreign language programs, all of which were transferred to the Booth FM outlet in Detroit, WMZK-FM.

The reason given for carrying 100 per cent Negro-oriented programming was that because of the large percentage of black people in Detroit, there was a significant need for a public service of this type.

The general manager mentioned that this was the only station of this type in Detroit.[2]

The station does not have any talk shows according to its general manager, the format consisting of basically music and news, operating twenty-four hours a day. The broadcast day begins at six a.m. with lively "up-tempo" music. Between nine and ten o'clock this music begins to taper toward modern jazz. From ten until two p.m. the station programs modern jazz and a potpouri of anything from rhythm and blues to religious programming. This time slot is considered to be of special importance by the general manager, who says of this program:

> There is one program among others which stands out as a non "dee jay" show of particular interest to the Black community. The Martha Jean Show, 10:00 a.m. - 2:00 p.m. is a music-talk type, with "Inspiration Time," 12 Noon - 12:30 p.m. the highlight of her broadcast time.[3]

From two p.m. until seven p.m., the mood of the music begins to change again. From two to three, modern jazz is the major theme. After that until seven p.m., the music becomes "fast and bright." Between seven and midnight the station programs "standard rhythm and blues" along with "oldies but goodies." The "all-night" programming for the station comes from a local night club, the station having a remote broadcast between midnight and five a.m. every night from a night club, with live music and an announcer.

The station has a fairly extensive religious schedule, from five to six a.m. daily the music being solely religious in nature. On Saturday

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[2]This is technically true. However, there is another AM station with 100 per cent Negro programming which is located in Inkster but does reach Detroit with its signal. There is also an FM station in Detroit which programs primarily to Negroes.

[3]Thomas J. Warner, Personal letter to the writer, September 29, 1969.

the schedule contains three hours of religious programming; and all of Sunday, twenty-four hours, is devoted to religion. The station's Religious Director is Bristoe Bryant, a former state legislator, who has been with the station in this capacity of Religious Director for eighteen years. According to General Manager Tom Warner, religion will always play a major part in the programming of this station. Warner feels that this is a necessary aspect of people's lives and, as such, is a needed public service to the community.

The news schedule for this station is similar to that of many stations. Five minutes of news are scheduled every hour, and a one minute news summary is also included each hour. The news is generally from one of the wire services, although the station attempts to present news which is of major interest to the black community.

The station occasionally editorializes as the need arises, the General Manager being responsible for delivering the editorials on the air. Because the station is non-partisan in politics, there are no editorials about political candidates. Even though in the recent mayoralty campaign, one of the major candidates was a black man, the station did not take a stand regarding the persons. The issues for which the station editorializes concern primarily the improvement of the city and its services for the people.

Sponsors and Audience

This is a very heavily commercialized station with an average of eighteen minutes of commercials per broadcast hour and a stated maximum of eighteen to twenty-two minutes per hour, according to the General

Manager. The station has five classes of time for commercial rates. The most expensive is "Class AAA," which is the Martha Jean Show Monday through Friday from ten a.m. to two p.m.; minutes are $32.00, and thirty-second spots are $25.60. The next most expensive time is "Class AA," which is Monday through Saturday, six a.m. to nine a.m. and three p.m. to seven p.m.; and Sunday, eight a.m. to seven p.m. The next time classification listed on the rate card is "Class A," which is Monday through Saturday, five a.m. to six a.m., nine a.m. to three p.m. and seven p.m. to ten p.m.; and Sunday, from seven p.m. to ten p.m. "Class B" time is Sunday from five a.m. to eight a.m.; Monday through Sunday, ten p.m. to midnight; and Saturday from five a.m. to nine a.m. The rates for this class are $25.00 per minute and $20.00 per thirty-second spot. The last class of time that the station provides is "Class C," which is Sunday through Saturday from midnight to five a.m., with the rates $19.00 per minute and $15.20 per thirty-second spots. Naturally, there are package rates, which give the buyer a discount.

There are two sources of sponsorship on the station: national and local. Twenty per cent of the commercials are from the national market, and eighty per cent are local. The major national sponsors are Procter and Gamble, Colgate Palmolive, Charmin tissues, and other products with national name brands. Two local advertisers were mentioned as major sponsors: Belvedere Home Improvement Company and King Auto Sales. The major types of products advertised are wines, beers, cigarettes, cars, and soaps.

According to General Manager Warner, all of the advertising on the station is aimed specifically at the black community. All of the local sponsors want their messages aimed specifically at blacks, and all

of the advertisements which come from national sponsors are aimed at the black community.

The desired audience for the station is the entire black community but especially those persons twenty-four years of age and older. According to the General Manager, the station also has a considerable number of white listeners.

Warner reported that WJLB takes advantage of every legal and legitimate method it can in order to measure its audience. He mentioned as sources the Chamber of Commerce, the Urban League, the census, city-county rolls, and surveys by the local newspapers. The station also periodically subscribes to Pulse and ARB. Ratings were reported to be good by the Manager, although the writer did not see any of them. Other listener responses reported were mail and telephone calls, which were reported to be voluminous and favorable.

Public Service

The General Manager reported that local involvement was the chief concern of the station and its personnel. The first example mentioned was Blue Collar Workers of America, a non-profit corporation, originated on the air by Mrs. Martha Jean Steinberg, the woman responsible for the Martha Jean Show. It was her idea for "the little people," the working people, to know that they can be proud of themselves and of what they do. The corporation has an office which is supplied by the owner of the Broderick Towers, the same building in which WJLB is located.

When Martha Jean began talking on the air about Blue Collar Workers of America, she received over 7,000 membership applications within

ten days. (The Carling Brewing Company has helped to subsidize this venture.) One of the projects of Blue Collar Workers of America has been to obtain money for fifty housing starts, which would enable a person to get a place in the city to build a house. All that is necessary is $240.00 as a down payment. The organization also is involved in teaching people about upkeep on houses.

Another venture in community involvement mentioned was a scholarship fund for needy students. The station bought out one performance of Gordon Parks' motion picture, The Learning Tree, when it was playing in Detroit, and arrangements were made for Mr. Parks to be at the theater that evening. The house was sold out, $2500.00 were raised, and the station made up the balance for a $5,000.00 scholarship fund. All of the personnel at the station were involved in the planning of this event. A continuation of this scholarship fund was planned with a major event at Cobo Hall early in 1970, the proceeds also to go to the scholarship fund and to a newly-organized benevolent fund for worthy projects in the community.

In a letter to the writer, the General Manager mentioned several other community projects in which station personnel have become involved:

> One of our jocks, Ernie Durham, has for years conducted a talent show for teens with the weekly winners becoming paid performers at the 20 Grand each weekend. This is Ernie's way of encouraging young people. There are times when he pays for dry cleaning to ensure the kids are neatly turned out. Also, he has paid taxi fares for those who either could not afford bus fare, or where the musical instrument is too large for easy transportation.
>
> Last fall WJLB's personalities conducted a series of seminars with teens to encourage them to stay in school. Each jock took an evening (90 minutes) once a week to discuss how he had "made it," stressing the need for a good education as a pre-requisite. At the end of 9 weeks each participant either wrote commercials or "aired" a short program on a competitive basis. Everyone received an award from WJLB for their participation.[4]

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[4]Thomas J. Warner, Personal letter to the writer, October 7, 1969.

Other community service in which the station has been active for three years includes sending tapes to service men overseas with greetings from their families at Christmas. Management takes part in different committees including Boy Scouts, Adult Education Institute, Metropolitan Action Committee, Citizens Youth Assistance Corps, Human Rights Committee, and others.

In addition to the community involvement programs mentioned, the station has several regularly scheduled programs which might be considered public service features. There is a "job opportunities" program aired five times daily, Monday through Friday; a five-minute "community comments" program aired five times daily, Monday through Friday; a one-minute Capsule Negro History, aired five times daily, Monday through Friday; and an Afro Sports Feature, one minute in length, aired twice daily, Monday through Friday.

Responses from various community organizations and leaders were reported as very good with one exception. According to station management, there have been absolutely no responses from the leaders or representatives of the white community. However, responses from the acknowledged leadership of the Negro community were reported as excellent. An example was given of the night of the riot in July, 1967, when the station had all of the leaders on the air pleading with people to stay calm.

Responses from such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in which the station has lifetime membership were also reported as excellent, with excellent rapport with leaders of these organizations. Other good responses have come from churches and church leaders.

In response to a question concerning the station's strongest points in programming to the black community, Mr. Warner mentioned as one feature an awareness of entertainment needs of the masses. He also said that a strong point was a knowledge that news disseminated from the station is of interest to the black people. And finally he mentioned information and education as other strong features of the programming.

When asked about the station's weakest points, Mr. Warner said, "No matter what we do today or what we have done in the past, not enough can be done to help our fellow man." He seemed to be genuinely interested in, and involved with, the problems of the black community. He said that another of the station's weaknesses consists of the fact that it is owned and operated by white people. This, he said, makes it very difficult for the station to maintain good source credibility with the people in the community.

Description and Analysis of the Broadcasts

A total of ten hours of air checks were recorded and analyzed by the writer, these being recorded during the period beginning January 21, 1970, and ending with February 16, 1970. (The specific hours recorded are listed in an earlier chapter.) No weekend hours were recorded. The purpose here was to analyze the daily regular programming of these stations in order to describe the nature of black-oriented radio.

All but one of the hours recorded were quite similar. The remaining hour was so completely different that it is felt that this should be treated separately. In general, the nine hours of air checks were very similar in format to many "top forty" personality station formats geared

to a "general audience." An analysis of the different elements shows a general idea of what one might expect when listening to any modern "DJ" station. A total of 133 records were played during the nine hours, with an average of 14.8 records played per hour. Commercials numbered 72, with an average of eight per hour over the nine hours. In actual time, commercials numbered 65½ minutes over the nine hours for an average of 7.3 minutes per hour. The total number of public service announcements was twenty-nine for an average of 3.2 an hour for the nine hours. In actual time there were a total of 24 minutes of public service announcements for an average of 2.7 minutes per hour. The total number of public service announcements specifically for the black community was 23 for an average of 2.6 per hour. In actual time this totalled 21.5 minutes for an average of 2.4 minutes per hour. The remaining element counted consisted of jingles, there being a total of 92 jingles, with an average of 9.1 per hour over the nine hours. These ranged in actual time from five to fifteen seconds. The most popular of these was quite short, consisting of a group shouting "WJLB-Soul Seventy." Most of the others were variations of this with "plugs" for individual disc jockeys.

With the exception of the mentioning of the Soul Seventy jingles, little has been noted which would be different from the programming of most other general audience popular music stations. However, this station was most definitely not a general audience station; rather, it was very definitely Negro-oriented. The major difference lay in the nature of the music being played. Other than one or two selections which are also on the top forty charts of popular music, the records played would not be considered popular with general audiences. Most of the selections could be classified as rhythm and blues or blues. Most of the performers

could be identified as Negro, either because of national reputation, or by the dialect, or by the style of performing. These records are listed under the category of Soul Music in trade publications such as Billboard and Cashbox.

While it was stated in an earlier chapter that there might not be a specific Negro dialect, the speech heard on the records was definitely not general American. The voices sounded as if they were southern United States in origin, and use was made of words and phrases which might possibly be described as the patois mentioned by Grier and Cobbs in an earlier chapter. Words such as "funky;" expressions such as "a bad, bad scene, man," which are supposed to mean the opposite of that stated; and the use of different words to express meanings not normally used in general speech, such as "throwin' it to ya, baby," for "talking to you," are examples of what is meant by dialect.

Styles of singing such as shouting or howling in order to convey feelings, and falsetto, might be considered to be parts of what "soul music" could be. While it was mentioned in an earlier chapter that these things could certainly be imitated by white performers, this fact doesn't really matter even if the performers here were white, although it is doubtful that they were. It is obvious that this music is aimed primarily at an audience which prides itself on its enjoyment of "soul music." Most of these people are undoubtedly Negro.

The Disc Jockeys

Five disc jockeys were heard during the nine hours of broadcasting recorded: Paul Major, Ken Bell, Cat Daddio, Ernie D., and Al Perkins.

All but one of these men spoke quite clearly and distinctly at least some of the time with only a small trace of any dialect. The one exception was Ernie D., who spoke much of the time in a kind of patois. All "talked over records" a great deal and also, at times, spoke between singers' phrases or spoke to the person singing--a style not regularly heard on general audience stations.

Paul Major, who called himself the Morning Mayor, was the morning disc jockey at the station. This writer has heard several other morning announcers in different locations refer to themselves by that title, although none of the others was on a black-oriented radio station. Major had a sharp, piercing voice with an exciting style of delivery similar to some "top forty" format announcers. Occasionally he would speak in a kind of slang, or patois, which might be recognizable on a soul music station. Some of his remarks are as follows: "That's one of the bad, bad, soul records, man . . . ." "Funky music." "Baby, baby, baby yes I am, yes I am, can't stand a two-timin' woman." Over-all, it was obvious that Paul Major was an announcer on a black-oriented station.

Another disc jockey was Ken Bell, who also spoke occasionally in a patois. He also "spoke over records" a great deal of the time. Some of the more obvious things he said which made for easy identification of Negro-oriented radio were as follows: "Solid soul sound." "Moanin' (morning) time." "Ken Bell Throwin' it to ya." "Nothin' to it the way she do it baby." And, "Playin' much more soul for ya."

The only one of the five mentioned who did not use a great deal of slang or patois was Cat Daddio, who spoke fairly "straight" most of the time, with perhaps some recognizable dialect on occasion. While the writer was not able to find any quotable slang used by this announcer,

the name used, Cat Daddio, is typical of names which have been used by announcers on Negro-oriented stations for many years. Names such as Lloyd Fat Man, Frantic Ernie, and Cat Daddio have been used for years; and as mentioned in an earlier chapter, they are now falling more and more into disuse.

The Program Director, Al Perkins, who also has an air shift, is a singer, who sounds much like Brook Benton. One of his records was currently being played by the station. When he is on the air, he talks fast and speaks with a patois, "talking over records" a number of times and commenting between the singers' phrases. One of his key phrases was "Perkin' with the Perk."

The last disc jockey heard by the writer during the nine hours of air checks was Ernie D., who formerly was called Frantic Ernie. His name is Ernie Durham; and according to the General Manager, he has been with the station for many years. On the air he had a very decided dialect, used a great deal of slang or patois, "talked back" to the records while they were playing, and spoke in rhymes most of the time. Some of the things he said on the air were as follows: "It's 8:28 mate," followed by a high pitched "eeee! I'm glad we got that straight." "Cookin' Ernie D., that's me," followed again by a high pitched "ooooecee! King of Cookeree," followed by another high pitched "oooeeeee."

The writer believes that anyone listening to the tapes of the air checks, paying attention to the disc jockeys and the music played, would come to the same conclusion, namely, that this was definitely a Negro-oriented station. Soul music, soul sound, and the word "soul" were mentioned repeatedly. The announcers' voices and comments, the music, and titles--all were heavily Negro-oriented as this phrase is understood in our society.

Commercials

An analysis of the commercials aired during the times of the air checks showed that seventy-two commercials were heard, although one of these was cut off after about fifteen seconds. (This commercial seemed to have been started as a mistake.) Of the seventy-one commercials remaining, forty were categorized as being aimed at a general audience, the remaining thirty-one apparently being aimed specifically at the black community.

Those commercials categorized as being aimed specifically at the black community were either advertising products which naturally would be consumed in some way by black people or were advertised in such a way that black people would pay closer attention to them than would whites.

There were seven commercials heard advertising Ernie D's Ballroom, which is either owned by, or at least named after, one of the WJLB disc jockeys. The music used in the production of these commercials was most definitely classified as soul music, and it is assumed that the appeal would be primarily for black people. The next largest number of commercials for a single product or type of product consisted of six for local dances and shows similar to those advertised at Ernie D's Ballroom. Again the music used in the production of these commercials was soul music. Five identical commercials were heard for Hamm's beer. Agency produced, they consisted of a jingle by a soul singer and an announcer with an obvious dialect.

Other examples of commercials categorized as aimed specifically for the black community were: two commercials for a used car dealer in which the disc jockey spoke to the salesman (Steady Eddie) on the phone

about a special sale for the day. The salesman spoke in a dialect and used a good deal of the slang heard in some of the lyrics of the records. Two commercials were heard for the Detroit Courier, a weekly Negro newspaper. A commercial was heard advertising Meatland, a grocery and butcher shop with the Soul Brothers Butchers. This commercial advertised such products as pig ears, pig tails, hog maws, and other items commonly understood to be soul food. Several other commercials heard which were categorized as being aimed specifically toward the black community were Belevedere Construction Company, Kent cigarettes, and Black Draft laxative.

Of those categorized as general audience commercials, the most numerous were for motion pictures. There were also commercials for car dealers, beers, hair dressings, make-ups, cold remedies, wines, and banks.

News

One other analysis which the writer made was of the news stories heard during the air checks. Of the nine hours recorded, six contained a five-minute newscast and a one-minute capsule summary. One additional hour contained only a one-minute capsule summary. There was a total of one hundred stories aired, twenty-six of which could be categorized as specifically relating to Negroes.

Among those stories relating directly to the black community were one having to do with Representative John Conyers and his opposition to the nomination of Judge Carswell to the United States Supreme Court, a story concerning Southern opposition to school desegregation, a story on Pontiac civil rights and Klan recruitment, a story concerning the Michigan Civil Rights Commission's statements about twenty-four firms

discriminating against blacks, a story on the Algiers Motel trial, a story about the governor of South Carolina voicing no opposition to school desegregation, a story about the state senate majority leader Emil Lockwood donating money to Mother Waddles, and a story concerning Michigan State University President Clifton Wharton's statements on urban problems. There were other such stories, some of which were repeated twice during an hour. The percentage of stories which relate directly to the black community is just slightly over twenty-five per cent. Again, however, it can be considered that all news stories relate directly to any community because they perform the necessary task of informing the public of the current events of the world.

Inspiration Time

It was mentioned above that ten hours of air checks were recorded for this station but that one of these hours was atypical. This tenth hour, which has not yet been discussed, was aired on Wednesday, January 28, 1970, from noon to one p.m. This particular hour seems to fit the description by Thomas Warner, General Manager, as "Inspiration Time" on the Martha Jean Show. The hour began with a station identification and Martha Jean giving the time and the temperature. This was followed by a record which was very slow in tempo, and could probably be classified as gospel. It was certainly a combination of blues and religious music. Martha Jean talked between the phrases of the singer, saying things like, ". . . for the sick and the shut-ins. . ." ". . . for the homeless. . ." ". . . for all of our young people hung up on habits they can't break. . ." She continued talking between the phrases of the singer on the record in a

sort of dramatic recitative. She ended as the record ended with "There's your inspiration -- touch your soul this day."

Most of this hour consisted of Martha Jean talking to the audience with no records and few commercials. Her talk was loosely organized and covered such topics as racial relations, love for the city, and beneficial activities for youth.

Her style of speaking was emotional at times and the use of dialect was in evidence. She spoke about her inspiration from God to be kind to her fellow men no matter what their race or creed.

Specific incidents or ideas mentioned included such things as white policemen saving the life of a black man by mouth-to-mouth rescusitation, the need for a boy's camp which could interest young boys in athletics and thereby help to keep their interest from things like drugs, and the need for all people to support the police in their job of serving the public.

Service to the Community

General Service

If one can make the assumption that broadcasting on a daily basis, that is, Monday through Friday, should entail some sort of services to the community, the sample of ten hours selected during the various times of the day and over several different days between Monday and Friday, and covering almost a complete month, ought to be a fairly sufficient sample for observation.

Looking at the over-all sample then, for evidence of community service, one can find the following:

Commercial minutes	66
Average commercial minutes per hour	7.3
Percentage of commercial minutes for the total time	12.2
Public service announcements--total	24
Average public service announcement minutes per hour	2.7
Percentage of public service announcement minutes over the total time	4.4
Public service announcements specifically for the black community	21.5
Average public service announcement minutes specifically for the black community per hour	2.4
Percentage of public service announcements specifically for the black community over the total time	4.0
News--total number of minutes	37
News--average number of minutes per hour	9.1
News--percentage of news for the total time	6.9

From the above percentages, one can say, first, that this station is not over commercialized, at least, not according to the standards set by the National Association of Broadcasters' Code of Ethics. Whereas this standard is eighteen minutes of commercial time per clock hour, the average in this sample is only 7.3 minutes per hour.

While it is certainly meritorious that the station is not over commercialized, if one looks at the other data mentioned above, he can see that public service announcements and news are not present in great amounts either. A total of 4.4 per cent of the sample for public service announcements and 4 per cent for those directed to the black community exclusively, are not large amounts of time. Similarly, 6.9 per cent for the presentation of news seems to be rather low. What then takes up the bulk of time on this station? The total number of records heard during the sample was 137--an average of 14.1 records per hour. If one were to say that the average record lasted two and one half minutes, this would amount to an average of 35.25 minutes per hour of music. Thus the percentage per hour of music would be 58.8 as an average. Of course, while this figure is not accurate since the time is just an estimate, it is fair to make the above assumption of time per record.

The figures for each category, then, are 4.4 per cent for public service announcements, 6.9 per cent for news, 12.2 per cent for commercials, and 58.8 per cent for music. The total percentage for public service (news and public service announcements) is 11.3. The total percentage for all categories mentioned is 82.3 per cent. This leaves 17.7 per cent of the time per hour for jingles, promotional announcements, and comments by the disc jockeys, most of which can be considered roughly as entertainment. This plus the 58.8 per cent for music, adds up to 76.5 per cent entertainment, compared with the over-all general public service, as heard in the sample air checks, as 11.3 per cent.

In the preceding chapter, criteria were listed for general public service to a community by a radio station. Certainly this station's public service record can be judged by these criteria.

Local Self-Expression

The first criterion is local self-expression. One might say that all of the soul music and entertainment heard on the station could be included in this classification. In this sense, most of what is heard meets this criterion for general public service for this station. What is meant is that the local community is expressing itself in the music and entertainment of its own choice. Besides this, the individual announcements which could be considered in this category have been counted. All fourteen of the commercials for local soul music dances were included as

were public service announcements which mentioned information about black culture and education, and information about other educational ideas in the community. These numbered three. There were five separate units called Teenage Reporter, which consisted of local high school girls reading news reports of their individual schools. Also included here were the units called Soul Happening. These corresponded to the Community Bulletin Board type of announcements on other stations. Also included were two commercials for the Detroit Courier a weekly Negro newspaper. The total number of minutes heard in the sample then in this category was twenty-eight. This amounts to 4.7 per cent of the total sample. It can be said that the station has fulfilled the service function to the community well under this criterion.

Development and Use of Local Talent

The next criterion for general public service was the development and use of local talent. Of course, records were often played by artists on the Motown label, such as the Temptations and Stevie Wonder. While these people may indeed be local, they are also nationally known, as is the Motown label. Therefore, these people would not really fit this particular category. One who might, however, is the station's program director, Al Perkins. He is a singer who has made some records. The station was playing at least one of his records on the air. This could certainly be considered in this category.

A promotional announcement was heard in one of the air checks for people with talent to call the station for auditions for the Belvedere Youth Showcase broadcast. There was no mention of when this

program would be aired, or how often. If this is a regular program with a time slot where it could have a substantial audience, it would certainly be of relevance in this category.

Children's Programs

The third criterion listed for general public service in the preceding chapter was children's programs. The station does not program any to this writer's knowledge.

Religion

The next criterion for general public service mentioned was religion. According to the general manager, the station broadcasts "religion" all day Sunday and from five to six a.m. daily. This is certainly enough religious program to enable the writer to judge a positive service for this criterion.

Educational Programs

Criterion number five is educational programs. To this writer's knowledge, the station does not broadcast any purely educational programs. However, a review of public service announcements which just mentioned education or mentioned where one might go to attain education showed the following: one announcement for the United Negro College Fund, one announcement about Negro history, one announcement which gave information about classes in black culture and Swahili, and one announcement which told the audience to write to the United States Census department for the

pamphlet entitled, "WE the Black People." This total of four announcements amounted to 0.7 per cent of the total sample. This does not seem to be adequate service performed using this criterion as a guide.

Public Affairs

The next criterion mentioned was public affairs. The general manager of the station told the writer that there were no talk programs on this station. He expressly said that the station's programming was composed of music and news. However, the rate card mentioned at least one program, Community Comments, a five-minute program heard five times daily Monday through Friday. This program was not heard during any of the sample air checks, but promotional announcements were heard for three other programs: "Community News," heard Saturday nights at 11:15; "Inner City Schools," heard Saturday nights at 11:00, and a new program, "New Detroit Speaks," heard Saturday evenings at 6:30. The first program is supposed to be aired twenty-five times weekly. However, it was not heard during any of the hours sampled. While this is not in itself unusual, one wonders at what times the program can be heard. Would there be a chance for more of an audience if specific times were scheduled? The other three programs seem to be part of a series of talk-type programs aired on Saturday nights. Again one wonders if this is the best time for these programs in order to get the most audience. A good audience study would certainly be necessary in order to obtain this information, but one can speculate that a good many young adults might probably be either attending one of the many local dance parties being held, or visiting, or entertaining on a Saturday night. If older people were not socializing

on Saturday nights, it would seem that there could be questions as to how late these people might be awake, if they were planning to rise early for church services the next morning. With this discussion in mind, the writer believes that the station is performing service under this criterion but this service is just a bare minimum.

Editorials

Criterion number seven, as listed in the preceding chapter, is editorials. No editorials were heard during the sample. However, it was not expected that any would be heard. General Manager Warner had said that while the station did editorialize, it was not on a regular basis, and only on issues which were important to the black community. It would seem to this writer that there would be enough issues concerning a minority group with the problems and numbers of discriminatory practices which affect black people, so that an editorial could become a regular feature each day, or at least once or twice a week. The writer asking whether the station backed any particular mayoral candidate editorially during the election campaign last year, received a "no" answer. Since a black man was one of the two major candidates for the position, and, according to most newspaper reports, a well-qualified candidate, one wonders why this station did not support him.

News

The next criterion mentioned was news which has already been discussed. News amounted to 6.9 per cent of the total sample heard, which seems to be a small percentage for such an important service. In

a democracy, an informed public is considered to be essential. News should certainly play a more prominent role in radio broadcasting than the one found here. While the station does present news, the amount is a minimum for measuring up to the guidelines of the criterion.

Sports

The last criterion mentioned in general public service was sports. The writer was not aware that live play-by-play broadcasting of sporting events was performed over this station and only a very small part of the regularly scheduled news programs consisted of sports information. However, two sports features were mentioned in the rate card; one a regular sports program, five minutes in length, heard daily at 6:30 p.m. Monday through Friday, the other sports feature mentioned in the rate card was a one-minute program on Afro Sports heard twice daily, Monday through Friday. This was not heard during any of the sample air checks, but this is to be expected since the frequency of the offering would not give it much chance of being heard. This would certainly seem to be adequate for people who only have a mild interest in sports. For those with more sports interest, other stations specializing in sports programming would serve a better purpose.

Specific Service for the Black Community

Just as there were nine different criteria listed for general service to a community in the preceding chapter, there were also nine different criteria listed for specific service to the black community.

Consumer Information

The first criterion was consumer information. The writer did not hear any information presented at all about consumer information in the samples from the air checks. It must be assumed, since nothing is mentioned about this in the rate card, nor was anything mentioned by the general manager in the interview, that the station does not regularly program information for helping the consumer. This category should certainly be considered an important one since many poor people are victimized by unscrupulous merchants in areas of a city such as a ghetto where people are almost trapped as far as shopping is concerned.

Employment Services

Criterion number two concerned employment services. The station's rate card mentioned a regular feature called Job Opportunities. This was supposed to be a five-minute feature broadcast five times daily, Monday through Friday. This was not heard in any of the sample air checks which were recorded. Again, perhaps, a regularly scheduled time for these features would be more helpful for a community. An answer to this is not really meaningful, however, without a good audience study. One public service announcement was heard which mentioned that the Detroit Urban League could tell people information about employment services. This amounted to 0.2 per cent of the total of the sample air checks. While service under this criterion is adequate, much more should be done on the air in the way of presenting this type of information.

Information About Black History

The next criterion listed was information about black history. This would seem to be an important category because this information has been reported by many to have been poorly presented by the public school system. Again the rate card mentioned that a one-minute capsule Negro History Feature is presented five times daily Monday through Friday. One of these features was heard on the sample air checks. This particular feature was about Benjamin Banneker and was certainly a contribution to information about black history which is needed on such a station. It was sponsored as a public service by Coke. It would seem that these features would be valuable enough for the community to have more than twenty-five minutes a week presented. Perhaps the station could also have an additional feature presented about those Negro figures who were prominent in the historical development of the city of Detroit. Besides giving the public more welcome information, this would also provide additional employment for someone to do the research involved and the production necessary for the presentation of these features.

Information on Black Culture

The next criterion is related to the preceding one, information on black culture. No features are listed in the rate card as regularly presented. Again, the general manager did not mention any regular features concerning the dissemination of information about black culture. The writer counted a total of six minutes of public service announcements which mentioned where to get information about black culture. These included one announcement which told about classes in Swahili and other

types of black culture, four of the Soul Happening features which mentioned information about concerts being held locally, and one announcement which told the audience to write to the United States Department of Census for a pamphlet called "We Black People." The total was six minutes or one per cent of the total sample time, which is a bare minimum of this type of service.

Housing Information

The next criterion, information about housing, is again important. In serving a group of people which has traditionally been excluded from living in many areas of a city because of discrimination, any information about housing, whether it is information about availability, or financing, or about whom to see in case of discrimination in sales or rental, is to be considered important. To this writer's knowledge, there are no regular features presented on the station in this category. Two thirty-second announcements were heard during the sample air checks concerning fair housing. The announcements mentioned that people could contact the Michigan Civil Rights Commission either by phone or by mail in case of unfair housing problems. The total time was one minute, or 0.1 per cent of the total sample. This again is just a bare minimum of this type of service.

Educational Programs

The next criterion is educational programs which has been discussed previously in this chapter. It has been established that there are no regularly scheduled educational programs on the station. Likewise,

no programs were heard during the air checks. Other than the few announcements which mentioned educational classes in the community, there was no service to the community in this criterion.

Advertising in a Positive Manner

The next criterion listed in the previous chapter for specific service to the black community was advertising in a positive (non-racial) way. The commercials heard during the hours recorded in the sample have been discussed in this chapter previously. The advertising was in good taste. There were no products advertised which could be considered demeaning in any way to black people. They were either agency produced, and therefore identical with any general audience commercial, or agency written and read by one of the station's disc jockeys. Those that were assumed to be aimed specifically at the black community were generally for products or events which could be considered as culturally oriented. This term is not used here to mean the arts, such as Bach, Beethoven, or Picasso. The meaning intended is that of the culture of a group of people.

Information on Public Health

The next criterion listed was information on public health facilities. Absolutely no information was heard during the sample nor was any information tendered by the general manager, nor in the rate card to show that there were any features presented by the station which could disseminate information of this type.

Community Action

The last criterion mentioned in the chapter preceding this one, which could be used for judging the serving of specific needs and interests of the black community was investigative reporting, editorials, and documentaries of a community nature. The station's editorial policy has already been discussed, and it has been found somewhat lacking. While the news aired on the station has been discussed, the newsmen have not. The announcers presenting the news were completely separate from the staff of disc jockeys. For the most part, they were very professional-sounding. They seemed to be quite authoritative in their presentation and in their knowledge of the events which they reported. However, in none of the news stories heard during the sample air checks, did the writer hear evidence that any special local reporting had taken place, even to give a statewide or regional story local interest. Nor were any programs heard concerning deep investigative reporting. It is felt by this writer that if the station did present any good investigative news reports, the general manager would have wanted the writer to know about it. He was quite cooperative, seemed to be aware of most of the activities of the station, and he knew the purpose of the writer's visit in advance. While the programs which were promoted during the air checks could be documentary in format, they could also be panel discussion programs of the usual public affairs type. Certainly, the manager did not think enough of them to elaborate. In general, the station does not seem to fulfill much of a specific community action service.

While the public service aspects of WJLB have been discussed with relation to the various criteria for their evaluation, one element

of programming has been omitted. Martha Jean's "Inspiration Time" seems to fulfill some area of public service perhaps within one of the criteria previously discussed. During the one particular hour heard, considering that this is typical of the daily program, (and from the description given by the general manager, it seems to be), Martha Jean tried to convince people that they should not hate one another simply because of differences in background, race, religion, or nationality. She mentioned problems which concerned people in the city, but was not able to offer any solutions for these problems. Perhaps, though, it is enough for a start, merely to describe existing problems. Her presentation was in a style which reminded one of a very emotional preacher guiding his congregation of "children" to salvation. Since this program is called "Inspiration Time," one wonders if the solutions to the problems discussed are supposed to be found in prayer. This seemed to be implied by Martha Jean, although it was not mentioned by anyone. If this is true, perhaps the program should be classified as "religion." As a religious program, it would most certainly be both a general and a specific public community service.

One other aspect of service to the community which was mentioned earlier was local community involvement. It was mentioned that the station was active in projects for raising money for scholarships and for other worthwhile goals for individuals and groups in the community. It was also mentioned that members of the staff on all levels were involved directly in community affairs such as holding talent shows for students, and giving seminars on why it is necessary to stay in school. In the same category would fall the Blue Collar Workers as organized by Martha Jean.

While all of this activity is exemplary, and most certainly is a service to the community, it is also activity which any business, and any person within a business, could do. Therefore, it is believed, for the purposes of this study, that these activities should not be counted as community public service for radio broadcasting. One of the purposes of this study is to show how radio can be of a positive value in solving those community and social problems caused by a schism by race in our country over the years.

Summary

The public service to the community as performed by WJLB has been examined with relation to the two sets of criteria which were compiled in the preceding chapter. The first category of criteria had to do with general service to the community. In this category the station performed adequate service within six of the nine criteria. These included (1) local self-expression; (2) development and use of local talent; (3) religious programs; (4) public affairs; (5) news, and (6) sports. Those criteria in which it was found that the station did not perform adequate service for the community were (1) children's programs; (2) educational programs, and (3) editorials.

In the second category of criteria, those which were compiled for the purpose of examining the specific service to the black community, WJLB performed adequately again within five of the nine criteria. These were (1) employment services; (2) information about black history; (3) information about black culture; (4) housing information; and (5) advertising in a positive manner. The criteria under which the

station did not adequately fulfill its public service function were (1) consumer information; (2) educational program; (3) information on public health facilities, and (4) community action.

Based on the discussions above, it is believed that WJLB is not doing all that it could do as a radio broadcasting station to help alleviate problems or to become a positive means of communicating information and help to the people it serves.

It seems to the writer that, for the most part, this station does not serve too much more than the same functions as a juke box would serve. The bulk of what is heard on the station on a day-to-day basis is recorded music. There are few programs presented with educational or informational help for the people in the community. Those programs which are presented, are broadcast at times which do not seem to the writer to be the best for attracting audiences. The station is not airing even brief capsule or commercial style messages in any great number which are of benefit to society as described in the criteria devised in the preceding chapter. This is disappointing because the station has a very professional sound on the air, and the management and staff seemed to be very qualified to do an outstanding job. All that is needed, it seems to the writer, is some additional creativity to add interesting and informative services for the community.

CHAPTER V

WGPR-FM, DETROIT[1]

Ownership and Station Organization

The licensee of station WGPR-FM, Detroit, according to Mr. G. L. Carter, General Manager, is International Masons, Incorporated. This organization has been the licensee for approximately five and a half years. When asked what the racial make-up of the corporate licensee was, Mr. Carter replied "150,000 Black Masons."

The licensee of this station is not associated in any way with any other media. According to the manager, the International Masons operate barber schools, beauty schools, housing developments, and a large number of other types of businesses. This station is not affiliated with any other radio stations.

Briefly, the station organization is as follows: a Board of Directors, the President of the Station, the General Manager, the Program Director-News Director, the Sales Director, the Chief Engineer, and a Consulting Engineer. The station has no national representative for sales,

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[1]The information in this chapter was obtained from the following sources: (1) a personal interview with the General Manager of WGPR-FM; (2) a station rate card, and (3) ten hours of air checks recorded between January 14, 1970 and February 16, 1970.

The General Manager granted an interview only after many letters and telephone calls. Even then the interview was very short and Mr. Carter replied largely in one or two-word answers.

and the only professional broadcasting association to which the station belongs is the National Association of Broadcasters.

Personnel

This station operates with a total number of seventeen people. There are four administrative and executive positions, three of which are presently filled by Negroes and one by a Caucasian. There are five performers, all of whom are Negro. The station employs no additional persons primarily for production. The secretarial staff consists of three people, two of whom are Caucasians and the third, a Negro. There are five engineers, all of whom are Negro.

Broadcasting experience listed by the Manager for the station employees consists of trade schools and college. No mention was made of on-the-air experience. It is quite probable, however, that this type of experience would play some part in the recruiting and hiring practices of the station. As was mentioned above, Mr. Carter was very brief in his replies; and when asked about methods of recruiting, he merely mentioned that the station accepts applications from any source, and that it looks for recruits from other stations.

No answers were given about the average annual pay scale for any of the personnel at the station. However, as will be shown below, the advertising rates for this station fall far below those of WJLB; and the average number of commercials per hour is also listed as being lower. One might speculate that the gross income for the station is, therefore, correspondingly lower and that pay scales would probably be somewhat lower.

The management does not try to maintain any racial balance on the staff, hiring people who are qualified to do the job needed, regardless of race.

Although at the time of this interview there were no union affiliations and no employees were union members, the station was in the process of bargaining with the National Association of Broadcast Engineers and Technicians. Since the manager did not divulge any information about salary scales, nor the extent of employee satisfaction in this respect, no assumptions can be made in this area.

This station broadcasts on the FM band at 107.5 megahertz with an effective radiated power of fifty-thousand watts.

Programming

The General Manager reported that this station programs specifically for the Negro audience all of the time. While he specifically said "twenty-two hours," the rate card for the station advertises that it broadcasts twenty-four hours a day. He mentioned that this programming had been in effect since 1964. However, according to Broadcasting Yearbook for 1969, this station offers 107½ hours of Negro programming, two and one half hours of Italian, nine hours of Polish, five hours of Spanish, and five hours of Greek, all weekly. Even if the station were to broadcast twenty-two hours a day, the above specialized hours would not total enough time. With twenty-two hours daily, there would be a total of 154 hours weekly, whereas the specialty programs listed total 129, leaving twenty-five hours unaccounted for. Since the information printed in Broadcasting Yearbook is received from persons at the individual stations, one wonders at the seeming discrepancy.

When asked why the station programs specifically Negro-oriented programs, the General Manager first responded, "Because it is a black owned and operated station." When further pressed, he added that the station wants to provide a public service to the black community. However, it must be said that this response was first suggested by the interviewer.

The Manager claims that the station broadcasts many programs in addition to disc jockey shows. Among these, he listed religious programs live from churches, special events programs, live community affairs programs, and talk shows. He mentioned that the station broadcasts twenty-six remote programs a week although he was not specific about their nature. When asked what types of talk shows are broadcast, he said, "All types." In response to the question concerning the subjects talked about, he answered very generally, "All topics are covered."

The most popular programs on the station, according to Mr. Carter, are religion, popular and rhythm and blues music, talk shows, and adult music, such as blues and jazz. Religion is definitely the most popular type of program.

Of the entire broadcast day, forty-five minutes are devoted to news, apparently United Press International news coverage because of reference to it on the rate card and because the Manager made no mention of local news. (A seeming discrepancy appears in view of the fact that the rate card mentions that this station is "No. 1 in Community Affairs Programming.") Another programming note in the rate card is that Sundays are devoted entirely to religion.

Sponsors and Audience

When asked about sponsorship, Mr. Carter did not volunteer specific information about local sponsors, although he did say that local sponsorship is the major source of income for the station. The actual percentages, according to Carter, are two per cent national and ninety-eight per cent local. The types of items most often advertised are clothing stores, restaurants, beauty shops, and dance and concert promotions. All commercials on the station are aimed specifically toward the black community.

The rates for time on the station are listed on the rate card. These rates are much simpler than those of WJLB. There are no time classifications, rates being the same no matter at what time the spots are aired. Sixty-second spots are sold for $12.00 each on a one-time basis, $10.00 each for thirteen or more, and $9.00 each for twenty-six times or more. Thirty-second spots are sold for $8.50 each on a one-time basis, for $7.00 each for thirteen or more times, and for $6.50 each for twenty-six times or more. Ten second spots are sold for $4.75 each if ten or more are purchased. The average number of commercials broadcast on the station per hour, according to Carter, is eleven.

The intended audience for the station is the Negro community. No preferences are stated as to age, economic state, education, or other demographic information. To measure its audience, the station uses mail and telephone responses, together with a special marketing study being conducted at that time. In addition, the station subscribed to Pulse. Carter indicated that the responses are generally "quite favorable."

Public Services

While Carter responded to questions about public service programming and involvement by the station in very general terms, he did reveal some specific information after a bit of probing. In general, he said, the station airs information about such areas of interest as the United Fund, the Fire Department, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and services for children.

In more general terms, the station helps people secure jobs, and raises money for underprivileged people and for those in need. Carter mentioned several specific instances in which the station helped to raise money. In one instance, money was raised to help defray expenses for a girl who was burned severely in a bombing of a dance hall in Detroit. The station also raised money for the woman whose husband was killed in the Algiers Motel incident during the 1967 riots in Detroit. He also mentioned that the station has an annual Christmas drive for toys and food.

It was reported that the station has had excellent responses from the acknowledged leadership of the Negro community. Specifically mentioned were United States Congressmen Conyers and Diggs, City Councilman Hood, and State Senator Coleman Young. Good responses were reported from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Trade Union Leadership Council. The station reported having absolutely no responses or representatives of the white community.

Description and Analysis of the Broadcasts

Unlike the station previously analyzed, WGPR-FM did not seem to have a uniform format for the entire day. (This will be further

elaborated below.) A total of ten hours of broadcasting were recorded directly from the air, one of these hours consisting of religious and gospel music broadcast directly from a local church.

Of the nine remaining hours of the sample, no two were completely alike in format. The music played varied from what could be called "soul" to traditional progressive jazz. The length of the individual records also varied from a short two minutes to up to fifteen minutes. The total number of records played during the nine hours amounted to 120, the average number per hour being 13.3.

Other elements heard each hour included commercials, public service announcements, news, and station jingles. The total number of commercials heard during the nine hours amounted to fifty-one. The average number per hour was 5.7. The total number of commercial minutes was slightly less, 49.5, with an average of 5.5 minutes per hour. The total number of public service announcements during the nine hours of sample was three. This amounts to 0.3 per hour on the average. The figure is even smaller for public service announcement minutes. None of these three public service announcements related directly to the black community specifically.

A total of twenty-seven jingles was heard during the nine hours of the sample. The number per hour varied from seven to none, the average per hour being three. Most of them were similar to this: "You're grooving with the Mellow Fellows on WGPR Detroit; a station owned and operated by 150,000 black Americans." This was spoken over big band progressive jazz music.

These jingles were probably produced in the station's own studios. The recording quality was very poor, there being a noticeable difference

between them and records or voices of announcers. The commercials which were produced by the station were also poorly recorded. In fact, of the three Detroit stations in this study, WGPR-FM is the least "professional-sounding." The production was generally "sloppy," and for a modern radio station, there was an inordinate amount of "dead air." For instance, records ended, but the disc jockey would not be heard for perhaps several seconds afterward. While this might be acceptable for a jazz selection which came to a natural conclusion, it was certainly not appropriate for the types of records which faded slowly out at the end.

It seems to the writer that this station probably appeals to different types of listeners than the other two stations in Detroit, which were included in this study. In this case, the music played was quite varied, as was mentioned, although most of the artists, including those jazz musicians whose selections were aired, were Negroes, to this writer's knowledge.

The Disc Jockeys

Four disc jockeys were heard during the hours of sample air checks, all but one of them using slang and patois expressions quite extensively. In fact, two of the four used patois to such an extent that the writer had a somewhat difficult time understanding them.

The morning disc jockey, Tommy Smith, spoke with a good, strong, rich voice. He used dialect and slang extensively, and spoke over records a great deal. He was very difficult to "follow" because he rarely finished a sentence and his words were slurred frequently to the point where he was difficult to understand. Perhaps he communicated more with

his tone of voice and his mood. Occasionally, he would say something incorrectly; and at these times he did not know how to recover gracefully from these mistakes.

Some examples of the patois expressions used by this announcer are: He referred to most records as "super jam." When he wanted to play part of a record over, he would say, "We got to back it up just a little taste." Speaking about a singer in one of the records he said, "Digs ya to death, mama." Beginning a commercial, he said, "Ladies, while I got your attention, I wanna pull your coats [tell you something]." Two general statements quoted out of context follow: "Now ah think it's about time for us ta blows ya before we lose ya." "Super cat with a super jam -- talk about -- don't frown, mama, just look around. Don't frown, we're gonna cater to your every needs with a whole bunch of speeds." In addition, there were other remarks which were just not clear enough for the writer to understand or transcribe.

The next disc jockey heard during the air checks was Sunny Carter, the General Manager of the station. His program seemed to be composed entirely of jazz, mostly subdued and in low key moods. His style of delivery was unemotional and also low key. Most of the time he did not have any trace of dialect, nor did he use any slang expressions. Only once did he use dialect during the sample. This was during a commercial in which he spoke with a used car salesman about a special sale. This salesman spoke with a dialect, and at that time Carter did the same. Otherwise there would be no way of identifying this part of the programming as Negro-oriented.

The third disc jockey heard on this station during the air checks was Jimmy Brooks, also known as "The Soul Pastor." Brooks was the most

difficult for this writer to understand at times. He used dialect all of the time and his language was largely slang or patois. Although his voice was generally not vibrant, at times even hoarse and raspy, he shouted and spoke with some degree of emotion. The expression which he used most often was "gettin' it together."

Brooks talked over records often and sometimes spoke "to" the artists on the records. Some of the things he said were as follows: "Records to the nitty-bitty-bump." "Get on down wid dat chicken, J.B. Work it! Work it! Work it! Flap dem wings." "Oh babycakes talkin' about uh yeah we got a thang goin' for you!" After a jazz selection which featured artist Yusaf Lateef, he said, "And all right! Layin' it down, Yusaf Lateef." Several other expressions heard were: "Layin' it down about eight minutes to git out of here for layin' it straight." And finally, "Layin' down some soulful jive for you."

The last disc jockey heard on this station during the air checks was Bruce Ray, who was heard during the evening hours. Most of the time he spoke with extremely clear speech and articulation; and at these times he had no dialect and no patois. Generally, his style was very unemotional and low key. During the times when he did speak with a dialect, he said things like, "Twenty-six soulful minutes after eight o'clock." or "Oh baby, wantcha ta dig the way I feel. Soulful sound of Mary Wells. Gettin' down! Oh yes, baby, gettin' down." On these occasions he spoke in a more emotional manner than usual. Sometimes he spoke quite rapidly--so rapidly that it was difficult to quote him. At one of these times he said, "The soulful sound of [indistinct, not understood] Ingram doin' his thing payin' his cost to be the boss for soulful Geeper [WGPR] sound of the Motor Town." Most of the time, however, he spoke without dialect and with little

emotion. The music heard on his hour was standard popular rhythm and blues or soul music of the type on the charts listed in Billboard or Cashbox magazines.

Commercials

There were a total of fifty-one commercials aired during the sample hours, advertising fourteen different businesses or products. The largest number of commercials aired for a single business was twelve for Phelps Lounge, a cocktail lounge where nightly shows and dances are held, with the music provided being soul music. There were two other businesses for which the station aired a fairly large number of commercials during the sample times: Reed's Plastic Furniture Covers, with seven, and Haslip's Shoes, with five. Most of the other businesses had between one and four commercials each during the sample times.

Those commercials which could be considered to be aimed specifically at the black community were, in the writer's opinion, the ones for Phelps Lounge, because of the soul music being played in the background and the advertised fact that the music to be presented there would be soul music. Two commercials were heard for United Motors, a used car lot. The format consisted of the disc jockey's calling the United Motors salesman on the air and being told what the special sale of the day would be. The salesman spoke with a considerable dialect and used some expressions which can be considered patois. Three commercials were heard for Epic News, a new Negro newspaper in Detroit. One final commercial which could be considered to be directed specifically for the black community was aired for the Black Shack, a business which

sells tape recorders and other similar appliances. The commercial said that it was a black-owned business.

The total number of commercials which could have been designated as specifically aimed at the black community is eighteen. This amounts to thirty-five per cent of the total number aired during the sample hours.

Some of the businesses advertised on the station which were not considered, by nature of the commercials heard, to be aimed specifically at the black community were: The Village Boot Shops, Taunty Wigs, a burgler alarm company, Haslip's Shoes, Jim Foster Tuxedo Rental, the Silver Cycle Boutique, The Salt Man, and the Eastern Guild Educational Guidance Service, which sells encyclopedias.

News

News was heard in only four of the nine hours of the sample. Three of the newscasts were five minutes long and the fourth was fifteen minutes. Apparently, there is a fifteen minute report scheduled Monday through Friday at 12:45 p.m. The total amount of news heard during the sample was thirty minutes, which meant an average of only 3.3 minutes of news per hour.

There were a total of sixty-six stories heard during the nine hours and only nine of these were of specific interest to the black community. These nine included three stories about Nigeria, a story concerning southern opposition to desegregation of schools, a story reporting that a leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Georgia was attacked, one story relating to the

Algiers Motel trial, a story about an editor of a black newspaper who was arrested for bigamy, and two sports stories, one about Wilt Chamberlain and the other about Muhammed Ali. These nine stories amounted to 13.6 per cent of the total news heard.

The news was read by one of the disc jockeys who was not on duty at the time. Generally, there was a great deal of stumbling in the delivery and the communication was not authoritative. There was no attempt to localize any of the stories, nor was there any evidence of local reporting.

Service to the Community

General Service

As previously noted, a total of nine hours of air checks were recorded and analyzed for this station. These sample hours were recorded during the regular Monday through Friday work week between the hours of seven a.m. to nine p.m. They were recorded during the period from January 14, 1970 to February 16, 1970. The overall general service during the eight hours checked included the following elements:

Commercial minutes	49.5
Average commercial minutes per hour	5.5
Percentage of commercial minutes for the total time	9.2
Public service announcements--total	2.5
Average public service announcement minutes per hour	0.28
Percentage of public service announcement minutes over the total time	0.5
Public service announcements specifically for the black community	none
News--total number of minutes	30
News--average number of minutes per hour	3.3
News--percentage of news for the total time	5.5

When one looks at the above figures, one can see an average of 5.5 minutes of commercials per hour--not an over-abundance of commercials. Once again we can look at the National Association of Broadcasters' Code of Ethics and see that a maximum of eighteen minutes per hour is allowed. Looking at percentages, we can see that 9.2 per cent of the sample was composed of commercials, while 0.5% was the figure for public service announcements, and six per cent was composed of news. News and public service announcements combined total 6.0%. If we add the nine per cent commercial time to this, we have a total of 15.2% of the sample. One other element which might be included here is Community Bulletin Board, which consists of announcements of public events in the community. There was a total of eight minutes of these announcements during one hour of the checks, amounting to 1.5% of the total time. This gives us a total of 16.7%.

What elements were heard during the other 83.3% of the sample hours? The largest portion of this time was used by playing records. There were 120 records played during the sample time. These varied in length from about two-and-one-half minutes to about fifteen minutes. While it is impossible to make an accurate estimate of the total time, if we make the assumption that the records played lasted an average of three minutes each, which is a conservative estimate, the total time consumed by the records would be 360 minutes, or seventy-seven per cent of the total sample. This leaves 16.3% of the total sample. This was taken up by disc jockey chatter, promotional announcements for other disc jockeys, and jingles. Thus, it appears that a total of only 7.5% of the sample air checks contained helpful or useful information, the remainder being commercial time, entertainment, or station promotions. From the

above information, it appears that the overall service to the community by this station is not encouraging.

In Chapter III general criteria were listed for judging whether a station is adequately serving the community in which it broadcasts. Through examination of these criteria, the general service to the community of this station will be analyzed.

Local Self-Expression

Of interest here, is whether the community is adequately represented by the station. Do members of the community have a chance to air their views, or are the views of the community presented over the air? Also, does the station represent the life styles and modes of interest of the community? Here, a good audience study would be of great help. However, we do know that the station has been in operation for six years under the present management and that there are sponsors; hence, it may be assumed that there is an audience.

Both the music and the disc jockeys "speak" a certain distinct language which is understood by a segment of people. If it is assumed that the listeners are in at least partial agreement with this type of "language," in this respect, at least, it may be said that the station does represent the community. In addition, there are specific instances where this is evident in the air checks. The twelve commercials for Phelps Lounge, where soul music is played nightly, constitute one instance of this. Another rests in the three commercials heard for the

Epic News, a new weekly Negro newspaper in the community. Another example is the hour of gospel and religious music broadcast live from a local church. According to the Manager of the station, several of these remote broadcasts are heard weekly over the station.

One other item which would fall under this criterion is "Community Bulletin Board," which is broadcast every day over this station from 12:45 to 1:00 p.m. and which was heard just once in the sample. There were seven announcements of public events taking place in the community, these announcements being interspersed with music.

Thus it appears that, based on the above information, this station does provide an acceptable amount of local self-expression. More could be provided by allowing more people in the community to air their views if they differ from those offered by the station management. However, no views at all were heard presented by the management during the sample air time.

Development and Use of Local Talent

The meaning of this criterion is fairly obvious. Does the station make use of local talent of any type on the air? Does the management look for potential talent in the community and try to develop it? Other than the program of religious music, which was broadcast from a local church, there were no specific programs heard which made use of local talent. The program from the church consisted of a choir and soloists who could be considered local talent. While the primary purpose of this talent would probably be considered inspirational, rather than entertaining, the station certainly uses it. However, the development

of this talent is questionable. These singers are probably members of the church from which the broadcast came, and are not employed by the station. Thus, the services as judged by this criterion are not adequate.

Children's Programs

This criterion suggests that a station should have some programming of interest to children. Of course, all stations do not need to program all of the elements mentioned in these general criteria, especially in a large market such as Detroit. This station does not broadcast any children's programs, as far as this writer understands. However, the station certainly does not meet the service requirements of this particular criterion.

Religious Programs

The station's rate card shows that religious programming is broadcast all day on Sundays. There are also other times when the station carries religious programming. One of the sample hours heard was a full hour of live programming broadcast from a local church--a broadcast on a Friday evening at eight o'clock. This seems to be an adequate schedule of program services under this criterion.

Educational Programs

The station does not, to the writer's knowledge, broadcast any educational programs. The lack of this type of service seems to be a drawback in serving the needs of the community.

Public Affairs

On the station's rate card one can see the statement, "No. 1 in Community Affairs Programming." However, no public affairs programs were heard during the air check samples. It is true that a promotional announcement was heard which said that a special one-hour program would be heard the next afternoon as a tribute to Martin Luther King. (Since these air check tapes were not received by the writer until some time after they were recorded, and the time scheduled for this special program was not included in the air checks, the writer did not listen to the program.) However, nothing else was said about it. There was no mention of the format, or the content. This was to be a one-time only program as a special occasion, and this is the only specific program of which the writer has knowledge in the area of public affairs. While the station manager mentioned that talk shows were programmed, he did not say when, nor did he say of what type. Since all day on the station on Sunday is devoted to religion, and no programs were heard during the week, at least until nine p.m., nor were there any promotional announcements concerning public affairs programs, one might assume that there were some scheduled on Saturdays or that there were none regularly scheduled at all. The trend of the information here seems to be that the station does not really have a good record for programming public affairs.

Editorials

Although the General Manager said that the station does air editorials occasionally, none was heard during the sample air checks. It would seem that in a city the size of Detroit, with its problems which have

been made apparent by distrubances that have taken place in recent times and that have attracted national attention, a station of this type might well have enough editorial opinion on the air so that one might have been heard during the sample time.

News

As shown earlier in this chapter, a total of thirty minutes of news was heard during the nine hours of sample time. This amounted to six per cent of the total time. The average number of minutes of news heard during each of the nine hours was 3.3. Only four of the nine hours heard contained newcasts, all but one of these newscasts being for five minutes. The exception was fifteen minutes in length, apparently broadcast Monday through Friday at the same time (12:30 p.m.). These newscasts were of the "rip 'n' read" variety, the news obviously being read directly from the wire copy. The newscaster stumbled rather badly as he read, and was not an effective communicator. There was no evidence of any local reporting of community news, nor was there any attempt made to localize any stories for community interest. The writer believes the amount and the quality of the news presented during the sample were inadequate to meet the minimum guidelines in this criterion.

Sports

The last criterion listed under the general service criteria for judging a station in Chapter III pertains to sports. Most stations which broadcast a large amount of sports, or which carry the play-by-play coverage of sporting events, promote these activities to some degree. There is no

indication that this station carries such events, judging by the lack of promotional material or announcements. The only sports information heard during the sample was one or perhaps two sports stories at the end of each of the newscasts. This does not seem to be adequate to meet the requirements of service in this criterion.

The next category of criteria listed in Chapter III for judging the public service aspects of a radio station, pertains to specific service for the black community. The criteria listed in this category will be discussed below.

Specific Service for the Black Community

Consumer Information

Research has shown that the people who are forced to live in the ghettos of the large (and small) cities are often victimized by merchants. Some reasons for this are that many of these people are not accustomed to the ways of urban life and the problems involved with buying merchandise in a city. Even after having lived in a city for years, it is possible for some people not to have become urbanized because they have not been able to leave the ghetto. Some of these shoppers are not able to shop outside the ghetto area because of a lack of transporation. Further, black people are frequently not welcome in shopping areas in some parts of a city or its suburbs. Also, many of these people are poor and because of this must buy on credit; and since they are not aware of the financial problems involved with buying by credit, they are often deceived. Therefore, a station which is serving a community of this sort presumably should include at least some information about consumer problems.

During the nine hours of sample air time heard, this station aired two public service announcements which gave the name and address of a non-profit public credit counseling service. The total time amounted to one and a half minutes, or 0.3% of the total time heard--an amount considered to be too inadequate.

Employment Service

It has been widely publicized in the past five years that unemployment rates for Negroes has been considerably higher than for that of whites. Earlier in this study, figures were cited from Harlem as documented by Kenneth Clark, Dark Ghetto, which substantiated this data. Since unemployment is generally much higher in the black community, it would seem reasonable for a station of this type to broadcast some employment information. However, none was heard during the nine hours of air checks. Once again, even one minute per hour would not seem excessive, especially since the commercial schedule was not that heavy.

Information on Black History

This criterion was included because it was felt that all people should be aware of the role black people played in the development of this country. However, no information on black history was presented during the air checks which were recorded. This omission can certainly be considered a regrettable one in the area of service to the black community.

Information on Black Culture

After centuries of misuse, and constant reminders that black is bad and white is good, there has been a recent attempt to instill a pride in culture and race on the part of the black people of America. With this in mind, the criterion which would look for the inclusion of information on black culture in a station's programming has been included here. During the entire nine hours of sample time, however, none was heard.

Housing Information

Discrimination in the sale or rental of housing to black people has long been a problem. Consequently, there has been a shortage of adequate, fairly-priced housing available. A station of this type would presumably be doing a good service for the community by broadcasting some information about available housing. However, none was heard during the sample time.

Educational Programs

Certainly, well produced educational programs, such as the successful, Sasame Street, produced for educational television this year, could do nothing but good. Programs like this, adapted for radio, would be a welcome addition to the service of a community such as Detroit's Negro communities. However, no such programs were heard on this station.

Advertising in a Positive Manner

Perhaps this criterion is related to information on black culture. It certainly has to do with the fostering of racial pride. For many years, Negroes in America have been using such products as bleaching creams to make their skins lighter, and hair straighteners to make their naturally curly hair look more like the straight hair generally thought to be characteristic of Caucasians. The advertising of such products might certainly help to foster and continue the self-hate attitudes which have been prevalent in many American Negroes. No advertising of this nature was heard over this station during the air checks.

Information on Public Health Facilities

Where there is a great deal of poverty, many times there is also a general corresponding amount of poor health. People are not able to supply for themselves enough health care. In an area such as this, it would seem that if there were public health facilities available, the station should air some of this information. However, none was heard throughout the period of air checks.

Community Action

The last criterion in this category concerns community action reporting on the air, such as investigative reporting, editorializing, documentaries, and radio "action line" type services. Surely, there must be some problems within the community which could be made known to the public. This could be done by creating local news reporting, or by

documentary programs, or by editorials. Nothing of the sort, however, was heard at all during the air checks in the sample of this station.

Summary

In the evaluation of this station's service to the black community, the overall service was considered; and then nine criteria were used to evaluate the general service, and nine additional criteria were used to evaluate the specific services performed for the black community. The general overall service evaluation showed that only 8.2% of the total sample hours checked were considered to be in the category of useful or helpful information.

Under the general criteria it was found that in terms of the following criteria the station "measures up:" (1) local self-expression, and (2) religious programs. However, in terms of all the remaining criteria, which include (1) development and use of local talent; (2) children's programs; (3) public affairs; (4) editorials; (5) news, and (6) sports, the station does not "measure up" -- or there was not much evidence that the station was doing what could be done in these areas. This means that, in the judgment of this researcher, in only two out of nine of these criteria did this station perform in the interests or needs of the community.

In the last category of criteria, those which would allow the station to be judged on the basis of specific service to the black community, one was considered in a positive manner by the writer; that of advertising. The only criterion in terms of which the station performed some service was that of providing consumer information. In this criterion,

the station aired during the sample air checks one-and-a-half minutes of announcements about credit counseling--only 0.3% of the total time.

On the positive side then, it was found that the station provides some religious broadcasting for the community, does air a certain amount of local self-expression, and does not seem to advertise products which would foster racial self-hatred. However, these are only three criteria out of eighteen. Thus, using the criteria generally regarded as being of significance, it would seem that a station such as this, which provides little else besides entertainment, is not of great benefit either to the black community or to the white community, even if it is owned by "150,000 Black Americans."

CHAPTER VI

WCHB, INKSTER AND WCHD-FM, DETROIT[1]

Introduction

Both WCHB, Inkster and WCHD-FM, Detroit, are owned by the same corporation, a Negro family in Detroit. The Detroit FM station is not considered by this family to be a black-oriented station. However, since it is one of the few black owned and operated stations in this country, and since it is a sister station of a black-oriented station in Michigan, the writer believes that some description and analysis of this station are necessary. While information will be presented about this station, not enough information will be presented to merit a separate chapter. The writer believes that only a brief description and analysis should be presented here since the station does not actually fall into the category of the other stations included in this study; namely, black-oriented radio.

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[1]Information about these stations was obtained through personal interview with Dr. Haley Bell, the President of the Corporation, questionnaires completed by station management, eleven hours of air checks recorded between January 16, 1970 and February 16, 1970, and promotional "handout" sheets sent to the writer.

WCHD-FM, Detroit

WCHD-FM is licensed to Bell Broadcasting Incorporated, which is a family business. Dr. Haley Bell, a retired Detroit dentist is the president of the corporation; and his two sons-in-law, Dr. Wendell Cox, and Dr. C. Robert Bass, also dentists, are vice presidents of the corporation.

The station, which is located in Detroit, operates on a twenty-four hour basis. According to the station management, this station programs to a general audience.

The ownership and station organization are almost identical with those of the AM station. The Engineering staff is the same on both stations. Other than engineers, the FM station employs a total of thirteen people, all of whom are black, and all of whom are trained at the station. The salary scale reported is $10,000.00 for performers and $9,000.00 for engineers. No other figures were given. There are no unions represented at the station, and therefore none of the employees is a union member.

The station began broadcasting in 1960, and there has been no radical change in programming since that time. This programming, according to the management, is "good, modern music," which is directed to people of all races, not specifically to one particular group. The most popular program, according to Dr. Cox, is The Ed Love Jazz Show.

This station does not program much news. In reply to the question about the quantity of news per broadcast it was stated that news headlines are aired every half-hour between 12:30 p.m. and 7:30 p.m. No answer was supplied to the question concerning station editorialization. It can be assumed, though, that an FM station devoted to modern jazz, especially

the sister station to a more active AM station, might not editorialize.

Very little information was supplied on the questionnaire concerning sponsorship and audience. Since this station is not basically an important part of this study, due to the fact that it is not specifically aimed at the black community, no attempt was made to seek additional information. However, it was learned that there are two "major" sponsors: Louis the Hatter, and Sibley's Shoes. Consequently, the types of products most often advertised on the station are in the area of men's wear. According to the reply, thirty per cent of the sponsorship is national and seventy per cent local. No answer was given to the question concerning an estimate of the percentage of commercials aimed specifically toward the Negro audience.

The station management believes that the audience is the twenty- to thirty-five year-old-age group. No mention was made of race, income, education, or other demographic information. The management claims to use Pulse ratings for audience measurement. The station broadcasts at 105.9 megahertz FM with an effective radiated power of 34,000 watts.

Two general types of public service were listed: Community Calendar and a talk show, "The Mother Waddles Program," which is called "RADIO HELP." This is an Action-Line type of program designed to serve as an aid to the needy in the community.

> For 12 years Mother [Charleszetta] Waddles has been serving dinners and guidance to Detroit's hungry -- for 35 cents if they could afford it or for free if they couldn't.
>
> Now, from her soup kitchen at the Perpetual Help Mission, 2903 E. Grand Blvd., Mother Waddles broadcasts her plea for aid to the needy via "RADIO HELP."
>
> Volunteers man seven telephones -- the number is 871-2203 -- 10 hours a day and an answering service takes calls the other 14 hours. Emergency calls are immediately relayed to a volunteer for a solution. If "RADIO HELP" does not have what the person needs, Mother Waddles appeals to her morning radio audience for help or contributions. [2]

Other then "RADIO HELP," the only specific kinds of public service listed that the station performs for the black community consist of sponsoring athletic teams: basketball, baseball, and bowling teams. The station reported two outstanding public service events performed in the community during the past year: a talent show and a Christmas show. The station has received awards for outstanding service from the acknowledged leadership of the Negro community, from organizations such as NAACP, and from leaders of the white community.

Description and Analysis of the Broadcasts

Several hours of air checks were spot-checked in order to verify that this station is, in fact, not specifically a Negro-oriented station. (Several hours were heard at different times of the broadcast day.) The music throughout was modern, progressive jazz. The announcers generally spoke in well-modulated tones with deep,rich voices. They talked informatively about the music. No dialects were heard, nor was any patois. If any slang expressions were used, they were of the variety which jazz musicians might use. One of the announcers referred to the station's frequency as "the coolest megahertz in town."

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[2] Detroit Free Press, July 30, 1969.

Some commericals were heard, these generally related to sponsors on the AM station. The commercials were aimed at a general audience and could not be considered racial in any way.

One particular hour was worth mentioning in this study, however--the hour Monday through Friday from 10:00 to 11:00 a.m. over WCHD-FM. This is the Mother Waddles Radio Help program mentioned earlier, to which the writer listened for a complete hour. A talk program broadcast directly from the Perpetual Help Mission in Detroit, the format seems to be fairly simple. Mother Waddles and several of her volunteer helpers talk about the mission and its work. Then calls from people are received, these being heard over the air. Some calls consist of requests for aid; others offer help. For example, a woman called to say that her daughter and two other black girls who were attending school needed money in order to go to Europe with classmates on an educational trip. In response to Mother Waddles' question concerning how much was needed, the woman said that it would take $900.00 for each girl to pay for these educational trips. Mother Waddles told the woman to bring the girls down to the mission, saying that while she couldn't promise anything, she knew that there are people who have money and who are interested in helping.

Another call came from the Children's Aid Society concerning a seventeen year old girl who needed someone to sit with her baby so that she could go back to school. Mother Waddles told the woman to give the operator at the mission the girl's name and they would look for someone. Shortly thereafter, several calls came to offer care for the girl's baby. Mother Waddles told the callers to give their names to the operators, saying that they would call back with the necessary information.

There were other calls during the hour, either offering help or asking for aid. Mother Waddles talked with each caller; and if they requested aid, she told them to come to the mission and they would be helped.

Mother Waddles was very pleasant to listen to, laughing a great deal and seeming to be genuinely happy with life. This happiness was quite infectious and had a generally uplifting effect on the writer as he listened. She often spoke about God but not in an emotional manner. In fact, she was very "natural-sounding" when she spoke of God, saying things like "God lives in everybody. Everybody is somebody." When people called to ask for help, no matter what the request, she remained quite calm and serene. This serenity no doubt had the effect of keeping others calm also.

An announcer at the mission, who occasionally delivered commercials during the hour,also made an announcement about the plumbing profession. He mentioned the hourly earnings of professional plumbers, and then talked about means of being an apprentice plumber, and then a journeyman. He mentioned the availability of free classes to help prepare for an examinatio to qualify to be an apprentice, and gave a telephone number for people to call for more information. He said that this was one new way for black people to get into a professional trade. He also announced that a guest would appear on the program the next day who would discuss how to pass the General Educational Development examination in order to obtain a high school diploma.

The writer believes that this hour heard Monday through Friday over this station is an excellent public service not only to the black community, but also to the entire community as well. The only constructive

criticism which one could make about this pertains to the fact that the FM station is limited in its number of listeners if for no other reason than that there are fewer FM receivers in most communities than AM receivers. Again, without an audience study, this cannot be documented. Therefore, if this program were placed on the AM station, at the same time daily, there would be an opportunity to reach more people.

WCHB, Inkster

Ownership and Station Organization

WCHB-AM began operation licensed to Bell Broadcasting, Incorporated, in 1956, and has remained under the same corporate structure for the entire time. Briefly, the table of organization is as follows: President, Dr. Haley Bell; Vice President and General Manager, Dr. Wendell Cox; Vice President and Treasurer, Dr. C. Robert Bass; Office Manager, General Sales Manager, Program Director, and Chief Engineer. The station is represented nationally by Dore and Allen, Savallie/Gates, and Bernard I. Ochs.

Personnel

There are a total of twenty-seven people employed at the station. Of the eight administrative and executive positions, five are Negroes. Nine performers are black and one is white. (The station does not employ any personnel strictly for production.) There are two secretaries, both of whom are black. Of the seven engineers, six full-time and one part-time, five are Negro, one is white and one is non-white but other than Negro.

Engineers at the station must have two years of technical training, and on-the-air personnel must have experience before coming to WCHB. The average annual pay scale for performers and engineers is from nine to ten thousand dollars. Because there are no unions represented at the station, no employees are union members.

Programming

Although the station license was issued in 1956, the station began programming to the black community in 1957. This decision was made to provide the black community with a "voice" for the airing of its views. The types of programs which the station airs are public service, talk, Gospel, and music--the music consisting of rhythm and blues. The station is on the air twenty-four hours daily, devoting all of its programs to the black community.

The programs considered to be the most popular on this station are: Muhammed Speaks, Community Contact, To Be Equal, and Martin Luther King, Jr. Speaks. Rhythm and blues disc jockey programs are also popular. The station airs about one hour and twenty minutes of news during the entire broadcast day, using the resources of a limited local news staff.[3] Editorials are aired periodically, on issues which affect the black community.

Sponsors and Audience

Twenty-five per cent of the station's sponsors are national, fifteen per cent are regional, and sixty per cent are local. All of the

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[3]The management considers the news area, especially coverage of local news, to represent one of its principal weaknesses.

commercials on the station are aimed specifically at the Negro community. The types of products most often advertised include soft drinks, beer, clothing, automobiles, local entertainment, cosmetics, and toiletries. Some of the regular advertisers on the station include, A & P, Arthur's Clothes, American Pipe and Supply, Coca Cola, Ed Davis Motors, Detroit Bank & Trust, Eckrich Meats, Family Worship Bible, Pepsi Cola, Quaker Oats, Windsor Raceway, Xerox, and Vernor's.

The rate card supplied by the station is the "Effective rate card No. 8 -- effective February 1, 1969." The card lists four classes of time. Class AAA is from six a.m. to ten a.m. and three p.m. to seven p.m., Monday through Sunday. The rates are broken down by the number of spots per week and the number of weeks contracted for. According to the rate card, there are no rates for anything less than twelve spots per week unless the contract is for fifty-two weeks. For all other amounts per week, the figures vary from $38.00 per minute spot with twelve or more announcements per week for one week to $32.00 per minute spot with forty-eight spots per week for fifty-two weeks. In Class AA time, which is from ten a.m. to three p.m., Monday through Sunday, the same general idea prevails; i.e. there are no rates listed for anything under twelve per week for less than fifty-two weeks. The rates vary here from $32.00 for twelve or more per week for one week to $26.00 per spot for forty-eight or more per week for fifty-two weeks. Class A time, which is from seven p.m. to midnight, Monday through Sunday, also is similar. The rates vary from $28.00 per spot for twelve or more for one week to $22.00 for forty-eight or more for fifty-two weeks. Rates are given only on request for Class B time, which is midnight to six a.m. Monday through Sunday. Rates for thirty-second spots are eight per cent of the applicable minute

rate; and for ten second spots, sixty per cent of the applicable minute rate. The station reports having a total of eighteen minutes per hour of commercials on the air daily.

The intended audience of this station is the black community of metropolitan Detroit, according to the station management. As for audience measurement, the station does not make extensive use of outside agencies, but seemingly does use Pulse occasionally. The principal measure is related to direct results from promotions and telephone and mail response--both of which are reported as "excellent."

Public Service

In general, the management of the station reported that they air two public service announcements per hour daily. Besides this they mentioned the program, "Community Contact" and public service programs on Sunday. They also reported that the station has scholarship programs.

The management reported that it constantly works with the following organizations: WCHB Charities' Inc., Michigan State Employment Service, Commission on Human Relations, Wayne County Courts, NAACP (Detroit and Inkster Branches), Federal Housing Authority, Urban League, United Community Services, Congress of Racial Equality, Goodwill Industries, YMCA and YWCA, Detroit Police Dept., Detroit Fire Dept., Mayor's Committee on Human Relations, Boys' Clubs of Metropolitan Detroit, Boy Scouts of America--Detroit Area Council, Catholic Charities, Children's Aid Society, Family Service of Metropolitan Detroit, Girl Scouts of Metropolitan Detroit Detroit Board of Commerce, Detroit Board of Education, and scores of others.

One of the station's handouts describes some community affairs programs, among which are: (1) a program by Councilman Nicholas Hood which summarizes recent Detroit City problems and solutions; (2) a feature called, "The Law and You," in which laws and how they affect the Negro community are discussed; (3) Freedom Forum, in which community and national issues are discussed, and in which Horace Sheffield, of the Trade Union Leadership Council, is featured; (4) "Dr. Martin Luther King Reports," a program featuring local leaders discussing important events of interest to the Negro community; (5) "Urban League Speaks," with issues of particular interest to all Negroes, a popular weekly feature which has special leaders for all areas of the city; (6) "Soul Sound Off," a program which can be heard every hour on WCHB, according to the printed handout, and which is described as a type of "call-in program," wherein people are asked to express opinions on any subject. Other programs mentioned are the Inkster NAACP Program, United Community Services, and the Detroit NAACP Program.

A different handout which describes station community participation mentions the WCHB annual Christmas show, the Soul Sisters, an all-girl softball team sponsored by the station, the Little Leaguers--a baseball team sponsored by the station, and various remote broadcasts either of a religious nature or from places such as the State Fair or shopping centers.

Remarks about cooperation from community leaders are about the same as those from other stations, the indication being that there is good cooperation from the acknowledged leadership of the Negro community. The station carries programs by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, with excellent response claimed. While some response

from the leaders of the white community is claimed, it appears that the responses are not numerous or particularly flattering.

Strong points in programming to the black community, according to management, include music, news, and public service. The weakest points pertain to the limited news staff and the commercial load which prohibits more public service announcements.

Description and Analysis of the Broadcasts

A total of eight hours of air checks were recorded taken from various times of the broadcast day. Totals and averages of the various elements which made up the broadcast were more uniform each hour than those of the other stations in the sample since the station was programmed in a manner similar to the Drake format. A total of 109 records were played over the eight hours of the sample, an average of 13.6 records per hour. This station was more commercial than the other Detroit area stations, the total number of commercials heard being 110, or an average of 13.7 commercials per hour. In actual time there were a total of 98.2 minutes, or an average of 12.3 minutes per hour of commercials.

Public service announcements totaled eighteen over the eight hours for an average of 2.3 per hour. In actual time, there were seventeen minutes heard, an average of 2.1 minutes per hour. Those public service announcements which were specifically aimed at the black community totaled ten and averaged 1.3 per hour. In minutes, there were nine for an average of 1.1 minute per hour.

According to the air checks, this station used jingles fairly extensively, although not uniformly, over the broadcast day. A total of

sixty were heard by the writer, the number per hour ranging from as few as four to as many as fourteen. The average number per hour was 7.5. Most of the jingles contained the words "Super Soul Radio" or "The Soul Brotherhood." There were also jingles used for the purposes of introducing records which were thought to be future large sellers, such as "It's Super Soul hit-bound," and jingles for the weather and for playing the hits, such as "It's a hit! It's a soul hit! It's a super soul hit!" Other jingles included those which merely identified and promoted the individual disc jockeys.

The Disc Jockeys

Four disc jockeys were heard in the sample air checks: Bill Williams, the morning man; Ray Henderson, heard in mid morning; Jay Butler, heard in the late afternoon; and Butterball, Jr., the evening man. Of the four, the one whose style was closest to the "tight, more music" type of format was the morning man, Bill Williams. During the first sample hour, he did not talk much except to give the time, the temperature, the name of the artist, the name of the song, and the identification: "Super Soul CHB." When he said these things, he spoke very rapidly, and with no dialect at all. The same was true during the second hour of the sample in which he was heard. He spoke a little more in this hour, but still did not use any dialect at all. During the last hour of the air check, he spoke even more, and while a trace of dialect was detected at times, he did not use any slang expressions or patois. Other than his saying "Super Soul CHB," he might very well have been a disc jockey on any general audience station.

The mid morning disc jockey, Ray Henderson, had a style which was definitely different. He frequently talked over records, spoke in a dialect, and shouted or shrieked at times. He also talked over recorded commercials at times, a practice this writer believes is not very professional. This, however, was one of the few instances in which unprofessional behavior was heard during the sample hours. Some of the remarks which might illustrate the slang expressions used by Henderson were: "Take it offa him girl; put it on me where it's supposed to be." After this he laughed and shrieked. After a record by Al Perkins (one of the disc jockeys at WJLB) called "Snap your Fingers," he said, "My pal, Al the Perk, as he works wants you to snap your fingers, girl. I just come running back to you like a bat out of [then a pause] purgatory somewhere [laughs]." In a comment about a record by Smokey Robinson and the Miracles, a Detroit recording group, he said, "Gone burn a lil taste so Smoke can point it out."

Jay Butler, who is on the air in the late afternoon and early evening hours, appeared to be rather versatile. Most of the time he did not speak with any dialect at all. In fact, he might have been an announcer on any general audience station. While he talked more than did the morning man--his program is more of a personality type of program than the morning man's program--he still seemingly did not talk too much. His basic pattern remained with the format of "time, temperature, and identification of record and artist."

During the first hour of sample air time, Butler did not speak in dialect at all. In the later hours, however, he did occasionally have some dialect and used some slang expressions. For instance, when he was talking about a record by Aretha Franklin, he said, "Young lady's got a

new hit sound, man. I stone dig this one man. 'Retha -- 'Retha [shouting] honey sit on back here man and do the show." Several other comments were "Blowin' my mind man, sho nuff," "That's a mind blower, man." Once again, though, these expressions and the use of dialect by Butler were exceptions rather than the general style.

The last disc jockey to be heard during these hours of air checks was the night man, Butterball, Jr. Of the four announcers, he used the most dialect and patois. His general style was also "looser" than any of the others and farther away from the format of the station heard during the day. He did much more than give the time, temperature, and identification of records and station. His was more of a personality program. He spoke over records much of the time and generally became emotionally involved with the mood of the music being played. Some of the things which would demonstrate his use of patois and dialect might include comments like these: Talking about a record "The Moonglow" he said, "Mercy one time. Sho 'n' about they got me doin' the Moonglow." Talking about a contest on his program he said, "Sho nuff happenin'. I just wanna pull your coat one time and let you know you can win . . . ." One other comment was "I'm the soul brother of the neighborhood."

Commercials

This station aired more commercials than either of the two other Detroit area stations included in the study. Over the eight-hour sample there were a total of 110 commercials, forty-four of which could be considered as being aimed specifically at the black community. This is forty per cent of the total. Of these commercials which were aired specifically for Negroes, the most interesting in terms of this study

were ten announcements promoting a sweepstakes contest sponsored by the station and Nadinola, a bleaching cream.

While these announcements were not--strictly speaking--commercials, they were included because Nadinola was supplying part of the prizes for the contest. The contestants had to send in their entries along with a box top from a Nadinola package. Other commercials which were aimed specifically at the black community included eight for local soul music dances and three for Hamm's beer which were agency produced and consisted of a jingle sung in a soul style. Other agency produced commercials which were aimed at the black community for the same reasons included: El Producto cigars, Newport cigarettes, Viceroy cigarettes, Kent cigarettes, and Kool cigarettes. There were also commercials advertising hair dressings for natural hair and a commercial for an Atlantic record album which featured Aretha Franklin. A total of sixty-six commercials which could be considered to be aimed at a general audience were heard. The most numerous of these were twenty for clothing stores; also eleven commercials aired for automobiles and related products. Other products advertised included foods, beer, cold relief medicines, insurance companies, and, interestingly, Preparation H.[4]

News

A five-minute news report was heard during every hour of the sample but one. The total amount of time devoted to news during the sample was thirty-five minutes--7.5% of the sample.

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[4]The National Association of Broadcasters has been outspoken in its effort to bar products of this type from being advertised. The product itself has been used as an example of poor taste in advertising.

Eighty separate stories were reported including weather and sports. Twenty-one of these could be interpreted to be specifically of interest to the black community. The percentage of the total is 26.3%. Some of these stories included the following: several stories about the Senate debate over the nomination of Judge Carswell to the Supreme Court, Western Michigan University's electing a black student body president for the second consecutive time, a story concerning the Algiers Motel trial, a story concerning the Michigan Civil Rights Commission's airing of complaints against a number of local firms on the basis of racial bias, a report on a Ku Klux Klan meeting in Dearborn, and a story concerning the NAACP's plans to put more black people in construction work.

There were many actuality reports in the news, and a real effort to localize national stories was obvious. It is apparent that the station has an active newsman in the community so that a most competent level of local news reporting could be maintained.

Service to the Community

General Service

A total of eight hours of air checks were recorded and analyzed for this station. During these eight hours,which were recorded during the regular business week (Monday through Friday), and between seven a.m. and nine p.m., during the period beginning January 19, 1970 and ending with February 16, 1970, the following information was recorded:

Commercials in minutes

Total	98.2
Average per hour	12.3
Per cent of total time	20.5%

News in minutes

Total	35.0
Average per hour	4.4
Per cent of total time	7.5%

Public service announcements in minutes

Total	17.0
Average per hour	2.1
Per cent of total time	3.5%

Public service announcements specifically for the black community in minutes

Total	9.0
Average per hour	1.1
Per cent of total time	1.9%

Since the last category is included in the total for general public service announcements and is shown here for informational purposes, it will not be counted in the figures which follow. The above information accounts for 31.5% of the total sample time. There were 109 records played during the eight hours. Estimating about two-and-a-half minutes per record as an average, this amounts to 272.5 minutes of records or 56.8 per cent of the total sample. There were also sixty jingles, each averaging about ten seconds. Adding this figure to the 31.5 per cent total from above, the result is 88.3 per cent of the total. This means that the disc jockeys on this station talk very little, about ten per cent of the sample time being used for disc jockey chatter.

The percentages for news and for public service announcements total eleven per cent of the sample. This figure is somewhat higher than the corresponding ones for the other two Detroit area stations. The

commercial time is 20.5 per cent of the total, which is also somewhat higher than the figure for the other Detroit area stations. However, it is still not considered excessive in terms of the standards set by the National Association of Broadcasters.

In an earlier chapter two types of criteria were discussed for use in evaluating the community service of the radio stations in this study: nine criteria falling into the category of General Service, and nine into the category of Specific Service for the Black Community. All of these criteria will now be discussed and judgments will be made.

Local Self-Expression

As is true with all of the stations studied, this station programs a type of music which probably reflects the interests of many people in the community. For this reason, it is considered to be supplying some sort of local self-expression. For the same reason, the eight minutes of commercials advertising local soul music dances also might be said to reflect some sort of local self-expression. This station was also active in local news reporting--eleven stories out of the eighty heard containing some local activity with actuality reports on tape. There were also nine minutes of public service announcements or announcements of public events of special local interest. The total measureable amount of time mentioned here is thirty-one minutes of 6.5% of the total. It is felt, therefore, that the station does supply an adequate amount of local self-expression.

Development and Use of Local Talent

No programs were heard during the sample air checks which displayed any local talent at all. Nor were any mentioned in the hand-outs from the station. The only item which might be considered to fall under this category at all was the one-time playing during the sample of the record by Al Perkins, one of the disc jockeys from WJLB in Detroit. While this might be considered a small use of local talent, it is not what this writer would call the development of this talent. A station of this type might be better serving the community if it did make some use of local talent.

Children's Programs

No children's programs were heard on this station. There was no mention of this type of program either during the interview with Dr. Bell, nor were programs of this type included in any of the information given to the writer. The station certainly does not meet the requirements of service to the community as determined by this criterion.

Religious Programs

No religious programs were heard during the hours of the sample, nor was there any mention of any either in the written information supplied to the writer or in the interview with Dr. Bell. According to the requirements of this criterion, service to the community is lacking.

Educational Programs

No programs of an educational nature were heard during the sample air checks, but two programs shown on the handout from the station which describes community contact programming could be considered "educational" depending on the formats. These two programs are, "The Law and You," and "Freedom Forum," the first of which is described as "Laws and how they affect the Negro community" and the second is described as follows: "Community and national issues. Featuring Horace Sheffield of the Trade Union Leadership Council." It is believed that these programs are broadcast sometime during the weekend, probably on Sunday. This assumption is based on what the Executive Secretary of the Detroit branch of the NAACP told the writer during an interview concerning the development of the criteria. He said at that time that most of the public affairs programs on the Negro-oriented stations in Detroit are broadcast on Sundays, a practice which was annoying to him. His wish was that programs with informational or educational value for the community should be broadcast during prime time during the regular working week. Although the station does broadcast some educational programs, the service rendered to the community is not as good as could be attained if these programs were heard during the week rather than on weekends.

Public Affairs

No public affairs programs were heard during the hours of the sample air checks. However, a promotional announcement was heard for "Community Contact," a panel discussion program concerning community issues. This program was to be aired, according to the promotional

announcement, on Monday night at nine o'clock. The topic for that particular program was "How the Black Artist Sees His World." This program, according to the promotional announcement, was regularly scheduled at the time mentioned. No other promotions were heard during the sample for any other such program.

A handout which was received from the station mentions and briefly describes several other programs which might be considered "public affairs types." Two of these were mentioned above. Others include: Detroit Councilman Nicholas Hood's program, which summarizes recent Detroit City problems and solutions; "Dr. Martin Luther King Reports," which is described as featuring local leaders discussing important events of interest to the Negro community; "Urban League Speaks," a program which features issues of particular interest to all Negroes, with special leaders for all areas of the city; and "Sound Off," a program which is described as a listener call-in program which allows listeners to express their opinions. While this program, according to the release from the station, can be heard every hour on the station, it was not heard at all during the eight hours of sample air checks. One begins to wonder how often the other programs described on this sheet are heard. Certainly few of them seem to be broadcast during the work week, or during daytime hours when, perhaps, more housewives might be listening. Certainly an audience study would be helpful to determine how much of an audience is exposed to any of these programs.

Editorials

No editorials were heard during the hours of the air checks. The writer was told by station management that editorials are aired occasionally

on issues which affect the black community. However, these are not regularly scheduled. This writer repeats that in a city which has had as many problems in the area of race relations as Detroit has had, it would seem that a station such as this one would raise its voice more often than has been heard.

News

A five-minute newscast was heard during every hour of the sample but one, with the total time amounting to 7.5 per cent of the sample. The station did a better job of local reporting than did the other two Detroit area stations. It was obvious that there was a local news reporter who taped interviews or statements from people in the community who were making the news. National or regional stories were localized whenever possible. The announcers who read the news were very "professional sounding," being able to communicate the information as if they were authorities. This was a very positive aspect of this station's programming, relating to general service to the community.

Sports

This station does not seem to be a sports-oriented one. No play-by-play reporting of events was heard, nor was any mention made that such activities would be broadcast. The only sports heard during the air checks were brief stories at the end of newscasts.

Specific Service for the Black Community

Consumer Information

No consumer information was aired during the eight hours of air checks recorded on this station. It is possible that this station puts public service announcements of different types on the air at different times. While there were public service announcements of other types on the air, nothing concerning consumer problems was heard. This certainly denotes a lack of community service as determined by this criterion.

Employment Services

There were a total of six public service announcements heard during the sample time which gave information about employment. One was an announcement encouraging boys to have a Detroit Free Press paper route and listing a phone number to call for information. There were three announcements which the station referred to as "Opportunity Line." Each of these listed one job, the qualifications needed, the salary, and a phone number to call for information. There was a public service announcement which mentioned job training for high school students and veterans, a phone number being given to call for details and for information about becoming an apprentice. There was also a public service announcement for the Detroit Urban League which gave the location of three employment offices and a phone number to call for information. Although this was a positive effort to serve the community, this type of service could certainly be programmed more often.

Information on Black History

Two different features were heard during the air checks which gave information about black history. The first was a brief feature which the station called "Today in Black History." The entire feature was about a minute long, with most of the time taken up by the introduction and information concerning the number of times (12) during which it could be heard during the day. Two different examples of this feature were heard during the sample. The first contained this piece of information: "On this day in black history in 1861 the Confederate States of America is formed at Montgomery, Alabama." The second example gave the following bit of black history:

> "On this day in black history in 1966 the United States Civil Rights Commission reports that the majority of Southern school districts are evading integration while still adhering to federal guidelines for desegregation. The Commission proposes federal legislation to outlaw the harassment of black families sending their children to predominantly white schools."

The other feature heard during the sample was a one-minute capsule history read by Ruby Dee, a full minute of historical information with the exception of a brief mention that the message was a public service brought to the station by the Coca Cola Bottling Company. The total number of minutes devoted to information on black history amounted to four, or 0.8% of the entire sample, an amount which barely meets the requirements of adequate service to the community.

Information on Black Culture

Although the program was not heard during the sample, there was an announcement promoting a program called "Community Contact," which would be discussing "How the Black Artist Sees His World." This could be

considered "information," which at least would let people know when to listen for more information about black culture. There was also an announcement that the month of February was Black Literature Month, the announcement saying that the Reverend Albert Cleage of Detroit would preach a sermon on this topic at his church. The time devoted to these two announcements amounted to less than half of one per cent of the total sample. Certainly a station which programs specifically for the black community could be expected to provide more information of this type than that mentioned.

Housing Information

No information concerning housing was heard during the sample air checks, which means that service to the black community under this criterion was not rendered at all.

Educational Programs

No educational programs were heard during the air check samples. Two programs were mentioned in the preceding section which might be considered educational. While these programs do fulfill the requirements of this criterion, the service could have been much greater to the community if they had been heard during the week rather than on weekends.

Advertising in a Positive Manner

This station seemed to be the most "commercial" of the three in the Detroit area, more than twenty per cent of the sample time being devoted to commercials. Only two products advertised might be mentioned in this

section as not meeting standards of this criterion. These two are the announcements for the Nadinola Sweepstakes and the commercials for Preparation H. The first product is a bleaching cream. Products which tend to negate the drive among black people for racial pride have been said to be advertising of a negative nature on stations such as these. Since bleaching creams have been sold to Negroes for many years with the idea that they could make their skins lighter and thus come closer to being white, this type of product would tend to lessen a feeling of "Black Pride." The feeling among many modern black people is that "Black is beautiful," a concept in direct opposition to the idea of black people's trying to appear to be white.

The commercial for Preparation H, which has been discussed earlier in this chapter, is not in the same category. This product is considered to be too personal to be advertised over the radio according to the National Association of Broadcasters. While this has little to do with the criterion in question, this type of advertising is in general disfavor among many in the broadcasting industry.

Information on Public Health Facilities

No information of this type was presented on the station during the eight hours of air checks sampled, thus no service to the community was provided within the boundaries of this criterion.

Community Action

This criterion includes investigative reporting, editorials, documentaries, and services such as a radio "action line." Although the

news service on this station was a good public service (heard often and with local news reporting), there was no investigative reporting heard during the sample time. Nor were there any editorials aired. While, according to the "handout sheet," some programs may be investigative in nature and may include discussions of problems, only one of the programs meets the definition of "a radio action line." This is the program "Soul Sound Off," described as a call-in feature which can be heard every hour on the station. One wonders which hours are meant. This feature was not heard at all during the entire eight hour air check. Hopefully, some of the other programs are heard at some time during the weekly broadcast schedule. It is most likely that they are not heard during the work week from Monday through Friday.

Summary

In the overall programming during the eight hours of air checks which were recorded between the dates from January 19 through February 16, 1970, eleven per cent of the total time was composed of news and public service announcements of differing types. Of the remainder of the sample time, much of it was taken up by records (56.8%), commercials (20.5%), jingles (2.1%), and disc jockey "chatter" (9.6%). Although it is a somewhat larger a figure for "information" than for the other two stations in the Detroit area, eleven per cent is not a very high percentage for information which could be transmitted by a station of this type.

In terms of the nine criteria suggested for general public service for a community, this station appears to "measure up" with respect to only three. For "local self-expression," 6.5% of the sample was heard. In the

area of "public affairs," only the suggestion that a program would be heard at a later time was heard during the sample. The "news reporting" on the station was indeed a positive aspect, with 7.5% of the time used and a great degree of local reporting. In the following respects, the station fails to meet the criteria: the development and use of local talent, children's programs, religious programs, educational programs, editorials, and sports.

In the second category of nine criteria discussed for this station, service was performed adequately in only three. Information was heard concerning employment services, black history, and black culture. "Negative indications" included consumer information, housing information, educational programs, advertising in a positive manner, information on public health, and community action.

This station showed more positive aspects of serving the needs and interests of a community than did the other two stations in the Detroit area. However, it would still seem that more could be done. More than twenty per cent of the sample time was taken up with commercials, a practice which would seem to indicate that the station is not in financial difficulties. Also, more than fifty-six per cent of the total time was used for records. In terms of both the criteria and the apparent "financial health" of the station, it would appear wise and possible for it to spend less time than that on records and more than eleven per cent of its time on news and public service.

CHAPTER VII

WWWS-FM, SAGINAW[1]

Ownership and Station Organization

WWWS-FM, Saginaw, began operations last year with a new license issued to the Clark Broadcasting Corporation. The President of the corporation is Lumphra Clark, a former Detroit auto worker. His son, Earl, is the Vice President and General Manager of the station. The Clarks are a Negro family; thus, this station is one of the few black owned-and-operated radio stations in the country. The station began broadcasting on October 24, 1969, at 107.1 Megahertz with an effective radiated power of 4,500 watts.

The Clark Corporation is not associated in any way with other media of communication. It is associated with another business, however--the real estate business in Detroit. This station is the only one licensed to the Clarks, and it is not affilated with any other station.

The station is organized in the following manner: Lumphra Clark is the President, Earl Clark is the Vice President and General Manager, and Eddie White is the Operations Manager and Program Director. In addition, there are also a sales manager, a music director, and a news director. The Operations Manager, Eddie White, supplied most of the information in this section during two personal interviews.

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[1]The information in this chapter was obtained from personal interviews with station management, from a station rate card, and from nine hours of air checks recorded between March 13, 1970 and March 25, 1970.

The station is represented nationally by Greener, Hiken, Soar, an affiliation which is quite recent since it has not been on the air very long. The Operations Manager reported that the station is not presently a member of any professional broadcasting associations.

Personnel

There are a total of twelve people employed at the station in the following classifications: Administrative and Executive, Performers, Secretarial, and Engineering. The racial breakdown is as follows: Administrative and Executive: Three Negroes, no whites; Performers: Five Negroes, two whites; Secretarial: One Negro, no whites; and Engineering: One Negro, one white.

Eddie White, Operations Manager, reported that the employees are required to have a Third Class Radio-Telephone Operator's Permit with Broadcast Endorsement. He said that most of the employees have attended some type of broadcast school or trade school. Recruiting takes place, according to White, by advertising in such trade journals as Billboard and Broadcasting.

The average annual pay scale in the classifications given above is as follows: Administrative and Executive, $6,000.00; Performers, $4,000.00; Secretarial, $3,600.00; and Engineering, $5,000.00.

According to White, the station does not try to maintain a racial balance on the staff--if a person is well qualified to do the job, his race does not matter. As shown above, the station has several white performers on the air. The Operations Manager said that the important consideration is that the people in the community accept the person on the air.

Two final questions were asked about personnel during the interview with White: (1) How many of your employees are union members? (2) Which unions are represented in your station? The answers to both questions were "none."

Programming

Since this station has been on the air only since October 24, 1969, it has not programmed specifically for the Negro community for a great length of time. It does, however, program all of its on-the-air hours to the black community. According to White, the people at the station have a desire to serve the needs and interests of the people in the black community in which the station broadcasts.

The programming day begins at six a.m. with a half-hour of rural country blues. From 6:30 a.m. until Midnight, the programming is generally Soul music, which the station calls "Soul 40," probably to parallel "Top 40." From midnight until four a.m., jazz is heard, and from four until six a.m., the station programs gospel music. Sundays from six a.m. until noon, religious services and gospel music are heard.

The station relies heavily on the music and news type of format with disc jockeys twenty-four hours. However, White said that the station has been planning to expand its programming to include forums and discussion programs, with heavy community interest. Nothing of this type is shown in the rate card, however.

There are interviews, however, although White said that these are not regularly scheduled. They are inserted into the regular programming as they become available. He mentioned specifically an interview with

Dr. Vivian Smith, a black Pediatrician who spoke about black child mortality and about obstetrics. He said that the station puts information about things such as legal aid, boys' clubs, and other items of community and public interest, on the air sporadically. Once again, however, there are no regularly scheduled programs.

The station's news schedule consists of a five-minute report once an hour beginning at 5:55 a.m. and running until 4:55 p.m. The news, according to White, is localized as much as possible with some local community news. The station does not editorialize at the present time, although White said that perhaps later, as the station becomes more established in the community, it will begin to speak out on local issues.

Sponsors and Audience

In the process of looking for station sponsorship, the station went first to the black businessmen in the community. The belief was that since this is a black station, primarily serving the needs and interests of black people, the first businessmen who should be called on by salesmen should be black. At the time of this interview (January 5, 1970), the station had contracted with some large sponsors such as Chicken Joy, MacDonald's Hamburgers, Garber Buick, and the Saginaw Mall on a preliminary basis. Some of the smaller businesses which sponsored the station were beauty shops, barber shops, and restaurants.

The estimate of percentages of sponsorship from the national market and from the local area were one per cent and ninety-nine per cent respectively. All of the commercials, according to White, are aimed toward the Negro audience specifically.

The station's rate card lists four different classes of time: Class AAA, Class AA, Class A, and Class B. Class AAA time is Monday through Sunday from 6:00 a.m. to 9:00 a.m. and from 3:00 p.m. to 7:00 p.m. Class AA time is Monday through Sunday from 9:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. Class A time is Monday through Sunday from 7:00 p.m. to 1:00 a.m. Class B time is not shown. Discount pricing occurs with multiple commercials and with multiple weeks of coverage. Between one and forty-eight commercials are broken down into six categories of prices in each time classification, and one to fifty-two weeks are broken down into four different categories in the same way. In Class AAA time, minute commercials range from $10.00 each to $6.00 each. Thirty-second commercials range from $8.00 to $4.00 each. The station has prices for ten second commercials, also, these ranging from $5.50 to $3.50. In Class AA time, minutes range from $8.50 to $4.50, thirty seconds range from $7.00 to $3.00, and ten seconds range from $4.75 to $2.75. In Class A time, only minutes are shown, these ranging from $7.00 to $3.00. White estimates the average number of commercials broadcast at eight per hour.

The intended audience, according to White, is the entire black community within the station's coverage area, although no audience measurement studies which include this station have been completed as yet. The station does not yet subscribe to a service. White said that personal involvement with the constituency is encouraging, and that face-to-face contact with many members of the community occurs often. He showed the writer several large piles of letters and telegrams which were skimmed briefly for content. The responses which came from adults and young people were quite favorable toward the station operation.

Public Service

In a letter to the writer, dated October 10, 1969, (before the station went on the air) White mentioned several types of public service programs which he said would be aired. He said that the Saginaw Branch of the NAACP would set up a fifteen-minute program on one weekend to spotlight its activities, and that a similar program would be developed with the Community Action Committee of Saginaw. Also, he said that the Flint Urban League was cooperating with a program of the same type. He added that the station would air a job-finding program which would spotlight job openings in the Saginaw-Flint-Bay City areas. This, he said, would be in cooperation with the local branches of the Michigan Employment offices. He then mentioned some of the following organizations to which, he said, the station would extend its services: Boy Scouts, Boys' Club, YMCA, YWCA, Saginaw Police Department, Saginaw Fire Department, Civil Rights Commission, and the Saginaw Board of Education, among others.

In the future, White said, the station hopes to be able to sponsor athletic teams in the community. Another interest mentioned was to bring high school students to the station in an effort to interest them in broadcasting as a career.

When asked about responses from the acknowledged leadership of the Negro community, White responded that good responses had been received. He said that there were no special requests from people, the leaders in the community merely urging the station to do what it had planned to do. Support was given by the former Mayor of Flint, Floyd McCree.

Description and Analysis of the Broadcasts

This station sounded different from any of the preceding ones in this study. Perhaps because this is a new station, having begun on-the-air operations only on October 24, 1969, the general overall tone of the station, it seems to the writer, is one of adolescence. It seemed that all of the disc jockeys were quite young, and were trying to impress the listener with a "super-cool" image, which is a front which many teenagers (of all races) seem to try to maintain. It also seemed to the writer from listening to the air checks, that this group of young people had the attitude that they were going to operate a radio station for black people, and they were going to appear to be as deeply rooted in the black culture as possible. In the judgment of the writer they may have overdone it.[2] More will be said concerning this below during the discussion of the disc jockeys.

Nine hours of air checks were recorded for the station, from March 13, 1970 to March 25, 1970. They were recorded during the Monday through Friday weekday period between the hours of seven a.m. to nine p.m. The elements heard during the times recorded included disc jockeys, commercials, news, public service announcements, records and jingles.

Disc Jockeys

There were five disc jockeys heard during the air checks, all of whom spoke with heavy dialects and, in varying degrees, used patois of one type or another. The first disc jockey heard was the morning man, Bobby Q. Day. Actually, this person is Eddie White, the station Operations Manager,

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[2]A black student, well versed in broadcasting, agreed with the writer.

the person with whom the writer spoke during the interviews. On the air, he used dialect extensively and also used many slang expressions. He purposely spoke in a patois, whereas during the interviews with the writer, he spoke in as close a manner as possible to general American speech.

He talked a great deal. Some of the things he said were as follows: "Hey! Hey! Hey! Hey! Hey! Look out! Look out Ruby Andrews." Pause. "Oh she's a monster huh! Oh she's a beautiful black soul sister too I tell you the truth." He told a number of specific people by name to wake up. "Y'all get outta that bed! Get outta that bed! Y'oughtta be 'shamed yo sef." He played a record of a woman talking to a crying man, who said she was leaving him because he was lazy and had lied to her. This disc jockey talked to women in the audience after this record telling them to throw the lazy men out and leave them. He said, "He oughta be out somewhere workin'. Coppin' a slave. But he's layin' up in bed waitin' for you to earn his pay. Waitin' for you to give him some bread."

The second disc jockey heard during the sample air checks was Donnie "Sweetmeat" Cool. His program was introduced by the jingle, "WJSOUL presents the lad that's got more soul than Fort Knox got gold--The Donnie Cool Show." Calling himself "Sweetmeat," he spoke very fast and occasionally ran words together so rapidly that the writer could not understand them at all. His dialect was also almost not understandable to the writer at times. It seemed to be different from some of the others, sounding something like a deep South Negro drawl, spoken very rapidly with sounds slurred together. He also snapped his fingers and clapped his hands much of the time when he spoke. Some of the things he said were as follows: "Ya know las' night mon, we had a mos' rashus good time . . . ." "Good sugar, good cooka cooka cooka cool. What's the use of me givin' you all of these good yum yums you gonna

give it away." "Time to tighten up it all [something, something not understood] spring and git on with the soulful thing! Dig me now." Over a record he said, "Bring it on down to the nitty gritty one time fo' the chocolate folks -- come on brothah." "Get down wid the nitty gritty! You smokin' brothah!" He shouted over records many times, for example, "C'mon sweetmeat! You such a pretty righteous good chocolate boogle too!"

All of the disc jockeys on the station who were heard during the sample talked at times about the opposite sex. One of the comments made by Sweetmeat was, "Ah'm the only man in the world who ain't got nobody -- un -- Anybody's out there qualified, willin' and able, ah'm sittin' between the turntable an' I ain't talkin' about you either, Mabel." And this was heard over a record, "Ah feel so good this evenin' 'n' ah didn't even eat mah chittlin's today."

The next disc jockey heard during the air checks was one called Don Juan, The Lover, whose program was introduced by a jingle like this: "Brothers and sisters, it is indeed an honor as well as a pleasure to present to you the greatest lover in the nation. Every single place he's gone, he's received a standin' ovation. I'm talkin' about Don Juan, The Lover." This disc jockey also spoke with a dialect and in a patois much of the time. He spoke over records and to the artists with a great deal of emotion and many times in an emotion-filled whisper. He called records "Jam." He also used a hipster type of slang such as "Twenty-five minutes on the down-swing of eight o'clock." Only one quotation was taken from this announcer as follows: "Hey to be so exact, mama, that's a natural fact, heah! Known as a heart-breaker, lovemaker, and a girl-friend taker. Better yet known as the woman's pet and the men's threat huh. I'll put a part right dead in yo' heart girl. Make yo bladder shatter heah. Make yo livah quivah."

The next disc jockey heard during the air checks was a girl. Although it was not planned this way, only a half-hour of the air checks were scheduled during her shift. (The air checks were not planned around disc jockey shifts.) However, she was about twenty minutes late for this particular shift. The station did not explain that she would be late, nor did she offer any explanation for her tardiness. During the twenty minutes she was not there, someone segued records, jingles, recorded commercials and promotional announcements for her. Her name was Eva Gold, The Bold Soul Sister. She also spoke with a dialect. Some exact statements are: After a commercial, which was recorded by one of the other disc jockeys, she said, "Okey baby, that was yours truly [obviously used erroneously] Sweetmeat talkin' to you. Talk about his thing in Ypsilanti." When she was about to replay a record which she enjoyed hearing, she said, "Okay this is what ya call it, W3SOUL. I gotta bring it on one mo' time -- The Funkadelicks. Okay, baby throw it to me this moanin'." One other comment was as follows: "This is Eva Gold, your bold soul sister. Don't go nowhere 'cause ah needs ya, ah wants ya, and ah gots to have ya."

The final disc jockey heard during the sample time called himself the Brown-Eyed Brother. He was also not heard often during the hours of the sample. He spoke with a heavy dialect and patois, and his voice was full of emotion much of the time. He also spoke to the artist on the records as if they could hear him, as follows: "C'mon honey! C'mon mah pet! Jam number one hun." One other comment from Brown-eyed Brother was: "It's been a ball Y'all! It's been the Brown-eyed brother sockin' it to ya from the Fort Saginaw Mall." (Remote location for the particular broadcast.)

Commercials

There were a total of forty-eight commercials aired over the station during the sample tape checks. Because many of them were ad-libbed, and the dialect and patois of the disc jockey meant they were speaking to an audience which also spoke the same "language," it can be considered that they were directed specifically to the black community. The types of businesses which advertised, and the frequency with which they advertised during the sample was as follows: There were thirteen soul shows (dancing and live music), eleven bars and cocktail lounges, seven service stations, five food stores, four commercials for tax help and for insurance, two commercials for an exterminator, five for a general category which includes other businesses not mentioned, but does not include spirits, and one commercial for a malt liquor. This last commercial was agency produced and was the only one of the forty-eight which the writer believes was not directed specifically at the black community.

News

Of a total of eight-five news stories presented during the air checks, including weather, eleven could be considered as having direct relevance to the black community. They were as follows: a story concerning South Africa's being barred from Davis Cup competition because of the country's racial policies, a story concerning the Midland Democratic Committee stating it was against the nomination of G. Harold Carswell for the United States Supreme Court, a story in which Governor Milliken reported that State departments are working to do away with salary differences

between black and white employees, two additional stories concerning the nomination of Carswell, a story giving the name of the new acting director of the Michigan Civil Rights Commission, a story concerning the black student strike at the University of Michigan which resulted in the University regents promising to increase black and other minority enrollment, a story about jury selection for the New Bethel Church incident trial, a story concerning President Nixon touring the predominantly Negro Washington Technical Institute where he was both cheered and booed, and two stories concerning student riots over school integration in Jacksonville, Florida. The eleven stories out of eighty-five amounted to 12.9 per cent of the total.

Public Service Announcements

Only six public service announcements were heard during the air checks. However, one of these consisted of a recorded interview, which lasted for fifteen minutes, with someone who had information about jobs for black people. Therefore, the total time in minutes for public service announcements amounted to 32.5 minutes, or an average of 3.6 minutes per hour.

The total number of public service announcements relating specifically to the black community amounted to three; in minutes, it was 16.5, or 1.8 minutes per hour average. It is obvious that the fifteen-minute interview was included here.

Records and Jingles

Over the nine hours of recorded air checks, 124 records were played. The average number of records per hour amounted to 13.8. There was also a total of fifty jingles heard during the sample time, the average number of jingles per hour amounting to 5.6. The jingles, which were recorded by the station staff, were generally overmodulated and difficult to understand. The most popular one, that is, the one which was used more often than others, was as follows: A voice shouting in a very heavy dialect, "W W W S - FM, Saginaw, 107.1. Blue in the Valley twenty-four hours a day." Another popular jingle which was also shouted and overmodulated said, "W3 SOUL" with the Soul heavily echoed and trailing off at the end.

As mentioned above, the jingles were poorly recorded. It might be proper to mention here also that the commercials which were locally produced were also not recorded well. The production at the station, while it was fairly "tight," was also a bit different from that of general audience stations. At times, the announcers spoke over records to such an extent that the records could not be heard at all.

Service to the Community

General Service

During the nine hours of air checks recorded for this station from March 13 to March 25, 1970, the following figures were tabulated for the different elements of programming:

Commercials in minutes - total	53.0
Commercials in minutes - average per hour	5.9
Commercials in minutes - percentage of total time	9.8
Public Service Announcements in minutes-total	32.5
Public Service Announcements in minutes - average per hour	3.6
Public Service Announcements in minutes - percentage of total time	6.0
Public Service Announcements specifically for the black community in minutes-total	16.5
Public Service Announcements specifically for the black community in minutes - average per hour	1.8
Public Service Announcements specifically for the black community in minutes - percentage of total time	3.1
News in minutes - total	39.0
News in minutes - average per hour	4.3
News in minutes - percentage of total	7.2

The total percentage of time represented above is twenty-three per cent. There were a total of 124 records played during the air checks. Assuming an average of two-and-a-half minutes per record, this totals 310 minutes, or an additional 57.4 per cent of the total time. This brings the total to 80.4 per cent, and leaves 19.6 per cent of time to be used for jingles and for disc jockey "chatter." This is an exceptionally large percentage of time for talk by disc jockeys on a modern radio station, most modern formats calling for very little talk by the disc jockeys. These particular announcers did not use the time for much besides incidental small talk.

The total percentages for news and public service announcements amounted to 13.2. This seems to be a very small percentage of time for a station to devote to helpful information, especially since three per cent of this figure consisted of one fifteen-minute interview concerning jobs for black people with the State Department of Natural Resources and the information presented here could have been presented in a fraction of the time.

Looking at the criteria described in Chapter III, one can obtain a closer look at the service of this station. Two categories of criteria are used, one for general service to the community, and the other for specific service to the black community.

Local Self-Expression

Other than the soul music which was played exclusively, and the emphasis on dialect and patois, no elements which the writer could call "local self-expression" were heard. The emphasis seemed to be on youth, as heard in the remarks of the disc jockeys. Certainly, an audience study of the station would help to identify the actual listeners, with the result that there could be a more certain identification concerning the extent to which this programming is indeed allowing local self-expression.

Development and Use of Local Talent

The writer did not hear any programming which either developed or made use of, in any way, any local talent. Furthermore, no such programming was mentioned during the interviews. It would appear, then, that service as described within this criterion was not performed.

Children's Programs

No children's programs were heard during the air checks, nor were any mentioned during the interviews with the station Operations Manager. Within this criterion, no service was rendered to the community.

Religious Programs

None was heard during the air checks. During the interview, the writer was informed that between the hours of four to six a.m. daily, the programming would be strictly gospel music. Also mentioned at the same time was that on Sundays from six a.m. until noon, the programming from the studio would be religious in nature. This would fulfill the requirements of service to the community within guidelines of this criterion.

Educational Programs

No educational programs were heard during the air checks nor were any planned, according to the station Operations Manager. Thus, no service of this type was performed for the community.

Public Affairs

No public affairs programs were heard during the air checks, nor were any programs of this type to be regularly scheduled, according to the station Operations Manager. Instead, he mentioned that these programs would be inserted into the regular programming on a spontaneous basis as they became available. Some of the programs which he mentioned were described briefly in an earlier portion of this chapter.

Editorials

No editorials were heard during the air checks. The Operations Manager had said that the station was not planning to do any editorializing

in the near future, believing that the station should have time to develop in the community and become accepted first.

News

News was presented during the air checks at least once an hour for eight of the nine hours of the sample. The amount presented varied from six minutes to five minutes to one minute. Apparently a five-minute newscast should have been regularly scheduled at five minutes before each hour, and a one-minute summary of headlines should have been regularly scheduled at the half-hour. Obviously, this policy was not always adhered to.

There was no regular newsman heard during the sample. Generally a disc jockey who was not on duty at the time read the news. There was no evidence of local reporting, nor was there any attempt to localize stories in any way. The total of 7.2 per cent of news is not encouraging for a station which is supposed to be serving a community which turns to radio for information.

Sports

The only sports heard during the air checks was stories at the end of newscasts. The station does not program live events.

Specific Service for the Black Community

Consumer Information

No information of this type was heard during the sample air checks, nor are there any regularly scheduled programs featuring this type of information. This type of information should be presented often enough to be heard at least once during a nine hour sample.

Employment Services

There were two specific times during the air checks at which employment information was provided in some way. The first was a fifteen-minute recorded interview by the station Operations Manager with Mr. Robert Freeman, of the Michigan State Department of Natural Resources, who was at the station for the purpose of recruiting more black men to work in conservation positions for this particular State department. The interview brought out information concerning the types of duties which the positions would entail, the qualifications needed for the jobs, the pay and benefits, the locations in which the positions were available, and the examinations that were necessary. Freeman left application forms at the station for those who wished to apply.

The only other information concerning employment which was heard during the air checks was a one-minute announcement about the Vanguard Association, which was beginning a youth program in order to get young people to sell newspapers to earn money and stay out of trouble. The total amount of time used for presenting this type of information during the air checks amounted to three per cent of the sample.

Information on Black History

Although a jingle was heard which announced "Soul History," this apparently was meant to introduce older popular records, since it was always followed by the playing of a record. During the entire sample time, only one thirty-second announcement was heard which might possibly be considered a statement about black history. This was an announcement read by Diana Ross concerning information about the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and its relationship with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. -- the special occasion was Dr. King's birthday.

Information on Black Culture

During the entire sample air check time, only one thirty-second announcement was heard which was related to this criterion. This was an announcement of a jazz concert in the community. (Actually this was not presenting any black culture, it was merely pointing out that a concert was to be held.)

Housing Information

None was heard during the air checks nor are there any regularly scheduled programs which would present information of this type. Information of this type should be presented, either at regularly scheduled times or often enough to be heard at least once in nine hours.

Educational Programs

No educational programs were heard during the air checks, nor were there any regularly scheduled.

Advertising in a Positive Manner

All but one of the forty-eight commercials aired during the sample time over this station have been evaluated by the writer as being geared specifically for the black community. That one exception was an agency-produced spot for a malt liquor. There were no products advertised which could be interpreted as demeaning to the relatively new idea of black racial pride.

Information on Public Health Facilities

During the entire nine hours of air checks, one announcement was heard which might be considered related to this crtierion. This was a one-minute announcement giving a phone number to call if one wanted to be a volunteer worker for the Saginaw Planned Parenthood organization. The announcement did not give any specific information about planned parenthood, only that volunteers were needed.

Community Action

This criterion includes editorials, investigative reporting, and such services as radio "action line" type programs. No programs of this type were heard during the air checks.

Summary

In the evaluation of the community service of WWWS-FM, the overall programming was first examined. It was reported that the station is on the air twenty-four hours a day with nothing but disc jockey type programs

all of the time, although other types of programs may be aired but not on a regular basis. Nine hours of programming were analyzed as a sample by the writer. These were recorded during the regular working days of the week (Monday through Friday), and between the hours of seven a.m. and nine p.m. During this time it was found that 7.2 per cent of the total was used for the presentation of news. An additional six per cent of the time consisted of public service announcements of all types. The remainder of the time was taken up with commercials (9.8%), music (approximately 57%), jingles and disc jockey "chatter." This means that a combination of news and public service announcements amounted to 13.2 per cent of the total. In the judgment of this researcher, this appears to be a waste of some valuable time in a community where information can be of great help to many of the people. If the time were crowded with commercials, one might say that some excuse could be found--after all, a station must provide revenue if it hopes to continue serving the public. However, this is not the case here, inasmuch as commercial time amounted to only 9.8 per cent. Perhaps some of the time which was taken up with small talk by the disc jockeys, or by a few of the records, could have been used instead to provide information of some sort to the community. Since this is a new station, perhaps it can be said that in time the emphasis will move toward more information and less entertainment strictly for the sake of entertainment.

In an effort to evaluate the service aspects to the community for this station, the two sets of criteria which had been previously developed (general criteria for serving the public interest, and specific criteria for serving the black community) were used.

It appears that this station "measures up" with respect to only three of the nine criteria in the first category. These were Local self-expression, Religious Programs, and News. The first of these is somewhat questionable. While one might say that because the station is programming "soul" music, it is programming some sort of local self-expression, unless an audience study could show that there is a loyal, satisfied audience, this statement is somewhat doubtful. The second area in which the station "measures up" is Religious Programming. While none was heard during the air checks, it was reported that the station programs gospel music every day from four a.m. to six a.m., and programs religious music from six a.m. until noon on Sundays. The last area which may be considered "positive" pertains to News. While just over seven per cent of the sample time was devoted to news, there was no local news reporting heard. Nor was there any effort to localize those stories which could have been of specific interest to the community. The news was read from the wire, apparently unedited.

Service within the confines of the six criteria which follow for this station was not adequate. Development and Use of Local Talent, Children's Programs, Educational Programs, Public Affairs, Editorials, and Sports. Although one or two sports stories were reported at the end of most of the newscasts, these were supplied by the wire service. The station did not broadcast any live sports events, nor did it seem to provide any more than this small amount of sports information.

In the last category of criteria for evaluating Negro-oriented stations, this station was found to "measure up" in terms of five of the nine. These were Employment Services, Information on Black History, Information on Black Culture, Advertising in a Positive Manner, and

Information on Public Health Facilities. Of these, the only really meaningful coverage was in Employment Services. Here again, only one incident was very meaningful; the interview with the official from the State Department of Natural Resources who was looking for black people to work in conservation. However, this information could have been provided in a fraction of the fifteen minutes taken, and the remainder of the time could have been used for other employment information. Similarly, in the other areas where the station may technically "measure up," the programming leaves much to be desired. For example, Information on Black History was represented on the station during the sample by a one minute announcement reminding the community of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birth date and his association with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Actually, this announcement did not provide much in the way of meaningful information. Even if the station were to provide a one-minute announcement an hour of meaningful capsule historical information concerning black history, this would be a large improvement over the present service. Furthermore, the one thirty-second announcement concerning the jazz concert was not really providing information on black culture. It was merely telling people that a jazz concert was going to take place in the community and that people could attend if they so desired. Other than this no Information on Black Culture was provided. The judgment concerning Advertising in a Positive Manner was considered to be "positive" because the station did not air any commercials which were considered detrimental to the idea of black racial pride. The final area which has been listed as "positive," Information on Public Health Facilities, was represented in the sample by a one-minute announcement asking for volunteers for the Saginaw Planned Parenthood organization.

No information was given concerning the work done by the organization, only that volunteers were needed. Actually, this does not seem to provide much in the way of service by the station.

With respect to the following criteria in this category, the programming was found to be "negative" in the areas of Consumer Information, Housing Information, Educational Programs, and Community Action.

Other than a relatively small amount of news, one type of employment opportunity, and the reported religious programming during predawn hours and on Sunday mornings, very little of public service can be attributed to this station, according to the criteria presented in this study.

CHAPTER VIII

WAMM, FLINT[1]

Ownership and Station Organization

The current licensees of WAMM, Flint, are partners, who acquired the station March 1, 1968. Neal Mason is the President of the company and also the General Manager of the station. His partner, Gerald Scherr, is an attorney. Both of the partners are white.

The owners of this station are not associated in any way with any other media, nor with any other business. This station does not maintain any affiliate relationship with other stations.

The table of organization for the station, briefly, is as follows: Neal Mason, President and General Manager; Mark Parr, General Sales Manager, and Tony King, Program Director. There are also a News Director and a Music Programmer.

Until very recently, the station had been represented for national sales by Greener, Hiken, Sears, but the connection has now been severed. This station, which broadcasts on a frequency of 1420 Kilocycles with 500 watts of power from local sunrise to local sunset only, is not affiliated with any professional associations.

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[1]The information in this section of the chapter was obtained through a personal interview with Tony King, the Program Director of the station. Many attempts were made to secure an interview with Mr. Mason, but all of them were ignored. Other information was obtained from the station rate card and from eight hours of air checks recorded between March 13, 1970 and March 18, 1970.

Personnel

There are a total of fifteen people employed at the station in the following categories: Administrative and Executive, four, all white; Performers, four Negroes and one white; Secretarial, two Negroes; and Engineering, one Negro and three white. The station requires that all of its employees have had on-the-air experience or other types of practical experience. However, formal training of any kind is not required. New personnel are recruited in various ways: sometimes through advertisements in trade journals, and sometimes "by word-of-mouth." For on-the-air personnel, the management either auditions live or requests a broadcast tape. At least two years of experience are generally required.

Average annual pay scales were requested for all of the employee categories listed above. However, this information was not available for most of these positions since the Program Director did not have access to them. The only figures which he could supply were those for performers, these figures ranging from $120.00 to $185.00 per week.

The Program Director mentioned that the station does not attempt to maintain a racial balance of the staff. Rather, people are hired according to need and ability. All of the on-the-air staff and all of the engineers are members of the National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians, which is the only union represented in the station.

Programming

The station has programmed one hundred per cent for the black community since March 1, 1968. The Program Director reported that this

programming went into effect because there was a definite need for it with over 75,000 black people residing in Flint alone.

Most of the programming on the station is of the disc jockey variety, with soul music as the main entertainment feature. This programming prevails six days a week. On Sundays, however, there is a spiritual hour in the morning, a remote from a local church which lasts for an hour, plus a forty-five minute live discussion program, "Focus on Flint."

All programming, according to the Program Director, is directed to the black community. He reported that the most popular programs are the disc jockey shows and also the Sunday morning programs. From the above information, this seems to be the entire schedule for the station with the exception of news.

The station broadcasts five minutes of news per hour, amounting to almost one hour of news per day, via a subscription to United Press International. No regular editorials are heard, but when the station does present editorial views, the issues pertain generally to local government or to financial matters -- all pertaining to the black community.

Sponsors and Audience

The major sponsors on the station were reported to be Greenley's Appliances, Goodyear Tire Service Center, Hammady Brothers Food Chain, and all of the Flint Malls. The types of products most often advertised are automobiles, furniture, groceries, clothing, beers (no wines), soft drinks, and entertainment (dances). (Skin bleachers have been advertised in the past.) Reportedly, five per cent of the commercials are national,

ten per cent are regional, and eighty-five per cent are local. All of the commercials are aimed specifically at the black community.

The rate card supplied to the writer says on it, "Retail rate card 'C' effective December 15, 1968." There are three time classifications for rates listed: Class AA, from six a.m. to nine a.m. and from two p.m. to six p.m. Monday through Friday; Class A, from nine a.m. to two p.m. Monday through Friday, all day Saturday and Sunday; "Run of Schedule," which means that the commercials can be placed anywhere in the broadcast day that the station desires. However, this rate card guarantees that up to fifty per cent of the "run of schedule" time will be in AA time. In these three classifications, commercials are priced according to the number per week purchased, and are listed in groups of either six or twelve to a package from one per week to forty-eight. For "Run of Schedule," the prices range from $10.50 each per minute commercial for one, to $6.00 each for forty-eight. Thirty-second commercials range from $9.50 for one, to $5.00 for forty-eight. Under Class AA time, minute commercials range from $11.00 each for one, to $6.50 each for forty-eight. Thirty-second commercials range from $10.00 each for one, to $5.50 each for forty-eight. Under Class A time the minute commercials range from $10.00 each to $5.50 each, and thirty-second commercials range from $9.00 each to $4.50 each. Ten-second Identification announcements are sold for a $5.00 flat rate with a minimum of six weekly. Newscasts are sold at the applicable minute rate plus $3.00. There are also yearly bulk rates listed, which some of the regular station sponsors in all probability use. These range from $6.75 per one-minute commercial for a minimum of 312 per year to $5.00 each for a minimum of 2,080 per year. Thirty-second commercials range from $6.00 each to $4.25 each for the same figures.

The bulk plans also guarantee that 50% of the commercials will be placed in Class AA time. The Program Director mentioned that he thought the average number of commercials broadcast per hour amounted to ten.

The intended audience for the station, according to the Program Director, consists of all of the black people in the community. The station has used Pulse and a special survey of Black Pulse as audience measurements. In addition, it conducted its own telephone coincidental survey in July, 1969. Out of eleven stations, WAMM was either the first or second choice of the people within the limits of Flint. The station was third or fourth choice within the entire Genesee County area, according to their survey.

Listener response to the station in the manner of telephone calls, mail, and requests have been excellent, according to the Program Director. He said the station also is always overloaded with requests for announcements for the Community Billboard.

Public Service

In general terms, the station serves the public by airing announcements for civic, service and charitable organizations. Specifically, the Program Director was able to report one public service oriented program which the station broadcasts. This is "Focus on Flint," a forty-five minute program of controversial discussion devoted to issues in Flint, which is broadcast on Sunday. It was also reported that the station airs announcements of meetings and information on housing and education.

One outstanding event which the station developed in the community during the past year was a Christmas party which was held in downtown Flint on Saturday, December 20, 1969, from six to nine p.m. The station gave away gift certificates to downtown stores. This program was supposed to have been sponsored; but according to the Program Director, the downtown merchants shied away from the activity and the station went ahead with it on its own expense. The station also participated, along with other area radio and television stations, in Operation Emergency, on January 19 through the 23rd of this year. All stations in Flint were asking for money to buy clothing for the needy--an emergency caused by the fact that money which was supposed to have been allocated for this purpose by some agency was not so allocated.

The question was asked whether the station was planning any other events for the public interest during the remainder of this year. According to the Program Director, the station is planning on at least three major campaigns. While the specific plans for these are not known yet, these will be money-raising campaigns.

Responses from various leaders in the community have been reportedly good. Positive responses and appreciative comments have been received from organizations and from individual leaders of the Negro community. Responses from the white community leaders or representatives have generally indicated little interest; while no negative responses have been received, very few positive statements have come from this direction either.

According to the Program Director, the strongest points in programming to the black community are that people can identify with the black disc jockeys and with the soul music. The weakest points indicated

that the station has a daytime only license and that the station lacks a news staff which could provide the proper community coverage.

Description and Analysis of the Broadcasts

A total of eight hours of air checks were recorded and analyzed for this station. These were recorded between March 13, 1970 and March 18, 1970. The hours and times were generally the same as for the preceding station air checks.

The outstanding characteristic of this station at the particular time of the air checks, and a characteristic which was very obvious for a listener to hear, was a promotional campaign which had been in progress since March 3, 1970. The station had announced that someone had taken the "W" in WAMM and that this "W" was needed badly by the station. Management had offered a reward of $350.00 to anyone who could return the missing "W". This amount was subsequently increased to $500.00. All that a person needed to do to obtain the "W", according to the promotional announcements heard, was to ask everyone if he had it. If he happened to ask the real "W" snatcher, it would be immediately surrendered. The extent that this public relations stunt was promoted over the air was almost overwhelming. A total of forty-four announcements which promoted this stunt were heard during the air checks. The total number of minutes of announcements was 19.60, or about two-and-a-half minutes per hour on the average devoted to this.

Compared to this figure, there were only five minutes of public service announcements heard during the air checks. The totals listed above for this stunt were only for formal, recorded announcements. The disc jockeys mentioned the missing "W" over and over. In fact, there

were a total of 127 "mentions" of this stunt during the sample time. This amounted to more than the total number of records heard, which was 123, or an average of 15.3 per hour.

This advertising stunt, then, was the most pervasive element heard during the sample air checks. It had been in progress since March 3rd, and one wonders whether this same amount of time was being devoted to it for the entire time, and how much longer the stunt lasted.

Other than these "plugs" for the missing "W", the elements most frequently heard consisted of the records. A total of 123 were heard, almost all of them highly commercial, Motown type of soul music. The average number of records played per hour amounted to 15.3. The next numerous element heard consisted of jingles. There were 116 times when jingles were played during the air checks, with an average of 14.5 per hour. The jingles being used at this time did not use the letter "W" with the rest of the call letters.[2] Instead, a whistle sound, like a censoring blip heard on some of the network television talk shows, was heard. Several examples of jingles used are as follows: "Music's movin' with [whistle] soul radio." One other was "AMM [whistle] soul radio." These were sung by a group.

Sixty-one commercials were heard during the sample time, the average over eight hours being 7.6 per hour. In actual time, this amounted to fifty-five minutes or 6.9 minutes per hour of commercials.

Only one public service announcement per hour was heard during the sample, a total of eight. In actual time, this amounted to five

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[2]Actually, no legal station identifications were heard during the entire eight hours.

minutes, or an average of 0.6 minutes per hour. All of these announcements were aimed specifically at the black community.

The Disc Jockeys

Unless one actually knew the disc jockeys on this station, or had seen them personally, there would be no way for a listener to know whether they were doing a Negro-oriented program or a general audience program. Three disc jockeys were heard during the sample time, none of whom spoke with a dialect or used patois at any time.

Tony King was the first disc jockey to be heard during the sample. Since the writer spent some time interviewing Mr. King, the statement can be made with assurance that he is not a Negro. During his program, he did not display any of the stylistic mannerisms which were evident in any of the disc jockeys mentioned in the preceding chapters. He did not speak in a dialect, nor did he make any extensive use of slang expressions. His approach was much like that of any general audience announcer.

The writer questioned him about his acceptance by a black audience. He said that he makes no attempt to be what he is not, believing that he is accepted by the black people in the audience because he thinks that people sense that he likes the music and is interested in the people and their problems. It seemed to the writer that he was indeed interested in the people and their problems. When questioned concerning Negro-oriented radio, he observed: by arousing people emotionally through soul music, one could gain attention and then appeal to the intellect.

Two other disc jockeys were heard during the air checks, neither of whom spoke with dialect or patois: Marcellus Wilson, the morning man

for the station; and Johnny Ringo, who referred to his program as "Ringoround." None of the disc jockeys spoke over the records extensively, nor did they speak to the artists, as did many of those on other stations of this type.

Commercials

A total of sixty-one commercials, representing thirty businesses, were aired during the sample. Of this total, nine could be considered to be aimed at the black community. There were two commercials for Foodtown, termed the "King of soul food;" also, four thirty-second commercials, agency-produced for Coca Cola, which featured a soul singer; in addition, three commercials which combined the above for Coca Cola with a thirty-second announcement for a local movie theatre. This amounted to 14.8 per cent of the total which could be said to be aimed specifically at the black community.

The three largest types of advertisers heard were related to furniture and appliances with sixteen commercials; food and beverages with fifteen; and new and used car sales and services with thirteen commercials. Other types of businesses represented included clothing stores, jewelers, banks and related services, real estate agencies, drug stores, and an insurance adjuster's school.

News

News was heard during only five of the eight hours of the sample. Although these were five minute newscasts, a one-minute commercial was scheduled in each, and a thirty-second promotional announcement was also broadcast in each. This meant that only three-and-a-half minutes of news were heard each time. The total time devoted to news, then, was eighteen minutes.

A total of sixty-six stories including weather were heard during the sample. Of these, 4.5 per cent, or three stories, were of specific interest to the black community. These included a story concerning Governor Maddox of Georgia, a story concerning school desegregation in Jacksonville, Florida, and a story concerning President Nixon touring a predominantly black university.

Service to the Community

General Service

The following data were recorded during the sample air checks:

Commercials in minutes-total	55.00
Commercials in minutes-average per hour	6.90
Commercials in minutes-percentage of the total	11.50
Public service announcements (all specifically for the black community) in minutes	5.00
Public service announcements in minutes-average per hour	0.60
Public service announcements in minutes-percentage of the total	1.00
News in minutes-total	18.00
News in minutes-average per hour	2.25
News in minutes-percentage of the total	3.80
Missing "W" promotion announcements in minutes-total	18.00
Missing "W" promotion announcements in minutes-average per hour	2.25
Missing "W" promotion announcements in minutes-percentage of total	3.80

The above percentages total 20.1. Records totalled 123; and if the average of two-and-a-half minutes per record is used, the total is 307.5, an additional 64 per cent of the total sample. The remaining 15.9 per cent was represented by disc jockey chatter and jingles, with most of this chatter being related to the missing "W" stunt.

Adding the percentages for news and for public service announcements, the two elements which relate to service to the community directly and provide helpful information, the total is 4.8 per cent. This figure is smaller than that for news alone for some of the other stations. This means that out of the entire eight-hour sample time, only 4.8 per cent was spent on what could be called useful information for the needs of a community.

An excuse might, of course, be made that much of the station's time is taken up with commercials in order to provide needed revenue. However, this is not the case because only 11.5 per cent of the sample consisted of commercials--not a high figure. (The writer is not trying to make excuses for those stations which might be considered to be over-commercialized, but is merely trying to show that a great deal of the programming time has been wasted here on relatively unimportant aspects of life. Eighty-four per cent of a station's time spent on music and disc jockey small talk seems to be a waste of a broadcasting frequency. Surely some of this time could have been used for additional information concerning current events, employment services, housing, or other information which might be of value to individuals in the community.)

The above information seems to show that this station, on an overall basis, does not broadcast a great deal of informative or helpful material for the black community. We shall now evaluate the programming further through the use of the two categories of criteria which have been in use throughout this study: General Service to a Broadcast Area, and Specific Criteria for the Black Community.

Local Self-Expression

For other stations in this study, it has been suggested that the programming itself, such as the soul music and the disc jockeys speaking in a dialect of some sort, might be considered local self-expression in some way. This station seems to be an exception. None of the disc jockeys heard during the sample air checks used any dialect at all, nor did they make use of any patois or slang expressions. Other than the soul music and the jingles which mentioned such things as "soul radio," and "soul shot," it was difficult to determine that this station was primarily directed to the black community. For this reason the writer feels less inclined to make the assumption that by the nature of the programming, the station is allowing local self-expression.

Development and Use of Local Talent

Nothing was heard during any of the air checks which would make use of local talent. The only program which the station airs other than disc jockey shows, according to the Program Director, is a panel discussion on Sundays. It is not likely that this station would be able to develop or use any local talent with the present programming.

Children's Programs

No programs of this type were heard during the air checks, nor were any being programmed at the time of the interview.

Religious Programs

Only one religious program was on the air at the time of this study--a remote broadcast from a local church on Sunday mornings. No religious programming was heard during the air checks.

Educational Programs

No educational programs were heard during the air checks, and no programming of this type was on the air at all on this station at the time of this study.

Public Affairs

No public affairs programs were heard during the sample air checks, but the Program Director reported that a regularly scheduled program, "Focus on Flint," is on the air each Sunday morning. The program, which covers a forty-five minute period, generally consists of discussions of controversial local issues.

Editorials

No oditorials were heard during the air checks. It was reported during the interview with the Program Director that the station does editorialize occasionally, but not regularly. The issues pertain generally to local government or to financial matters revolving around the black community. The writer believes that editorials should be scheduled on a regular basis as a service to the community.

News

Out of the eight hours of air checks, five contained newscasts. These were heard at fifty-five before the hour. In each, there was generally a one-minute commercial and a thirty-second promotional announcement about the missing "W" stunt. Thus there were approximately 3.5 minutes of news in each of the newscasts. The average per hour for news was 3.25 minutes, and the total news content of the sample was 3.8 per cent. It seemed to be a "rip 'n' read" type of format with no regular newscaster on duty. There was no evidence of local reporting.

Sports

As with all of the other stations in this study, this station did not seem to program any live sporting events. The only sports heard consisted of one or two stories at the end of the news.

Specific Service for the Black Community

Consumer Information

No information of this type was heard during the air checks nor is any regularly scheduled.

Employment Services

The only items which might possibly be considered to be employment services which were heard during the air checks were several announcements which recruited women for the United States Air Force or

Air Force Nursing Corps. There was no information heard which would be of help for people in civilian employment.

Information on Black History

No information of this type was heard during the air checks, nor is any regularly scheduled.

Information on Black Culture

One thirty-second announcement was heard during the air checks which informed the listeners of an exhibit of black African art. The announcement did not discuss the art; it merely told people where the exhibit was being held. The total percentage of time for this amounted to 0.1%.

Housing Information

No public service announcements were heard concerning housing information during the air checks, but there were two one-minute commercials aired for two different companies which advertised real estate. Both commercials said that the service was for all people, and that the company would handle financing.

The writer does not know what kinds of listings these companies have, nor what terms they offer for interest on loans. However, housing has been scarce for black people; and financing for housing has been very difficult to arrange. Therefore, the writer believes that these two announcements, even though they are commercials might well be included in this criterion for service.

Educational Programs

No programs of this type were heard during the air checks, nor are any regularly scheduled.

Advertising in a Positive Manner

No advertising was heard during the air checks which would be considered as detracting from black racial pride.

Information on Public Health Facilities

No information of this type was heard during the air checks, nor were any programs of this type regularly scheduled.

Community Action

No editorials, or "action line" type programs were heard during the sample, nor was there any evidence of investigative reporting being done. The only program which might be considered here is the program "Focus on Flint," which is heard on Sundays.

Several announcements which were heard on this station and not on any of the others in the study do not seem to fit into any of the criteria listed here. There were three thirty-second announcements aired which asked the listeners to be sure to fill out the census forms completely, because the black community needs to be counted in order to receive its share of the regular services from the government. This amounted to 0.3 per cent of the total, and could certainly be included in service to the black community. There were also two thirty-second

announcements and two one-minute announcements concerning recruitment for military service. These were mentioned in the criterion involving employment services, but that is only one way in which the information can be interpreted. Depending on one's views of the military, these announcements could be either positive or negative in their value as service to the community. The time used for them amounts to 0.6 per cent. The total for these two types of announcements is 0.9 per cent of the entire sample.

Summary

The data recorded from the sample air checks for WAMM, Flint, show that 3.8 per cent of the total was devoted to news, 1.0 per cent was devoted to public service announcements, and added to these figures is 0.4 per cent for two commercials for real estate businesses which announced that their services were open to all people and that they would handle financing arrangements. The total of these three elements is 5.2 per cent.

All of the remainder of time within the sample air checks (94.8%) contained music, jingles, commercials, station promotional messages, and disc jockey chatter. It seems that this is very meager service for the community for a broadcast station operating on a regular daily basis. The writer would question whether, with these percentages, this station is adequately serving the needs and interests of any community, not just the black community.

There were two general categories of criteria which were used in this study to help evaluate the service which the stations rendered to the community. The first of these was General Community Service.

In this category there were nine criteria. The station "measures up" to two: (1) Religious Programs, one program on Sunday morning, and (2) Public Affairs, one forty-five minute discussion program on Sunday. On the other hand, it does not "measure up" with respect to seven: (1) Local Self-expression; (2) Development and Use of Local Talent; (3) Children's Programs; (4) Educational Programs; (5) Editorials; (6) News, and (7) Sports. Since the station did have newscasts on the air, it might be necessary to explain why this service was judged to be "negative." First, the total amount of news presented was only 3.8 per cent--a very small amount of news. There is no excuse for not presenting more news than this, because all that was needed was for someone to read more of it from the wire service copy. Newscasts were heard in only five of the eight hours of the sample. During the five minutes allotted for the news, commercials were also inserted, these detracting from time which was available for reading news. Besides commercials, however, announcements were also inserted within the news, sometimes made to sound like news stories, concerning the station's promotional stunt about the missing "W". The writer believes that more news should be presented to a community than the meager amount presented by this station during the sample air checks in this study. There certainly should be some local reporting, or at least some localizing of some of the statewide stories. These are some of the reasons why it is believed that the station does not "measure up" in this category.

The other category of criteria for evaluation in this study consisted of Specific Criteria for Service to the Black Community. Again, there were nine criteria. The station "measures up" in terms of four:

(1) Employment Services, in this case, military recruitment; (2) Information on Black Culture, a thirty-second announcement giving information about an African art exhibit; (3) Housing Information, two one-minute commercials for real estate services, and (4) Advertising in a Positive Manner. However, in terms of five criteria the station appears to be deficient: (1) Consumer Information; (2) Information on Black History; (3) Educational Programs; (4) Information on Public Health, and (5) Community Action.

Thus it can be seen that out of eighteen criteria for serving the interests and needs of a community, this station was found to be "positive" in only six. Further, of the six "positive" criteria, the amount of service in each of them is so small that they are almost negative. The overall figure of 5.2 per cent of meaningful information out of the total sample reenforces the notion that this station barely serves the needs of this community, or any community.

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

Philosophical Rationale

Ever since colonial days in America, black Americans have been mistreated and discriminated against. Brought here against their wills as slaves, these people suffered inhuman treatment for centuries. Even after the Civil War and Emancipation, their problems were far from over. For generations, bigotry and discrimination have resulted in poor education, lack of training, high unemployment rates, poverty, disease, self-hatred, and boundless other problems.

For reasons which many sociologists, psychologists, and social scientists have explored over the years, white Americans have been responsible for many of the poor conditions and lack of an opportunity for improvement which prevails among black people today. In Chapter I of this study, the Kerner Commission report was quoted as saying that this country is moving toward two separate nations, one white and well-to-do, and the other black and poor. Another author, Charles Silberman, was shown to have written that time is growing short for America to solve its racial problems.

Other authors were mentioned as having said that white America has not been aware of the terrible conditions which exist in the ghettos

of large cities. It has been said that while this information has been transmitted in some ways, such as through books, magazines, and newspapers, the people have not become aware of the information. There has been a breakdown of communication between the races.

Within the past several years, however, there have been several books which have become fairly popular reading among the white population. These books, which have been able to tell some of the story of ghetto life, include Manchild in the Promised Land, written by Claude Brown; The Autobiography of Malcolm X; and Soul on Ice, by Eldridge Cleaver.

One form of communication which has been shown to be extremely pervasive in America is radio. It was shown that by using radio many useful ideas and information could be transmitted to peoples of all races. It was an assumption in this study that by using radio creatively, perhaps a beginning could be made in the communications gap. It was also shown that radio could be used to bring such useful information to poor black people as consumer information, employment services data, housing information, information on black history and culture, and other general information which could be of help in day-to-day living.

Survey of the Literature

In the survey of the literature in this area, five studies were examined: "Negro Radio Broadcasting in the United States," a 1960 University of Wisconsin Master's thesis by Cloyte Murdoch; "A Descriptive Analysis of the Three Negro Oriented Radio Stations in New York City," a 1964 Brooklyn College Master's thesis by Harry Leibowitz; "An Inquiry into the Integration of Negroes into Television Station Operation," a 1956 American University Master's thesis; "A Descriptive Study of

References Made to Negroes and Occupational Roles Represented by Negroes in Selected Mass Media," a 1959 University of Denver Ph.D. dissertation, and "The Negro in Radiobroadcasting: A Program Content Analysis," a 1954 University of Texas Master's thesis.

In the first study, by Miss Murdoch, the question was asked: In what ways have Negro radio served people in black communities? She mentioned five types of service which could be of benefit to black communities: (1) Participation by Negroes in ownership and management; (2) Increased employment in production, sales and in technical positions; (3) The creation of programs which would acquaint Negro listeners with the achievements and contributions of their people; (4) The presentation in this type of radio of white-oriented programs that would portray Negro's problems and goals to white people, and (5) The scheduling by these stations of many programs of particular interest to Negro audiences in different areas of the country.

She concluded that (1) Negro radio is mostly white-owned and that Negroes are mostly employees, (2) That there has been a significant rise in Negro employment in every capacity of radio but management, and that (3) Negro programming is stereotyped.

In the Leibowitz study the purpose was stated as the description of the operations of the three stations in New York City which program to black audiences. He concluded that the programming was not much different on these stations from that heard on general audience stations. One of the purposes of the present study was to determine if such differences do exist.

The next study discussed was the one completed by Charles H. Davis at American University. The problem stated in this study was to

determine the employment situation of Negroes on an integrated basis throughout the country in administrative or technical jobs in television stations at the time of the survey.

Davis stated three supporting problems: (1) To determine the extent of integration at the local level in non-service jobs exclusive of talent; (2) To find reasons for the present extent of integration and operations of station executives and why not more Negroes are in this category, and (3) To compare integration in radio in a particular period to that of television in a comparable period.

He listed three conclusions: (1) The number of Negroes in television stations in non-service jobs is only a small percentage of the total number of employees in that category; (2) Evidence points to the increase in present percentages of employment for Negroes in non-service jobs in television stations, and (3) There is some evidence that more Negroes were hired in non-service jobs in television than were hired in radio in comparable periods of time.

The fourth study discussed was a Ph.D. dissertation by Daisy F. Balsley. This was a descriptive study of references of Negroes and of occupational roles represented by Negroes in some of the mass media: motion pictures, magazines, television, novels, and non-fiction. Radio was not included in this list.

Miss Balsley described the problem as an attempt to describe references made to Negroes and to classify the occupational roles in which Negroes were represented as shown by an examination of selected media. Her general conclusions were: (1) That references to Negroes were more often favorable than unfavorable in selected media, and (2) The great majority of Negroes were represented in the media as

private household workers--a finding which differs from the percentage in real life, that percentage being 0.7 per cent of the non-white population in the United States.

The final study discussed was a 1954 University of Texas thesis by Jack D. Summerfield, which consisted of a content analysis of The Beulah Show, which was heard on network radio. Summerfield mentioned his principal objective as describing the contents of The Beulah Show. He presented two hypotheses as follows: (1) The Beulah Show tends to confirm and perpetuate commonly held beliefs about characteristics and statuses of the Negro, and (2) Broadcasters not only do not present an accurate picture of the Negro but also they deride Negroes as a group on the air. He concluded that there was not enough evidence to support the second hypothesis but that it was impossible to reject the first one.

History

A brief historical summary was presented earlier in the study, with sources limited to the Murdoch study and one or two other sources. There has not been much published of a historical nature about this type of broadcasting.

The first Negro radio performer was Jack L. Cooper, who began to appear over WCAP, Washington, D.C., as early as 1924. Several conflicting statements were found in the research, however. Miss Murdoch reported that WNOE, New Orleans, began programming Negro-oriented radio in 1922, while she also said that KDIA, Oakland, California, said it was the first station to program this type of radio in 1935. Other important "firsts" included WDIA, Memphis, Tennessee, which was the first station in the country to program for black people 100 per cent

of the time; WEDR, Birmingham, Alabama, which was the first station in the Deep South to be entirely staffed by Negroes; and WERD, Atlanta, Georgia, which was the first black-owned and operated station in the country, calling itself "The Voice of Progress."

Eleven stations were shown to be licensed to black people, over the years: (1) WERD, Atlanta, Georgia; (2) WCHB, Inkster, Michigan; (3) KPRS, Kansas City, Missouri; (4) WEUP, Birmingham, Alabama; (5) WMPP, Chicago Heights, Illinois; (6) WCHD-FM, Detroit, Michigan; (7) WWWS-FM, Saginaw, Michigan; (8) WGPR-FM, Detroit, Michigan; (9) WEBB, Baltimore, Maryland; (10) WJBE, Knoxville, Tennessee, and (11) WRDW, Augusta, Georgia.

During the early and middle 1950's, many stations began programming to black communities during some of their time or all of their time on the air. During this period, there was a large growth in this industry and group ownership of black programmed stations began to grow. The nature of these groups was shown and their make-up at the time of the Murdoch study (1960), and at the time of this study (1970) was presented. It was found that many of the individual stations in the various groups had changed ownership over the ten intervening years.

Several Negro radio networks were mentioned in the study, all of which began in the early or mid-1950's, and all of which were short-lived. The first to be mentioned was the Keystone Negro Network, which represented the advertising interests of approximately 390 stations in 13 southern states. The second was the National Negro Network, which began in 1954 and ended a very short time thereafter. This was an attempt by Leonard Evans, an advertising man, to reach some forty cities with a potential audience of twelve million black people. The network

was going to present regular programs much like the ones on the existing national networks, only these would be especially tailored to the desires of black audiences. The last network discussed in the study was Negro Radio Stories, begun in 1954. A transcript service for black programmed stations, it also faded out of existence very quickly.

Black-oriented radio has not seemed to have changed radically over the past fifteen years. Reports have shown that there has been a decrease in gospel music, that rhythm and blues have taken on the name of "soul" music, and that black disc jockeys have not been using "wild" "stage" names any longer. Many of the reports have said that the stations are now mostly like top 40 general-audience stations with disc jockeys, jingles, and soul music instead of general popular music. One of the purposes of this report is to determine what the black-oriented stations in Michigan are like.

Criteria

Sources

In the effort to determine criteria for judging whether black-oriented radio stations are serving the needs and interests of the communities in which they broadcast, several sources were consulted. The first of these was the Federal Communications Commission.

Federal Communications Commission

The Commission, in a 1960 report concerning programming, mentioned a list of programming requirements of which it believed all stations should be aware. It was felt by the Commission that while not all of

the recommendations on the list need be included by all stations, certainly many of them should be included. Some of these requirements were taken from this list as criteria for judging the general service to a community by radio: (1) Local self-expression; (2) The development and use of local talent; (3) Children's programs; (4) Religious programs; (5) Educational programs; (6) Public affairs; (7) Editorials; (8) News, and (9) Sports.

Community Leaders

Other sources consulted concerning the compilation of these criteria were community leaders in the markets in which the stations included in the study were located. A number of letters were sent to various leaders, requesting their opinions about service which should be provided by black-oriented stations in their communities. It was also stated in these letters that the writer would travel to the business locations of the sources if they so desired for personal interviews.

While most of the letters were not answered, several answers were received. However, the suggestions either were not applicable to the situation because of a misunderstanding, or the respondents were not familiar enough with the public service aspects of radio.

One reply did result in a personal interview, however. This was from the Executive Secretary of the Detroit Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He expressed an interest in hearing more of the following on Detroit area black programmed stations: (1) Consumer information; (2) Employment services; (3) More programs advancing racial pride such as black history and cultural

achievements; (4) More housing information and more cooperation with F.H.A. on fair housing; (5) Educational programs such as television's "Sesame Street," and (6) More of a stress on improving the quality of education. He also mentioned that programs of these types should be heard during the week at prime times rather than on Sundays.

Authorities from other parts of the Country

Other sources consulted in the process of deriving criteria were authorities from other parts of the country, the evidence being published in the form of books, reports, and speeches.

Kenneth Clark, a noted psychologist, who has studied social conditions in Harlem, New York City, extensively, has written a study titled Dark Ghetto. This source was consulted concerning information about racial self-hatred related to products such as skin bleachers and hair straighteners which black people over the years had been using in attempts to appear more Caucasian. Other information taken from this source included poor housing conditions, poor public health facilities, and high rates of unemployment among black people.

David Caplovitz completed a major study concerning the problems of poor people living in ghetto areas as consumers. He showed that prices were often higher for comparable goods and services sold in other, more prosperous areas. Other factors related to this, according to Caplovitz, were high interest rates for credit purchasing and unscrupulous sales practices, involving the cooperation of merchants in different places of business.

Sociologist anthropologist Charles Keil wrote about Negro culture in his book, Urban Blues. This study was also one of the sources consulted

in the effort to designate criteria for judging the service to a community in black-oriented radio.

These were the major published sources consulted in this study. There were two other sources consulted for their expertise in this area of interest: Del Shields, a New York radio personality in black-oriented programming, who had been moderating a successful, but somewhat short-lived nationwide radio call-in program which dealt primarily with racial problems; and Nicholas Johnson, one of the Federal Communications Commissioners who had been outspoken in his views on public service functions in broadcasting in general and in the service offered to black communities, specifically.

Two letters were sent to Mr. Shields at two different addresses. However, while neither letter was returned to the writer, no responses were received. (Either Mr. Shields was too busy to reply, or he had other commitments.)

Commissioner Johnson sent the writer a brief personal letter, in which he suggested writing to Mr. Shields, and which also contained a few suggestions about criteria. He also sent a copy of a speech which he had delivered to a large group of black broadcasters and which contained a number of suggestions for serving the needs of black people in ghetto areas. In this speech, Commissioner Johnson mentioned the programming of such topics as black history, black culture, employment information, housing, welfare, legal aid, consumer information, community action programs, and such activities as local high school sporting events and local drama workshops, as well as the use of local talent on the air.

From the above sources a group of nine additional criteria were derived to be used for judging black-oriented radio stations' specific

service to the communities in which they broadcast: (1) Consumer information; (2) Employment services; (3) Information about black history; (4) Information about black culture; (5) Housing information; (6) Educational programs; (7) Advertising in a positive manner; (8) Information on public health facilities, and (9) Community action.

The above nine criteria and the nine criteria for general service which were derived from the Federal Communications Commission report on programming and were listed earlier, were decided upon as those by which the stations in this study would be judged for the services they rendered for the black communities in the areas in which they broadcast.

The Stations

WJLB, Detroit

WJLB, Detroit, has been licensed to John L. Booth since the beginnings of its operation in 1939. Booth, who is white, is the director of Booth Newspapers, Incorporated. The corporation also owns eighteen community antenna television operations, six other AM stations, and seven FM stations. None of these stations is affiliated with a network. Booth is not involved in any other business ventures outside of the media.

The station, which broadcasts twenty-four hours a day, on a frequency of 1400 Kilocycles with a power of 1,000 watts, is a member of the National Association of Broadcasters. It is represented nationally for sales by Bernard Howard and Company, of New York.

Thirty-eight people are employed by the station in administrative and executive positions, performance positions, secretarial positions, and as engineers. There are nineteen Negroes and nineteen whites.

For the past thirty years this station has presented at least some black-oriented radio. During the past twelve years the station has devoted thirty hours weekly to this type of programming. As of June 1, 1969, one hundred per cent of the programming has been oriented to the black community. The reason given for presenting this type of programming was a need for the service to the large black population in the community.

During a nine-hour listening sample the station programmed 133 records, averaging 14.8 per hour; seventy-two commercials, averaging eight per hour; twenty-nine public service announcements, averaging 3.2 per hour; twenty-three public service announcements, aimed specifically for the black community, averaging 2.6 per hour; and ninety-two jingles averaging 9.1 per hour. The most popular jingle mentioned "WJLB--Soul 70."

Five disc jockeys were heard during the sample air checks: Paul Major, Ken Bell, Cat Daddio, Ernie D., and Al Perkins. All but one, Ernie D., spoke without a dialect at least some of the time. All spoke over the records and talked to artists on the records, a style not generally heard on general audience stations.

Although the format on the station was generally similar to that of the "typical" general audience popular music station, it was obvious to the writer that this was a Negro-oriented station. The music played was entirely "soul" music, the jingles referred to Soul 70, the disc jockeys spoke much of the time with some sort of dialect and some used what Grier and Cobbs have referred to as a patois.

WGPR-FM, Detroit

WGPR-FM has been licensed to International Masons, Incorporated for the past five-and-a-half years, according to its General Manager, G.L. "Sunny" Carter. When he was asked the racial make-up of the ownership of the station, he replied, "150,000 black Masons." The station is not affiliated with any others, is not represented nationally, and is a member of the National Association of Broadcasters. It broadcasts at 107.5 megahertz, at an effective radiated power of fifty kilowatts.

There are seventeen employees at the station in various job classifications. Fourteen of these were reported to be black and three white. There was no union representing employees at the time of this study.

The station programs for the black community on a full-time (twenty-four hours) basis, as a public service to the black people in the community.

Nine hours of sample air time were recorded, during which 120 records were heard, averaging 13.3 per hour; fifty-one commercials were aired, averaging 5.7 per hour; three public service announcements were aired, none of which was specifically for the black community, averaging 0.3 per hour; and twenty-seven jingles were heard, averaging three per hour. The most prevalent jingle heard mentioned "You're listening to the Mellow Fellows WGPR, Detroit, owned by 150,000 black Americans."

Four disc jockeys were heard during the nine hours: Tommy Smith, Sunny Carter, Jimmy Brooks-The Soul Pastor, and Bruce Ray. Two of these, Tommy Smith and Jimmy Brooks, spoke most of the time with a dialect and used a great deal of patois. Carter did not use dialect or patois with

the exception of one incident. His approach was unemotional and low key, unlike the other two, who spoke over records and to artists on the records. Bruce Ray also did not speak with a dialect most of the time. Nor did he use patois. However, at times, he did use a dialect; and also at times, he spoke over records and to artists on records.

This station was not a "typical" top 40 type of station. The programming varied from disc jockey to disc jockey, each having a style of his own and playing different types of music. The music ranged from soul-popular, to modern jazz, to big band. Most of the artists on record appeared to be Negroes. It was still fairly obvious that this station was aimed specifically at the black community, especially because the jingles mentioned that the station was owned by 150,000 black Americans were obvious and because the dialect and use of patois by two of the disc jockeys also separated this station from a general audience station.

WCHB-AM, Detroit

Before the analysis of WCHB-AM, a brief discussion was presented concerning the sister station, WCHD-FM, Detroit. This station and the AM station are both licensed to a Negro family in Detroit. The President of the corporation is Dr. Haley Bell, a retired dentist. His two sons-in-law, both dentists also, are executives of the corporation and are active in the managements of the broadcasting services.

WCHD-FM broadcasts at 105.9 megahertz with an effective radiated power of 34,000 watts. The engineering staff for the station is identical with that of the AM station. There are thirteen employees at the station, all of whom are black. They are not represented by a labor union.

The station began operating in 1960 and has programmed "good, modern music," according to management. The audience sought is of all races and between the ages twenty to thirty-five. The management does not consider it a black-oriented station. The station programs mostly music with very little news. The public service features on the air are of two types: Community Calendar and the Mother Waddles program, RADIO HELP. The latter is a talk show broadcast live from Mother Waddles' Self-Help Mission each Monday through Friday at ten a.m. This program seems to be an excellent form of public service.

WCHB-AM, Inkster, began operations in 1956, licensed to the Bell family corporation. It broadcasts on a frequency of 1440 kilocycles with 1,000 watts of power. The station is represented nationally by Dore and Allen, Savallie/Gates, and Bernard I. Ochs.

There are twenty-seven people employed, twenty-one of whom are black, five are white, and one is non-white but other than black. The employees are not represented by a union.

The programming is aimed specifically at the black community in Detroit in order to provide a "voice" for airing its views. Most of the programming is of the disc jockey type, with soul music as the mainstay. Different types of talk shows are broadcast on weekends along with some religious programming.

Eight hours of sample air time were recorded for this station. During this time 109 records were heard, averaging 13.6 per hour. There were 110 commercials aired, averaging 13.7 per hour. Public service announcements numbered eighteen, with 2.3 per hour as an average. Public service announcements specifically aimed at the black community numbered ten, averaging 1.3 per hour. There were sixty jingles used during the

eight hours, averaging 7.5 per hour. Two main phrases were used in the jingles: "Super soul radio," and "The Soul Brotherhood." The overall format was quite similar to that of a top 40 general audience station. However, the prevalent music was rhythm and blues; and the jingles specified "Super soul radio," or "The Soul Brotherhood."

The disc jockeys who were heard sometimes helped to identify the station as black-oriented. Four were heard, two of these using dialect most of the time and speaking in a patois, or using expressions which could be considered patois much of the time. One of the four used dialect some of the time and also used patois at times. One of the disc jockeys did not speak in a dialect at all, nor did he use any patois, his style being similar to that of the "typical" top 40 general audience disc jockey.

WWWS-FM, Saginaw

WWWS-FM, Saginaw, or W3 Soul, as it is referred to on the air, is a new station, which went on the air October 24, 1969. This station joined the slowly growing list of those licensed to black people. The licensee is a family corporation--the President is Lumphra Clark, a former Detroit auto worker; and his son Earl is Vice President and General Manager of the station.

The station broadcasts at 107.1 megahertz with an effective radiated power of 4,500 watts. It is not affiliated with any other stations, nor is it a member of any professional broadcasting associations. It is represented nationally by Greener, Hiken, Sear.

There are a total of thirteen people employed, ten of whom are black, the other three being white. They are not represented by a union.

The station programs to the black community out of a desire to serve the needs and interests of the people. The programming is entirely of the disc jockey type, with soul music predominating. Other than soul music, gospel is programmed in the predawn hours each day. The management expressed the notion that the intended audience for the station is the entire black community.

Nine hours of programming were recorded as a sample for this station. During this time there were 124 records, averaging 13.8 per hour. Forty-eight commercials were heard, averaging 5.3 per hour. Also heard were six public service announcements, averaging 0.7 per hour. Of those, three were aimed specifically at the black community, averaging 0.3 per hour. A total of fifty jingles were heard, averaging 5.6 per hour. The most heard phrase in the jingles was "W3 Soul."

Five disc jockeys were heard, all of them speaking with very noticeable dialects. The use of patois was also quite profuse, and some of the language or expressions were not understood by the writer. The styles of delivery were much different from those of disc jockeys on "typical" general audience stations. The approach was mostly very emotional. One of the disc jockeys snapped his fingers and clapped his hands as he spoke. There was a great deal of talking over records and especially speaking to artists on the records as if the artists could answer. All of the disc jockeys used expressions such as "Soul brother" or "Soul sister," or "Chocolate people." There was never a doubt in the writer's mind while listening to the air checks from this station that it was black-oriented.

WAMM, Flint

Although this station has been in operation for fifteen years, since 1955, the current licensee, a partnership, acquired the station March 1, 1968. Neal Mason is the President and General Manager of the station. His partner, Gerald Scherr, is an attorney. The licensee is not associated with other media nor with other businesses.

The station, which broadcasts on a frequency of 1420 kilocycles with 500 watts of power, daytime only, is not affiliated with other stations. It has no national representative for sales and is not a member of any professional broadcasting organizations.

There are fifteen people employed at the station, seven of whom are Negroes and eight are white. All of the engineers and on-the-air personnel are represented by the National Association of Broadcast Engineers and Technicians, which is the only union representation within the station.

The station began presenting a hundred per cent black-oriented programming when the current licensee acquired the station in 1968. The reason given for this programming is that there is a definite need for it with over 75,000 black people living in the city of Flint. Almost all of the programming is of the disc jockey type, the exceptions being some religious programming on Sunday and a forty-five minute panel discussion program on controversial issues in the city of Flint. This program is also presented on Sunday.

A sample of eight hours of air checks were recorded for this station. During this time 123 records were played for an average of 15.3 per hour. Sixty-one commercials were aired, averaging 7.6 per hour. A total of eight public service announcements were heard, all directed at

the black community, averaging one per hour. Jingles numbered 116, and averaged 14.5 per hour. The predominant phrase heard in the jingles was "AMM Soul Radio."

One other element which was heard on this station and not any of the others in the study, was a promotional stunt for the station. The "W" in WAMM was said to have been snatched and the station was supposed to be in such need of it that it offered a $500.00 reward for its return. According to information broadcast often over the station, the person who snatched the "W" would give it to any person who asked for it. Therefore, the station was urging people to ask everyone for the missing "W". This stunt had been underway for three weeks by the time the first air checks were taken. It was mentioned so often that the writer felt that some measurement of the time spent on the air promoting this campaign was relevant. The disc jockeys spoke of almost nothing else at any time. Besides recorded promotional announcements which were aired very often, the disc jockeys mentioned it between every record. There were a total of 127 mentions about this stunt, averaging 15.9 per hour.

The music played on this station was very commercial soul music. Most of it was on the Motown label, and was more popular with general audiences than with black audiences, according to the program director of one of the stations in this study.

Three disc jockeys were heard during the sample. None of them spoke with any dialect at all, nor did any of them use any slang or patois. The styles were similar to those of general audience disc jockeys. One was known to the writer to be white--the program director of the station, who was interviewed for the purpose of information about the station.

This station seemed to the writer to be the least easy to identify as a black oriented station. The music, although clearly soul music, was quite commercial; and much of it has been played on general audience stations. The disc jockeys sounded much like general audience disc jockeys, the only real difference being that the jingles mentioned "soul radio."

Conclusions

In connection with the process of making judgments concerning the service to the communities which the stations in this study served, two categories of nine criteria each were developed. The first of these categories related to general service to a community, and in that sense could be applied to any radio station which serves a community. The second category of criteria related to the specific service of a station to the needs and interests of a black community.

Before examining the two categories of criteria, however, it might be informative to examine the elements of radio production which were heard on all of the stations during the sample air checks. Chart number one shows the following elements for the five stations by percentages of the total sample: (1) Commercials; (2) Public service announcements; (3) News; (4) An estimate of the music, and (5) The remainder of the air time. This last element includes jingles, promotional announcements, and disc jockey chatter.

Since it is assumed that commercials are necessary for the continued operation of a commercial station, this element was listed first. The most commercial of the stations in the study was WCHB with 20.5

CHART ONE

PROGRAMMING ELEMENTS FOR ALL STATIONS BY PERCENTAGE

	Commercials Percentage of Total	PSA Percentage of Total	News Percentage of Total	**Music Percentage of Total	Remainder Includes Jingles, Promos, DJ Chatter Percentage of Total
WJLB	12.2	4.4	6.9	58.8	17.7
WGPR-FM	9.2	*2.0	5.5	67.0	16.3
WCHB	20.5	3.5	7.5	56.8	11.7
WWWS-FM	9.8	≠6.0	7.2	57.4	19.6
WAMM	(**)11.1	(**)1.4	3.8	64.0	(*)15.9
Average Percentage of Elements For All Stations	12.8	3.5	6.0	60.4	16.7

* Includes 1.5% Community Bulletin Board.

** Time percentage is estimated from number of records played.

≠ Includes 15 minute interview.

(*) Includes 3.8% Promo for station stunt.

(**) 0.4% of commercials counted as PSA for service to community.

per cent of the total sample time devoted to advertising. The National Association of Broadcasters allows a maximum of eighteen minutes per hour of commercial time, according to its code of ethics. This would be thirty per cent of the hour. WCHB is clearly within this allowable maximum and is not considered to be overly commercial. The two FM stations in the study are the least commercial with 9.2 per cent and 9.8 per cent respectively. The average percentage of commercials for the five stations was 12.8 per cent.

According to the National Association of Broadcaster's Code of Ethics, it is possible for a station to be overly commercial. Is it also possible for a station to be under commercialized? Not according to the above source. However, unless a station is financed in some additional manner, if rates are fairly low, as they are with several of these stations, and there are only a few commercials, it is possible that the station might not have enough revenue properly to serve a community. Well-qualified personnel generally must be paid a fair salary. Equipment for broadcasting is expensive, not only in the initial purchase, but also expensive to maintain, especially when it is in constant use. Although these factors are not decisive in themselves, they certainly have something to do with the service which a station is able to render to a community.

Of the remaining elements listed in this chart, news and public service announcements seem to be most closely related to serving public needs. Certainly music is not unimportant, since in some cases it is an element of life which is unavailable to black people on general audience stations. However, the music offered on these stations is all on records which are available to the public at record stores. It seems to the

writer that the large percentages of music heard on the stations in this study were not in the best interests of the people being served. The figures range from a high of sixty-seven per cent for WGPR-FM to fifty-seven per cent for WJLB, the average percentage for all of the stations being 60.4. This is a very large percentage of time to be devoted to what might be considered entertainment, in a medium which can be used to transmit a large amount of needed information.

The remainder of time includes jingles, promotional announcements, and disc jockey chatter. Promotional announcements were used to make people aware of other disc jockeys on the station and when they could be heard, or to promote contests for prizes broadcast over the stations, or to promote the station's image in the community. Jingles were used to identify the stations, add flavor and image to the station so that it could be easily identified by the public, or to promote disc jockeys. In general, then, jingles are closely related to promotional announcements. The disc jockey chatter most of the time related to the records being played, the artists or performers heard, promotions for other disc jockeys, or station identifications. It is doubtful that any of this could be considered very useful to a public which has been considered to be suffering on an overall basis from various types of deprivation, including unemployment, poor education, poor health, and the lack of other important factors necessary for existence in our society.

Logically, then, of all of the elements heard during the air checks, public service announcements and news supplied the most useful information for the public. It might even be said that these two elements supplied all of the useful information for the public. Chart number two shows the total percentage of public service announcements and news

CHART TWO

TOTAL PERCENTAGE OF PUBLIC SERVICE ANNOUNCEMENTS AND NEWS FOR ALL STATIONS IN STUDY

WJLB	11.3%	
WGPR-FM	7.5%	
WCHB	11.0%	
WWWS-FM	13.2%	Includes a 15 minute interview
WAMM	5.2%	Includes 0.4% commercials for real estate
Average Percentage For All Stations	9.6%	

combined for all of the stations in the study. At the bottom is the average percentage of the total of these two elements for all of the stations in the study. This means that during the sample time studied for these stations, the total useful information, as an average, was only 9.6 per cent. This seems to be a significant waste of a medium which could present really meaningful information in the form of availability of jobs, housing, information helping consumers, and other

vital services which could help the people in the communities being served.

Looking at the percentages for public service announcements and news once again, this time at individual stations, we see that the highest percentage is for WWWS-FM, 13.2. However, that figure is misleading since it includes a fifteen-minute interview in which the information brought to the public could have been presented in one or two minutes. If thirteen minutes were subtracted from the total time in these categories, the percentage would drop to 10.8. WCHB is shown in Chart number two to have presented a total of eleven per cent of time during the sample checks for public service announcements and news combined. This is not very exemplary service. Certainly, a minimum of twenty per cent of a station's time could be devoted to presenting useful information. The station devoting the least amount of time to these two elements was WAMM in Flint, whose total was 5.2 per cent. This figure, it should be noted, includes two commercials which concerned real estate services. (Although the writer had no information concerning the reliability of these services other than that the commercials advertised that the companies would not discriminate because of group differences, it was felt that real estate services were important enough to be included in the category of service in this instance.) The station with the next to the least percentage for useful information included in these two elements was WCPR-FM.

Chart number three shows the general criteria used in this study listed from number one to number nine in the order in which they have been previously presented. The "yes and no" designations in the blocks indicate whether or not the stations have performed adequately in each of the criteria. According to the chart, WJLB measured up in five of the criteria,

CHART THREE

GENERAL SERVICE CRITERIA FOR STATIONS

CRITERIA	WJLB	WGPR-FM	WCHB	WWWS-FM	WAMM	Total Yes
1	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	4
2	Yes	No	No	No	No	1
3	No	No	No	No	No	0
4	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	4
5	No	No	No	No	No	0
6	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	2
7	No	No	No	No	No	0
8	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	3
9	Yes	No	No	No	No	1
Total Yes	6	2	3	3	1	

which was two more than any of the rest of the stations did. WCHB and WWWS-FM both had programming which was considered as fulfilling three of the nine criteria. WGPR-FM measured up to the standards set in only two of the nine criteria, while WAMM fulfilled only one. It is worth noting that even where a station was rated as having programmed according to the criterion listed, in many of those cases the service rendered was a

minimum. WJLB, according to the criteria of "service," has performed the best of the five stations in the realm of general service to the public. WAMM has performed the worst in this category. Overall for the five stations, the average service indicated that only 2.8 of the criteria per station were fulfilled.

Chart number four, which is similar to Chart number three, shows the same type of data but with reference to criteria for judging specific service to the black community. In this chart, it can be seen that WJLB again performed the best of all of the stations, with service rendered in five of the nine criteria. The next best station in this type of performance was WCHB, with service rendered in three of the nine criteria. The other three stations were rated quite low with only two criteria. Once again it is necessary to state that the service rendered in most of these criteria for most of the stations was a bare minimum. Here again, also, the overall service rendered by all of the stations was just as poor as it was for general service. The average number of criteria in which stations served is again 2.8.

Summing up the conclusions, it appears that none of the stations in this study, in the writer's judgment, performed adequately the services for the communities involved as determined by the criteria selected in this study. In overall presentation of useful information, public service announcements and news, WCHB was clearly the best in performance. WJLB was third in this category. The station with the poorest service in this category was WAMM in Flint. In both the general service category and the specific service category, WJLB performed the most services for the community it served. In each case WCHB was second. In general service to a community, WAMM performed the most poorly. In the

CHART FOUR

CRITERIA FOR SPECIFIC SERVICE TO BLACK COMMUNITY

CRITERIA	WJLB	WGPR-FM	WCHB	WWWS-FM	WAMM	Total Yes
1	No	Yes	No	No	No	1
2	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	3
3	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	2
4	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	2
5	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	2
6	No	No	No	No	No	0
7	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	4
8	No	No	No	No	No	0
9	No	No	No	No	No	0
Total Yes	5	2	3	2	2	

last category, specific service to a community, WAMM tied with the two FM stations for the poorest service.

The writer believes that, at least in terms of the criteria selected, a great deal of improvement is necessary for all of the stations which program to black citizens in the state of Michigan. It has been shown that much useful information could be communicated to people who are

in need of this type of service. More news is a necessity for a communications medium which serves people who turn to the stations which are supposed to represent them. More housing information, more consumer information, more employment information, more educational information, more information concerning black history and black culture, and certainly more on-the-air interest in improving conditions within the black communities are all necessities for these stations which purport to have the interests of black people in mind.

Suggestions for Further Study

It was stated in the beginning of this study that there has not been a great deal of research done in this area of broadcasting. This means that much more study and research are necessary. Certainly, as has been suggested earlier, some in-depth historical studies are necessary. These studies could either be complete historical studies of individual stations or a history of the black-oriented radio broadcasting within a state or some other geographical area.

Other studies which would add greatly to the knowledge in this area would be good audience studies including demographic information about listeners to each station and perhaps to each program of a station. Also needed are studies which would examine the employment practices of broadcasting stations in relation to race.

As the writer was listening to the air checks for each of the stations, the words to some of the songs on the records seemed to indicate that many were songs of the "message" type. Perhaps a content analysis of lyrics to current popular soul music might prove to be a useful sociological or psychological study.

One final suggestion for further study might be for someone to do a study similar to the present one, at least with respect to the process of evaluation, but instead of evaluating the service of black-oriented stations, evaluate the service to the public of general-audience stations.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

SAMPLE LETTER TO STATION MANAGEMENT

Date

General Manager
W____
_____
_____

Gentlemen:

As part of my research for the Ph.D. in Speech at Michigan State University, I am studying Negro radio in Michigan. Your station is one of the six which records show (Broadcasting Yearbook, 1969 and Negro Radio Directory, 1969) program extensively to the Black community.

Some time in the near future, I would like to schedule an interview with you in order to learn more about the recent history and performance of your station. Please let me know if there are any times which are more convenient for you than others. I am teaching broadcasting full-time at Central Michigan University in Mt. Pleasant. For this reason, weekends (Friday afternoons or Saturdays) would be best for me to leave here. However, if these times are not expedient for you I can probably make some arrangements for a trip to your station during the week.

I would be interested in obtaining a copy of your daily program log for a typical week of operation. If you can send this to me, I will pay for any costs in copying and postage. Can you tell me if there are any particular programs other than regular "deejay" shifts which are of general interest to the Black community?

Thank you for your cooperation. I hope to hear from you soon.

Sincerely,

Alan Labovitz, Instructor
Speech and Dramatic Arts

AL:dd

APPENDIX B

FORMAT FOR INTERVIEWING AT NEGRO-ORIENTED RADIO STATIONS

Call letters of station _____

Name of person being interviewed _____

Position of person being interviewed _____

OWNERSHIP AND STATION ORGANIZATION

1. Is this station owned by an individual, a partnership, or a corporation?
2. What is the racial make-up of the current ownership?
3. How long has this station been licensed to the current owner(s)?
4. Are the owners of the station associated in any way with any other media? If so, which ones?
5. Are they associated with any other business? If so, which?
6. Is the station affiliated with any other radio stations? If so, which ones? What is the affiliate relationship?
7. Briefly, what is the table of organization for your station?
8. Who are your station representatives?
9. Does your station belong to any professional broadcasting associations? Which ones?

PERSONNEL

10. How many people are presently employed at the station?

	Total	Negro	White
Administrative and executive			
Performers			
Production			
Secretarial			
Engineering			

11. What broadcasting experience or training do your employees have?

12. What methods of personnel recruitment do you use?

13. What is the average annual pay scale for your employees?

    Administrative and executive
    Performers
    Production
    Secretarial
    Engineering

14. Do you try to maintain a racial balance on your staff?

15. How many of your employees are union members?

16. Which unions are represented in your station?

PROGRAMMING

17. How long has this station been programming in this particular manner (to Negroes)?

18. Why does this station program primarily to Negroes?

19. What types of programs does your station broadcast?

20. What hours do you program specifically for the Negro audience?

21. Which programs are specifically aimed for the Negro audience?

22. Which programs do you consider to be the most popular on your station?

23. How many hours per broadcast day are devoted to news?

24. Does your station editorialize? If so, how often and on what issues?

25. Can you supply me with copies of your program logs for a typical week of broadcasting?

SPONSORS AND AUDIENCE

26. Who are your major sponsors?

27. What types of products are most often advertised on your station?

28. What percentage of your sponsors' products would you say are

    National
    Regional
    Local

29. Your estimate of the percentage of your commercials which are aimed toward the Negro audience specifically?

30. Can you give me a rate card?

31. What is the average number of commercials broadcast on your station per broadcast hour?

32. Who, in your opinion, is your intended audience?

33. What methods of audience measurement do you use?

34. To which audience measurement organizations do you subscribe?

35. Have you recently had any special marketing studies done of the size, demographic breakdown and listening habits of your audience? What were the results? May I see a copy of this?

36. What is the nature and type of listener response to your station?

TECHNICAL

37. On what frequency does your station operate?

38. What is the effective radiated power of your signal?

39. Does your station broadcast over a clear, regional or local channel?

PUBLIC SERVICE

40. In general, what kinds of public service do you perform?

41. What specific kinds of public service do you perform for the black community?

42. In the past year, can you think of any outstanding public service events the station has performed, either on the air, or as a general part of the community relations?

43. Relating to the above question again, are there any similar events scheduled during the rest of this year?

44. What, if any, response have you had from the acknowledged leadership of the Negro community?

45. What, if any, response have you had from such Negro organizations as NAACP?

46. What, if any, response have you had from leaders or representatives of the white community?

47. What do you think are your strongest points in programming to the black community?

48. What about your weakest points?

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